

Vol. 16

WEBB SCRAP BOOK
Aug. - Sept. 1856

...the occasion for it is...
...the country is enjoying a more...
...since the period of the first...
...introduction of foreign aid instances.

THE INTELLIGENCER.

SAINT LOUIS.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 20, 1856

For the Intelligencer.

The Meeting on Kansas Matters.

I doubt whether this meeting, held on Monday, in front of the Court House, will exercise much influence abroad, detrimental or beneficial. The resolutions do not amount to much. They condemn the recent invasion of the Territory by Lane, and express the opinion, in substance, that the troubles have their origin in the Abolition fanaticism of the North. The fact is, there is so much blame on both sides of the opposing parties in Kansas, that a candid man finds a difficulty in deciding which is most in the wrong. It is a most deplorable state of things, certainly, whoever has produced or brought it about.

There is one resolution, Mr. Editor, which this meeting might have passed, with pre-eminent propriety; and if I had been there, and taken any part in the proceedings, I should have felt bound to offer. I will put it here, in the shape in which it would have appeared there. It is this:

Resolved, That, as law abiding citizens of the United States, we do deeply deplore the disorders in Kansas, and denounce their authors, whether pro-slavery or anti-slavery, as enemies to the country, and worthy of speedy and condign punishment; and, seeing that the President of the United States is likely to be deprived of the means of preserving the public peace, by reason of the failure of the Army Appropriation Bill in Congress, we do hereby publicly tender to the President such means as are in our power and as many men as he may need, to be used by him or those in command under him for the purpose of restoring and preserving the public peace, and of maintaining the integrity of the Union.

It seems to me that such a resolution would have a *political* bearing, and does not fall short of our *duty* in this emergency. What say you?

A FILLMORE MAN.



A considerable number of our citizens from the first strongly opposed to the call for the meeting at the Court House on Monday, and some of whom denounced the meeting and its ulterior aims on the spot, were surprised and indignant to find their names published in several of the city papers of yesterday, among those of the ward committees appointed in pursuance of a resolution offered by Mr. J. M. Hughes, to collect funds to be transmitted to Kansas. Several of these gentlemen called at this office yesterday to request us to state, in the most positive and emphatic terms, the fact that their names had been used without their knowledge and against their wishes. We are safe in saying that among the appointees, Messrs. Gottschalk, A. Valle, John M. Wimer, Charles R. Anderson, McKee, McGill, Horn, Davis, Moore, Vogel and Altemus will not serve, from the strong and unalterable conviction that the whole movement is a mischievous one, ill-timed and partisan, and calculated to injure the business of St. Louis.

After the farcical and Quixotic proceedings at the rotunda on Monday afternoon, it was to be supposed that the sense of our citizens with reference to the project of embroiling ourselves in the affairs of Kansas, had been so thoroughly ascertained that the whole matter would be suffered to drop and be buried in the sea of forgetfulness; unless indeed some victim of ennui and the blues, having extorted his last laugh from the London Punch, might for the purpose of bringing his risible muscles into powerful and irresistible action, revive a transient memory of it. Even the Republican could not conceal its mortification at the result; and throughout the city men of all parties, and of every shade of

opinion on the Kansas question, spoke of the whole affair as the purest and most transparent of humbugs. The fact that a series of resolutions comparatively watery and insipid were read instead of those originally prepared; that these resolutions were read inside of the Court House and passed, when persons not ten steps from the reader could not hear a word of them; and that when the meeting adjourned outside, and they were re-read and re-passed, there was but the feeblest murmur of assent, proceeding from an elect few, and not the slightest show of enthusiasm, was sufficient evidence to any one present, that the purpose of the call was in no accord with the mind and feeling of the majority of the assembly, that the people of St. Louis did not want a Kansas excitement in their midst, and that the whole thing had proved a ridiculous failure. It was therefore presumed that no effort would be made to carry the resolution of Mr. Hughes into effect, and that nothing more would be heard of it. Still less was it supposed that gentlemen long and consistently opposed to a Kansas agitation in this city, prominent members of a party one of whose distinguishing characteristics is a firm and earnest denunciation of the slavery agitation in any of its phases, and especially hostile to it at a time when a heavy fall business is about to open in St. Louis, would have been selected, without any consultation with them, to lend their sanction to this procedure. These gentlemen have no desire to figure in the movement, and their views and inclinations are certainly those of a large majority of the people of St. Louis.

The movement, as all who have paid the slightest attention to it know, is entirely different in character from ordinary appeals to the generosity and sympathy of the community. To such appeals the people of St. Louis have ever been prompt and munificent in responding. The successful carrying out of this project would at once make our city a party to the commotions in Kansas; would be the very interference with the concerns of that territory which, whether proceeding from North or South, has been one of the main causes of the disturbance which reigns on that soil, and menaces a still wider disaster to the West and the Union. Of all other regions of the country St. Louis is the last which should be drawn into this quarrel. We have hitherto to a good extent stood aloof from it, occupying high conservative ground, equally distant from the fanaticism of the North or the fanaticism of the South. Our immense trade is spread over a vast tract of country, peopled by those who entertain the most varied and conflicting views upon this sore and vexed question, and we have hitherto conciliated, all and given offense to none, simply by minding our own business, and letting the people of Kansas manage their own affairs to suit themselves. Had our example been followed in other quarters of the country, there would have been no imbroglio on our borders, no discord in the national councils, no exasperation of sections and factions throughout the land, and no disgrace in the sight of all nations springing from this fatal cause. Let us not now depart from this wise moderation, this masterly and patriotic inactivity in the premises. Let us not strike a blow, from which we would be long recovering, at our most vital interests as the commercial metropolis of the West. Let us not depart from a policy which has hitherto worked so well. On the other hand, let us by our action in this matter, demonstrate beyond the possibility of misapprehension or misrepresentation, that we have no sympathy whatever with the plans and purposes of agitators, who, in other quarters are convulsing the public peace, and paving the way for untold political disaster in the future.

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We learn by gentlemen who reached the city yesterday that the Missourians were concentrating their forces at New Santa Fe, on the dividing line between Missouri and Kansas. Companies were arriving daily from the different counties, and by the time they would be ready to march into Kansas, they would number not less than 2,500 men. Lane's troops, or a part of them, are fortifying themselves about seven miles off, on the Wakarusa, but the main body is at Lawrence. The number under his command is variously estimated at from 1,050 to 1,500, and 2,000 men. Some of his men are represented as having grown tired of the service, and to have deserted.

Gen. Atchison is said to be in command of the Missourians; Col. Doniphan is second in command; and Capt. Reid, of Jackson, adjutant. If a battle takes place at all, it will probably come off this week, and there will be no child's play about it. Lane's men will have, in the event of a fight, the advantage of being better drilled and better equipped, with a better supply of arms, and still we doubt whether they will gain any triumph over the Missourians.

All reports concur in saying that General Smith does not intend to interfere in these elements, unless the forces of either party should be such as to demand his interposition.

EMIGRANTS FOR KANSAS.

A company of 100 emigrants, says the *St. Louis Republican* of the 20th ult., embarked on board the *Keystone State* yesterday for Kansas. They are from Georgia and Alabama. They come as emigrants ought to come, with their wives and their children, their negroes and their goods and chattels. They go to Kansas to make that Territory their home, and to better their condition. The company is under the direction of Mr. Henry D. Clayton. We hope to hear of their safe arrival and their early location upon, and cultivation of, the rich lands of Kansas. There are sixty men in the company.

Thirty-four emigrants, under command of Capt. Shelby, left Lexington, Ky., on the 23th ult. for Kansas.

Letter of Governor Grimes, of Iowa, to President Pierce.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA,
BURLINGTON, August 30, 1856.

To his Excellency FRANKLIN PIERCE, President of the United States:

SIR:—During the last twelve months, I have been constantly receiving letters, memorials and affidavits, from former citizens of Iowa, now residents of the Territory of Kansas, alleging that they are not protected by the United States officers in that Territory, in the enjoyment of their liberty and property. They charge, and the evidence fully supports the charge, that at the first, and at each subsequent Territorial election, armed bodies of men from an adjacent State invaded the Territory, took possession of the polls, deprived the actual settlers of the right of suffrage and perpetrated gross outrages upon such citizens as professed political sentiments disagreeable to the invaders. By threats and lawless violence, they secured the election of a majority of the members of the Legislative assembly—many of whom were then, and are now, citizens of another State. By this assembly a code of laws was enacted, unparalleled in the history of legislation; laws palpably unconstitutional, and which no man with a spirit of a freeman could obey without personal dishonor and a violation of his conscience.

In this condition of things, and without any attempt to repel violence, the people of Kansas sought a peaceful remedy for the wrongs that had been perpetrated, by forming a State Constitution, electing State officers, and asking admission into the Union as a sovereign State.

Although the Constitution of the United States declares that treason "shall consist ONLY in levying war," yet a man holding a commission under the seal of the United States, and exercising the office of chief justice in that Territory, has decided that the persons who accepted office under the State Constitution are guilty of treason. Under his instructions the State officers have been indicted, arrested, and bailed denied them. Under the pretence of judicial proceedings, but without trial or hearing of any kind, an armed posse has invaded the town of Lawrence and destroyed printing presses, private dwellings and a hotel. Human lives have been sacrificed, property to a large amount has been destroyed, citizens have been driven from the Territory by violence, anarchy and disorder everywhere prevail.

Among the sufferers have been many former citizens of Iowa, who went to Kansas in no spirit of propagandism, but with the intention of becoming permanent residents of that Territory. Three of them have been slain by arms said to have been placed by a federal officer in the hands of a band of outlaws from a remote State. Some have been compelled to flee from the Territory for no offence save that of having emigrated from a free State, whilst others remain there, stripped of their property, and appeal to their fellow citizens of Iowa for sympathy and protection.

In my conviction, their appeal should not be in vain. They went to Kansas relying upon and had a right to expect the protection of the General Government. In this expectation they have been disappointed. Citizenship has been virtually denied them. Their right to defend themselves, and "to keep and bear arms," has been infringed by the act of the Territorial officers, who have wrested from them the means of defence while putting weapons of offence into the hands of their enemies. They have been oppressed by a code of laws unequalled in atrocity in modern times. The character and

conduct of the Territorial officers, as shown, thus an appeal to the judicial tribunals is worse than useless.

The central Government having failed to perform its duty by protecting the people of Kansas in the enjoyment of their rights, it is manifestly the right of each of the States to adopt measures to protect its former citizens. If the people of Iowa are not permitted to enjoy the rights of citizenship in that Territory, they retain their former citizenship in this State, and are as much entitled to protection from the State while upon the public domain, as they would be if the General Government failed to protect them in a foreign country.

Whilst I write, an army, raised in the State of Missouri, is marching into Kansas with the avowed purpose of driving out all those citizens of the Territory who emigrated from the Free States, and who express a preference for a Free State constitution. Another armed body of men have placed themselves on the emigrant route from the State of Iowa, to prevent at the point of the bayonet any further emigration from this State.

The State of Iowa cannot be an indifferent spectator of these acts of lawless violence. She demands that her citizens shall be protected in Kansas, and stand upon an equality there with the citizens of other States. She will not submit to the closing of the immigrant route through her domain into that Territory.

As the Executive of Iowa, I demand for her citizens in Kansas protection in the enjoyment of their property, their liberty, and their political rights. I ask that the military force on the line of emigration into the Territory be dispersed.

A compliance with these reasonable requests will tend to restore peace in Kansas and quiet the public mind of this State. In the event of a non-compliance, in my view, a case will have arisen clearly within the principle laid down by Mr. Madison in the Virginia resolutions of 1798, when it will be the duty of the States "to interpose to arrest the progress of the evils" in that Territory.

I am very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,
JAMES W. GRIMES.

DAILY REPUBLICAN.

QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

SATURDAY EVENING, AUG. 30.

In 1850, Col. Richardson declared: "I do not and cannot believe that our Constitution carries and protects slavery, except in the States; nor do I believe it should extend this institution." And yet the platform of the State Convention which nominated him, says Congress has no power to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories; and that, therefore, the "framers of our Constitution" did intend that slavery should go wherever it pleased, without molestation! How can such antagonistic principles be reconciled?

In 1850, Col. Richardson said that, if the bill as presented was defeated, "he was FOR BILLS WITH THE WILMOT PROVISION, in order to give governments to the people in the territories." The Convention that nominated him, denounce the Wilmot Provision as UNCONSTITUTIONAL; yet, Wm. A. Richardson was ready to violate the Constitution in 1850!

In 1850, STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS declared in the U. S. Senate, that the prohibition of Slavery in the Territories was "directed against no section, and impaired the rights of no State in the Union." In 1854, he asserts that such a policy is "sectional" and "unconstitutional!"

On the 4th of January, 1854, STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, in his report to the Senate accompanying the Nebraska territorial bill, said: "your committee are not prepared to recommend a DEPARTURE from the course pursued on the memorable occasion, in 1850, [when the Compromise Measures were passed] either by affirming or repeal

ing the 8th section of MISSOURI act. in twelve days thereafter, Douglas declared that the Missouri act was incompatible with the legislation of 1850, which had "superseeded" it! What miserable jugglery!

In 1848, JAMES BUCHANAN wrote a letter in which he declared himself in favor of the Missouri Compromise—had urged its passage—and vindicated the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories. In 1856, he stands upon a platform founded upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and which denies the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories! "O, consistency! thou art a jewel!"

In 1850, Col. Richardson said that the time had gone by "when slavery could be carried and established in new countries." Now, he says, the man who states that he ever advocated the Nebraska Bill as a measure favorable to freedom, is an "infamous liar!"

Col. Richardson said, in 1850, in the House, "there was a necessity to abolish or prohibit slavery in territories where it existed." In 1856, he says, that there is not only no "necessity" for so doing, but that Congress has no power to do it!

In 1850, Col. Richardson said: "I say, sir, that slavery is the creature of municipal law, and does not and cannot exist one moment without it." Yet he knows full well that slavery does exist in Kansas; and uses as an argument to show the worthlessness of the Ordinance of 1787, the fact that there were slaves in Illinois while it was a Territory!

In 1849, STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, in a speech delivered at Springfield, in this State declared that the Missouri Compromise was "a kin to the Constitution itself"—"a sacred thing, canonized in the hearts of the American people, which no ruthless hand would ever dare disturb!" Stephen A. Douglas, in 1854, introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, repealing the Missouri Compromise! Can there remain a doubt of his political dishonesty and knavery?

In 1850, STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS voted to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific shore. He and his party now contend that the Missouri Compromise was "unconstitutional!" By his own showing, then, Douglas is a self-branded perjurer, for if his doctrine is true, he voted to violate the Constitution in 1850!

In 1851, STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS said "there was no peculiar or remarkable feature" in the Compromise Measures of 1850; and that their sole merit consisted in the fact "that, as introduced by him, they could pass both Houses of Congress." Yet, in 1854, this same man tells us that those measures repealed the Missouri Compromise! Could deception and falsehood be made more plain?

The speech of Hon. HENRY WILSON, of Massachusetts, which we give in to-day's paper, takes the hide off of Senator BLOLER, of Pennsylvania.

THE ST. LOUIS KANSAS MEETING.

As we receive the newspaper accounts of the Kansas meeting held in St. Louis the other day, we see clearly enough what we had suspected was the case—namely that it utterly failed to accomplish the purpose for which it was called. The *Intelligencer*, a paper whose devotion to Slavery has never been questioned, says it was most disgracefully noisy and tumultuous, and that the resolutions said to be passed, were not passed. The *Democrat* says that many of the signatures to the call were appended without the knowledge of their owners, by clerks, junior partners and others, in the absence of their superiors, and the meeting was as good or better than a circus. The *Anzeiger des Westens* is of the opinion that the hour of assembling was purposely fixed at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, to exclude the non-slaveholding laboring men of the city, who have their own opinions on the merits of the Kansas question, from all participation in the proceedings. When they speak, the *Anzeiger* thinks the country will be left in no doubt of the real judgment of St. Louis upon the events now transpiring on the border. The *Republican*, though assuming an exultant tone, cannot conceal its mortification at the miscarriage of its electioneering scheme; and the Buchanians, who were hoping for a demonstration, the effect of which would be felt in Illinois, are chaf-fallen and woe begone because of the failure.

The resolutions did not pass. A gentleman who was present at the meeting says that the nays, when the vote was put, were largely in the majority; but that the chairman (border ruffian) decided them adopted. So ended the last of the humbugs.

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

Quaker Mission Plundered and Broken up
THE RECENT SKIRMISHES.

TREATY WITH GOV. SHANNON.

Warlike Threats of Missouri.

[Correspondence of the Chicago Tribune]

KANSAS CITY, Aug. 23, 1856.

A party of Georgians, some fifteen in number, attacked the Quaker Mission, which is situated on the Shawnee Reserve, some six miles up the California road from Westport, on yesterday. They robbed the mission of what horses they could find, and used the most violent and insulting language, even offering threats and insults to some of the ladies. Intimidated by this violence and the threats of further violence, the occupants of that peaceful, religious house fled from the Mission to seek some place where they might find greater security.

As they were leaving, Mr. Wm. Russell, of the firm of Meyers & Russell, Westport, Mo., urged them to remain, and expressed regret that they should thus be driven away. He said they had got a lot of these fellows about them, whom it was altogether impossible to control. This Mr. Russell is agent for the Southern Armed Aid Society.

Men are crossing the Missouri river at this point to go into the Territory. It is reported by the Border Ruffian leaders that there will be some twenty-two hundred men ready to march into the Territory in a few days.

The rumors of the threatened invasion have reached the people of Lawrence, and

they were beginning to make preparations for it. No fortifications however, had been made, unless they were made by Captain Brown, who was acting with what few men he had, independent of the others.

The skirmish at Franklin, and the march on Washington Creek, were on the same night, the Free State volunteers having gone towards Washington Creek as soon as they took the cannon and other arms from the fort at Franklin. The Georgians on Washington Creek heard of their approach and fled without attempting to make a show of resistance.

The only other attack made was on a camp of Southerners from Georgia, Alabama and Florida, camped near the house of Col. Titus. This Titus has been one of the most violent and dangerous of the Southerners who emigrated to the Territory this summer. Only a few weeks ago he burned the house of a Free State settler in open day, and when the owner—a Mr Smith—attempted to resist, he was cruelly maltreated and beaten. He assembled around him a band of young Southerners, as stated, and these have been engaged in horse stealing and other depredations. They had built a strong log fort close to his house, and were prepared to defend themselves. As there was no remedy in law against the outrages of these men, and as the troops refused to interfere, their dispersion was deemed indispensable.

Being strongly entrenched they resisted and there was a pretty hot fight. At last the cannon taken at Franklin was brought to bear, and after two discharges they hung out to surrender the white flag. The Free State men ceased to fire, and advanced a surrender when they were again fired on from the Fort and several of them wounded. This would have justified an extermination of the whole band, but Col. Titus, who was wounded, and eighteen others were taken prisoners to Lawrence, where they were detained, the wounded of this number being well cared for.

The day after being the 16th, Gov. Shannon, with an escort of United States troops entered Lawrence, and a conference with the Committee of Citizens, which was held in the Cincinnati House. Here he proposed to negotiate. The Pro Slavery men held five free state prisoners, who had been taken prisoners at Franklin. As is usually the case, these men, although taken irregularly and by violence, were held under the Territorial officers, by form of law which is flexible and convenient, when the pro-slavery interests are concerned. In spite of this air of legality, Gov. Shannon proposed to deliver them in exchange for the nineteen prisoners taken in the storming of the Fort at Col. Titus.

This the Free State people of Lawrence merely objected to on account of the unfairness of the proposed bargain: it not being fair to give nineteen men for five. They said they would comply with the proposal if Shannon and the pro slavery men would give up the cannon taken at Lawrence in May last, and still held in Leecompton. This Shannon agreed to, and the terms of agreement were carried out by both parties in good faith. The five prisoners and the gun were regularly given in charge to Major Sedgwick, in his camp of U. S. Dragoons, who also received the nineteen prisoners from the Free State men, the exchange being thus made, Major Sedgwick being the intermediate or impartial third party. There is something supremely ridiculous in all this, and more than all other things shows the state of affairs existing in the Territory.

When Gov. Shannon sent the gun and the prisoners, he sent a note over his signature, stating that this was the gun and the prisoners, delivered in accordance with treaty while in Lawrence, Gov. Shannon in his speech, stated that he meant, in closing his administration, to be on good terms with both parties.

It was reported that the pro-slavery men about Leecompton gave up the gun with great reluctance.

No attack had been made on Leecompton or any other point. Matters had been con-

ducted as peacefully adjusted by the treaty when rumors came of the threatened invasion from Missouri.

IMPORTANT CONFESSIONS—THEIR EFFECT.

The exact matter of difference between the Senate and House of Representatives in relation to the Army Appropriation Bill, is whether the Acts of the alleged Legislature of Kansas, which the people of that Territory refuse to obey, shall be enforced by the Army of the United States, before Congress shall pronounce them valid, or not. The House consents that the Army may be used in Kansas for all legitimate purposes of pacification, but none other. In order to a proper understanding of this question, it next becomes necessary to ascertain if these laws are of such a character that a temporary enforcement of them pending the decision of Congress upon their validity, would or would not be an outrage upon the inhabitants of Kansas. The first evidence we cite upon this point is the conclusion of the Investigating Committee, which decided, after hearing a great variety of testimony from both Free State and pro-Slavery men, and the most, extended and painstaking investigation, in which the poll lists were compared with the census rolls of each precinct,—decided, we say, that the alleged Legislature of Kansas is an illegal body, hence its legislation is usurpation, and the attempt to enforce its laws gross, outrageous tyranny, and the actual enforcement of them successful despotism.

But it may be objected that the Senate is not bound to accept the conclusions of the Investigating Committee. Technically speaking this may be true, but as the report of the Committee remains without being disproved in any essential particular—although it would be to the interest of many to disprove it—it would seem that members of the Senate in common with other intelligent men, could not well escape the force of its conclusions, legitimately drawn from its published testimony. But we have evidence of another, and when we consider all the facts, of an astonishing character. We refer to the admissions of Senators themselves. We shall make some extracts from the debate in the Senate on the 27th inst. Mr WELLS, a Senator from California, introduced a bill to repeal certain laws of the Kansas Legislature, and among other things proposed the following:

"No law shall be in force or enforced in said territory respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, or petition for redress of grievances; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized; nor shall the right of the people to keep and bear arms be infringed. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury. In all criminal prosecution, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process of obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence. The privilege of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

By offering the above, the Senator of course, acknowledged that there was legislation by the Kansas Legislature of a character to be met by such action as he suggested. He confesses that many acts of the alleged Legislature are unconstitutional.

The Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON, Senator from Delaware, used very strong expressions in reprobation of the Kansas laws. We quote from the report of his speech in the New York Times, Aug. 25th:

He proceeded to comment with much severity on what he termed the infamous laws of the Kansas Legislature, saying they should be repealed before the adjournment of Congress, and if the Senate refuse to take that step the respon-

... must rest upon them. One of these laws sentenced a man to hard labor for not less than two years for discussing the question whether Slavery does or does not legally exist in Kansas. It was not less than two years, but it might be fifty years, and if a man should live to the age of Methuselah, he might be confined nine hundred and odd years for that offence. This was as tyrannical an act as was ever passed by the Stuarts, Tudors or Plantagenets of England.—These laws also require test oaths to support the Fugitive Slave Law, and there were hundreds of honest men in the Union who would never take an oath to support it. Such laws as these he characterized as infamous and oppressive, and there were others as bad as these, and unless the Committee of Conference should go the whole length and repeal these abominable laws, the responsibility of refusing will rest upon the Senate as well as the House.

Senator BENJAMIN of Louisiana, said if Mr. WELLER'S Bill, from which we have quoted above could be protected from amendment, the Senate could pass it immediately. We need not extend, our quotations, when so well informed a man, and one so devoted to the interests of the South as Mr. BENJAMIN, admits that such a bill as Mr. WELLER'S could have passed the Senate with but trifling opposition.

It is these very laws which the Senators condemn and the Senate offers to repeal, that the members of the House say shall not be enforced at the point of the bayonet. The Senate has confessed that there are laws in the Kansas code which are infamous in their character, in contravention of the Constitution, and should not be enforced. This concession confirms the reasonableness and justice of the House proviso, which so far the Senate nevertheless contumaciously refuses to accede to. The Senate, we are free to admit, does not concede so much as we claim, for we contend that no act of a body in itself wholly illegal, as the Kansas Legislature is, can have any validity or should be enforced under any circumstances. But the Senate nevertheless concedes so much, that henceforth it cannot with any show of consistency or decency demand the employment of the army to enforce the laws it has stigmatized and denounced. In the first place the House only asked that the army be restrained from assisting to enforce these Acts until they should be decided upon by Congress. The South has examined a portion of them and decided against them, but before the extra session and for some days since its call, the same body insisted on using the army to enforce all these Kansas laws, those above condemned included. It has, it will be seen, taken a decided step in advance, but we dare not hope a progress further in good works. One thing, however, is fixed, so long as the laws it offers to repeal are not abrogated, its confessions preclude its insisting upon the use of the army in Kansas for enforcing the laws of its Legislature; AND FIX UPON ITSELF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE DELAY OR DEFEAT OF THE ARMY APPROPRIATION.

The Daily Republic.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

SATURDAY EVENING, AUGUST 30.

Political Facts for the People.

It is a fact that the Buchanan party is in favor of the extension of slavery.

It is a fact that the present administration is trying to plant slavery in Kansas.

It is a fact that the Buchanians wish Kansas to be a slave state.

It is a fact that the agents of the government and the United States troops in Kansas favored the pro-slavery men against the free state men.

It is a fact that Mr. BUCHANAN'S election would favor the introduction of slavery into Kansas.

It is a fact that Mr. BUCHANAN did injustice to HENRY CLAY.

It is a fact that the reports that come from Kansas about murders, robberies, &c., are facts, and half the truth is not told.

It is a fact that the free state settlers in Kansas have been driven from the territory by the Missouri ruffians.

It is a fact that the present national administration drove out and dispersed the legally elected legislature of Kansas at the point of the bayonet.

It is a fact that JAMES BUCHANAN and the Cincinnati platform approve of this outrage.

It is a fact that free state men are at this time denied the right to enter the territory of Kansas.

It is a fact that an armed mob of slavery propagandists have blockaded the rivers and roads to that territory.

It is a fact that the present national administration have made no effort to prevent this outrage on the free people of that country.

It is a fact that the Missouri ruffians are armed with United States muskets and rifles stolen from the arsenals—which have been broken open and rifled—and yet no notice has been taken of the robbery by the United States government.

It is a fact that robbery, pillage, arson, murder, and the violation of every right, sacred and divine, is daily committed in Kansas upon the free state men, and their complaints are laughed to scorn by the United States authorities there, and by the Buchanan party everywhere.

A Kansas Item.

The Cincinnati *Commercial* publishes a letter from Kansas, giving the following interesting items. The character of the writer is vouched for. After speaking of the cruel treatment of those who have been arrested at the instigation of the ruffians under authority from the court, the writer says:

Men who have heretofore advocated obedience to the mandates of the United States District Court in this territory, are no longer to be found. The practical operations of the court are nothing more nor less than the worst system of despotism. It is a base hypocritical farce—nothing less than a mob of Virginia, Georgia and Alabama, with a judicial head to sanctify its despotic acts.

He also mentions another of the grievances which the free state people on the Potawatomie are liable to:

A few days since the wife of the pro-slavery postmaster, during his absence took it into her head to burn all the letters and papers addressed to free state men on the Creek. This act was done, and if there was any court in the territory where the matter could be examined without endangering the lives and property of the free state men, it would be attended to.—This is but a small matter to the squatters of Kansas: to rob the United States mail and destroy it wholesale is not looked upon as you in Ohio would view it. Our troubles and annoyances are of more magnitude than the loss of a few dollars in a letter or a newspaper. It has been quite a common occurrence to receive letters broken open when taken from the post office. There are many old squatters who are "spotted," that have not received a line from their families for the last six months.

Mr. BUCHANAN formerly voted in favor of rifling the mails to find and destroy documents in favor of freedom, and this practice in Kansas will be sustained by his administration, if the country is ever so unfortunate as to see him elected.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUG. 30, 1856.

The Caucus Against Kansas!

Senator WELLER, of Cal., introduced a bill repealing the infamous laws of Kansas, and defended it with commendable energy. But to get rid of it, HUNTER, of Va., moved an adjournment, and then the Southern Senators went into caucus, and decided that Weller's Bill must be killed, and that WELLER must help do it. So on the next day he rose and said:

Mr. Weller stated that he had introduced his bill without consultation with any of his political associates, and he regretted very much that he was not sustained by them in his desire to adopt a conciliatory course towards the House. While he entertained great regard for their opinions, he was constrained to differ from them in relation to

this matter. He was actuated by a desire to wipe out of the statute book of one of the territories laws which, in his judgment, were clearly unconstitutional.

HUNTER'S motion to lay the bill on the table, was carried—ayes 28, noes 11, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Allen, Bayard, Benjamin, Brodhead, Biggs, Bright, Brown, Butler, Cass, Clay, Coker, Douglas, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones, Lodge, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Toole, Weller.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell of Tennessee, Clayton, Crittenden, Foot, Foster, Harlan, Houston, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, Wilson.

Every Sham Democrat on the side of oppression!

Brutality and Ruffianism Endorsed—Free Speech Condemned!

At the Fillmore Convention which met in Syracuse, a delegate offered resolutions denouncing the assault upon Senator SUMNER, the outrages in Kansas by the Border Ruffians, and asserting the right of Free Speech under the Constitution. The President, SAMMONS, RULED THEM OUT OF ORDER, and the Fillmore men sustained the decision. Thereupon the Free Soil delegates retired and held a Convention which repudiated FILLMORE and DOUGLASS, and endorsed FREEMONT and DAYTON.—AMBROSE STEVENS, of Genesee presided. The Free Soil delegates are to issue an Address showing up the pro-slavery Fillmore Convention.

Worse and Worse!

The news from Kansas which we copy to-day from the Missouri Democrat, a paper which now supports BUCHANAN, makes the soul sick. And while these awful scenes are witnessed in that doomed territory the President of the United States and the supporters of BUCHANAN and FILLMORE in Congress are exerting themselves to pass a bill which will encourage the fiends engaged in them to commit new excesses.

The prospect grows more and more gloomy for Kansas, and the last ray of hope for her Freedom and the punishment of her oppressors, is in the election of JOHN C. FREEMONT. Thank God, that hope grows brighter as the eventful day approaches!

The Fillmoreites Coming to the Rescue of Ruffianism!

Thus far the Republicans of the House of Representatives have resisted the attempt to endorse the Kansas Laws and obtain money to enforce them with the bayonet. But it is now feared that the solid vote of the Fillmore members will be given with the Buchanians, and thus be Freedom trampled out on the soil of Kansas. If so, let the responsibility be cast upon it balloons.

LATEST FROM LECOMPTON—SEIZURE OF FREE-STATE PROVISIONS—COL. TITUS.

From the *Leavenworth Herald*, Aug. 30. Our latest advices from Lecompton inform us that there are some six hundred U. S. troops encamped there, subject to the order of our acting Governor, Hon. DANIEL WOODSON.

The most interesting item of news we have to record is the seizure of four of the enemy's wagons by Capt. FERRIS EMOBY and his gallant company. The wagons were loaded with provisions for the enemy, and were in transitu for Lawrence. The drivers and men along with the train, amounting to ten—just the number composing Capt. EMOBY'S company—were taken prisoners, and the wagons and contents conveyed as booty to the nearest camp of our forces. All praise to Capt. EMOBY!

LANE'S forces are still concentrated, we learn, at Lawrence, and are prepared for an attack. They have raised fortifications around the town and ferry. They number some two thousand strong, and are all well armed and disciplined. Report says they are short of provisions.

Our forces have started on their march to Lecompton, and have probably reached there this. Most of them are well armed and mounted, and will give LANE and his ragged regiments—Jesse. We will probably hear something of them to-day.

Col. TITUS and men who were taken prisoners by the enemy have been released, an exchange of prisoners having been effected by the intercession of Gov. SHANNON and others. Col. TITUS was severely wounded at the time of the attack on his company, as our readers will recollect, but he is now, we are happy to learn, in a fair way to recover.

We learn that several Abolitionists have been taken prisoners by our forces, among whom is a *Rev. Mr. BIRD*—a Bird who is well known here for his beautiful plumage.

LANE NOT IN KANSAS—GEN. SMITH CONCENTRATING MEN AT LECOMPTON—A FIGHT.

From the *Lexington Express*, Aug. 30. Private letters have been received in this city, which put an entirely different face on the state of affairs in Kansas, than that received above. One letter received a day before yesterday, says that Col.

The Hannibal and St. Joseph road is already under contract to be finished in two years, and when the present difficulties are over, this road must be continued westward through Kansas, and must pass directly by Lexington city.

As soon as the township is conveyed, and cabins erected for the accommodation of the party, a blacksmith shop and saw mill will be got under way, and a store and hotel will shortly be opened, and by Spring we hope to have a press under way. This is the mode by which the North is securing Kansas to Freedom, by the establishing of communities of thriving people, who are alive with the instincts and impulses of freedom. Be assured that every dollar expended thus, will return tenfold interest, and be the means of pouring untold wealth into the lap of the North. If the agitation of the Kansas question should do no more than establish these two settlements, Plymouth, and Lexington, we may feel it has been of incalculable advantage. But the North must not rest contented here, but still keep up the agitation, send on men, money, and material, and cease not until beyond a doubt, this land is secured the freedom pledged to her; for we have an ever-vigilant enemy to contend with. Already our infant settlements are threatened, and we are credibly informed that the notorious Major Richardson is raising a party at St. Joseph's, Mo., for the purpose of attacking us. Let them come, and, though we seek none but peaceable means, we will not shirk the duty, nor fail to show them the virtues of Sharpe's rifles as a conservator of the public peace.

A party of Buford's regulars, camped a few nights since, several miles to the South of us, while on their way to the Big Blue River, and on Monday last, two hundred of the United States dragoons moved toward the South, on the road four miles westward of our camp, having been sent by Gen. Smith, for the purpose of seeing whether our party was an armed body under Col. Lane's command. The troops missed our encampment, and it is supposed purposely, that they might avoid the disagreeable duty imposed upon them.

The remainder of the train proceeded to Topeka, and by this time doubtless the eyes of the Free State people there, have been gladdened by this accession to their number. Much has been already done towards our great object,—the establishment of a safe, though tedious and toilsome route, the opening of a Northern road through to Kansas, and the locating of settlements; yet the friends of Kansas in the North must not cease their exertion, but push the men forward rapidly, so that at least two thousand settlers may be within the Territory before winter. A few hints to those who intend to try this route, suggested by my own experience, may not be out of place here. First, in regard to the tents provided; they should be of the thickest sail cloth, for the storms on the prairies are violent while they last, and those used by the pioneer train, mostly let in water like a sieve; and in addition every man should have a suit of India rubber cloth, consisting at least, of boots, coat, and hat. No better donation could be given than a supply of these articles; that the committee having in their charge the raising of men, may use them for the advantage of those who are without. Every man should be furnished with a pair of thick warm blankets, for the nights here are chilly, and totally unlike the summer nights in the East, and I have seen in our camp, more positive suffering arising from this want, than from any other cause. Let every one bring all the coarse clothing he can, for fashion is not much studied or needed here—utility is more sought after. Blue flannel shirts are very useful to wear on the route, and for arms, it is essential both for hunting and defensive purposes, that each should have a good rifle, Sharp's or Allen's patent are the best, a Colt's revolver, and a bowie knife, a plentiful supply of agricultural implements are needed, and a quantity of axes, hoes, shovels, spades, picks, &c., should be brought along. All kinds of mechanical tools are useful, and no man should leave such things behind. One word more and I have done; that large class of small capitalists, found so plentifully in the East, possessing from five hundred to two thousand dollars, could find here a fine opening for securing a fortune. Stores, mills, hotels, &c., are wanted, and will make owners independent in a few years.—Now is the time to come to Kansas, and secure it to freedom and the North. J. H.enton

came, and thirty mounted men, part of whom came from Lawrence and Topeka for the purpose of welcoming us. We extended across the prairies for the distance of three quarters of a mile from each end of the train, and any one who might have been watching our progress from a distance would readily have supposed us to have numbered over a thousand.

Our progress was necessarily slow, and we did not reach the line until Thursday morning. The part of Nebraska through which this route proceeds is one constant panorama of the loveliest scenery upon which my eyes ever looked; fine, fertile, rolling prairies, blooming all over with the brightest wild flowers, that Dame Nature ever scattered from her store house, and verdant with the richest grass; high bluffs, well timbered and well watered ravines; it has every requisite to make it the home of a happy and industrious people—and had it not been for the cause which urged me on, I could have stayed contented there.—Southern Nebraska has within itself all that is required to make it one of the finest States that out of these broad Territories shall yet deck the bosom of freedom loving, Republican America.

We crossed the line on Thursday, August 9th, at about 10 A. M., and as carriage after carriage entered the long sought land, the welkin rung with stentorian cheers, from four hundred earnest voices, "For Free Kansas!" and for her champion, John Charles Fremont.

The feeling on crossing the line was one of disappointment at the appearance of the country. We all had heard such glowing descriptions of Kansas, that the comparatively uninteresting scenery rather subdued our ardor—this, however, was only temporary, for the farther into the heart of the land we penetrate, the more picturesque and fertile it becomes, and I have never heard a speaker paint the land as in reality it is.

We camped for the night at the head of Pony Creek, about five miles from the line, and here it was deemed advisable to found a town. Accordingly some forty-seven persons volunteered to stay, and an association was formed for the purpose of establishing "Plymouth City." The site we located for the purpose, commanding a fine prospect. The land in the vicinity, though not the most fertile I have seen, is still very rich; timber sufficient for all building purposes can be had, while a coal bed discovered in the Creek, will supply all the fuel needed. An inexhaustible supply of limestone can be readily obtained near the city site, and altogether, this will certainly be one of the most important settlements in Northern Kansas. Lying on the direct route, through which must pour a constant stream of emigration, to swell its numbers and increase its wealth, and distant only twelve miles from Iowa Point, a steamboat landing on the Missouri, this must be the Gate-way of Upper Kansas.

The remainder of the train proceeded on their journey on Friday morning, and camped at night at the head of Grasshopper Creek. Here our party, with the exception of two, determined to stay for the purpose of selecting a city location and were joined by a part of the Fremont Co., and a party from Moline, Ill., so that in the whole we numbered fifty-seven persons.

We organized under the name of the Lexington City Association, and proceeded to elect our officers. This was our first exercise of citizenship in Kansas, and our next step was to adopt a Constitution and By-Laws for our government, and to choose a city site. We named our settlement Lexington, that we might show our Border-Ruffian namesake, how New England men could make honorable the name so dear to the heart of every republican.

The site which we have chosen for settlement, is a fine, fertile table prairie, of great elevation and commanding a magnificent view of the surrounding country for a distance of seventy-five miles, and lying contiguous to the direct California route from St. Josephs, Mo. The country surrounding Lexington city, is by far the most fertile and best adapted to grain growing and grazing, in fact for all agricultural purposes, that I have ever seen. The soil is of the richest loam and its average depth is near six feet.

For miles on every hand the prairies waying with verdure and spangled with beautiful flowers, stretch away in a gently undulating swell, while the fine timber, lining the sides of the innumerable creeks that intersect the country in every direction, afford with their dark foliage and waving branches an agreeable contrast to the prairie's verdure. Every beauty that nature can lavish, is here to be found, and it waits only the hand of industry and toil to make them smile with cultivation and refinement; where now nature has showered her choicest blessings so fully, it needs but intelligence and culture to make them a well spring of Independence and Happiness to all who seek a home there.

We not only have our abundant supply of the finest timber, but a splendid quarry of limestone and clay for brick-making, is situated within a short distance of our principal street, and this settlement, both from the fertility of the soil, and the ready communication with Missouri, distant about twenty five miles, thus affording a ready market for all surplus produce and the ultimate importance it must assume, from the certainty that the projected Pacific railroad or one of its branches, must pass through, or very near this township, renders it one of the most desirable localities in Northern Kansas.

LANE is not now, and has not been in Kansas since Summer. The writer says that the attack on Franklin was a most insignificant affair; but with the exception of horse-stealing, and a systematic course of plundering carried on by a few men on both sides, with here and there a fight about claims, everything is perfectly quiet throughout the Territory; that Lane's force is perfectly quiet, and that no sort of preparation is being made for its defence. The letter also states that Gen. Smith is concentrating a large military force at Leocompton, with which to take the field should it become necessary. It is said he will have twenty-eight companies—infantry and dragoons—with one battery of artillery.

It is also stated in the letter that Missourians will be greatly deceived if they believe the United States troops are to remain inactive in the event of a collision between the contending factions. Said letter also states that everything heretofore published is positively false; that the slightest things have been magnified into enormities by men on both sides, and that many things are stated which never occurred.

We doubt not the letter above referred to contains many things that are true, but as it regards the position and acts of the Anti-Slavery Party in Kansas, our means of acquiring information are almost as good as those residing in Leocompton.

Mr. S. G. ALLEN, of Harrisonville, arrived in our city on Thursday night, bringing news of the utmost importance if true. Just as he was leaving home for this city, he received from the Territory to the following effect: Becoming alarmed, all the Pro-Slavery settlers about the Walnut Grove, had collected at a camp some twelve miles below Osawatimie, under the command of Capt. FLEMING. On Monday or Tuesday last, Capt. FLEMING started for Missouri for reinforcements, charging his men to keep together and not leave the camp. He had not been gone but a few hours, however, when fifty of his men, hearing of some horse thieves, started in pursuit of them, and succeeded in catching two. These they sent back to camp under an escort of six men.

This escort was attacked and cut off by a party of eighty Abolitionists. Two of the Pro-Slavery men were killed, one was in the face, and the two prisoners released. The Abolitionists then attacked the camp, drove off and scattered the men, and took forty horses and all the wagons and provisions.

The above embraces all the news received from Kansas, and we give it as we have received it. No doubt something more will occur within a few days. The advance of our army from New Santa Fe must bring results of some sort, and all we can do is to 'wait for the wagon.'

The Daily Spy.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1856.

Correspondence of the Spy.
LEXINGTON CITY, KANSAS,
August 14th, 1856.

Editors of the Spy:—Knowing the interest felt by the readers of the Spy and all who are in favor of "Free Kansas," in the progress and success of the emigrant parties who have pioneered the way through Iowa and Nebraska Territory to this beautiful land, I have thought a description of our journey might be acceptable. The party of which I am a member, left Worcester, Mass., on the 25th of June last, and consisted of thirty two persons, under the direction of Mr. M. Stowell of Lawrence City, formerly of Worcester. It arrived safely by the usual modes of travel to Iowa City, from which place we re-commenced our journey on the 3d of July. The next fifteen days was spent in journeying over the fertile prairies of that beautiful State, and on the 18th of July we crossed the Missouri River to Nebraska City, and found ourselves the first party in that Territory. After waiting several days in the neighborhood of this thriving city, we were joined by a number of other parties, amounting to two hundred and fifty, who had crossed Iowa, under the direction of Col. Lane.

Besides the party raised at Chicago, under the immediate direction of Lane, known as the "Fremont Company," and numbering eighty men, there were over a dozen small parties from various parts of the West, under various conductors and a party of twelve families from Milwaukee. Their wagons and appointments were of the best kind and in the best condition, and their appearance was such as to reflect credit upon the noble cause in which all alike were engaged. After a delay of two weeks, caused by waiting for the arrival of the three companies who had been disarmed by the Missourians on the river, and who then returned to Iowa City and took the northern route, we started for the line. The Massachusetts and Ottawa companies, under the direction of Dr. Calvin Cutter, were first on the ground, and were speedily joined by the Chicago company and a party of ten families from Northern Iowa, and on Monday, August 4th, the whole train got in motion.

As we moved slowly across the prairies of Southern Nebraska, the large number of men, wagons, and teams, presented a remarkable appearance, and struck the observing mind with a sense of sublimity when the glorious object for which all these individuals were collected together was taken into consideration. The train consisted of fifty three wagons, three hundred and twenty four men, thirty eight women, twenty two children; about seventy oxen, six mule teams, forty horses, fifteen

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 30, 1856.

THE LATEST ACCOUNTS from Kansas, officially sent to the Committee on Kansas affairs, indicates the certainty of an attack on the Free State settlers, by large bodies of organized Missourians. Of this there is now no doubt. They have been waiting for the adjournment of Congress to carry this object into effect. They enter the Territory with the

to the intention of exterminating the Free State men, and of establishing slavery by force. In this murderous business they are upheld by the President of the United States, by Congress, and by the Sham Democracy throughout the nation. To extend slavery by force is now the doctrine of the supporters of Buchanan. They cannot escape from the weight of facts pressing to this conclusion.— They may wriggle and twist, and explain, and deny, as they please. The facts stand out now in too glaring a light to be ignored and denied. An army of Missourians are entering Kansas. The Free State men are to be driven out. Under the name of the territorial militia, paid by the United States, they are to commence the work of plunder, devastation and extermination. Reader! Has the House of Representatives in Congress done wrong in refusing to pay such troops?

What shall the Free State men do? Shall they submit to the dominion of slavery, thus forced on them by men from another state? They entered the Territory, as settlers—as permanent residents—trusting to the doctrine of "popular sovereignty," under the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Where's "popular sovereignty" now, under the rifles of the Missourians? What has become of that petted doctrine, esteemed such a treasure by Cass and others, regarded as such a farce by outsiders, and now felt to be such a tragedy by the ill-fated settlers who trusted to its security?

What shall the Free State men do? Shall they flee from the homes they have selected? Shall they submit to these "unconstitutional" and "atrocious" laws, forced upon them by the Missourian bowie knives? SHALL THEY FIGHT? With the U. States troops, we say NO. With the lawless invaders from Missouri, we say, YES, TO THE DEATH.

But they will need help—help in men and money and provisions and sympathy. The firmness of the House of Representatives, has stripped their enemies of the title of "U. S. Militia," armed and paid by the Federal authorities. Whatever aid is sent to the Free State men, must be sent soon. THE BATTLE BETWEEN FREEDOM AND SLAVERY IS TO BE FOUGHT IN KANSAS.

What has brought on this crisis? What has arrayed citizens of this happy land in hostility to each other? What has caused the crimes which have stained the soil of Kansas? We answer—the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, brought about by the rapacity of the South and the doughfaceism of Northern Senators.

Messrs. Pierce and Douglas and Toucey—HOW DO YOU LIKE THE FIRE YOUR COALS HAVE KINDLED?

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
SATURDAY, AUGUST 30.

REMEDIES FOR KANSAS.—At last the pro-slavery and Administration men in the Senate are compelled to admit the existence of wrongs of Kansas, and one after another they propose remedies therefor.— Senator CRITTENDEN's places all the power in the hands of the Governor and Judges, and Congress is to pass upon the laws which they enact.— It can not of course do this till next year, and mean while LECOMPTE, CATO & Co. are to have full swing, and the President is to be instructed to lend them all the aid of the Federal troops, against the Free State men! The *Albany Journal* says:

"There is as much justice, in this proposition of Mr. CRITTENDEN, as there would be in taking a burglar from the county jail, whose trial is set down for next January term, and meantime furnishing him with skeleton keys, a dark-lantern, and a bludgeon, at the expense of the Court, with liberty to amuse himself during the interval as he thinks proper."

The Bloody Code of Kansas.

Specimens of the Missouri-Kansas Laws— Should they be Sustained by the United States Army!

A BLOW AT FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE.

No person who is conscientiously opposed to the holding of slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall be a juror in any cause in which the right to hold any person in slavery is involved, nor in any cause in which any injury is done to or committed by any slave, in any issue, nor in any criminal proceeding for the violation of any law enacted for the protection of slave property, and for the punishment of crime committed against the right to such property.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL OATHS REQUIRED

All officers elected or appointed under any existing or subsequently enacted laws of this Territory, shall take and subscribe the following oath of office:—"I, ———, do solemnly swear, upon the holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that I will support the constitution of the United States, and that I will support and sustain the provisions of an act entitled 'An act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas,' and the provisions of the law of the United States commonly known as the Fugitive Slave law, and faithfully and impartially, and to the best of my ability, demean myself in the discharge of my duties in the office of ———. So help me God."

THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS DESTROYED.

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

If any person print, write, introduce into, publish or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing, or circulating, within said Territory, any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, handbill or circular, containing any statements, arguments, opinion, sentiment, doctrine, advice or innuendo, calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves in this Territory, or to induce such slaves to escape from the service of their masters, or to resist their authority, he shall be guilty of felony, and be punished by imprisonment and hard labor for a term of not less than five years.

HABEAS CORPUS SUSPENDED.

In the chapter which treats of the writ of habeas corpus we have this limitation:—

No negro or mulatto, held as a slave within this Territory, or lawfully arrested as a fugitive from service from another State or Territory, shall be discharged, nor shall his right of freedom be had under the provisions of this act.

BARBAROUS PUNISHMENTS REVIVED.

Every person who may be sentenced by any court of competent jurisdiction, under any law in force within this Territory, to punishment, by confinement and hard labor, shall be deemed a convict, and shall immediately, under the charge of the keeper of such jail or public prison, or under the charge of such person as the keeper of such jail or public prison may select, be put to hard labor, as in the first section of this act specified, (to wit, on the streets, roads, public buildings, or other public works of the Territory—sec. 1, page 146); and such keeper or other person, having charge of such convict, shall cause such convict, while engaged at such labor, to be securely confined by a chain, six feet in length, of not less than four-sixteenths, nor more than three-eighths of an inch link, with a round ball of iron, of not less than four nor more than six inches in diameter, attached, which chain shall be securely fastened to the ankle of such convict with a strong lock and key; and such keeper, or other person having charge of said convict, may, if necessary, confine such convict, while so engaged at hard labor, by other chains, or other means in his discretion, so as to keep such convict secure, and prevent his escape; and when there shall be two or more convicts under the charge of such keeper, or other person, such convicts shall be fastened together, by strong chains, with locks and keys, during the time such convicts shall be engaged in hard labor without the walls of any jail or prison.

EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENT INFLICTED.

If any person shall aid or assist in enticing, decoying or persuading, or carrying away or sending out of this Territory any slave belonging to another, with the intent to procure or effect the freedom of such slave, or with the intent to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, and, on conviction thereof, shall suffer death, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years.

If any person shall entice, decoy or carry away out of this Territory any slave belonging to another, with intent to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, or with intent to effect or procure the freedom of such slave, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, and, on conviction thereof, shall suffer death, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years.

WHIPPING POST REVIVED—WOMEN WHIPPED.

If any slave shall commit petit larceny, or shall steal any neat cattle, sheep or hog, or be guilty of any misdemeanor or other offence punishable under the provisions of this act only by fine or imprisonment in a county jail, or by both such fine and imprisonment, he shall, instead of such punishment, be punished, if a male, by stripes on his bare back not exceeding thirty-nine, or, if a female, by imprisonment in a county jail not exceeding twenty-one days, or by stripes not exceeding twenty-one, at the discretion of the justice.

NO BENEFIT OF CLERGY.

Chap. 54, sec. 23.—Crimes and Punishments.—The benefit of clergy in criminal cases, and all appeals of felony, are forever abolished—forever is the word.

JUDGE LECOMPTE'S DEFINITION OF HIGH TREASON.

This Territory was organized by an act of Congress, and, so far, its authority is from the United States. It has a Legislature, elected in pursuance of that organic act. This Legislature, being an instrument of Congress by which it governs the Territory, has passed laws. These laws, therefore, are of United States authority and making; and all that resist these laws, resist the power and authority of the United States, and are therefore guilty of high treason.

Now, therefore, if you find that any persons have resisted these laws, then you must under your oaths, find bills against such persons for high treason. If you find that no such resistance has been made, but that combinations have been made for the purpose of resisting them, and individuals of influence and notoriety have been aiding and abetting in such combinations, then must you still find bills for constructive treason, &c.

BOSTON POST.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1856.

HON. JOHN A. DIX'S SPEECH.

Hon. John A. Dix, formerly a distinguished senator from New York, made a speech at Trenton, New Jersey, which goes over the issues of the day in a frank and statesmanlike manner. This speech is the more worthy of attention, as it is from an eminent citizen who was opposed to a repeal of the compromise line of 36° 30'.

After dwelling on the importance of the presidential election and the local associations of Trenton, Mr Dix proceeded—

"Now, fellow citizens, I was one of those who thought that the Missouri compromise should not have been disturbed, and such is my opinion still; but the act having been done, the question arose whether it could be restored. No thinking man could believe so. The large majority in the senate in favor of the measure precluded such a belief. It was rendered utterly hopeless by the public declaration of some, who were most opposed to the repeal, that they should never agree to the restoration. A newspaper in the city of New York, distinguished for its ultraism, the organ of an active, intelligent and powerful party, took that ground. It seemed to me most unwise, therefore, to attempt to restore the compromise line of 36 degrees 30 minutes. No wise man attempts impossibilities. What, then, did good sense dictate? That the principle adopted by the Kansas-Nebraska act—non-interference on the part of congress in the question of slavery in the territories—should be accepted as a practical rule for the future, and that the people of Kansas and Nebraska should be left undisturbed to the management of their own concerns."

After detailing the circumstances that tended to defeat the operation of the Kansas and Nebraska bill—the formation of the Emigrant Aid Society—Mr Dix takes the following view of Massachusetts politics and the recent acts of violence:—

"From the supposed magnitude of its operations, it had the bad effect of getting up counter organizations in the south, and no doubt produced a great deal of the bad feeling which prevailed, and still prevails, in Missouri. It was, nevertheless, a peaceful organization, contemplating aid to legitimate emigration, and affording no justification for the armed intervention there from other states.

I am compelled to say,—and I am sorry to say of a

state which did so much for the establishment of our independence,—that the movements in Massachusetts for the last thirty years in respect to slavery have done more than all other causes to produce the existing feeling of unkindness between the two great sections of the country. The nests of abolitionism which have hatched there; her opposition as a state to the surrender of fugitive slaves—a duty enjoined by the constitution; and the great schemes which have been concocted there, like the Emigrant Aid Society, large in promise and feeble in execution; have created an infinity of mischief of which the end perhaps is not yet seen.

I think the conduct of the 'free state men' in Kansas has been equally indiscreet. The government there, wrong as the organization of the legislative department was in its inception, was a government de facto, and should have been quietly submitted to, until it could be re-formed by the peaceful remedy of the ballot-box. The 'free state men,' by arraying themselves against it, gave their opponents an advantage which in this country has always been, and which I trust will long continue to be, an overwhelming one—the advantage of acting with the forms of law on their side. A temporary endurance of evils is often the most effectual remedy for them. I believe it would have been so in Kansas. The only hope from the beginning—the only hope now—of making Kansas a free state, and thus carrying out practically the Missouri compromise, was by a peaceful emigration; and fellow-citizens, I believe that peaceful emigration will settle this question at last. When the coming election is over, I have no doubt that this excitement, as all other excitements do, will pass away, and that the reign of good order and of law will be established.

I am aware that the case is embarrassed now by new difficulties. The acts of violence which have been committed there render it more embarrassing; but I believe that the good sense of the people will redress this wrong. Acts of violence, whether they are committed in the wilderness or within the sacred precincts of the capitol, are repugnant to the feelings of the enlightened and the virtuous everywhere. Parties or sections of the country under the influence of temporary excitement may attempt to justify them; but I believe the time is not far distant when Mr Sumner will blush for portions of his speech which I think were equally insulting and unsentimental, and that the state of South Carolina will be eager to blot from her escutcheon a stain cast upon it by an act of violence which, in my judgment, admits of no apology, defence, or justification.

After remarking that a true remedy for the evils connected with these unpleasant subjects was "a firm and inflexible adherence to the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska act, non-intervention," and a fine eulogy on Mr Buchanan, Mr Dix presents the following comment on the Cincinnati platform:—

"Now, fellow citizens, let me say one word in relation to the platform adopted at Cincinnati. To the leading declarations in it, with regard to the duties of the democratic party, I cheerfully assent. To the second resolution, under the head of Kansas and the sectionalism, which declares that the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska act were rightly applied to the organization of territories in 1854, I should be opposed, if it were interpreted to approve of the repeal of the Missouri compromise. I have already expressed my opinion on that subject, and I never surrender a honest opinion deliberately formed. I have expressed at the same time my conviction that the only course to be taken is to acquiesce in the principle established by that act—non-interference by congress with the question of slavery in the territories.

When I was in Florida and Georgia last winter the democratic parties in those states put forth manifestoes declaring the conditions on which they would consent to act in a national convention. My recollection is that they asked only an acquiescence in this principle of non-intervention. They did not ask us to say that we believed the repeal of the Missouri compromise right. Now, I interpret this resolution to mean nothing more than that we approve of the principle of non-interference, and that this is the interpretation put upon it in the section of the country which is the most deeply interested in it I infer from a speech recently made by Mr Breckinridge, our distinguished nominee for vice president. That I may not misrepresent him, I will read to you an extract from the speech, taken from one of the papers in which it was published:—

"Upon the two issues which do now most agitate the Union, the position of the democracy cannot hereafter be misunderstood or misrepresented.

They have defined in explicit terms their construction of the guaranties of civil and religious liberty which are contained in the constitution of the United States.

Upon the distracting question of domestic slavery, their position is equally clear. The whole power of the democratic organization is pledged to the following propositions:—

That congress shall not interfere upon this subject

in the states, in the territories, or in the District of Columbia.

That the people of each territory shall determine the question for themselves, and be admitted into the Union upon a footing of perfect equality with the original states, without discrimination on account of the allowance or prohibition of slavery.

That the law of congress for the return of fugitives from labor, passed in pursuance of the requirements of the constitution, shall be faithfully executed.

Upon all these vital questions the convention was unanimous; every delegate from every state giving them his cordial approval.

To the resolutions thus interpreted I give my assent."

Towards the conclusion of his speech, Mr Dix remarked on the characteristics of the know nothing and republican parties; and speaks in the following terms of such New York democrats as had joined the Fremont party:—

"It is in vain to say, as these gentlemen who have joined them do, that it is a mere temporary organization to redress a special wrong. Unions of this sort, like more sacred ones, are usually for life, and it is the great body of a party that shapes its policy and directs its movements. The few prominent democrats who have joined this association are (to use the poetical figure,) like a few swimmers in a vast ocean; ('nantes in gurgite vasto') with their heads above water now, but destined to be lost in the waves with the first political tempest that shall arise out of elementary principles."

DAILY CHRONICLE.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1856.

GOV. REEDER'S POSITION. The New York Commercial Advertiser, a very weak print for a wise one, asserts quite positively that Gov. Reeder is a supporter of Buchanan. One might about as well believe that he supports Frank Pierce. However he may finally dispose of his own vote, we think think no one is doing more to increase the votes of Fremont. We wish there were more such Buchanan men. The *Courier des Etats Unis* thus speaks of his effort at the New York Tabernacle:—

"Yesterday evening ex-Governor Reeder of Kansas collected at the Tabernacle a compact crowd, called together to hear him. His speech was precisely what it ought to have been—a warm plea for the cause of Free Labor and a presentation of specific charges against the partisans of slavery. We shall not follow the orator through a philippic which presented nothing new, except the person of him from whom it came, but we cannot but mention the adroitness of the speaker in taking care not to give to his speech any appearance of a direct personal appeal in favor of Mr. Fremont as a candidate for the Presidency. For all that, the effort was precisely the same, and there was the additional advantage of touching the audience by a picture of the sufferings of an entire population, and by the recital of interesting events more impressive, whether exactly correct or not, than any panegyric of an individual. The ex-Governor had, therefore, no need to lay down his Presidential conclusions in express terms. They result of themselves from his long experience of the situation of Kansas. Those who say amen to the expression of Free-soil sentiments cannot but vote for the Presidential candidate whose name serves to rally the opponents of Slavery."

The *Courier* has been obliged to publish the following letter—though it must have realized its own meanness deeply in so doing. We hope other newspapers that have made themselves busy retailing dark suspicions, will take the hint:—*See Courier of 29th inst.*

A KANSAS REVEILLE.

1. Wake from your slumbers, freemen, the stars are overhead. The bannered stars that streaked above your glorious skies of old; A voice comes up from Bunker Hill, from Warren's gory bed, Strike for your sacred altars ere freedom's fires are cold.
2. From the prairie slopes of Kansas, there comes a startling cry, The border wolves are gathering, they pant for freemen's blood; March to the rescue brothers, there's storm upon the sky, Our hearts are stout but we are few to stem the ruffian flood.

Old Massachusetts feels the throb, it stirs her life-blood now, The pulse of freedom beats as strong as in the days of yore, The fire is smouldering at her heart, the flame is on her brow, 'Twill change to light of battle where the Southern blood-hounds pour.

Fling back the daring tyrants, who strive to crush the free, To plant the flag of slavery where Northern freemen throng, The tide of freedom's turned at last, the flood is on the sea, The Northern blood is swift and sure when roused by sense of wrong.

Wake from your slumbers, freemen, your sacred birthright keep; Your banner torn but flying streams above the angry storm, The glorious past is playing its marches while you sleep, The blood of martyr'd Kansas, is flowing red and warm.

The Atlas.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 30, 1856.

THE MUSIC HALL NOMINATIONS.

We are gratified to learn, as we do from the Journal of last evening, that our esteemed fellow citizen, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, has signified his intention not to accept the nomination of the Fillmoreites for the Gubernatorial chair of this State. The Journal states that "the reasons which have induced Mr. Lawrence to take this course are highly creditable to that gentleman, whose reputation as an honorable and high-minded citizen will be increased by their publicity. Without having communicated with him upon the subject, we think it not difficult to state those reasons with sufficient exactitude. He is well known as one of the earliest, most active and consistent friends of Free Kansas. One of the prime movers in the movement to make Kansas a free State by facilitating the settlement of freemen in that distant land, he has uniformly disapproved and condemned the nefarious policy of the administration, the object of which is to make that territory a slave State. Whatever may be his personal preference for the Presidency, (and we presume that his action upon this point is by no means determined) he probably felt that the use of his name to strengthen the opposition to the only movement which holds out a hope of making Kansas a free State, would be entirely inconsistent with his duty as well as with his feelings. Such a course would have separated Mr. Lawrence from many of his co-workers, and, we may add, from thousands in this State who would cheerfully and heartily support him for Governor, if by so doing they could harmonize their action with the great work which men of all parties have united to accomplish."

To this, for the present, we will only add, besides the expression of our gratification at Mr. Lawrence's determination not to permit his name to be made a cover for men who have no real friendship for the cause he has so entirely at heart, the assurance that this intelligence will be equally gratifying to the many thousands of our fellow citizens who have witnessed with respect and even admiration Mr. Lawrence's earnest devotion to the cause of freedom, and who would have witnessed with unmingled pain anything that would seem to place him in a false position.

And while we fully accord with our contemporary, when it says of Mr. L. "Honest, true, wise, and prudent—moderate and firm—Mr. Lawrence would be a Governor whose conduct in the Executive Chair would never call the blush of shame to any son of Massachusetts," we are glad to learn that his name is not to be made use of by men who so manifestly seek to inflict a fatal stab upon those interests which Mr. Lawrence has most warmly at heart.

THE POST AIDING, ADETTING AND SHEL- 198 TERING THE KANSAS OUTRAGES.

The government organ in this city persists in its indefensible course in regard to Kansas. It pertinaciously suppresses the truth. It as pertinaciously and constantly asserts and re-asserts what it must well know to be untrue. In its issue of yesterday, it had the toolness to repeat the absurd declaration that up to a short time since there has been "peace in Kansas,"—that the U. S. officers "had driven all armed bands from the country," &c., &c. All this is of course most effectually answered by the fact that armed bands of Georgians and others had collected at various points, had fortified themselves in block-houses and forts, and were issuing from thence to pillage the property, destroy or plunder the harvest, and assail the persons of the free settlers of Kansas. We would be glad to know how these lawless assemblages of robbers, armed with muskets and cannon, plundered from the free State men, can be reconciled with this prevalence of "peace in Kansas!" We would like to be informed how the refusal of the U. S. authorities to interfere and restrain these scoundrels, can be tortured into an "energetic course," on the part "of the United States officers." How is the unprovoked and cruel murder of Mr. Hoyt to be reconciled with the Post's pretences of this peaceful and orderly state of that unhappy territory?

No, the evidence is strong to the contrary. Everything goes to show that the governmental authorities in Kansas have been looking on with approbation or indifference, certainly without interfering, while the myriads of the slave power have been pouring into Kansas in armed bodies, strengthening themselves at different points, preparatory to one great, general, and desperate effort to exterminate the free settlers of Kansas by fire and sword, of which they made no secret. The constituted authorities of Kansas looked on and saw all these things, but did nothing to stop them! These armed desperadoes became bolder by this impunity, and felt at last strong enough to commence their hostile operations, by making forays against the property of the settlers, and at last consummating their villainies by the murder of an unarmed and worthy son of Massachusetts. During all this while, Government does nothing, either at Washington, or through its agents in the Territory. The pretended peace is only that deadly calm which precedes the storm, from which the hunted free settlers of Kansas have learned, by bitter experience, that they have no shelter save in themselves, the goodness of their cause, and the aid of their fellow citizens in the free States. Beyond all question the guilt of this renewal of civil war lies at the door of the faithless National Executive, or its agents in Kansas.

So, too, in regard to the assertion which the Post is constantly repeating, that Gen. Lane has invaded Kansas; that he is waging war on the United States, &c. There is no evidence of anything of the kind. The Post itself can adduce no proof whatever. It relies upon anonymous statements, made by irresponsible and unknown writers—evidence which it would not receive for one moment, were it on the opposite side; and which every thing goes to disprove. The emigrants from Massachusetts, Illinois, Wisconsin and other free States, who are thus slandered and vilified, have been shown, on the strength of testimony which cannot be questioned, to be peaceful, law-abiding and order-keeping citizens, worthy of our respect and entitled to the protection of their country. It is true they have gone in large parties, and have been well provided with arms. After their experiences on the Missouri river, and after the impunity which has been given by the government to the murderers of Barbour and others, this was not only their right, but their duty, as their only means of self-protection, which has been abundantly shown to be necessary and indispensable. They have not invaded Kansas. They have violated no laws. They propose to trespass upon no man's rights. They have simply stood upon their own.

The real invaders of Kansas have been the pro-slavery men, who have collected in fortified places, for

purposes of wrong and annoyance to others; who have issued out from their dens to rob, murder and destroy. But they have the protection of the Executive and its creatures, and therefore enjoy the sympathy of its Boston organ, which sticks at nothing in its villainous work of vilifying and traducing the poor, humble and honest free State emigrants, reserving all its favor, forbearance and sympathy, for the powerful wrong-doers who seek to exterminate them.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—Extra Session. WASHINGTON, Friday, August 29.

SENATE.—The question was stated to be on the motion of Mr. Hunter, namely: to adhere to the disagreement on the army bill.

Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, rose to express his views on the subject.

Mr. Hunter stated that it would be desirable for the Senate to act upon the question at once, and the Senator from Tennessee could base his remarks upon Mr. Crittenden's bill. The reason why he wanted to take a vote immediately was, in order that the House might know what the Senate were going to do. If this amendment be adhered to, another bill might be introduced in the House; but until a vote was taken, the House would delay action, as it might possibly be supposed the Senate would give way.

Mr. Bell acquiesced in the suggestion, and the motion to adhere was agreed to by yeas 32, nays 4.

The yeas were Messrs. Durkee, Harlan, Trumbull, Wade.

Mr. Seward did not vote, having paired off with Mr. Toombs.

The Senate then resumed the consideration of Mr. Crittenden's bill to alter and amend the Kansas-Nebraska act.

Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, spoke on the general subject of affairs in Kansas, and the various measures which had been brought forward for the relief of the inhabitants of the Territory in their present disquietude. He declared himself in favor of the bill pending, though there might be some provisions in it to which he could not give a cordial assent. Though it might not afford absolute relief, it would mitigate some of the evils, and was worth trying as an experiment. The attempts, thus far, to preserve the peace of Kansas, had proved abortive, and he hoped Congress would not adjourn before the 4th of March next, unless some measure of redress should be adopted. If the President had not sufficient power to preserve the peace, let additional power be placed in his hands; but do not present the spectacle to the world that the Government is unable to maintain order among its citizens.

Mr. Hunter moved to lay the bill on the table, but as there was not a large attendance, by general consent, the vote was postponed until tomorrow.

Mr. Seward submitted a resolution that the Secretary of the Senate cause the desks appropriated for the use of members to be removed from the Senate chamber. He thought the adoption of his resolution would tend, in some degree, to facilitate the despatch of business, and, at some convenient day, would ask its consideration.

Adjourned.

HOUSE.—Mr. Barclay moved that the House adjourn on Tuesday next.

Motion negatived by 72 majority.

A message was received from the Senate, stating that they adhere to their disagreement on the amendments of the Army bill.

A motion to adjourn on Monday was then voted down.

Mr. Orr asked leave to introduce the Army bill. Messrs. Grow and others objected.

Motions were then made to adjourn on Monday, and on Tuesday, but were disagreed to by yeas and nays voted.

Mr. Haven hoped the House, instead of trifling in this way, would resolve itself into Committee, and go to work like men.

Cries of "Agreed," and "Good."

Ineffectual motions were again made to adjourn over, but finally it was agreed to adjourn till tomorrow, by two majority. Adjourned.

Ebening Telegraph.

BOSTON, SATURDAY, AUG. 30.

From Lawrence, Kansas—A Cry for Help.

We are permitted to print the following extract from a private letter, written by a gentleman of the highest character, now a resident of Lawrence.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, AUG. 19, 1856.
The war has begun in earnest. The Free State men, exasperated beyond all endurance, have be-

gun to act, and thus far far efficiency, gaining advantage at every step. I have given a particular account of the movements up to to-day in a communication to Mr. Haskell, of the Transcript, and it may appear in that paper. I can give but a faint idea of the feeling which prevails here. We see clearly that we must fight desperately or be exterminated. We feel that our friends in the States do not understand the full extent of the peril and difficulty which surround us. It is true that just now we hear nothing of any great movement on the part of the enemy. But we have many reasons to believe that this silence is but the ominous precursor of the storm that is about to break.

Achison, with some 500 men, is somewhere in the vicinity of the Big Blue—(you have a map of Kansas?) The blue lodges are sending out their summons. Pro-slavery men in the Territory are moving towards the border with intinuations to one another, and in some instances to those toward whom they have friendly feelings on our side, of some great operation soon to decide the question forever for or against their beloved institution. It is true we are much stronger than ever before, not only by the accession of numbers, but by the rising of our determination and courage, and our familiarity with the work of fighting. The enemy seems to be standing off in fear. The U. S. force either look with favor on our movements to drive out the Southern banditti with its Missouri allies, or consider us too strong to be effectually resisted; and we are ready to fight twice our number as long as ammunition shall last. You need have no fear as to that. At the Franklin fight last Wednesday night, our young men behaved like the veterans of a hundred hard fought battles in the army of Napoleon, standing their ground against cannon, discharges of grape, and finally storming a fort of logs amid a shower of rifle bullets. Old Massachusetts should send us at least 1000 good fighting men, each armed with a Sharp's rifle, and a brace of Colt's revolvers. That would be but one to every thousand of her population. What town is there in the State that couldn't easily do that? Not old Concord—nor any other in which I feel at all acquainted. O that I could be back to work there for this end. But I would rather be just here, and I will be nowhere else until this contest is decided.

I entreat you not to permit the interest which seems to be taken in this cause to slacken a jot. A fit support from the friends of Freedom in the States and victory is sure—the dark shadow is turned back, and our country saved from what is otherwise inevitable, her unfathomable shame and hopeless ruin.

In great haste,
Yours for Humanity.

Boston Journal.

SATURDAY EVENING, AUG. 30, '56.

KANSAS AFFAIRS. The last detailed accounts of the movements of the Free State men in Kansas related to the capture of the block fort at Franklin. Letters from the Territory put us in possession of reliable details of subsequent events.

On the night of the 15th inst., news was received at Rock Creek that ten citizens of Topeka, who were on their way to join the Free State forces, had been captured by Col. Titus and a party of Southerners who had fortified themselves in a block house near Leecompton. At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 16th, about three hundred Free State men were on their way to Titus's house, where they arrived about day break. A brief contest ensued, a number of shots being fired on both sides, when Titus run up a white flag, and surrendered, with eighteen of his company. Col. Titus and several of his men were wounded, and Capt. H. J. Shosbree, just from Richmond, Ind., of the Free State party, received injuries from which he subsequently died. Several muskets and some ammunition were taken from the house, which was then fired.

Col. Titus's house was only one mile from Leecompton, but the citizens of that place took no part in the action. The dragoons were encamped within one mile, but they did not interfere, except by taking up a position between Leecompton and the Free State men. As there was no design to come in collision with the Government, the party returned to Lawrence with their nineteen prisoners, without making any demonstration upon Leecompton. The above was all the foundation there was for the statement received from Missouri that Leecompton had been destroyed, the persons charged with treason liberated, and the dragoons attacked and defeated.

In storming the fort of Titus, the cannon balls used were made of the lead type which was in the printing offices at Lawrence when they were destroyed, in May last. The type was thrown in the river, but it was dug out of the river, melted

into cannon balls, and the gunners maliciously declared that they were "working off" the last edition of the *Herald of Freedom*."

On the arrival of the party at Lawrence, the prisoners were confined in the *Herald of Freedom* building, and the wounded well cared for. There was considerable excitement at Lawrence on the arrival of the prisoners, but temperate counsels prevailed, and no outrages were committed upon the prisoners.

On Sunday, 17th, Gov. Shannon, Major Sedgwick, and Dr. Roderick, appeared at Lawrence to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. A special committee was appointed to confer with them. After the conference, which lasted six hours, was over, Gov. Shannon addressed the people, and stated the terms of the treaty or agreement he had just entered into with the special committee, as follows:

"I agree to release the prisoners held at Leecompton—five in number—and to use the military force under command of Major Sedgwick to repel any armed body of men who shall be found in the Territory for any other than peaceful purposes. I also agree to deliver over to Major Sedgwick the cannon taken from the subject rendez on the 21st of May last, said cannon to be subject to the order of Capt. Walker. On the other hand you agree to deliver up the nineteen or twenty prisoners which you hold, and set them at liberty."

On the next day, Monday, the 18th, the prisoners were exchanged, and the howitzer returned. Whether Gov. Shannon will observe the remaining clause of the treaty, in relation to armed mobs, remains to be seen. This treaty is considered by the Free State party as a great triumph.

The names of the towns founded by the emigrants through Iowa, between the line and Topeka, are Plymouth City, Lexington City, and Concord city. The first was settled by about fifty emigrants from Illinois and Wisconsin. The second was settled by the Massachusetts company led by Martin Stowell, with some volunteers, numbering in all fifty-seven persons. Lexington City is on the Grasshopper Creek, about seventeen miles from the Iowa line, and is said to be in every respect a most desirable location.

Important from Kansas—Reported Taking of Tecumseh by the Free State Men—Gen. Pomeroy Killed.

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 30. Kansas advices state that the Missourians are concentrating in the vicinity of Westport. Troops are arriving daily from various directions.

Lane's troops are fortifying on the Wakarusa. Their main body is at Lawrence, variously estimated at from 1000 to 2000.

Atechison will command the Missourians, with Col. Doniphon as second, and Capt. Reid, adjutant.

It is rumored the Free State men have taken Tecumseh. The pro-slavery men had 30 killed. Gen. Pomeroy was also killed.

Journal and Courier.

Lowell, Saturday, August 30, 1856.

Authentic Information about the Late Fights in Kansas by a Participant.

From a private letter, dated Aug. 19th, to the Rev. Daniel Foster of this city, written by his brother, who was engaged in the recent affairs at Franklin, Washington Creek and Titus' Camp, near Leecompton, Kansas, we are permitted to make the following interesting extracts:

I was a participant in three glorious affairs which took place in this Territory last week, to wit: at Franklin on the 12th, at Washington Creek on the 16th, and at Titus' Camp, near Leecompton, on the 16th. First, let me say that war is a terrible thing. I have before heard of it. I have now seen it. I have heard the balls whistling about my ears. I have stood where men were shot down as you would shoot wild beasts. I have heard the groans of the wounded and dying. I have seen the bloody corpses of the dead, and truly war is a terribly cruel thing. Still war is preferable to slavery. But to the facts: Since the cessation of hostilities in June, Buford's gang, who came to "see Kansas through," have been busy fortifying themselves at different points in block houses, in squads of from 25 to 50 in a place. These gangs are above working for a living. They depend upon the contributions of southern aid societies. They have eked out their means of subsistence by depredations upon free state men. Their most common mode is stealing horses, which they run off to the border counties of Missouri and sell. Any kind of plunder, however, when the odds are ten to one in their favor is in their line. The most outrageous and reckless of

these hands was collected in a camp at the fort near Leecompton, under Col. Titus, of the territorial militia, who is, with good reason, suspected of having been formerly a pirate on the coast of Florida. The Free State boys had for some time brooded over a plan for breaking up these dens of thieves. Last Tuesday, the 12th of August, Maj. Hoyt, one of the most highly esteemed and honorable citizens of Lawrence, went into one of the camps on Washington Creek, which was under the command of Capt. Sanders. He went without any arms, as a Free Mason, upon the invitation of Sanders, a brother Mason. He was received with apparent kindness, and on leaving was accompanied by two men, who shot him in a piece of woods. They lodged two balls in his body and then shot him after he had fallen through the head. They put some corrosive substance upon his face to disfigure him, and returned with his horse and effects. This act set the train on fire. The Lawrence boys determined to disperse these scoundrels and recover some of their stolen property. That evening we started from Lawrence, i. e. 25 horsemen and 56 footmen. On arriving at Franklin, the first point of attack, we found the enemy had been apprised of our expedition, and was prepared to give us a warm reception. Their log fort was flanked on the one side by another log building, in which was kept the post office, and on the other by a large hotel. We could make no impression upon them with our rifles, and they refused to surrender. We were determined, however to recover our cannon, which we wanted for routing these nests of land pirates. We accordingly surrounded the fort and commenced a brisk firing with Sharpe's rifles which they vigorously returned. This continued about three hours. One of our men was killed and several wounded. We then loaded a wagon with hay, backed it against the post office and set it on fire. When the flames burst forth the poltroons cried lustily for quarter. We then extinguished the fire, the enemy in the meantime making good their escape. They left in our hands the cannon and upwards of 50 muskets. We took our own arms again and emptied upon the ground several barrels of whiskey, and went on our way. The citizens of Franklin took no part in this attack.

The night had passed in this engagement at Franklin. We had now to prepare balls for the cannon, and we were not ready to proceed to Sanders till Friday. We marched upon his fort to the number of nearly 400. When about three miles distant they could see us on a hill, and they at once fled. We found their flag in the bushes with the motto, "Enforce the Laws." Some arms, ammunition and tents fell into our hands here. We reduced the fort to ashes. That night Col. Titus was out with his desperadoes, engaged in his favorite pastime of stealing horses, and intending, it is supposed, to attack Judge Wakefield's house, which, however, he found too strongly guarded. They stole three or four horses and went back to their fort little dreaming how hard retribution was treading on their heels. In the morning his fort was surrounded and the firing commenced. One of our best men, Capt. Shambra, was mortally wounded before our cannon arrived. That was soon brought up and planted 40 rods from the fort. It was loaded with balls run from the type metal of the *Herald of Freedom* press, which Col. Titus had destroyed last May. When the first shot was fired the Lawrence boys shouted "the *Herald of Freedom* is issued again!" The cannon was fired six times. At the sixth fire they surrendered. One of their men was killed, and Col. Titus badly wounded. We took 19 prisoners and a quantity of arms and ammunition. Some of the tents were identified as belonging to the Chicago company. I had the good fortune to receive the sword of Col. Titus, a very nice article, which I mean to transmit to my children.

The U. S. troops were within a mile of us, in camp, but they did not interfere. The fort was destroyed and Titus and his gang marched to Lawrence. The following day, Sunday, Gov. Shannon and Maj. Sedgwick came to Lawrence and held a consultation with the Committee of Safety. It was agreed that the five free state prisoners arrested by the troops should be released, and the property taken at the sack of Lawrence returned, and that then our prisoners should be set free.

The men of Kansas have struck a noble blow. In the moment of victory they have shown great moderation. They are no longer to be trodden in the dust. Money contributed to help them will no longer benefit the Border Ruffians. Kansas needs men and money.

friends of freedom are true to their duty at this time. The men and women now here will suffer great privations, be stripped of everything, and many of them slain unless immediate aid, in men and money, is furnished. They may be overborne, but they cannot be driven away. Could you have seen the spirit of the men, and of the women too, as the last few days have called it forth, you would agree with me that these pioneers for American freedom will stand firm to the last—be the odds against them what they may.

I have seen the State prisoners. Most noble men are they. They are in prison because they are the best men in Kansas.

Yours fraternally for Freedom and Justice,
R. B. F.

The Mercury.

NEW BEDFORD.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 30, 1856.

KANSAS AFFAIRS.—We receive from W. F. M. Army of Chicago, the general transportation agent of the National Kansas Committee a printed circular, showing the main purposes of this organization, which are these:—First, *The retaining of all actual free settlers in Kansas.* Second, to induce all Free State absentees to return to the Territory, and when it is required to furnish them with aid. Third, to induce ACTUAL SETTLERS from the Free States to go into the Territory as fast as possible. The National Kansas Committee desire immediate organization.—Aid is needed immediately. The secretary of the State Kansas organization can be addressed on this matter. The South is pouring men and money into Kansas, and, unless the most earnest measures are taken will be superior in men and means there to the North. Aid now, in the critical moment of Kansas, when your aid is of the most vital importance.

THE EVENING POST.

SATURDAY EVENING, AUGUST 30.

Kansas.

The affairs in Kansas are becoming lamentable; but, as I conceive, the whole burden rests upon the shoulders of Pierce and Douglas, who have undertaken to do the mean and dirty work of the border ruffians. The injustice predominant in this business is really terrible to all thinking men. The most odious and oppressive laws are passed by a self-constituted legislature, totally opposed to the principles of our Constitution—this is acknowledged on all sides—and the citizens resisting them (as they have a right to do) are shot down, and in seeking to defend themselves against their murderous assassins, are arrested (but not tried) for treason. No army is heard of to preserve peace, but on the contrary is used to enforce obedience to those willfully wicked laws, to protect the ruffians in their burnings of the public inns, the destruction of the press, the assassination of unarmed and inoffensive citizens. But the moment the tune is at all changed, how dreadful the calamity—what an awful thing to attack block-houses and to destroy them—what a terrible thing to kill a border ruffian, even in self-defence! No wonder Pierce has chills and fever!

But as Hume has very justly said, in effect, "There is nothing, however dishonest, that a politician will not do for the advantage of a party."

The proper course for the President is, now, to prevent any further collision. He has violated his oath repeatedly in his matter in not doing it before; but he has, by this injustice, brought about this very state of things, and his object seems to be a revolution or civil war. We be unto him if he accomplishes it. The soldiers of government are men and citizens, not politicians, and he will find he cannot use them as mere politicians of his will. Let him prevent strife by disarming the border ruffians before they repeat such outrages as the people will revenge, *and what it may.* He had no hesitation in disarming inoffensive people. I am naturally, Messrs. Editors, a cool individual, but *injustice and wrong* committed by those sworn to act justly, is more than I am able to stand.

Yours, Union.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUG. 30, 1856.

THE ARMY AND KANSAS.—The "National Kansas Committee" (whose head-quarters are at Albany,) have done wisely in soliciting the President of the United States to "interpose the powers of the Government to prevent the civil war and slaughter now impending over the Territory." The capture of Franklin and several other pro-slavery stations in Kansas by an armed force of Free State men, attended with the loss of several lives and much destruction of property, is confirmed by the Kansas correspondents of the N. Y. Times and Tribune. So also is the death of Mr. Hoyt, a Free State man; but the circumstances connected with it are not yet announced, except that he went to the pro-slavery camp at Washington Creek to make certain inquiries, and never returned. Whether he was shot as a spy, or on some other pretext, we have no means of knowing. His body, however, is stated by the Times correspondent to have been found, and the head to have been perforated by four balls. But admitting his life to have been taken as alleged, on what principle did it justify an attack upon other pro-slavery settlements where this outrage did not occur, and which, so far as appears, had nothing to do with it in any way? Be this as it may, we have little doubt that the Kansas Committee are right in anticipating a severe retaliation from the pro-slavery party, including the Missouri borderers, unless prevented by the powerful interposition of the national arm. But how is this arm to be interposed between the combatants, if its sinews are cut by Congress? On this point the Commercial Advertiser remarks with great propriety and force:

The position of Messrs. Hyatt, Army and Dancles, when they present themselves before the President, will be somewhat embarrassing. They will find it difficult to reconcile the request for the "interposition of the powers of the Government," with the action of their friends in Congress who are insisting that the army shall be disbanded unless the President will consent to abrogate those powers so far as Kansas territory is concerned, by withdrawing the army and disbanding the militia! Possibly, however, those who claim to have taken Kansas under their special care, are beginning to find out that their friends may need the services of that same army for protection. It looks like a change of ground certainly, when the Kansas committee, in the very face of the action of their Republican associates in Congress, are already invoking "the interposition of the powers of Government." These Republicans have a queer way of managing public affairs.

Republican Gazette.

The Constitution, Liberty and the Union,
Now and Forever, One and Inseparable.

TRENTON:

FRIDAY, AUGUST 29, 1856.

Mr. Clayton on Wednesday denounced the Kansas laws in severe terms. He said Congress should not go home without blotting out the laws which restricted liberty of speech and imposed obligations to support the fugitive slave and other laws offensive to the conscience of people. The responsibility rested with the Senate, and under such infamous enactments Mr. Calhoun would have been sent to the penitentiary in Kansas for sentiments he had uttered.

Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 30

Treason and Falsehood.

Reeder has made a most treasonable and inflammatory speech in that Temple of Treason, the Tabernacle, in New York, which is copied by all the Black-Republican papers. He appeals to the merchants and moneyed

men of New York to make themselves parties to his treason, by subscribing money to send to the aid of Jim Lane and his tatterdemalion ruffians from Iowa. We can think of nothing more instructive, better calculated to arouse all good citizens to a sense of the danger to the country and the Union, than the villainous suggestions and appeals of this desperate traitor, who first went to Kansas to "put down the d—d Abolitionists," as he swore in Washington City, adding that he intended to buy a negro or two in St. Louis, and when convicted and punished for his corrupt and unprincipled attempts to defraud the poor half-breeds of all their lands, and to employ his authority for his own emolument, turned shrieker and traitor, and now dares to use such language as the following:

"Now is the only time to save the Territory by saving and sustaining the men who are now on its soil. [Protracted cheers.] They must be saved or all must be given up and lost. [Sensation.] The last hope of freedom in the far west is with them. If you will save them, you will save Kansas; but if you allow them to be submerged, Kansas and all the territory behind it is lost to freedom, and is lost to free white labor and dedicated to the blighting influence of negro slavery—white slavery exists there already—but white slavery with human freedom will both be drowned in the blood of the defenders of the latter, and its soil will be a dark and gloomy waste. Now, what is the remedy? [Voice—Eletc Fremont. Cheers.] I have made up my mind fellow-citizens, as to what the remedy is, and I proclaimed that opinion last spring, as soon as I was enabled to tread the soil of a free State, and that opinion I give you. I say here, that unless men are raised and put upon the soil of Kansas, supported, sustained and fed there, she will be lost. [A voice—That's it—applause.] Men must be sent there—men who are willing to defend themselves, able to defend themselves, prepared to defend themselves, and determined to defend themselves. [Enthusiastic cheers, followed by three cheers for Beecher.] We want no preponderance of men, for experience has shown that when our people have met Missourians in equal numbers, the contest is not doubtful. The Free-State men ask no odds of the invaders, but a free field, if it must be settled in that way, and a fair and even fight. [Prolonged cheers.] Long, patiently, meekly and forbearingly have they suffered these wrongs, in the hope of avoiding this violence, but this contest of violence has long been on one side; and if it must be mutual, it should be met as men should meet it. [Cheers.] The remedy is to put men on that soil. They cannot be put there without being fed. If you send three thousand men there, you will have to feed them. With the fields uncultivated and provisions scarce, the advent of these thousand men into that Territory unprovided for would be the means of not only starving themselves, but starving those already there. They must take a year's provisions with them, or they must be furnished with a year's provisions."

If this is not treason, an incentive to revolution, and open war against the peace and laws of the country, we do not know how that act can be committed. The levying contributions to proceed to a Territory of the United States, for the purpose of carrying on war, is certainly an act of more flagrancy and criminality than that of raising men and means to proceed to a foreign country for the purpose of carrying on a foreign war. And yet our Government has suppressed, with great vigor and promptitude, those latter proceedings. Generals Quitman and Henderson were arrested and indicted in the South on a charge of meditating such designs as the aiding of the Cubans to overthrow the government of Spain in Cuba. And yet this wretch, Reeder, a heartless, selfish, grasping speculator and peacemaker has the audacity openly, in the city of New York, to invite the people to subscribe to a scheme for conducting a bloody war within the territory of the United States!

He does this, and yet, as Cicero proclaimed of another reckless conspirator, he goes free and unarrested, defying and inviting the interference of the authorities. If such con-

duct cannot be prevented by the authorities of our Government, there is certainly a sad hiatus in our jurisprudence.

We need not say to our readers that the assertions of Reeder as to the character and designs of this war, in whose behalf he solicits aid, are atrocious falsehoods. Instead of being settlers, who have been disturbed in their rights—who are fighting for freedom and their homes—they are miserable vagabonds, who have been collected by that most abandoned of scamps, Jim Lane, in the border towns of Illinois and Iowa, and promised lots in the towns owned by Reeder, Lane and Robinson in Kansas, as an inducement to go into the Territory to murder the actual settlers and devastate the country. There is not a single settler engaged in this villainous enterprise. On this subject we are furnished with what far outweighs the testimony of such Shriekers as Reeder and Lane and their correspondents. It consists of the testimony of honest and peaceable men from the North—Free-State men—who have gone into the Territory to settle and pursue an honest and respectable mode of life. Here, for example, is the letter of a respectable emigrant from Michigan, who writes to the editor of the *Adrian Watchtower*:

"KANSAS, K. T., Monday, July 7, 1856.

"Dear R.—Yours of June 9 is at hand; and its contents duly noted. I have delayed writing before because I have been traveling most of the time since I received yours. You inquired about Kansas, its outrages and riots, and here I will give you a brief sketch. I have (as you know) been here about one year, and have bought over one thousand acres of land, and have a number of men at work, and my crops look very favorable; and I am satisfied with Kansas for a home. I suppose that you hear a great deal about Kansas and its outrages; but if your North will stop sending men here to fight, and send honest, upright men, that intend to settle and let Kansas alone, these outrages will stop and we shall have a free State; but this seems impossible; your Black-Republicans and Abolitionists are sending a barbarous set of men here that will not work for a living anywhere, and they give them arms and tell them to go to Kansas and fight without right, reason or cause, and thus you can see what follows—riots, outrages and murders; and when this is stopped then these outrages will be brought to a close and Kansas will be at rest, and not until then. You say that there is a Kansas Aid Society in your place. But allow me to ask whether you are sending men here with means to buy land and become settlers, or are you sending men to take part in these outrages? If the former, all will be well, and if the latter, you are wrong. As for myself I find no trouble; mind my own business and I am doing well. I have traveled the whole Territory over, and my men are not disturbed; my crops are not destroyed; my house and barns have not been burnt, and I have no fear of it. If you have any idea of coming out here do not wait, for now is the time to locate; and I have not carried any arms but a cane since the first month that I came here, and have not had an occasion to even use that. But as it is late I will close, hoping to hear from you again soon.

"Yours, truly, GEO. E. PREY."

Next, we find in an Indiana paper the following, from Mr. A. M. T. Zook to his father, in reply to inquiries relative to the true state of affairs in Kansas:

"BROWNVILLE, N. T., Friday, July 25, 1856.

"Dear Father and Mother: I have not much of interest to write to you. You requested me to write to you concerning the Kansas difficulties. No doubt you hear a great deal more than the facts relative thereto. There have been some difficulties there; but who is it that are causing these difficulties? I am not interested in this matter, but be assured that I know who are in the fault. The Abolitionists or negro lovers are meeting in the dark hours of night, and kill and slay those of our citizens whom they think are the most influential men, and then the report starts that the Missourians are over committing depredations again. But they have acknowledged lately that the people of Missouri have treated them with great respect and kindness.

"Now, father, you may rely on this; that the people of Indiana are causing more disturb-

ance in Kansas than the Missourians. Colonel James H. Lane is now stationed above us, in the edge of Iowa, with three hundred men, well armed with Sharp's rifles and Colt's revolvers—men that he raised in Ohio, Iowa, Indiana—and there are lots of such companies going down into Kansas.

"The Missourians are lying still, but it is Missouri that is doing all the mischief, as the black-legged, black-hearted and red nosed Abolitionists tell it. Time will tell the tale. They go around Iowa, and cross the river up as high as they can, but, be assured, they are causing more disturbance than any other people in the world. They are coming into our Territory by scores, and causing great excitement. There are many of our good citizens going to leave the Territory. Business is about to stop until we see the result of the matter. The black-legs of Indiana, Ohio, Massachusetts and Vermont, and all the negro-lovers are coming here for refuge, and their brothers—that is, the town proprietors—are encouraging them all they can. The proprietors of our town gave them one hundred town lots. Every influence is held out to them. All the first settlers are going to leave, and I am put to my studies what to do. I had just as soon live with the Indians or negroes at once; but not because I have any inclination to move back to Indiana; no, not for the best farm there." * * *

"This is the emanation of an ingenious and truthful mind and heart. Such testimony, in any Court of Justice, or before the tribunal of public opinion, would outweigh and contradict the assertion of a thousand such corrupt schemers and heartless speculators as Reeder and Lane.

Mohit Daily Tribune.

SUNDAY MORNING, AUG. 31, 1856.
The Kansas News.

To publish all the Kansas news which is now beginning to come to us were to exclude every thing else from our columns. We shall, therefore, be obliged to make such selections as will serve to interest our people.

It is a little singular, however, that it is necessary to goad the public into zeal and alacrity on this subject. But custom, we suppose, breeds indifference; and to this alone we attribute the apathetic temper which prevails almost every where within the south. A year ago the outrages now of daily occurrence within the territory would have set our people in a blaze, and been the means of precipitating on that troublesome region thousands of brave and earnest men.

Look now how the men of the south within the territory are beseeching us for aid—and how slow the response is!

There is, we well know, a general repugnance to this border violence. Thousands of good men are so averse to it that they pass by the necessities of it. None of us would not have preferred to see a pacific solution of the problem; but we must deal with things as they are—not make a sentimental rule and act under it. The south must be more earnest, or Kansas will be freesoil; and that, in its naked results, is of little importance compared with the vast consequences associated with it. The prestige of freesoilism is to be settled within Kansas. If it succeed there nothing will be left for us but submission or diunion; and the apathy in the one case will be a pretty fair test of our capacity to assume the alternative.

Here we are wasting our energies and attention on the presidential election, whilst there is now upon us a necessity which is infinitely superior to it in all respects. We hold meetings in order to stimulate and exhaust partizan zeal, when, as every thoughtful man knows, the solution is in the least dependent on it. To elect the best man to the presidency is only to defer the trouble, and by delay it will gather strength and finally come with additional power. In Kansas there is a great substantial fact. That is the place wherein the freesoilers are seeking success for Fremont; and if they succeed in crushing all opposition there it will amaze no one if they carry the government and concentrate the power to use it as they please.

And this result is natural, for the reason that it is supposed at the north that the car-

nestness of the south is to be tested within Kansas. It sees that that territory is important to us, and that if we make no effort to acquire it, the only actual battle between the two sections will have been gained by them; and no other battle, they also see, can possibly occur, except within the halls of Congress, where, by the progress they have made within a few years, they have every reason to hope presently for a clear and decisive, and what they will consider a pacific, victory.—The destiny of Kansas—which is to be settled within a few weeks—is the destiny of the south; and the agitators at the north know it, and are acting under the knowledge. If the south lose Kansas, all will be lost.—They know that, and we know it, and our people ought to have known it long ago.—Nothing, with this loss, will be left to us, except submission or disunion. And from either every true American shrinks with sadness. But it is not a matter of choice, but of necessity. We have to select the one or the other. The only possible hope, otherwise, is that there will be a revulsion among those who are misled by the miserable demagogues that are now controlling the political opinions of the north; and on this we see very little reason for reliance.

We publish, however, what news from the territory we can find room for—omitting most of the accounts of outrages, and only selecting parts of the appeals which are made to us.

Affairs in Kansas.

(From the St. Louis Republican, Aug. 31.)
Extract from a letter from a most respectable source, to a gentleman in this city, dated

WEXFORD, Mo., Aug. 29, 1856.
I have been at Leavenworth City for the last few days, and am here on my way home. I have just time to drop you a line.

There is no doubt that Lane, at the head of two thousand armed outlaws, is making war—open war—on the pro-slavery party, south of Kansas river. I cannot go into detail. Suffice it to say that they are driving off all who are opposed to them, destroying houses and farms, killing some, and taking others prisoners to the army of the North, as they style it.

Some of the reports you hear are not true. Thus, it is not true that Leocompton is burnt, though Col. Titus's residence was destroyed by cannon, only half a mile from that place, and this gave rise to the report. The burning of that place, or some men leaving the vicinity at the time for other localities more agreeable.

Lane is said to be bold and defiant, and to proclaim that he is making war against the pro-slavery party—a war that he intends to keep up until the last man of that party is killed or driven off.

The people of this county, and of the adjoining counties, are all alive to the danger that besets their friends and relatives, and in the course of the next five days at least three thousand men, I think, will cross the river to stop the career of Lane, or fail in the attempt. The excitement in the country is great, and increasing. War is begun—not by us or our people in Kansas—but by the North. What the result may be, God only can foresee. I fear that the end will be a general war all over the Union, for that issue the North seem resolved to force upon us.

It was wrong for the President to permit Lane, openly and under full notice, to invade Kansas, as he has done. The United States troops, at least, could have checked his advance, and driven him out, but no attempt to do so was made; while Missourians were threatened with government aid if they dared to cross with arms into Kansas. This has outraged the people of the frontier, and they will take part for their own safety and hazards. The conduct of Mr. Pierce in this matter is most astonishing. He has thus, by neglect of duty or design to favor the fanatics of the North, brought civil war into the land—a war that will destroy the Union. I have no doubt.

In ten days from this time a fight—perhaps many of them—will have taken place, and our whole country thrown into a wild haze of war.

The crisis is at hand, be assured. Let every man who loves his country prepare to do his duty, to meet the invader and drive him back, or yield ourselves a prey to fanaticism, while history will publish us as a people too base to raise a hand in self-defense. You may rely on it, my dear sir, we have now open war.

We should like to have the benefit of your advice and assistance. Could you come up to St. Joseph and see us, for Heaven's sake, you would be at a crisis, a sad one, but we must meet it like men. I go home to see what our people are doing there.

General Smith has not felt himself called on to stop Lane's career, by his instructions. How is this? Is he only to notice our people, and to let the abolitionists pass untouched? He ought to have been ordered to exterminate such a band of outlaws. The President has known for weeks that the forces of Lane were entering the Territory, and not an effort has been made to keep him out.

WEXFORD, Aug. 25, 1856.

After the Congressional Committee had peace-pledged throughout the Territory, and many indulged the hope that there would be no more disturbance in the country. But it is evident that quietness in the Territory does not suit the black republicans of the East. Hence the sending of Lane and his gang of housebreakers to destroy the property of the pro-slavery party.

For the last eight weeks there has been a regular system of horse stealing going on, and nearly every horse belonging to the pro-slavery men, between the Kansas and Osage rivers, has been stolen, and the abolitionists now boast that they have stolen over eight hundred from the pro-slavery men of the border counties of Missouri and Kansas.

As soon as it was certain that Lane and his men would make their way into the Territory, Brown and Walker commenced their depredations. They robbed a pro-slavery man's store near Fort Springs, and ordered a severe man's store near Fort Leavenworth, among them a

Mr. Davis, who had washed Topok, they returned, and told Davis that they would not give him ten dollars for his claims, but he must leave the county in a few days or he and his family would be murdered. He and his family did leave in a hurry, and leaving his stock and crop to be destroyed by the Northern army. My information was derived from Davis himself. He has been in the Territory some twelve or eighteen months, and had expended on his claim near one thousand dollars in actual cash.

A few weeks since a young man, by the name of Williams was shot while he was at work in a field near his cabin by some one concealed in the bushes; his recovery is doubtful. His body was pierced with five or six buckshot. He has been in the Territory for more than twelve months. His crime was that he preferred the pro-slavery party to abolitionism.

A gentleman by the name of Cross had settled a claim near Ottawa Creek. He built a good hewed log house and opened a store; he was from Georgia, but had taken no part in the quarrels of the country. His goods were all taken and his house burnt, and he ordered to leave the Territory. His loss must be several thousand dollars. This was done by Brown and Walker's men. They then went to the new Georgia colony, this colony consisted of near two hundred persons, men, women, children and negroes; they were actual settlers, they were unmarried, they were driven out of their cabins and tents, exposed to the rains, to make their way the best they could to Missouri. They were robbed of their clothing, even the children's clothing was taken; their farming utensils and cabins were burnt.

The next we hear of them, Walker and Brown had united with Lane's party and made an attack on Colonel Treadwell and his party, and drove them from the Territory. From Treadwell they went to Colonel Titus's near Leocompton; here they met with resistance from Colonel Titus and some men that were with him in his cabin. The Colonel was compelled to yield to a superior force, as they had commenced to batter his cabin down with cannon. Colonel Titus was badly wounded by a grape shot. The other men were badly wounded by Colonel Titus was robbed of everything that they could carry away, including \$1,400 in money. Col. Titus and his men were exchanged for six persons taken at Franklin, and a piece of ordinance taken at Lawrence. Previous to this attack on Treadwell a party from Lawrence made an attack on the town of Franklin in the night. They were resisted by a few men that were at Mr. Cram's, the postmaster of this place. They continued to fire at the house for some time, which was returned by the inmates with effect, as several of the abolitionists are said to have been killed. The abolitionists finally determined to fire the house. This was done by loading a wagon with hay and backing it up to the house. This caused the inmates to leave the building; the wagon was then withdrawn, and the post office, store and house was robbed of everything. Mr. Cram and his family were run out of the Territory.

It is said that they have concentrated their forces at Lawrence, where they were fortifying the place. They say no pro-slavery men shall remain in the Territory. More than one thousand pro-slavery men have been driven from the Territory since last April. One hundred counties are crowded with men, women and children, who have and to leave their homes, their all, or fall beneath the revolver or Sharpe's rifle of the midnight assassin. Who can forget the massacres of Doyle, of Wilkinson, of Sherman, last spring, at Ossawatimie? The very men who committed these outrages are at this time running at large. How long are these things to be borne with?

The Missourians are denounced for invading Kansas. What father or brother would stand by and see his sons' or his brothers' homes burnt, his property destroyed, his blood shed and his family driven off. It should be remembered that almost every family in the border counties of Missouri have some connections settled in Kansas. If Missourians go there, it is to defend the rights of their children. A large force is now gathering of those who have been driven from the Territory, and their friends; and if the United States troops will let them alone they will soon fire on the Territory of such midnight assassins as Brown, Walker, Lane and their followers.

J. BERNARD.

INDEPENDENCE, Aug. 27, 1856.

This morning's news from the Territory can be implicitly relied upon. The acting Governor, at a concert on yesterday issued his proclamation, declaring the Territory in a state of insurrection, calling upon all law-abiding citizens to come to the aid of the legal authorities, and endeavor to preserve the peace—to protect property and person from injury, and secure the innocent and unoffending in the rights guaranteed to them by the constitution. He will ask aid of Colonel Coffey and General Smith; but it is understood they have no orders to give assistance, and that the militia of the country must stand by the main body themselves. Lane is at Independence now, with about 800 to 1,000 men, fortifying the place preparatory to an attack. A few men are also at the crossing of the Wakarusa, making like preparations. Brown, with 300 men, is at Sugar Grove, near Ossawatimie, not committing any further outrages just now, but awaiting to see what the Governor intends to do. He was doubtless surprised and attacked last night, or will be to day.

Lane has three companies stationed at three different points on the Iowa line, for the purpose of receiving supplies or making a way of escape in case he is compelled to flee. About 1,500 men will move to the aid of the Governor from the border of the Territory west of us and the county of Franklin; about 800 from Atchison and Leavenworth city, and try to secure, and if they fail, the leaders of the whole insurrectionary movement, and disperse their duped followers. It is the purpose of the leaders of the Governor's forces to protect life as much as possible, but the noted ones of the abolitionists will not fare well. Richardson has gone, with his part of the forces, to the Iowa line, to secure the parties left at different points there. Atchison, aided by Don Phay and Reed, control the other side of the river, and a few days you will hear what has become of Lane.

As I said in my other letter, this summer 500 United States troops could have obtained the necessity of all this, but we will require many more. It is a direful necessity that compels any one to move against those of his own blood, but when such men as Lane, Brown and others will become so infuriated as to violate all the laws that will become so imperative on all lovers of good order to protect their further progress. Could or would the New Englanders or Northern States men see things in the right light, and know as much as we know here about the incendiary movements of the men they send hither, no objection could be made to any course taken to put them down.

BY JOSIAH QUINCY.

HON. JOHN Z. GOODRICH :

Sir—In your letter of the 25th instant, you request: "my views and impressions of the letter of the Hon. Rufus Choate, which he addressed to the Whig State Central Committee of Maine, with the liberty of laying them before the public." I comply with your request, from the same irresistible sense of duty, which has drawn me, in the present exigency of our country, after more than thirty years' retirement from parties and politics, again into the contests of public life.

Of Mr. Choate I have no reason, or feeling, to speak otherwise than with respect. But he has thrown himself into the public arena, in defence, and for the upholding the slaveholders' dynasty, and his work must be examined according to its nature and truth. It is no time to bandy compliments, when the Union of these States is in danger, or "to play with mammoths, when cracked crowns" are in the field. The first impression made upon my mind, on reading this letter of Mr. Choate, is, that it is the work of an intellect affected by professional habits. It is a common subject of remark, that a long and active practice at the bar has a tendency to make oblique the intellectual vision, and to blunt the delicacy of the moral sense. I have heard this acknowledged and regretted by gentlemen of the bar themselves. The habit of looking at every question, not merely to discern what is in it of truth, but to see what can be made out of it, for a particular purpose, unavoidably gives to the intellectual eye a squint, which, in those distinguished for success in desperate cases, inevitably becomes fixed. To a mind thus habituated no question appears in its natural state, but always awry and one-sided. Both moral and intellectual investigations become, not a search after truth, but a trial of skill.

Considering also the nature and avowed awful consequences of the subject discussed, and the tenor of Mr. Choate's letter, it is obvious that he relies for success and influence, not so much on his statements and argument, as on his foregone reputation; as if there was a hidden and mysterious power in what he should utter, making exactness unnecessary, either in statement or in logical illustration. The whole has the aspect of a race between Prose and Poetry, striving for the palm of Fiction; by mixing together fancy and fact, metaphor and suggestion, assuming a little and asserting a great deal; as if, by the common arts of throwing dust into the eyes of a jury, those of a whole people might be misled.

The truth of these general animadversions I shall endeavor to support by analysis and comment.

According to the plan and avowed bearing of Mr. Choate's letter, "The Union is in danger, a geographical party is formed, and bent upon changes which must result in its destruction." Can there be any subject more grave, or in its consequences more solemn? Might it not have been expected that Hercules, coming into the field to crush such serpentine adversaries, would have brought with him only his club, and would have borrowed nothing from Omphale's distaff? Let any man look candidly at this letter of Mr. Choate, and judge for himself, whether his fancy does not predominate over fact, assumption over direct statement; unsupported suggestions made, where logical deductions might have been expected. One might as well attempt to analyze the contents of Milton's Chaos, before Satan took his flight through it, as such a mass of words.

The whole letter of Mr. Choate is founded on an assumption, which has no basis in truth. "A great crisis," cries Mr. Choate, "exists in the political affairs of our country. There is a new Geographical party formed, which must be defeated and dissolved." And then, as if what he had stated was true as the gospel, and could not possibly be controverted by any human being, he flies off, exclaiming—"ambition," "fanaticism," "violence," "the wild waters are in uproar," "the times are mad," "the very ecstasy of madness," and after declaring that "an unconsecrated Revolutionary banner is unfurled, out of which fifteen stars have fallen,"—proceeds to introduce "a national Anthem to the sites of Bataw Springs, King's Mountain, Yorktown, New Orleans, Buena Vista and Chapultepec,"—finishing this mortal tramp with—as it might be expected he would—"breathe no more."

Now, in truth, the only question, at this time, in the political field, is between slaveholders, and free-men who are not slaveholders. A free citizen, who is not a slaveholder, nor a tool of slaveholders, is set up as a candidate for the Presidency, in opposition to a man who has been selected by slaveholders, avowedly because he is devoted to their projects, and has unequivocally manifested himself, both by language and acts, their most obsequious tool. The assertion and doctrine of Mr. Choate is, that, inas-much as slaveholders exist only in one quarter of

the Union, the party opposing them and their projects are Geographical. How? Do slaveholders include all the inhabitants of the slave States? Is it not notorious and demonstrable that there are not, substantially more than one hundred thousand slaveholders, in all of them? Is it not undeniable that these owners of slaves form an oligarchy, which not only hold in bondage three millions of negroes, but also oppresses with an iron sceptre three or four millions, at least, of white freemen, living within those States, who are degraded, at least most of them, by this cruel slave power, to a state, in some respects lower than that of the negro? SLAVEHOLDERS ARE A CLASS, AND NOT A GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION. If slaveholders constitute a Geographical party, because they only exist in one quarter of the Union, the manufacturers at Lowell, for the same reason, also form a Geographical party. Like them, slaveholders, make hold, and sell articles for enjoyment and livelihood. At Lowell they raise the warp, feed the wool, and sell cotton cloth, when it is of full length. In Carolina and other slave States, they raise, feed, and sell black men and women, when they are of full growth, and sometimes babies. Both are engaged in trade, both are anxious to enlarge the field of their traffic, and multiply their customers. The manufacturers at Lowell, according to their nature, wisely, gently, kindly strive to extend the local sphere of their profit. The slaveholders, in Carolina and the other slave States, strive to do the same thing, according to their nature, by threat, violence and bloodshed. They have, by corruption, cunning and intrigue, chiefly held for more than fifty years, political ascendancy in this Union. The manufacturers at Lowell, having by wisdom and skill acquired great wealth, and used it with an unsurpassed judicious liberty, have obtained an honorable influence, and have also, in their vicinity, acquired political ascendancy. Both are equally, or neither are, Geographical.

Mr. Choate next proceeds to make a declaration of faith;—setting forth his creed in a style to which nothing can do justice, but his own language. He believes that, "it is only united America, which can peacefully, gradually, safely, improve, lift up, and bless, with all social, and personal, and civil blessings, all the races, all the conditions, which compose our vast and various family." Now this declaration of faith, as far as I understand it, is my own; as I believe it is of nine-tenths, at least, of that party, which he denounces as "Geographical," though no one of them, probably, could express it so happily.

Mr. Choate having thus got the whole field to himself, in order to "arm and guard our flag, develop our resources, extend our trade, and fill the measure of our glory," proceeds substantially to declare that no man on earth can do all these wonders, but James Buchanan. After this he goes on to describe what "a noble ship" the Union is, intimates the value of her cargo, declares she is "within half-cable's length of a lee rock, and that our first business is to put her about and crowd off into the deep, open sea." All this is very good, graphic, and very true. But the first and natural enquiry of the people of the free States will be—how this noble ship got into this perilous state; and the next will probably be—whether the men whose incompetency, or iniquity, has placed her in such an awful predicament, are the men to be chosen "to put her about and pilot her into the open sea;"—or whether every man of them shall not be sent into the fore-castle and never again permitted to show their heads upon the quarter-deck. (Mr. Choate next proceeds to be very particular for the noble ship's safety, and is especially anxious "for the stowage of her lower tier of powder." All which is very wise and very prudent. But, before assisting in its stowage, the people of the free States may be disposed to inquire,

what use is to be made of this powder, in case the men, now governing the ship, should be continued in command. Whether it is to be applied to the farther extension of slavery, blowing up the free institutions in Kansas, and massacring her free inhabitants. All this I think the people of the free States will ask, before they assist Mr. Choate in stowing away his gunpowder. What remains of this letter, although there are in it some things very affecting and very exciting; about "unreasoning and impatient philanthropy," "turning into hats fraternal blood, and quenching at its source the spirit of national life," yet being nothing more than the workings of an active fancy on a supposititious existence called a "Geographical party," I pass over without comment; since I think I have shown satisfactorily that the existence of such a party is an assumption,—a fallacy, without any foundation in truth. If it be true, that slaveholders are a geographical party in this Union, and that no man is to be elected President of it, who is not selected by and satisfactory to them, there is, henceforth, and end to the power of the Free States. The fact and consequence are both permanent, now and forever. No

doctrine can more entirely deliver freedom, body and soul, hand and foot, into the hands of slavery.

But, says Mr. Choate, "if the government is given to the North, I turn my eyes from the consequences; fifteen States will become alien to the Union." In this terrifying annunciation, Mr. Choate only follows, and repeats, in effect, the language of Brooks, the bludgeon-bearer of the slave States, who exclaims, as the newspapers tell us, "If Fremont is chosen, fifteen States will go out of the Union." This long practised threat, designed to excite into action the timidity of the free States, is uttered in coincidence with the avowed and often expressed opinion of members of the slave States, and their tools. According to the slave-holder's belief, *gain is the wort of the heart of the free States*, and whatever excites fear in the muscles of its ventricles, will never fail to create externally an action favorable to their power. This going out of the Union, however, will be found easier to bluster about than accomplish. The slaveholders well know their own internal weakness; and have their own specific fears, which although the inherent arrogance of South Carolina might lead her to undertake (his "going out," the apprehensions of most, if not all the other slave States, would prevent them from following. It is a disgrace to the free States, that their timidity is the main pillar of the strength of the slaveholders, even in the States themselves. Whenever a slave State shall withdraw from this Union, it will present to the white inhabitants of that State, who are not slaveholders, and are in fact a majority, the awful spectacle of the arm of the Union withdrawn from their protection against the slaves of their oppressor, who like the Frogs of Egypt, are "in their houses, their bed-chambers, on their beds, in their yens and their kneading troughs." The danger of slave insurrection, combined with their natural, herent hatred of the slaveholders, resulting from their insolence and oppression, would soon effect a revolution, which would not only bring the State ack into the Union, but reduce the slaveholders here they ought to be, into a state of political quality with the other white inhabitants of the slave States.

The belief of the slaveholders, that the root of their own power over the Union lies in the money *heists* of the free States, is the source of that perpetual threat of going out of the Union, which on every occasion they utter. The condition of the free States is very much the same, in this respect, with that of Rome, eighteen hundred years ago, in which Cicero says, concerning their prosperous citizens, that they cared but little who governed the republic, provided they enjoyed in safety their fishponds. The natural alliance which commenced about thirty years ago, and has been strengthening ever since, between the cotton-growers of the South and the cotton-spinners of the North, is one of the main reliances of these slaveholders. They persuade themselves that the mutual interest that resulting, establishes a sort of colonial dependence, on which they can rely for aid, in every critical exigency of their power. This, however, they know cannot be extended only according to circumstances. They acquiesce, therefore, in the abandonment of Mr. Buchanan by the cotton spinners, because they know that his course has been such as to disgust the general moral sense of the Northern States. They are content with the selection of Mr. Fillmore, because it will tend to draw away votes from Col. Fremont; this being quite as servicable to their purposes, as if all the votes were thrown for Buchanan. This opinion of the slaveholders may be altogether imaginary. It shows, however, how well they judge concerning the effects of the policy, notwithstanding they may widely err concerning the motives which led to its adoption.

I have thus, according to your request, given some of my views and impressions, concerning this extraordinary letter of Mr. Choate. It suggests many other topics, on which I would willingly animadvert, but I have already done enough to show my respect for your wishes, and perhaps as much as the occasion requires.

I am, sir, respectfully, yours, &c.,
JOSIAH QUINCY.

Quincy, August 30, 1856.

eloquent lips of Mr. Choate. Has he lost the fervor and patriotism of his early compeers, John Adams, James Otis, and Fisher Ames? So would seem, for they are words which would it

AMERICAN AFFAIRS.—The dream of every good American is aggrandizement and conquest. But some disdain to take into account the governments of Europe, whilst others more politic comprehend better the necessity of keeping or good terms with European powers. This is the coloring which distinguishes the Republicans from the Democrats. * * * * * But who should contribute to calm all political effervescence, and to adjourn ambitious dreams, is the spectacle of disorders and political violence which is displayed at various points of the confederation. The civil war in Kansas, the attack on Mr. Sumner, the scandalous approbation obtained by that attack in the South, the duels, triangular or otherwise, which take place in full daylight, with impunity, in the streets of populous and peaceful towns, and which have all the character of assassinations, the savage acts witnessed at elections, the troubles of California, where good citizens are obliged to arm themselves, and withdraw murderers from the indulgence of local authorities; all these circumstances prove that the first care of the United States Government should be to work a softening of manners and to re-establish legal order. Europe—especially Western Europe—like the Americans, admires their commercial genius, and is indulgent towards their youthful freaks. But a sentiment of suspicion may be engendered if the excesses and disorders remain forever without suppression, and if in place of the prudent, conciliatory, and moderate policy of the founders of their independence, a policy of agitation at home and aggression abroad should be installed. All good citizens, all wise men and enlightened politicians, who are numerous in the United States, are alive to this danger. Let us trust that they will not spare their efforts to avoid it.—*Paris Constitutional.*

CORRECTION.—We hasten to publish the following dispatch, which comes to us without signature, but the style of which none who are familiar with the life and public services of the venerable Senator from Michigan can question:—

Please take an early opportunity to correct an almost unaccountable mistake. What possible motive could I have now, when the days of the Republic are numbered and the sands in the glass of my life are fast running out, of harboring in my most secret thoughts, much less of expressing here in my place in the Senate, an independent opinion?—Did I not take back an unguarded expression in favor of the Wilmot proviso and write the Nicholson letter? Did I not write a speech against Mr. Douglas's Nebraska bill, and deliver one in its favor? And now, the success of the Democratic party and my own reflection in imminent peril, and the life of the Republic dependent upon the success of my party and myself, this story of my having uttered one timid word for freedom and truth has been flashed over the land; and you—even you—who have generally shown a pretty correct appreciation of my character—seem partially to have believed it; that anything falling from the sectional lips of Wade should have been attributed to me—verily the Union is gone and I am going.

This message may never reach across the chasm which now divides the two sections of our beloved land, but if it does, please let the people of New England know that I am not yet—not quite yet—babbling of the green fields and the free thoughts of my childhood. I am yet faithful to the masters whom I have served so long, and who have paid me pretty well, although Mr. Van Buren sadly interfered with our trades.

CAPITAL.—We take the following from the Boston Post:

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

Nothing could better illustrate the complete heartlessness of the BUCHANAN Congressional schemes for the "pacification of Kansas," than the fact that, in the Senate Mr. WILSON'S resolution for the release of Free State prisoners was voted down by the democrats—and Mr. PURVIANCE'S amendment in the House, for the same purpose, was killed by the combined slaveholders, BUCHANAN men and FILLMORE KNOW Nothings.

A WARM WELCOME.—The Kansas Squatter Sovereign speaking of Shannon's removal, and Geary's appointment, says: "We attach little importance to the change, as we are still to be cursed with a Northern man."

READ, and tell us what you now think about the attempt to force Slavery upon Kansas:

BIND THEM WELL.—"The South Carolina Joint-Stock Pro-Slavery Emigration Aid Company" requires this pledge of its emigrants:—"We agree to go to Kansas Territory and locate there until it be declared whether it shall be a Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery State, and we further agree to support, when there, the Pro-Slavery Party."—*Carolinian.*

THE FIRST BELL IN KANSAS.—The bell for the Unitarian church, in Lawrence, Kansas, which was sent from Boston, Mass., arrived at its destination, on the 8th inst. It was immediately placed on blocks, and the first peal of the church-going bell awoke the echoes on the plains of Kansas.

DUTY OF THE WHIGS IN THE
PRESENT CRISIS.—A REPLY TO
THE LETTER OF THE HON. RU-
FUS CHOATE.

MR. EDITOR:—It is proposed briefly to review the position taken by the Hon. Rufus Choate, in his letter to the Whig Convention of Waterville, Maine, to see whether it is the duty of the old Whig party to come with him to the conclusion, "under these circumstances, to vote for Mr. Buchanan," or whether they can, having at heart the good of the country, come to a different conclusion. We agree with Mr. Choate that the Whig party has done much good service in the government of this country, it has contained a galaxy of names (some alas have gone to their rest) while others still remain, who have had commanding influence, even when out of power, in keeping the Ship of State from wafting upon those dreadful rock-reefs to which we are now exposed, and from which Mr. Choate seems so anxious, apparently, to escape and retain the safety of the ship, and the preservation and prosperity of all on board. In all cases of imminent danger, whether political or otherwise, there are two important points which should be correctly considered, viz: The cause of the difficulty in which we find ourselves placed, and the remedy, or means by which we can be extricated from that difficulty. The first depends upon correctly viewing the past, and the verdict is made up from historical facts, more or less remote. The second we must decide upon moral probability, anticipating what the event will be. It is not as difficult to come to a correct conclusion in regard to the cause of a difficulty, as it is to form a correct judgment as to the most effectual remedy,—hence there is a general agreement as to the cause of our present political troubles—while conscientious men may differ regarding the most effectual means of relief. Again, we agree with Mr. Choate, that there is no effectual middle ground, Mr. Fillmore being out of the question, but instead of voting with him for Mr. Buchanan, we come to the conclusion to vote for Col. Fremont. The issue we take to be this, shall slavery be extended into free Territory? The Republicans answer, no.

This was the doctrine of the early statesmen, of Washington, of Jefferson, of Pinckney, of Patrick Henry, and of John Randolph, slaveholders as they were, they believed in the rights of man, and that the Declaration of Independence was not merely "a passionate and eloquent manifesto of the Revolutionary war." They believed in the gradual extinction of slavery by the "inauguration of freedom," and the general progress and prosperity of our whole country. Our late distinguished statesmen, Webster, Clay, J. Q. Adams, and Silas Wright, have left no record in favor of extending slavery into free Territory; and had they been in our Senate the last three years, we believe their united voices would have been raised, and their votes recorded against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the acknowledged cause of our present trouble—and that they would have been foremost in opposition to the present policy of the government. The first part of Mr. Choate's letter is occupied in the assertion, without a particle of proof, that the success of the Republican party will cause the South to revolt, and that there consequently will be a dissolution of the Union. This is a mere dream of the imagination, a vagary of a wild fancy. In the first place, if Col. Fremont should be elected, the South would quietly acquiesce in it, and even if they should not, any revolt would be easily checked. These threats of a dissolution of the Union are becoming stale bugbears, and have already lost their influence upon any but a few nervous or over-sensitive individuals.

Pending the election of Speaker of the present House of Representatives, it was positively as-

serted, during the continued struggle of weeks, that if the North was successful, the Southern members would withdraw and retire from the Capitol; and yet the Republican phalanx, true to duty and to freedom, accomplished their object. Mr. Banks was elected, but the Union did not slide an inch; and not only so, but the leading Southern disunionists immediately begged the privilege and the honor of conducting the Northern Republican Speaker to the Chair. So it will be in case of the election of Col. Fremont. The first ceremony will be the beseeching of the President for the honor of a seat in the Cabinet, or a lucrative office, notwithstanding the prediction of Mr. Choate that "they cannot accept it, without infamy at home."

Mr. Choate next introduces a striking simile. He says: "Believing the noble ship of State to be within a half cable's length of a lee shore of rocks in a gale of wind, our first business is to put her about and crowd her off into the deep open sea. That done, we can regulate the stowage of her lower tier of powder, and select her cruising ground, and bring her officers to court-martial at our leisure."

In this paragraph we have Mr. Choate's view of the present political condition of the country, with the remedy annexed. The ship of State is in bad condition, just ready to be dashed upon the breakers, and every thing going to destruction.

He puts out again into "the deep open sea," till he can court-martial and dispose of Capt. Pierce, and inaugurate Capt. Buchanan in his place. But the new commander is furnished with the same chart and compass, the same ship and crew, and as like causes produce like effects, where is there any evidence that there will be any more skilful management than before. Is there not a moral certainty that another gale will waft them upon the "lee shore of rocks?" We believe a new chart and compass to be absolutely necessary to bring the ship of State safe to shore, or both passengers and crew will desert the ship in future. The next part of the letter is an eloquent eulogium upon the blessings of our national greatness, provided the Union is preserved; the blessings which will flow to the latest posterity, and referring to a long list of worthy names who have cautioned us against sectional parties and local organizations, all very good and much in the strain of an old-fashioned Fourth of July oration. But he has probably not attended many meetings of the Republican Clubs, or studied closely that party's platform of principles, or he would have witnessed their zeal for Union, as well as for Freedom. Union is the watchword of the party, and upon their banners the inscription, "Union and Freedom, now and forever, one and inseparable."

Mr. Choate continues his argument, to make it appear that there is real danger, although he admits that there ought to be none. He also speaks disparaging of any endeavor to form a good government, believing that the mass of mankind do not seek their true interest, being governed by passion, selfishness, pride, &c. He says, "Do you assume that all men, or all masses of men, in all sections, uniformly obey reason, and

create a feeling compounded of revolutionary idealism and Southern nullification. A heart actuated by motives akin to that of Cataline, conspiring against the liberties of the Republic, or Cass exulting in the portentous calamities, in the darkest days of the Roman Commonwealth. He says—"If it accomplishes its object, and gives the Government to the North, I turn my eyes from the consequences. To the fifteen States of the South the government will appear an alien government. It will appear worse. It will appear a hostile government. It will represent, to the eye, a vast region of States, organized upon anti slavery, flushed by triumph, cheered onward, by the voices of the pulpit, tribune, and press, its mission to inaugurate freedom, and put down the oligarchy; its Constitution, the glittering and sounding generalities of natural right, which make up the Declaration of Independence."

"I turn my eyes from the consequences." His system has become so sensitive, that he cannot bear the concussion attendant upon the "inauguration of freedom," and that, too, in a government of eighty years standing, founded upon the declaration, that "all men are born free and equal, and endowed with the inalienable rights, of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It appears, then, that we have come to this, to raise the question, whether it is judicious and safe, even admitting the necessity for it exists, to re-assert the declaration of Independence, and the rights of man. Well, if so, the Whigs of '56 will take the same ground as did the Whigs of '76, and in the language of revolutionary times, "sink or swim, live or die," with the declaration of these principles. But this new government of the Republicans not only "inaugurates freedom," but it "puts down the oligarchy," that is to say, it will not allow the 340,000 slaveholders of the South to control the 25,000,000 of freemen of the whole country—to enjoy most of the offices of honor and emolument, to control the army and the navy, to influence the Supreme Court, from rendering such decisions as will carry slavery into the Territories, and even into the free States, and consequently nullify the prediction of Mr. Toombs, that he will call the roll of his slaves under the shadow of the monument on Bunker Hill. This, then, is the sentiment of Rufus Choate, is it the sentiment of the Whigs of Maine, or of Massachusetts, never; these are no more Whig sentiments now than in the days of the Revolution. They were the sentiments of Tories then, as they are of Tories now. Mr. C. continues, "to the fifteen Southern States it will appear a foreign government, it will appear more, it will appear a hostile government." Does Mr. C. believe that it will actually be a government, foreign or hostile to the real welfare of the South more than the North? He cannot for a moment entertain any such idea, but that it will be again restored to its pristine purity; and as in the early days of the Republic will be administered with "equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political." He says again:—"If a necessity could be made out for such a party we might submit to it. But where does the necessity exist, to keep slavery out of the Territories? There is but one, Kansas, in which slavery is possible. No man fears, no man hopes for it in Utah, New Mexico, Washington or Minnesota." He then advises a cooling regimen for Kansas, and all will be quiet.

If so, why, we ask, has "the Democratic party, already, by the action of its representative convention, resolved to put out of office its own administration?" The object of the party tactics in the administration is evidently not to give freedom to Kansas, but to quiet the rising indignation of the people by the ruse of the promise of a better government, while in reality, in the event of Mr. Buchanan's election, the same reckless and aggressive policy is to be pursued, and quiet in Kansas

ender to the minions of the slave power. Nothing but Kansas!

If slavery is desirable to the South, in the shade on Bunker Hill, in the cold, sterile soil of Massachusetts, why not on the fertile plains of Washington and Minnesota? If Kansas were the ultimatum, then restoration of peace and quiet there and the establishing of freedom would be very well. But what is to be done with the Territory farther South and West? Mr. Choate seems not to recognize a vast range of Territory lying due West of Kansas, and stretching even to the Rocky Mountains, extensive enough for an Empire, with a soil the most fertile and productive, with genial sun and healthful climate, well suited to the cultivation of the varied products, the warmer climes; a Territory sufficient for 10 or 12 States of the largest class. Is it nothing that this whole region shall be devoted to liberty? Whether the millions of its future inhabitants shall enjoy the prosperity of free States, or be forever cursed with the blighting influence of slavery? Again, we shall unquestionably be in the acquisition of new Territory from Mexico, Central America or Cuba itself, where the question of slavery will be ever open, distracting the councils of the country, unless we can forever settle the question upon the basis of no more slave Territory. We believe the policy of the present administration will tend to a dissolution of the Union. This may not be the immediate object of their leaders, the South at present may not have sufficient power to carry out this measure with safety, nor sufficient Territory to maintain it; but with the new acquisitions which they hope to make, the case may be different and a Southern oligarchy in reality may be established. The election of Mr. Buchanan or even Mr. Fillmore will not mend the matter, so long as they wink at the slavery question. The only effectual remedy is the election of Colonel Fremont, and the administration of the government upon the principles laid down by the Republican party.

"Rally men of the age to the contest before us,
As the North and the South hear the word of command;
Let the banner of Fremont and Freedom float o'er us,
And now and forever, the Union shall stand."

WHIG.

August 26th, 1856.

A PETITION, headed by Judge Fletcher, is receiving signatures at the Merchants' Exchange, requesting the Governor to call immediately an extra session of the General Court, to take into consideration the condition of Kansas and take measures to protect the lives and property of the sons and daughters of Massachusetts who have emigrated to that colony. This is none too early. The measures should have been taken the moment it appeared that the Federal Executive recognized the authority of the Legislature elected by the votes of the Missouri invaders. Since Congress has granted the President the use of the army to enforce the Bogus laws, Massachusetts has no excuse for not taking measures to protect against such infernal tyranny those who have gone out from her and are bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh.

Kansas Exaggerations.

By the Columbia Statesman, dated August 29th, we have news from Kansas Territory from which we learn that the late wars and rumors of wars heretofore published, were all extravagantly colored, and in many instances were most violent misrepresentations of the truth. The following confirms the accounts which have appeared in our paper:

For instance, says the Statesman, Lecompton has not been taken, nor even attacked; the State prisoners, Robison, Brown and others, have not been rescued, but are all in safe custody; the U. S. troops have not been whipped; on the contrary they have not even been in a fight; instead of most of Colonel Treadwell's men having fallen, not one of them was even taken prisoner—all of them, escaping without injury to their persons. Not a single pro-slavery man was either killed or taken prisoner at Franklin. Col. Titus was not killed; his wounds, though serious, are not mortal, and he is in a fair way to recover. He and nineteen of his men were taken prisoners, but have since been exchanged for a number of prisoners held by the pro-slavery party.

It is not true that the town of Franklin is in ashes. But one house in it has been burned.

Capt. Moor's company, all well mounted and equipped, started from Westport for the seat of war on Saturday last. It is said four companies of U. S. troops are at Lecompton, to protect it against attack. Capt. Bill Martin, an old Texas ranger, with his six hundred "Kicapoo Rangers," had also arrived at Lecompton.

The report that an attack was made, on Friday night last, on Leavenworth City, and that several persons were killed, cannon captured, &c.; we suppose to be untrue—for the Herald of that place, dated the next day, says nothing about it.

THE INTELLIGENCER.

SAINT LOUIS.

MONDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 1, 1856.

The Kansas Excitement.

The Lexington Citizen, of Wednesday, has the following:

Our information from Kansas since Sunday evening has amounted to but very little. We hear the Abolition force variously estimated at from 800 to 2,500. Those best acquainted with things in the Territory say 1,200.

There are, from all we can learn, now in the Territory, and on their way to it, about 2,500 men. Up to this time, about 450 or 500 have gone from this county and through it on their way.

The companies from this side of the river are yet encamped at New Santa Fe, Gen. Doniphan, Gen. Atchison, Capt. Reid, and Gen. Stringfellow are in camp. Capt. Reid we learn has been appointed Brigadier General.

A letter to Col. Walton says, "Provisions are becoming scarce and that some of the men have chills and fevers. We want more men, but no more mounted. We want infantry. The Abolitionists are fortifying at Franklin. It is thought imprudent to advance into the Territory with less than one thousand men. We think we shall have the number by Wednesday or Thursday."

This letter was dated at 2 o'clock on Monday. We have no information about the precise number of either party. It is said that a strong party is placed between Lawrence and the Nebraska line to cut off Lane's retreat.

The following is from an editorial in the Citizen:

For more than a week our city has been in a state of the most feverish excitement on the subject of Kansas matters. The streets have been crowded with men, horses and wagons—men armed with bowie-knives, swords, revolvers, shot-guns, Sharpe's rifles—and the company which left this place for the scene of action, took with them two pieces of artillery—a six and an eight pounder. The precise number of men mounted

and armed, that have passed through the city from Saline, Howard, Ray, and Boone, we have no means of ascertaining, but including those from this county, we presume the number to be something over four hundred. We were much much pleased to see that the volunteers from Howard had placed at their head Congreve Jackson, an aged and discreet gentleman, who will exert all the influence of his precept and example to prevent anything like excess of cruelty or plunder; and much as we feel for the cause, and ardently as we desire its success in the Territory, we would rather see our volunteers from Missouri repulsed from it, than see them return with the stigma of murdering, plundering, and burning the houses of unresisting and defenceless citizens. If the Abolitionists under Lane and his coadjutors have disgraced themselves by the atrocity of their acts, let Missourians ever remember that cruelty or unnecessary bloodshed is not an attribute of manly courage, and that a just cause must in the end be successful. Let moderation and firmness characterize the actions of the Pro-Slavery party. Let them keep law, order, and justice on their side, and their cause will never suffer for want of warm supporters in every Southern State; neither will it want warm and cordial sympathizers in most of the Northern States. But when by a single act of uncalculated or unnecessary cruelty, they cause a reaction in public sentiment, their cause will be lost, and lost forever.—Thus far the people of Missouri have not been the aggressors—their course has been defensive and preventive. It should so continue to be.

The following is from the Columbia Statesman, of Friday:

During the present week, several meetings were held in this place for the purpose of enlisting and organizing a company to aid the pro slavery party in Kansas territory in resisting the assaults of the Abolitionists. Col. Sam. Young was elected Captain; Gen. S. B. Hatten, First Lieutenant; Geo. W. Miller Jr., Second Lieutenant; Irvin H. Field, Ensign; John J. Howe, Orderly Sergeant. Colonel Young, on Wednesday, resigned the Captaincy, the duties of which post we suppose thereafter devolved on Gen. Hatten. On Wednesday evening, the company, consisting of some forty in number, took up the line of march "for the seat of war." Several hundred dollars were raised among the citizens to aid the company in procuring provisions during the tour.

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CHICAGO.

MONDAY MORNING, SEPT. 1, 1856.

The Slave Power in Kansas—Letter from Colonel Curtis

The following important letter from Colonel Samuel R. Curtis, who has just been elected to Congress from the southern district of Iowa, appears in the Ohio State Journal:

KEOKUK, AUGUST 17, 1856.

"W. T. BASCOM, Esq.—Dear Friend: Yours from the room of the Central Committee was duly received, and among many congratulations no one was more welcome. We have had a fierce and desperate struggle, which has proved more successful than we anticipated. It was the importance of the *præstige* which I foresaw the Iowa election must give to the Fremont movement, which induced me to enter upon the campaign. I expected wounds and bruises, but did not anticipate my own election. The opposition in this district was unfortunately divided between Mr. Selman, American, and myself; so that aside from the fact of an old Democratic majority against us, I considered the division certain to defeat me. But I was enlisted for the war after certain points had been gained in the Republican platform, and I hoped to assist in the Iowa result. It would have ruined our cause to have heard the first voice of a free State chiming in with a doleful sound which I knew would come up from the Southern States that spoke on the 1st Monday of August.

The success of Iowa was all I hoped for; my own success is superadded to my expectations.

"As the conflict proceeds, I have many fearful forebodings. The success of Buchanan will inspire the nullifiers of the South with desperate determination. It is not the South we have to contend against; it is the nullifiers of the South who have snatched the reins of government, and are determined to drive the country into civil war and disunion.

"A friend arrived last evening from Nashville, Tenn., who informs me that he saw a company of ninety men, en route from South Carolina, all armed and uniformed, marching through Nashville, to join the Southern forces in Kansas. The Buford regiment was of precisely this character. Men coming from remote

Southern districts, not to settle, but to fight in Kansas. If Buchanan is elected, how can such movement be checked?

"I tell you, sir, the leaders of the Slave Power are only moderate now for the purpose of carrying the elections. If successful, their usurpations and oppressions will be terribly augmented in Kansas, and blood will decide the issue between the South and the North. My trip to the frontier was in close proximity to the scenes of desolation and national disgrace, convinced me of the sad reality that civil war actually exists. At this present time there is a kind of armistice effected by the interposition of the United States troops during the present political canvass. But the forces are still manned and mustering on the Missouri frontier, awaiting the event of an election, which they confidently hope will approve of their former, and justify a further effort to subdue and exterminate the settlers of Kansas. There is no fun or frolic in this campaign. I have not, and do not, treat it as a matter of sport. The issues are too fearful and vital to the Union, and to the peace of our country. The persecuted and terrified families that have been driven from Kansas, who met me and told their tales of sorrow, with tears and trembling, have filled my heart with a feeling of fearful and awful responsibility, which will give tone to my speeches during this campaign of 1856. Truly your friend,
SAMUEL R. CURTIS."

Hoyt's death is confirmed. In his trunk which was opened at Kansas City, was found a map showing the locality of the Pro-slavery settlers, and designating a large number who must be killed.

[How did Mr. Hoyt's trunk get to Kansas City? The dastardly assassins who murdered him in cold blood, did not scruple to take possession of his property, and after rummaging his trunk have manufactured a story to suit themselves.—Eps. Press.]

DAILY ADVERTISER.

Sept. 1, 1856

Oh! we Deprecate, but Nothing can be Done.

"Nature abhors a vacuum," say the men of science, and the analogy holds good in morals. It is natural to abhor a hypocrite, the best representative of a moral vacuum. "Oh, how we regret," say the slave-drivers, and their Northern echoes, "oh, how we deprecate the wicked, odious, inhuman Kansas laws!" Of course they do now, since the people themselves have arisen in their might, and have evinced a determination to visit in their wrath, all who have used their instrumentality in framing, enforcing, or preventing their repeal. But, say these Pharisees, much as we deplore these laws, we cannot repeal them by Congressional action, and we cannot withhold the military arm of the Government, from rendering effectual their enforcement. They must remain, and they must be enforced. The people take issue upon this question with them. The Democratic party has been decimated upon the question, and the flower of that party, in efficiency, have come to the Republican standard, upon this question, thousands of working men are now leaving their daily avocations, to go forth and testify to the world, that they repudiate all association with men who, knowing the Territorial laws of Kansas to be bad, unconstitutional, and at war with humanity, nevertheless persist in their enforcement, even at the point of the bayonet. They cry, "Peace, peace, when there is no peace!"—and when they mean and intend war upon the Constitution, war upon humanity, justice, and every inherent principle of right, which ever inhabited the human heart. If the Senate of the United States really believed what some of the pro slavery leaders in it profess, viz: that the Territorial laws of Kansas are repugnant to the policy and views of the South, they would not resist the provisions of the army bill, for thirty minutes. They do not believe it. They know well that slavery loves to enlarge her borders, and to decorate them with a *chevaux de frise* of bayonets, to festoon them with halters and chains. Slavery honors the Territorial laws of Kansas. She gloats over the victims of those laws, who are now wasting their lives in a confinement which is rusting out their very souls. There is pre-ented the most humiliating picture ever shown by history, the leading branches of the Government, the Executive, Judicial and Legislative, bowing humbly before an extraneous power, which forbids the

constitutional and the exercise of their functions, and ties them to the objects of blood-thirstiness, rapine, anarchy, and civil and personal oppression. What a spectacle for a self-governed community, whose freedom of speech, of opinion, of the press, of the person, and of property, are all trampled upon. When bricks and mortar, stone, glass and iron are endowed with the attributes of life, and are indicted as nuisances, for the opinions entertained by their occupants, what right have we, as a nation, to find fault, when foreign presses pronounce our experiment at self-government practically a failure. Is it not so in Kansas, demonstratively? The United States Senate can, and if not tied hand and foot to the behests of slavery, would remedy this evil, by promptly declaring the bloody code of Kansas null and void. But they will not do so, while they can sit in their seats and charge freedom with stopping the wheels of Government.

DAILY HERALD.

H. A. HARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDICT.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Monday Evening, September 1, 1856.

The following letter, which we find in the *Friends Review* of last week, is important as evidence, from a source whose authenticity will not be doubted, of the fearful state of things in Kansas at this time. The Friends are proverbial for their abstinence from public discussions, or active participation in political matters, and cannot be charged with being "agitators" in any sense, notwithstanding that they have very decided views with regard to the institution of slavery; and when a member of the sect begins to doubt how far it will be possible for the scanty bands of Friends, scattered throughout the territory, to adhere to the principles of their faith, under the intolerable oppression of the ruffians who harass them, it may well be imagined that the rumors which reach us from the West are not exaggerate.

It will be noticed that the despatches from Kansas confirm the fears entertained by the writer, that the Friends, even, would not escape the attacks of Atchison and his crew. Here is the letter:

"Believing that it would be acceptable to the readers of the *Review* to know something of the situation of Friends in Kansas, I have been induced to offer a brief sketch. There are about twenty families of Friends in this territory, who are scattered in various localities, embracing a wide extent of country. Five families, including about twenty-five members, are on the waters of Stranger Creek, nearly ten miles in a westerly direction from Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri river. They hold a meeting for worship on First days. There are six families, and thirty members, on the Potawatomee creek, a branch of the Osage river, near the 38th parallel of north latitude, and about seventy miles nearly south from the settlement on Stranger creek, and fifty miles south from Kansas City, the nearest point on the Missouri river. A meeting for worship is held here on First days. The other Friends in the territory are widely scattered, there being one, two and three families in a place.

"We feel our position to be a peculiarly trying one. Under the present excited and unsettled state of things in Kansas, it is not likely that other friends will soon join us by immigration, and we do not feel at liberty to leave this territory, critical as the state of things around us may seem to be. Under the gross outrage, and grievous wrongs which are imposed upon the people of Kansas, it requires close exercise of faith for a man of peace to maintain his principles. It is not in human nature to maintain the right kind of feelings towards the wicked perpetrators of the wrongs we suffer. It is only by a close exercise of Christian faith that this can be done; and supposing one to have gained the victory over wrong in his own breast, his work is but half accomplished.

"If defensive warfare could be justified in any case, it would seem to be so in the present one; and while the people of Kansas, generally, are preparing for defense, and calling upon all to do the same, the advocates of peace can but feel

themselves placed in a trying position, not knowing at what hour they may be called upon to test their faith in the principles of peace.—We know not but what we may be required to seal our testimonies with our blood. Some of our number have been threatened with violence, but so far as we are certainly informed, none has yet been offered, though it is rumored that one friend in a distant part has been shot, but not mortally wounded.

"We are sensible that our position is one liable to trial, and calling for the sympathies and judicious counsel of our brethren. Doubtless it is only by a strict adherence to Christian faith, and dwelling near the Father of Mercies, that we shall be enabled to pursue the right course.

"RICHARD MENDENHALL.

Crescent Hill, near Osawatomee, Kansas, 7th mo., 27th, 1256.

The Adjournment of Congress—The Army Bill.

The Congress, having passed the Army Appropriation Bill without the restrictive proviso, adjourned finally on Saturday last. Most intelligent observers anticipated, and the telegraphic news from Washington for several days has indicated, the certain end of the controversy. It is impossible at this time to determine whether any of the Republican members of the House yielded, in the final vote, to the imperious domineering of the Senate backed by the Executive. We notice that the vote just previously in favor of the Bill with the proviso was 99, while the vote against striking out the proviso was but 98. The Republican vote at no time in the extra session has exceeded 101. But, however it may have occurred, the Republicans of the House were in a minority at the close of the session.

The course of the Senate has been most remarkable. Refusing to vote a dollar for the army unless full power was given to Secretary Davis and his President to use it as it has been heretofore used, as a *corps de reserve* for the Border Ruffian exterminators, the Senate has been the abettor of Kansas invasion and outrage.

Messrs. Cass, Clayton, Weller, and other Senators of the majority, have denounced the Kansas enactments in the strongest terms; yet they resist every effort made by the House to prevent the enforcement of those infamous provisions by the arms and army of the United States. True to the instincts of the upper branch in all legislative bodies, the Senate goes for sustaining prerogative against the people.

Five men indicted for treason under the charge of JEFFREYS LECOMPTÉ, by a grand jury which Sheriff Jones had packed, have been kept for more than three months in military camp, under the guard of United States soldiers. The judge who gave to the grand jury a definition of treason broad enough to include the simplest act of self-defence against illegal attack, is sustained by the Senate. The Sheriff and Marshal who, under pretence of legal process, burn houses and destroy printing presses, are sustained by the Senate.

The employment of the army in this business is not merely sanctioned, it is demanded, by the Senate. Sooner than require them to be restrained by the President, they preferred to disband the army. The President demands \$14,000,000 for the support of HIS army; the Senate says, take it, use the money and employ the army as you please. We know what you will do from what you have done; take the money and go on.

Gen. Cass even has been dragged into this supple acquiescence. While in one breath declaring these enactments to be "infamous and disgraceful to the age," he in the next votes with the men who declare them proper and necessary; and that they shall be enforced.

At last, a majority of the House of Representatives has been found who are willing to acquiesce and vote millions from the Treasury to carry out the atrocious behests of the South demanding the subjugation of Kansas.

The memorable declaration of Mr. DOUGLAS, "We will subdue you," occurs to the mind of

every reader. Mr. Douglas has his way. Thus far the conspiracy against freedom has prevailed. Its author found it sanctioned in the Democratic platform adopted at Cincinnati, approving the domestic policy of FRANKLIN PIERCE. In his ratification speech, speaking of the Kansas code, STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS said:

The platform was equally explicit in reference to the disturbances in relation to the Territory of Kansas. It declared that TREASON was to be punished, and resistance to the laws was to be put down. That was the whole question involved—whether the supremacy of the laws should be maintained, or whether mob violence should overcome the officers of the law. ON THIS QUESTION BETWEEN LAW AND VIOLENCE, THE DEMOCRACY HAD EXPRESSED THEIR SENTIMENTS—THEY SAY THAT THE LAWS SHALL BE EXECUTED SO LONG AS THEY STAND UPON THE STATUTE BOOK.

Unconstitutional, infamous, disgraceful to the age—so declared by the highest Democratic authority in the Senate—enacted as everybody knows by outsiders, thrust in by outside cut-throats—yet they "shall be executed," and that willing tool, FRANKLIN PIERCE, shall have fourteen millions of dollars to enforce without restraint.

One fact more should be noted—As soon as the Army Bill was passed, the cohorts of slavery in the H. R. refused even to entertain a proposition requesting the President to direct the District Attorney for the Territory of Kansas to apply to the proper court for leave to enter a *nolle prosequi* in all the indictments now pending for treason, or any other political offense alleged to have been committed in that Territory.

No! These prosecutions, utterly baseless and unfounded, shall go on. The promise to abandon them, made through Mr. Campbell, was meant only to humbug the people and their representatives. It will not be kept. Constructive treason in questioning the validity of ruffian legislation "SHALL BE PUNISHED"—Pierce says so. The Cincinnati Convention says so. Lecompte says so. The Senate says so—at last a majority of the House says AMEN! SO BE IT!

P. S.—Since the foregoing was written, the Hon. J. R. GIDDINGS, just returned from Washington, informs us that every Republican in the House stood firm on the final vote. There was no flinching. The Kansas subjugationists had a majority, by forcing in all their absentees.

The pluck of the Republicans upon the point in controversy is shown by the fact that Mr. Brenton, of Indiana, laboring under paralysis, was carried into the House upon a couch to vote and was unable to respond audibly to the call of his name.

The Daily Republic.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

MONDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 1.

The Answer of the President.

"Free state men must take care of themselves," was the heartless answer at Washington, says the *Cleveland Herald*, to the memorial of the national Kansas Committee, addressed to the President, informing him of the preparations of the Missouri marauders for a hostile invasion, and imploring him to interfere and save our fellow-citizens, the free-settlers of Kansas, from a war of extermination. The memorial and accompanying affidavits were taken to Washington by Mr. ARMY, and contain an authentic narrative of recent events in Kansas and along the border.—To this memorial the President turned a deaf ear, refusing even to see or hear the messenger.—The President's private secretary, Mr. SIDNEY WEBSTER, coolly informed Mr. ARMY, that the free state men would have to take care of themselves!

208 the President, now so wickedly deaf, holds free state men imprisoned, guarded by his soldiery, for no crime but taking care of themselves in a peaceful manner, by following the example of the settlers of several of the older territories, whose acts in forming state constitutions, acts similar in all respects, were then approved by Congress and the executive.

Indignation shames the cheek of American citizens worthy the name, at such a record of executive heartlessness and tyranny.

The State of Things in Kansas.

The determination of the border ruffians to wage a war of extermination against the free state men in Kansas, is boldly avowed. Indeed, no secret is made of their designs. They say they are ready, have men and money enough, and will sweep Kansas with fire and the sword. They do not talk of anything but blood. They swear that they will kill the "damned abolitionists" or drive them out of the territory, and are prepared to do so. The border ruffian press echo these sentiments and appeal to the disciples of ATCHISON and STENOPELLOW in words like the following, from the *Leavenworth Journal*: "Let us be up and doing—LET NO QUARTER BE GIVEN, BUT WAR TO THE EXTERMINATION OF THE MISCREANTS, BE THE WORD."

The ruffians have been preparing for a new invasion of the territory, and the above shows the spirit with which they are animated. And if the settlers have anticipated some of their movements, and broken up some of their bandit dens, it is no more than the laws of self-defence and self-protection justify.

Thus far, nothing has been done by the free state men except in self-defence, and yet we observe that the Buchanan presses and politicians have come to the rescue and defence of the bandits, and are denouncing the free state men for not quietly submitting to be butchered, and to have their houses burned over their heads, and their property destroyed and laid waste. They denounce LANE and his companions for defending themselves, taking the fabrications of the organs of the Missouri invaders as the basis of their denunciations.

It was to be expected, says the *Chicago Democrat*, that the slavery extension party and its organs, would come to the defence of all the wrongs and outrages necessary to force slavery into Kansas. This course is required of them by their southern masters, as well as by their own instincts. And, having made the issue, it will be met;—wrong, injustice, outrage, violated faith, and slavery, on the one hand; freedom, justice, right, constitutional liberty, the sanctity of public faith on the other. The lines are clearly defined and distinctly marked.—There is no mistaking them. They are too prominent to be overlooked.

The issue has been accepted. BUCHANAN and BRECKENRIDGE are the personal representatives of the former; FREMONT and DAYTON of the latter.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:

MONDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 1, 1856.

KANSAS MEETING.—John E. Cook, Esq., a Lawyer from Lawrence, Kansas, is expected in town to-day, and will speak at *Touro Hall*, this (Monday) evening, to the citizens of Hartford, (who are invited to come without regard to party) upon the wrongs and the wants of Kansas. Mr. Cook went from Haddam, to Kansas, and while there has made himself perfectly familiar with the movements of both parties; whose movements and his sources of information will be made known this evening. He starts for Kansas on Thursday, at the head of a brave company of men, who go prepared to defend themselves from attack, and to give the Ruffians an

opportunity, if they can, or dare, to earn the reward of eleven hundred dollars, which has been offered for his scalp. We are assured that he is a brave, fearless man, and defies them. Let there be a grand rally to hear the truth.

THAT THE PUBLIC may fully realize the bogus laws of Kansas, which the Senate choose to employ the U. S. Army in supporting, we give a synopsis of them, so concise that all may read and, as Senators Weller, Cass, Clayton and Bell have designated them, see their unconstitutional and atrocious character. They are utterly at variance with every notion of American freedom, and are the spawn of the blackest despotism that ever disgraced the earth.—Read them:

KANSAS BOGUS LAWS.—Imposing penalty of death for assisting slaves to escape.

Imposing penalty of death for circulating or printing publications calculated to incite slaves to insurrection.

Imposing penalty of death for assisting slaves to escape from any State and take refuge in the Territory.

Imposing penalty of five years imprisonment at hard labor for harboring fugitive slaves.

Imposing penalty of two years imprisonment for aiding a fugitive slave to escape from custody of an officer.

Imposing penalty of five years imprisonment at hard labor for writing, printing or circulating anything against Slavery.

Imposing penalty of two years imprisonment at hard labor for saying that persons have not a right to hold slaves in the Territory.

Disqualifying all from sitting as Jurors who do not admit the right to hold slaves in the Territory.

Disqualifying all as voters who do not swear to support the Fugitive Slave Law.

Admitting any one to vote on payment of \$1, no matter where resident, who will swear to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law and Nebraska bill.

Re-enacting the Slave Laws of Missouri *en masse*, adding that wherever the word "State" occurs in them, it shall be construed to mean "Territory."

Are the House of Representatives to be blamed for refusing supplies to an Army employed to carry into effect such laws?

The Evening Press.

HON. FRANCIS P. BLAIR, JR.—Is the *Hartford Times* satisfied yet in regard to the position of FRANCIS P. BLAIR, JR., the newly elected member of Congress from St. Louis? If not, perhaps the following letter from him, which appeared in the *St. Louis Democrat* some weeks before the election, may aid it to a decision.

To the Editor of the *Missouri Democrat*:
I oblige in the address to the democracy of Missouri, to which my name is attached as one of the committee, several expressions to which I do not assent, and which vary widely from my opinions. The address was drawn by a member of the committee, and submitted to me some time ago. I approved very heartily of what struck me as the leading ideas intended to be enforced. In the address, but the purport of the following sentences escaped my attention:

By the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska laws, the arbitrary obstruction to central growth has been repealed, but this great triumph of the true genius of America is signalized by a malignant renewal of slavery agitation in the seacoast states of the north and south, threatening civil war on the prairies of Kansas, in substituting for blank Indian occupation.

The convention is in all particulars, and in the sternest sense devoted to the maintenance of slavery in the states, and to its just extension into any and every territory where it may be peaceably carried.

If the Nebraska law is intended to be eulogized in the first paragraph, then I must say that I do not unite in the eulogy. Neither am I in any sense in favor of the extension of slavery. I have always denounced both, and think that neither can be too severely denounced.

Respectfully, F. P. BLAIR, JR.

NEW HAVEN DAILY PALLADIUM

NEW HAVEN:

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1856.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Aug. 23.

We left our settlement on Friday, the 16th, with two teams, bound for Kansas City or Leavenworth for a stock of provision,—three of our number being on their way east. We had heard various rumors of new troubles below, but knew little that

however, we ascertained enough to satisfy us that we could not proceed upon our journey further than Lawrence, without great hazard.—We found also that the long expected train from Illinois and other States, had arrived over the new wagon road through Nebraska, via Iowa City. They numbered in all about 500 men, besides women and children. Over 200 were left at two different points upon the road, to locate new towns, and establish convenient stopping places for future travelers,—and about 250 were camped at Topeka, more than half of whom had just left for Lawrence, in answer to a call from there for aid.

Among their large number were the two companies stopped on the Miesouri River, robbed and sent back; one from Massachusetts, under Doct. Cutter, and one from Chicago. Doct. Cutter informed me that they were not only robbed of their rifles, but also of their tents and farming utensils, and compelled to make a long and tedious journey over more than 300 miles of new country, never before traveled with teams—besides a longer distance by steamboat and railroad. What an illustration of civil liberty and protection of personal rights in this republican land!! This train has long been exposed and often referred to by our enemies as Col. Lane's fighting band, collected to drive all pro-slavery men out of the Territory. It is very likely Col. L. may have been instrumental in raising some of these companies, but many of them have never seen him, and all of them appear like bona fide settlers. Many have their families with them, their furniture, implements for farming purposes, &c., and from a free intercourse with them I can see no reason to doubt that they intend to make Kansas their home.

In this particular, as in every other, they differ widely from the "Buford men," and others from the South, who are evidently here for no purpose except to fight, rob and murder. After very diligent enquiry I have not been able to learn of a single instance where one of the latter that has taken a claim or made a permanent location. In fact all their movements, from their start to the present time, prove they have no such intention, and the personal appearance of the men themselves, establish the fact beyond controversy. They were never accustomed to work, and one of the leading considerations that brought them here is that the system of work without remuneration, and living in luxury without work may be inaugurated upon this fair soil for the double purpose of extending their detestable institution and propping up its rotten dynasty, where it now exists.

Those who read carefully the true history of passing events in Kansas, will notice all these differences and many more that mark the progress of the two classes of emigrants to this country, but those who read only the unmitigated falsehoods published in pro-slavery papers in the Territory and re-hashed by the doughfaced journals in the Free States, can know nothing of the real facts in the case. It often appears to me when reading these statements that the old liar whose sole business is to deceive men, and who is the acknowledged father of the profession, must have suspended, for the time being, all his other labors and concentrated his entire power upon his pro-slavery coadjutors in Kansas.

Certain it is that many of the falsehoods recently published in reference to the doings of the Free State party, the robberies, murdering of women and children, &c., could never have been coined except in the laboratory of demons, and under the immediate supervision of Beelzebub himself. These statements do not often reach the Free States, but are intended especially for Missouri and the South, and in those localities they produce their intended effect. By them the people are wrought up to such an intensity of excitement as to prepare by them for any work of violence or blood to which they may be invited; for, monstrous as the falsehoods are, they are no doubt believed by most of the people in the localities referred to.

We spent the Sabbath in Topeka, but it was no Sabbath to us. We walked to the room where service is usually held, and found less than a dozen persons present. The minister offered a prayer and called upon others to speak and to pray. The conversation all turned upon Kansas, and the war. In the prayers, earnest petitions were offered for the success of the people in their struggle for liberty; and especially that God would so control the coming Presidential election as to secure a result favorable to Freedom.

On our way we passed through the small proslavery town of Tecumseh, and when a little beyond the settlement, eleven men, all well armed, came up to our teams and ordered us to stop.—One of our wagons being some miles in advance of us, there were only four in our party, two of whom had pistols, the others none. We of course made no resistance until they required us to open our trunks. We protested against it asserting our rights as American citizens to travel unmolested, but they said we were suspected of having ammunition for the Northern army, and they must examine for the purpose of ascertaining the fact. We then opened our two trunks, and, much to our surprise, found 10,000 of Sharp's Rifles caps or primes, which we supposed had been left behind. They did not know what they were, but we frankly told them, and at first they were quite decided that they must be taken. We knew they could be of no value to them and told them they could take them if they choose—but as it was private property, they must pay \$1.25 per thousand if they took them. They tried to raise the money but could not, and the poor fellows had not pluck enough to take them without, and left us, although they found the very article they were looking for.

We now passed on to Lawrence without farther interruption, and on arriving found everything indicating a state of war. Upon inquiry we the Free State men had been driven to make several assaults and conquests in order to clear the country of highwaymen, and protect the lives and property of travelers and other citizens.

It appears that among numerous robberies that have of late become quite frequent, a merchant of Topeka lost a team and load, near Kansas City or Westport, valued at over \$500, the teamster having barely escaped with his life. Diligent enquiry revealed the fact that these robbers were entrenching themselves in log cabins, or "block houses," in various parts of the Territory, one of which was in Franklin, a small town five miles east of Lawrence. They determined at once to root them out, and mustered a small force of determined men, many of whom were among the best citizens of Lawrence, and one of the most prominent, an excellent young man who has established a Sabbath School at Franklin and attended it regularly every Sunday. They proceeded to the place and after some hours of fighting, and the loss of one man, they succeeded in smoking them out, and took a cannon and about fifty very good guns, besides recovering some stolen property. The ruffians, after crying for quarters, succeeded in making their escape. No other building or person was disturbed, the proslavery statements to the contrary, notwithstanding.

From here, they proceeded to another of the same sort of forts, upon Washington Creek, but the inmates got the alarm and fled, leaving a number of guns, ammunition, stolen property, etc., an easy prey to the Free State party. Our friends then, returned to Lawrence with their cannon and rifles, and found a pressing call to proceed at once to Leocompton, where it was said Col Titus had arrested several "Topeka Boys," and had them in duress. This Titus, by the way, is one of the most blood thirsty men in the whole country. He has been a fillbuster and sort of land pirate during much of his life, and is now the terror of all peaceable citizens in the territory. We know him well. Our friends Mitchell and Root saw much of him when in the enemy's camp, and heard him offer

\$500 for the head of Capt Nather, and various other similar things. Preparation was promptly made for a call upon this ruffian, by sending to Topeka for a reinforcement, which was responded to by the citizens there, and part of the companies recently arrived. During the night our force, with the cannon taken at Franklin, were on the ground, and after considerable firing with rifles from both sides, the cannon was brought to bear upon the building, and Col Titus, Capt Donaldson and seventeen others, were taken prisoners.

Several of our men were wounded, and among them Capt Shomber of Indiana, who afterwards died of his wounds. Capt S. was a very respectable citizen of Richmond, Ind., a member of the Presbyterian Church in that place, and highly respected. He was an ardent friend of Freedom, and when told he could not live, said in his latest breath, "Tell my friends I offer my life a willing sacrifice to the cause of Freedom in Kansas, and die peacefully." While standing by his grave and witnessing the last sad rites of sepulture, the query suggested itself—How many such men, prepared for such a death, could be found in the ranks of our enemies? Another of the wounded was Mr. Henry of Hartford, who was an original member of our company, but remained at Lawrence because he failed to overtake us on the way. He was shot with a pistol by Titus himself. He saw him fire from the window three times, two shots striking his horse, and the other entered his right side and is lodged a short distance from the surface. His escape from instant death was almost miraculous. Another was shot with a rifle ball through the arm and it has since been amputated; another through the skull, across the top of his head—all of whom are now doing well.

The prisoners were brought to the city and treated with the utmost kindness and attention. Titus was badly wounded, but properly cared for by direction of the same Capt Walker for whose head he had so often offered a reward, and who has been hunted by him for months, and kept away from his family and prevented from raising his crops. Capt W. was in command, and found it somewhat difficult to satisfy the people that the life of old Titus should be spared. Clark, the murderer of Barber, was in the building, but escaped, and it is well he did, for all the captains in Kansas could not have saved him from the death he so richly deserves. He therefore still lives to serve President Pierce a while longer in the capacity of Indian Agent. At Titus' house they recaptured several stolen horses, together with a number of tents, also stolen, and sundry other things.

The foregoing is a plain statement of the facts in the case, derived partly from personal observation and partly from the testimony of responsible men who were eye witnesses of the event.

On Sunday, the 17th, Gov Shannon visited Lawrence and proposed an exchange of prisoners in which he was to give up five taken at Franklin by warrant, and held under the forms of law, in exchange for more held by the people. To this proposition the committee objected on the ground that they had much the larger number, but offered to accede to it if the Gov. would also return the cannon taken from them at the time of the burning of the hotel—to which he agreed, and stipulated that he would send the prisoners and the cannon into the camp of U. S. troops between Lawrence and Leocompton, and there make the exchange—which was carried out in good faith by both parties the next day. It so happened that we, with our teams entered the city with the surrendered prisoners, and cannon. Shannon made a speech to the people at the time the treaty of peace was agreed to, and his dispatch sent by the commander of the troops with the prisoners was also shown me—in both of which (the speech and the dispatch) he manifested the warmest sympathy for the people of Lawrence, and expressed a hope that whenever they should again meet, it might be only as friends. But the calm which followed was only for a moment, and I fear will prove a sure precursor of the most terrible storm that ill-fated Kansas has yet

experienced. By next mail you may expect some facts in reference to pending dangers, and chances of succor and relief.

The Confession of a Border Ruffian.

We take from the Hartford Press of Wednesday the following narration. It is a speech made at a Kansas Aid Meeting held in that city on Friday evening, by Mr. Selden C. Williams, formerly of Meriden. We take pleasure in laying it before our readers, as authentic and undeniable. Its melancholy interest will be fully apparent. Some of its details as will be seen, remind one of the conduct of South Sea Cannibals.

Citizens of Hartford: Two years ago I was here and well known to many of the Hartford people. Since then I have passed my life, part of the time in Alabama, and part of the time in Kansas. I shall deliver to you this evening, not a political harangue, but a plain statement of facts which came under my own observation, and part of my own sad experience.

In January last Col. Buford of Alabama, where I then resided, offered for sale at auction, fifty negro slaves, the proceeds of which were to be given to pay the expenses of young men, unmarried, who would emigrate with him to Kansas. The inducements held out to the emigrants were 160 acres of Government land, which the Colonel should put each man into possession. When the lands were brought into market, they were to be sold, and one half the proceeds should be retained by the Colonel; the other half, 80 acres of the land, should be the property of the emigrant. Upon these conditions I enlisted, the third upon his list.

We left New Orleans to stem the swift rolling Father of Waters for Kansas, 305 men in all. Nothing happened on the way worthy of note until we arrived at Lexington, Mo., which we did upon the Sabbath day. As we came up to the wharf the church bells were ringing, and service had commenced. Upon our arrival, ministers stopped on their services, churches were closed, and we were escorted, by a large procession and a fine band of music, to one of the churches which had been re-opened for us, where we listened to, What shall I call them? Speeches? Orations? I'll call them sermons—a kind of *Border Ruffian sermons*. They were to encourage us to do all in our power to make Kansas a Slave State; and after our sermons from these ministers of the Gospel of Christ Buford declared for us, with tears in his eyes, that we would make Kansas a Slave State by words if we could, if not it should be done by arms.

Returning to the boat we went on till we came to Kansas City. Here we were marched to a small hotel which could accommodate but about one-third of us. There was a large Free State hotel in the city, but we were forbid entering it. Thus we staid for three nights, taking our turn of sleeping in bed and in the open air. The weather was very wet; it rained almost every half day. On the morning of the fourth day, we marched to Westport, four miles. Here there were no hotel accommodations for us, and we were told that cloth would be furnished to those who might not use the canopy of Heaven for a covering. Cheap cotton cloth was furnished us. After two or three days the tents were made.

In a few days Buford provided carts and oxen to transport our provisions and baggage. He would allow no trunks to be taken, which inconvenienced but a very few of us, as we had but little clothing to carry. I was used to driving cattle in my native town of Meriden, and the fact that I was a good teamster being known, I was appointed—Boss teamster! It was a high office! and I filled it well.

And thus, coming from the warm climate of the South into the cold winds of the North, we suffered much as we drove eight miles from Westport, where we were called to halt. Here our train was divided into several parties, and we were to proceed separately to our lands, some to Topeka, some to Leocompton, and some to other places. My company were bound to Leocompton. We shook hands with each other as parting brothers, sadly, for as brothers we were, and so united as the Fremont clubs are united now. [Cheers.]

I continued with my company, some of whom were buried by the way, they having died from the hardships they endured; through rain and sleet, fording creeks and wading through prairie mud for ten tedious days, when we arrived at Leocompton, and lo! Here we found two of the other companies, who, having started for other points, had been conducted to Leocompton by their leaders.—Before night another company arrived; and another; and another, until we were all together again, at Leocompton!

When we were about a mile west of Lawrence, one day, on our way to Leocompton, I was a mile or two ahead of my company, looking for a suitable place to pitch our tents, when I met three resolute

"Hoping gentlemen, and was asked by one of them where I came from. I told him, "None of his business." "Where was I going?" I told him, "Where I had a mind to." It altered the matter with me, however, when he told me that he was a deputy United States Marshal, and his name Donaldson. After receiving my apologies, he told me that he was on his way to Lawrence to arrest Messrs. Reeder and Robinson, and wanting help had spoken to me in the manner he had. I told him there was a company behind of 50 of Buford's men who would soon be along, and he could use them. Upon their arrival, we were ordered to pitch our tents and lie upon our arms all night, after stationing sentinels around the camp, and await further orders. All through the night we watched, but heard nothing of Donaldson. At daybreak we resumed our march and went on to Leecompton, where we arrived as before stated. I saw Donaldson there, and asked him where Robinson was. Oh, he said, he went to Lawrence after Mr. Robinson, and told him that he had a warrant for his arrest, and was told by Robinson, "Take me if you dare!" As he did not dare, he left him until he could get men enough to take him away from the Free State men, and keep him after he had got him.

After waiting some time to see what disposition was to be made of us, Major Buford one day said to us that if we would stay where we were he would feed us until winter. This was hailed with an outburst of discontent from the party, and we took a vote to see what portion of us would accept the terms. The majority voted to stay. I demurred. I had come to Kansas with honest intentions; expecting to till the mother earth for subsistence; expecting to locate myself there for life as you, in Hartford, are located here, by your own firesides. I wanted to work, as I had not worked for a long time, and the money we had all entrusted to Col. Buford he had lost by gambling, sent abroad the story, which you at the East will still remember, that he had been robbed of it.

Marshal Donaldson summoned us all to Lawrence to fight the Free State men. What could I do? I was without money. I was called upon by the authority of the United States. When I heard the summons, it fell like ice upon my heart. Could I go there and fight against the Free Men of Connecticut, Massachusetts and the other Free States? If I did, for what did I fight them? For being honest industrious men; men who had infused new life into the Kansas wilds; built hotels; set up trade-shops and mechanics benches, and tilled the soil of Kansas by the labor of the Free. I couldn't do it. I asked two or three of the men who had come from Columbus, Alabama, if they could go and fight those innocent men? They said no! Well then, said I, if you will follow my directions we will get away; but how? I would see to that myself. They agreed to make the attempt under my leadership. Accordingly that night I went to a Pro-Slavery owner of the only boat in the vicinity, and made pretence that I wished to set a trout-line in the river, and I wished we would keep quiet about it as some of the men might know of it and take the fish I caught. To this he agreed with the proviso that I should bring it back in an hour or two, as he wanted to ferry some one across the river every little while. If he wanted it he would blow his horn and I must immediately return with the craft. I promised him that he might blow his horn, and when I heard it, he might look for me directly. We smuggled provisions from the encampment on board our boat and started down the stream, pulling through the darkness for dear life.

The next morning at daybreak, we were within sight of Lawrence, and hauled our boat into the bushes to secrete ourselves for the day. The morning sun arose and ushered in the day which is celebrated as the day of the sacking of Lawrence. From our place of concealment we could see upon the hill overlooking the fated city, the cannon planted, and the cavalry of the United States drawn up in battle order. We saw the Hotel battered by the cannon-balls, and saw the explosion when the two kegs of ignited gunpowder sent the building into the air.

The night coming we proceeded on our way. When at last St. Louis burst upon our sight, Ross, a man whose father owned 60 slaves, and had five of his own, said—"There is heaven to me!" During our journey, it is true we appropriated to our uses such things as were necessary for our subsistence, without leave of the owners thereof. Those will blame us, who have never been driven to the desperation to which we had arrived. Nature has dealings which will be heard above the pleadings of the strictest morality. We were fleeing for our life, from those who would set out lives at a less value than a straw had, they know that our hearts

revolted at the atrocities we had been called upon to perform in the name of "Law and Order." While under Donaldson's command we were ordered to take what we wanted and could find in possession of Free State men. We were strictly forbidden taking the smallest article from a Pro-Slavery man without paying its price. Joseph True of Alabama, at one time took a ride away from a Missourian. Buford ordered him to be hung. The rope was placed over his neck but by strong intercession of the Party, punishment was commuted to chain and ball.

In one of the hellish forays upon which we were sent, we came upon a small party of Free State men. They resisted our taking away their property, and Buford's men left two of them dead upon the grass! When we were in the Shawnee country we were invited to call at one of the Mission Churches by the Chief of the tribe. As the doors opened before us, what a sight presented itself.—Three Massachusetts men hanging by the neck. For daring to say they were for Free-Soil, two had been shot, and one stabbed to the heart, and they were hung up to strike terror to the people from the East. Four days after, one of Buford's men came into the Camp holding upon the point of a bowie-knife, a human heart! "Boys" said he, "see here; here is the heart of a damned abolitionist; he told me he was an abolitionist, and I up with my rifle and drapped him: I cut his heart out, and it ain't cold yet; now I'll cut it open and see how it looks inside; then I shall fry it and see how the damned thing tastes."

After I arrived at home I saw in my father's house, a paper which has there been a weekly visitor, almost ever since I can remember, the COLUMBIAN REGISTER of New Haven. My blood boiled with indignation as I saw in that paper that "all was peaceable in Kansas," "all these stories of murder in Kansas are false," "all the wrongs in Kansas are done by Free State men," "all for political effect" &c., &c., and I threw it down and said to my father, "Father that paper LIES!"

'52 I voted the Democratic ticket, for Frank, lin Pierce. And after all I have seen in Kansas I shall, living until November, again vote the Democratic ticket, and cast vote and influence for John C. Fremont. (Cheers) After all the wrong done to Free Men in Kansas, this bogus Democracy would not believe, or would profess not to believe the accounts of them, even if the whole country—I had almost said heaven itself—should appear as witness to the fact. But let a man see what I have seen, hear what I have heard, and then if he can satisfy his conscience or his God, let him vote for James Buchanan, whom the South looks on as the man to continue these wrongs, unless the Free men of Kansas can protect their rights, which they cannot do unless they have foreign aid. No Northern man who knew how the wives and husbands, sisters, daughters and brothers in Kansas have suffered at the hands of the pro-slavery party there, could vote for James Buchanan.

The Press says: Mr. Williams rivetted the attention of the meeting for an hour and a half. In the transfer of this outline of his confession, there is lost the irresistible Yankee humor of the speaker. As he said, he is plain spoken; he was bred a farmer, and can plow better than he can speak, "so far as rules of grammar are sometimes concerned, but there was an earnestness in his manner that carried to the hearers' hearts the conviction that he was telling the truth.

The Atlas.

MONDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 1, 1856.

The Kansas meeting at St. Louis, last Monday, turned out to be a very different affair from what was contemplated by those who had called it. The resolutions were, in tone and spirit, clearly adverse to the Border Ruffian doings in that Territory. The gettars up were evidently much disappointed, and denounced the meeting as "the most tumultuous and disorderly political gathering we ever witnessed," and as a "most turbulent and discreditable affair. One need not go," says the Intelligencer, "to the 'border' to see 'ruffianism' in public assemblies, while public meetings in St. Louis are conducted as that of last evening."

A telegraphic despatch states that Gen. Pomeroy has been killed in Kansas. This cannot be true, and perhaps the despatch is as false in each particular as in this. Gen. Pomeroy is at present in this city.

Kansas Correspondence of the Atlas

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, August 11, 1856.
Since I last scratched you a few lines, the mob in the Southern part of the Territory have committed a series of outrages, reports coming to us almost daily. The troops were appealed to, but they had no authority to act—when robbers and assassins were committing depredations upon the settlers—that was the province of the civil (?) authority. Their orders, as Gen. Smith said, were to disperse all armed bodies of men—unless they were the "militia"—and to assist his Excellency, Gov. Shannon, in enforcing the "laws," all of which amounted, in fact, to preventing Free State settlers in Kansas from defending themselves, and to forcing them to seek redress at the hands of Judge Lecompte, the man who indicted the Hotel an printing presses at Lawrence, and who defined the disobedience of the bogus laws of Kansas to be constructive treason; &c., &c.,—and of the minions of a less degree, placed in power by the votes of aliens to our territory, and whose course of villiany has brought down, not only the hatred of our people, but the contempt of the world. They are too faithful to their trust for us to hope for anything from them. I sent you a few days ago a copy of a statement of Mr. Cline, who has been hunted by the mob, ever since he arrived in that section of the country, on account of his principles, but more particularly because he and his comrades are the pioneers of a Wisconsin company which was on its way to Kansas to settle. They are not the least dejected on account of this trial, but are resolved to have the company settle there at all hazards. Mr. Cline and Mr. Rankin were carried into Missouri, and when the news first came to Lawrence we supposed that it was useless to hope for them. Measures were taken, however, a letter was prepared to be sent to the Governor of Wisconsin, and for the sake of form a letter was sent to Shannon, though nothing was of course expected from that quarter. We were surprised the next day to see the gentlemen themselves coming into town, having been brought back from Missouri by the same party who carried them away, and having narrowly escaped being hung by the mob.

Messrs. Partridge and Townsley who brought in the news of the taking of Cline and Rankin, brought word also that the U. S. Dragoons, company F, had been in search of Mr. Townsley, to arrest him, although they had no civil officer with them. His wife and children were at home, but Mr. Townsley himself, having been warped by a friendly troopier, was absent. Two of the companies have been reinforced by the enlistment of Georgians and South Carolinians. I regret to say, that if some of the officers and companies of the Dragoons were a fair sample of the U. S. Army, our army would disgrace any nation. The high toned officers must feel and they do feel very keenly the degrading service imposed upon them in Kansas. Col. Sumner, Major Sedgwick, Capt. Sackett, Capt. Sturgis, Lieut. Wiegand, and a large majority of the officers, evidently are anxious to be released from such duty, and to have a post where they can act as soldiers and as men. While most of the privates openly express their sympathies for the people, Lieut. Perkins has been arrested, and will be tried by court martial, for abusing some of the citizens of Lawrence. Why he was selected cannot be explained. Capt. Wood, of one of the companies stationed in the Southern part of Kansas, has been active in showing his dislike to free State men, while others, taking their cue from the policy adopted by the present administration, in regard to Kansas, have disgraced themselves and their profession.

Mr. Ingraham came into Lawrence, and stated that his wagon, cattle and goods,—all belonging to Mr. Farnsworth, of Topeka,—had been taken from him shortly after he passed through Westport, on his way up, and that the robbers had started in the direction of Ossawatimie. He escaped by watching for a good opportunity, and darting into the bushes. He returned to Kansas City, and obtained some letters of introduction from several prominent men there—to His Excellency Gov. Wilson Shannon. His Excellency at Leecompton could do nothing. The troops could do nothing. His Excellency could not interfere with the duties of the proper officers of the "law," (unless they wish it). The troops could not be subject to every call to follow up every individual's wrongs. A gentlemen from Ossawatimie was sent to headquarters to get a force to disperse the mob, whose depredations had become unendurable, and Captain Cracklin, of company A, Lawrence, was ordered to proceed at once to their camps, and route them, taking about twenty men each from Lawrence, Coal Creek, Franklin, and Potawatimie, and Ossawatimie settlements on the route. Company A started from Lawrence at one o'clock on Thursday morning, and at daylight arrived at Coal Creek, where they were joined by the Franklin Company.

We have just returned from a four days hard march—sometimes in the rain, without tents, and but few chances for sleeping. You may judge that I am not in much of a mood for writing just now. We

... expecting to be called upon to march again to-morrow night, as we have been earnestly called upon by the settlers of Washington and Wakarusa Creeks to come to their assistance. The Committee had in consideration this afternoon whether to send this evening or not, but concluded to postpone the matter for a day. No attack has yet been made. They threaten to overrun the country there, and to drive out the settlers.

At daylight we started from Coal Creek with about sixty men. We marched all day, taking but a short rest at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Our intention was, if possible, to reach the camp that night, to accomplish which we had a distance of 35 to 40 miles to travel over. Just before dark we were formed in line, and instructed as to the plan of attack. Our guide, who was acquainted with the country, having advanced too far ahead of us, was unable to find us. He supposed, as he said afterwards, that some of our horsemen were following close enough to keep sight of him. We kept on in a southerly direction until about 11 o'clock, when we camped some ten to fifteen miles from Ossawatimie.

During the night, one of the guard fired at three horsemen, who had, upon being called upon to halt, turned their horses. He brought down one of the horses, the balance of them escaped. As we afterwards learned from a gentleman who was a prisoner in the camp, these men were scouts from the Bull Creek camp of the enemy—one of them a captain. They reported on their arrival into camp that Lane was on his way with 280 men to attack them! Capt. Cracklin and several of the men were quite sick during the night, and we began to fear that the expedition would fail; but next morning they were better, and we concluded to send out some scouts to ascertain our position, and one also to watch the movements of the mob, and to await the return of these and our guide. In a few hours, our guide and all the scouts returned to camp, bringing with them gentlemen from Ossawatimie and Pottawatomie Creek, among whom were two prepared to take us directly to the camp of the enemy. Orders were given to be ready to start as soon as we could eat our dinner, and at noon we were again on the march. Just at dark we arrived at the Marie de Cygne, within five or six miles of the camp which we intended to attack before midnight, and then proceeded at once to the Bull Creek camp, to be ready to attack them at day break. Here we camped for a short time for supper, and scouts were sent out to see if the enemy had not moved.

A gentleman from Pottawatomie brought us in word that the camp at Bull Creek had heard of us—had released their prisoners, and were hastily leaving. We were impatient to start for the other camp, to fear that they would also get away. When the scout returned, they reported that the Ossawatimie camp had heard in some way of our coming, but had no such exaggerated accounts of our numbers. Their men had divided—some of them had left, while the remainder resolved to stay and fight if necessary. They had a block house for a fort, and if determined could render it a very hazardous and difficult operation to take them. We immediately broke up the camp and started. On our way we were joined by the Pottawatomie company of 20 men. When within 1/2 of a mile of the fort we halted, and detaching a guard for the wagons, marched at once to the rendezvous of the ruffians. When within 200 yards of the building the column halted, and at the word, every man prostrated himself on the ground, while two men were sent up to the house as scouts.

They returned and reported that they could not discover whether the building was occupied or not. They saw a man leave the house as they approached it, but did not pursue him. The men were then divided into two divisions; the first, the immortal "stubs," advancing upon a corner of the building, while the second division drew up in line in front. Not a sound was heard, except the heavy tramping of our feet, and instead of the walls blazing forth fire and lead, they presented only a cold, black aspect. After making noise enough to be certain there was no enemy inside, or at least that there was no fighting to be done, candles were lighted, the officers examined the premises, and a scene of confusion was displayed. Everything about the house was thrown "helter skelter;" flour, bacon, sugar, goods of all kinds—trunks, that they had not time to take away, were thrown promiscuously together outside; crockery, cooking utensils—a large quantity were piled up, and a quantity of bacon and utensils had been hastily thrown into a half dug well. There were about \$600 worth of goods; three teams were sent for, but these were found insufficient to take away all,—the balance was thrown together, and, with the building, were set fire to. At daylight we started north, rather disappointed at not finding the men. What is wanted in Kansas, is a company of mounted men, like the Texan Rangers, always in the field, headed by a man combining the qualities of a London, or New York Police officer—the promptitude and bravery of a Marion, and the wisdom and patriotism of a Patrick Henry. One hundred men properly mounted and

equipped, would be more efficient than a force of \$30,000 would completely mount, equip, and provision 100 men for an indefinite time. But as we have not got this, we do our best with the means we have. The mob will be met wherever they may be found. The military organization is completed, and the Safety Committees have merged into a Vigilance Committee, which is large and increasing in numbers daily. The mob will find that there is no peace for he wicked. The Vigilance Committee will remain in power until the State government can be carried out in accordance with the wishes of the people. No more fear that justification by the Northern people will not answer our resistance to oppression. No more policy-preaching "safety valves" will control our affairs, but the sovereign squatters of Kansas will maintain their rights.

We had an "orful" time returning, traveling and sleeping in the rain, without tents; but there was no grumbling. Our feet were raw, and we could hardly walk. Our horses were nearly used up, so that we could ride but a short distance at a time. The stubs always take things philosophically, and a more jovial set of fellows than they were—after lying out all night in the rain on the open prairie, starting off in the heavy rain without breakfast—are not often met with. We lost our bearings on the second night of our return, and were completely lost. In the morning Capt. Cracklin went out to try to find some clue to our whereabouts, and discovered on a distant hill the Franklin company. We afterwards learned that they had camped within two miles of us. They undertook to follow us, but seeing that we were going in the wrong direction, had stopped and camped.

We finally arrived in Lawrence safe, but not very sound, and we are ready for an expedition which is to start immediately to the assistance of settlers. Among the articles taken was a copy of the "Statutes of Kansas Territory," which is a great curiosity to us. It is the second copy I have seen, and the "laws" have never been published. I think that a majority of the settlers in the Territory have never yet seen a copy.

On the fly leaves are two drafts in pencil of an agreement or constitution of the invaders, one of which specifies that they "agree to remain until after the election," and "provided that one building shall be first built to answer as a fort for the protection of all, in which the arms shall be kept." The emigrants overland have at last arrived in the territory and are now within fifty miles of this place. Messrs. Whitman, Eldridge, and a number of other gentlemen have already arrived. They have been long looked for. They number about 400 men, and are composed of ten or twelve companies from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, Indiana, Delaware, Wisconsin, and Iowa. A road has been made and towns established along it, and a stage line will be put upon it, so that a trial can be made of emigration over free soil, where there is no fear of molestation.

In haste, yours,

THERMOPYLEAN.

☞ A friend in Rock Island, Ill., sends us the following; it deserves a national circulation:—

A SONG TO OUR CHIEF.

Respectfully dedicated to the Rock Island Fremont Glee Club.

Try—The great old One
A song to our Chief, to Freedom's Chief,
Who reigns in the hearts of the free;
Whose deathless name is a nation's fame,
On prairie, and mountain and sea,
Oh long may he live, our Champion of Right,
Our leader in Liberty's van,
Till tyrants and traitors shall flee from the fight,
And a free earth be given to man.
Chorus—Then sing to our Chief, our gallant Chief,
Whose name over land and sea
Is a tower of might, for freedom and right,
And the war-cry of the free.

He carried the Banner of Stripes and Stars
Over Empires unknown before,
And wad'd its folds round the setting sun,
On our wild Pacific shore.
He bore it aloft on mountain peaks,
And planted it there so high,
That it mingles its hues with the hues of heaven,
Far away in the win'try sky.
Then sing to our Chief, &c.

Wherever the flag of our Union floats,
Whether waving on land or sea,
'Tis an emblem of hope to oppressed man,
'Tis the Banner of Liberty!
And never a star on that standard sheet,
Or a stripe on its folds shall wave,
To herald the birth of a Union King,
Or proclaim a Union Slave!
Then sing to our Chief, &c.

Wherever the sun of science shines,
The deeds of Freedom are known;
And the busy tongues of a babbling earth,
Proclaim them from zone to zone.
And far down, deep, in the nation's heart,
Where grateful emigrants reside,
Comes forth a resolve, that our patriot Chief,
As the Chief of our State shall preside.
Then sing to our Chief, &c.

☞ The friends of freedom and of constitutional liberty in the House of Representatives have been defeated. The Army Bill has passed without the Kansas Proviso. The President of the United States has now ample resources, and can harry, shoot, hang and

harass the poor emigrants at his own savage will. God only knows how soon Federal bayonets will be piercing Republican bosoms—how soon Federal bullets will be driven into Republican hearts! The House has substantially said to the President, that he may use the arms of the United States for purposes abhorrent to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States. Franklin Pierce is not a man to neglect such opportunities; and the savage arm of Gen. Smith is now strengthened for deeds of rapine, cruelty, and oppression. We have from the beginning anticipated this result, and we have expressed our forebodings. The lesson which this defeat teaches us is, that under a Republican government, the strength, the hope and the safety of the people must be in an honest, incorruptible and dauntless House of Representatives. We have had no such House in the present struggle. Gentlemen who, heart and soul, through defeat and victory, at all times, and with perfect singleness of purpose, sustain constitutional liberty in the House, are in a minority, and have been so during the session. Mr. Banks was elected, not by the spontaneous devotion of members to freedom; but by a combination of circumstances, into the details of which it is not necessary, at the present time, to enter. The Republican members have battled nobly; but they have throughout been subjected to great discouragements and impeded by important obstacles. On the test question of the session, they have been overcome; but this should not and shall not prevent us from saying that they have fought a good fight, and are fairly entitled to the honor and confidence of their constituents. And now it is for the people of the North to say whether they will use the power which the Constitution clearly gives to them; and whether the low intrigue, the unscrupulous selfishness and the personal ambition exhibited in the present House, shall be repeated in the next. We want Representatives who cannot be frightened by the tricks of a harlequin President; by the unnecessary discharge from employment of a few operatives; by the stale and ridiculous accusation of "blocking the wheels of government." Shall we have such? People of Vermont! You speak first. Shall we have such? People of Maine! You speak next. Shall we have a House of Representatives worthy of the honest and liberal-loving masses?

OFFICE OF NATIONAL KANSAS COMMITTEE,
CHICAGO, August 27, 1856.

To the Editor of the Atlas:—Please notice in columns of the Atlas that W. H. Beckus, Esq., Superintendent of Burlington and Missouri River Railroad, has extended to the National Kansas Committee one thousand free tickets from Burlington Mount Pleasant, Iowa. This reduces the fare from Chicago to Mt. Pleasant to three dollars for Kansas emigrants.
Respectfully,

HORACE WHITE,
Asst. Sec'y N. K. Com.

Matters and Things in Kansas.
Chicago, Aug. 30.—We have the following intelligence from Kansas, dated 23rd inst. 3000 Missourians are collected at Westport and Kansas City, and are expected they will march on the 30th in different detachments along both sides of the Kansas river, surround the free State settlements all the way west as far as Topeka.
Gen. Richardson had marched north, ostensibly to intercept and capture Gen. Lane, but actually to prevent assistance coming to Lawrence through Nebraska. No communication could be had with the regiment except at the risk of life.
Provisions were very scarce at Lawrence, and citizens had asked a government escort to obtain supplies but were refused. An attempt was to be made to obtain supplies under a guard of free State force.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.
WASHINGTON, Saturday, August 30.

SENATE.—On motion of Mr. Clay, of Alabama, a resolution was adopted requiring the Secretary of the Interior to report next session the amount required to pay the allowances proposed by the House bill, providing for the settlement of the claims of the officers of the revolutionary army, and widows and children of those who died in the service.

Mr. Houston, of Texas, said that although he had taken very little part in the discussion which had been indulged in in the Senate recently, he had not been an inattentive or unconcerned listener. He had seen ten years of service in the Senate, and thirty years ago was in the public councils of the country; but during the whole time of his service he had not seen a crisis like the present, portending such evil to the peace, and even threatening the perpetuity of this Republic. He, Mr. Houston, wished it were in his power to pour oil on the troubled waters, and would be glad to see Senators co-operating in a different work than exasperating the irritable feelings of the North, and producing more alienation than now exists. It was evident to everybody that the times were sadly out of joint, and there must be some occasion for it. There must be some latent disease, that required a remedy, and thus the first step in seeking to produce a better state of things, and to give peace and tranquility to the country, would be to go back to first principles, and seek the root of the evil. In doing so, he deemed he had found the Pandora's box, whence all the difficulties originated—the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Before that step was taken, all was quiet, tranquility and harmony; but since, all had been discord and contention, bloodshed and strife. This result was predicted by him. At that time he had made the remark that the aged might witness the commencement of the evil consequences that would flow from that repeal, but the youngest child then born would not live to behold their termination. He hoped, however, and believed that they would terminate without any fearful disaster to the Union; that the wisdom of the American people would devise some remedy for those struggles which had sprung from the ambitious views of individuals; and that the Providence which had guided this nation through perils in past days, had rich blessings in store to lavish upon us. If the Missouri Compromise could be repealed, after having been regarded as a sacred compact for a third of a century, the organic act by which the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas were organized was also repealable, and, consequently, all acts of the Territorial Legislature—since they had been made in pursuance of that organic act. He presumed that no one would deny the assertion that the people of Kansas did not of their own unbiased free will and accord enact the laws now said to exist in that Territory. It was done by extraneous influences; and those laws were proscriptive, and contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, a disgrace to the age, and ought not to be suffered to remain on the statute-book. He then defined his position, and defended the American party.

Mr. Clay enquired whether the Senator from Texas meant to have it understood, inasmuch as he had left the Democratic party in consequence of their repeal of the Missouri Compromise and joined the American party, that the latter were in favor of the restoration of the Compromise.

Mr. Houston replied that the American party were not, as a party, in favor of restoring the Missouri Compromise, although some members of it might be. The party were opposed to all agitations which would endanger the peace of the country or threaten the prosperity of the Union. For his part he thought it would now be impolitic and unwise, as there were insuperable objections to its restoration, but he would freely give more than half of all he possessed if it could be restored, so as to leave things exactly as they were before it was repealed. His cardinal principle was, that the Union must and shall be preserved. If there were to hear a man of the party to which he belonged utter a word against the Union, although three or four years might have somewhat relaxed the vigor of his frame, he would knock him down forthwith.

Mr. Crittenden's bill to alter and amend the Kansas Nebraska Act was then tabled by twenty-two against eleven.

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Allen, B. J. Bird, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Clay, Douglas, Geyer, Houston, Hunter, Ives, Johnson, Jones of Tenn., Mason, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Toucy, Veller, Wright.

NAYS—Bell of Tenn., Crittenden, Durkee, Foot, Foster, Harlan, Seward, Thompson of Ky., Trumbull, Wade, Wilson.

A message was received from the House, informing the Senate of the passage of the Army bill, which having been taken up on motion of Mr. Hunter, the Senate struck out the proviso attached to it by yeas twenty, nays seven. The bill was then passed.

A vote of thanks to the President pro tem. was unanimously adopted, and the usual committee appointed to wait on the President of the United States

and inform him that Congress was ready to adjourn. The Committee subsequently reported that the President had no further communication to make, when the Senate adjourned sine die.

HOUSE.—Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, obtained unanimous consent to report by direction of the Committee of Ways and Means, a bill making appropriations for the Army. He said it was the old Army bill, with the following proviso: "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 heretofore passed by the bodies claiming to be the Territorial Legislature of Kansas." Mr. Campbell demanded the previous question.

Mr. Cobb, of Ga., appealed to Mr. Campbell to allow him to make a motion to strike out the proviso, in order that the sense of the House be taken on that question, and then act on the passage of the bill, whether the motion be successful or not. (Cries of that's right, that's right.)

Mr. Davis, of Md., desired a test vote on a proposition he wished to offer.

Mr. Campbell refused to withdraw his demand for the previous question.

Mr. Stephens, after saying that there were gentlemen absent who did not expect that a vote would be taken so soon, moved a call of the House, which was agreed to, 198 members answering to their names. The doors were then closed to hear excuses from absentees.

The bill then passed as originally reported, by a vote of 99 against 79.

A message was received from the Senate, returning the Army bill with an amendment striking out the proviso. The House, under the operation of the previous question, then concurred in the Senate's amendment, striking out the proviso by yeas 101, nays 98.

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Akers, Barksdale, Bell, Bennett of Mo., Bonner, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Burnett, Cadwallader, Campbell of Ky., Canine, Caskey, Clitzham, Cobb of Ga., Cobb of Ala., Cox, Greer, Crawford, Guilan, Davitson, Davis of Ind., Deaver, Dowdell, Edmundson, Elliott, Elberidge, Eustis, Evans, Faulkner, Florence, Fuller of Me., Goode, Greenwood, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Md., Harris of Ala., Harris of Ill., Harrison, Egan, Hickman, Hoffman, Houston, Jewell, Jones of Tenn., Jones of Va., Kelly, Kennett, Key, Kibbel, Lake, Letcher, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall, Humphrey Marshall, S. A. Marshall of Ill., Maxwell, McAllen, McQueen, Miller of Ind., Millson, Oliver of Mo., Orr, Packer, Peck, Phelps, Porter, Puryear, Quimman, Reagin, Rivers, Ruffin, Noble, Sandidge, Savage, Seane, Shorter, Smith of Tenn., Smith of Va., Smith of Ala., Spaid, Stevens, Stewart, Swope, Talbot, Tyler, Underwood, Van, Walker, Warner, Wells, Wheeler, Whitney, Williams, Winslow, Wright of Miss., Wright of Tenn., Zolllicoffer.

NAYS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Barber, Barclay, Bennett of N. Y., Benson, Billingshurst, Birgeau, Biss, Bradshaw, Breton, Buchanan, Campbell of Ohio, Chaffee, Clark, Clawson, Colfax, Collins, Covode, Cragin, Cumbaek, Darrill, David of Mass., Dean, Dewitt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Linn, Dunsen, Edes, Edwards, Emery, Fisher, Gallagher, Gilchrist, Gilbert, Granger, Gray, Harlan, Holtway, Howell, Howard, Hugstun, Keisy, Knapp, King, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Maco, Matteson, McCarty, Morgan, Morrill, Mot, Murray, Norton, Oliver of N. Y., Parker, Patton, Pennington, Pettit, Pike, Phipps, Porviance, R. H. Roberts, Robbins, Robinson, Sabney, Sage, Sampson, Sherman, Simmons, Spencer, Stanton, Straubahn, Tappan, Theington, Thurston, Todd, Traflet, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburn of Ill., Washburn of Wis., Washburn of Me., Welch, Woodruff, Woodworth.

[There are evidently omissions in the above list, as each side counts up two votes less than the number stated.]

The Senate bill fixing the time for the election in Delaware of Representatives to Congress was passed.

Mr. Whitney asked, but did not obtain leave to introduce a bill to repeal certain enactments of the Kansas Legislature, and to define and secure the rights of the People in the Territory.

A message was here received from the President, that he had signed the Army Bill.

Mr. Grow, of Pa., offered a resolution, that the President be respectfully requested to direct the District Attorney for the Territory of Kansas, to apply for leave to enter a *nolle proes.* on all the indictment now pending for treason or other political offences alleged to have been committed in that Territory. The question on the resolve was defeated by calling the yeas and nays, on motions to adjourn, until the time concurrently fixed for the termination of the session, half past three o'clock, when the Speaker declared the House adjourned sine die, before the Committee to wait on the President had reported.

Sept. BOSTON POST, '56
For the Boston Post.
HENRY WARD BEECHER—POLITICAL PREACHING.

The subjoined letter to the reverend editor of the "Independent," giving the writer's reason for withdrawing his support from that disgraceful sheet, we commend to the attention of our readers. Beecher, in one of his recent papers, boasts of numerous additions to his list of subscribers, but says nothing of the subtractions. The letter that follows has not only been received at his office, but acted upon; yet he

makes no allusion to it. It is not improbable that this is but one of many of similar purport received by him. Every good Christian who loves his country, and would, according to the divine injunction, "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," should do likewise.

It may not be amiss to say that Thomas Jefferson, more than forty years ago, foresaw the existence of such clerical demagogues as Parker, Beecher, Tyng, &c., who have transmogrified the altars of our churches into partizan platforms. In 1815, the Rev. Mr. McLeod delivered a sermon in which he, with vast ability, maintained the ground that the second war of independence, the war of 1812, was "made on good advice." A copy of this sermon was sent to Mr. Jefferson by Mr. Wendover.

It will be borne in mind that at that period, as at this, the New England clergy, and we say it with great pain, were in direct antagonism with the policy of Mr. Madison's administration. The pulpit, with some honorable exceptions, dealt anethmas against the prosecution of the war, and thus gave "aid and comfort" to the enemy. In acknowledgment of the receipt of this favor from Mr. Wendover, Mr. Jefferson wrote a letter which can be found in his published works. He admired the discourse of the Rev. Mr. McLeod, but administered him a moderate and gentle rebuke. We make the following extracts to give the point of this celebrated letter:—

"On one question only I differ from him, and it is that which constitutes the subject of his discourse, the right of discussing public affairs in the pulpit. * * * * * Collections of men associate together under the name of congregations, and employ a religious teacher of the particular set of opinions which they happen to be, and contribute to make up a stipend as a compensation for the trouble of delivering them, at such periods as they agree, on lessons in the religion they profess. If they want instructions in other sciences and arts, they apply to other instructors; and this is generally the business of early life. But I suppose there is not an instance of a single congregation which has employed their preacher for the mixed purpose of lecturing them from the pulpit on chemistry, on medicine, on law, on the science and principles of government, or on anything but religion, exclusively. Whenever, therefore, preachers, instead of a lesson in religion, put them off with a discourse upon the copernican system, on chemical affinities, on the construction of government, on the character and conduct of those administering it, it is a breach of contract, depriving their audience of the kind of service for which they are salaried, and giving them, instead of it, what they did not want, or, if wanted, would rather seek from better sources in that particular art or science. In choosing our pastor we look to his religious qualifications, without enquiring into his physical or political dogmas, with which we mean to have nothing to do."

The letter of the gentleman which follows illustrates not only "a breach of contract" on the part of the Rev. H. Ward Beecher in palming upon him a treasonable political paper instead of a Christian theological one, but smelleth strongly of getting subscriptions (goods) "under false pretences." Beecher may not be amenable to a court of this world, but the court of Heaven will we hope, mete him justice.

Charlestown, Mass., July 26, 1856.

SIR—I subscribed for the New York Independent on the 13th of August last, and paid my year's subscription in advance, for which I have a receipt signed "P. H. Snow for J. H. Ladd."

In subscribing for your paper I was under the impression that it was a religious journal, devoted to the dissemination of correct Christian principles. In this I have been much disappointed. Its tendency is, I conceive, to overturn the sanctity of Christianity, bring it into ridicule, and finally to inundate the country with infidelity. Besides this, it has embarked upon the arena of politics, and instead of preaching "peace and good will" to all men, incites its readers to anarchy and civil war, and disobedience to the laws and constitution. And this is done too with a recklessness of truth that would disgrace even the columns of the N. Y. Herald.

A paper thus conducted, and professing to be religious in its character, cannot but be pernicious in its influence, and I request you, therefore, to erase

of any household may no longer be obtained with the hypocrisy of your religion and the treason of your politics. Respectfully,
JOHN MULLEN.
To Mr H. WARD BURNER, Ed. N. Y. Independent.

CONNECTICUT FOR BUCHANAN.

The democratic state convention at New Haven, representing every town in the state but two, nominated Samuel Ingham, of Essex, and A. G. Hazard, of Enfield, for electors at large, and for the districts, I, Richard D. Hubbard, of Hartford; 2, Ralph I. Ingersoll, of New Haven; 3, James A. Hovey, of Norwich; 4, Royal L. Canfield, of New Milford. Resolves endorsing Buchanan and Breckinridge were introduced by Mr Deming, of Hartford, and unanimously adopted, together with the following:—

Resolved, That the attempt of the majority of the house of representatives in congress to strangle the army bill, to leave the whole western country open to Indian massacre, to close the armories, dismantle the fortifications, and repudiate the government contracts, unless they could engrave a proviso upon the bill, designed to open the territory of Kansas to lawless violence, bloodshed and murder, was unprecedented, unconstitutional, and revolutionary, and is deserving the execration of all law-abiding and patriotic citizens; and that the refusal of the same house to pass the bill at the regular session, which had already passed the senate, for the pacification of Kansas, for the repeal of all obnoxious laws, and for the protection of the bona fide inhabitants of the territory, a bill which the opposition themselves admit to be right and proper, shows that their object throughout has been to promote the very violence in Kansas which they pretend to deprecate.

Resolved, That the black republicans of Connecticut, by setting in concert with, and adopting the electoral ticket nominated by, the adherents of the northern division of the know nothing order, have demonstrated that we have heretofore charged upon them, that besides outlawing the citizens of a whole section of our country, on account of their geographical residence, they would alike outlaw another class of citizens, who, on account of their geographical residence, but for their geographical birth-place, and for the free exercise of their religious preferences, under a constitution which in one of its fundamental articles declares that "the exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be free to all persons in this state."

Resolved, That the lawless violence which we have witnessed and continue to witness in Kansas, had its origin in the early and ill-judged movements of outside agitators, stimulated by emigrant aid societies, unwilling to leave the territory to be peopled as a free state, by the natural and gradual course of emigration, and the adjoining territory of Nebraska, proclaimed in advance that they would take the position and control of Kansas by organized bands, and thereby exclude all fair competition—movements calculated, if not induced, needlessly to provoke antagonism and invite collision; and there is too much reason to believe that the recent marauding parties, led on by Lane and other desperadoes, not only against the peaceable inhabitants, but the military force of the United States,—paid, as they undoubtedly have been, from the Kansas relief fund,—are but a part of the same scheme to prevent Kansas from being peopled as a free state, and to furnish political capital for the sectional warfare that the black republicans are now waging against the Constitution and the Union.

Speeches were made by Messrs Bishop, Deming and Hazard, the latter of whom stated that, within

bound to include in the bill every all the territory between the southern boundary of the territory, as now defined by law, and the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, extending from the western twelve and a half degrees of longitude, and being about thirty-five miles in width at the eastern, and one hundred and five at the western extremity. The eastern portion of this strip of country, which it is now proposed to incorporate within, and render it subject to the jurisdiction of the territory of Kansas, is ceded with other territory to the Cherokee Indians, by the treaties of the 6th of May, 1828, April 12, 1839, and May 23, 1836, for "a permanent home, and which shall, under the most solemn guaranty of the United States, be and remain theirs forever—A HOME THAT SHALL NEVER, IN ALL FUTURE TIME, BE EMBARRASSED BY HAVING EXTENDED AROUND IT THE LINES, OR PLACED OVER IT THE JURISDICTION OF A TERRITORY OR STATE, NOR BE PRESED UPON BY THE extension, in any way, of any of the limits of any existing territory or state."

In view of this "most solemn guaranty of the United States" to the Cherokees, your committee cannot refrain from the expression of the hope and belief that the house of representatives, in passing a bill to extend around this Indian country the lines of Kansas, and render it subject to the jurisdiction of that Territory, acted without due consideration, and probably without a full knowledge of these treaty stipulations. When the organic act of Kansas was passed in 1854, the parallel of thirty-seven was fixed upon as the southern boundary of the territory instead of the view to the preservation of faith on the part of the United States toward those Indians; and lest injustice might be done to other Indian tribes who held their land under treaties with the United States, it was expressly provided "that nothing in this act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of persons or property now pertaining to the Indians in said territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians, or to include any territory which, by treaty with an Indian tribe, is not, without the consent of said tribe, to be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any state or territory; but all such territory shall be excepted out of the boundaries, and constitute no part of the territory of Kansas." In these considerations your committee find insuperable objections to that portion of the bill from the house of limits, and render subject to the jurisdiction of the territory of Kansas, any part of the country which is thus secured to the Indians by solemn treaty stipulations.

Nor are the objections less formidable to incorporating within the limits of Kansas that portion of the territory of New Mexico which lies north of the line of 36 deg. 30 min., and east of the Rio Grande, and subjecting it to the operation of the other provisions of the bill. That part of New Mexico, containing about 15,000 square miles, was purchased from Texas by one of the acts known as the compromise measures of 1850, and formed a part of the territory for which the United States paid the state of Texas ten millions of dollars. The second section of the act of congress which contains the terms and conditions of the compact between the United States and Texas for the purchase of that territory incorporates the same in the territory of New Mexico, with the following guaranty: "And provided further, that when admitted as a state, the said territory, or any

portion of it, shall be subject to the same laws and regulations as shall be applicable to the territory of Kansas, and to which there is no pretext for asserting that the Missouri compromise ever applied. If, in the application of the 6th section of the act of the 6th of March, 1820, (commonly called the Missouri compromise,) over so large a district of country to which it never had any previous application, it be the policy of the house of representatives to return to the "obsolescence" of a geographical line as a dividing line in all time to come between slave territory and free territory—a perpetual barrier against the advancement of slavery on the one hand, and free institutions on the other—the measure falls short of accomplishing the whole of their object in not extending the line to the Pacific Ocean. Your committee can perceive many weighty considerations founded in policy, although wanting the sanction of sound constitutional principles which might be urged in favor of such a measure, inasmuch as the barrier once erected from ocean to ocean—permitting slavery on the one side and prohibiting it on the other—if universally acquiesced in, and religiously observed as a national obligation on the altar of our common country, would put an end to the controversy forever, and form a bond of peace and brotherhood in the future. But, unfortunately, when this expedient was proposed by the senate in 1848, it was indignantly repudiated by the house of representatives, and as a consequence the whole country was plunged into a whirlpool of sectional animosity, angry erimination, which alarmed the greatest and noblest spirits of the land for the safety of the republic, and was only rescued from the impending perils by the adoption of the compromise measures of 1850, which abandoned the policy of a geographical line, and substituted for it the great principles of self-government and state equality, in obedience to the federal constitution. In view of the history of the past, your committee can perceive no safety in the future except in a strict and religious fidelity to the true principles of the constitution as embodied in the adjustment of that unfortunate controversy, and adopted by the whole country as rules of action, to be applied in all future time, when, in the progress of events, it should be necessary to organize territories or admit new states. The Kansas-Nebraska act was the logical sequence of the compromise measures of 1850, and rendered imperatively necessary in self-government and state equality in the organization of territories and admission of new states. For these reasons your committee cannot concur with the house of representatives in the proposition to blot out from the organic act of Kansas and Nebraska those essential provisions and cardinal principles, the faithful observance of which can alone preserve the just rights of the inhabitants of the territories and maintain the peace, unity, and fraternity of the republic. The great object is to withdraw the slavery question from the halls of congress and remand its decision to the people of the several states and territories, subject to no other conditions or restrictions than those imposed by the constitution of the United States. These provisions of the bill under consideration which introduce and establish slavery, together with those which abolish and prohibit it, are alike obnoxious on the score of principle, inasmuch as they assert and exercise the right of congress to form and regulate the local affairs and domestic institutions of a distant and distinct people, without their consent and regardless of their rights and wishes. To void all misconstruction, however, upon this point, we

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...the recent marauding parties, led on by Lane and other desperadoes, not only against the peaceable inhabitants, but the military force of the United States,—paid, as they undoubtedly have been, from the Kansas relief fund,—are but a part of the same scheme to provoke hostilities and bloodshed, and thus furnish political capital for the sectional warfare that the black republicans are now waging against the Constitution and the Union.

Speeches were made by Messrs Bishop, Deming and Hazard, the latter of whom stated that, within four days, the son of Daniel Webster had informed him orally that he should vote for Buchanan and Breckinridge. The best feeling prevailed in the convention, which seemed firmly to feel that the vote of the state will certainly be cast against the sectionalists.

From the Washington Union.
KANSAS AFFAIRS—SENATOR DOUGLASS'S REPORT.

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," beg leave to report:—

The first section of the bill provides, "That all that part of the territory of the United States which lies between the parallels of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes and forty degrees of north latitude, and which is east of the eastern boundary of the territory of Utah to the southeast corner thereof, and east of a line thence due south to the said parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the state of Missouri, shall constitute one territory, and shall be, and hereby is, constituted and organized into a temporary government, by the name of the territory of Kansas."

By reference to the map, it will be perceived that, in addition to all the country embraced within the limits of the present territory of Kansas, it is pro-

vided into 15,000 square miles, was purchased from Texas by one of the laws known as the compromise measure of 1850, and formed a part of the territory for which the United States paid the state of Texas ten millions of dollars. The second section of the act of congress which contains the terms and conditions of the compact between the United States and Texas for the purchase of that territory incorporates the same in the territory of New Mexico, with the following guaranty: "And provided further, that when admitted as a state, the said territory, or any portion of the same shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission."

After asserting their great principle of state equality as applicable to every portion of New Mexico under the constitution, and as guaranteed by the compact with Texas, by fair intendment, so far as the country was acquired from that state, the seventh section of the same act provides "that the legislative power of the said territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act"—thus leaving the people perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way subject only to the constitution. It is now proposed in the bill under consideration to repudiate these guaranties and violate these great fundamental principles, by annexing to Kansas all that portion of the country acquired from Texas, which lies north of 36 deg. 30 min., and imposing upon it a prohibition of slavery forever, from and after the first day of January, 1858, regardless of the rights and wishes of the people who may inhabit the territory.

The twenty-fourth section of the bill is in the following words:—

"Sec. 24. *And be it further enacted,* That so much of the seventh section, and also so much of the thirty-second section, of the act passed at the first session of the thirty-third congress, commonly known as the Kansas-Nebraska act as read as follows, to wit: "Except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820; which, being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by congress with slavery principles of non-intervention by congress with slavery

legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measure, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States: *Provided,* That nothing herein contained shall be construed to revive or put in force any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the act of 6th March, 1820, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting or abolishing slavery,—be, and the same is hereby, repealed; and the said eighth section of said act of 6th March, 1820, is hereby revived and declared to be in full force and effect within the said territories of Kansas and Nebraska: *Provided, however,* That any person lawfully held to service in either of said territories shall not be discharged from such service by reason of such repeal of the eighth section, if such person or persons shall be permanently removed from such territory or territories prior to the first day of January, 1858; and any child or children born in either of said territories, of any female lawfully held to service, if in like manner removed without said territories before the expiration of that date, shall not be, by reason of anything in this act, emancipated from any service it may have owed half this act never been passed: *And provided, further,* That any person lawfully held to service in any other state or territory of the United States, and escaping into either the territories of Kansas or Nebraska, may be reclaimed and removed to the person or place where such service is due, under any law of the United States which shall be in force upon the subject."

In the opinion of your committee there are various grave and serious objections to this section of the bill. In the first place, it expressly repudiates and condemns the great fundamental principles of self-government and state equality which it was the paramount object of the Kansas-Nebraska act to maintain and perpetuate, as affirmed in the following provisions: "It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States."

Not content with repealing this wise and just provision, and condemning the sound constitutional principles asserted in it, the bill proceeds to legalize and establish, for a limited time, hereditary slavery, not only in the territory of Kansas, (where there is no other local or affirmative law protecting it than the enactments of the Kansas territorial legislature, which have been alleged to be illegal and void, and which the house of representatives, by amendments to the appropriation bills, have instructed the President not to enforce), but also in all that part of New Mexico which it is proposed to incorporate in the territory of Kansas, and where slavery was prohibited by the Mexican law, and it is not pretended that there is any territorial enactment recognizing or establishing it. Having thus asserted and exercised the power of introducing and establishing slavery in the territories by act of congress, and declaring children hereafter born therein to be slaves for life, and their posterity after them, provided they shall be removed therefrom within a specified period, the bill proceeds to affirm and exercise the power of prohibiting slavery in the same territories forever from and after January 1, 1858, by enacting and putting in force the following provision, being the 8th section of the act passed March 6, 1820, to wit:—

"Sec. 8. *And be it further enacted,* That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the state contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby forever prohibited: *Provided, always,* That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any state or territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

decision to the people of the several states and territories, subject to no other conditions or restrictions than those imposed by the constitution of the United States. Those provisions of the bill under consideration which introduce and establish slavery, together with those which abolish and prohibit it, are alike obnoxious on the score of inconsistency, as they assert and exercise the right of congress to form and regulate the local affairs and domestic institutions of a distant and distinct people, without their consent and regardless of their rights and wishes. To avoid all misconception, however, upon this point, your committee deem it proper to remark that their objections do not apply to that part of the bill which extends the provisions of the fugitive-slave law to the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and provides "that any person lawfully held to service in any other state or territory, and escaping into either the territory of Kansas or Nebraska, may be reclaimed and removed to the person or place where such service is due, under any law of the United States which shall be in force upon the subject." In this clause your committee are rejoiced to find a frank and conscientious acknowledgment of the right of congress to provide efficient laws for carrying into faithful execution the provisions of the constitution of the United States which provides for the rendition of fugitive slaves, as well as all other obligations imposed by that instrument.

The preservation of our free institutions depends upon a faithful observance of the constitution in all its parts; and the assurance thus furnished, that the representatives of the people are ever ready to provide new and additional guarantees, who supposed to be necessary, for the faithful performance of that constitutional obligation which has been the subject of the severest criticism in some portions of the country, cannot fail to gratify every true friend of the Union." In this case, however, no such legislation is necessary, inasmuch as the organic act of Kansas and Nebraska extends the provisions of the fugitive-slave law to both of those territories.

The fifteenth and sixteenth sections of the bill under consideration read as follows:—

"Sec. 25. *And be it further enacted,* That all suits, process and proceedings, civil and criminal, at law and in chancery, and all indictments and informations which shall be pending and undetermined in the courts of the territory of Kansas or of New Mexico, when this act shall take effect, shall remain in said courts where pending, to be heard, tried, prosecuted, and determined in such courts as though this act had not been passed: *Provided, nevertheless,* That all criminal prosecutions now pending in any of the courts of the territory of Kansas, imputing to any person or persons the crime of treason against the United States, and all criminal prosecutions, by information or indictment, against any person or persons for an alleged violation or disregard of the laws of what are usually known as the laws of the legislature of Kansas, shall be forthwith dismissed by the courts where such prosecutions may be pending, and every person who may be restrained of his liberty by reason of any of said prosecutions shall be released therefrom without delay. Nor shall there hereafter be instituted any criminal prosecution, in any of the courts of the United States or of the territory of Kansas, against any person or persons, for any such charge or treason in the said territory prior to the passage of this act, or any violation or disregard of said legislative enactments at any time.

"Sec. 16. *And be it further enacted,* That all justices of the peace, constables, sheriffs, and all other judicial and ministerial officers, who shall be in office within the limits of said territory when this act shall take effect, shall be, and they are hereby, authorized and required to continue to exercise and perform the duties of their respective offices as officers of the territory of Kansas, temporarily, and until they, or others, shall be duly appointed and qualified to fill their places in the manner hereinafter directed, or until their offices shall be abolished."

It will be observed that these two sections recognize the validity and binding force of the entire code of laws enacted at the Shawnee Mission, by the legislature of Kansas territory, and provide for the faithful execution of all those enactments except the criminal code. All justices of the peace, constables, sheriffs, and all other judicial and ministerial officers, now in office, are required to continue to exercise and perform the duties of their respective offices, all those officers with the exception of the governor, three judges, secretary, and marshal, and district attorney, were elected or appointed under the laws enacted by the legislature of Kansas, while their powers, functions, and duties, are all prescribed by those laws and no others. These officers are all required to continue to perform the duties of their respective offices, observing and enforcing all the laws enacted at the Shawnee Mission, except the criminal code. "All suits, process, and proceedings, civil and criminal, at law and in chancery, and all indictments and informations, which shall be pending and undetermined in the courts of the territory of Kansas or New Mexico, when this act shall take effect, shall remain in said courts where pending, to be heard, tried, prosecuted, and determined, in such courts, as though this act had not been passed." The election laws, and laws concerning slaves and slavery, and all laws affecting the rights of persons and property, and affecting all the relations of life, are recognized and required to be enforced, excepting criminal prosecutions by information or indictment, for violation or disregard of the laws of the legislature of Kansas. All such prosecutions are required to be forthwith dismissed, and the prisoners set at liberty, and new prosecutions are to be commenced for any violation or disregard of said legislative enactments of the same."

Such is the legislation provided for in the two sections of the bill. They recognize the force of the laws enacted at the Shawnee Mission, and provide for the enforcement of all of these except the criminal prosecution. Your committee are anxious to perceive how the passage of such a bill would restore peace, quiet, and security to the people of Kansas. It has been alleged that there are in that territory gained bands of lawless and desperate men, who, in the constant habit of perpetrating crimes, such as—murdering and plundering the inhabitants, and their property, burning their houses, and persecuting citizens from the polls on election day, even from the territory. The remedy proposed in the bill is to grant to the perpetrators of these crimes general amnesty for the past, and for the future to be committed by them.

it to become a law by the President's approval, all the obnoxious laws, which have been the subject of so much censure and complaint, are swept out of existence, leaving none in force in said territory except such as are usual, proper, and necessary in all civilized communities for the protection of life, liberty and property. Your committee have not yet relinquished the hope that the house of representatives will concur with the senate in the passage of that bill, and thus restore peace and security to the people of Kansas, by declaring all those obnoxious laws null and void, and providing for the faithful enforcement of the Kansas code, the validity of which has thus been frankly and solemnly acknowledged by the votes and actions of each house of congress. The two houses of congress having, by their action, each arrived at the conclusion that the Kansas code is valid, and that the obnoxious laws referred to ought to be declared inoperative and void, as being repugnant to the principles of liberty and justice intended to be secured by the constitution of the United States and the Kansas-Nebraska act, it would seem that the most serious and material point of difference between the two houses which remains to be adjusted, is whether that part of the Kansas code which provides for the punishment of murder, robbery, larceny, and other criminal offences shall be enforced, or whether all persons guilty of those offences shall be turned loose to prey upon the community with legalized impunity. It is true that there is, apparently, another point of difference between the two houses, arising out of the question whether the people of Kansas shall be authorized to elect delegates to a convention, (with proper and satisfactory safeguards against fraud, violence, and illegal voting,) and form a constitution and state government preparatory to their admission into the Union, or whether the territory shall be reorganized in accordance with the provisions of the bill from the house, and left, for some years to come, in that condition. While the house of representatives has recently expressed its preference for the latter proposition, by the passage of the bill under consideration, your committee are not permitted to assume that they have insuperable objections to the admission of Kansas at this time, for the reason that a few days previous they passed a bill to that effect.

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SPRINGFIELD, Mass., Aug. 29, 1856.

Gentlemen:—The undersigned having just returned from Nebraska City, and a journey through Iowa, made for the purpose of examining the emigrant roads to Kansas through Iowa and Nebraska, begs leave to submit the following report:

I left Boston on the 5th inst., and proceeded first to Chicago, where I called on the National Committee, concerning whose organization and action little was known in Massachusetts. I found the resident members of this Committee in session, and after an explanation of their means and methods of action, being persuaded that they were in the best position, and were adopting the best course to aid Kansas, I wrote to that effect to the Boston Atlas and the New York Tribune, and reported directly to the Secretary of the State Committee.

On my subsequent visit to Chicago I was gratified to find that intimate and satisfactory communication had been established between the National Committee and the various New England Committees, and that therefore, this part of my mission was accomplished. I would simply say here, that closer acquaintance with the members of the National Committee, and their methods of operation have only strengthened my first conviction, that our cause is safe in their hands, and that we only need to support them, and supply them with means of action to secure the great object for which we are working.

I have found them skillful, prompt, earnest and practical in their management, while from their local position and the means of communication with Kansas which they possess, they are able to make their efforts produce speedy and sure results. The delays and disappointments, which our friends have met with, both in Kansas and in the East, are not to be attributed to the indifference and inefficiency of the friends of Kansas in the East, or from unavoidable difficulties in the West. The party of Northern emigrants who entered Kansas so successfully on the 7th of August, owe much of their success to the action of this Committee.

From Chicago I proceeded to Iowa City, where I arrived on the 8th, and where I found the party of emigrants who left Boston on the 29th of July. They were then waiting for their wagons, which had been bought in Chicago, but had been delayed on the Rock Island Railroad, and caused a detention of several days. I talked with the leader and the men of this party, and learned from them many of the difficulties which have so much delayed our emigrants hitherto. Some of these, perhaps, cannot be wholly avoided, but as most of them can be overcome with a little care, it must be of service to point them out, and indicate how to avoid them.

1. Emigrants start from home with too little knowledge of what they will need on their road, and of the nature of the journey, in consequence of which they often suffer from want of sufficient clothing, and other articles necessary for their journey. This might easily be guarded against by preparing a list of the articles of clothing, &c., actually necessary, leaving to each man the privilege of taking as much more as he pleased. The importance of carrying no *superfluous* baggage ought however to be strongly insisted on, as it causes increased expense, trouble and delay.

2. Parties come slowly over the railroads, often missing connections, and thus greatly increasing the expense of the journey. This party, at Iowa City, regretted that they came by the Sound boat and the New York and Erie road, rather than the much shorter way, through Albany. They lost a day in New York, and another further West, by missing the connections they should have made. There must be some reason unknown to me why parties starting from Boston or anywhere north of Connecticut should not go through Albany to Chicago in less than two days, as travelers usually do. I can start from Boston at 8:30 next Monday morning, and reach Mount Pleasant or Iowa City Thursday morning at 11 o'clock—that is, in 75 hours; why cannot emigrant parties do the same?

3. Delays arise from parties not finding at Chicago or points further west the wagons, tents, arms, &c., which they absolutely need for their journey. This may be prevented by sending word to Chicago before a party starts, when it will start, how many men it will contain, and what they will need to be supplied with. As long notice as possible should be given to the National Committee, yet the telegraph usually affords time to make such arrangements, if notice is delayed till the very starting of the party from Boston. This is of the greatest importance, and more delay has been

caused by neglect here than in any other way. It is not always distinctly understood what articles parties are to receive from committees, and this may give rise to dissensions and doubts. A full statement of what is to be done for each party by the committee, should be read to them at starting.

These are the chief points on which I heard complaints—and the men did not complain with any anger about these. They knew how to make allowance for all the obstacles in the way of the friends of Kansas, and it is much to be wished that our people at the East who sometimes complain of delays, would have the same consideration.

This party of Mr. Parsons' were to start from Iowa City on the 11th, with ox teams. As I returned through Fort Des Moines I hoped to meet them—but, as I suppose, they passed through Oskaloosa, and so I missed them. I heard of them at Oskaloosa; their number had increased to 80, and would be increased to 100 probably by the time they reached Nebraska City. I appointed Mr. F. C. Wheeler, of Stowell's party, who had been into Kansas, our agent, to meet this party and guide them into the Territory. I also advised Mr. Parsons by letter to distribute his men among the three road towns, Plymouth, Lexington and Concord, (lately established by the emigrants known as Lane's men,) if they were willing to settle in these places.

At Iowa City and subsequently I made inquiries about the route to Kansas through that point, and I found that it is longer and more expensive than the route through Burlington and Mount Pleasant. There are several roads from Iowa City to Nebraska City, and consequently the distance is variously given, and even on the same road, different men will give you different distances; but as nearly as I can ascertain, the shortest way from Iowa City to Nebraska City is through Oskaloosa—298 miles as I reckon it.—The stage road passes through Fort Des Moines, and the shortest distance this way is 311 miles, as I reckon it.

No party, however, has ever got to the river by traveling so few as 311 miles from Iowa City. Stowell's men were 18 days on the road, and say they traveled 380 miles—probably it was 350 at least; and no contracts with teamsters are made for less than 300 miles.

From Mt. Pleasant, the present terminus of the Burlington and Missouri Railroad, the shortest distance I could hear of to Nebraska City, is 263 miles. This is the distance given by the circular of the Burlington and Missouri road, and may be correct; but the distance given by stage drivers over the same road is 273 miles, 25 less than the shortest distance from Iowa City, and 38 less than the Fort Des Moines road. I believe the difference in distance between the two routes, as actually traveled by emigrants, would be at least 30 miles in favor of the Mt. Pleasant route. I have written several letters from different points on my journey, in which I have stated these matters differently from this, but I was obliged to use such information as I could get. I now give the result of all my inquiries and actual travel over a portion of the road.

I rode in stage coaches and otherwise over about ninety miles of the Mt. Pleasant route, and nearly 200 miles of the other. The roads seemed equally good, and are easy for emigrants to travel at this season. I passed great numbers of emigrants going West—some to western Iowa, some to Nebraska, some to Kansas, and many to Salt Lake. With horses these parties travel twenty-five miles a day; with oxen, about twenty miles;—so that the journey from Mt. Pleasant to the river ought to be made in from eleven to fifteen days, and from Iowa City in from twelve to eighteen days. The expense per man for Stowell's party was about \$16—by the Mt. Pleasant route it ought to be about \$13. The railroad fare to Iowa City and Mt. Pleasant is just the same.

The southern route has this advantage over the Iowa City route—that the counties through which it passes are much better settled, and the towns on the road much larger—thus affording the emigrants better facilities for purchasing provisions and what else they may need. Starting from Henry county this road passes through Jefferson, Wapello, Monroe, Lucas, Clark, Union, Adams, Montgomery, Mills, and a corner of Fremont county. The principal towns on this line are Fairfield, Ottumwa, Albia, Chariton, Osceola, Afton, Quincy and Glenwood. A reference to the census returns will show the comparative population of these towns and counties and those on the other route. Another advantage in making Mt. Pleasant the starting point of the emigrant teams is the strong feeling in favor of Kansas in that town and the whole neighborhood. At Iowa City there are many warm friends of Kansas, but also some bitter pro-slavery men, and not a few spies. I learn also that teams can be procured at less expense at Mount Pleasant than at Iowa City.

Taking all these things into consideration, it is my conviction that the southern route is the best and should be followed by all eastern parties. This conclusion is agreed in by many other gentlemen who have examined the matter.

I reached Mount Pleasant on the 11th inst., and started from that point on the 12th for Nebraska City. I could not go on the emigrant road all the way, because the stage road runs to Council Bluffs instead of to Glenwood, and I went by stage as the quickest way. Whatever the advertisements may say to the contrary, there is no line of coaches running from Mount Pleasant to Nebraska City. Coaches run daily (I think) to Chariton, but west

of that there is only a weekly coach to Glenwood and a tri weekly out from Glenwood to Nebraska City.

The Western Stage Company, however, are ready to put on a line of coaches as soon as there shall be travel enough between Mount Pleasant and Glenwood to justify it, and it should be one of our first objects to have such a line established. It would then be possible to go from Chicago to Nebraska City in eighty hours, and to Topeka in two days more. A line of stages from Nebraska City to Topeka is also much needed, and measures have been taken to establish one. But little capital is needed for such a line, and it would be a good investment. With such a line, the mail might be carried from Topeka to Boston in nine or ten days—quicker than it now comes from Lawrence to Boston.

I reached Nebraska City on the 16th, in four days and seven hours from Mt. Pleasant. I rode day and night by stage to Council Bluffs on the Missouri, and reached there in three days and eight hours. From there I went in a steam boat, but I might have taken the stage coach, which runs from Council Bluffs through Glenwood, Tabor and Sidney, and have reached Nebraska City a little sooner than I did by the boat. These coaches run tri weekly—leaving Council Bluffs Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and leaving Sidney for Council Bluffs on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays. There is also a tri-weekly line of coaches between Omaha and Nebraska City, on the West of the Missouri—but they are two days in making the trip.

My object in going to Nebraska was to ascertain the truth about the emigrant party known as Lane's, concerning which I had then no accurate information. I found on my arrival that this party numbering 324 men, 38 women and 22 children, had gone into Kansas without resistance, had founded three towns, Plymouth, Lexington and Concord, on the road to Topeka, and had in all respects carried out the objects for which they went. I saw three men of this party, belonging to Stowell's company, which left Worcester on the 25th of June; and from them I got full accounts of their whole journey and the condition of their party; but since this has been already described in the newspapers I shall not dwell upon it.

I cannot, however, refrain from expressing my earnest opinion that these emigrants have done for the North a most arduous and important work, for which they deserve the thanks and the support of all the friends of Kansas in the free States. Up to the 18th, when I left Nebraska City, it was perfectly practicable for large or small parties, or single individuals, to enter Kansas through Nebraska by the route which these men opened, and which their towns protected. What has since happened I cannot say, but I know that if the North chooses she can pour in by this route emigrants enough before December to make Kansas a free State.

Nebraska City deserves to be spoken of more fully, since it is a point of so much importance to our emigration. It is a growing town, of upwards of 1000 inhabitants, about 40 miles from the Kansas line, and 120 from Topeka. On the opposite shore of the Missouri lies the town of Sidney, in Iowa, and there is a ferry across the river. The people of Nebraska City have a pecuniary interest in the settling of Kansas, and are therefore favorable to the passing of emigrants through their town; but apart from this there is much feeling there in favor of the Free State party, and a disposition to aid them. Should the Missouri men cross into Nebraska to intercept emigrants, the people of this town would turn out to drive them away, as they did, to some extent, on a rumor that our emigrants had been attacked.

Nearly all the supplies which are sent into Kansas must pass through this place, and you will at once see its value as a depot of provisions, arms, &c. At present prices here are very high. I spent two days and a half in the town, and became acquainted with several of the citizens, who are mostly from the western free States, and from Missouri. Sidney, the county seat of Fremont County, Iowa, is a town of two or three hundred people, and a strong pro-slavery place. The ferry here also is kept by a pro-slavery man, and spies abound in Sidney and in Nebraska City. For this reason, either Glenwood or Tabor should be the town aimed at by parties going through Iowa.

Near Glenwood is the Platte river, and near Tabor the Wyoming ferry. Kept by a good Free State man; but, if parties choose, they can go from either of these towns to the Nebraska City ferry. Glenwood is the county seat of Mills county, with some 500 inhabitants, and but seven miles from the river; Tabor is a small village a few miles further from the river, and about half way between Sidney and Glenwood, and is full of Free State men.

On the morning of the 19th, when I left Nebraska City, nothing was known of the fight at Franklin or Leecompton; but in course of that day a messenger arrived with the news. I heard it first at Sidney on the 20th, from passengers coming from Missouri. On the morning of the 21st I met a gentleman from Kansas who gave me the account brought by the messenger to Nebraska City, but I was too far on my way East to allow me to return and visit Kansas, as I should have been glad to do. All the early accounts of those troubles are either false or grossly exaggerated. The truth seems to be that the Free State men of Kansas, tired of submitting to such robbery and insult as they had endured for three months and reasonably fearful of a new invasion from Missouri, have resolved to take law in their own hands and drive out their

plunderers who have been fortifying themselves in various places. I believe they have never attacked without sufficient provocation, and that they are taking the only course possible for them.

A large body of Missourians, excited by inflammatory handbills and false rumors, have probably entered Kansas ere this, to destroy our brethren there. I do not estimate the armed force of these men at more than 1500. The Free State men have probably as many fighting men in the Territory, and there may be 2000. What will be the issue? A few days will decide, but I believe our men will not be beaten. They are much better armed than they were a month ago—they are encouraged by victory, and urged on by necessity and the justice of their cause. Unless the Federal troops attack them, I believe they will maintain themselves—but they need *immediate help*. They are receiving reinforcements of men, arms and ammunition, but they will need much more than they can receive within the next two weeks. *We must aid them—we must raise more money and see that more men go on.* Now is the time to act, and we can act to some purpose. The road through Nebraska is open—we must see that emigrants pass in there incessantly till winter stops them, and we must support those already there. *This will save Kansas.*

On my return I arrived at Chicago on the 26th, having been delayed two days on the road. I again conferred with the committee there and reported to them such facts as I had to communicate. They desire me to say to you and to the people of New England, that no effort will be spared by them to appropriate to good uses all the money sent them,—and that they hope such aid from you as will enable them to carry out their system of operations. They urge the necessity of speedy action—but do we need such urging? Shall not the blood of murdered men, the ties of friendship, the sacred obligation of our promises, the cause of Freedom brutally endangered and the love of our country and of mankind incite us to action? If not, we are unworthy of this crisis, of the State we dwell in, and the cause to which we have pledged ourselves.

With much respect, F. B. SANBORN,
Sec'y of Middlesex Committee.

TO THE PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—I entreat your attention to the above statement, and to the great crisis which the affairs of Kansas have now reached. No words of mine can add force to the appeal which the bloody events of each day in that sad land make to you for action. But this I believe—that you have it in your power by liberal contributions of money and men—but first of all money—to rescue Kansas from her present need and secure her to Freedom. I adjure you then not to delay an instant. Call meetings, raise money, encourage emigration over this open road, and do not cease till you are sure you have effected your object. In the name of Kansas I earnestly call upon you to: without delay. F. B. SANBORN
Boston. Aug. 30, 1856.

THE PRESIDENT AND KANSAS. A dispatch from Washington dated the 30th says:

"Messrs. Hyatt, Army and Davis, the sub-national committee, had a conference with the President to-day, and report that he qualified his general policy, expressing his belief that if the inhabitants of Kansas had been more anxious for peace and less anxious about their institutions, that there would have been no trouble. He does not think the condition of things in the territory is such as to prevent the obtaining of justice in the Courts, and admits that the possession of arms is the constitutional right of all American citizens. He pledged himself that the invasions of the territory should be prevented, come from whatever quarter they might. He declared that the actual settlers should have a fair election, though it should require the entire force of the government to do it. He expresses his determination to enforce the territorial laws, and said he had no power to protect emigrants on their way to the territory, and that they must rely upon the civil authorities."

The remark that if the Kansas people had been more anxious for peace and less anxious about their institutions, there would have been no trouble, is undoubtedly true. All they had to do to secure peace, was to allow Missouri to introduce by force her institutions among them. That was all; a very simple process. We wonder why the settlers never thought of this. Perhaps they did, but the bad blood transmitted to them by their revolutionary ancestors prevented them from taking advantage of this admirable specific for Peace. Washington, Adams and Jefferson might have had peace with England on the same terms without the "trouble" of that "seven years war" which some people are so much in the habit of bragging about.

THE KANSAS FUND.—P. T. Jackson, Trustee of the Kansas Fund, writes to the Boston Courier to contradict a lie which appeared in the Albany Statesman, and was quoted by the Courier, viz.: that "a large amount of money has been raised. Not a dollar of it has found its way into Kansas, for the relief of the needy settlers."

Bath Daily Tribune.

MONDAY MORN., SEPT. 1, 1856.

MISSTATEMENT CORRECTED.

PORTLAND, August 18, 1856.

Mr. Editor:—A friend has called my attention to the following paragraph in a communication from Waterville, Me., in the Boston Journal of to-day:

"There were speeches made by several of the Alumni, and among them, the Rev. Mr. Swallow, recently from Kansas, who enlarged upon the wrongs committed there, and said, he was seriously in doubt whether, when he next returned from that country, he would not be compelled to show his passports."

This paragraph, I suppose, refers to me, though I have no claim to the "Rev.," as in some remarks made at the commencement dinner, I very briefly alluded to the troubles in Kansas. The writer however, gives a very different impression from what I intended to convey.

At the commencement dinner, I was called out in a playful manner as a *Border Ruffian*, which led me to allude very briefly to the affairs of Kansas in my few words of response. I expressed the opinion that many wrongs had been perpetrated; that a large part of them had grown out of the mutual misunderstandings of the two parties, there engaged in the disastrous strife; that these so called *Border Ruffians*, on the one side, and the *Northern Abolitionists* on the other, could they but meet and become better acquainted, would have a much more favorable opinion of each other, and our beloved country would be saved from the evils of this dangerous strife; that it is time for men of sound learning and enlarged views, to take conservative ground, and stand firm against the extreme notions of the day; and that the pleasure of visiting my native State and sharing the annual literary festivals of our sister colleges, had been somewhat diminished by the doubt whether I should ever again be permitted to visit the graves of my fathers without passports.

I did not enlarge upon the wrongs of Kansas, as such a course would have called forth the bitter feelings of the partizan, and desecrated the hallowed precincts of a college commencement, by obscuring and obliterating the sweet and sacred memories of such an occasion. For the facts, which have come under my observation, during a five years residence in Missouri, and a somewhat intimate acquaintance with all parts of that State, and Eastern Kansas, would have compelled me to take ground far different from many of those *Eye-Witnesses*, who are perambulating the country, and enlarging upon the wrongs of Kansas, for the purpose of collecting money or electing a favorite candidate. These facts would compel me to say that the population of the central and western counties of Missouri, from which the largest portion of the Kansas emigrants went, are in an eminent degree, a highly educated, generous and christian people; that a very large portion (nearly all) of these so called *Border Ruffians*, condemn the illegal rioting in Kansas, whether perpetrated by the pro-slavery or the anti-slavery parties, that they deprecate all the causes and unforeseen circumstances, which have led to the unhappy state of affairs in that Territory; that, while all the proud sensibilities and generous hospitality of the Missourians have been most wantonly outraged and misrepresented by some ignorant, heartless emigrants, and a few unscrupulous politicians, and while many wrongs have been committed on both sides, still a very large part of what we hear and see in print, exists only in the too fertile imaginations of those who narrate them. Nor do I fear that I shall need passports from Kansas through Missouri, but from one part to the other of our Union, when sundered by the sectional jealousies so fiercely cultivated at the present time by both extremes. For these and other reasons I scrupulously avoided taking any partizan grounds in this matter.

I write this hasty note, lest the paragraph above quoted, should lead some to suppose I have violated the principle so long held sacred by nearly all of our most successful instructors, that the public teacher should take no active part in the partizan politics of the day.

G. C. SWALLOW.

Morning Chronicle.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1856.

Correspondence of the Chronicle.

LETTER FROM KANSAS.

LEAVENWORTH CITY, Aug 19, '56.

Dear Friends:—All is confusion and alarm again in this territory. Last Thursday and Friday, reports were circulated here that Leecompton had been burnt, and that Col. Lane was in the territory at the head of a thousand men, &c.; but this has since proved to be false; at least, as far as the burning of Leecompton is concerned. There is a strong body of Free State men camped near that place, but it is doubtful whether they have any connexion with Col. Lane. This whole affair has grown out of the encounter with horse thieves, which I mentioned in my last. After the gang were driven out of Franklin, they reveleged themselves on every unarmed person they met. Before the Lawrence company reached home, they found one of their most prominent citizens with his throat cut. The band that perpetrated this outrage was said to have been headed by Col. Titus, and they first retreated to the Warkarusa, where they had built a fort. Here they were soon whipped out, leaving their fire-arms and baggage; they then fled to Leecompton. It is reported that most of the inhabitants of that place have left.

For the last three or four days there have been very exciting times in this city. There is a strong pro-slavery force here, which they have been mustering for several days, to go to Leecompton, but seem in no hurry to start; I presume they will leave to-day, however.—They have a camp at a spring about two miles out of town. Every man here is armed; in fact, it would not be safe to be otherwise. I saw three or four men shot at in the streets last Sunday; there is hardly five minutes in the day that one is not startled by the report of fire-arms. It was rumored that an attack was to be made on this city last night, and all the Free State men driven out; but there was no alarm. If the attempt had been made, it would hardly have succeeded; the population is so mixed in regard to parties. People are much alarmed here, especially those who have families. Still I think the place is in no danger; for the reason that the property holders are very evenly divided, politically. The attack would fall with nearly equal force on this class; and it is for the interest of the one portion to use its influence to protect the other. I was told last night that one thousand Missourians were on the march to the territory, and more would soon follow.

Last night a man was shot and scalped on the Lawrence road, about two and a half miles from this city. He landed at this place about two weeks since, with his wife and sister; and leaving his baggage at a storage house, hired a buggy, and started for Lawrence, from which place he was returning, when he was overtaken by a drunken bully, named Fugot, who asked him where he was from; upon his answering Lawrence; F. drew his revolver, shot him through the head, and afterwards scalped him. Fugot, it is said, went down the river on the steamer Polar Star, this morning. I will write again in a day or two.

P. S.—Lane is here, with an organized force; prospect of a big fight immediately;—two thousand more border ruffians coming over the river!

F. H. B.

KANSAS.—The following dispatch is from St. Louis, Aug. 30. The reported loss is doubtless greatly exaggerated. What is called "Lane's Army," is nothing more than a company of peaceable emigrants with their wives and children, the men armed only for self defence, and the design of the company being only to settle permanently in the territory. The whole number, men, women and children, is 384. They have already taken up lands, founded settlements, and established themselves in the peaceful pursuits of life. On the other hand, the Georgians and South Carolinians have gone there in military array, have lived in camps, supported themselves by contributions from the South and by plunder on the settlers, and with design of remaining no longer than their presence may be necessary to establish slavery there.

Republican Gazette.

The Constitution, Liberty and the Union,
Now and Forever, One and Inseparable.

TRENTON:

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1856.

Religious Liberty Proscribed and Persecuted.

We published yesterday an account of the attack made by the Ruffian Invaders of Kansas upon a settlement of members of the Society of Friends. We give to-day the letter of a Methodist minister, showing how the same lawless wretches persecute and murder the Methodists. These are but the natural fruits of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—a measure which Mr. Buchanan pledges himself to sustain—while Mr. Fillmore pledges himself not to re-establish the Compromise. We say these are the natural fruits of this dangerous and destructive policy—a policy which no party but the Republican, seeks to change.

Religious liberty and civil liberty must always stand or fall together. They cannot be separated. They are indissolubly connected. Indeed, religious liberty includes all true civil liberty, and no people can exercise the former without, as a necessity, enjoying the latter. Therefore, the attempt to force slavery upon Kansas, must produce these attempts to expel religious liberty thence. The people of the United States have now to determine whether the power of their Federal Government shall be combined with that of the invaders of Kansas, to deprive its inhabitants of the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences. The infamous code of Kansas cannot be enforced, without subjecting the Northern Methodists and the Quakers to extreme persecution. According to that code the free expression of the religious sentiments of either of these sects, is punishable with death. This is the code which Pierce sustains by the military power of the government. This is the code, to sustain which, the representatives of the American people in Congress refused to appropriate the public money. This is the code which the Senate, representing in an especial manner the slave-holding minority, says shall be sustained in defiance of the will of the American people. This is the code which Buchanan is pledged to enforce—which the Democratic party in Congress, and in the South, do support, although they cannot

justify it; and which the Democratic party in the North also sustain, by sustaining the measures and candidates of their party, and by sneering at and ridiculing the sufferings and martyrdom of these defenders of civil and religious freedom in Kansas. This is the code which Mr. Fillmore is bound by his pledge, not to oppose if elected President. In all this broad land—the vaunted "land of the free," there is but one party which rallies to the defence of religious liberty, and of its martyrs, flying from extreme persecution; that party is the Republican party. Let every man sustain it, or oppose it, according as he is the friend or the enemy of religious and civil liberty.

Ohio State Journal.

COLUMBUS:

MONDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 1, 1856.

Late and Interesting from Kansas—Speech of Governor Shannon.

The following facts we gather from the correspondence of the *Tribune* and other papers; The murder of Major Hoyt caused an intense feeling of hatred to Ruffianism and a desire to rid the Territory of the marauders, and accordingly a force of fifty men marched from Lawrence to Fort Saunders, which is the name given to the den of robbers and murderers on Washington creek. When the Lawrence men reached Kansas city, a committee was appointed to visit Major Sedgwick, the commandant of three dragoon companies near Leocompton.

The committee was directed to inform the Major of the brutal murder of Mr. Hoyt, who had been riding along peaceably and unarmed, in the vicinity of Fort Saunders on Washington creek; that when his body was found by some Free State men, it was pierced through with ten balls, his throat cut, and a paper plastered on his face to prevent his being recognized by his friends. The committee was also directed to tell him of the murder, on the Santa Fe road, of Mr. George Williams another Free State man, and to ask him to drive the gang from the Territory. The committee returned to Kansas city on the 15th, about noon, and stated that Major Sedgwick was acting under orders, and that he had no orders to disband any company unless required to do so by his superior officer, or by the Governor, or something to that effect.

There were rumors of 300 Kickapoo rangers marching to enforce the Ruffians. The Lawrence men then marched, upon the fort, and after a smart engagement the Ruffians fled, and the Free State men took possession.

A great many interesting relics were taken from the fort before it was destroyed; some of them indicative enough of the character of its inmates. For instance, there was any quantity of "yaller kivered" literature; a copy of "The Laws of Kansas," bound in calf, several silk parasols and other articles of dress belonging to the Lawrence ladies, taken during the sack on the 21st of May; and some United States muskets. But the best trophy of all—one which exhibited the appreciation and taste of its designers to the best advantage—was a flag with a white ground, in one corner of which were thirteen black stars. Across it were three black stripes, each about six inches wide, and in another corner were the words, "Enforce the Laws, '76," with the names of two ladies, supposed to be the donors.

On the 17th, Gov. Shannon, Major Sedgwick and two other men came to Lawrence from Leocompton. A council was called, which remained in session six hours. After it was through Col. Walker and Governor Shannon came on the piazza, and addressed the people. The Governor looks thin and care worn. Here is his speech:

FELLOW CITIZENS: I appear before you to-day under very extraordinary circumstances, and I ask your attention for a few moments to a few remarks in relation to them. I came

down here to-day for the purpose of adjusting these difficulties, if possible, and I regret as much as any man can—as much as any man within the sound of my voice—of the existence of these difficulties.

I wish, too, to set myself right before the people of Lawrence. I have been traduced and misrepresented through the press, my motives—those which heretofore have actuated me—have either been misunderstood or purposely aspersed, and things have been said of me which never happened. I desire now to say, while I remain in office, that I have never done a single act but what I believed would best subserve the interests of the whole people. God knows I have no ill-feelings against any man in this Territory, but on the contrary, I desire the health, happiness and prosperity of every man in the Territory.

I am sorry that blood has been shed here. In the war of the Revolution, our fathers from both the North and the South fought and bled together for the same common cause—the cause of Liberty—and the result was a glorious triumph of arms, and the security to themselves and to posterity of their inalienable rights. So it was in the war of 1812—so it was in the war with Mexico; the North fought side by side with the South, and the stars and stripes floated each time over a conquering nation. And shall we steep our hands in our brother's blood here? [A voice—"Give us back Barber, and others that were murdered." Cries of "Order," "Order," "Law and order." Another voice—"Don't insult the Governor," "Go on."]

I came down here for purposes of peace, to try and adjust a serious difficulty between the people now in this Territory. In a few days my successor will be among the people of this Territory; and I desire now to say that the few days which remain of continuance in office, will be devoted to further peace and harmony, and to carrying out, as far as in me lies, the terms of agreement which are mine to perform. I trust the result of this agreement will be the final settlement of all strife and difficulty—that these will be succeeded by peace and prosperity and happiness to all. Only let the people have these invaluable blessings, and the bones and muscles and brains of contented citizens will develop the rich natural resources of the Territory—a Territory far surpassing in richness and beauty any other on God's broad earth. [A voice—"Let us hear the terms of the agreement; I did not understand them thoroughly." Several voices—"What are the terms? Let us hear them."]

Capt. Walker has stated the terms, and the few days that I remain in office will be devoted, so help me heaven, in carrying out faithfully my part of them and in preserving order. [Cries of "Let's hear the terms," "Order," "Law and Order."] The terms are simply these: I agree to release the prisoners held at Leocompton—five in number—and to use the military force under command of Major Sedgwick to repel any armed body of men who shall be found in the Territory for any other than peaceful purposes. I also agree to deliver over to Major Sedgwick the cannon taken from Lawrence on the 21st of May last, said cannon to be subject to the order of Capt. Walker. On the other hand you agree to deliver up the nineteen or twenty prisoners which you hold, and set them at liberty. [Here he was interrupted by a great many questions, explanations, &c. When order was restored he proceeded.] Tell citizens of Lawrence, before leaving you I desire to express my earnest desire for your health, happiness and prosperity. Farewell!

The Governor was treated respectfully, and the terms of adjustment proposed were deemed satisfactory by the Free State men.

As soon as this speech was finished, Capt. Bell, formerly of Illinois, and Capt. Cutter, formerly of Boston, made some remarks explanatory of the terms of this verbal treaty. The five prisoners alluded to are those arrested by Deputy Sheriff Fane, so that it will be seen Gov. Shannon virtually ignores the bogus laws at last.

A letter in the *Tribune* dated Lawrence, August 16th, gives an account of the fight between the Free State men and the Ruffian force under Capt. Titus, which took place on that day. The writer says:

As Titus had threatened to hang every Free State man whom he took prisoner, and as he had said that he would neither give nor ask quarter in any fight, it was supposed that an arrest by such a fiend was equivalent to a murder. Acting upon this idea, the men at Walker's camp, under command of Col. Walker, Capt. Brown and others—Gen. Cook having

not the Free people of the North vote for a party which has brought this frightful state of affairs upon a peaceful community, and which is pledged to sustain the perpetrators of these outrages?

gone to Topeka—immediately marched to Titus's camp, near Leecompton, the distance from Rdok Creek being about ten miles. They reached the place a little after daybreak, and immediately surrounded it with a company of cavalry. Like Fort Sanders it was built of square-hewed logs, but had not the natural strength of position of Fort Sanders. The cavalry company were immediately fired upon from within, and Captain Shombra, formerly of Indiana, was mortally wounded.

The cavalry then retreated about rifle-shot distance from the fort; a single six-pound of artillery was planted, and after a few shots, the Ruffians stuck a white flag out of the window and wared it *some*. Hostilities ceased, and the Free State men took nineteen prisoners, including "Titus, commanding," and "Donaldson, adjutant," of the "Order No. 1." Some twenty or thirty muskets were taken, and a Sharp's rifle taken from here on the 21st of May, was recovered. The loss was as follows: Two Pro-Slavery men killed and three wounded; one

Free-State man killed and one wounded. Titus was among the wounded, but his wounds are not of a serious nature, having only lost a finger and a thumb.

A programme for the future was found at this place in the shape of a letter addressed to a friend at the South. It stated that the Southern companies were to incite the "Abolitionists" to retaliate, whereupon Gen. Smith was to "pitch into" them, and with the assistance of the force to be raised by "Titus commanding," along about the first Monday of September, he would drive them out of the Territory. It will be seen that the plan of operations was perfected on a grand scale, but like many other grand projects, its execution will probably be defeated by the intensity of its grandeur.

The prisoners were taken to Lawrence and confined in the office of the late *Herald of Freedom*, where but a few months ago some of them had assisted in raising a blood-red flag in honor of "South Carolina" and "Southern Rights." So we go. The place from which on the 21st of May last they howled forth their shouts of victory is now their prison.

On the 18th a detachment of 25 dragoons came from Leecompton, with the five prisoners, and those taken by the Free State men were delivered over to the dragoons, nineteen in all, including Donaldson and Titus. The cannon was transferred by the Governor to Major Sedgwick, to be returned by him to the Free State men. Thus matters remained until the 20th, when rumors again reached Lawrence of an invasion of 4,000 Missourians, about to be made, in pursuance of an order issued by Gen. Richardson, dated Leavenworth City, August 18th, for the assembling of the Border Ruffian Militia. This force, however, has not yet made its appearance. The writer says:

Another brutal murder took place near Leavenworth on the 19th. A gentleman named Hopps or Hupps of Ohio, came here last week and left his wife and returned to Leavenworth for his goods, &c. When he got a mile or two this side of that city, on his return, he was overtaken (it is supposed), shot and scalped, and in this condition was found by some troops who happened along shortly afterward. No clue to the murderers has yet been found, but it is supposed that he expressed his sentiments too freely in Leavenworth. The Rev. Mr. Bird came from Leavenworth to day for his wife, who is a sister of the Rev. E. Nute, pastor of the Unitarian Church in this city.

Another murder took place in Westport, yesterday, of a man named Jennison, a Lawrence teamster, who was on his way home from Kansas City with a load. He was also scalped, and his load and team taken to Milton McGee's house.

On these murders I will make no comments. I only chronicle them as being a part of our history.

Henry J. Sambre, Esq., who was killed on Saturday last in the battle of Titus's camp, was a highly respected and popularly known member of the bar in Richmond, Indiana. He was unmarried, and was about 30 years of age. He was buried yesterday with military honors, and his remains lie side by side with those of the murdered Barber. There let him rest! His last words were these: "Tell my friends that I offer up my life a willing sacrifice to Freedom in Kansas." How many young men of the North are willing to do so? And yet the dearest interests of Constitutional Liberty are at stake, and thousands of young men are looking idly on!

Thus matters stand in Kansas. Why ought

The Kansas War.

[From the Glasgow (Mo.) Times, Sept. 2.]
FIGHT AT OSAWATOMIE—BORDER RUFFIAN ACCOUNT

—KILLED AND WOUNDED ON BOTH SIDES.
We have just received, per steamer William Campbell, an extra from the *Western Dispatch* office, dated Independence, Sunday evening, containing important news from Kansas. The letters below were brought in by Mr. Sheppard, of Independence, a reliable man. He says a battle had been fought in the direction of Fort particulars. In which thirteen Southern men were killed. No

The letters from Capt. Reid and Mr. Chiles follow:—

CAMP BULL CREEK, Aug. 31, 1856.
I moved with 250 men on the abolition fort and town of Osawatomie—the headquarters of old Brown—last night before 10; marched forty miles and assaulted the town without dismounting the men, about sunrise on yesterday. We had a brisk fight for an hour or more, and had five men wounded—none dangerously—Captain Boyce, William Gordon and three others. We killed about 50 of them, among the number, certain, a son of old Brown, and almost certain old Brown himself; destroyed all their ammunition and provisions, and the boys would burn the town to the ground. I could not help it. We must be supported by our friends. We still want more men and ammunition—ammunition of all sorts. Powder, muskets, balls and caps is the constant cry. I write in great haste, as I have been on saddle, rode one hundred miles and fought a battle, without rest.

CAMP AT BULL CREEK, Aug. 31, 1856.
General Reid, with 250 men, had a fight at Osawatomie yesterday. We had four men wounded.—Captain Boyce of Lexington; Frank Gordon, of Clay; Captain Boyce had his wrist broken; Gordon was shot in the shoulder; young Jackson, of Howard, was shot in the mouth—badly hurt. Geo. Gordon of Lafayette, shot in the thigh. Young Parker, of Lafayette, was shot in the leg. The abolitionists made the attack. We killed twenty and burnt the town. Same evening a large number made their appearance near camp. We expect to have a fight at Prairie City. We then march to Lawrence, where we will have the big fight. We need men and means. There are here now 1,200 men, and about 5000 opposite Lawrence that will operate with us. Brown was supposed to be killed at Osawatomie. Urge all men to come on.
JAS CHILES.

Daily Democrat.
Sept 2 1856

FROM KANSAS.

[From the Kansas Herald.]
TERRITORIAL NEWS.

Up to the time of our going to press we could learn nothing late from the seat of war. Our latest advices from Leecompton inform us that there are some six hundred U. S. troops encamped there subject to the order of our acting Governor, Hon. Dan'l. Woodson.

The most interesting item of news we have to record is the seizure of four of the enemy's wagons by Capt. Fred. Emory and his gallant company. The wagons were loaded with provisions for the enemy, and were in *transitu* for Lawrence. The drives and men along with the train, amounting to ten—just the number composing Capt. Emory's company—were taken prisoners, and the wagons and contents conveyed as booty to the nearest camp of our forces. All praise to Capt. Emory!

Lane's forces are still concentrated, we learn, at Lawrence, and are preparing for an attack.—They have raised fortifications around the town and ferry. They number some two thousand strong, and are all well armed and disciplined.—Report says they are short of provisions.

Our forces have started on their march to Leecompton, and have probably reached there ere this. Most of them are well armed and mounted, and will give Lane and his ragged regiment—*Jessie*. We will probably hear something of them to-day.

Col. Titus and men, who were taken prisoners by the enemy, have been released, an exchange of prisoners having been effected by the intercession of Gov. Shannon and others. Colonel Titus was severely wounded at the time of the attack on his company, as our readers will recollect, but is now, we are happy to learn, in a fair way to recover.

We learn that several abolitionists have been taken prisoners by our forces, among whom is a Rev. Mr. Bird—a Bird who is well known here for his beautiful plumage.

Highly Interesting News.

We surrender the greater share of our paper this morning to Kansas and California news.

The letter of our correspondent in the territory will be found to contain a fair and reliable statement of the recent difficulties, and will serve to convince many of the extravagancies and exciting errors which, having their origin chiefly in the disturbed imaginations and evil hearts of such men as Atchison, Stringfellow, and others of like dishonesty, are now filling certain sections of the country with great and unnecessary exasperation and alarm.

[Special Correspondence of the Missouri Democrat.]

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Aug. 27, 1856.

This city once more assumes a defensive position. The two or three imprudent acts by which the people here sought to bring the murderers of Hoyt and Williams, and others, to justice, have been construed by the leaders of the southern party into an attempt at driving out the pro-slavery settlers, a design which was never once dreamed of by the Lawrence people. An address, inflammatory in its character, appealing to the passions of the people, distorting the real facts of the case, counselling another invasion from a foreign State, has been signed by Atchison, Stringfellow, Russell and Boone, and circulated in the western counties of Missouri. Lawrence seems to be the place selected as the victim of pro-slavery fanaticism, and the citizens of this unfortunate city are the sacrifices to be offered on its altar in pursuance of the fiat gone forth that "no quarter is to be given." It cannot, then, under these circumstances, surprise even the most conservative citizen in your State to know that the people here are preparing to defend their homes, and to this object are building fortifications, placing strong guards, and making themselves acquainted with military drill.—And I will venture the assertion that it must be a large force indeed that will force them to succumb.

I have characterized the several battles of which I have kept you fully advised as being imprudent on the part of the Free State settlers; but when we consider the fact that the United States troops were appealed to, to disband these gangs of "young gentlemen" in vain, when we consider that not one of the murderers of Free State men heretofore have been brought to justice, but rather encouraged by patronage from Mr. Pierce, and by being enrolled as United States officials, we are led to look upon the uprising of the people as perfectly natural, if not perfectly right. In judging of these things, people should lay the case in question in its true position; divesting themselves of all prejudice, they should ask themselves "What if these murders had occurred in our own State, and the authorities had refused to bring the murderers to justice—what would we have done?"

Civil war exists—there is no denying this—and civil war would be the result anywhere in the United States, where the people of one State undertook to control the actions of the people of another State. Civil war has been existing in Kansas ever since the 30th of March, 1855, and will continue to exist till the State government of Missouri or the general government at Washington shall take measures to prevent filibustering expeditions—in short till the actual settlers shall be allowed to cultivate peaceably their soil and their political opinions, and to decide peaceably the character of both at the ballot box.

I have stated that the address of Atchison & Co., distorts the facts of the cases which it attempts to describe in several instances. This you will already have learned by the letter dated August 16, written a few hours after the battle of Titus' camp, and though not there myself, the facts are given as stated to me by a reliable eye witness. It is indeed sad to think that men, and especially leaders, can be found, who are willing to distort facts for the purpose of inflaming the minds of men already too much inflamed—who will appeal to the passions of a mob, rather than to the reason of conservative citizens and unprejudiced men.

The following is one of the addresses issued and circulated in western Missouri; I wish to correct some of the statements made in it:

TO THE PUBLIC.

It has been our duty to keep you correctly and fully advised of the movements of the abolitionists. We knew that since Lane commenced his march, the abolitionists in the territory were engaged in stealing horses to mount his men, organizing and preparing immediately on their

arrival to carry out their avowed purposes of expelling or exterminating every pro-slavery settler.

We have seen them daily becoming more daring, as Lane's party advanced. We have endeavored to prepare our friends for the end which was foreseen, and which we now have to announce.

LANE'S MEN HAVE ARRIVED!!

CIVIL WAR IS BEGUN!!!

On the 7th inst. Brown, the notorious assassin and robber, with a party of about three hundred abolitionists, attacked and drove into Missouri, Cook and a colony of Georgians which had settled near Ossawatimie. This colony was unarmed and numbered in all, men, women, children and slaves, about two hundred. Their houses were burned, all their property (even to the clothes of the children) taken or destroyed!

On the 13th inst., a party numbering some fifty attacked the house of Mr. White in Lykins county, and drove him into Missouri, robbing him of everything. He is a Free State man, but sustains the laws, and was attacked for attempting to procure the arrest of the murderers.

On the 12th inst. three hundred abolitionists under Brown, many of them Lane's men, attacked a house occupied by the pro-slavery men in Franklin. Our friends numbering but fourteen, made a gallant fight until their house was set on fire. The abolitionists took the cannon which had been left at that place, all the territorial arms that were deposited there, broke open and robbed the post office.

On the 15th inst. they proceeded to attack Treadwell's settlement, in Douglas county, numbering about 30 men. The abolitionists numbered about 400 men, under the command of Brown and Walker, well mounted and armed.

They planted the cannon which had been taken at Franklin, and attempted to surround Treadwell's party. The latter, overpowered and scarce of ammunition, attempted to escape. But as they were on foot, we fear that most of them have fallen. Our friends are constantly coming in, robbed and plundered.

Hourly expresses arrive announcing the progress of the traitors. We have not time to give further details. We give these that you may see that it is no outbreak, but an organized campaign.

We believe that ere this Lecompton is taken. In ten days not one pro-slavery settler will be left on the south side of Kansas river, unless instant aid be given them.

Our friends on the north side, scattered and unprepared, will then be exterminated and expelled.

We give you no mere rumors, but a simple statement of undoubted facts. We say to you, that war, organized and matured, is now being waged by the abolitionists. And we call on all who are not prepared to see their friends butchered, to be themselves driven from their homes, to rally instantly to the rescue!

The abolitionists proclaim that "no quarter will be given!" "Every pro-slavery man must be exterminated." What will be your answer?

D. R. ATCHISON,
W. H. RUSSELL,
A. G. BOONE,
B. F. STRINGFELLOW.

Westport, Aug. 16, 1856.

The address states to the public that it has been the duty of the signers of it, viz: Atchison, Russell, Boone and Stringfellow, to keep correctly and fully advised of the movements of the abolitionists. (Every man who is in favor of making Kansas a free State, they call abolitionist.)

Now every man will concede to them the right to keep "booked up" in this and every other movement; but what makes it the duty of citizens of Missouri to interfere in the affairs of the citizens of Kansas, is not fully shown.

The first statement, that Brown with a party of three hundred abolitionists, drove a colony of Georgians into Missouri, is not true. Brown was in Iowa at the time this was said to have occurred. It is true that about eighty free State men left their homes and drove out a guerrilla band of horse thieves, about two hundred in number, and that they recovered some of the ladies' and childrens' clothing, taken at the sacking of Lawrence, and returned them to their owners. To say that they drove them out is not quite proper, for when they reached their den the guerrillas had left, and not a man could be seen. Their own guilty fears drove them away.

The second statement is untrue, because no man named White, or any other actual settler has been driven out by the free State men, and

no free State man in the territory pretends to acknowledge the bogus laws as valid.

The third statement in relation to Franklin, is distorted, as my letter of the 12th will show. There were less than one hundred free State men and over forty "young southern gentlemen." It is not true that the post office was broken open and robbed. It is true that a cannon, the same one which blew the Eldridge house down, and some muskets were taken.

The fourth statement in relation to Fort Sanders is greatly distorted. Treadwell and his followers had left there before the free State men reached the place. Treadwell and his men rode to Lecompton, and not a man of them have fallen; not even on their knees to ask forgiveness of God for the brutal murder of Mr. Hoyt.

Fifthly, Lecompton is not taken nor has there been any attempt to take it.

Ten days have passed, and not a pro-slavery settler, north or south of this river has been disturbed. On the contrary, it is the intention of the free State men, that every actual settler, of whatever politics, if he be peaceably disposed, will be protected from his dear friends, the invaders.

I presume the signers of this address believed these things were true, but they are false in almost every particular. The free State men have said nothing about the subject of quarter. They released the notorious Titus and eighteen other prisoners whom they took, uninjured! That does not look like "no quarter." Nor have free State men ever talked about extermination.—That kind of savage and foolish talk has been like the handle of a jug: all on one side. Free State men now, as heretofore, desire peace and security of life and property, and they intend to have these rights. But it is quite evident that the authors of the foregoing address desire war, invasion, bloodshed. Hence the people of Lawrence have once more put their city in the attitude of defense, for which they are better prepared than they were during the severe weather last winter.

JOHN SMITH.

THE EVENING NEWS.

Saint Louis:

TUESDAY EVENING, SEPT. 2, 1856.

Free State Accounts of the Kansas Battles.

The Richmond (Ind.) *Palladium* of the 29th contains two letters from Free State men, giving accounts of the recent outrages in Kansas. We give them below. They breathe the true partisan spirit which actuates both parties in the Territory:

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, August 18th.

On Saturday, the 16th, (Friday night, rather,) a party of five hundred Free State men were encamped seven miles above here for the purpose of rescuing some men held by the Pro-Slavery mob at Lecompton.—While there, it was ascertained that a party of Pro-Slavery men were encamped near Lecompton, within a mile. This party had been arresting, disarming and abusing Free State men for some time, also stealing horses from Free State men. This camp was attacked Saturday morning by a body of horsemen. The Pro-Slavery party all took shelter in a log house near by—from this shelter they poured a murderous fire into our party, and compelled them to retire beyond the hill, to wait till the artillery came up. In this affray, Capt. Shombre, of the Richmond Company, fell mortally wounded. He died this morning at three o'clock.

I would write fuller particulars of his death, but Dr. Avery will, of course, tell you all. Some seven or eight others were wounded on our side at the same fire, out of a squad of twenty or twenty-five. I had not been in our camp until the morning this affray took place, and then arrived just as the horsemen were starting and joined the party, and happened to be in the same squad with Shombre—the horse company had been

divided into three squads—and almost at his side when he received his wounds. He did not fall from his horse, but rode some distance and dismounted himself. After the artillery had arrived and five shots had been thrown into the house, the Ruffian party surrendered, being twenty-five or near that number. The fight occupied about two hours, and was within 1 1/2 miles of a large body of government troops. By this time the commander of the government forces had thrown a body of troops between us and Leecompton, and we were compelled to leave for Lawrence with the prisoners.

LAWRENCE, Aug. 18, 1856.
DEAR SIR:—We have had some more hard times here. We have fought three hard battles since I wrote you last. The boys from Richmond are here and have been in one fight since they arrived. They fought like men. H. J. Shombre fell the first fire mortally wounded, on the morning of the 16th, and died this morning. The fight was at Col. Titus' house, one of the worst men in the Territory. We killed two of their men and took 19 prisoners, three of them wounded. Titus was badly wounded, but it is thought not mortally, (which is a great pity.) I went up to him after he was wounded to shoot him, but he begged so hard that I could not do it. I have taken a solemn vow to shoot him if he ever takes up arms again. We have gained a great victory. Shannon came down here yesterday to know what we wanted. We told him we wanted the prisoners that were taken in fighting, the ruffians and thieves at Franklin, and our cannon that they took from us on the 22d May, all of which he had returned to us. We have lost some good and brave men in the last three fights. I thought I was about to go up at one time, sure. My hat was shot all to pieces on my head. Missourians are raising large forces to come here and kill the Free State men. I think they will have a 'good time' in doing it. We can raise two thousand men now, but if you can raise a few hundred more, send them along. The boys lament very much over the death of Shombre. He was universally beloved by all who knew him. Dr. Avery attended him in his last hours.
Yours in haste, DAVE

Latest by Mail.
THE EXCITEMENT INCREASING—A PARTY OF LANE'S MEN TAKEN PRISONERS.

From passengers who arrived yesterday from this Territory on the steamer *Osaract*, and who came down in the cars from Jefferson City, we learn that the excitement is increasing upon the frontier in the Territory. LANE'S regiment and followers are entrenched at Lawrence, and their numbers are variously estimated at from fifteen hundred to three thousand, all well armed. Col. DONIPHAN is said to be in command of the opposing parties, and a battle, and probably a bloody one, seems to be inevitable, and may have been fought before this time. A party consisting of about five of LANE'S men came into Leavenworth City last Thursday or Friday, for the purpose of getting provisions for their camp, and the whole were taken prisoners. Four of the men engaged in this enterprise, who were among those taken, and who were suffered to depart, came down yesterday on the cars. From all that we gather, we infer that the force at Lawrence is larger than has been represented, and that they are already preparing for a siege, and to this end had levied their contributions indiscriminately. The party who went to Leavenworth and were taken prisoners were there, it is supposed, to act in concert with LANE'S sympathizers, and assist in furnishing provisions, &c.
Gov. SHANNON, it is said, has been at Leavenworth City, but had left. The next news will probably be of a most exciting character.

THE JANESVILLE GAZETTE.
Sept. 2, 1856

FOUR SHANNON—A correspondent writing from Kansas, recently, says:
Little del Gov. Shannon think yesterday that he was succeeded. 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 needling to perouse, 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 dough-faces and pro-slavery hankers generally read the lesson. At this moment he has not probably a single friend on earth, and certainly does not deserve to have one. Will he be punished for his crimes against Kansas and the peace of the country, or will his mean servility, whittled to a point, pass into peaceful oblivion?

PIERCE'S MANAGEMENT OF KANSAS.—A recent resident Waukegan, writes to his friend there as follows:

"The present commander Gen. Smith, is a southerner, and deems it decidedly incendiary and 'sectional' for free-state men to come into the territory in bands larger than half a dozen men. I understand that he has intercepted several emigrant trains coming through Nebraska, because they had guns with them. It is all right for southern emigrants to come in with as many muskets and side arms as they please. They are administration men, but a northern man must come perfectly defenceless, with nothing but his jack-knife. For this said Pierce. The honest emigrants from the north are treated worse than pirates and outlaws.—We are shut out from the enjoyment of rights plainly guaranteed by the constitution of the United States."

It was to check such infamous tyranny that the house of representatives added a proviso to the army bill, which the senate rejected, but to which the house rightly adhered.

The Daily Journal.

TUESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 2, 1856.

LATEST FROM KANSAS.

More Destruction of Life and Property!

ST. LOUIS, Saturday, Aug. 30.
The Evening News of this date contains another reported affair from Kansas, taken from the Jefferson City Enquirer, of the 27th, which learns from a gentleman who came to that place on a boat direct from Boonville, that he heard it stated that a letter from Mr. W. Shields gave the intelligence of the destruction of Tecumseh, and the killing of thirty pro-slavery men by the Abolitionists. We give the information, says the Enquirer, as it was related to us.

The above is a special despatch to the Louisville Courier, and appeared yesterday. It is rather the most round about piece of information we ever saw published. A paper learns from another paper that learns from a gentleman who heard somebody say that somebody else had received a letter from W. Shields stating that, &c. These Border Ruffian stories generally come in this way, and are invariably exploded in about a week.

Henry J. Shombre Killed in Kansas.

In another column of this paper will be found an extra from the Richmond (Ind.) Palladium, giving an account of the attack on Col. Titus' Camp in Kansas, in which HENRY J. SHOMBRE, Esq., a member of the bar in Wayne Co., Indiana, was killed. The N. Y. Tribune's correspondent writes that Shombre's last words were to tell his friends that he was willing to die for Freedom in Kansas. We knew Shombre well. He was among the first of those who were attracted to California by the stories of gold found there, and by labor in the mines he accumulated a sum that was good recompense for his adventures and toil. Subsequently he was a student at Farmers' College, and then a student at law in this city. Being admitted to the bar, he opened an office in Richmond, Indiana, and he had become very generally known through Central Indiana and South western Ohio. A few weeks ago he started for Kansas, declaring in a public speech his intention to make that Territory a Free State or perish—and he is dead. He was a noble specimen of manhood, somewhat eccentric withal, but it is not now our purpose to dwell upon his excellencies or his failings. As his friend, we feel a thrill of pride and satisfaction, that he met his fate with heroism. He has fallen, fighting in as good a cause as ever Heaven smiled upon, and he bequeaths to his country the rich example of a brave man dying for the rights of man. Green be the turf and fair the flowers over his grave, in the beautiful land he fought for and died to redeem. He fought and fell for justice, not glory, but lasting honors, and everlasting gratitude, are due his memory from his countrymen.—Let not the slanderous tongues or pens of the Border Ruffian partisans, dare to insinuate that he was an abolitionist or a traitor, for he was neither, but a Democrat—yet he could not close his eyes and ears to the tales of terror and suffering by the Free State men and women of Kansas; and

their appeals for help against the murderous, thieving incendiaries who killed, tortured, and impoverished them, were to him irresistible, and we cannot believe that the soil which drunk his blood, so generously shed for freedom, will ever be cursed by Slavery.—*Cin. Commercial.*

On Saturday last, John L. Robinson, a prominent leader of the pro-slavery party, in a speech at Richmond, said that the gentleman, so truthfully eulogized in the above extract, was a traitor and ought to have been hung. This is the language of "old line" Democracy to the Indians in Kansas who resist those laws, and those men, whom the best men of the party pronounce a "disgrace," and an "abomination," and who, the Sentinel said last summer, "ought to be hung on the nearest tree." There is something exceedingly repulsive to every proper feeling, in such attacks as these upon the dead. It is a pity that men ever descended to such displays of ferocity and hate. Shombre was dead, murdered, and Mr. Robinson could easily have found some better object of attack than his bloody grave. When party malice can follow a man to his grave, and like the hyena, tear and bite his dead body, it has sunk below denunciation, and merits only silent disgust.

Mr. Robinson was called to account for his most unmanly attack on Mr. Shombre, by a relative, after the speaking was over, and after a few words the parties came to blows. Both used their canes, but without much effect, as several men of both parties interfered, and took away their sticks. For awhile there was a general "muss," but Mr. Robinson's opponent at last got hold of him, and whaled him pretty severely. We have no approval to express of this mode of contradicting false assertions, or indelible abuse, but from what we learn, we certainly think that in this case the provocation was enough to excuse it.

Song for the Fremont Glee Club.

For the Register.
AT—*There's Music in the Waters.*
There's a wail upon the waters,
There's a wail upon the strand,
And the hills send back the echo,
To the fur off western lands;
Oh! it lingers round us sadly,
In the west winds floating by,
And we hear it shrieking mally
In the blast that sweeps the sky.
It is howling through the forest,
It is murmured o'er the plain,
And in thunder tones t'is speaking
On the tempest beaten main.
List! List! ye sons of Freedom,
Lo! it speaketh now to thee,
T'is the voice of Kansas pleading
That her children may be free;
Oh! the night of desolation,
Hovers darkly o'er her now,
And the foot of Usurpation
Prints its stain upon her brow;
And the clash of arms is ringing,
And the foe triumphant waves
His blood red Banner flinging
To the winds, o'er freemen's graves!
At the portal of the Union
Bleeding Kansas prostrate lies;
Tearfully she seeks admission,
Ere the hope of Freedom dies.
Dark the shadows closing round her,
In the tempest vaulted sky,
And the Ruffian hands that bound her,
Mock her cries for Liberty.
Rouse ye freemen! on to glory!

22 Shall her pleading be in vain?
Throw the gates wide open before thee,
Bid the stricken one come in.

Now there's music on the waters,
Now there's music on the strand,
And the hills repeat the echo,
Joyously to distant lands;
For freedom's flag is streaming
By the stream on rocky height,
And another star is gleaming,
In that galaxy of light.
Shout ye freemen! ye have conquered,
Let your watchword ever be—
As ye bear your banners onward
FREMONT! COLFAX!—VICTORY!
South Bend, Sept. 2d, 1856. A. V.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

TUESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 2, 1856.

"The Free State Men Must take Care of Themselves."

When the National Kansas Committee addressed President PIERCE a memorial, imploring him to exert his authority for the protection of the peaceable people of Kansas against the outrages of the Border Ruffians, the agent to whom the petition and accompanying papers were entrusted, was denied admission. The President of the United States, imitating the conduct of the British King and Parliament when petitions from the American colonies were presented, asking for a redress of grievances, turned a deaf ear and refused to see the messenger or give any heed to the call for aid. The messenger was met at the door by PIERCE's Private Secretary, and told that "the Free State men must take care of themselves."

The weak tyrant now at the helm has succeeded in getting an appropriation to pay the Border Ruffians and Buford militia for burning Kansas villages and driving off the free settlers, and can now say with impunity, "The Free State men must take care of themselves."—Spurned and oppressed by the officers who are sworn to protect them in their lawful rights, the Kansas people can only hope for aid from the people at large, through the ballot-box. They are now crushed by military and mob despotism, and unless FREMONT is elected President that despotism will be made perpetual. The first usurpation was the assumption of Legislative power by a band of men elected by Missourians, and now it is to be enforced by corresponding tyranny in high quarters. The promise of pacification—of a repeal of the Bogus laws—was made to deceive. Even Mr. CRITTENDEN's poor proposition was scouted by the fire-eaters, and Congress has adjourned without taking a single step for the restoration of the rights of the people of Kansas. Truly, "the Free State men must now take care of themselves."

The responsibility for all this rests upon the Buchanan and the Fillmore doughfaces, who have disgracefully submitted once more to Southern bluster.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
TUESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 2, 1856.

KANSAS MEETING.—Touro Hall was well filled, last evening, with an intelligent and respectable audience, to listen to the story of a free state man who has recently returned from Kansas, and who has been a spectator to some of the crimes and wholesale butchers perpetrated on free state men by the bands of the Border Ruffians. T. M. Allyn, Esq., presided, and H. L. Rider acted as Secretary. Mr. Rider introduced to the meeting John E. Cook, Esq., who, he said, was an entire stranger in the city, and made no professional claims as an orator, but went to Kansas as a lawyer, and would state for himself what he knew of the present condition of affairs in that territory.

Mr. Cook said he went to Kansas in April last, alone, unaided by any one, with the intention of making it his future home. He liked the character of the southern people, and he went there thinking that the statements made about them had been exaggerated. The night of his arrival in Kansas, he heard remarks like these—"There's a d—d Abolitionist!"—"got a Sharpe's Rifle," &c. He heard the remarks made among a slavery party that they meant to murder every free state man who entered the territory. He was determined to find out the truth of the assertions of these men, and accordingly passed himself off as a "northern man with southern principles." They wished him to join their ranks, but he refused; and finally they offered him a commission as a staff officer if he would join them. This he accepted, and they ranked him as one of their party. He attended a secret meeting of these pro-slavery men, and found out their plot was no idle tale, but stern reality. After gaining sufficient information, he started with the party for Kansas; and on his arrival there, he went on board of a boat containing a lot of Border Ruffians, and found out their plans, (they thinking him one of their men,) and with them marched up to the Hotel. One of the standard-bearers carried a banner, on one side of which were the words—"Supremacy of the white race"—and on the other side—"Kansas is ours." The following morning he started for Lawrence, and laid his statement before Govs. Robinson and Reeder, and at their request went back. On his way back he was questioned by the Missionaries, but did not divulge anything whereby they might discover his real intentions; and they accordingly invited him to another secret meeting, which he attended, and soon after went with the party to Lawrence. It was the intention of this party to destroy and sack that city, and all this under the jurisdiction of the United States government! They carried out their plans, and there were but two houses in Lawrence but what were plundered—those two were the homes of pro-slavery men. After their retreat from Lawrence, this band divided up into smaller ones and went from house to house in search of plunder; they even tore the earrings from the women; and in one instance, a young woman who wished to preserve her wedding ring, was struck down in her own house.

On the 19th of May last, previous to the sacking of Lawrence, a young man named Stuart, a widow's son, went to a place called Branton's Bridge, about four miles from Lawrence, for some provisions. He was met by a gang of Buford's men, who knocked him from his horse, robbed him, and a cowardly assassin shot him in the back. He died the same night. Marshal Donaldson promised that the murderer should be arrested, but this was never done; on the contrary, the pro-slavery men gloried in the act.

He then cited other murders by these ruffians which had come under his own observations, and defied any man to bring forward an instance where the murderers had been brought to justice. But,

on the contrary, if a free State man commits some trivial offence, he is arrested by the U. S. troops—marched to the dungeon—and there compelled to wait the pleasure of the authorities.

He then read the heads of some few of the atrocious laws of the bogus Legislature, and showed what their effects were.

It is the duty of the North to demand of the Executive of the nation, protection for the lives of the free State men. If this protection is not granted, the people will protect themselves.

If the North does not assist them, they must fall a prey to pro-slavery rapacity. He concluded by asking the aid and the sympathy of the friends of freedom here present, for suffering Kansas.

The thanks of the assembly were tendered to Mr. Cook, and the meeting adjourned with three hearty cheers for Free Kansas.

THE incursions of the savages upon Deerfield in its olden time, are part of our New England traditions. We heard and read in childhood, how the Indians hovered around that devoted settlement, and carried off Mrs. Williams, the wife of the minister—of their dashing out the brains of her infant child against a stone wall. There, too, Deacon David Hoyt was taken prisoner, and died in the hands of the Indians. But in our own day, we have a worse than Indian tribe of ruffians about us. David L. Hoyt, who was foully murdered by the Buchanan men in Kansas, is a descendant of the old Deacon who was taken captive by the Indians. Which of the two had the hardest luck?—The Deerfield Fremont Club held a meeting last evening, Sept. 1, to express their opinion on this subject. The man who so recently went out from their midst, now sleeps in the martyr's grave; and they and we have nothing to do but vote to support Pierce, Toucey, and all that tribe of toadies, who tell us, "You are to blame; if you would only let the Border-Ruffians dispose of Kansas according to their pleasure, there would be no trouble. What business have you in a national Territory?" It does seem to us, that by whatever party name a man may have hitherto been known, it is now time, in self-respect, in view of what is due to ourselves, to have a party, and a successful party for FREEDOM.

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2.

"The Natural Course of Emigration."

The fifth and last of the resolutions passed by the Buchanan State Convention contains the following assertion: "The lawless violence which we have witnessed and continue to witness in Kansas, had its origin in the early and ill-judged movements of outside agitators, stimulated by Emigrant Aid Societies, who, unwilling to leave the Territory to be peopled as a Free State, by the natural and gradual course of emigration, like the adjoining territory of Nebraska, proclaimed in advance that they would take the possession and control of Kansas by organized bands, and thereby exclude all fair competition; movements calculated, if not intended, needlessly to provoke antagonism and invite collision."

If the population of the garden of Eden had been larger at the time of the victory of Satan, we verily believe there would have been some who would have defended the invasion of that original type of the border ruffian, and have thrown all the burden of the consequences upon their mother Eve. And in that case, we should say that such were the ancestors of the man that penned the above resolution, and of the party that adopted it. The author of it can not be ignorant of the facts, and for his shameless perversion of the truth there is no apology.—Careless men may be misled by it; but all who read and think for themselves, and will possess themselves of the facts, will repudiate a party whose position is so weak as to demand such barriers of falsehood, and will despise the man who to show his

zeal for the wrong, lent himself to their construction.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the introduction of the Squatter Sovereignty clause into the Kansas-Nebraska bill, was part of a great intrigue to secure to Slavery Kansas and other new domains. The first emigrant that went into Kansas from a Free State (Iowa) after the organization of the territory, found all the land along the border staked off in Pro-Slavery claims. The treaties with the Indians had been kept secret from all except the friends of the Administration; the slaveholders in Missouri had had private telegraphic dispatches from their friend ARCHISON; and they had picked out the most desirable locations. Secret societies, known as "Blue Lodges," &c., were found in the State of Missouri and in other States, having for their object the extension of Slavery into Kansas.

JORDAN DAVIDSON, an invading ruffian and a member of this secret organization, testified before the Congressional Committee, that he "was first in a lodge of the order in the latter part of February, 1854, at Pleasant Hill, Cass county, Missouri."

The Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed the 27th of May, 1854. As soon as its passage was known on the border, gangs of Missourians crossed into Kansas and held squatter meetings. At one held June 10th, (within a fortnight after the passage of the organic act,) at Salt Creek, these resolutions were passed among others:

Resolved, That we will afford protection to no abolitionists as settlers in Kansas territory.

Resolved, That we recognize the institution of Slavery as already existing in the territory, and recommend to slaveholders to introduce their property as fast as possible."

These resolutions were adopted by similar meetings held at other points in the Territory, within a short time following, and at companion gatherings in Missouri.

The first election in the Territory (for a delegate to Congress) was held November 29th, 1854. The number of legal votes cast was 1,114; *illegal votes*, 1,729.

The Emigrant Aid Society was chartered the 21st of February, 1855. Its first party of emigrants left Boston March 13th, 1855, under the guidance of Dr. CHARLES ROBINSON, now one of the victims of tyranny at Leocompton. Their number was between 160 and 170, of whom 66 were women and children. The second election (for a territorial legislature) was held March 30th, 1855. Parties of Missourians were systematically organized and sent into every council district, and into every representative district except one, in the territory. The number of legal voters then in the territory was 2,905. The vote stood, Pro-Slavery, 5,427; Free State, 791; scattering, 89; total, 6,307. Legal votes, 1,410; *illegal votes*, 4,908.

Dr. ROBINSON's party above-mentioned arrived in the territory about a week before this election, and was the only one under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Society which entered the territory up to that time. Only 37 of them voted, and this they had a right to do, because they had become actual residents.

These facts we derive from the report and accompanying evidence of the Congressional Committee sent to investigate affairs in Kansas. They are sustained by unanswerable testimony and documents. It will be seen at a glance how absurd and wicked is the charge against the Emigrant Aid Society.—The Administration party in this State have professed to be in favor of freedom in Kansas. The *Hartford Times* has said there was no danger of its becoming other than a Free State. But had it been left to what Mr. DEMING calls "the natural and gradual course of emigration," the swindle of which the Nebraska bill was the beginning would have been at once finished. So Mr. JOHN H. STRINGFELLOW testifies: "Had it not been for the emigrant aid societies, the majority in favor of slave institutions would, by the natural course of emigration, have been so great as to have fixed the institutions of the territory without any exciting contest."

Had no men from the North gone into Kansas there would have been no contest. The Border

Ruffians would have had their own way altogether, and Kansas would have been a Slave State, by the "natural course of emigration," as Messrs. DEMING and STRINGFELLOW say. This then is the crime of the Free State men—that they have dared to go where they had a right to go. The Missourians and other Pro-Slavery men, enraged at seeing the prize endangered they thought within their clutch, have slaughtered and oppressed the honest settlers of the North, and are now determined to blot them out from the territory. The supporters of the Administration in this State, revealing the hollowness of their desire for Freedom and Justice in Kansas, side with the Border Ruffians, and malign and belie their own brethren who are battling there, not for their own liberties only, but for ours.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS. 5
TUESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 2, 1846.

LATE AND EXCITING FROM KANZAS.

The Murder of Hoyt, and Consequent Disturbances.

Correspondence of the Republican.

LAWRENCE, August 17.

A day of victory has come! Free state men are rejoicing! They have great reason. They have proved to themselves and to the world that they are able to protect their rights, hitherto outraged with impunity. They will do it at all hazards. I have before informed your readers that all appeal to the territorial authorities for redress and protection has been met, sometimes with cool contempt, sometimes with promises not fulfilled—never with an honest purpose of granting our reasonable requests. Oppressed beyond parallel by the officials of a government not of their own choice, the free state citizens of Kansas have resorted to arms. This was our remedy—our only remedy. We have not rushed into a

"Rash, fruitless war, from wanton glory wag'd," but are striking for our native rights, God-given and inalienable. We fight for defense from the lawless spoiler who scatters death and desolation on every hand. We appeal to the facts in the case as our justification. We appeal to the American people to consider these facts candidly and impartially.

Citizens of Massachusetts, think of the cool-blooded, deliberate and cowardly murder of David S. Hoyt, recently from your own midst! Reflect upon the infernal plot—oh, disgrace upon mankind!—by which his death was compassed. A letter, was sent to him from Washington creek, about eight miles from Lawrence, purporting to come from a brother free mason. The writer wished to see him on particular business, stating there was no danger. Major Hoyt, suspecting nothing, started upon his ill-fated errand. After having gone a few miles, he was met by a party of fiends. They led him into the woods and there murder most foul, strange and unnatural, did its bloody work! Oh! to think of

"The groan, the strife,
The blow, the gasp, the horrid cry,
The panting, throttled prayer for life,
The dying's heavy sigh
The murderer's curse, the dead man's fixed, still glare,
And fear's, and death's cold sweat—they all were there!"

There was no pitying friend to hold in sweet remembrance his last words—no loving hand to wipe from his brow the cold sweat of death. Is it to be supposed for a moment that men who have one spark of fire lingering in their bosoms are to remain passive when such murders as this are committed in their very midst? No, never! The free state men of Kansas are not such cowering beasts. This they have manfully, gloriously proved. The night following the murder of Major Hoyt, a company of one hundred free state men went to Franklin, where was a large quantity of arms and ammunition collected together by the pro-slavery men. After a pretty severe fight, in which one of our men was killed and two dangerously wounded, the free state forces succeeded in carrying away fifty United

States muskets, one four-pounder cannon, a lot of ammunition, and three or four wagons loaded with provisions. Following up their success, the next day they rallied at Washington creek. A party of sixty ruffians who had built a fort on that creek, thinking that discretion was the better part of valor, made good their retreat. Our forces were under the command of Capt Walker, a western man of true grit. The next day, which was yesterday, he was reinforced by 100 men from the large company who have just arrived under the escort of Col Eldridge of Southampton and Dr Cutter of Warren. They immediately made a descent upon Col Titus, that bloody man of whom I have before written. Titus had collected together about twenty men in his log-house. Of course our party had but little trouble in taking them, though in the engagement we lost one brave man, Capt Henry J. Shombre of Richmond, Ind. Titus was badly wounded. Our men took twenty prisoners, including Titus himself. Yesterday they were escorted to Lawrence by a large force. We have them now in our midst. To-day, Major Sedgwick of the United States army and Gov Shannon of fragrant memory came to town. They want peace. A committee of our citizens, one of whom was Dr Cutter, were selected to negotiate with them. At first, Shannon demanded an unconditional surrender of the prisoners. This demand was met with an unqualified refusal. At last, it was agreed by the high contracting parties that all free state prisoners taken under territorial process and now held thereby shall be released, that the cannon taken by the pro-slavery men at the sack of Lawrence shall be delivered by Major Sedgwick to Capt Walker, and that in consideration thereof the prisoners which our men took yesterday shall be set at liberty. It is understood that Major Sedgwick will disperse all invading bands of men from any and every quarter.

This is the free state triumph. God grant that it may be the earnest of the happy days which we have so long hoped for.

PIONEER.

Letter from Mr Nute—Murder of His Brother-in-Law—Famine Imminent in Lawrence.

The following letter from Rev Mr Nute has been received by Rev Mr Tiffany of this city. It is covered by the latest mail date:

LAWRENCE, Kansas, August 22.

The horrors of ruffianism gather thicker and closer around us. My home has become a house of mourning. A brother-in-law came out to us, and reached our house a week since, with his wife, an own sister of mine. On Monday last, he started to return to Leavenworth, leaving his wife sick. That night he was shot through the head, within a few miles of Leavenworth, and his scalp exhibited in fiendish exultation by his murderer in the town, who declared: "I went out for the scalp of a d-d abolitionist, and I have got one." This is only one of a score of such butcheries that have been perpetrated within a few miles of us during the last week. Three men have gone out of our door straight to their death by the hands of murderers. In each instance, the bodies have been horribly mutilated. I have tried in vain to raise a company of men to go for the recovery of our brother's remains, to give them a decent burial, and for the effects about his person—all his money, &c. I have taken a rifle, and offered to be one of 50 to go. A sufficient number responded, and were pledged to go the morning after the sad tidings reached us, but it was thought best to delay until we should get an answer from the officer in command of the U. S. dragoons, encamped about 10 miles from this, to whom we had applied for a force to go with us. It came at night, referring us to the superior then on the way with several companies to protect Pierce's bloody officials at Leocompton. Twice we have sent making the request of him for the protection of an escort to go with our teams to Leavenworth for provisions, and twice we have been refused.

There is not a single sack of flour or a bushel of meal for sale in this vicinity, and we have at least 2000 men, women and children to be fed. What shall we do—what can we do, but fight our way through, with the desperation of men who know themselves surrounded by merciless savages? This we are determined to do. You will have the report of bloody work before this reaches you. It may be that nothing short of a massacre of the suffering people of Kansas will arouse this nation to a sense of the inconceivable wickedness of the men who are at the head of affairs. You may imagine the feelings with which I read the cold-blooded sneers, the diabolical sport, which is made of our sufferings in the Boston Post, which I have just received. Are all the feelings of humanity, is all sense of decency, dead in the souls of the men who uphold this infamous administration?

Many of our number have ceased to hope for anything but the foulest injustice from the government. All that seems to be in store for us worth aspiring to is an heroic martyrdom. Plead for our cause with all the might you have. I send this with as many more as I can write be-

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The mail leaves under cover to a friend in St. Louis. The chance that it will reach you seems to me very small. The Missourians are coming over the border and gathering at several points to the number of thousands, we hear. I dare not trust the particulars of our military condition and plans to this for fear it will fall into the hands of the enemy. Only this, we are prepared and determined to strike terrible blows.

FURTHER INTERESTING PARTICULARS—WAR IN EARNEST.

We are having war in earnest—four fights within the last five days, in all of which the free state men were the assailants, and the victors; four lives lost on our side, and some 8 or 10 badly wounded. To-day the dragoons are in town to effect an exchange of prisoners, and deliver the Chicopee howitzer, taken from us in the sacking of Lawrence. The free state army of about 400 men has passed our cabin twice, half a mile from us on one side, and a mile on the other. Twice we have heard the booming cannon and rattle of muskets and rifles, and seen the flame and smoke of burning forts and cabins. Two nights ago, and my nearest neighbor was visited by a scouting party of the enemy, and two horses stolen. Every night we bring ours (we have two fine ones, I and the man who works for me,) close to the house, keep our Sharps' rifles in readiness, and take turns in standing guard.

One night we had four men and a sick woman with us in our little cabin. We have got to the closest place I hope, and I believe, with God's help, we shall force our way through. The fiendishness of these wretches is a tax on credulity. Poor Hoyt went from our house but an hour or two before he was murdered.

On taking the strong-hold of the ruffians near which he was killed, a little negro was found, who said that the day before some men came in from the guard and reported that a prisoner was taken giving his name and asking "what shall be done with him?" The reply of the officer was, "shoot him." But not content with that, they proceeded to pound his head with the breeches of their muskets. Another man by the name of Williams, from Massachusetts, was taken that day, and also shot; both bodies have been recovered. We have taken over 30 of them prisoners, and released all but the 19 who are to be given up to-day. Do you wonder that our men turned out en masse to rout that fort, and also the den of Col. Titus next day, and that some clamor to-day for the hanging of this wretch Titus?

We have gained great advantage within the last week, have now at least 500 men ready for fight in and around Lawrence, and two good howitzers. But this is horrible business, and I feel the influence that makes fierce tigers of the mildest men. When I looked on Titus, and thought of his part in the proceedings last May, and the murders of Hoyt and Williams, I came very near joining in the cry "Hang him on the spot." But, on second thought, I gave my voice for mercy. The wretch covered and plead for his life, promising to leave the territory. Some of his men say they have been engaged in indiscriminate plunder, without any regard to party in some cases, though, under the lead of Titus, they were robbing and murdering only free state men; and this man is the commander of the militia of Kansas territory, and Gov Shannon came down to Lawrence yesterday to beg him off. Cry aloud and spare not; raise thy voice like a trumpet, and show this people their sin.

Boston Daily Courier.

TUESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 2, 1856.

MARTIN STOWELL is a prominent name in Kansas. It was a prominent name in this city at the time of the murder of James Batchelder. Mr. Stowell hails from Worcester, and is now the president of an organization of some kind in the new territory.

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, TUESDAY, SEPT. 2, 1856.

What we Must Do.

The news from Kansas is of such a nature that it becomes the imperative duty of Massachusetts to take prompt means to aid her emigrants there, and their brethren of the Free State party. It ought to be understood by every one that the crisis has now come. The next few weeks, or it may be days, will decide whether Massachusetts men can live in Kansas, for it is now a question of life and death. On the part of Missouri this is a war of extermination.

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We support our brothers there? If we say yes, we must within the next ten days raise at least \$100,000 to aid them. This sum, placed in the hands of the National Committee before the 19th of September, would relieve Kansas from her present peril, as we think. We give an extract from a letter of Mr. Hurd of Chicago:

"Please send on your means as fast as possible, or if you have good men (farmers preferred) send on as many as you can, providing them with means and arms. Any number not more than two will be used to advantage. They can join other parties when they get to Iowa. Let them go by Mount Pleasant. The fare from here to Mt. Pleasant is \$3 each man.

Wake up Massachusetts! The fight has commenced.

A. B. HURD, Sec'y N. K. Committee.

Chicago, Aug. 22."

Journal and Courier.

Lowell, Tuesday, September 2, 1856.

The Question.—The question is, shall Kansas be a free State or a slave State, and shall we vote for Fremont or Buchanan? The South have accepted the test, and are united against the North. Shall the North be divided? The high northern latitude of Kansas, its climate, soil and productions, and its antecedents, are all in favor of making it a free State. It can never be developed to much advantage to the industry or commerce of the country as a slave State; but it may become a very important producer and consumer as a free State. Admit it as such, and a field will be opened for hundreds of thousands of Northern laborers and European immigrants, who will otherwise be driven away, but who, with the State open to them, would probably, in half a dozen years, make it equal in weight to Missouri in both houses of Congress.

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 2.

THE PRESIDENT'S DUTY WITH RESPECT TO KANSAS.

The Commercial Advertiser has freely expressed its views on various times, in relation to the attempt of the Republican members of the House of Representatives to defeat the army appropriation bill. We deemed the whole proceeding wrong, both unfair and unwise, for reasons frankly stated at the time, and which still appear to us to have been sound and unanswerable. The appropriation bill has now been passed, notwithstanding the pertinacity with which the Republicans sought to carry out their purpose, and passed without any restrictions upon the President as commander-in-chief of the army. The dismissal of worksmen at the armeries and the disbanding of the army, which some time threatened to become necessary, are evils that no longer threaten us, and the Government is left untrammelled in the performance of its functions and duties devolving upon the War Department. But by this very triumph over its opponents the present Administration has largely increased its responsibilities. Everything in relation to the affairs of Kansas is left to the untrammelled action of the President and his advisers. The Senate, it is true, twice expressed its opinion strongly upon the character of the Kansas territorial laws, and sent the bill embodying those sentiments and the corresponding action down to the House. But that body resolutely refused to take any action upon either of the bills, so that the President has received no instructions from Congress on the subject of the Kansas troubles, but is left entirely to his own judgment and the dictates of patriotism. It is not unlikely, however, that the sentiments expressed on the floor of the Senate Chamber, by Senators of both parties, will in some degree guide the President's course. It is not to be supposed that on a question hemmed in as the Kansas question is, with such difficulties and perplexities, the Chief Magistrate of the Union will be indifferent to the publicly expressed sentiments of such a body of men as the Senate of the United States.

Another consideration will probably have influence with the Executive. Undeniably the affairs of Kansas territory have been wretchedly administered. Of course we do not believe half of the reports that have been circulated here, ever since the agitation there commenced. But the evidence is abundant that from the first the weakness, to use the mildest expression, of Mr. Pierce's Administration has been shown in the government of that territory. Of course, it will be pleaded in mitigation that the Kansas

Nebraska act threw the government of the territory upon the people of the territory. But admitting this, enough remains to reveal the wavering, unsettled, partisan policy of the President, which has largely aided in bringing such desolation and ruin upon that fair territory. His appointments of federal officers there have been most unfortunate, not to say atrocious. From Governor downward, it would almost have been impossible to make worse selections. Then the President has leaned palpably to the side of slavery propagandism, and has not impartially exercised the power he still possessed over the territory. The temptation to subserve party ends, which must have influenced the President in the particulars named, and by serving his party to secure a re-nomination and election at his party's hands, must have weakened considerably by recent events, and the consideration that no such hopes can longer be entertained will doubtless have its effect upon President Pierce's future policy in relation to Kansas.

It is, therefore, to be hoped that, moved by a patriotic desire to atone for past errors, and to leave the Presidential office free from embarrassment to his successor, the President will at once adopt toward that territory a course of policy which shall be strictly impartial, and in which firmness and conciliation shall be happily blended. The position in which he is placed demands this at his hands, as well as do the best interests of the country, and his own reputation hereafter. Relieved, as Mr. Pierce now is, for the remainder of his term from all necessity for or temptation to the manoeuvres of a mere politician, we sincerely trust that he will rise to the true dignity and greatness of his position, and so wield the power appertaining to his office, as to put down agitation and civil war, restore peace and order, and prove to all in Kansas and elsewhere, but in Kansas especially, that a citizen of the United States, who himself abides by the laws and fulfils the duties of citizenship, shall be protected by the laws and enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship, whatsoever his opinions, and whether uttered or unexpressed, on any subject, political or religious, domestic or foreign.

To effect this a Government that can be felt in every part of the territory must be established in Kansas. Order must be set up supreme within the territory. The execution of the enactments of the territorial Legislature is not what we mean by the establishment of order. That may safely and properly be waived until the Supreme Court of the United States has decided whether they are valid or invalid (which question, however, should be promptly settled.) Order can be established and peace restored within that territory as well without the recognition and execution of those laws as with, and better. Both parties to the conflict for supremacy should be promptly taught that neither of them can attain it, but that constitutional Government must and shall be supreme over both, commanding and receiving from each total and unconditional submission. This, we respectfully submit, should be the first and immediate act of President Pierce. The authority over the territory must no longer be made a foot-ball between the Lanes and the Burfords, but be placed peremptorily in the hands of the local executive, the Governor of Kansas, with ample power to maintain and enforce it to the extreme limits of the territory. The conflict there has now practically nothing to do with the laws of the territorial Legislature, but is simply and avowedly a struggle for the mastery between those who desire to see the territory become a free state and those who would have it subjected to slavery.

This, we repeat, is avowedly the cause of the protracted conflict, and the parties are so equally divided that in the meantime there is virtually no government, the supremacy in the territory being in one or other party, according as they are successful in raising men and arms. But neither the bill by which Kansas was erected into a territory, nor the constitution of the United States, ever contemplated or can sanction this mode of settling a domestic controversy. Kansas is not to become either a free or a slave state, by conquest of either armed slavery or armed freedom; but by the calm, deliberately, constitutionally expressed will of its people. But such expression of the popular will can never be given until both parties to the conflict are compelled to give up their arms, and concede to the others, as well as exercise themselves, freedom of opinion and the right freely to express it. The President is not called upon, nor do we suppose that he is at all inclined, to set about immediately enforcing laws the constitutionality of which is doubtful, but to establish order, justice and constitutional government; to step into the arena of conflict and command peace, the laying down of arms all round, and submission to Government, and to enforce that command if need be with the whole armed force of the United States.

The next step will be to place in offices of federal

trust and authority a class of men of much higher *morale* than the majority of the present incumbents, and to hold them all to a strict accountability for the faithful discharge of their duties. We cheerfully award to the President the credit of having already removed Governor Shannon. His appointment was an egregious blunder, which ought long since to have been corrected. Still it is better late than never, and the country will have cause for congratulation and rejoicing if this proves to be but the fore-runner of other corrective measures in respect to federal appointments which are greatly needed. But to ensure a thorough reformation among the officers of the federal government holding their appointments in the territory of Kansas, those officers should be given distinctly to understand that they may not with impunity become the agents of one party or another in the territory, but must impartially discharge their official duties. When these two points are gained—the submission of both parties to government and the substitution of impartial for partial federal officers, Kansas will soon settle constitutionally, and at the ballot box the question of slavery or freedom, and the country at large will acquiesce in the free choice which they may thus make, as the country ought to do.

September 2, 1856.
SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE,

KANSAS.

ARRIVAL OF THE IOWA EMIGRANTS.

Correspondence of *The N. Y. Tribune.*

LEXINGTON, K. T., Aug. 13, 1856.

We left our camp near Nebraska City on the 4th August, after having encamped there about two weeks. Our train consisted of 53 wagons, 324 men, 38 women, 22 children, 70 oxen, 6 mule teams, 40 horses, and 15 cows; and we were escorted by 30 mounted men from Topeka and Lawrence. We crossed the Kansas line 40 miles south of Nebraska City on the 7th, and on the same day encamped five miles beyond. At this point we discovered coal in considerable quantities, and also an abundance of limestone. Sixty men volunteered to remain here and build a town, and the necessary land was secured, including 400 acres of fine timber. The young city was named Plymouth, and may be called the Gateway to Kansas. Twelve miles further on, at the head of Grasshopper Creek, another party of 57 men, including myself, detached themselves from the main body, and founded the town of Lexington, my present location. It is about 60 miles from Topeka, and 30 miles from Iowa Point, on the Miami. Fifteen miles further on, the train again halted, and another small band of volunteers remained to build a town, which they called Concord; the rest of the party moved on to Topeka, which place they reached on the 11th inst. We met with no resistance, although we were dogged by spies from the time we crossed the Missouri on the 18th of July, until we reached Lexington. Our men, and we have now about 70, are in excellent health and spirits. We have formed ourselves into an association for our better government. Our officers are as follows:

- President.....MARTIN STOWELL, of Mass.
- Vice-President.....Thomas Dean of Kansas.
- Secretary.....J. F. Merritt of New York.
- Treasurer.....J. P. Wheeler of Iowa.
- First Councilman.....J. O. B. Dunning of Texas.
- Second Councilman.....F. D. Drake of Maine.
- Third Councilman.....M. C. Brewster of Iowa.
- Fourth Councilman.....Asa S. Jaquith of Mass.
- Fifth Councilman.....Frank Robinson of Illinois.

We are located in a country of extraordinary beauty, and have an abundance of good land, fine timber, and excellent water. We have selected a town site and commenced operations on it, and it truly is a most lovely spot. On the north we can see the Rogue Creek winding along toward the Great Nemaha; on the east at a distance of twenty-five miles, we can see the timber which skirts the banks of the Missouri. On the south the branches of the Grasshopper River are visible, while on the west a boundless prairie stretches away into the distance. The land is exceedingly fertile, fully as much so as any of the best farms of Indiana and Illinois.

Lane's whole party are men of the right kind, all actual settlers and not mere adventurers, and are all armed.

It will at once be seen how important is this successful entrance into Kansas of Free-State men. It shows that the route through Iowa and Nebraska is safe for large or small parties, and those new towns along the road to Topeka secure the protection of the route. Let the North now pour in her settlers, and she will save Kansas. Very few Free-State men have left the Territory—not so many, I am convinced, as have now entered, and

the Southern immigration has not been large. In the next two months the North can settle the question.

It seems highly important that these towns on the line of emigration should be built up at once, and I would suggest to parties entering Kansas, to leave a few men from each party at each of the three towns of Plymouth, Lexington and Concord. Emigrants from Middlesex County, Mass., may locate themselves at either of the last two, or they may if they choose, found a new town further on, and give it the name of Middlesex, according to the suggestion of their Committee. Our party was fifteen days from Iowa City to Nebraska City, and we traveled 350 miles at least. From Mount Pleasant parties can go through to Nebraska City in twelve and to Topeka in fifteen days, although this would be fast traveling. J. F. MERRITT.

TITUS'S CAMP TAKEN—ANOTHER BATTLE.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Aug. 16, 1856.

News reached the camp at Rock Creek last night that ten citizens of Topeka, who were on their way to join the Free-State forces, had been arrested by one Titus and a company of Southerners. I gave *THE TRIBUNE* a few items about this Titus a few days ago, so that you will have a pretty fair idea of the man. As Titus had threatened to hang every Free-State man whom he took prisoner, and as he had said that he would neither give nor ask *quarter* in any fight, it was supposed that an arrest by such a fiend was equivalent to a murder. Acting upon this idea, the men at Walker's camp, under command of Col. Walker, Capt. Brown and others—Gen. Cook having gone to Topeka—immediately marched to Titus's camp, near Leecompton, the distance from Rock Creek being about ten miles. They reached the place a little after daybreak, and immediately surrounded it with a company of cavalry. Like Fort Sanders it was built of square-hewed logs, but had not the natural strength of position of Fort Sanders. The cavalry company were immediately fired upon from within, and Captain Shombra, formerly of Indiana, was mortally wounded. The cavalry then retreated about rifle-shot distance from the fort; a single six-pound piece of artillery was planted, and after a few shots the Ruffians stuck a white flag out of the window and waved it *some*. Hostilities ceased, and the Free-State men took nineteen prisoners, including "Titus, commanding," and "Donaldson, adjutant," of the "Order No. 1," which was sent to *THE TRIBUNE* a few days ago. Some twenty or thirty muskets were taken, and a Sharp's rifle taken from here on the 21st of May was recovered. The loss was as follows: Two Pro-Slavery men killed and three wounded; one Free-State man killed and one wounded. Titus was among the wounded, but his wounds are not of a serious nature, having only lost a finger and thumb.

A programme for the future was found at this place in the shape of a letter addressed to a friend at the South. It stated that the Southern companies were to incite the "Abolitionists" to retaliate, whereupon Gen. Smith was to "pitch into" them, and with the assistance of the force to be raised by "Titus, commanding," along about the first Monday of September, he would drive them out of the Territory. It will be seen that the plan of operations was perfected on a grand scale, but like many other grand projects, its execution will probably be defeated by the intensity of its grandeur.

The prisoners were taken to Lawrence and confined in the office of the late *Herald of Freedom*, where but a few months ago some of them had assisted in raising a blood-red flag in honor of "South Carolina" and "Southern Rights." So we go. The place from which on the 21st of May last they bowled forth their shouts of victory is now their prison.

We learn that all the United States troops stationed around Leecompton have gathered into that town to protect it, but this movement was altogether unnecessary, for the Free-State men will attack no place, unless it is known to be the den of murderers and robbers. The actual and *bona fide* settlers of all parties will be protected, and no peaceably-disposed settler of whatever political sentiments need fear any danger from them. The Free-State settlers begin to feel that the time for appeals for redress of grievances is past; hereafter they will protect themselves.

There is a good deal of excitement here among the people about the disposition to be made of the prisoners. They are treated very kindly so far, and ample provision has been made for their comfort.

Yesterday Deputy Sheriff Fane arrested five of the citizens of Franklin for being engaged in the battle at that place on Tuesday night. The writ was issued under the bogus code on the informa-

tion of Wm. Crane, the Postmaster at Franklin. The prisoners were taken to Leecompton.

There was some rain to-day, but it has cleared up, and the weather is fine.

Stringfellow and his Rangers are reported to be encamped on the Big Stranger. Unless Congress has done something for us, I fear our troubles have but begun. POTTER.

AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN THE TERRITORY.

From the *Chicago Tribune.*

LETTERS FROM VARIOUS CORRESPONDENTS. A gentleman from Wisconsin, in whom we have implicit reliance, left Leavenworth City on Thursday last. He brings us authentic intelligence of the condition of affairs in the Territory.

The sum of his account is this: The Free State men are not intimidated by the forces which are pouring into the Territory to operate against them. They have assembled at Lawrence to the number of over one thousand fighting men, all of whom are well armed, and firmly resolved, if attacked, to make desperate resistance. They are throwing up entrenchments and breastworks around the town, in which they are assisted by their wives and daughters, who work by relays day and night with courage and devotion, which inspires their husbands, fathers and brothers, with heroic and, we believe, unconquerable resolution. They are already hoarding their provisions and ammunition, in expectation of a siege. Our informant says that every woman is a soldier; and that, in the event of a fight, each will do a soldier's duty.

The Missourians were crossing into the Territory in great numbers, much inflamed by the false reports which the Border Ruffian journals are industriously circulating. In all the river towns the excitement is intense; but, with the prospect of a bloody reception before them, men for the campaign were not very readily procured.

Our informant thinks that, before this, fighting has occurred; and he is confident that, whatever the result, the Free State men have no cause to blush for their conduct or their cause.

We have from a correspondent the following letter, which details the particulars of the capture and destruction of one of the guerilla dens in which the "emigrants" from the South have sheltered themselves. We think he is in error in his date; but we publish his communication as we find it.

New-York Daily Tribune

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1856.

We have Kansas advices by way of St. Louis to the 27th ult. Gov. Shannon had on the 26th proclaimed the Territory in a state of insurrection, but the precise bearing of this movement is not yet certain. It seems to be aimed at the Free-State men, but it may be intended to get rid of the armed Missourians who have rushed into the Territory in such force. The fact that no farther collision had occurred down to the 27th leads us to hope that a general conflict may yet be averted, or at least stayed off. The Free State men must gain strength by delay, and a month in camp, even without fighting, will be sure to thin the ranks of the Border Ruffians. Every day, therefore, that passes without a collision is a day gained to the Free-State cause. Two months more brings us to the election, which we trust will terminate the reign of Ruffianism over Kansas.

—A letter to *The Cincinnati Gazette* says of the Quakers:

"One says to another, 'Art thou going to the polls this Fall to vote?' 'Be assured I am. I know many of my sect of people who have not cast a vote for ten years. But now the question is square and cannot be dodged. We are for Free Kansas, Freedom and Fremont.'"

—On the Fourth of July a gentleman was reading from the Declaration at a celebration in Michigan, when a Buchanan in the crowd exclaimed: "Just as 'I expected—a d-d Abolition harangue." This fellow rather out-Choates CHOATE.

SIX MONTHS IN KANSAS.

Correspondence of *The N. Y. Tribune.*

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Aug. 22, 1856.

I have just reached here to look after matters, after an absence of six months' residence in Kansas. I can tell you truly that matters are fall as bad in that unhappy country as people make them out. I tell you, people of the East, that unless you do something more than write newspaper articles Kansas will be a Slave State beyond redemption. With a Pro-Slavery Legislature, Pro-Slavery Governor, and Pro-Slavery office-seekers and office-holders, with an army to back them, I see nothing but bloodshed, or a total backing-out on the part of the Free-Soil men. Give Kansas

...and my word for it, she will free herself. The House of Representatives have done a noble act in their proviso to the Army bill. Let them but hold out, and we shall no longer hear of dragoons searching the houses of peaceable citizens for Sharp's rifles and frightening all the women and children. Don't degrade brave men by such work. Send the army out of Kansas, or so far west as to make some use of them in beating the Indians. We were all sorry to see Sumner superseded; and thus to make him the scapegoat of the Pierce dynasty was mean and contemptible. He would not let Jeff. Davis make a catpaw of him, and therefore he was removed. Gen. Smith tries to do well, but he must obey orders. He won't do for Kansas, however, and I hear Harney is to be sent out as Brigadier-General, to take command. The Pro-Slavery men say: "Give us Harney, and if you don't see some body swing! Some of these d—d Abolition rascals will know what Missouri hemp is made for." Jeff. Davis will send him if he can. Well, thank Heaven, Pierce has nearly plowed his furrow, and can't do much more harm. I don't believe he is so much to blame after all, for I don't think Jeff. Davis and Atchison ask him much about the matter. I heard Col. Benton say the other day: "You blame Pierce, Sir; don't blame him; I say, Sir, he has nothing to do with Kansas; nothing, Sir, nothing. He can't say his soul is his own. Jeff. Davis holds him as a nurse holds a snoking baby. Don't blame Pierce, Sir; don't blame him." I could not but think there was something of truth in this. I go to Kansas next month, and shall stop there so long as a plank remains for the Free-State men to stand upon.

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, SEPT. 2, 1856.

The latest advices from Kansas, by way of St. Louis, state that Gov. SHANNON, on the 26th ult., issued a proclamation declaring the Territory in a state of insurrection, and calling on all law-abiding citizens to "assist the legal authorities to preserve the peace and protect the persons and property of citizens." This is a curious commentary on the declarations of Gen. SMITH, in his dispatches to the War Department, that no serious disturbances exist in the Territory, and that the accounts from there have been so much exaggerated. This proclamation of Gov. SHANNON's is undoubtedly intended as an excuse for the irruption of the hordes of Missouri against the Free-State settlers, and may be considered as among the last of his acts in the service of the Border Ruffians.

THE KANSAS WAR.

The Falsehoods of the Border-Ruffian Journal—Were Brutal Murders—Kansas Militia Called Out—United States Troops Coerced at Leecompton, &c.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Wednesday, Aug. 20, 1856.

The Leavenworth papers and the papers of the border have for the past week been loaded with the most extravagant and exciting falsehoods, in relation to the affairs of the Territory. If the telegraph has borne to you but a tittle of the matter that has appeared in their "Circulars," "Extras," and regular issues, you have heard of the wildest stories of outrage committed by the Free-State men upon "peaceful and unoffending settlers." If you believe their statements, then you believe that the "cowardly" Free-State men have compelled the United States Dragoons to succumb to them, have taken possession of the Territorial capital and authorities, and are, or have been, committing crimes unparalleled for atrocity even in the annals of border-ruffian cruelty. Freemen of the North! keep cool! You must learn that it is necessary for the leaders of the Buchanan Clubs of Western Missouri, viz.: the Blue Lodges, ere they can arouse the rank and file of the border to deeds of murderous daring, to excite them by tales of cruelty, suffering, and woe. This game they are playing now; how it will result, time alone can tell. Their "Circulars" are headed with big capitals, announcing that WAR! WAR! WAR! exists! They describe, with holy horror, damning deeds that never happened; picture the brave acts of men who have cut their

way through the "Abolition" noise, and finally call upon all who love their country and the Union to prepare for the fight before the army of fanatics, like a storm, shall be upon them. The Leavenworth Herald says: "Let no quarter be given!" Colonel TRUSS, of the Kansas Militia, the horse thief and braggart, and his associates, when they were prisoners in Lawrence, begged for quarter! When they went away, they said that they had been treated kindly. But these cut-throats recognize no laws of kindness, no dictates of humanity. Let the money-loving, resolution-passing, cotton-forbearing North, read the following account of the murder!

MURDER OF MR. JENNISON.

Mr. JENNISON, who came from Groton, Mass., in company with a person who has resided in Missouri, started from Lawrence for Kansas City for a load of freight for Topeka and Leecompton. They had got their freight and had returned as far as Westport, when JENNISON was stopped, taken prisoner, and his team taken from him. JENNISON's companion kept on, and went into the store of Colonel BOONE, Postmaster of Westport, and father-in-law to that "high-toned gentleman," Sheriff JONES, and there saw COLEMAN, the murderer of DOW. COLEMAN had a company of men stationed out on the Kansas road, about six miles from Westport, who made it their business to stop and search every traveler who was without a pass. COLEMAN gave him a pass. He then went on—when he came to the place where this company were stationed, six of them came out to stop him—he showed them this pass, when they cried, "All right—go ahead!" He kept on his way to Blue Jackets, where he stopped for the night. This morning a person directly from Westport saw him at Blue Jackets, and informed him that JENNISON, who was taken prisoner, was killed and scalped. Leaving his team at Blue Jackets, he immediately rode to Lawrence to inform JENNISON's friends of it. He here showed the pass he received from COLEMAN. Connected with the party who took JENNISON prisoner was young MCGEE, who, under the command of H. CLAY PATE, was wounded in the Battle of Black Jack. Young MCGEE swore vengeance then, and so did his father. His father took it on CANTRELL, a Free-State man from Missouri—the son takes it on JENNISON, from Massachusetts, and not content with murdering him, must scalp him! The next step of the barbarians of the Slave States will be to eat men. The border papers say give no quarter, and the zeal of their supporters in committing murder indicates that the Buchanan Blue Lodges have offered a bounty for Abolition scalps!

Freemen of Illinois! Mr. HOPPS and Mr. JONES, both of them natives of your State, and both neutral—having more of timidity than courage in Freedom's behalf—have been most foully and brutally murdered by the barbarians of Slavery. What dare you do about it? Your Senator originated the Bill which robbed this Territory from the Free Labor of the North, and dedicated it to barbarism and blood. What will you do about this? In the name of Justice and of humanity, if you have not the courage to fight, do at least vote right!

CALLING OUT OF THE KANSAS MILITIA.

Brigadier-General RICHARDSON has called out the Northern Division of the Kansas militia. They were to rendezvous at Leavenworth, to-day. The order commanding them to assemble declares that war exists. This order must have been given without authority from the Governor, as SHANNON refused to call out the militia at their solicitation. "By G—d," said SHANNON to one of the officers connected with the Land Department, "I know what they mean when they say call out the militia; they mean call on Missouri." SHANNON has, in every respect, obeyed the commands of the Administration. When the Administration cried "we will subdue you," SHANNON "pitched in" to subdue; when they trembled before the rising indignation of the North, he refused to call out the Kansas militia.

UNITED STATES TROOPS.

It is reported that all the dragoons at Fort Riley and all at Leavenworth are ordered to Leecompton. This will give the Kansas militia a grand opportunity to scalp all the Free-State men at Leavenworth. Perhaps they are there to protect Leecompton against the abolition mob. When Lawrence was threatened to be attacked by the United States Marshal's mob, its citizens implored the Government for United States troops to protect them and their property. They could not have them. Capt. INGRAHAM can have a sword for defending the rights of an embryo American citizen, far off in the Mediterranean; but he who defends the scalp of a native citizen in Kansas, commits treason, and has United States troops to arrest and guard him until a monster like LECOMPTON is ready legally to hang him.

SHANNON'S EXODES.

On the morning of the capture of Col. TRUSS' fort, the people of Leecompton had an urgent call across the Kaw. They could not wait for ferry-boats, but waded across fast as circumstances would permit them. Major SEDGWICK wanted to see SHANNON on that morning; and, not finding

him in town, hastened to the river, where he found the "petticoat" hero, musket in hand, prepared to "paddle his light canoe" across the river. SEDGWICK took the poor old codger back.

Last night a person was at Leecompton for the purpose of having an interview with Major SEDGWICK, and learned while in town that the poor fellow had gone away, leaving his trunks behind him to be brought forward by his son. If, when Missouri marches into Kansas, free Iowa would make a demonstration towards Missouri, these Kansas militia calls would have end. Report says that Deputy-Marshal FAIR declares that he has served his last will. Others report that all the Territorial officers now at Leecompton have resigned. Well, we can spare them.

TO EMIGRANTS.

If there are any persons prepared to come to Kansas, let them hasten overland now. The Northern Division of Kansas Militia will probably move towards those settlements formed by the first Company. Let them come with powder, arms and provisions. The barbarians intend waging a war of extermination. If the Northern man has a right to settle in the Territory, he must come prepared to defend that right. The General Government dare not do it; if they should, BUCHANAN would lose too many votes in the South.

Defensive Preparations at Lawrence—Strength of the Free-State Army—Movements of the Barbarians.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Friday, Aug. 22, 1856.

Our town wears a peculiarly martial aspect. On all sides can be seen the white tents of the "squatters," called to arms to defend that sovereignty which the Nebraska bill promised, but which DAVY ARCHISON, and his Buchanan Administration deny to them. They have left their ripening corn-fields and their homes, which they dearly love, and marched up to Lawrence at the call of imperiled Freedom, as of yore our fathers marched to Bunker's Hill at the call of WARREN, HANCOCK and ADAMS. The blood of our settlers will be as dearly shed against American tyranny as was the blood of the patriots of the Revolution against the tyranny of the British Crown. Our people are not fighting to untax a tea-cup, but for the freedom of an Empire, for a free tongue, a free press, and above all for their own freedom. Americans have no right to claim a superiority of rights and privileges over those granted by the Autocrat of Austria, or of LOUIS NAPOLEON to his subjects so long as they countenance an Administration like the present, or treat with respect a man like JAMES BUCHANAN, who delightfully indorses the awful infringements made upon the rights of American citizens by the barbarians of the Slave States. You of New-York and of other Free States have liberty of speech and of the press, but it is secured to you not by the General Government, whose duty it is to protect those rights, but by the Constitutions of your own States. Step over Mason and Dixon's Line, and of what advantage is the American Constitution to you, if you whisper Freedom? Come into Kansas and undertake to speak or print as freely as the Constitution says you may; and Judge LECOMPTON will instruct his packed Grand Jury to indict, and before night the United States Marshal, with United States dragoons, will arrest you for high treason!

In Heaven's name, if there is any spirit in the sixteen millions of freemen in the North, can they not in opposition to the three hundred and forty-seven thousand slaveholders in the barbarous States for once elect an Administration that will protect the rights of American citizens under the Constitution in every State and Territory within the limits of our great Republic?

There are now about three hundred men under arms here. In two hours' notice this number could be increased to full eight hundred. Full one hundred and fifty of the emigrants who came overland are here. They are very well armed. These men are all first-class men. They are intelligent, capable and of good habits. Over the quarters of the soldiery waves the United States flag. They do not fight, as did the United States Marshal's posse, under a disunion flag. Col. LANE is not here. He has been in the Territory, but remains incog. The regiment now organized here is under the command of Col. HARVEY, who was connected with the Chicago company. Our people will remain quiet if the territorial authorities, as SHANNON in his treaty agreed, disperses all forces coming into the Territory from Missouri, and the armed bands of barbarians encamped at different points, who prowl about the Territory, keeping the people in terror. If this is not done, then our people will do it. FRANK PIERCE must learn that American citizens cannot be fooled with. If U. S. troops can't protect us, we shall protect ourselves before we submit to being scalped. We must have more arms and munitions.

COL. JOHNSON REFUSES AN ESCORT.

Our merchants are out of flour and provisions. They wished to send a train of wagons to Leaven-

worth to get a supply, and requested major... work to furnish a military escort for its protection. The Major was favorably disposed to the request, but did not consider that it would be proper for him to grant it, as Col. JOHNSON, who had command, was then on his way to Leocompton. Col. JOHNSON was applied to, and said that he could not furnish one. We can open a way to Leavenworth, if necessary, but peace could longer reign if U. S. troops afforded an escort to our provision train. It seems, however, to be the special duty of the troops to protect a horse-thief like Col. TITUS and a murderer like CLARK, the Indian agent, rather than to extend any protection to those whose rights under the Nebraska bill and the Constitution have been taken away.

MOVEMENTS OF THE BARBARIANS.

The followers of ATCHISON are collecting at Leavenworth, Westport and other towns on the border. Little Santa Fé, a town twelve miles south of Westport, is their great place of rendezvous, however. Report says that they expect to have from fifteen hundred to two thousand men there by next Monday. It is said that they intend coming into the Territory in small parties, in order to elude the troops should they oppose them. A merchant of Kansas city informed a person whom he supposed to be a Pro-Slavery man, and who had resided in Missouri, that such was the case, and that they intended to destroy and burn the buildings of the Free-State men. They are actively employed in arousing the people of the Border to action. Messengers have been sent to every town to inflame the citizens to deeds of violence. Col. BOONE, the Postmaster of Westport, in dispatching a message, was heard to say—"You must lay great stress upon the murdering of women and children." Perhaps Col. BOONE can tell us where they have been murdered—will he spare time from his official duties to inform us?

Free-State men who reside along the Border, alarmed by the note of preparation, have left their cabins and fled here to join the standard of the Free. Many persons residing in this neighborhood, having relatives in Missouri, have received letters warning them to keep out of the way. Everything seems to indicate stirring times. There are full five hundred troops at Leocompton now—whether they will endeavor to prevent the impending conflict or remain there to protect the villainous LECOMPTÉ while he goes through the farce of holding court, time must show.

SAW-MILLS THROWN INTO THE MISSOURI.

The Emigrant Aid Company had some boilers and other machinery at Kansas city—these the barbarians have thrown into the Missouri. They also threw in a part of a printing press that was stored there. The saw-mills were consigned to WALKER & CHICK. The barbarism of Slavery cannot withstand the influence of saw-mills any better than it can that of a free press. FRANK PIERCE votes internal improvement bills, and his supporters throw saw-mills and printing presses into the river!

Mr. Ely Moore Disposed of.

Correspondence of the New-York Daily Times.

CHICAGO, Thursday, Aug. 28, 1856.

I notice in your paper of the 26th instant a letter written by Ely MOORE, of Kansas, in which the statement is made that the TIMES has had no correspondents there, and that their letters have originated in the office in New-York.

The absurdity of this charge is evident when we consider that Mr. MOORE cannot in reason be expected to know everybody in Kansas, or to declare that certain persons do not exist because he may not personally know them. With the known proclivity of Mr. MOORE's party towards mob-law and the suppression of all real freedom of speech in Kansas, it is hardly to be expected that the correspondents of any truth-telling journal should make an effort to bring themselves personally under his notice. And still it is a fact that several of the correspondents of the TIMES are known to me as many prominent Pro-Slavery men, including Gen. STANLEY, Judge DICKSON, &c. And as far as I am aware, these correspondents have generally received from the candid of all parties the praise of having at least endeavored at all times to give a true history of events.

Thus much, as a TIMES special correspondent for over a year, and resident in Kansas, I have thought it worth while to say; but as you seem to have a better knowledge of Mr. MOORE's antecedents than his present position, I will add that he is Mr. PIERCE's Register in the Land Office at Leocompton, and as such cannot be expected to entertain any serious affection for the TIMES, or friendship for the Free-State citizens of Kansas. It is said that he had strong hopes, at one time, of securing the first Governorship of the Territory. His associations in Kansas have always been with the Border-Ruffian party.

He may, if he pleases, accept this information as a refutation of his statement; but if he does not know the correspondents of the TIMES, they have this advantage at least, they do know him.

LITERAL.

Kansas Movements—Another Card from Major Buford.

To the Editors of the Richmond Enquirer: MESSRS. EDITORS: Some days ago I saw copied into your columns from a Mobile paper, part of a let-

ter to the effect last out of the three hundred emigrants taken by me to Kansas, all had returned except about fifty.

If we are bound to suppose, the writer was a friend of the common cause and desirous of promoting it, he was certainly indiscreet in communicating facts so well calculated to dishearten our friends and prejudice that cause; and, in that event, his information possibly may be as much at fault as his judgment. When we reached the Territory, in the latter part of last April, my company was disbanded and dispersed all over the Territory, wherever they chose to go. Some two weeks afterwards, when the Lawrence troubles broke out, a part of my emigrants reassembled in the Marshal's posse. After those difficulties were over, I again disbanded and dispersed them as before.

With the exception of some half dozen that I was told had returned, my information in respect to them is that they still remain in the Territory. It is true that some, on account of business being interrupted in the Territory and the season being too far advanced to select and plant claims, took temporary employment in the border counties of Missouri, and perhaps some in the Santa Fé trade; all, however, still regarding the Territory as their place of residence.

I do not believe that any one possesses any truer or more definite information of their whereabouts than I have above stated.

Papers that have copied the Mobile letter will please also copy this.

Respectfully, yours, &c.,

J. BUFORD.

NEW YORK HERALD.

New York, Tuesday, September 2, 1856.

The Campaign—The Great Issue—The Prospect—A Northern Religious View of the Question.

Congress having closed up its labors and adjourned, a new and powerful impulse will be given to the Presidential agitation on all sides, from the dispersion of the members of the two houses among the people. At this point in the campaign, therefore, it becomes important to know, as far as possible, the respective strength and the relations towards each other of the several parties in the field, the drift of the main question, and the prospect in reference to the general result in November.

First, then, to ascertain the existing relations and prospects of the several parties we must look back a little. In the Presidential election of 1852 the old whig party was destroyed—within one month after the inauguration of Mr. Pierce the disintegration of the old democratic party began. One year thereafter it was essentially demoralized, disorganized, disjointed and broken up. And thus, from the remains of the old whig party, and the *disjecta membra* of the old democratic party, the combined opposition forces against the Pierce democracy, according to the State elections of the last two years, are competent for the defeat of Buchanan by a large majority of the electoral vote, and by a popular majority of at least three hundred thousand full grown men.

With these opposition forces, however, there are lacking the essential elements of unity, harmony and cohesion. A faction, powerless, as they stand, for any good result, but capable of considerable mischief, adhere to the original Jack-o'-lantern or dark lantern Know Nothing delusions, by which they were led off upon a wild-goose-chase of the Pope of Rome and the Irish Catholics, some two years ago. These deluded Know Nothings, with Fillmore as their candidate, now occupy pretty much the position, practically, of Van Buren in 1848, or of Birney in 1844. It is also very evident that while Mr. Fillmore can have no shadow of an expectation of an election, directly or indirectly, he will be satisfied with the negative victory of the election of Buchanan. If, like Van Buren's in '48, Mr. Fillmore's ambitious aspirations are crushed out, he may still, perhaps, be in a position to have his revenge. With even half the regular Know Nothing vote in Pennsylvania and New Jersey thrown away upon Fillmore, the election of Buchanan will, most probably, be secured; for we dare say that the Know Nothing candidate will not carry a solitary Southern State—not one. Pennsylvania and New Jersey, therefore, if added to the solid vote of the South, will be quite enough for the election of Buchanan.

But it is not altogether certain that

Mr. Fillmore will be able to keep up a third estate in the North for two months longer. It is quite possible, on the other hand, that before November he may be as clearly and completely out of the fight in the North as Fremont is in the South. The main question, to wit—shall Kansas be made a slave State by force of arms?—and the drift of the popular sentiment of the North upon this overshadowing issue, justify the conclusion that Fremont may yet be elected without a solitary vote from the South, and beyond all the assistance which Fillmore can render to Buchanan in the North.

The rejection by Congress of that Kansas proviso to the Army bill, by the combined Buchanan and Fillmore members of both houses, reduces the question of the establishment of slavery in Kansas by force of arms to a simple contest between Buchanan and Fremont. This question, too, with the success of the border ruffian policy in Congress, through the fusion of the Pierce-Buchanan democracy and the Fillmore-Know Nothings, removes the mask of non-committalism from the face of Mr. Fillmore, and leaves him standing close by the side of Buchanan, as an active ally of Messrs. Pierce, Atchison and Stringfellow, and their military coercive interpretation of squatter sovereignty. The vote of Mr. Haven; of Buffalo (the law and spoils partner of Mr. Fillmore), weighed as much against the Army bill Kansas proviso as the vote of Jones of Pennsylvania, or Keitt of South Carolina.

Thus, standing upon the same Kansas platform with Mr. Buchanan and the nigger driving democracy, Mr. Fillmore becomes a superfluous candidate, and under the pressure of the main question it is quite likely that he may find himself incontinently dropped on the day of the election. The democratic party, from having been a slavery protecting, has become a slavery propagating party, and the single test upon which it expects the election of Buchanan is its declared policy, by fair means or by foul, of making Kansas a slave State. Reduced to this narrow compass, the months of September and October may prove to be margin enough for the concentration of the Northern States, in a solid mass, in favor of Fremont, because of his position in behalf of Kansas as a free State.

In the last speech of Mr. Calhoun in the United States Senate, he adverted to the causes which had been snapping asunder the cords that originally bound the North and the South in a harmonious Union. Among these causes, he gave to the rupture in the Methodist Episcopal Church upon the slavery question, into a Methodist Church North and a Methodist Church South, a conspicuous position. In connection with similar movements in other churches, looking to similar sectional divisions upon the abstract question of slavery, he seemed to regard this Methodist Church rupture as but the opening development of a religious feeling of hostility to Southern slavery, which only needed to be fully brought out in order to array the North in a solid phalanx of people and States against the institutions of the South.

Upon the abstract question of this religious feeling, instinct, or sentiment, of the people of the North against African slavery, Mr. Calhoun was right. A vast majority of the Northern people believe, with Mr. Jefferson, that slavery is a moral, social and political evil, and opposed to the true principles of Christianity. But this is not an abolition majority; for there is an overwhelming majority of the Northern people opposed to the disturbance of the "peculiar institution" of the South, and in favor of adhering to all those guarantees of the constitution recognizing and protecting this "peculiar institution" where it exists, leaving it with the people immediately concerned to settle the question of its final extinction in their own time and in their own way. Our view of the

matter is that Southern slavery has proved itself the only institution under which the white and the black races may live harmoniously and prosperously in the same community, and that the slavery system of the South has contributed not only to the moral and social elevation of the African beyond his condition under any other system in any age of the world, but that this very thing of Southern slavery, with both sections, has thus far been a powerful conservative element in behalf of the constitution and the Union.

But there is a distinction among Northern conservatives between the protection of slavery where it exists under the constitution, and its extension into free territory. There are thousands who would resist any attempt to inflame a sectional agitation by the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, who would feel religiously bound to resist the establishment of slavery in Kansas. There are hundreds of thousands who would consent even to the admission of Kansas as a slave State, if the preliminary steps to such application were strictly according to the constitution and the law of popular sovereignty, who would repel the application of Kansas with a slavery constitution thrust upon her people by armed bands of lawless invaders, seconded by a lawless administration, a sympathizing Congress, and the United States army.

Thus, in the present posture of the Kansas question, it is most likely that we shall have that anti-slavery religious sentiment of the North referred to by Mr. Calhoun, brought out in its fullest development against Mr. Buchanan and his party, whose policy is the conversion of Kansas into a slave State, even if the work shall require the extermination or expulsion of the free State settlers by fire and sword. This question of slavery could not be presented to the religious instincts of the North in a more obnoxious shape. It is thus reduced to a question of defence, not against the mere institution of slavery, but of defence against an armed slavery propagandist alliance, whose policy is submission or subjugation.

In this view we are not surprised to learn that Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, and most other Protestant denominations of the North, from Massachusetts to Wisconsin, are moving almost *en masse* for Fremont. All their old party associations and inclinations are conquered by this single question—shall we vote for Buchanan or Fillmore, and thus vote for Kansas as a slave State, by fair means or by foul? An anti-Fremont majority in both houses of Congress has left the issue in this exact position; and the consequence must inevitably be a new impulse to this Northern religious hostility to the forcible extension of slavery.

According to the census of 1850, there are nearly six millions of communicants of the different churches in the United States, Protestant and Catholic. Let us say six millions, and strike off two millions, men, women and children, as the aggregate of Catholics, and leave them out of the question, as neutral, upon slavery, and we have four millions left for the Protestant sects. Of these we find that, by the census of 1850, the Methodist Church North numbers 629,660, and the Methodist Church South, 465,553 members. In the same ratio of division, the whole of the Protestant churches North would reach, we will say, the aggregate of 2,500,000 members. Remembering that the communicants of the Protestant churches are nearly all adults, they will afford, perhaps, five times the voting population of the same number of members of the Catholic Church, or nearly one-half the flock, as qualified voters. We will assume, however, that out of the 2,500,000 Protestant Church members of the North, there are only 600,000 voters, and that heretofore they have been neutralized as between the old whig and democratic parties, and our readers will perceive that a change of only one-half of this Northern religious vote, heretofore with the democrat, will operate as follows:—

PROTESTANT NORTHERN VOTE.

Add to the 300,000 opposition voters 150,000 from the democratic side, and we have.....	450,000
Deduct from the 300,000 democratic voters 150,000, and we have remaining.....	150,000

Equal to a democratic loss of..... 300,000

Nor shall we be in the least degree surprised if the democracy in the North lose full three hundred thousand votes, upon what Mr. Calhoun would call the religious Northern sentiment against the South, but which may be more properly defined the religious Northern sentiment against the extension of slavery into a free Territory by force of arms. We say that we shall not be surprised to see, in 1856, the church predictions of Mr. Calhoun of 1850, fulfilled; but we have no fears of the Union on that account. Let us do our duty, elect Fremont, and stick to the Union.

Mobile Daily Tribune.

MOBILE:

TUESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 2, 1856.

Kansas Affairs.

The New York Commercial Advertiser—one of the calmest and most rational and trust-worthy papers within the United States—an old representative of the "old line whigs"—has an article in relation to the telegraph reports from Kansas. It discredits most of them, and thinks they are invented by Fremont agents in order to influence the majority within the House of Representatives in its factious opposition to the army appropriation bill.

"It is impossible," it says, "to disabuse one's mind of the conviction that many of the reports so suddenly sent on from Kansas territory are untrue, and that all are greatly exaggerated, with the double view of affording support to the friends of the Kansas proviso to the army appropriation bill, and giving a new impetus to the agitation, the decline of which has been so hurtful to the prospects of the Republican candidate for the Presidency. For several weeks there was a lull in the exciting rumors from that territory, and an occasional assurance escaped even through the Republican journals that peace now reigned in that region. Just in proportion the Republican party stagnated hereabout and elsewhere, which was natural enough, seeing that the only issue the Republican party makes, the only pretence to a national policy which it puts forth, is this Kansas question. That disposed of, the only incentive to coöperation on the part of the masses of the people is taken away, and the people turn aside to choose between the two remaining candidates whose platforms embrace more than one issue, and all of them more or less permanent in their character."

We fear, however, that there is a large amount of truth in these Kansas reports, although we are satisfied that they are exaggerated in every plausible way, in order to excite the prejudices of the people of the north against the south. Upon these prejudices depend entirely the hopes of the sectional demagogues who are risking all they have on the election of Fremont. But, then the substance of those reports is unquestionably true. If it were not, it is impossible to suppose that the southern men of the Territory would make so earnest appeals to the help of our people.

The Commercial Advertiser goes farther, and its declarations on the subject are of great weight—and throws the burden of these evils in Kansas on the Fremont men. "But supposing," it says, "the reports to be true, and taking those most favorable to the free state men, it is apparent that whatever of civil war now exists in Kansas, was initiated by the armed free state men, they being resolved, according to the New York Tribune and its correspondents, to drive all the pro-slavery men out of the territory. The object is probably to do the very thing for

which the Missourians were last year so strongly condemned, viz: to put the elections under the exclusive control of their own party. At any rate it is tolerably clear that the free state men have commenced whatever disturbances now distract that territory, and the plausible theory is that the declining fortunes of the Republican candidate made further agitation necessary. A new impetus must be given to the movement, and if the pro-slavery men were too content with the posture of affairs to commence assaults upon their fellow-republicans within the territory, then the free state men must take the initiative, however hazardous the experiment. Agitation must be renewed at whatever cost."

These are very important declarations, as they come from one of the most rational and respectable of the northern journals. They serve to show that the whole of the late Kansas difficulties, as every reflecting man who has observed the progress of this internecine war knows, was provoked for a mere party purpose. The destiny of the republic is thus made the football of these sectional demagogues. The stake is Fremont against the Union. It is putting the temporary advantages of a party against the soul of the nation. The devil himself—in any of the traditional stories which are told of him—never did a blaker or baser act.

VIRGINIANS FOR KANSAS.—On the 9th inst. thirty-five Kansas emigrants from Virginia reached Kansas City, Mo. The Enterprise, of that place, says:

"They are as fine a looking body of men as we have yet seen—real *bona fide*, substantial sons of the Old Dominion. Many of them brought their families, and will at once engage in the development of the resources of the rich prairies of Kansas. We bid them a cordial welcome. They inform us that two hundred more will be here in a few days.—This company is fitted out with wagons and agricultural implements. How different the spectacle between this and Lane's ragged regiment.

A British View of the Extra Session of Congress and Present Aspect of American Politics.

From the London Times, Sept. 2.

The public speakers and writers in the United States not unfrequently indulge their humorous and sarcastic vein at the expense of the old European countries. On this side of the Atlantic we are a set of slaves, crouching before the first bold adventurer who possesses the nerve and the will to shoot us down, or, still more commonly, cowering before the nameless terror of a Monarch's frown. In the great Federation which has been created by wise heads and strong arms in the States of North America anything like a breach in the Constitution is absolutely out of the question. The people can protect the people's patrimony, even if a transitory discord should pervade the relations between the legislative and executive powers. A Parisian 2d of December is unintelligible to the minds of Americans; as little can they sympathize with our troubles in England when the conflicting passions and interests of the various classes in society appear to threaten danger to the public peace. Were we inclined to recriminate we might point to events which have just occurred at Washington, and show that the machine of Government may be deranged, even when the form of Government is purely Republican. The dissension between the House of Representatives and the Senate—or rather between the Senate and the President on the one hand and the last dates arrived at such a point that Congress separated, having, as we should say, refused the supplies. According to the phraseology of the American legislature, the Army Appropriation bill was disallowed, all the mischief of contention, Kansas, was the cause of it. The statesmen whose object it has been throughout to convert Kansas into a Slave State had contrived to avoid a decision adverse to their views throughout the protracted session. There could be no doubt that the Executive Power, urged on by the slaveholding interest, would have taken satisfaction in Kansas with the spirit and elements of Slavery that the attempt to wash out the taint at a later period would have been hopeless. As the House of Representatives could not obtain a satisfactory settlement of this question during the session, they resolved to tack on riders to their money-bills provisos which forbade the use of the national military force in the Territory of Kansas for any other purpose than that of preserving the public tranquillity. They provided, moreover, in specific terms that no part of the armed force of the nation should be employed in aid of the enactments of the alleged Legislative Assembly of that Territory. The President was required to disarm the present organized militia of Kansas, and to command the issue from the national stores to that force. Short of the acceptance of those provisos by the Senate and the President the Army Estimates were refused. The Senate docked of the provisos and returned the bill to the Lower House. The Lower House tacked them on again and returned the bill. This game of Legislative battledore and shuttlecock had degenerated into a farce. The Representatives remained firm, time pressed, and thus, notwithstanding

ing repeated conferences, and many efforts upon the part of the Senate to arrive at a solution without the adoption of the odious proviso, the bill was dropped, and Congress separated for the recess.

Thus, then, during the remainder of his office, Mr. FREMONT was left to carry on the business of the country, and to guard the soil of the United States from intestine violence and foreign invasion, without the assistance of any armed force. The soldiers, to be sure, were there; but there was no means for paying them. The representatives of the nation were thus fairly committed to a contest with the Senate and the President, and had given pretty clear evidence of their intention to fight the contest out à l'outrance. The President on his side has convened an extraordinary meeting of Congress, which is to be assembled almost within a few hours of the prorogation. Opinions of course run high on one side and the other at Washington. On the one hand high admiration is expressed for the firm and dignified attitude of the whole military party in the lower House. In withdrawing the Kansas amendments upon previous measures on the faith of the President's promise that he would do something satisfactory in the matter, it is contended that they had conceded enough, and somewhat more than enough. In the face of his alleged want of faith, it would have been madness, it is said, to leave him for a season in possession of the consolidated power with the whole military force of the country at his disposal. The consequences might be readily foreseen. When Congress met again the Territory would be fairly in the grip of the Southern slaveowners, which would be an enormous evil in itself, and would, moreover, be a stepping-stone to future aggressions of a like kind. In a word, the battle of Slavery or Freedom hung upon the issue of Kansas, and therefore the representatives were right in straining to the utmost, when all other means had failed, every resource which the Constitution had placed in their power in order to avoid so unfortunate an event. On the other side it was contended that this was an unfair and unconstitutional attempt upon the part of a small majority in the House of Representatives to control the action of the two coordinate branches of the Legislature upon a collateral point. It would have been well enough to take a decision upon the Kansas difficulty, and to rest contented with that, whatever it might be. It was wrong, when that question was decided in one sense virtually by two branches of the Legislature against one, for the dissentient to throw the whole machinery of State out of gear by depriving the whole country of military protection. The Senate and President were called upon to swallow, against their sense and their views of justice and propriety, an obnoxious policy with regard to a particular State, or else the whole armed force of the State was turned loose upon society, and the territory of the United States, from Maine to Florida, left without guard or protection. The policy, too, which was involved in the proviso of the Army Appropriation bill was no slight matter, for it involved, and at no very distant date, the fortunes of well nigh one-half of the community. Was this a point to be disposed of by a side-wind? Was the whole question of the existence of Negro Slavery in the United States to be disposed of by a rider to a money bill?

In our own country a difficulty of this sort would be got rid of in one or other of two or three ways. In the course of a very few days the Ministers who supported the policy adverse to the opinion of the majority of the House of Commons would be ousted from power, and replaced by successors who would be willing to carry out the policy of that majority. In the United States there does not appear to exist any such featherbed to ease the shock when a conflict arises between the President and a majority of the popular assembly. The President is King and Premier at the same time. The case is certainly one which might have arisen on our own side of the Atlantic, although the moderation in action, if not in words—of English statesmen and Parliament men has hitherto guarded us from any such extremity. It is a happy incident of a very extreme measure that it has an inherent tendency to shorten its own existence. The United States of America cannot be left without military defence—that is clear enough; and, therefore, one side or the other must give way; or, as is more probable, both will relax somewhat from their pretensions. We fully expect to hear by next mail that the difference has been settled, or the difficulty postponed in one way or another. Still it is impossible not to see that here is a precedent which may one day lead to strange results. It has long been foretold that gentlemen who own negroes, and gentlemen who don't own negroes, will not be able to keep house together in the long run. Is this the beginning of the end? For ourselves, we have no further wish upon the matter than to see the citizens of the United States adopt that course which, upon the whole, may be best calculated to promote the permanent interests of the country. If every acre in the United States were covered with a thriving and happy population, the better pleased should we be.

Daily Democrat.

LATEST NEWS BY MAIL

FROM KANSAS.

LEXINGTON EXPRESS, August 30.

Private letters have been received in this city, which put an entirely different face on the state of affairs in Kansas, than that received above. One letter received day before yesterday, says that Colonel Lane is not now, and has not been in Kansas this summer. The writer says that the attack on Franklin was a most insignificant affair; but with the exception of horse stealing, and a systematic course of plundering carried on by a few men on both sides, with here and there a fight about claims, everything is perfectly quiet throughout the territory; that Lawrence is perfectly quiet, and that no sort of preparation is being made for its defense. The letter also states that General Smith is concentrating a large military force at Leocompton, with which to take the field should it become necessary. It is said he will have twenty-eight companies—infantry and dragoons—with one battery of artillery. It is also stated in the letter that Missourians will be greatly deceived if they believe the United States troops are to remain inactive in the event of a collision between the contending factions. Said letter also states that everything heretofore published is positively false; that the slightest things have been magnified into enormities by men on both sides, and that many things are stated which never occurred.

We doubt not the letter above referred to contains many things that are true, but as it regards the position and acts of the anti-slavery party in Kansas, our means of acquiring information are almost as good as those residing in Leocompton.

LATER AND IMPORTANT.

Mr S. G. Allen, of Harrisonville, arrived in our city on Thursday night, bringing news of the utmost importance, if true. Just as he was leaving home for this city, news was received from the territory to the following effect: Becoming alarmed, all the pro-slavery settlers about the Walnut Grove, had collected at a camp some twelve miles below Osawatomie, under the command of Capt. Fleming. On Monday or Tuesday last, Capt. Fleming started for Missouri for reinforcements, charging his men to keep together and not to leave the camp. He had not been gone but a few hours, however, when fifty of the men, hearing of some horse thieves, started in pursuit of them, and succeeded in catching two. These they sent back to camp under an escort of six men.

This escort was attacked and cut off by a party of eighty abolitionists. Two of the pro-slavery men were killed, one wounded in the face, and the two prisoners released. The abolitionists then attacked the camp, drove off and scattered the men, and took forty horses and all the wagons and provisions.

The above embraces all the news received from Kansas, and we give it as we have received it. No doubt something decisive will occur within a few days. The advance of our army from New Santa Fe must bring results of some sort, and all we can do is to 'wait for the wagon.'

FROM PHILADELPHIA.

[Correspondence of the Missouri Democrat.]

PHILADELPHIA, August, 1856.

A recent visit to the northern and eastern counties of Pennsylvania convinced me that the friends of Fremont are on the alert, and have strong hopes of carrying the State. It is very plain that the friends of Buchanan are too confident—relying upon the strength and popularity of their standard bearer, whilst their opponents are more than usually active. Mr. Burlingame and others are now amongst us, and they have already succeeded in awaking the people to the support of republicanism. Is the making of Kansas a slave State of such vital importance that one of the results thereof shall be the defeat of the democracy, and the advent of a sectional, one-sided administration? I trow not! but the signs of the times are portentous, and I shall be more disappointed than astonished if the usual democratic majority in the Keystone State is not very much reduced—perhaps entirely absorbed.

The spirit of your remarks in a recent number—under the head of democratic prospects—

is most admirable, but my confidence that Mr. Buchanan will carry his own State is daily becoming more shaken; and should he fail to get the electoral vote of Pennsylvania, his chances will indeed be slim. His opponents in this section neither expect nor desire the vote of any State in which slavery is recognized by law, and so determined are the people "to show"—as they declare—"their condemnation of unlawful proceedings in Kansas" on the part of the pro-slavery men, that they really prefer defeat as a northern party, rather than have the assistance of a single Southern State. Our State is looked upon by both parties as the battle ground, and no one can gainsay that its vote is important to success. With one or two exceptions every northern and eastern county shows strong indication of giving a republican majority. On all hands it is agreed that Mr. Buchanan will, in all probability, secure the electoral vote of every southern State; then how important it is that those States who have the real interest of our country at heart, should take early measures to convince our people that his nomination was really "a triumph over that corrupt nest of office seekers who have been the ruin of the present administration." In the districts of which mention has been made, are hundreds of good men who are almost ready to vote for Fremont, and the impression largely prevails that should Mr. Buchanan be elected his administration will be after the manner of his illustrious predecessors, and an endorsement of all the "Border Ruffian outrages" which have been reported. Many old whigs, and democrats too!—good thinking conservative men—too conservative and too cool headed to feel any pride in their new leader—whose votes will be lost on account of the present unfortunate condition of our country. They say, we are almost tired of having untried, inexperienced Presidents, but matters cannot be worse with Fremont. We want men of eloquence from OTHER STATES to convince the masses that, should Mr. Buchanan be elected, "his administration will be governed by sounder views, and more equal justice to men from all sections of the country, than has been the case with the present miserable tyranny at Washington." However unpalatable what has been written above may be to others, it is written with the conviction of its stubborn truth. Had not the writer visited in and talked with the people of many counties which have always been looked upon as strongholds of democracy, he would not write thus; he is no croaker, but well knows that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. For the benefit of other States, whose citizens feel secure in their certainty of success, I will here record my prediction—that if the opposition continue their activity and very thorough organization, and our friends in the old Keystone continue their present indifference, the country must be prepared for four years of the administration of a sectional party, the consequences of which I will not refer to. With a sincere desire that this good old commonwealth may be found true to the right in this the hour of our peril, I am, as heretofore, a Jackson, a Benton, and

A PENNSYLVANIA DEMOCRAT.

THE INTELLIGENCER.

SAINT LOUIS.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 3, 1856.

From Kansas.

The Lexington Express, of the 30th, says:

Mr. S. G. Allen, of Harrisonville, arrived in our city on Thursday night, bringing news of the utmost importance, if true. Just as he was leaving home for this city, news was received from the Territory to the following effect: Becoming alarmed, all the pro-slavery settlers about the Walnut Grove, had collected at a camp some twelve miles below Osawatomie, under the command of Capt. Fleming. On Monday or Tuesday last, Capt. Fleming started for Missouri for reinforcements,

Kansas Laws and the Supreme Court.

We ask the reader's careful attention to the communication on the above topic, in this morning's JOURNAL. If it be true, as the writer seems to establish very conclusively, that no appeal lies to the U. S. Supreme Court in criminal cases, there is no remedy at all for the prisoners now in confinement on the charge of "treason." Judge McLean, when he was applied to by one of them to grant a "habeas corpus," decided that he could not—that the indictment was by a competent court, and regular, and he could not go behind the record to investigate the character of the law authorizing the indictment, under the law of the United States regulating the "habeas." There is no remedy in the habeas corpus then, and an appeal to a higher court is the only alternative. That, our correspondent proves, cannot lie in criminal cases, (as all these Kansas "treason" cases are), and they must suffer just what punishment the border ruffian judge and jury choose to inflict. They can't help themselves.

There is a strange and terrible feature in this condition of things. Every lawyer, every man of every party, who has expressed an opinion during the late session of Congress, has declared those laws "unconstitutional" and "null," a "disgrace," and an "abomination." Yet men indicted under such laws have no remedy against a full infliction of the penalty. They can't appeal. They can't, by a "habeas corpus," get another court to examine the charge and release them, if the laws are found void. There is but one way possible to secure Robinson and his companions against the death that impends. And that is now no longer possible. Congress could have declared that those laws were a nullity, and should not be executed, and the prison doors would have opened to these victims of tyranny, and they have gone free. But rather than those laws should not be executed, the Buchanan party resolved that the army should be disbanded. They refused to speak the word that would have liberated these "State prisoners," and the free United States are disgraced by the spectacle seen only in Austria, or Naples, of honest, quiet, noble men, held in chains for no other crime than speaking their sentiments. The vilest oppression of the despotisms of Europe, after the Republican revolution of 1848, never equaled the tyranny with which Mr. Pierce's administration has oppressed the Republicans of Kansas. King Bomba, or Emperor Ferdinand, never fastened a prisoner in the dungeons of Olmutz, or Naples, who had more cruel wrongs to lament than have Charles Robinson and his friends. Look at the case.—Mr. Robinson was indicted by men notoriously selected from a party bitterly bent on his destruction. A Judge, openly and ostentatiously taking part against the views advocated by the prisoners, charged the jury to find the indictment. The law under which it was found is universally admitted to have been, not merely a nullity, but an outrage on law and reason.—He was arrested, and being charged with an offense not bailable, he had to go to jail. He applied for a habeas corpus, and it was refused.—He applied to a Supreme Judge of the United States, and it was again refused. And yet, with the admission of every man of every party in the United States, that he was guilty of no crime, he lay in chains to this day, and there is no remedy, but force, for the terrible fate that has overtaken him. On all the records of Hungarian persecution, not a scathing exposure that Mr. Gladstone has made of the cruel

We deny, in the most emphatic terms, that any loyal or pro-slavery settlers of or near Leavenworth City, have committed the excesses charged against them in the Democrat of 25th instant, in its article head "From Kansas, and that the entire article is a gross perversion and mis-statement of recent occurrences in this Territory. Warrants have been put in the Marshal's hand for the arrest of these murderers and rebels; the people are at his back to enforce his authority; about 3,000 are now armed and at his service, to support the law. Law and order must, and God willing, shall very shortly prevail in Kansas Territory.

ATCHISON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.—A letter to the St. Louis Republican, dated St. Joseph, (Mo.,) Aug. 29, says: "I have time to write you only a few leading items, brought in by express last night. Gen. Atchison has been elected Commander-in-Chief of the armies of Kansas. His staff consists of some of the most distinguished officers of the Mexican war. He has eleven hundred and fifty men in one division, and some five hundred in another. They will concentrate today upon Lawrence. Gen. Richardson had taken up his line of march for the northern line to cut off further invasion from that quarter, but he received orders yesterday to move down to Lawrence. The town will be surrounded and its fate decided before Monday night."

The Chronotype.

CITY OF COUNCIL BLUFFS:
WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 3, 1856.

A New Song for an Old Tune.

BY C. C. DAWSON.

AIR.—"Yankee Doodle."

Free soil we claim for Freedom's sons,
No more of slave-cursed acres,
For those who toil should own the soil,
Be of its fruits partakers.

CHORUS:

"OLD BUCK" so blue,
And FILLMORE too,
Have both vile traitors been, str!
Catch up the shout,
And ring it out,
FREMONT, Free soil, Free men, str!

Free speech and press, those brothers twain,
In Kansas lack protection,
And though they wrong have suffered long,
We'll right it aser'ntion.

The types that in the river lie,
Thrown there for serving Freedom,
Washed clean and bright, may come to light
Some day when Truth shall need 'em.

We heed the cry in Kansas raised,
Freedom like slaves are treated—
Their houses burned, their just rights spurned,
Though wronged, they're not defeated.

A coward crew fair Lawrence sacked
With S. and A. to lead 'em,
(Those names too long, and vile for song,
For any soul of Freedom.)

That border horde, their acts might shame
Our Fathers' base oppressors,
And in their turn, they too shall learn
How fares it with transgressors.

Who love the name of Bunker Hill,
Just think of this and not it,
That TOOMBS declares, and madly swears,
His slaves he'll muster on it!

We've had enough of threats like this,
We'll patient be no longer,
And if with canes, they beat our brains,
We'll send them something stronger.

FREMONT shall keep our Western plains.—
He was the first to cross them,
From slavery free, and soon there'll be
A railroad built across them.

We'll send him on to Washington,
To be the White-House lessee,
And when our own have older grown,
We'll laud a state for Jesse!

Then let us raise, the victory's ours,
We'll work and vote to win it,
For righteous laws we make our cause,
And all our hearts are in it.

CHORUS:

"OLD BUCK" so blue, &c.

his men to keep together and not to leave the camp. He had not been gone but a few hours, however, when fifty of the men, hearing of some horse thieves, started in pursuit of them, and succeeded in catching two. These they sent back to camp under an escort of six men.

This escort was attacked and cut off by a party of eighty Abolitionists. Two of the pro-slavery men were killed, one wounded in the face, and the two prisoners released. The Abolitionists then attacked the camp, drove off and scattered the men, and took forty horses, and all the wagons and provisions.

The above embraces all the news received from Kansas, and we give it as we have received it.—No doubt something decisive will occur within a few days. The advance of our army from New Santa Fe, must bring results of some sort, and all we can do is to "wait for the wagon."

KANSAS.

Correspondence of the St. Louis Republican, Sept. 3.
LEAVENWORTH CITY, K. T.,
August 29, 1856.

EDITOR REPUBLICAN.—Sir: Owing to the effort being made by the Daily Democrat, of St. Louis, to arouse the passions and prejudices of the people of Kansas against the loyal settlers of Kansas, by the publication of letters purporting to be from the Territory, containing the most false and infamous statements, with the view of creating civil war throughout the United States, we feel ourselves called on to send you a true statement of recent occurrences.

Lane has invaded the Territory with a large body of men; he came in disguise; his men passed in small parties unopposed. They are now encamped in and about Lawrence. Lane has thrown off his disguise, says he has 2,200 men under arms—that he is now prepared to commence operations on a "liberal scale"—that he and his men are bound by an oath to make this a free State, that is to Abolitionize it, or die in the attempt. He says there shall not be any neutrals in this contest. Consequently he is waging war on all Free State men on the south side of the Kansas river who have been and were determined to remain "law and order" men—he has already driven many of them, as well as Pro Slavery men, out of the Territory. It is true that men, women and children have fled from, and been driven from, the Territory, as asserted by the Democrat of the 25th inst., flying from and being driven by these invaders and rebels, and not by the loyal citizens, as is insinuated by that sheet.

Col. Treadwell, and about thirty men, had settled on Washington Creek—they gave him written notice, that if he did not leave the Territory within ten days they would drive him out. Treadwell and the settlers repaired to a two story log house and prepared for a defence. A man named Hoyt left the camp of the rebels to go to Treadwell's as a spy. He was found dead on the prairie about three miles from Washington Creek.

The Abolitionists then advanced on Franklin, about two hundred strong, on Tuesday evening, 12th inst., and challenged the people to surrender. Mr. Crane, the Post Master, replied that he would not do so; that there were twelve men and a boy, besides himself, who might speak for themselves. They also refused to surrender. They were told that they would have to fight two hundred and fifty men. The fight began about 10 P. M., and continued till after 2 o'clock A. M., when Lane and his men got some hay and straw loaded on a wagon, which they fired for the purpose of burning them out. The heroic little band of patriots then deserted the log house from which they had made such a noble, and to the Abolitionists, an ever memorable defence, having killed and wounded about fifty of the traitors, who, before they went, robbed the Post Office of sixty dollars in money, stamps, &c., and took all the public papers; they also took a large amount of money and property from private individuals; they also took Mrs. Crane a prisoner, maltreated her, and threatened to violate her person, and took her off for that purpose. Efforts were made by some of the friends to save her from so gross an outrage, but with what success we have not learned. Mr. Crane passed through here on his way to Westport, to look for her there, in hope that she had been released and made her way to that place.

They next moved on Treadwell's settlement, with about 400 men, but Treadwell and his friends fled before them. On Saturday morning, the 17th inst., about 400 of them, having with them one or more pieces of artillery, attacked the house of Col. Titus, who lived near Lecompton. Titus had six or seven friends with him at the time—they made a noble defence, but after killing several of the traitors and rebels, Titus was twice badly wounded, one of his friends killed, and another wounded, and as Lane's men began the hay and burning or smoking game, they surrendered. They took from the house all its furniture, kitchen utensils, not destroyed by the cannon, and about \$10,000 in money, and, after tearing up the floor in search of Mrs. Titus, who fortunately had gone to Westport that morning in the stage, they burned the house. Whilst the attack was being made on Titus, Mr. Clarke, Indian Agent, and his family, together with many other persons and families fled for safety, and came in here on Saturday, the 17th inst.

They contemplated destroying Lecompton, but as the United States troops are near there, holding the State prisoners, they have not yet attempted it.

John Brown, sr., known as the Ossawatimie murderer, is still at large, at the head of about 300 thieves and murderers, who, like himself, are not only outlaws here, but were so in the States from whence they came. They have driven away every loyal settler out of Franklin county. Mr. White, a Free State man, had four hundred acres under fence, three hundred acres in corn—they had driven him away, taking from him all he possessed—making good their word, that they would wage war against all who are not abolitionists and traitors.

ties of the Neapolitan Government—can the secretest outrages of the Star Chamber, reveal a tyranny more gross, bitter, and intolerable? For this great crime the Senate of the United States, with the Administration, are responsible. Mr. Pierce could, and can yet, at any moment, order the prosecution in these cases to be stopped. He once promised that it should be done. But as usual he broke his promise. So long as Mr. Robinson lies in chains for advocating the freedom of Kansas, so long is the tyranny of the act chargeable to Mr. Pierce, and his party. The Senate, by simply voting that the army should not be allowed to execute the laws by which he is held a prisoner, would have put such a condemnation upon them as would have ended their power for all time. But those laws established slavery in Kansas, and rather than declare that the army should not execute them, the Senate resolved that there should be no army. In this declaration the whole party, which supports Mr. Buchanan, concurred. We have thus the deliberate determination of the whole pro-slavery, or Democratic party, that the laws of Kansas shall be executed, by the whole force of the army, if necessary, and that Mr. Robinson, and the other "State prisoners," shall still be held in chains, and shall suffer death for advocating Freedom in Kansas.

The Bogus Code—Is it Enforced!

The *Sentinel* of the 1st instant, reiterates a declaration, frequently found in its columns, that the obnoxious sections of the Kansas Statutes have never been enforced, nor has any attempt been made to enforce them. If this were true, it is very singular that the pro-slavery majority in the United States Senate were so tenacious to preserve them, as to prefer the army should go unprovided for, rather than consent that it should not be employed to enforce these inhuman edicts. But is it true that the most atrocious of all of them have not been enforced, and that by fire and sword? By what authority did Sheriff Jones burn down the Hotel in Lawrence, and bury the material of two Free State newspapers in the Kansas River? The *Sentinel's* "Border Ruffian" coadjutors stated, in vindication of their conduct, that these things were done by virtue of writs issued by Judge Le-compte's Court, and the statement has never been denied by either party. The 700 burglars and thieves who aided in perpetrating these acts were summoned by Jones, as his posse, to aid in enforcing "legal process," and the only process he attempted to serve, on that occasion, was directed at the printing presses and hotel. Will the *Sentinel* inform us by what law, other than the bogus code, Sheriff Jones was directed to play the part of a robber and house burner? Will the *Sentinel* answer?

Correspondence of the Journal.
Latest from Kansas.

Condition of Affairs in the Territory—Condition of the Ruffians—Slavery Voters and Fighters Coming in.

LEAVENWORTH, August 27, 1856.

MESSRS EDITORS:—I avail myself of a few leisure moments to "post you up" in regard to matters as they transpire in this territory. You doubtless ere this, are aware that we again have war to the knife and knife to the hilt. Ever since the battle at Franklin, in which a few horse thieves were taken by the men of Lawrence, the Border Ruffians have been sending their extras and expresses throughout Missouri, and their armed hordes have been pouring in by hundreds. They have stolen every horse within five miles of this place, and daily rob or murder some traveler or Free State man on the highway; all they ask a man is, where he is from, and if from a free State, the next instant he is shot dead. A few days since these outlaws shot

and scalped a stranger who was coming from Lawrence to this place with his family. Not a day passes but one or more at this place fall a victim to the Border Ruffian rifle. They expect to start to-morrow towards Le-compton, where they will prepare to drive out all the Free State men. The Free State men at Lawrence number from 4,000 to 1,000 men. They are well armed and will resist to the last should the two contending parties come to an open conflict. "Sharp's rifles" will so far triumph over Border Ruffian steel that they will re-cross the river and learn to occupy their time at something else than robbery and murder. Col. Wilkes, of South Carolina, arrived here yesterday with thirty-six men. He has been in the South all summer and has now returned with thirty-six of the most God-forsaken creatures that ever have been seen on Kansas soil. Men who, if "niggers" were only worth fifty cents a dozen, could not buy half a one. These are the men who come here to fight for that "peculiar institution" which has been and will continue to be a curse to them as long as they are connected with it. These men all say they intend to return as soon as the fall election is over, that they came here for that purpose alone, and will return as soon as they have accomplished their object. If anything of importance transpires, you may expect to hear again from

LEAVENWORTH.

Four Days from Kansas.

Free State Men Murdered and made Prisoners
LANE FORTIFYING LAWRENCE.

We are indebted to Mr. G. S. Houghton, of this city, who left Leavenworth, Kansas, on Friday night last, for the latest and most reliable news which has reached us since the breaking out of the late disturbances. No dispatch by telegraph reaches later than the 27th, while Mr. Houghton brings news to the 30th. He says that Lane is at Leavenworth, with a force of about twelve hundred men. The arrival of the Buffalo company, two hundred strong, had swelled the Free State forces from a thousand to twelve hundred, all well armed, more or less disciplined, well fortified, and ready for any number of Missouri invaders. He left Leavenworth on Wednesday evening last, but saw a man afterwards who left on Thursday, from whom he learned the arrival of the Buffalo company. Lane's men are armed chiefly with Sharp's rifles, and nearly every man has a revolver in addition to his rifle. They have built a very strong fort with the stones of the Free State hotel, which Atchison and the U. S. officers destroyed last spring, and have repaired the entrenchments around the town, and put them in good condition, so that they are quite ready for any attack. Mr. Houghton thinks from what he heard among the Missourians, that the Ruffians will not venture into a fight, but content themselves with surrounding the place and cutting off supplies in the hope of starving out the Free State men.

The Ruffians to the number of two thousand or twenty-five hundred, had assembled at Little Santa Fe, on the Kansas line, below Leavenworth, and with them were Atchison, Stringfellow, Richardson, and all the leaders. A considerable force of Missourians had blockaded the road from Iowa and Nebraska into Kansas, and boasted that no more emigrants should enter by that route. Lane's company entered in that direction. Mr. Houghton reports that numbers of Missourians, in squads of five, and ten and twenty were hastening, well-armed, to Kansas, from as far down the river as Booneville. There can be no doubt that a regular invasion of the Territory is intended, and the expulsion of every free State man is to be accomplished,

if it can be done. Up to the time of Mr. H's departure no collision had occurred, but some Missourians thought it likely that a fight would take place on or before Monday, (day before yesterday.) The Free State men are resolute and ready, and will fight to the last.

Mr. H. confirms the reports brought heretofore of the disturbances. He says that the affairs at Washington creek, Ossawatamie, Col. Titus's house, and Franklin, were simply the efforts of the Free State men to break up dens of horse thieves and marauders, whose exploits had made them a terror to the country. The exchange of prisoners of which news has already reached us, made between Gov. Shannon and the Free State party, Mr. H. says is a fact.—Shannon gave up five Free State men and a cannon, for eleven Slave State men, part of the crowd taken at Titus's house. So it seems that one cannon is worth six ruffians, even in Wilson Shannon's eyes.

We learn from the same gentleman of several outrages perpetrated by the Missourians, of which only very imperfect accounts have reached us. He says it is a fact that a Free State man, was killed and scalped by a pro-slavery man, near Leavenworth. The murdered man was named Hops, and was brother-in law to Rev. Mr. Nute, of Lawrence, who spoke extensively on the Kansas question in the East some time ago. Mr. Hops had been on a visit to Mr. Nute, and was returning to Leavenworth when killed. His murderer was named Fugate. He, Fugate, went to the house of a gentleman named Wallace, on the Lawrence road, about two miles from Leavenworth, and stopped about an hour. He used most offensive and indecent language to the lady, who was alone at the time, and finally started off swearing that "he meant to kill and scalp a free State man before dark." He went to the corner of a field fence, some distance from the house, and had been gone but a short time when Mrs. Wallace heard the report of his gun. She didn't know at that time what had occurred. In a few moments a teamster driving one of the United States transportation wagons came up, and saw the body, which was recognized as that of Mr. Hops, lying in the road. It had been scalped. The murderer had apparently attempted to rob his victim, as the watch was found with blood marks on it lying on the ground by the body, but was scared off by the arrival of the teamster. The corpse was taken to Mr. Wallace's, and buried. The murderer went into Leavenworth, and flourished the scalp about the streets, boasting that he had killed an "abolitionist," but nobody raised a finger to arrest him.

About the same time, a Mr. Jennison of Lawrence, went to Westport for some furniture for the Unitarian Church in Lawrence. At McGee's tavern he was taken prisoner and shot. He was guilty of nothing but being a Free State man.

Mr. Houghton and the company with him, some fifteen persons, were captured by a band of ruffians, under the command of Mr. Emery, a United States Mail Agent, or some other officer, the day after leaving Lawrence, (last Thursday) and were taken to Leavenworth. In the company were Mr. Nute, and the wife of the murdered Hops, who were going to Leavenworth to ascertain the facts in regard to the murder, and to take possession of the deceased's goods in that place. When the company arrived at the place of the murder, the gallant ruffian captain refused to let the widow see the grave of her murdered husband, but sent her with the other ladies of the company, and the men in whose charge they were traveling, into Leavenworth. The rest of the company were held prisoners, and taken to the ruffian-camp. Among them was Dr. Avery, of Richmond, in this State, a gentleman of sixty years of age, who had possession of the papers of the mur-

of Henry Shombre, which he was bringing home. Mr. Houghton says that the Dr. happened to drop a little diary or memorandum book, in which some expressions offensive to the ruffians, had been penned, and some of them picked it up. He was at once put under close guard, and stands a good chance to be hung, as some of the more outrageous of the band swore he should hang.

The ladies, and the men with them, were taken into Leavenworth, and forbidden to go out of the house. They were held in custody all day, and at night (Friday night last), were taken down to the river and put on board the steamer. As Mr. Nute, with Mrs. Hops, stepped on the gangway plank to go aboard, a ruffian with a rifle loaded and cocked ordered them to stay. Mr. Nute wanted to know why, but no answer was vouchsafed, and he and the lady under strict guard were taken back prisoners into the town. As Mr. Nute was quite prominent as a Free Kansas advocate throughout the East, not long ago, it is not at all improbable that he will have to suffer either death, or such a terrible lynching as was inflicted on Mr. Sellers.

While in Leavenworth, a German, who had been captured with the Free State party, attempted to escape, but was seen by the guard, and shot. He died almost instantly. This occurred while Mr. Houghton was in Leavenworth, and he knows the fact. Mr. Emery, the U. S. officer, said it was right, and "he would have killed the d—d dutchman himself, if he had been in the guard's place." This was on Friday last. Mr. Houghton came down the Missouri river as far as Jefferson City, and then took the cars for St. Louis, and reached here yesterday at noon, making but four days from Kansas, the quickest trip ever made, to our knowledge.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 3, 1856.

WHO DEFEATED THE KANZAS PROVISION?
Twenty northern members voted for concurring with the Senate in striking out the Kansas proviso to the army bill, viz: Messrs Cadwallader, Denver, Florence, Fuller of Maine, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Illinois, Scott, Harrison of Ohio, Haven, Hickman, Kelly, Marshall of Illinois, Miller of Indiana, Pecker, Peck, Tyson, Vail, Wells, Jr., Wheeler, Whitney, and Williams—16 Buchaneers and 4 Americans.

From and about Kansas.

We have before us a private letter from Lawrence, Aug. 19th, giving full details of the recent occurrences in the territory. They agree substantially with the accounts we have already published. The free state men and women too, expected to be compelled to fight against fearful odds, for life—but were determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. They had no hope of protection from the government forces, who declined to interfere, and Shannon's sudden show of fairness and honesty they believed would turn out as it had done before. They show courage, but it is based upon a sense of the justice of their cause, and not upon the hope of success. Overwhelming numbers, resources and wealth are against them.

Charles B. Lines, president of the New Haven colony in Kansas, has returned to Connecticut temporarily on business. He left Kansas, August 14th, and was obliged to travel disguised in order to avoid arrest by the marauding parties on the border. His colony being the extreme west of the settlements, had not been attacked when he left, but a party of pro-slavery ruffians has since been repulsed in an attack upon Manhattan city, only fifteen miles from Waubonsa, and it is very probable that Waubonsa has been the seat of war before this time. At Kansas City, Mo., the ruffians threw into the Missouri river some steam-boilers and other machinery belonging to the Emigrant Aid company: also part of a print-

ing press stored there.—The Mr Jennison whose murder by the ruffians near Westport, Mo., has been mentioned, was from Groton in this state. He was driving a team loaded with goods towards Lawrence. The Buchaneers took his goods, made him a prisoner, and afterwards deliberately killed and scalped him! The Buchanan papers of western Missouri cry incessantly, "Give the abolitionists no quarter!" and applaud the murder of defenceless settlers. Well does a late letter of a Kansas emigrant make the appeal: "Freemen of the north, if you have not the courage to help us fight these blood-thirsty scoundrels, at least vote against them!"

An emigrant train will leave Chicago for Kansas, via Burlington, Iowa, and Nebraska City, on the 15th of September, under the direction of the National Kansas Aid committee. It will be composed of actual settlers, who go out to seek homes, and who expect to make claims and improve them.—In response to an appeal from T. W. Higginson of Worcester for clothing for the people of Kansas, a manufacturer of Worcester county has contributed 100 yards of stout cassimere.—The National Kansas committee need a prompt and liberal reinforcement of their funds, as the present inroad of Missourians into the territory will greatly increase the immediate necessities of the settlers.

At the recent Kansas meeting in Chelmsford \$300 were raised for the aid of the destitute settlers.—A recent letter from Missouri, in the Richmond, Va., Enquirer, says:

"We hear of nothing but distress now from Kansas, and while I write companies are being formed to go to their relief. Col McCarty and all our folks will leave to-night. We will go in this time with a force sufficient to clean out Kansas, you may rely on it; and that this attack will make Kansas a slave state beyond all doubt. Let me assure you that the Missourians will never go into Kansas again without driving out the last scoundrel. Before eight days have elapsed Missouri will send in five thousand 'border ruffians,' and they will never leave as long as there is an abolitionist in that beautiful territory. They have been here twice, and the third time will tell the tale. Nothing is surer now than that Kansas will be a slave state."

The Administration Fostering Civil War.

The singular and most extraordinary spectacle is now exhibited in Kansas of a national government engaged in fostering civil war. That it is fiendish and cruel, is most obvious, but that it is a most unnatural and anomalous condition of affairs seems not to have impressed itself upon the nation. Here are two sets of men—one from the North, actual settlers; another from the South, actual settlers and invaders, pitted against each other in the settlement of the question whether slavery shall, or shall not, be established in Kansas. In this dispute, while the right is all one side, and the wrong all on the other, the president shuts his eyes to the nature of the question and the relative position of the parties, and, with his army in the territory, proposes "to let them fight it out." In other words, while his duty is to protect the right and protect the actual settlers in their rights, he proposes to stand calmly by, and see his people cut each others' throats.

Do you say that this is a severe charge? It is not nearly as bad as he has been doing. Time was when he held the hands of the free state men and let the others murder and plunder them. That was so damnably worse that people could not fully appreciate the iniquity of it. By elevating it toward decency, to the point of our charge, its horrible nature is more readily comprehended, and a shock is the result. The facts in the case are that Gen Smith, when he took the command of the United States troops, had special orders not to interfere. He is to stand by and let them fight it out. The conversation recently held between Mr Army and Sydney Webster, the president's private secretary, will be well remembered. He said he supposed the free state men could whip their enemies, if the troops would allow them to, as they had often boasted they could. To say nothing of the heartlessness of the reply, the policy which it indicated is just what we charge.

What a policy is this for the head of a government to assume! We illustrate the height of cruelty by talking of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning; but Rome burns under the President's nose, and he does not allow anything to

divert his attention from the grateful spectacle. He encourages civil war—fosters it—knows that it exists, and lifts no finger to stop it. There is no "fanaticism" in the North, or South either, to match this. It is a horrible crime. Every murdered man in Kansas was slain indirectly by his hand. How the ghosts must chatter about the White House! Good Heavens! it is enough to make one's heart sick to think of the responsibilities which one poor man will take upon his shoulders! And yet the telegraph says this man is coming "to see his friends in New England."

Mr Fillmore and his Friends on the Slavery Question.

As we have said, it is difficult obtaining precise information as to Mr Fillmore's relations to the Kansas and kindred questions. We have an indication in what his friends say and do, however, that in the absence of positive declarations from himself, it is fairly to be taken as representing his own views, or absence of views on these vital matters. The special candidate of the New York Americans, himself a New York American, we may well suppose that they, in state convention, would fairly act as he would act, and that he is responsible for what they do. The state council of the American party of New York was in session at Syracuse last week, and after purging itself of all members unfavorable to Mr Fillmore, which seems to have reduced its members about one half, went to work to arrange matters for the campaign. Luther Caldwell of Rockland county, a leading member, proposed the following resolutions, as in sympathy with previous declarations of the New York Americans, and such as he thought it necessary for the party and Mr Fillmore to stand upon in order to hope for success in any free state:—

Resolved, That the attempts made in Congress during its late session, and particularly in the United States Senate, to suppress freedom of speech, as manifested in the brutal, clandestine and cowardly attack on Brooks upon Senator Sumner, deserve and should receive the execration of the people of the United States, and that all those, irrespective of party, who, by their votes in Congress otherwise, have sustained Brooks in his infamous conduct, are justly obnoxious to the same reprobation.

Resolved, That the well nigh fatal assault upon freedom, in the outrages perpetrated in Kansas under the protection of the present national administration, and the failure of Congress effectually to interpose and prevent those enormous aggressions upon the sovereignty of the actual inhabitants of that territory, merit the unqualified condemnation of all lovers of republican liberty, and that no true American should be indifferent to the same, or fail, by word and act, in all fitting ways, to vindicate the oppressed against their oppression and oppressors.

Resolved, That the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act for the government of the territory are fallacious in theory; and that this convention deem it the duty of the American party in this state and nation, boldly to assert and firmly maintain the doctrine of no interference with the government, deserve and should receive the execration of the people of the United States, and should be exercised by Congress.

Resolved, That this council denounces the repeal of the Missouri compromise as destructive to the repose, harmony and fraternal relations of the country; and that the territory which was covered by it must, and shall be preserved to freedom, so that slavery may not exist therein, nor slave states formed therefrom, be admitted into the Union.

No favor was shown to these very proper expressions of national and northern feelings. The council rejected them by a large vote; and their defeated author, having learned a new lesson on Americanism, took them, and departed. Repairing to the convention of excluded or Fremont Americans, and submitting his resolutions there, they were taken up and unanimously adopted, with these in addition:—

Resolved, That the state council now in session in this city, is repudiated by this body; that its unconstitutional and illegal action has freed Americans from all obligations of allegiance to it, or its decrees, and that this body is the true American organization of the state of New York.

Resolved, That the nominations of Fillmore and Donelson be and are hereby repudiated by this body.

Resolved, That John Charles Fremont, the nominee for the presidency of the American national convention, held in the city of New York, June 13th, standing upon the positions of the Birmingham platform, as the opponent of the present national administration, and as opposed to slavery extension, be and is hereby adopted as the candidate of true Americans of the state of New York.

Resolved, That the state committee be recommended to call a state nominating convention, to consist of two delegates from each assembly district, to meet in the city of Syracuse, September 17, at 12 o'clock noon.

The division, thus created in the American party in New York as indicated by the comparative strength of the rival meetings at Syracuse, was nearly if not quite equal. The conclusion to be drawn from the prompt and decided rejection, by the Fillmore section, of the resolutions we have quoted, is certainly quite unfavorable to the sympathy of himself and party with anything like the only substantial grounds of opposition to the

present administration. How, under this exhibition, Mr. Fillmore can be urged as any better than Mr. Buchanan, it is difficult to see. Certainly no citizen, seeking to right the wrongs perpetrated by the Pierce administration, can safely trust himself to vote for Mr. Fillmore.

DAILY BAY STATE, WORCESTER, MASS.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, SEPT. 3, 1856.



Hon. John A. Dix's Speech

Hon. John A. Dix, formerly a distinguished Senator from New York, made a speech at Trenton, New Jersey, which goes over the issues of the day in a frank and statesmanlike manner. This speech is the more worthy of attention; as it is from an eminent citizen who was opposed to a repeal of the compromise line of 36° 30'.

After dwelling on the importance of the Presidential election, and the local associations of Trenton, Mr. Dix proceeded:

"Now, fellow-citizens, I was one of those who thought that the Missouri compromise should not have been disturbed, and such is my opinion still; but the act having been done, the question arose, whether it could be restored. No thinking man could believe so. The large majority in the Senate in favor of the measure precluded such a belief. It was rendered utterly hopeless by the public declaration of some, who were most opposed to the repeal, that they should never agree to the restoration. A newspaper in the city of New York, distinguished for its ultram, the organ of an active, intelligent and powerful party, took that ground. It seemed to me most unwise, therefore, to make an attempt to restore the compromise line of 36° 30'. No wise man attempts impossibilities. What, then, did good sense dictate? That the principle adopted by the Kansas Nebraska act—non-interference on the part of Congress in the question of slavery in the territories—should be accepted as a practical rule for the future, and that the people of Kansas and Nebraska should be left undisturbed to the management of their own concerns."

After detailing the circumstances that tended to defeat the operation of the Kansas and Nebraska bill—the formation of the Emigrant Aid Society—Mr. Dix takes the following view of Massachusetts politics and the recent acts of violence:

"From the supposed magnitude of its operations, it had the bad effect of getting up counter organizations in the South, and no doubt produced a great deal of the bad feeling which prevailed, and still prevails in Missouri. It was, nevertheless, a peaceful organization, contemplating aid to legitimate emigration, and affording no justification for the armed intervention there from other States.

"I am compelled to say—and I am sorry to say of a State which did so much for the establishment of our independence—that the movements in Massachusetts for the last thirty years in respect to slavery have done more than all other causes to produce the existing feeling of unkindness between the two great sections of the country. The nests of abolitionism which have hatched there; her opposition as a State to the surrender of fugitive slaves—a duty enjoined by the Constitution; and the great schemes which have been concocted there, like the Emigrant Aid Society, large in promise and feeble in execution, have

created an infinity of mischief of which the end perhaps is not yet seen.

"I think the conduct of the 'free State men' in Kansas has been equally indiscreet. The government there, wrong as the organization of the legislative department was in its inception, was a government *de facto*, and should have been quietly submitted to, until it could be re-formed by the peaceful remedy of the ballot-box. The 'free State men,' by arraying themselves against it, gave their opponents an advantage which in this country has always been, and which I trust will long continue to be, an overwhelming one—the advantage of acting with the forms of law on their side. A temporary endurance of evils is often the most effectual remedy for them. I believe it would have been so in Kansas. The only hope from the beginning—the only hope now—of making Kansas a free State, and thus carrying out practically the Missouri compromise, was by a peaceful emigration; and, fellow citizens, I believe that peaceful emigration will settle this question at last. When the coming election is over, I have no doubt that this excitement, as all other excitements do, will pass away, and that the reign of good order and of law will be established.

"I am aware that the case is embarrassed now by new difficulties. The acts of violence which have been committed there render it more embarrassing; but I believe that the good sense of the people will redress this wrong. Acts of violence, whether they are committed in the wilderness or within the sacred precincts of the capitol, are repugnant to the feelings of the enlightened and the virtuous everywhere. Parties or sections of the country under the influence of temporary excitement may attempt to justify them; but I believe the time is not far distant when Mr. Sumner will blush for portions of his speech which I think were equally insulting and unsenatorial, and that the State of South Carolina will be eager to blot from her escutcheon a stain cast upon it by an act of violence which, in my judgment, admits of no apology, defence, or justification."

After remarking that a true remedy for the evils connected with these unpleasant subjects was "a firm and inflexible adherence to the principle of the Kansas Nebraska act, non-interference," and a fine eulogy on Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Dix presents the following comment on the Cincinnati platform:

"Now, fellow citizens, let me say one word in relation to the platform adopted at Cincinnati. To the leading declarations in it with regard to the duties of the Democratic party, I cheerfully assent. To the second resolution, under the head of Kansas and the sectionalism, which declares that the principles of the Kansas Nebraska act were rightly applied to the organization of territories in 1854, I should be opposed, if it were interpreted to approve of the repeal of the Missouri compromise. I have already expressed my opinion on that subject, and I never surrender an honest opinion deliberately formed. I have expressed at the same time my conviction that the only course to be taken is to acquiesce in the principle established by that act—non-interference by Congress with the question of slavery in the territories.

"When I was in Florida and Georgia last winter, the Democratic parties in those States put forth manifestoes declaring the conditions on which they would consent to act in a National Convention. My recollection is that they asked only an acquiescence in this principle of non-interference. They did not ask us to say that we believed the repeal of the Missouri compromise right. Now, I interpret this resolution to mean nothing more than that we approve of the principle of non-interference, and that this is the interpretation put upon it in the section of the country which is the most deeply interested in it, I infer from a speech recently made by Mr. Breckinridge, our distinguished nominee for Vice President. That I may not misinterpret him, I will read to you an extract from the speech, taken from one of the papers in which it was published:

"Upon the two issues which do now most agitate the Union, the position of the Democracy cannot hereafter be misunderstood or misrepresented.

"They have defined in explicit terms their construction of the guarantees of civil and religious liberty, which are contained in the Constitution of the United States.

"Upon the distracting question of domestic slavery, their position is equally clear. The

whole power of the Democratic organization is pledged to the following propositions:

"That Congress shall not interfere upon this subject in the States, in the Territories, or in the District of Columbia.

"That the people of each Territory shall determine the question for themselves, and be admitted into the Union upon a footing of perfect equality with the original States, without discrimination on account of the allowance or prohibition of slavery.

"That the law of Congress for the return of fugitives from labor, passed in pursuance of the requirements of the Constitution, shall be faithfully executed.

"Upon all these vital questions the Convention was unanimous; every delegate from every State giving them his cordial approval. To the resolutions thus interpreted I give my assent."

Towards the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Dix remarked on the characteristics of the Know Nothing and Republican parties; and speaks in the following terms of such New York Democrats as had joined the Fremont party:

"It is in vain to say, as these gentlemen, who have joined them do, that it is a mere temporary organization to redress a special wrong. Unions of this sort, like more sacred ones, are usually for life, and it is the great body of a party that shapes its policy and directs its movements. The few prominent Democrats who have joined this association are, (to use the poetical figure,) like a few swimmers in a vast ocean; (*nari nantes in gurgite vasto*;) with their heads above water now, but destined to be lost in the waves with the first political tempest that shall arise out of elementary principles."

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 3, 1856.

We have received interesting accounts from Kansas, relative to the skirmishes at Franklin, and to the state of affairs in the territory since that time. For several weeks previous to the 13th of August, gangs of invaders had been roaming about, robbing and slaying, and then retreating laden with booty to the fortifications which they had erected in different parts of the country. After suffering these indignities for some time, the free-state men, exasperated by the murder of Major Hoyt, marched against the fortification at Franklin and compelled the inmates to surrender. A block-house at Washington Creek, occupied by several hundred of the enemy, was next captured. The camp of Col. Titus was then attacked, and the colonel, after making an effort to defend the men and provisions which formed his snaws of war, was compelled to surrender all. Col. Titus and one free-state man were badly wounded in the engagement.

After the rout of the hostile camps a temporary peace was negotiated, in which prisoners were exchanged, and the howitzer taken in the siege of Lawrence last May, was delivered to its original owners, the free-state men.

It is a cause for congratulation that the invaders were at length separated from the United States authorities. The loyalty of the free inhabitants of Kansas forbids them to raise a finger against the power of the country even when that power lends itself to the sacking of a city. The fact of this separation is doubtless owing in a great measure to the intercourse of the prisoners who are confined in the camp of the United States forces, with the officers in command. The prisoners instruct their keepers in the true history of the affair. It is said that the Government officers have expressed themselves in terms of compliment at the conduct of the free-state men in the attack upon Colonel Titus's stronghold. Many of them had but just arrived, and had walked barefooted one hundred and fifty miles. When volunteers for a difficult enterprise were asked of a Chicago company, every man but one stepped forward.

We are gratified to learn that the church at Lawrence is rapidly approaching completion. The friends of the cause have already contributed enough to render it fit for use.

THE KANSAS HERALD OF FREEDOM. The Free State men of Kansas practised on Titus's fort with the cannon they had re-captured at Franklin. A brother of Rev. Daniel Foster of Lowell, giving a description of the action in which he was himself engaged, says "it was loaded with balls run from the type-metal of the Herald of Freedom press, which Col. Titus had destroyed last May. When the first shot was fired the Lawrence boys shouted, 'the Herald of Freedom is issued again.' The cannon was fired six times. At the sixth fire they surrendered. One of their men was killed, and Col. Titus badly wounded."

Kansas Affairs.

St. Louis, Sept. 2. Letters to the Republican, dated St. Joseph the 27th ult., state that Major Baldwin, Agent of the Kickapoo Indians, has just returned from a visit to the Indians. He reports the country between Grasshopper and St. Joseph full of armed bodies. Free State men were moving along the Western border of the Kickapoo Reservation. Captain Scott, with a hundred men, had moved in that direction, and other forces were to join him to cut off further accessions in that quarter to the ranks of the free State men.

The pro-slavery party were also stationing strong bodies of men along the Northern line of the Territory to prevent the ingress and egress of any free State parties there, and along the Missouri river, and it is so well fortified that no free State forces can approach in that direction. The pro-slavery men are arranging plans for a speedy concentration of their forces upon Lawrence. The excitement in the Territory and border counties continues.

The Real Issue.

We meet with persons, not a few, who totally eschew politics,—who regard these exhibitions "of feeble wit and bitter vituperation" as unworthy the notice of their exalted intelligence, and so not appertaining of course to them. Granted that there may be small political questions, there are also important controversies involving momentous national consequences of first rate importance. From looking at these, forming an opinion on the same, and acting in reference to this, no one can justly be excused.

Such an issue is now before the people. There is no want of distinctness in the question on which the conflicting parties in the present campaign rest.—Fremont and Kansas a Free State, and Buchanan and Kansas a Slave State,—this is the real issue,—this is the practical question now dividing the country, and every vote given for Mr. Fillmore is just the same as it was thrown for Buchanan.

The south may be deemed a unit in the matter.—They stand completely made up to go for Buchanan, taking the whole southern people together. It could not be otherwise, now when as the Richmond Enquirer says, Southern slavery at the south has become the life and soul of their political fabric, agreeing that they have voluntarily educated themselves into this base dependence on an institution which in revolutionary times they looked upon with fear.

The question of Kansas is not at all like that of Texas annexation; we are not to add anything on it, it is not a piece of the south that we are attempting to make free; it is a part of the union, an immense territory capable of making many states, which by its situation, soil, relation, and its whole circumstances rightfully and truly appertains to freedom and the things of freedom. So much the rather does the south wish to carry out these peculiar principles here, which will add this grand and majestic region to her already enormous dominions, and secure to her that balance of power, which she seems to claim as a matter of course, not reflecting upon what her claim is founded.

Nothing can be more direct, or appeal more directly to the people of the United States, in all sections of the country, at least to those who believe in republican principles and the simplest constitutional principles of government, than the present issue of the campaign,—shall Kansas be free or shall Kansas be slave, will your vote for Freedom and Fremont or will you vote for Slavery and Buchanan?

This is the form, in which the southern press, without a solitary exception so far as we are informed, placed the issue of the campaign at the very outset; this is the way in which they looked, and this is the practical view on the matter. Certainly, if there are men at the north who wish to extend the empire of slavery, they are rather to be pitied than blamed; they are ignorant of themselves, of their duties to God and man, and should endeavor to enlighten themselves on their duties as free citizens of an independent State. When the whole human race opposes an evil and disposes of it, assuredly it is safe for the freest land on earth to take the same ground.

Plain as the issue is, clear as the noonday sun, and appealing directly to all persons, whether politicians or not, it seems the height of absurdity to find those who call themselves reasoners, preparing to throw away their votes on a third candidate who whether he is chosen or not, must be chosen to perform the same part with Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Fillmore is called a compromise candidate—we believe; he is this, in one sense, he compromises the vote of every person who goes for him, by giving it to the democracy. No man can, in the present contest, be a compromise candidate, in any other view. The issues are defined. No political candidate can be put up, who can abolish these issues, or render the duty of a free citizen less imperative or entire with

regard to them. Accept we must, escape there is none, in the present contest, Fremont or Buchanan, one or the other, accept them with their diverse principles, Free Kansas or Slave Kansas,—put it to yourself then if you are the free citizens of a free State, if you will employ the power and influence you have received for a good purpose, or to extend the dominion of human slavery over a free territory?

New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 3, 1856.

THE KANSAS WAR.

Causes of the Late Difficulties in Kansas—Sketch of Col. Titus—Visit of Gov. Shannon to Lawrence—The Interchange of Prisoners.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

CHICAGO, Wednesday, Aug. 27, 1856.

I have entirely reliable information from Kansas, giving a history of affairs there down to Friday, the 22d inst.

As every well-informed man must have supposed, the reports circulated by the Pro-Slavery Party have been of the shamelessly mendacious character.

As the party which captured the fort at Franklin returned to Lawrence, they received news of the attack of a body of Southerners, under Truss, upon some quiet Topeka men, and instantly started to see what it meant. On the way to Lecompton they suddenly came upon Truss' party, in the act of stealing horses; and, following as he fled, chased him to his fortified dwelling. Here, deeming himself safe, he uttered threats of defiance, and fired upon the Free-State men—with his own shot, mortally wounding Capt. SHANNON, commander of the Indiana company. The Free-State men returned the fire, but, of course, it had no effect. But the cannon captured at Franklin here came in play, and two or three rounds brought out an unconditional white flag; i. e. the valiant fire-eating Florida filibuster surrendered at discretion. But the gallant Gen. CLARK, Indian agent and murderer of Dow, anticipating a short shift, if taken, "stole away under cover of some bushes, and escaped to retail his outrageous lies in Missouri, and stir up the ignorant and fanatical "border ruffians" to a fresh invasion.

This TRUSS, one of the most wicked and reckless of the new recruits to the "law and order" party, is honored with the especial hatred of such downright-thinking men as believe in judging men on their own merits. Since the day when he took so conspicuous a part in the sack of Lawrence, he has not failed to increase the reputation for brutality he there acquired; and finally has become one of the few "marked men" whom the Sharpshooters of Kansas have devoted to destruction if they ever get him within range of their rifles. And on this occasion it was believed that his doom was sealed; for the commander of the Free State men was the Capt. WALKER whom he had so relentlessly persecuted, and for whose head he had made a standing offer of \$500. As he was forced to capitulate at discretion, many of the men were for inflicting upon him at once the reward earned by his many crimes. Some would have shot him on the spot; and could scarcely appreciate the high and chivalrous generosity of the gallant WALKER, when the latter stepped between the raised rifles and his deadly foe, and declared that he would protect the life of TRUSS with his own.

This Capt. WALKER is one of the Free State "monsters" of the Missouri newspapers, "who spare neither age nor sex."

TRUSS, during his flight, had been twice wounded. He was now taken, with the remaining eighteen captives, to Lawrence, where the wounds were dressed, the best accommodations of the town furnished (they had a hotel once!) and every attention given to their wants.

In the meantime some few Free-State men had been arrested by a civil process charged with participating in the attack on Franklin; and Gov. SHANNON, with his fine instinct of diplomacy, seized the opportunity to pay a last visit to the citizens of Lawrence, and assure them of the continuance of his "distinguished consideration," and the respect he entertained for their talents in confidence. No one familiar with the "war of Lecompton" will question the Governor's peculiar fitness to judge of the opportunity as an occasion which offered for honorable negotiation. Nevertheless, the people of Lawrence were a little surprised

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 3.

[For the Evening Telegraph.]

One Day's Work for Kansas.

Boston, Sept. 2, 1856.

To the Editor of the Telegraph:

It is manifest that a crisis is at hand in regard to the affairs of our fellow-citizens in Kansas, and perhaps their lives depend upon our prompt action. The greater the prospect of success which may exist in regard to the election of the People's candidate and the overthrow of the Tyrants who oppress our fellow-citizens in that Territory, the more haste will be made by the Ruffians to drive them out and get possession before the people can have time to act. The recent advices show more conclusively than ever, the necessity for prompt assistance in men and money—the former can be had of the right stamp in the neighboring free States, if the means are provided.

We propose, therefore, that a day be fixed upon in which every liberty-loving man in Massachusetts, high or low, shall devote conscientiously, one day's labor or one day's profit in business, to this cause. Surely this is a small sacrifice to make compared with that made by those who have already gone to that devoted territory, and have not only devoted all their means but have taken their lives in their hands for the cause of liberty and of free institutions. Let an early day be set apart for this contribution, and we would suggest the 17th of September, the day appointed for the inauguration of the statue of Franklin, for this purpose.

Chas. B. Lines, Esq., president of the New Haven Kansas Colony, returned home to this city for a brief period, on Saturday. He left Kansas, says the Journal, on the 14th ult., and was obliged to disguise himself to escape the pro-slavery outlaws who overrun the territory. His colony, being on the extreme west of the settlements, had not been attacked, but we see that a party of pro-slavery ruffians had been repulsed in an attack upon Manhattan city, only fifteen miles from Waubonse, and it is very probable that Waubonse has been the seat of war before this time.—New Haven Palladium.

Being a little lame, Capt. Lines thought he would start a little before the battle came off.

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to receive a visit from His Excellency, escorted by a company of Dragoons under Major SENGWICK; and the Committee of Safety not less surprised to hear him seriously propose another "treaty," whose basis should be an exchange of the five Free-State prisoners in the hands of the civil authorities, for the nineteen prisoners-of-war held by the "rebels!"

However, the Governor was serious; and, finally, the Committee agreed to the exchange, provided that the brass howitzer, taken from Lawrence at the time of the sack, should also be restored.

To this the Governor assented; and on taking his leave, made the people a speech in the street, in which he assured them of his undiminished regard and prayers for their prosperity. He was briefly answered by Col. ELDRIDGE, and graciously took his leave.

The next day the prisoners were duly exchanged in the camp of the dragoons, near Leocompton, and the howitzer returned in triumph to Lawrence!

Will the Pro-Slavery Party North for a moment contrast this proceeding with the shameful murder of poor HOTT, and judge between the parties!

At present there is a fearful cursing on the Border, and ruffians are mustering by hundreds—perhaps thousands—to avenge these "outrages!" The Free-State men are courageous and tolerably well supplied with arms and ammunition, though a contest will soon reduce the latter; and even now, at their drills, many are obliged—even of the officers—to use sticks instead of guns!

Provisions are also very scarce, and there is no communication with Missouri. The settlers are obliged at present to subsist mostly on green corn. They are determined to hold out as long as they are sustained by the North; but that support must be immediate to be efficient. Where are the funds which are indispensable to the maintenance of the struggle?

Gen. LANE has not been in command of any of these expeditions.

Gov. ROBINSON and his fellow prisoners have not been rescued.

Leocompton has not been attacked.

The Free-State men have committed no outrages, and are acting on the defensive.

The Quaker Mission near Westport has been broken up, and Mr. MENDENHALL and his family obliged to return home to Indiana. LITERAL.

Critical Situation of the Free-State Men—Brutal Outrages by the Law-and-Order Party—Atrocious Treatment of a Lady—Particulars of the breaking up of the Quaker Mission—Personal Utoms.

Correspondence of the New York Daily Times: CHICAGO, Thursday, Aug. 28, 1856.

Accounts from Kansas continue to show that the position of the Free-State men is critical in the extreme. The Ruffians have this advantage, that they have been long preparing for an invasion, and that the vigorous measures of the settlers only a little accelerated the movement. Hence they have the money and arms in readiness, and only need a short time to cover the prairies with their vindictive hordes.

Still, the Free-State men are undismayed, and will meet them with a firm front, trusting to their brethren at the North not to forsake them in their hour of peril. Will this noble confidence be misplaced?

Some of the incidents which have already transpired possess a dreadful interest, as going to prove that the settlers are compelled to fight a foe of more than savage atrocity. A gentleman has just come down who had the temerity to pass through Westport. He was taken, and his captors hesitated whether to hang him or put him into a sack and throw him into the river. (The peculiarities of Turkish punishment are to be revived in America.) But finally, a man whom he had attended while sick (he is a physician) succeeded in saving his life. He had taken some money to Kansas to invest, but finding no chance, was going back to his former home in the State of New-York; and dividing \$5,000 he took half himself, and gave the remainder to his wife, whom he sent by the way of Leavenworth. Her \$2,500 she secreted in the hem of her petticoat, and saved; his, the "law-and-order" men seized and kept, and ordered him to leave the country forever. He now thinks that he shall go back.

On his way down, he saw a little girl lying dead; her brains had been dashed out! She was not yet cold. It seemed to him that the savages must have taken her by the heels and perpetrated the horrid deed, and then fled!

The case of a man being scalped near Leavenworth is a literal fact. He was a brother-in-law of Rev. Mr. NUTE, and just arrived; his name is WM. C. HORRS. He was alone—though there are witnesses of the deed. The murderer returned to Missouri and displayed the reeking scalp in brutal exultation to the Clerk of Platte County!

One of the most atrocious deeds occurred near

Lawrence. A lady living a short distance from the town, had been there to nurse a wounded relative; and during her stay, had made some statements touching the murder of Major HOTT, which are supposed to have been reported to the ruffians. On her return home, she stepped out of doors in the evening in her night dress, and was immediately seized by four men with blackened faces, who gagged her by a handkerchief drawn through her mouth and tied round her head, and carried her some distance from the house, where they stripped her naked, bound her limbs, drew out her tongue, tied a string round it and round her neck, and left her! After some time she succeeded in getting back to the house, and by means of knocking her head against the window, attracted attention and gained admittance.

I cannot trust myself to comment on this infernal outrage.

The facts in connection with the breaking up of the Quaker Mission are characteristic. About a dozen of "law-and-order" men—mostly BURROD'S, from Westport—went to the Mission and demanded their horses. The good old Quaker, MENDENHALL, demurred to the demand, but he was told it was of no use. He then asked if one of his boys might ride one of the horses to Westport, with the company, to get a physician for a sick member of the family; the request was refused.

An Irishman working for him resolved to save the best horse, and going to the field and catching him, he said that he was himself going to Lawrence to fight, and must have one horse. They refused, though supposing him a Pro-Slavery man. He then drew a weapon and gave them leave to attempt to take the horse, if they would come on, not over half at once! With commendable prudence they then yielded the point. A similar demonstration was made over the saddle. (They had cut the harness from the backs of the horses taken.) They finally, it would seem, received him into good fellowship, and he rode with them into Westport, and going to the store of Col. BOONE, said that if he was going to Lawrence to fight the Yankees he must have the necessary arms and equipment. These the Colonel gave him at once. After a while he rode away, and was last heard from, near Lawrence, on his way to join the Free-State men! He is said to be the man who was chosen last December to train the howitzer for the band besieged in Lawrence!

He overheard the ruffians planning to return to the Mission and take away the girls, to live with them in camp; and this, together with other symptoms, satisfied Friend MENDENHALL that the only safety for himself and family was in flight. So he has returned with them to his old home in Indiana. Passing through Westport, one of the firm of *Majors & Russell* expressed great regret at what had occurred; "but the fact is," said he, "we have some men whom we cannot restrain!" Still, he urged MENDENHALL to stay; "for," said he, with the same incautious candor, "the breaking up of your Mission in this way will do us a great injury in public opinion." And MENDENHALL thinks that if he had delayed his departure a little longer, he would have been detained by force.

Gen. SMITH, it is said, is resolved not to interfere, unless by direction of the civil authority. This places his force under the command of SHANNON and Secretary WOODSON—that is to say the dragoons are at the service of the Pro-Slavery Party.

Capt. BROWN is still "around." One of his men wears the sword of the chivalrous Capt. PATE. Gen. LANE has had scarcely anything to do with the movements of the Free-State men, and should not be held responsible. So with most of the men who entered through Nebraska; and who, by the way, are an excellent class of *bona fide* emigrants. One of them, however, Capt. SCHOMBRES, of Indiana, was mortally wounded in the engagement with TITUS. He died tranquilly, entirely satisfied to give his life for so good a cause.

The National Executive Committee are working here with great faithfulness, but labor under disadvantages for want of sufficient funds. As the organization is in working order, why don't the friends of Freedom send in the money? By-and-by it will be TOO LATE! LITERAL.

Interception of Newspaper Correspondence—Destruction of more Fortified Camps by the Free-State Men—The expected Missouri Invasion—Help wanted.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times. LAWRENCE, K. T., Friday, Aug. 22, 1856.

I have written ten letters since I have seen one in print, and I am satisfied that a large proportion of them are lost. Still I will keep trying to tell the East of our critical condition and extreme want. In the few skirmishes we have had during the last two weeks, we have only cleaned out five or six dens of thieves, robbers, and murderers, such as would be plainly declared so by any Court in the civilized world, and we have in all instances avoided any depredations upon peaceable citizens. We have molested no towns, but only destroyed fortified camps or forts, in which some of the Georgia miscreants have been quartered.

For doing this, all Missouri is upon us, and they say by next Monday there will be over two thousand men under arms, ready to march upon us and exterminate the last root of Abolitionism. A thousand are said to be in Westport now, and every town along the border is guarded, so that all our communication with the States is cut off; consequently, all our supplies. This will drive us in a day or two to green corn, new potatoes, a little corn meal and beef. On these we shall not starve, but we have no money to pay for even that, and shall be compelled to take what we find, with a mere pledge from the State Central Committee that it will all be paid sometime if we are not blotted out.

Last Monday a man named HOTT, recently from Massachusetts, with his wife, was murdered and scalped near Leavenworth City, while on his way there from this place. A Mr. JENNISON, who has a wife in Massachusetts, was similarly treated near Westport last Tuesday, and his team and load of freight taken by the notorious McGINNIS. None of our men are safe unless in large bodies. They attack single men without mercy.

Civil war exists. We have to-day, on learning of the great forces in the field to slaughter us, sent word to every part of the Territory, calling all our available forces to, either at this place as soon as possible. And we must provide for feeding them when they come.

These are times for the heroes and not the rebels—times that excite the Spartan blood, fill its tinge has become a passport for citizenship. The people of Kansas are ready to fight for their all, but still they are stripped of their last dollar—last team almost—and they are denied any intercourse with the States, and all their supplies are cut off. This is literally true. We shall abide our fate, and hold the North responsible for our poverty. Besides, we are only about one-half armed, and no prospect of more in season to aid us in this crisis, for the next ten days will seal our doom; and if we are spared to tell the tale, its history will startle the Universe. This is far the richest chapter in the book.

But I have lost so many letters that I have no ambition to write, and will not. When peace is permanently conquered, if I am spared to see the day, these scenes will be amply drawn.

RANDOLPH.

THEY DON'T WANT TO MAKE KANSAS A SLAVE STATE—OH NO!

From the Richmond (Va.) Whig. KANSAS CITY, Tuesday, Aug. 19, 1856.

We hear of nothing but distress now from Kansas, and while I write companies are being formed to go to their relief. Col. MCCARTY and all our folks will leave to night. We will go in this time with a force sufficient to clean out Kansas, you may rely on that, and this attack will make Kansas a Slave State, beyond all doubt. Let me assure you that Missourians will never go into Kansas again without driving out the last scoundrel. Before eight days have elapsed, Missouri will send in five thousand "Border-Ruffians," and they will never leave as long as there is an Abolitionist in that beautiful Territory. They have been there twice, and the third time will tell the tale. Nothing is surer now than that Kansas will be a Slave State. While I am writing this, Clay county is sending over 500 men, who are now crossing at this place, headed by Col. DONIPHAN. Platte County will send 600, and Jackson County 1,000 Yours, J. A. HUTCHESON.

NEW YORK HERALD.

New York, Wednesday, September 3, 1856.

The United States Senate on Kansas Affairs—Douglas versus Wilson.

We spread before our readers this morning, the speech of Mr. Douglas and the speech of Mr. Wilson, delivered in the United States Senate on the 27th ultimo, on the House proviso to the Army bill; and we submit them to the candid attention of men of all parties, as about the fairest presentation we can make of the two sides of the Kansas controversy. Judge Douglas and General Wilson are both politicians of the best modern school—practical, pointed and pungent in their views of the salient points of a great question; and while the former is the acknowledged exponent of the policy and principles of the democratic party upon Kansas affairs, the latter stands no less prominent as one of the great guns of the Fremont republicans.

In reading over this particular speech of Mr. Douglas, however, *as-a-is* with the speech of his powerful adversary of the same day, it must be admitted that while the latter sticks like wax to his text, his facts and his argument—as if pleading to convince the Senate—the distinguished Senator from Illinois, on the other hand, falls short of the mark, in limiting himself to the prejudices and presumptions of the galleries. Ingenious and prolific as Mr. Douglas unquestionably is in his discoveries of the motives and objects of his adversaries, he falls, in this instance, to

with the facts and the real issue, as the occasion requires. He says that the Fremont party in Congress have not in reality sought or desired the abrogation of the bloody code of Kansas—that they have rather sought to keep it an open question for Presidential agitation—that they rejected the several bills passed by the Senate to repeal those infamous laws—that there would be no trouble in Kansas were there no Presidential election pending—that the Fremont party are rejoiced at every new atrocity which occurs in Kansas, as furnishing so much additional capital for political agitation—that the House proviso itself was but an ingenious device to promote agitation, is still keeping alive those atrocious Territorial laws, &c. But what has all this to do with the facts in the case, and the real merits of the question between the two houses? Let us examine.

The following is the House proviso to the army bill, upon which this Senatorial debate took place, to wit:—

1. That no part of the military force of the United States 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.

2. 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.

3. It shall be his duty to take efficient measures to compel the return of, and withhold, all arms of the United States distributed in or to said Territory.

Was that proviso right or wrong? Ten thousand precedents affirm that in a parliamentary sense it was right, while the ruffianism which had been lorded it for many long months over Kansas, under the treacherous, double-dealing and imbecile administration of Mr. Pierce, recommended that proviso, not only as right, but as really necessary for the peace of the Territory. If Mr. Douglas objected to it because it did not distinctly repeal those barbarian laws of Kansas, could he not have proposed a modification to suit his peculiar views? But no; the Senator and the Senate would listen to nothing short of the absolute submission of the House to the President, and that being at length secured, through a Fillmore and Buchanan majority, the Senate triumphantly adjourned. In the interval they had indignantly voted down the proposition of Mr. Weller and the bill of Mr. Crittenden for the abolition of those ferocious Kansas laws, and for the substitution of law and order—voted them down, too, upon the plea of leading Southern democratic secessionists, that nothing should be done for Kansas short of the absolute surrender of the House.

Mr. Douglas, as the responsible godfather of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, will remember that the New York HERALD was the first Northern public journal to come out in support of the repeal of the Missouri compromise as the repeal of an unconstitutional act, and for the substitution of popular sovereignty in the Territories, as more consistent with the spirit and intent of the constitution. Mr. Douglas will also remember that the HERALD defended the Territorial Legislature and laws of Kansas, and rebuked the rebellious acts of the free State settlers, until a Congressional committee had established the fact, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Kansas Legislature was an outrage upon popular sovereignty, and that its laws, and the appliances used by Mr. Pierce to enforce them, were among the grossest of outrages upon popular rights.

From the day when that report was made to Congress, it should have been the duty of both houses, and especially of Mr. Douglas, first of all to supersede this spurious Legislature and these bogus laws of Kansas, by a constitutional, lawful and republican form of government; and then there would have been no difficulty and no chaffering between the two houses upon provisos to the appropriation bills. But unfortunately

in the supervision of the Kansas-NEBRASKA law our weak and truckling President fell under the mischievous counsels of that arch-secessionist, Jefferson Davis, the Secretary of War, an intimate confederate of Messrs. Atchison and Stringfellow, and a party to their scheme to make of Kansas a slave State or to blow up the Union. From that unhappy day popular sovereignty in Kansas was suppressed by ruffian sovereignty, and from that day to this, this border ruffianism has been protected, encouraged and enlarged by the administration, until the whole democratic party are involved in the plot. Even the godfather of the Nebraska bill and the Cincinnati nominee for the succession, have become identified with, and pledged to, this secession policy of Jeff. Davis, which is to establish slavery in Kansas, and Kansas as a slave State, by force of arms.

This speech of Mr. Douglas, therefore, falls short of the mark, while the speech of Gen. Wilson strikes home to the main question. It does not treat upon motives, suspicions, presumptions and suppositions, but upon facts, acts and circumstances directly affecting the main issue. He exhibits the bloody code of Kansas in its naked deformity to the world. His views of this infamous code are substantially endorsed by Messrs. Cass Douglas and all the leading democrats of the Senate; yet they reject the House proviso to the Army bill for the suppression of these Kansas atrocities, and reject all attempts to control the President and his officers and agents within the limits of impartial justice. They succeed at length in drumming up a pliant majority in the House; they carry their point of leaving Kansas, the Kansas Legislature, the bloody code of Kansas, the civil war in Kansas, and a weak and truckling administration, exactly as they found them.

A dispassionate perusal of the speech of Mr. Douglas and the speech of Mr. Wilson, at the same sitting, will afford a most striking illustration of the difference between a desperate lawyer defending a notorious criminal, and an advocate with a bundle of proofs in his hands of the guilt of the indicted party. If Douglas appears weak and frivolous by the side of Wilson, it does not prove the inferiority of Douglas as a pleader, but the badness of his cause. It is evident that he has no stomach for his work; but it will be worse with him before the battle is over. We have no sympathy with the abolition precivilities of Wilson, but we can scarcely confess to any further endorsement of Douglas, considering the secession nigger-driving company into which he has fallen. Jeff. Davis and his set will use him and drop him, as they dropped the little man from New Hampshire. But the world will still go on.

presence of the highest magistrate and has worn it—in the fashion of the day when he first put it on two hundred years ago—in churches and royal halls and congregations of the democratic people. That stubborn wearing of the hat, which looks so quaint to many of us in these ends of the earth, was a very significant thing when it began to be worn over the first enthusiastic, resolute and dogged brows of the new sect. It was then a declaration of absolute and universal equality—a protest against all kings and tyrants and lords—an assertion by each and every one of them, that he, the unresisting Quaker, the stubbornest of men born, did not owe any other man the homage signified by uncovering the head. Notwithstanding Macaulay's attack on William Penn, it remains true to this day, that a Quaker non-resistant who takes up no weapon in self-defence and seldom appeals to the law for his protection, is nevertheless a most dignified and persistent defender of his own manliness and honor. The broad brimmed hat he wears was always received among the Indian tribes as worth more than all the olive branches in Christendom and has been recognised in all other times and places as a continuous and everlasting assertion of the doctrine of equality and peace among men. We are glad,—almost ready to say proud,—that the Quaker fashions do not change. Growing out of this peculiarity of dress and more out of the peculiar faith of this people—especially that feature of it which maintains the spirit of inspiration from the Almighty, continued through all ages and times upon every true man and woman—there have arisen some marked and striking features of character. Elevation and dignity and patience and strength are never wanting among them. Their poor are never left to the cold charities of the world. One of them signed the Declaration of Independence, and so far as it could be done without bloodshed, they all kept the concluding pledge with their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

Such is, briefly, the general character of this sometimes persecuted and always disparaged sect. They are men of Peace—in their own emphatic language, "Friends." As a body, they have never taken part in politics; few of them have been in the habit of even voting. The evidence which we have, especially from Pennsylvania, that they will not be merely spectators at the coming election, is an indication of the force of the swift currents which are now sweeping through the heart of the nation. They have stirred even the placid depths of Quaker-life, and these Men of Peace are girding themselves up for a contest in behalf of the constitutional rights of Freedom. It is not the numbers they may muster, but the fact itself, which deserves attention. Nor is it strange that the phlegm of this peace-loving community should be stirred into something as near gall as a Quaker liver will admit of, by recent occurrences in Kansas and Washington. They will not suffer such outrages to go on, countenanced by their inaction. They will make no ado about it—these silent, but determined Quakers. They will not brawl at political mass meetings, or write letters for the newspapers; but, unless we mistake their character, as well as the signs of the times, they will go quietly and peacefully to the polls, and cast their votes in a manner to tell most effectively against the aggressive, encroaching, and tyrannical policy of the propagandists.

THE EVENING MIRROR.

H. FULLER
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

NEW YORK.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, SEPT. 3, 1856.

Men of Peace Aroused.

A letter to the Cincinnati Gazette says of the Quakers:

"One says to another, 'Art thou going to the polls this Fall to vote?' He assured I am. I know many of my sect of people who have not cast a vote for ten years. Now the question is square and cannot be dodged. We are for Free Kansas, Freedom and Fremont."

There is no people in the Union for whom we entertain a more sincere and profound respect than for the Society of Friends. The very peculiarity of their customs and costume is attractive. Their neat and spotless attire bespeaks the purity of the inner life; their manners, like their habits, are quiet, subdued, self-restrained. They recognize no priest, no minister, no baptism, no sacrament as forming a part in the order of a Christian Church. The Quaker will not resist the grossest assault that may be made upon him: but he will wear his broad brimmed hat in the

Ohio State Journal.

COLUMBUS:

WEDNESDAY EVE'G. SEPTEMBER 3, 1856.

Still Later from KANSAS.

From the Milwaukee Sentinel. We have the following brief letter from our Kansas correspondent, giving us some further particulars, dated a couple of days later than the letter which we conclude to-day. This last is but seven days from Lawrence.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Aug. 31.

MESSRS. EDITORS.—Mr. W. D. J. Emerson, of the vicinity of this town, went to Kansas, Missouri, a few days since, for a load of goods for the Rev. Mr. Nute. When in Westport, Missouri, he was taken by the notorious McGee and his men, and *scraped alive*; he was then imprisoned, since which he has not been heard from.

Mr. William Hopper, from Summerville, Mass., when on his way from this place to Leavenworth, three days since, was shot and scalped and left hanging in the wheel of his buggy in the road. He was found by some military coming over, still warm. The scalp was exhibited in the streets of Leavenworth as a trophy.

An organization exists in Westport, by which every man there passing into the Territory is examined, and, if exceptionable, he is permitted to pass, but soon after getting into the Territory he is set upon by a gang of murderers and robbed and murdered. An express is kept up between the two parties, and each is notified in advance, of any traveler, as to his quality, whether pro-slavery or abolitionist, and he is treated accordingly.

Governor Shannon has fled from the Territory in disguise. Poor man! where will he find a resting-place from the scorn and contempt of his fellow-men? and oh! where from his own conscience, if it is not seared as with a hot iron?

Disorder reigns supreme in the country, except in this city of Lawrence. It is a matter of profound astonishment that the streets of this town are free from confusion and disorder. Fights and quarrels are not known. It is a deep feeling of determination, somewhat of care, and of retribution upon the enemy. Nothing but war is doing—and would you believe it possible, there is not a drop of ardent spirits sold in the town.

bill declare that the question is to be decided by the majority of actual residents in the Territory, and Mr. Buchanan, in his letter of acceptance, promises, in order not to present different issues, to confine himself to the platform throughout the canvass. He, however, expresses a wish to bring slavery agitation to a finality, and he interprets the Kansas-Nebraska bill to mean 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." The "actual residents," which Mr. Hallett had, with a semblance of decency, introduced into the platform, are, it will be noted, at once cast to the winds by Mr. Buchanan, and the squatter sovereigns take their place.

This side blow given to the South by the Democratic nominee should be alone sufficient to awaken the suspicion that the man who, throughout his lengthened career, had played a loose game, never giving a vote to the South that he did not assert would eventually prove to her injury, was still hatching treason to her institutions. The North is the most populous and has ever at command a floating population that can be bought up for any nefarious business; now suppose ten, twenty or thirty thousand of these men, as the case may require, be converted for a given sum, for three months into Kansas squatter sovereigns, the question, according to Mr. Buchanan will come to a speedy finality. The vote of the majority of the Squatters should prevail, is the precept of Mr. Buchanan; therefore, it is only a question who has the greater amount of money in Kansas funds, and who has the larger amount of supple material in human shape.

Is there a Democrat reckless enough to assert that Kansas funds in the South approach to one tithe of their amount in the North; on the contrary, is it not a daily lamentation with the Democracy that the North is giving such substantial proof of being in earnest on the Kansas question, while the South is holding back subscriptions to the cause? Is it not proclaimed in Southern papers, moreover, that many of those men sent out to Kansas by the South have proved recreant to their trust, and are thinking rather of the fesh-pots of Egypt than the merits of the cause in which they went forth to battle? Accept Mr. Buchanan's definition of the Kansas act, that the majority of squatters shall prevail in the Territorial Legislature, and no power on earth can prevent Kansas becoming a Free State. Mr. Buchanan, on every momentous occasion, has taken pains to exhibit that all his sympathies were with the free laborer; why did he do this, but that he believed the time would come when he might with impunity proclaim himself in his true character, of a Freesoiler of fifty years' standing?

Millard Fillmore on the contrary, would ensure justice being meted out to Kansas. He knows no North, no South; he only sees his beloved country. His protest against the needless agitation on the slavery question was a reproof to those Democrats and Black Republicans who were making political capital out of it. He compared it to Pandora's box, because every ill-feeling was let loose, and patriotism was wounded and bleeding. The proof that he would not favor the North, however, is patent in his sublime words on the treasonable course of Col. Fremont and his partisans, who assert that Kansas shall be free in spite of the law. Millard Fillmore states that, rather than suffer this outrage the South would be justified in separating from the Union. He stands by the law and the Constitution, and his election is the only possible means of enabling Southern institu-

tions to flourish in Kansas. The success of Buchanan and Squatter Sovereignty are as fatal to the South as Fremont and Black Republicanism.
Chronicle and Sentinel

RIFLES FOR KANSAS. It is stated that within a few months orders for about one thousand rifles destined for Kansas have been filled at Hartford, Ct., a part being sent to St. Louis for the ruffian forces and a part to Chicago for the free-state emigrants.

THE DAILY UNION

"The attention of the whole country was but recently called to the extraordinary spectacle of a continued and threatening disagreement between the House and the Senate. The lower branch of Congress announced the position that they had a right to direct the President in his discretion as commander-in-chief. They insisted that the army should not be paid or maintained unless the Senate would unite with the factious majority of the House in a double usurpation—a usurping control over the legislature of Kansas, and a usurping intrusion upon the functions of the Executive. The action of the House, had it been submitted to by the Senate, would have constituted a most revolutionary, disorganizing, and dangerous precedent. Be the laws of Kansas as bad as they may, two wrongs never make a right; and it was no proper method of redressing grievances that one co-ordinate branch of the government, coterminously refusing all offers of conciliation and accommodation from any quarter, should attempt to paralyze the constitutional powers of the other branches.

In announcing the accounts of disturbances in Kansas from the invasion of Lane, the Cincinnati Enquirer remarks:

"This has been done at the instigation of the black-republican politicians in Washington and elsewhere in the East, as well as in this State. It was for this object large sums of money were collected in the northern cities, and, in view of this state of affairs, the House of Representatives refused to vote the usual appropriations for the support of the army and navy. The army having been employed to maintain peace and order in Kansas, these friends and advocates of civil war and bloodshed were determined that it should be withdrawn; that our army should be broken up; and that the Territory of Kansas should be made the theatre of a great battle between the North and South."

Flag of the Union.

W. A. PURDOM & F. C. JONES, EDITORS.

JACKSON:

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1856

Would Buchanan Give Kansas to the South?

The Democracy having failed in their every attempt to impose Buchanan upon the country as a statesman, as well as in their endeavor to show that their party had not been, while in power, the most corrupt, extravagant and reckless on record, now seek to recover their waning influence by asserting that the question before the people is not concerning the statesmanship of their candidate or the morality or even the common honesty of a party, but it is solely whether Kansas and equality can be secured to the South. The Cincinnati Platform and Kansas

36 From the Springfield, (Mo.) Mirror, (Pro-slavery), Sept. 4.]
 There is one thing connected with Kansas and her difficulties that others probably do not see as well as ourselves, have noticed, and that is this:—Ever since the commencement of the difficulties in that Territory, there has been a parcel of men ready to add to the excitement by spreading false alarms all over the country. On the first approach of danger, such men as R. G. Roberts, and others of like kidney, who are more expert in holding horses than in the use of the rifle, frantically rush into Missouri, crying that the abolitionists are murdering all who oppose their will and order them any resistance. Others, like Aitchison and Stringfellow, send forth incendiary appeals, calculated to stir up bad blood, and lead the unthoughtful into acts of violence. These men also tell us that it is all family quarrel, that government had nothing to do with it, and no right to interfere.
 From these facts the people can readily see who it is that is keeping up the excitement and urging their neighbors to become violators of the laws of the land. The Pierce administration, by its acts, first brought about the difficulties, and now, with the aid of the abolitionists, keep them up. We find the President encouraging men in the idea that government has no right to interfere to quell these disturbances, by refusing to order out the United States troops—by refusing to move a finger to allay the excitement. Party drill and party tactics keep him silent, for fear it will have a bad effect in the Presidential election. It was such acts and such men that caused the people of Missouri to be stigmatized as "border ruffians" throughout the land, and almost looked upon as a set of abandoned outlaws.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE FREE-STATE MEN.

From The St. Louis Daily Democrat, Sept. 4.
 An editorial article from *The Lexington American Citizen* will be found in another part of to-day's Democrat, sustaining very emphatically a view of Kansas affairs which from the first we have consistently advocated, and for which we have received our share of obloquy and abuse from certain radical and rabid journals in this State. While holding the Douglas-Pierce Administration accountable for all the bloodshed, evil precedent, and lamentable alienation of feeling prevailing now more than ever between the North and the South, in consequence of the Kansas anarchy; while denouncing with all the force of language at our command the growing and ultra Calhounism which they have inaugurated, fomented and carried to a pitch of extravagance and fanaticism which would have startled even the great author of sectionalism himself, we have at the same time never failed to condemn way-outrage in the Territory, entirely without reference to the party whence it might proceed, or the interests in whose behalf it was supposed to be perpetrated. It would be strange if, in so unsettled a state of things as exists in Kansas—not merely in the absence of law, for that would be comparatively tolerable, but in the presence of laws which are only mighty injustices, and a disgrace to civilization—all the excesses should be confined to one of the contending parties. A course of gross persecution occurred before the Free-State party could be accused of any hostile demonstration whatever, save that occurring in justifiable self-defense. If the latter have retaliated when they might otherwise have been secure in the enjoyment of their vested and personal rights, they have neither been wise nor commendable in their action; but we are surely not to infer this from the statements which reach us from prejudiced and hostile sources, and from parties strongly in the interest of such men as Aitchison and Stringfellow, but for whom, acting under the direction of their masters, a divisive spirit of Slavery that more than any other which the North would not be driven to drive beyond that point had now been reached, and the North ought to stand firm. His speech was frequently interrupted with applause, and gave good satisfaction. Arrangements are being made for canvassing the county thoroughly and supplying documents wherever they will be useful.

Mr. O'Leary, the Postmaster at Sterlingville, in this county, has recently been turned out of the post-office, and a Know-Nothing put into his place by the Democratic Administration. This transaction has caused great dissatisfaction among the Catholic Irish of Jefferson County, who affirm that they will not continue to support a party which has for some time past secretly and now openly, affiliated with their sworn enemies, the Know-Nothings.

THE INTELLIGENCER.

SAINT LOUIS.
 THURSDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 4, 1856

Kansas Outrages—A Distressing Case.
 A gentleman, who stated that he was directed from Kansas, called upon us Tuesday evening, and related a most distressing account of desolation, rapine, and bloodshed produced by the disturbances in Kansas Territory. His own case is one of extraordinary misfortune. He said that he kept a small store, and in conjunction with his brother, carried on a farm on Yermillion river, (in the interior portion of the Territory) where there was a small settlement. About the middle of last month, a band of marauders who, he believes were Free State men, took possession of his store, rifled it of what they wanted, and then set fire to and destroyed it. They went on the farm, hard by, where his brother was ploughing, and demanded the horse he was then using and what stock and provisions he had. Upon being refused, they

shot him, killing him in his tracks, and took and carried off his horses, and whatever else tempted their cupidity. Being driven from house and home, the person who called on us states that he started on foot for Iowa Point, (the nearest settlement) together with his wife and four children, and travelled thus for two days, when he fell in with a wagon, in which the owner permitted him and his family to ride. Exposed, in the journey on foot, to the weather and to privations that manhood could scarcely withstand, his wife and children took sick, and she and two of the children died and were buried on the way. He arrived at Iowa Point with the other two children, and came thence to St. Louis, ruined, broken hearted and deprived of all that was dear to him on earth.

He states that the Territory is overrun with prowling gangs of thieves and murderers, who levy indiscriminately on the property of the unarmed and defenceless, and scruple not at arson and murder to gratify cupidity or revenge. Both pro-slavery men and Abolitionists are engaged in the inhuman business, and have in their power the lives and property of all who are unable to defend themselves. There is no law or justice in the Territory; might reigns over both. Any number of companies, large and small, are pouring into the Territory, from Nebraska and from Missouri, and to supply themselves with provisions and necessities, they seize and appropriate whatever they can.

We have no reason for doubting this statement. The man who called on us is a simple-minded, straightforward countryman, whose manner and appearance are a guaranty that he could not, if he would, deceive. He gave us his name, stating also that he was a native of Kentucky.

A Kansas meeting was held in Bloomington, Macon County, Mo., on Wednesday last.—Resolutions of sympathy with the pro-slavery party were passed, and a committee of one for each township was appointed to raise money for their aid.—Col. L. Robiou proposed to the meeting to be one of a hundred men, who should contribute \$2,000 for the purpose of equipping a company. The meeting adjourned to meet again on Tuesday last.

THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS:
 THURSDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 4.

PREPARATIONS FOR A FIGHT AT LAWRENCE, BETWEEN LANE'S AND ATCHISON'S MEN.

From the St. Louis Republican, Sept. 4.
 We have before us a letter dated "Camp at Bull Creek, Aug. 29, 11½ o'clock A. M.," and written by a member of the Lexington volunteers, in which it is said that they arrived there that morning in fine spirits. Reliable private dispatches from Leecompton stated that the Abolition force at Lawrence, where all their forces are concentrated, amounted to 1,500 to 2,000 men. The opposing force in camp at Bull Creek amounted to 1,000 men, but there were some 500 men above Leecompton to intercept LANE's army in case they should attempt to get away. This afternoon some 400 of our men proceed to Ossawatimie, and other towns may be visited. We will wait at this place for some two or three hundred men, expected to arrive to-morrow; and on return of our men from Ossawatimie, we go by the way of Hickory Point to Lawrence, which will probably be attacked by us day after to-morrow. We are all confident of success. I cannot say when we shall return. LANE's men are fortifying the crossing of Wakarusa, but will leave it on the appearance of our troops.

P. S.—I am just told by Adjutant-General McLEAN, that Lawrence will be attacked on Sunday next—(last Sunday.) Another account says that Monday was the day appointed for this purpose.

ATCHISON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

A letter to the Republican, dated St. Joseph, (Mo.) Aug. 28, says:
 "I have time to write you only a few leading items, brought in by express last night. Gen. Atchison has been elected Commander-in-Chief of the armies of Kansas. His staff consists of some of the most distinguished officers of the Mexican war. He has eleven hundred and fifty men in one division, and some five hundred in another. They will concentrate to-day upon Lawrence. Gen. HICHAZOS had taken up his line of march for the Northern line, to cut off further invasion from that quarter, but he received orders yesterday to move down to Lawrence. The town will be surrounded and its fate decided before Monday night."

FROM KANSAS.
 Correspondence of the Republican.
 INDEPENDENCE, September 3, 1856.

Since the skirmish at Ossawatimie, of which you were apprized, the pro-slavery party for greater effectiveness, determined not to make any other attack upon LANE or BROWN's forces until the 13th. Many of the different companies, who only expected to remain a few days, and were unprepared for a regular campaign, returned to their homes to make such preparation as was required, and design coming back to prosecute the war with greater determination and boldness. Immediately upon the separation of this body of men, the abolitionists, driven to extremity by hunger, were necessarily compelled to make some bold attack upon anything that offered. It seems the returning Santa Fe trains were the most convenient, and on the day before yesterday they surrounded and took WM. MCKINNEY's train of twenty wagons—their oxen, provisions and wagons. BENT's and one or two other trains were close in the rear of MCKINNEY's, and it is feared they have shared the same fate. One or two outward bound trains are afraid to leave the line, as these robbing parties have threatened all, and say that they will even come into the State and destroy Westport, New Santa Fe and this place. Of this we feel no apprehension, save by incendiaries. We learn that RICHARDSON is still in the field, with 700 or 800 men, and near to Lawrence. It is expected that he will make an attack upon Lawrence in a day or two.

Yours, &c., in haste.

FROM KANSAS.

A letter from Leavenworth City, dated on the 2d inst., contains the following information:

"The Territory is again in great excitement. I came yesterday in a company from Weston to help guard this city from destruction. Two houses were burned this morning at 2 o'clock. They both belonged to freesoilers. To-day all is quiet here. Yesterday two men were killed, one pro-slavery and one freesoiler. One on each side also mortally wounded. The freesoilers are leaving on every boat. I never saw the horrors of war before. I stood guard last night for the preservation of property, with the BURNESSES and others, the best men in Weston. An attack from LANE's men is expected daily. Letters have been intercepted to that effect. I shall probably go to Leecompton to-day, and see what is the state of affairs there. The greatest danger here is, I think, from fire. The houses are very combustible. The town will be burned, I fear, unless guarded vigilantly. Settlers, with their families, are leaving in great numbers. The collision here was brought on in this way:

"Letters were found giving directions to certain Free State men to seize arms in various parts of the town; men would then come in by small squads, and, when ready, a company would march from Lawrence to surprise the town. The pro-slavery men organized, and were searching the houses when they were fired on. One man from near Platte City was killed by a shot from a house. The fire was returned, and PHILLIPS, a freesoil lawyer, was killed. PHILLIPS' brother is lying at the point of death. I hope the matter may end here—that peace will yet be restored. But it looks like hoping against hope."

An extra from the office of the *Western Dispatch*, published at Independence, September 3d, 1 o'clock, A. M., expresses great apprehensions of a visit from LANE, with 3000 insurgents, having ten pieces of artillery, and that they will pay their respects to Lexington, Westport and Santa Fe. It is said "these desperadoes swear they will carry every thing before them, and leave nothing." The *Dispatch* seems to place implicit reliance upon this news, though it is not likely to be well founded.

The extra contains the following letter from a number of gentlemen at Westport. It is dated WESTPORT, Mo., Sept. 2d, 1856.

To the citizens of Missouri:
 Mr. Thomas Trewitt has just arrived from New Mexico; he had charge of Mr. S. L. McKinney's train from this place. His train was taken from him at Palmyra, K. T., by the abolitionists under Lane. Bent's and Campbell's trains were just behind, and he thinks they are also taken.
 They say they are determined to destroy New

Santa Fe, Westport, and Independence, between this time and Saturday night.
Send us help and let them be here as soon as possible. We want you to-morrow. This place will probably be attacked to-morrow night.

WM. M. BENT,
UPTON HAYS,
THOS. JOHNSON,
JAMES B. YAGER,
O. ANDERSON,
W. R. BERNARD,
J. BERNARD,
A. G. BOONE,
J. G. HAMILTON,
JAMES FINDLEY.

P. S. The wagons were taken yesterday morning at 11 o'clock.

PREPARATIONS TO ATTACK LAWRENCE.—The Independence Dispatch of the 15th, has the following:—

LECOMPTON, Monday, Sept. 1, 1856.
* We have about a thousand men here, and we expect to move against Lawrence tomorrow. The Yankees have 2500 men in and about Lawrence, and we will have a beautiful fight. There has already been a fight at Hickory Point, and report says that 50 abolitionists were killed, and a great many on the other side; but the truth can't get far here. I think that in another day we will have 8000 men, and then we will clean them all out. They have already been begging for quarter. This country is going to be a scene of bloodshed in a short time. The whole country is alive with men. It is not safe to go half a mile from home. I cannot tell whether you get my letters or not; and I suppose it is a fact that at Lawrence they open all letters directed to pro-slavery men. The Yankees are starving out; all they get to eat being green corn and pumpkins. Excuse haste.

JOHN R. DICKEY.

P. S.—Since writing the above, I learn that there are 200 Yankees and 150 pro-slavery men fighting on the California road, about two miles from here, and the summary is going to help.

Pro-slavery Official Accounts of the Battle of Ossawatimie.

From the Glasgow Times, Sept. 4.
Messrs. Rice, Patterson, and S. Q. Carry reached this place last night, direct from the seat of war, and brought us the following highly important news, which we stop the press to lay before our readers:—

CAMP, BELL CREEK, Monday, Sept. 1.
FRIEND GREEN:—We write to inform our friends that we have had an engagement with the enemy, in which we were completely victorious.

Evening before last, (Aug. 30,) 250 men were dispatched to Ossawatimie, about 30 miles from this place, the headquarters of the notorious Captain Brown.— We made a forced march, traveling all night, and reached the place about an hour after sunrise. We had one six-pounder. The enemy commenced firing on us at half a mile, which is point blank range for Sharp's Rifles. They had taken cover under a thick growth of underwood, and numbered about 150. We charged upon them, having to march 800 miles across an open prairie, against an unseen foe, through a hail storm of rifle bullets. This was done with a coolness and ability unsurpassed, until we got within 50 yards of them, when we commenced a galling fire, which together with some telling rounds of grape from our cannon, soon drove them from their hiding place, with a loss of some 20 or 30 men killed.

We lost not a single man, and had only five or six wounded. I had 50 of our men, all of whom were in the hottest of the engagement, and distinguished themselves, they being about one-third of all who were in the fight, so that we routed them from their covert, man to man. We had three men wounded—one badly, and two slightly. We burned their town and returned to camp last night about 10 o'clock.

Notwithstanding this brilliant success, we found it impossible to march upon Lawrence, for want of men and munitions of war, and have fallen back on Cedar Creek, to wait for reinforcements. Will Missouri forever slumber? If this expedition fails, we have nothing to hope for! Is it possible we are to endure hardships and fatigues for nothing, and our friends not make a common cause with us? We ought to have 5,000 men to drive these cut-throats from this Territory. Already we have slumbered until the last pro-slavery man who came here with the promise of protection has been murdered or driven away, his house burned, and even their children stripped of their clothing. Every section presents awful pictures of murder and ruined settlements. Those who have done all this are now at Lawrence, about 1,500 strong, and should we leave here, this country is turned over, irrevocably, to a gang of murderers, whose thirst for blood and plunder will soon carry them to our own homes.

Let our friends come by boat to Kansas City, and from thence to Lawrence is only about forty-five miles, which can be traveled on foot in two days. We want foot soldiers; we have already too many horses. Send on men immediately or never. Ship cannon with them.

CONGRAVE JACKSON,
G. M. B. MAUGHAS,
Captain Company B.

CEDAR CREEK, Monday, Sept. 1.
GENTLEMEN:—We want infantry—men who will serve on foot; let there be one two horse wagon for each squad of ten men; the horses from the counties below can be sent by land; the men and wagon can come by steamboat. Let what can be done be done quickly.
Yours truly,
D. R. ATCHISON,
CONGRAVE JACKSON,
G. B. M. MAUGHAS.

Messrs. Patterson and Carey.

DAILY TRIBUNE.

DETROIT:

THURSDAY EVENING, SEPT. 4, 1856.

The President on Kansas Affairs.

In another column we publish the report of Messrs. HYATT, DANIELS and ARNY, who were appointed by the National Kansas Committee to wait upon the President, and acquaint him with the cause, nature and extent of the present disturbances in Kansas. We hope that not one of our readers will fail to peruse carefully this report. The President's reply is heartless and infamous. He studiously avoids reference to the real cause of the civil war in Kansas, but prates about "Aid Societies, Sharpe's Rifles, &c." Why does he not also speak of the Secret Blue Lodges, formed and in operation for the purpose of making Kansas a slave State, before an Emigrant Aid Society was formed or a Northern man had entered Kansas to settle. The President says that he intends "to repel armed invasion, come from whatever source it may." If this be his duty now, how imperatively has it been his duty for the past eighteen months, during which armed bands of Missouri ruffians have time and again invaded the Territory, and he has done nothing to prevent them. What are his assurances now worth?

He condemns the sacking of Lawrence, and yet declares that the courts of the Territory are adequate to remedy the wrongs of the settlers; when it was from one of these very courts, presided over by LECOMPTÉ, that the ruffians who burned Lawrence professed to derive authority; and it was this same LECOMPTÉ who, in his letter to ex-Senator HANNEGAN, of Indiana, justified the sacking of Lawrence, but denied that he had given the order for its destruction. "Outrages redressed by the courts," indeed! What have these courts done toward the punishment of the murderers of DOW, BARBER, JONES, STEWART, BROWN, GAY, SACKETT, and HOYT? What have they done toward the arrest of the highwaymen who have robbed BARLOW and INGRAHAM, and many other free-State men? These also are the courts which ordered the imprisonment of BROWN, under the Territorial enactment of the Border Ruffian Legislature, for exercising freedom of the press. Can anything be more heartless? The President sends the settlers for redress to those very courts which have been the chief instruments of their outrage and oppression.

We have only time to refer to one more feature of this reply of the President. He says "the civil power of the territory must be maintained," and in reply to the Committee's question, "whether the germ of the evils is not found in the territorial laws themselves?" he replied, he would not discuss that question; and when asked if there would be any change in his policy, he said, "No, Sirs, there will be none." From all this it is clearly evident that the President intends to enforce the acts of the border ruffian legislature, and this discloses why he was so anxious for the passage of the army bill without the proviso. If he carries his declared intentions into action he will incite civil war in Kansas and elsewhere to an unimagined extent. His past policy has directly brought about the present deplorable condition of Kansas, and now we are told this policy will be continued. It is a work of subjugation of freemen for the benefit of slavery which this policy is doing, and it is to be continued as long as the present infamous President may hold his office, and after that by JAMES BUCHANAN, for whom the Cincinnati platform speaks, and says, that he gives his "unqualified approbation of the measures and policy" of the "administration of FRANKLIN PIERCE."

DAILY HERALD. 237

A. HARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDICT.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Thursday Evening, September 4, 1856.

Pierce's Kansas Policy.

The report of the Kansas Committee of their interview with the President, must dissipate the last doubt, if any remained, that the subjugation policy is to be adhered to, and the infamous enactments are to be enforced, by the whole powers of the General Government. His executive coffers are now replenished by the \$14,000,000 military appropriation—the army and the military chest are his, and now that Congress has adjourned he has no concealment of his purpose to use them. We ask attention to the careful narrative of the interview by Messrs. HYATT, ARNY and DANIELS.

Some people were innocent enough to imagine that a change was meditated, and that there could be no set purpose to use for the enforcement of the Kansas code, the means which the Senate and the Buchanan-and-Fillmore-fusion majority in the House placed in his hands for that purpose. They supposed the pertinacious adherence of the Senate on the Army Bill was upon a point of honor or a scruple of Parliamentary practice. They could not believe that enactments made by a spurious and intrusive legislature of non-residents; so atrocious in its character as these, and so palpably in violation of the Constitution; so utterly contrary to all notions of law that no man, even in the Senate, could defend them, would be sustained and carried into effect.

In the different discussions in the Senate, the strongest administration Senators had denounced them.

Mr. CASS declared them "disgraceful to the age." Mr. HOUSTON repeated with even more emphasis and point the same opinion. Mr. DOUGLAS, himself, in his last speech, admitted that many of them were "repugnant to the Constitution."

In the debate in the Senate on the 27th ult., Senator WELLER distinctly affirmed that some of the Kansas laws "violate not only the organic law, but the Constitution of the United States"—that "they are OPPRESSIVE, and as ATROCIOUS and INFAMOUS as any laws which ever found their way upon the statute book of any free people in ANY AGE OF THE WORLD." He was therefore "anxious to wipe out the obnoxious laws from the statute books, as INFAMOUS and ATROCIOUS IN THEIR CHARACTER."

Mr. BAYARD, of Delaware, (Democrat) said:

He (Mr. Bayard) regarded Mr. Weller's bill as of no more effect than a declaration of rights, and as such could vote for it. He was free to admit that some of the laws of Kansas were shocking to the moral sense of the community, and that some of them invaded national rights. Such laws he was willing to atrogate, because that was the only way in which Congress could act.

Senator BROWN, of Mississippi, in the same debate, speaking of the Kansas laws, said:

Some of them were thought unjust and might be considered outrageous to the minds of some Senators, but was that any reason why Congress should interpose to prevent their execution? The people who make their own laws ought to be the best judges of what was needed; and after Congress had delegated that right, it ought not now to step in and overthrow it.

Senators BUTLER, of S. C., and MASON, of Va., expressed substantially the same views with those of Mr. BROWN. Mr. MASON did not attempt to defend the Kansas laws, but he expressly said that he would not vote for their repeal, until at least the House of Representatives "should be reduced to submission and forced to desist" from the stand they had taken in regard to the Army bill.

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The New York Evening Post, while the Army Bill was pending, well and forcibly said:

Why, we ask, this pertinacious opposition on the part of the Senate to the proviso of the House? We will answer in a few words. Because the majority wish those Kansas laws enforced. The most offensive of them are understood to have originated in Washington; they were designed to prevent emigration into Kansas from the Free States, and to keep the political control of the Territory in southern hands. Their authors now find that the power of the general government is necessary to enforce them, and while they are ashamed to make any defence of their atrocious provisions, the obstinate resistance which the Senators make to any proposal which contemplates the possibility of their being modified, reveals the fact that they look upon those laws as vitally necessary to the supremacy of the slavery interest in Kansas.

The Army Bill with the restrictive proviso stricken out, has passed—the Congress has adjourned without acting upon that Draconian code of Kansas; and now the President coolly tells the people of Kansas there will be no change in the policy of the administration towards Kansas. "No! Sirs, NONE!"

DOUGLASS declared that these laws "SHALL BE EXECUTED SO LONG AS THEY REMAIN UPON THE STATUTE BOOK." The President now says the same thing. Thus the real purpose of the Southern men in resisting the Army Bill proviso is made plain. They knew their man.

Boston Journal.

THURSDAY EVENING, SEPT. 4, '56.
BY TELEGRAPH
—TO THE—
BOSTON JOURNAL.

From Kansas.
NEW YORK, Sep. 4. The Tribune special correspondence gives the following details of affairs in Kansas, partial accounts of which have already been received by telegraph:

Lawrence, Aug. 25. The rumors that large bodies of men were gathering together at Leavenworth, Westport and Little Santa Fe, for the purpose of another invasion, have proved to be more than rumors. On Friday last the ruffians threw the engine boiler and other machinery for the purpose of the Missouri at Kansas city. It was the property of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, and was consigned to the care of Walker & Chick, forwarding merchants, and had just been delivered to the agents of that society.

Yesterday, a committee of five of the citizens of Lawrence waited upon the Governor at Leecompton, to see what action he would take in regard to these mobs which were about to march upon us. They found Woodson acting as Governor. He was in the quarters of the officers in command of the troops, 300 in number, now in Leecompton. The committee stated to Woodson that the people of Lawrence were out of provisions; that their roads were blockaded by armed mobs; that the property of the people of Lawrence, and that they desired to know whether he would grant them a guard to their teams to Westport and Leavenworth; or leave them to guard their own teams and open the roads.

They desired to know, further, whether he intended to expose with the troops to prevent this overwhelming mob from murdering, burning, and pillaging, or whether he intended that they, the people of Lawrence, were to take care of themselves. These questions were asked Woodson directly by the committee, and that gentleman vouchsafed this reply: "That if the people of Lawrence would obey the laws, (the bogus laws) and if he (Woodson) could have assurances to that effect, the proposed invasion could be settled in five hours; that he would bring the troops, of which he is commander-in-chief, to bear upon these mobs, and disperse them."

C. W. Babcock, the Chairman of the Committee, then said: "Governor—Are we to understand that our position is this—that if we obey the bogus laws you will protect us with the whole force under your command, and if not that you will allow us to be murdered?" Here Governor Woodson protested that he had no desire to see them murdered, but that the laws must be obeyed, and writs must be executed.

Some further conference was had with the commanders of the United States troops, but the committee came to the conclusion that if Lawrence is to be defended, her own citizens must do it.

This morning a regiment of volunteers, mostly residents of Topeka, and its vicinity, arrived here, and things look decidedly warlike.

The forts built last winter are being repaired, and new forts are to be built.

A strong guard is now placed around the city. It is believed that from fifteen hundred to two thousand armed men can be raised in twelve hours, to defend Lawrence.

The mob gathered to attack us have about three thousand in all, at Kansas, Westport and Santa Fe. The mob at Big Strangler may not number over five hundred.

Of course not much dependence is to be placed in the numbers which rumor gives. To avoid exaggeration, I have given the aggregate of the minimum of the estimates which I have heard.

The battle will come off on Wednesday, the 27th, so they say, the pro-slavery mob, say. They will attack us simultaneously on both sides of the Kaw river.

The following is a correct list of the wounded on the Free State side at the battles of Franklin and Titus Canyon:

G. W. Smith, Jr., formerly of Butler, Pennsylvania, wounded slightly in the head and leg; Arthur Gunser, formerly of Boston, Massachusetts, wounded very dangerously in the breast and chin—case very doubtful; A. W. White, formerly of Missouri, dangerously; Geo. Henry, formerly of Hartford, Ct., slightly in the breast; James N. Bolton, formerly of New York city, shot through the arm; Jno. Brooks, formerly of Mansfield, O., dangerously; — Wells, slightly; B. A. Clayton, formerly of New York, slightly in the ankle; Geo. Leonard, formerly of Mass., slightly in the back; Charles Jordan, late of Maine, slightly; John Crocker, formerly of Mass., slightly wounded in the head.

These patients are in a temporary hospital, well cared for, under the care of a board of Surgeons, Dr. Prentiss at their head. There is but one doubtful case in the hospital, and that is the case of Mr. Gunter.

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, THURSDAY, SEPT. 4.

[For the Telegraph.]
A Fair for Kansas.

Boston, Sept. 3, 1856.

To the Editor of the Telegraph:
What say the young ladies and gentlemen of Boston, to holding a New England Fair for the benefit of the Kansas settlers, on the 9th of October, the day of the New England Mass Convention?

I think if a proper appeal was made to the friends of free Kansas in New England, to send donations of clothing, woollens, provisions, or anything that would sell or be of service to our friends in Kansas, a good response would be made. A dinner and refreshment table might be served, the proceeds to go for Kansas. It does seem to me if something of this kind could be carried forward much good might result from our labors.

If you think this practicable, be so kind as to suggest it to the public.

Truly yours, S. B. S.

[This is all well if it does not interfere with immediate efforts, which must be made. It must be remembered that it takes many days for supplies to reach the beleaguered settlements, from Boston, and winter is already approaching. What is done must be done forthwith, and with as little machinery as possible.—[Ed. Telegraph.]

It is a significant fact that the Post is delighted with the doings of the Whig convention. Not even the unequivocal condemnation of the Kansas outrages and of the administration, embraced in its resolutions can disturb the placidity of the smile with which the Post greets its co-laborers in the cause of Buchanan. It finds encouragement in the fact that although the speeches "were severe on the administration, and failed to do justice to the noble nationality of the Democratic party," "in them all were well directed blows at the pestilential sectional party, and all portrayed the danger that would arise to the country from Fremont's success."

THE FREE STATE FORCES IN KANSAS. Mr. Lines, President of the Connecticut Kansas Colony, gives, in the New Haven Palladium, the following account of the appearance of things at Lawrence on the 22d day of August:

The whole region of which Lawrence is the centre wears most significantly the aspect of war. Every man, almost without exception, is armed; and squads may be seen in every direction, (some larger and some smaller,) engaged in drilling and performing military evolutions. An election of colonel was held on Wednesday, and Capt. Harvey of Illinois was chosen. He appears to be a man of good judgment and courage, and has had considerable experience as a military man. We witnessed a general parade, yesterday, of a portion of the troops under his command, consisting of eight companies of foot and one of horse. Their appearance, so far as uniform was concerned, strongly reminded me of the "down town militia under command of Capt. Cogan. No two were alike, and many were barefooted, with no garment except shirt and overalls—but the men were there; and their movements, the sober earnestness of their countenances, and their efforts to learn, all served to inspire confidence that in the day of trial they will not be found wanting.

During the two hours the regiment was on duty a new company of volunteers was formed on the left of the column. No two were alike, and many were barefooted, with no garment except shirt and overalls—but the men were there; and their movements, the sober earnestness of their countenances, and their efforts to learn, all served to inspire confidence that in the day of trial they will not be found wanting.

At the close of Mr. Sanborn's remarks, Judge Hear, who presided, made a brief speech. He spoke of the very large contribution which Concord had already made, nearly fourteen hundred dollars, but he thought the means were not exhausted, and he was sure the interest of the people was not. He was ready to repeat the subscription he had before made. Rev. Mr. Angier made a brief and excellent speech. He should repeat his subscription also. He also spoke of political affairs, and declared that though he should not join the Republican, or American, or Whig, or Democratic party, he should vote for Fremont and Freedom.

KANSAS AID MOVEMENTS IN CONCORD. LAST evening, by invitation of the Fremont Club, Mr. F. B. Sanborn of Concord delivered an address on Kansas affairs in the Town Hall in that town. A very large audience of ladies and gentlemen assembled and listened to his statements with great interest. Mr. Sanborn has just returned from Nebraska City. He gave a full and accurate account of the route recently opened for free settlers through Iowa, by way of Mount Pleasant to Topeka. This route was long, and the journey somewhat tedious, especially for teams, but it was in his opinion entirely safe, and would be kept open all winter. It was the only way now left by which freemen could enter the territory. He spoke of the arrangements of the Chicago Committee, in which body he had great confidence, and said that all money and supplies entrusted to them or to the Kansas Committee of this State would be sure to be well used.

The stories circulated by the Administration presses, to the effect that funds had been misappropriated, he pronounced to be false and slanderous. He also gave a detailed account gathered from the best sources of information within his reach, of the present condition of the settlers, and of their prospects for the future. He thought that the Missourians had probably two thousand men upon the frontier, perhaps now in the territory for the purposes of invasion. This force he believed would be repulsed by the free State men, who could rally from one to two thousand fighting men. The result of a second expedition, after this repulse, he feared would be disastrous. It would be made with largely increased numbers of Missourians, whose resources were very great, and unless aid was furnished by the North or the U. S. troops interfered, the free State people were likely to be wholly exterminated. He understood the plan of the Ruffians to be to march a force on both sides of the river, and to surround the free state settlements, and also to send a force to cut off supplies by the way of Iowa. The contingency of the interference of the U. S. troops he did not consider. It was impossible to say what they would do. Judging by the past, they would furnish no aid to the settlers, but the political emergency, the danger of the loss of a more important province, viz: Pennsylvania, might induce the Administration to interfere.

Mr. Sanborn gave an account of the recent movements of the Free State men against the Southern marauders who had fortified themselves at Leecompton, Franklin, and Washington Creek, and whose forts it became necessary to break up, as they had become nests of pirates and murderers. An account of these events has already been printed. He then gave an account of Lane's expedition. This was wholly composed of immigrants. They were armed, of course, but had no other resemblance to an army. If Col. Lane had desired to raise an army, he could have obtained a thousand men, easier than a hundred for settlement. His men were from Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin and Massachusetts. They had made three settlements, Plymouth, Lexington, and Concord, the first five miles south of the Northern Kansas line, and the third about forty miles from Topeka. These settlements were well garrisoned.

Mr. Sanborn spoke also of the immediate need of aid, in money and clothing. "Winter is coming, and clothing is scarce; clothes are soon worn out, and not easily mended. Boots and shoes will be in especial demand. But the first demand is money. If the North would raise a hundred thousand dollars within ten days, Kansas would be free and her settlers would be saved from the danger that now impends over them. He made a strong appeal for aid.

At the close of Mr. Sanborn's remarks, Judge Hear, who presided, made a brief speech. He spoke of the very large contribution which Concord had already made, nearly fourteen hundred dollars, but he thought the means were not exhausted, and he was sure the interest of the people was not. He was ready to repeat the subscription he had before made. Rev. Mr. Angier made a brief and excellent speech. He should repeat his subscription also. He also spoke of political affairs, and declared that though he should not join the Republican, or American, or Whig, or Democratic party, he should vote for Fremont and Freedom.

Sheriff Keyes gave an account of the movement of the ladies of Concord, now in progress. Within a few days they have raised a hundred and twenty-eight dollars, which they have invested in materials for clothing, and yesterday sixty of them, (including a few from Lincoln) met and proceeded to make up the materials into garments. They will meet again on Saturday to continue the work, and no doubt more money will be contributed.

Before the meeting adjourned two hundred and thirty dollars were pledged in aid of Kansas, and more will undoubtedly be raised. It is not unlikely that the subscription of Concord to the cause will reach in all two thousand dollars. The people of the town are very "well off" as a general thing, yet not more so than the people of scores of other places. Let a similar spirit prevail, throughout the State, and how readily will the Kansas question be settled. We trust that contributions will be continued, with rapidity, in all our cities and towns.

Bath Daily Tribune.

THURSDAY MORN., SEPT. 4, 1855.

This is the last opportunity we shall have to address the readers of the *Weekly Tribune* before the election, which will take place on Monday next. On that day is to be DECIDED the struggle between the conservative, christian sentiment of the State, and the mad, fanatical doctrines of the Maine Law Hamlin party.—No man in his senses doubts, for a moment, that the triumph of Hannibal Hamlin, will be the triumph of the Morrill faction—the party of 1855, in whose favor not even the clerical knaves of the Kennebec Journal have dared to utter one word. Indeed so base and contemptible, and so dishonest have this party been shown to be, that no republican paper has dared to defend it, knowing all the while, however, that it would again rally in the success of Hamlin.

On Monday it is MAINE, not Kansas that calls us to the polls. It is for our homes, our families, our State that we are called upon to act. It is upon State issues that we are to decide. Kansas has our warmest sympathies, and for her protection we will act in November. The Legislature of Maine,—her Governor and officials can have no possible control in the settlement of Kansas troubles, and knowing this, we ask the people so to vote as to PROMOTE THE INTERESTS OF MAINE, and not fritter away their strength, annihilate their influence, by an idle scamper to the polls, to express a still more idle voice touching Kansas.

The whigs of Maine have nominated good and true men for office, men against whom our opponents cannot breathe a suspicion. For such men it is an honor to vote,—and the election of such men is CERTAIN to secure the best interests of the State, and indirectly the interests of the country at large, inasmuch as the MORAL INFLUENCE flowing from the success of true, tried and christian men, no man can estimate. When voting for candidates for high official positions in the State, the question is not what will they do for Kansas,—but what will they do for MAINE. For he who forgets not the mother who bore him, and labors ever and unceasingly for her good, WILL labor so far as properly he may, for the good of all who fall within the reach of his influence, whether it be of a private or official nature. Ask the republicans why object to our candidates, and the reply is *Kansas! Kansas!* ever Kansas, as if Maine were a nonentity. God knows they have proved themselves unworthy sons of a worthy mother, in thus repudiating their birthright, and screeching hoarsely for

freedom! freedom! freedom, for what? to stir up civil war, to burn the property, murder the citizens, and harass the Territory of Kansas until disunion crowns their worse, than demon's work. This is the freedom they demand, and to secure it they have nominated a fitting tool in Hamlin; for a man who VOTED TO ANNEX TEXAS A SLAVE STATE, and declared in 1848, that territory acquired "IF SLAVE SO LET IT CONTINUE," and now claims to have been all his life a consistent republican, is just free enough from all restraints of conscience to do his utmost to promote the objects of his party of DISUNION and REVOLUTION. Be not deceived; it is Maine not Kansas that asks our aid on Monday next.

It is unnecessary to repeat our statements in this connection, that the MAINE LAW IS AN ISSUE AND WILL BE RE-ENACTED in case Hamlin succeeds in securing his election. We refer the readers to various articles in this number, all substantiating this position. We refer them also to the article exposing one of the most outrageous frauds ever perpetrated in this or any other State, viz: that of the Kennebec Journal, in charging the State some THIRTEEN HUNDRED DOLLARS more than a job, was actually worth, and GETTING the pay for it besides. The Kennebec Journal is the leading republican paper in the State, sure to again get its fingers on the Treasury if Hamlin is elected. The people, we are convinced, are determined to keep from place and power, the party which they so signally overthrew only last September. REMEMBER IN FIGHTING HANNIBAL HAMLIN YOU ARE FIGHTING A. P. MORRILL, PECK, DOW, CARTER, & Co., THE HARPIS OF MAINE, DURING THE NEVER-TO-BE-FORGOTTEN YEAR OF 1855.

Independent Democrat.

CONCORD, THURSDAY, SEPT. 4, 1855.

KANSAS TERRITORY, August 17, 1856.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

Great excitement now prevails in every part of our unfortunate territory. There has been a compact entered into by the Atchison and Stringfellow men of the border counties of Missouri, and those in Kansas territory, to keep up excitement for the avowed purpose of preventing all opposed to them from emigrating to the territory, and the present and recent difficulties which do and have existed among our people, have been brought about by these and similar designing, lawless men, most of whom are not citizens of Kansas, although they publish to the world that they are now residents of Kansas Territory.

Some four weeks since, a party of Southerners, numbering in all about one hundred and seventy-five, formed themselves into a company and started from the town of Atchison, Leavenworth and other points, for the Big Blue River, intending to drive the settlers from that part of the country who were known to be free state men. The above company, armed and furnished with provisions, ammunition, and teams of conveyance by their friends in Missouri, took up their line of march, having previously declared that their intention was to take Manhattan City and the country in that vicinity; and on arriving found the citizens of that part of the Territory employed in building houses, making improvements, &c. Shortly after their arrival a fight commenced which resulted in the defeat of the Southern men by the citizens of Riley county.

Had these men gone to work, attended to their own affairs, and not have plundered private houses, stolen horses, and drove actual settlers from their homes, the citizens of Riley

county would never have made any complaint against them, nor would have any violence occurred. Only a few days elapsed until another company of pro-slavery men to the number of one hundred and eighteen, took possession of the town of Franklin, fortified themselves, and called upon every man in the town to join them or leave their homes. The free state men being thus compelled to abandon their property it was soon taken by these law and order men. It being impossible for a free state man to get redress from the one-sided courts of Kansas territory, they, with some of their friends returned, and asked permission to peaceably enjoy the privileges of their rights and property. The answer was, "you are abolitionists and must clear the territory;" and at the same time wherever they made their appearance, they were fired at by some of the party who called themselves law and order men.

Then it was, and not till then, that the free state men determined to return or die in the attempt. The fight which ensued and of which you have no doubt heard, then took place, and which lasted about three hours, in which the invaders were beaten, and some of them shot, while the rest fled, having lost their arms and cannon. The free-state men had it in their power to take the lives of all those persons who had collected at Franklin; but their object was to get possession of their homes, so that their wives and children could have those places of shelter which their industry had provided for them. Since the report has been circulated that Robinson, Brown and others were to be released, arrangements have been making by their enemies to get the prisoners from their guards, and hang them. Men who occupy prominent positions, boldly proclaim that if Robinson, Brown and others are released, that they will be shot down.

The fight at Lecompton was begun by men who went to the capital, (to use their own language,) to have a fight, and not permit a Free-State man to come to Lecompton. For weeks the pro-slavery party have been moving the southern emigration into Douglas county for the purpose of routing the free state men.—There are now several hundred men from the South, supported by the nullifiers, and instructed by their masters to keep up excitement.—When a man comes to Kansas, and refuses to act with the pro-slavery party, his name is placed upon the list of those who are to be disposed of. We have no law here—no government. The strong arm of this once powerful republic has failed to protect the peaceable citizens of this territory.

It would appear that orders had been issued by government, that the free-state men of this territory are to be slaughtered and robbed of their property. Hundreds of armed men from the South are flocking into our Territory, to drive us from our homes and to murder every one who refuses to obey their orders. Will the government at Washington fail to give us that protection to which a free people are entitled? Death would be preferable to the continuation of the bloody administration of Kansas territory. We ask equal privileges, and nothing more—when our homes are invaded, our lives threatened, our friends all murdered, our wives insulted, what course must we take? If the government will not protect us, and we receive no other assistance, we will sell our lives as dearly as possible.

I have not time to give you all the facts relative to the affairs of our territory. I was born and educated in a slave State, and am sure that the conservative men of the South would refuse to endorse the cruel action of the law breakers in Kansas. I wish to see a majority of the actual settlers of this territory decide, at the ballot box, whether it be a slave or a free State, and not force men to leave the territory at the point of the bayonet just before the election. We are determined, inasmuch as the war has been brought upon us to defend our lives to the last. There can be no doubt but the main object of the pro-slavery party is to drive free state men from the free soil of Kansas; though I hardly think it possible for them to succeed in so unjust an effort to deprive freemen of a right which they have inherited from their Revolutionary sires.

AMERICA.

In addition to the above, and in corroboration of the fact that all the difficulties in Kansas are the work of the Pro-Slavery party, we copy the following communication written by a Southern resident of the Territory, to the *Missouri Democrat*, the leading Buchanan paper in that State. We ask all honest men to read this statement, and then say what intensity of contempt and scorn ought to be visited upon such papers as the *Patriot* and other like prints who publish nothing but border ruffian lies against the noble martyrs of freedom, now suffering all manner of wrongs at the hands of the most infamous traitors who ever conspired to overthrow liberty:

NEW YORK HERALD.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.
New York, Thursday, September 4, 1856.

MR. PIERCE UNDER A CROSS-EXAMINATION ON KANSAS AFFAIRS.—We published yesterday the report of the deputation of the National Kansas Committee, of the result of their late visit to the White House in behalf of the suffering people of Kansas. This report presents our imbecile and truckling President in a most humiliating light. He endeavors to make himself a perfect model of law and order, and he does it most graciously, evidently ready to faint all the time, from the excess of his emotions. It is the Northern aid societies that have fomented all these Kansas troubles—if there had been no Northern emigration to Kansas everything there would have gone on very smoothly. But he thinks that there is not much trouble in Kansas, after all. General Smith is there, and he ought to know; but as for the protection of the settlers, General Smith and the army can't do anything. Settlers who have been outraged in any way must appeal to the courts—to Judge Lecompte, for instance; and if he claps them in irons under a constructive charge of high treason, the President can't help it. They must take things as they find them. The civil power of the Territory (Lecompte and Stringfellow) must be maintained. Emigrants have a constitutional right to go into the Territory with arms; but if they are disarmed by the civil power the constitution must give way—the President can't interfere.

Poor Mr. Pierce got along thus far as well as could be expected; but when asked if he did not think that the germ of all these border troubles might not be found in that bogus Legislature, and those bogus laws of Kansas, he had nothing to say. Like a criminal plinned to the exact issue, he declined to answer that question. But he gave the committee distinctly to understand that there would be no change in the administration of the affairs of Kansas—none. This is frank, at all events; and we suppose that the poor man has gone too far to recede, like Macbeth, when fully committed to the border ruffian policy of blood and murder.

Thus our sorry and miserable President (whose policy is the policy of the democracy and their candidate) flatly avows his resolution to keep up the civil war he has inaugurated in Kansas until the free State settlers shall have been expelled from the Territory or exterminated, and until African slavery is established upon the ruins of squatter sovereignty. He can't deny the infamous, lawless and bloody character of those Kansas laws; but he declares that he will enforce them still; and all this is done for the benefit of Mr. Buchanan in the South. The issue is fairly made up. The only hope of a peaceable solution of this Kansas imbroglio is Fremont and a new administration.

New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, SEPT. 4, 1856.

KANSAS NEWS.

Adventures of a Lady from Lawrence—Great Preparations for Another Invasion from Missouri—Straightened Circumstances of the Settlers

Correspondence of the New-York Daily Times.

CHICAGO, Sunday, Aug. 30, 1856.

Mrs. Dr. CUTTER has just arrived from Kansas, with the latest news. She left Lawrence on the morning of Saturday, the 23d inst., and came to Kansas City by stage, and there took steamboat to St. Louis. Mrs. CUTTER undertook the venture of braving the perils and insults of Border-Ruffianism, simply because no Free-State man is allowed to pass. She undertook to come by way of Leavenworth, but was met and dissuaded on the road by a U. S. Dragoon, who told her it was not safe—he had just passed a man's body not yet cold. So she resolved to face the difficulties of the middle passage.

That she was obliged to use stratagem to get through, may well be supposed—subjected, as she was, to the impudent inquisition of the ruffians at Westport and Kansas City. Precisely *not* plan her woman's wit devised to throw dust in their eyes, it is not well to state; it is enough that it succeeded. It was, beforehand, reckoned that Saturday would be a good day for the enterprise, as the loyal borderers are then more generally and hopelessly drunk than usual.

So great was the terror inspired by the scenes she witnessed, that it was not until she reached Chicago that she really felt free to speak without restraint.

Mrs. CUTTER goes East with letters giving a statement of facts as they now exist. She is a lady of great intelligence and prepossessing manners, and I suggest that if her sisters in Massachusetts, and the East generally, will make an effort to bring her into communication with themselves, they will see a way in which they can do great and lasting service in the cause of Kansas and their suffering friends.

THE CRISIS.

There is no doubt that a fearful crisis now threatens the devoted freemen of Kansas. The borderers of Missouri, *knowing well, how weak their party is in Kansas*, are making the most gigantic efforts in their behalf. Men are mustering by hundreds—provisions, powder, cannon are all being concentrated for their use. *Twelve cannon* are reported to have gone forward. While one force is to be moved up the Kansas Valley, directly against Lawrence, another is to be led in by Gen. RICHARDSON from the north, as well to prevent anticipated escape as to be brought down upon the Free-State men from that quarter. Thus it will be seen, that the settlers are completely hemmed in, and, in a prolonged struggle, must submit to superior force, unless reinforced from the North. *Shall that aid be given?*

That the Missourians now feel that they have the settlers in their power, is evident from the deliberate coolness with which they are proceeding to guard all the avenues of escape—even those that lead through Missouri. With them it is only a question of time.

DESTITUTION OF THE SETTLERS.

People at the East do not half realize the pressing, crushing want that is beginning to be felt in Kansas. Not only is food getting scant, but *many have scarcely sufficient clothing to satisfy the requirements of decency*. Worse than all, many of the best of our men are obliged to go through the military drill with *sticks* instead of arms! The Missourians, on the contrary, are well clothed, provisioned, armed and mounted! Does not the cheek of every Northern man tingle with shame at the contrast?

THE REMEDY.

It is not, clearly, in sounding resolves and subscriptions payable at some future time. What the heroes of Kansas want to-day is more men. With men they can sustain their position, and procure arms and provisions by the aid of their own right arms. But to send men to Kansas requires MONEY; and to make the aid effective, it must come *now*. Let every man who has a dollar to spare, or a hundred, send it at once, if he does not know any other safe way, to G. W. DOLE, Treasurer National Committee, Chicago.

In the way of clothing, much can be done by collections of ready-made garments, sent to the office of the Committee, No. 11 Marine Bank Building, Chicago. Let boxes be made up in every village and forwarded by express. Many can contribute in this way who cannot in money. Boots and shoes are very necessary. Why cannot a few hundred boxes of these be contributed at once and sent on in this way? One captain, in Lawrence, was obliged to appear on parade, bare-

headed, and the circumstance did not excite a smile.

The men and women in Kansas are sacrificing their ALL—property and ease, and running a fearful risk of life, in support of a cause which is equally the hope of every true freeman. Will their brethren and sisters of the North, from the midst of security, ease and abundance, contribute the little essential to their safety and success?

EMIGRATION.

The movement of men to Kansas is comparatively small. In every town in the North, there is some man who could raise and head a company—large or small—to the rescue. Is it true, as charged by the South, that the dollar is the deity of Northern freemen?

BROWN'S TYPES.

It is a notable circumstance that the cannon balls used to reduce TRUST's fort, the other day, were cast from the type thrown into the street in Lawrence in May last, by the ruffians acting under U. S. Marshal JONES.

LITERAL.

The Independent

NEW-YORK, SEPTEMBER 4, 1856.

"RIFLE CLERGYMEN."

"For he was of that stubborn crew
Of arrant saints, whom all men grant
To be the true church militant;
Such as do build their faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun;
Decide all controversies by
Infalible artillery;
And prove their doctrines orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks;
Call fire and sword and desolation,
A godly, thorough reformation,
Which always must be carried on,
And still be doing, never done."—Hudibras.

I find the foregoing in a Democratic paper, intended doubtless, as a fling at clergymen who advocate the right of self-defense in Kansas. But I think it will prove like Hudibras's gun, doing more execution by kicking at the breech than by discharging at the muzzle. Hudibras was written in the interest of the house of Stuart during the great conflicts of the seventeenth century for English liberty. The gall that saturates its ridicule was poured out on the Puritans of England, and their struggles for ecclesiastical and civil liberty. It was poured out on the defenders of truth and freedom in that great struggle in which English and American liberty originated. The men and the cause sneered at in Hudibras are now ennobled in history, and receive the veneration of the world. It is no discredit to the clerical opponents of oppression in Kansas that they are assailed with precisely the same misrepresentations as assailed the Puritans; and that their opponents exhume the stale sneers which delighted the heartless courtiers of the house of Stuart, and the arrogant defenders of its oppressions in church and state.

L. S.

THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF A STATESMAN.

THE sense of accountability at a tribunal higher than all earthly authorities, though so often decry'd by corrupt politicians, is the corner-stone of every truly statesman-like character. We find the sentiment grandly expressed in Gov. Seward's speech on the Army bill, delivered in the Senate on the 7th of August. The title attached to the printed speech is:

"The Army of the United States not to be Employed as a Police to Enforce the Laws of the Conquerors of Kansas."

Having exposed the character of those laws and their want of any valid authority, he says:

"I desire, Mr. President, on this great occasion—perhaps the last one of full debate during the present session of Congress—to deliver my whole mind upon this important subject. I add, therefore, that the tendency and end—I will not say object—of the revolution which has been effected in Kansas, which has been effected by her conquerors, through the countenance and aid of the President of the United States, are not of such a character as to reconcile me to that revolution. That end is the establishment of human slavery within the Territory of Kansas. If I should go with you and the majority of the Senate in emasculating this army bill, as it came from the House of Representatives, I should thereby show that I was at least indifferent on so great an issue. Sir, I could never forgive myself hereafter, when reviewing the course of my

Public opinion is not so easily assented to, and upon even the present settlers of Kansas, few and poor, and scattered through its forests and prairies, so they are, what I deem the mischiefs and evils of a system of compulsory labor, excluding, as we know by experience that it always does, the intelligent labor of free men.

"But it is not merely on to-day and on this generation that I am looking. I cannot restrain my eyes from the effort, at least, to penetrate through a period of twenty-five years—of fifty years—of a hundred years—of even two hundred years—so far, at least, as a statesman's vision ought to reach beyond the horizon that screens the future from common observation. All along and through that daily-explored vista, I see rising up before me hundreds of thousands, millions, even tens of millions, of countrymen, receiving their fortunes and fates, as they are being shaped by the action of the Congress of the United States, in this hour of languor, at the close of a weary day, near the end of a protracted and tedious session. I shall not, indeed, meet them here on the earth, but I shall meet them all on that day when I shall give up the final account of that stewardship which my country has confided to me. If I were now to consent to such an act, with my opinions and convictions, the fruit of early and patriotic and Christian teachings, matured by reading of history; by observation in States where Freedom flourishes, as well as in societies where Slavery is tolerated; by experience throughout a life which already approaches the climacteric; by travel in my own and foreign lands; by reflection under the discipline of conscience and the responsibilities of duty; by social converse; and by a thousand collisions of debate—I should be obliged, when that last day shall come to me, (as it must come to all,) to call upon the rocks and the mountains to fall upon me, and crush me and my name, detested then by myself, into that endless oblivion which is the most unwelcome of all evils, real or imaginary, to the thoughts of a generous and illuminated human mind. Policy forbids me to do it. Justice forbids me to do it. Humanity forbids me to do it. And the Constitution of my country—wisest of all Constitutions—most equal of all Constitutions—most humane of all Constitutions which the inventive genius of man has ever framed—forbids me to do it."

THE ISSUE.

There is not a thoughtful mind in the country that does not appreciate, measureably, at least, the momentous crisis, which we have reached in our national affairs, and the momentous questions that are to be decided at the approaching election. We are to decide for the first time, whether we are to give the consent of this whole nation to the extension of slavery; whether, under the constitution of these United States, slavery is to find shelter and protection in the territories; whether that instrument, which affirms that it is made for the protection of liberty, is to be the fastest and best friend of slavery. This system has extended itself hitherto—it has spread itself over new soil, and has grown with our nation's growth, but it has grown by no free, intelligent consent of the whole people, acting in their primary capacity as voters. Now, however, the question is up for decision—it is up without any interminglings or complications with other questions—it is up in its naked, bald simplicity, and the common people are to decide it. Every voter is to decide it for himself, and he should go to the ballot-box with the intelligent conviction that this is the question. He cannot ignore or wink it out of sight. If any timid man is terrified by the cry of disunion, and yields to his fears, he should know that in voting as he will, under any such apprehension, he will vote to make slavery the bond of our Union; for who is not assured that if the South make any attempt to dissolve the Union, it will be for the simple reason that it cannot have its own way in the matter of slavery-extension?

There is no threat of disunion from any quarter but the South, and its threat is predicated solely upon the presumption that slavery is to be pronounced a creature of local law, and not of our national constitution. There is not a man who will vote to permit slavery to find protection under the sanction of the constitution, who may not and should not do it in the fullest exercise of his intelligence. We have hopes—strong hopes, that the American people will understand what they are doing—will understand what interpretation their votes will give to the constitution, and we trust they will decide the question aright; and yet we are not without our fears. We believe, under God, it can and will be decided aright, if all who think right and wish right and pray right, will work right, and work up to their full capacity of work, from this time till the Presidential election.

It is no time to seek exemption—no time timidly to ask to be excused. There is and can be no excuse for any man, in any position—in any relation of life. Every man is expected to do his duty. The question is up, and all is on the hazard. If we work now, we may rest hereafter; but if we rest now—if we shrink from responsibility now, we must suffer hereafter, and our successors must work terribly to redeem the Republic, or else its glory will depart, for it will become

slaveholding republic. No man, be his office what it may, can, in our apprehension, be innocently, while he sits down in inaction, and permits our glorious constitution to be a shelter of slavery, and the best agent of its propagation.

Work—work, not without, but with prayer—will give us the victory—and this alone will give it, the victory we seek and hope will be worthy of all our efforts we can expend to gain it.—Maine Bean.

MOUNT WASHINGTON.

Art thou a king, and dost thou wear that bauble
Which thousands sigh for, on thine aged brow?
And hast thou found it fraught with care and trouble
And dost thou weep, when millions round thee bow?
Prince of my native hills, I grant thy glory,
Now give thy character, and tell thy story.

Long hast thou stood without the least emotion,
And seen whole nations rise and sink away,
Like waves succeeding on the restless ocean,
As wild and dashing, and as brief as they:
And thou dost not relax one single feature—
Thou hast no sympathy for human creature!

Passing the noted fall of Greece and Rome,
And all the kingdoms famed in classic story,
Didst thou feel safe within thy native home,
When Bonaparte arose in all his glory,
And shook the thrones of tyrants with a nod,
And made whole empires fear the "scourge of God?"

Didst thou look on with cold and icy brow,
When modern Greece was stirring to be free?
And couldst thou see poor suffering Hungary bow,
In blood and chains low at her conquerer's knee?
When fated France was torn the hundredth time,
Say, didst thou feel no pang in that hard breast
Thine?

In thine own country too, the hand of time,
Has wrought some changes, 'mid his mighty swelling
And thou didst stand and rear thy head sublime,
When the wild warwhoop howled around our dwelling,
And woman's shriek, and infancy's faint wailing,
And age's trembling hand were unavailing.

Say, art thou patriotic? Didst thou feel
No thrill of wrath to hear the British thunder?
And when thy country rose with breast of steel
To meet the foe, didst thou stand still and wonder
Didst thou joy to meet the high behest,
Of him whose honored name is written on thy crest?

And when the tocsin ceased to sound alarms,
And peace returned, our happy shores to bless,
When smiling plenty came with open arms,
To give the sons of toil her loved caress;
And halls of science rose in splendor round thee,
Darest thou to tell how unconcerned they found thee?

But if no interest for thy country's fame,
Hadst thou no blushes for her deep disgrace?
When the poor savage was forbid to claim
Among his fathers' graves a resting-place?
While still the slave bows neath oppression's rod,
And hopes no help from man, and knows not of a God?

Art thou a politician? Hast thou stood
A candidate for high official station?
And didst thou sacrifice thine all that's good,
Thy firm integrity to rule the nation?
If not—assume thine office, show thy power
To save thy country in her struggling hour.

Canst thou stand still and hear the loud alarms
Which startle Congress in its present session?
See "tortured Kansas" crushed by "Border arms,
And California roused to desperation?—
Dost thou not tremble on thy solid base,
When civil war thus stares us in the face?

Look at our rulers!—see their discord spread,
Without one particle of honor in it;
See slavery's demon high exult his head,
And ruffianism in our very Senate!
Where angel truth and purity, and station,
Are crushed with bludgeons, aimed at all the nation.

Dost tell me, yet some truth and hope remains,

Honor and justice have not quite departed!
Don't tell me, yet our *ermine* bears no stains,
And our *judiciary* is yet true-hearted!
Witness "contempt of court"—and slave-decisions.

And now, old hoary friend, one word of caution,
See that no inch of earth beneath thy sway,
Shall e'er be marked by foot of foul oppression,
While yet thy summit hails the dawn of day;
And while we crown thee prince of hills and fountain
Stand for "free speech, free press, free men," *Fr*
Mountains.

I stood beside thee 'mid the morning gleam,
And saw the sun rise from the dark blue sea,
Throwing athwart thy brow, his first bright beam,
As if his homage first were due to thee;
And flowers around thy motionless foot were springing,
And birds their liveliest notes of joy were bringing—

Anon I saw thee in a night of storm,
When the dark tempest round thy breast was sweep-
ing,
And thou didst rear thy still majestic form,
Like a lone pilgrim, friendless watches keeping;
And nature's blast, and nature's beam the while,
Unlike were met by thee, with cold and bitter smile.

And still thou art a king?—Well, be it so,
Thou hast no heart within that granite breast,
And human agitations, weal or woe,
Ne'er woke thy sympathies or broke thy rest;
And nought shall break it, till the judgment morning
When the archangel sounds his latest warning.

And still thou art a king?—Well, be it so,
Thy throne shall stand when prouder thrones have
crumbled;

And thou shalt wear that crown upon thy brow,
When kings and crowns have in the dust been
humbled,
And thy proud name as o'er the senses stealing
Shall wake the chords of patriotic feeling.

Prince of my native hills, I bid adieu;
My feet must now far from my native dwelling;
Thy long uncounted years will still be new
While mine must fade e'en with the tale I'm telling;
And when the pilgrim's form must press the tomb,
Thine still will flourish in perennial bloom.

Well, be it so,—I go my lonely way;
And cares, and toils, and nameless woes beset me;
But when on earth I've passed my darkened day,
The glories of a brighter morn await me;
While thou, when time's strong hand has laid thee low,
No resurrection morn shall ever know.

JULY, 1856. GRANITE.

Our own Correspondence.
THE BETRAYAL OF FREEDOM BY THE
PRESIDENT AND SENATE, AND
ITS DEFENCE BY THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The step most dangerous to the Constitution of our country and the liberties of the people, ever taken, is that of President Pierce in ordering the United States army to enforce a system of laws acknowledged to have been in their origin, and to constitute in themselves the foulest usurpation. It is frightful to see that this can be done, and when done supported by such a body as the Senate of the United States, at the same time that as individuals, and by other bills, they declare the infamous, unconstitutional and despotic character of the laws in question. This shows, more than anything and all things that have yet transpired in the history of our country, how easy it would be, by the use of the same army engaged with a political party for an individual usurper to play the same game here that has been played in Europe, and to overturn all our liberties. It is frightful to see how remorselessly the demon

in support of slavery, will advance the principle of freedom and every right of the citizen.

The President has betrayed the trust of government reposed in him, in employing the army for the oppression of the citizens in the enforcement of unconstitutional and unrighteous laws. There is no pretence that the laws in question are not unconstitutional; they are admitted to be singularly so, and barbarous and oppressive in the extreme. It was a doctrine to which Lord Erskine, even in England, declared he would subscribe his own name at any time, that "law ceases to be an object of obedience, whenever it becomes an instrument of oppression." But here in the United States we have the unexampled spectacle of the President and the Senate sustaining and enforcing by the army a set of laws acknowledged by themselves to be contrary to the Constitution of the country, and such therefore as every citizen is bound to disobey! These things are not hidden. It is one of the most portentous aspects of the whole matter, that the usurpator has advanced so far, and become so familiar, that there is no attempt to conceal the iniquity, and it can go on openly. The Senate, in their high and conspicuous position, are playing this nefarious game, with the eyes of the whole country upon them. They have themselves denounced the laws in question as outrageous, unconstitutional and tyrannical. But they refuse to accede to the just demand of the House of Representatives that the army power shall not be employed in the enforcement of those laws; and they thus plainly declare that they are determined that the United States forces shall be their instruments to compel the execution of laws, which they themselves have admitted to be contrary to the Constitution, contrary to national justice, and subversive of the rights and liberties of the citizen. We assert, that all the circumstances considered, the age of the world, the history of our country, the nature of our Constitution, the spirit of our laws, the knowledge of freedom, the obligations of religion, the oaths of the Senate, and the interests at stake, there never was more unblushing and arch usurpation recorded in history.

The juncture is the more dreadful, that the whole slave-interest of the country, and all classes at the North pledged by profit, preference, and power for its support, take part with the Senate in an action so outrageous, and are willing that the precedent of this wickedness should be set, because it cures to their present advantage, no matter what future ruin it may bring. In the merciful providence of God, the House of Representatives is so composed, that though in close conflict among themselves, they have been enabled to throw themselves between the Senate and the people, to resist this tyranny. And they are right in applying the extremest means, if necessary for this purpose. And the fact that the defenders of freedom among them are in so small a majority, makes the obligation of an obstinate adherence to the right by that majority more solemn. If even eleven jurors were determined on an unrighteous verdict, it would only cast a greater burden and a more inevitable duty of unflinching and obstinate resistance on the twelfth. Even while we write, the majority for freedom may be conquered by numbers; but if the conquest be bought by interest, by trick, by threats, by political intrigue, every man who at this time steps out from the ranks of this resolute defence, and goes over to the side of tyranny, is guilty of treason as black as Benedict Arnold's. For this is such a crisis as we never before have arrived at; and never in any case were right and wrong, freedom and tyranny, justice and oppression, more openly and directly in conflict; never the rights of the people, and both the letter and spirit of the Constitution so daringly violated by two branches of the government.

In this case, the reliance of the country is the

House of Representatives. They are the trustees of the people, not of the government; they are the people's control over the government, for the preservation of liberty and right. As trustees, they are bound to defend the country and the people from oppression by any other governmental power. Let us listen to the words of one of the most eminent and luminous expounders of these relations that ever lived, Lord Erskine.

"The Constitution," says he, "which is a government of law, knows no greater state necessity than the inviolate preservation of the spirit of a public trust from subversion or encroachment. The trustees of the people are not to suffer an infringement of the Constitution whether for good or for evil. All tyrants are plausible and cunning enough to give their encroachments the show of public good. Our ancestors were not to surrender the spirit of their trusts, though at the expense of the form, and though urged by no imminent state necessity to defend them; no other at least than the first and most imminent of all State necessities, the inviolate preservation of delegated trusts from usurpation and subversion. This is the very being of every human institution that deserves the name of government; without it, the most perfect model of society is a painful and laborious work, which a mad-man or a fool may in a moment kick down and destroy."

In such extraordinary emergencies, where governments, or those who administer them, depart from or pervert the ends of their institution, Lord Erskine argues that it is the duty of the component parts of such governments to take such steps as will best enable them to preserve the spirit of their trusts; in no event whatever to surrender them or submit to their subversion: but to keep in mind the object of the Constitution, the principles by which it has been preserved, and on which it is established. The House of Representatives especially have in charge these trusts delegated by the people. At all hazards it is their duty to defend them, and if the two other coordinate branches of the government, the Senate and Executive, are leagued together to employ the military power of the United States in the enforcement of laws pronounced by the House and even the Senate likewise, to be tyrannical and unconstitutional, it becomes the duty of the House, as the people's defence, to resist such a usurpation to the uttermost. No anarchy, no revolutionary position, no expedient consistent with the spirit of liberty, necessary to resist such tyranny, could be so bad, so dangerous, so fraught with future evil, as the precedent of yielding to it. Better that the army go unpaid till forced to a disbandment, and that every armory in possession of the government were emptied of artisans, and silent for years. But as the House of Representatives hold, constitutionally, the appropriation of money for the support of the army, and for all the necessities of the government, in their power, a resistance against tyranny at that very point, and by that means, is the most perfectly constitutional method, if argument and persuasion fail. The House of Representatives betray their trust, if they refuse for such a purpose, at such a juncture, to employ their power. If they keep their trust our liberties are safe; if they yield and bestow upon the President the means necessary to carry out his tyrannical designs in the enforcement of a usurpation, our liberties are no longer ours and the government has become a mere machinery of tyranny.

It is alarming to see how the fanaticism of conservatism is proclaiming the doctrine that the people and their House of Representatives are instituted for the government, and not the government for the people; and that the whole object and end of freedom are a consolidated Union, instead of freedom being the object of the Union itself. To such an extent has the corruption of slavery gone, so deeply tainted are the minds of men who used to be thought conservative in the best sense of the word, with

the doctrines of tyranny, so possessed are they with the idea that all the purposes and ends of government are to be sacrificed for the strength of the government, that instead of the acknowledged old maxim, *Salus populi suprema lex*, a maxim at the foundation of every good government on earth, they are ready to affirm that *Salus tyranni suprema lex*, the security of slavery and the consolidation of tyranny necessary for its support have come to be the law of their policy, the salvation of the republic. In the conflict between the House of Representatives and this intolerable usurpation, the conservatives, so called, have accused that body, in the endeavor to preserve their solemn trust, of a factious opposition to the government! and of being under the power of popular sympathy, and easily affected by the impulses and agitations of an outraged community! That which constitutes their virtue, that which spoils them indeed for being the tool of oppression, but brings them nearer to perfection as the safeguard for the people's liberties, is imputed as an evil!

Let these men listen to the words of Burke: "The virtue, spirit, and essence of a House of Representatives consists in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation. It was not instituted to be a control upon the people, as of late it has been taught, by a doctrine of the most pernicious tendency, but as control for the people. It would among public misfortunes be an evil more natural and tolerable, that the House of Representatives should be infected with every epidemical frenzy of the people, as this would indicate some consanguinity, some sympathy of men with their constituents, than that they should in all cases be wholly untouched by the opinions and feelings of the people out of doors. By this want of sympathy they would cease to be a House of Representatives."

But from the sentiments put forth in the *Commercial Advertiser* and some other prints, one would suppose that the sole object of the House of Representatives was to register the edicts, and carry into effect the will of the President and the Senate; to reflect and execute their opinions and resolves, instead of the determinations of the Constitution and the people. Respectable journals are found advising the House to yield everything, and accusing it, in its opposition to tyranny, of all the consequences arising from the original tyranny it is resisting! The *Commercial Advertiser* argued that so many hundred workmen would be thrown out of employ, if the army pay were stopped, if the President and the Senate were not permitted to have their way in enforcing slavery by the military power, and that all the misery and mischief from so many idle workmen and their families would be the result of the obstinacy of the House of Representatives refusing to let the army and its operatives be employed, in rivetting the chains of tyranny; as every joint and muscle of the army-power is employed, when its dragoons enforce such infamous laws as those of the usurping Territorial legislature of Kansas, and assist to keep incarcerated innocent men thrown into prison without a crime, on the charge of treason. If the leader of a gang of robbers should be captured, and held for hanging, and if the gang at large should say, We will burn down a whole village of houses, and murder all the inhabitants, if you do not set our captain at liberty, and if they carried the threat into execution, could men be found so mad in their conservatism, as to lay the blame of those conflagrations and murders upon the magistracy who would not yield to the demands of the gang of thieves? Yet such is the reasoning of the *Commercial Advertiser* and some other journals.

And throughout this whole course of events, the conservative party, so called, are exhibiting a spirit of malignity and treachery against the cause of freedom and its candidate, and of misrepresentation and meanness towards those in Kansas who are suf-

fering for their preference of freedom above slavery, incomparably worse than any tory malignity in the Revolutionary war. Ever since Mr. Fillmore's celebrated and most unfortunate disunion speech, which they are compelled not only to swallow, but *ipso*, they seem exasperated at the very idea of a *positive freedom-candidate* for the Presidency, as if there could be any interest higher than that of union, or any true expediency or conservatism but that of slavery for the sake of union, and union for the sake of slavery. They bark and howl at the issue of freedom against slavery, as sectional, while the issue of slavery against freedom is in their view national. Mr. Fillmore intimates that because the great Republican party have made freedom their one object and watchword, and are setting themselves against the infamous lays and outrages in Kansas, therefore the question has become not so much one of the *administration* of the government as of its very *preservation*! The government forsooth, cannot be preserved, if a Presidential candidate is elected to secure the interests and the supremacy of freedom instead of slavery! Well did a gentleman recently remark in conversation, speaking of the course of Mr. Fillmore, Mr. Choate, and others, that these men deserting the one great polar star and principle of liberty, and deriding the Declaration of Independence as a tissue of rhetorical flourishes and generalities, and setting expediency above the light of religion, Satan seems to have been permitted to enter by the gate of their reasonings, and to carry them down these steep places into the sea; where, if they get to shore at all, it will only be on such broken pieces of their own wreck as happened to have been made out of the genuine old Whig doctrines of liberty, but never on any such planks or boards as they have adopted for life-preservers from the Buchanan platform. We sincerely hope that all their opposition to freedom and Fremont as sectional will prove but a Haman's gallows to hang their own envious conservatism upon; or as a steed of state, with all its gorgeous trappings, on which they shall see Fremont carried in triumph with the proclamation, "This is the man whom the people delight to honor!" C.

The world from stars was
We hear the quick heart beating;
From the true and the brave beyond the wave,
On every gale comes greeting,
Then float away, &c.

As the north star true, with the prize in view,
We'll fail or falter never;
On the flag of the free, let the motto be,
Free Speech, Free Soil forever!
Then float away till Freedom's day
Lights up the Kansas valley,
And blood-stained men, like beasts in their den,
Shall fly from the Fremont rally.

The interview of the Kansas Committee with the President shows him to have a strange idea of the state of affairs in Kansas. He disbelieves the story that any extensive-organized southern movement has been made to interfere in the affairs of that territory, and denies that the southern emigrants there are anything but lawless plunderers of the lowest class, or are countenanced by respectable southern men. His opinion of northern emigrants is equally deprecatory. Each party, he says, resting probably on General Persifer Smith's authority, is aiming to employ the United States troops to drive out the other. President Pierce himself is suspected of laboring under the expectation of being taken up in 1860; by a reflux of southern gratitude, to the Presidential chair, and his anxiety to enslave Kansas has apparently undergone no diminution since he threw the weight of his official influence to secure the destruction of the Missouri line.

FRIENDS IN KANSAS

The Philadelphia *Friends Review*, of the 23d ult., contains a letter from our friend, Richard Mendenhall, dated at Crescent Hill, near Ossawatimie, Kansas, 27th of 7th month. After stating that there are now some twenty families of the Society of Friends scattered over the Territory, whose situation, owing to the actual state of war between the Free State settlers and the ruffian invaders from Missouri, Georgia, and South Carolina, may well be supposed one of great trial and difficulty, the writer says:

"Under the present excited and unsettled state of things in Kansas, it is not likely that other Friends will soon join us by immigration, and we do not feel at liberty to leave the Territory, critical as the state of things around us may seem to be. Under the gross outrages and grievous wrongs which are imposed upon the people of Kansas, it requires close exercise of faith for a man of peace to maintain his principles. It is not in human nature to maintain the right kind of feelings towards the wicked perpetrators of the wrongs we suffer. It is only by a close exercise of Christian faith that this can be done; and supposing one to have gained the victory over wrong in his own breast, his work is but half accomplished. If defensive warfare could be justified in any case, it would seem to be so in the present one; and while the people in Kansas, generally, are preparing for defence, and calling upon all to do the same, the advocates of peace can but feel themselves placed in a trying position, not knowing at what hour they may be called upon to test their faith in the principles of peace. We know not but that we may be required to seal our testimonies with our blood. Some of our number have been threatened with violence, but, so far as we are certainly informed, none has yet been offered, though it is rumored that one Friend in a distant part has been shot, but not mortally wounded."

The Friends in Kansas, while strongly sympathizing with their Free State neighbors, and sharing in their privations, sacrifices, and danger, cannot join them in a resort to arms, for self-defence. They can only abide the consequences of a faithful adherence to their principles, and wait patiently for

"The victory, of Endurance born."
A resolute non-compliance with the atrocious laws of the Shawnee Mission Legislature, a firm maintenance of their testimony against Slavery, and such exertions to ameliorate the horrors of the strife in which their neighbors are involved, as Christian charity and love may dictate, may expose them to insult, persecution, and outrage; but we fervently trust that they may be enabled, through Divine assistance, to remain where their lot has been providentially cast, prepared to suffer, even unto death, rather

than dishonor their profession. They will thus offer another salutary example of the power and efficacy of passive resistance to evil—the martyr's irresistible might of meekness.

There is, beyond a doubt, at this time, a great amount of destitution and suffering among the Kansas emigrants, growing out of the harassing Pro-Slavery invasions to which they have been subjected; and, as many have been deterred from making contributions to the relief fund, through fears of its application to purposes of military defence or preparation, it has occurred to us that, by means of these Friends in Kansas, a safe channel might be opened for the judicious distribution of pecuniary aid in the Territory. We have no doubt the Friends alluded to would cheerfully undertake, and faithfully discharge, the duties of almoners of the free-will offerings of all who sympathize with them in their trying and painful position.
J. G. W.

Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.
THURSDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 4

Kansas—How Stands the Case Now!

The ruffians who lately invaded Kansas begin already to howl in advance of the scourging they expect to receive at the hands of the enraged people of that Territory. This is characteristic of these cowardly traitors. They begin the fight, attacking peaceful settlements, murdering men on the highway, stealing horses, creeping upon small families or colonies of those whom they have chosen to regard as Pro-slavery men and their enemies, and by superior force overpowering them. They deny the existence of any legal authority in the Territorial Government; and they clamor against any interference on the part of the Federal Executive. They have overthrown all authority and law in the Territory. They complain of outrages which they inaugurate. If they are victorious they are the heroes of a good cause, and their victims are ruffians; if defeated they come to the East to exhibit their wounds, to tell their piteous tales, and raise subscriptions from a set of credulous fanatics, fools or traitors, and thus supply themselves with the wherewithal to pay for their "claims," or provide themselves with gimcracks and notions to peddle through the country. Every one of these fellows has lost a house or mill, a printing press or a grog-shop, which entitles him to aid from "the Kansas fund." The houses already paid for, as destroyed in Lawrence, out of the charitable donations of the Shriekers, would have made it a large town, and the sums raised by collections in the East, for printing-presses alleged to be destroyed, are more than sufficient to establish a press in every settlement in Kansas, while the martyred editors were numerous enough to supply the Territory and future State with those indispensable components of civilized society for the next fifty years.

These "outrages" have become the regular capital of the Shriekers. They are as indispensable as food to sustain the existence of their miserable faction. As old Pistoratus humbugged the Athenians into a surrender of all their rights, and an abject submission to his domination, by showing wounds which he had hacked upon his own body—pretending that they were inflicted by his enemies and those of the people—so the Fremonters keep up the excitement, which is their only sustenance, by parading before the people the gory bodies of their imaginary slain "patriots of Kansas," and by sending brazen-faced scroulers

THE EVENING POST.

THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 4.

(For the Evening Post.)
RALLYING SONG.

Air—"Sparkling and Bright."

Flashing and bright, in its starry light,
We'll sing out the flag of the Freeman,
And its folds shall wave, with a power to save,
Wide as the breeze they stream on.
Then float away, till Freedom's day
Lights up the Kansas valley,
And blood-stained men, like beasts to their den,
Shall fly from the Fremont rally.

If we were dumb, from the stones would come
A cry of shame and sorrow,
And the granite brow, raised proudly now,
Would blush to meet the morrow.
Then float away, &c.

The brave Northwest, by the lake's broad breast,
Shouts for the banner proudly,
And the voice of the free, from the eastern sea
To the gold-hills, echoes loudly.
Then float away, &c.

The blood of the slain on the fertile plain,
And the sighs of the bound in prison,
All not in vain—at the clank of the chain
The basest soul has risen.
Then float away, &c.

The friends of right have gathered in might;
The slumbering host is waking,
And the voice of its wrath, like the storm on its path,
The oppressor's power is breaking.
Then float away, &c.

Slavery's fruit, the force of the brute,
Shall ne'er smite the lip of reason,
Nor lawless power in its haughty hour,
Brand with the mark of treason.
Then float away, &c.

through the country, to pass themselves off as martyrs and sufferers in the cause of freedom. "Give us more murders and outrages," screams Greeley, "or our friends will grow cold and lukewarm."

"I hope to hear," says a correspondent of the New York Times, "that some of their lives have been sacrificed, for it seems as if nothing but that would rouse the Eastern States to act."

Such is the spirit—the base and infamous spirit—by which this Kansas clamor and agitation have been kept up. After the troubles of last spring, peace and quiet had settled upon the country. The settlers on both sides were prosecuting their various industrial pursuits—taking off their crops, building houses and mills, and establishing themselves on their homesteads, when the shriekers and traitors in the old States—growing alarmed for the prospects of their Presidential candidate—raised a sum sufficient to equip and arm a band of men, to be enlisted in Illinois and Iowa and placed under the command of that notorious and abandoned ruffian, Jim Lane. These men were raised chiefly in Chicago, for the avowed purpose of fighting and murdering the settlers of Kansas. Colonists, farmers, industrial men—who would quietly go into the country and proceed to cultivate the land and establish themselves—were not required. The vagabonds, wharf-rats, loafers, bullies, grog-shop hangers-on of the frontier, were the men for Lane.

Reeder, Robinson and Lane have laid off towns all over Kansas, and the Chicago bullies were each to be furnished with a lot at the expiration of their service. We have conversed with several gentlemen who saw this ruffianly body on their way to Kansas, and they assure us that no penitentiary in the country could ever have belched forth such a delegation of villainy and rowdiness. Each man was armed with a Sharp's rifle, a Bowie knife and a whisky jug. On their way to Kansas they stopped in Fremont County, Iowa, and voted in a body for the Black Republican ticket. When they thought the settlers were unprotected and unsuspecting, detachments of this band left their encampment in Iowa and proceeded to attack isolated settlements of colonists, burning their houses, killing some and capturing others, and reviving in all their horrors the civil war and disturbances which had so recently been lulled. This was done on the pretext that the settlers were establishing ports and blockades; that is, were exercising the right of self-defense and protection. Here is the most flagrant instance yet of unprovoked aggression by intruders and invaders against the regular settlers. Strangers to the previous difficulties in the Territory, these ruffians, in the pay of the politicians and traitors in the East, have thrown themselves into a Territory where they had no interests, for the purpose of stirring up a civil war. The war is now in full blast. He is a credulous fool or fanatic, or a graceless knave who pretends that such a war has been prompted by a love of freedom or a determination to exclude slavery from Kansas. There is not one of these ruffians who cares a fig whether Kansas be slave or free territory.

They are the followers, tools and minions of Lane, who himself voted for the Kansas Bill, and of Reeder, who openly declared, when proceeding to the Territory, that he would make it a slave State, and intended to buy a lot of negroes himself and go into the hemp-business. Instead of a grower he deserves to be the victim of hemp.

Left to itself, to the natural laws of emigration, Kansas bid fair to be a free territory, under the operation of the just provisions of the Kansas Bill, as Nebraska has already become. But this would not elect Abolition Presidents; it would not keep alive

this pestilent faction, and fan the flames of all this tumult, excitement and war.

Where will all this end? That is the question which fills with gloom and anxiety so many of the serious minds of the country. We will not attempt to penetrate the dark future. Whatever be the end, we trust that no peril, no alarm, no consequences will intimidate the national men of this country, and induce them to yield an inch to the base revolutionary faction whose triumph must involve the disruption of all the fraternal ties between these States, and will forever stand as a terrible precedent and example of triumphant crime and treason, to instigate further aggressions upon law, order, the Constitution and the Union.

New Orleans Daily Delta.

AID FOR KANSAS.—We presume there is very little hope of New Orleans being sufficiently energetic to assist the "law and order" men in Kansas by the material aid which is most required at present. There is no use in disguising the fact, that our citizens are exceedingly slow in any political movement which is not immediately connected with lucrative office, and are inclined to pay more attention to a party election, which will decide the fate of some local faction, than to a great struggle, in which the future of the South is probably involved.

There are many gentlemen, it is true, who are ready and eager to subscribe a liberal sum of money in behalf of the Southern settlers in Kansas, but they have not been approached up to this by responsible parties, and accordingly their dollars, as well as their patriotism, are remaining "unseen, unknown, unused." And yet a few thousand dollars judiciously expended might have the effect of staggering Abolitionism in the Territory, and of enabling our brethren to secure their lives, if not their property, from the murderous followers of Lane.

Up to this the Missourians have been conducting the defense of Kansas almost single-handed. A small contingent has been provided by South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, (Louisiana of course doing nothing,) but the whole auxiliary force could scarcely be missed from an ordinary militia company in one of our second-rate cities. Nothing has been done of consequence enough to be commemorated outside of Missouri, and our children, if not ourselves, will be grateful for the heroism and readiness of these "whole horses" of the Border who have defied universal animosity and given it kick for kick.

Under these circumstances, if the Committee appointed by the regular meeting held at the St. Louis Exchange does not act with the promptitude which was fairly expected by the public, (and there has been no such action so far,) it would be well for the citizens to improvise a more efficient body and do something to secure themselves, something to relieve them from the charge, not of apathy alone, but of hopeless and irremediable stolidity. Time is passing rapidly; the sands of the hour-glass are golden sands and represent a golden opportunity which may be easily lost.

The Daily Picayune.

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPT. 4, 1856.

A PROJECT FOR CONCILIATION.

When we last had any specific accounts from Washington the House had suspended action on the army appropriation bill, and the Senate was engaged in discussing a bill which, it is supposed, will, if passed, have a beneficial effect on the controversy between the two Houses. In fact, it is expected to give some Black Republicans an excuse with which to defend themselves, for a change of position on the army bill.

There are among the laws passed by the new Kansas Legislature, some that are very generally admitted to be unwise in policy and oppressive in their operation. Those which are particularly offensive are the laws which establish test oaths, which prohibit free discussion and penal offences of the agitation of slavery question, which are to be, by the theory of the Kansas bill, submitted to the final decision of the people. The House ora-

tors have made these items the leading topics in their denunciation of the Territorial authorities, and with the aid of these blunders of the Territorial authorities, strengthened themselves in their hostility to the whole Territorial Government as illegal and void, for fraud in its inception, and violence in its administration. The Senate has never undertaken to uphold these laws or to ratify them, but on the contrary inserted in the Territorial bill, which it passed and sent down to the House, several distinct clauses, annulling or repealing all these objectionable laws. The position taken in the House then by the Black Republicans and their allies was, that this pacification project could not be entertained so long as the legal existence of the Kansas Territorial Government is admitted at all. They insisted that not only these objectionable acts of legislation must be repealed, but the right of the Kansas Government to legislate at all must be denied, and a new government given them altogether. They assume as the first fact to justify everything they have done, and aided in doing to overthrow authority in Kansas, the unlawfulness, from the beginning, of the Kansas Government and the total invalidity of its acts. The pretences for this assertion have been often examined and thoroughly exposed to be purely factious—but it has been the leading Republican idea, and on that ground the House threw over almost with scorn the Senate's measure of peace, for a new reference of these controversies to the people of Kansas, a new election and a new constitution.

The stubborn resistance they have offered to the army bill rests on the same fundamental idea. They refuse to assent to any appropriation for the army at all, except it is accompanied by a condition that none of the laws enacted by the Territorial Legislature shall be enforced, or aided in being enforced, by the army of the United States. They have said they prefer anarchy and civil war in Kansas, to any submission whatever, to any law whatever, of the local legislature; and they prefer, rather than yield this point, that the whole army appropriation shall be lost, the public service disorganized everywhere, the public faith dishonored, the fortresses dismantled, and the frontiers given up to Indian ravages and massacres. This is the position they have deliberately taken, and adhered to with an unrelenting tenacity of purpose which shows how thoroughly their passions have become excited in the warfare they are waging upon slavery and slaveholders, of which the demonstration upon Kansas is the opening campaign.

But we are now led to expect that some among them, enough to overcome the majority by which they have hitherto governed the House, are disposed to accept a tender, of which the Senate has offered them, in regard to the obnoxious laws of Kansas, as a sufficient motive for abandoning the proviso in the army bill, and permitting it to pass in its regular and unrestricted form. There is a bill pending in the Senate, which makes a distinct and independent repeal of those clauses in the Kansas legislative acts, which both Houses have agreed to condemn, viz: the test oath laws and the laws against freedom of discussion. With this two or three of the Black Republicans may be contented, and retire from their opposition to the army appropriation, and, if they do so, the congressional crisis will be over.

The acceptance of such terms would be, in fact, a total defeat of the Black Republicans, for it would leave the general legislative power of Kansas fully recognized and strengthened, by the unrestricted power of the Executive to enforce its enactments, among which are all those which establish the utter illegality of the Topeka movements, and the insurrectionary conduct of the whole free State faction. Under such a concession, Reeder and his associates are abandoned and condemned, as completely as though no act of Congress had interposed to alter a single enactment.

The triumph of the law and order principle will be as effectually established against all anti-slavery doctrines in regard to Kansas after this bill as before, and therefore we hope it will accomplish its proposed objects, of encouraging some relenting Black Republican to help defeat the revolutionary purposes of his brethren—some moderate man to escape from violent counsels and violent acts, of which he is tired and distrustful.

The result is, however, uncertain. Perhaps it may fail, and if so, the chance of conciliation is over; for the Senate, we trust, will not give way a hair's breadth on the great principles at issue in the conflict with the House.

An editorial article from the Lexington American Citizen will be found in another part of to-day's Democrat, sustaining very emphatically a view of Kansas affairs, which from the first we have consistently advocated, and for which we have received our share of obloquy and abuse from certain radical and rabid journals in this State. While holding the Douglas-Pierce administration accountable for all the bloodshed, evil precedent, and lamentable alienation of feeling prevailing now more than ever between the north and the south, in consequence of the Kansas anarchy; while denouncing with all the force of language at our command, the growing and ultra Calbounism which they have inaugurated, fomented and carried to a pitch of extravagance and fanaticism which would have startled even the great author of sectionalism himself, we have at the same time never failed to condemn wanton outrage in the territory, entirely without reference to the party whence it might proceed, or the interests in whose behalf it was supposed to be perpetrated.—It would be strange if, in so unsettled a state of things as exists in Kansas, not merely in the absence of law, for that would be comparatively tolerable—but in the presence of laws which are only mighty injustices, and a disgrace to civilization—all the excesses should be confined to one of the contending parties. A course of gross persecution occurred before the Free State party could be accused of any hostile demonstration whatever, save that occurring in justifiable self-defense. If the latter have retaliated when they might otherwise have been secure in the enjoyment of their vested and personal rights, they have neither been wise nor commendable in their action; but we are surely not to infer this from the statements which reach us from prejudiced and hostile sources, and from parties strongly in the interest of such men as Atchison and Stringfellow, but for whom, acting under the direction of their masters at Washington, a terrible crisis in our country's history, would have been averted. We have constantly maintained, and the evidence which reaches us by every mail more and more confirms our position, that the reports that have come to us of outrages and hostilities on the part of the Free State men, were in the great majority of instances either gross exaggerations or pure inventions, got up to serve a passing purpose; and the article which we reprint to-day from a Lexington paper, strongly pro-slavery in its prepossessions, goes far towards vindicating the justness of this view. Many of the reports prejudicial to the Free State party which have appeared from time to time in the Republican, have been notoriously disproven; as for instance, that Leecompton had been taken and sacked, an assertion boldly made by the Republican's correspondent, and flatly contradicted in that paper by the very next arrival from the disturbed district.

We are glad to perceive, no less from the tone of the article to which we have referred than from other indications of a change of temper and policy in various journals of the State, that all the sympathy is not likely to be hereafter on the side of certain citizens of Missouri who without just cause, and greatly to the prejudice of their own commonwealth, have invaded a neighboring sovereign territory, interfered in its elections, sought to overawe the peaceful population by intimidation, and sown the seeds of an intestine war, the like of which has never been seen since the formation of the government. Let this spirit be cultivated; let the press of Missouri speak out in reprobation of injustice, violence and lawlessness in Kansas, irrespective of the question whence they come; represent truthfully the facts of the case, and

convicted with a rod of iron the perpetrators fully convicted to have been such, and much will be done towards the formation of a correct and enlightened public sentiment in the premises, which is one of the most essential conditions of the restoration of peace on our borders.

In addition to the above, we have been shown a letter of the same date as the extra, from Leavenworth, to a gentleman in this city, from which we make the following extracts:

LEAVENWORTH, August 31.

"Old Ossawatimie Brown is maintaining his ground south of Kaw river. His force consists of about two hundred men. It is reported that he has had an engagement with the invading forces, as they have entered that portion of the territory. News was received at Westport, that in the collision between Brown's men and the pro-slavery party, some eighty of the latter, out of a company of three hundred were killed and wounded.

"Brown's loss is stated as much less. Capt. Wilkes' company of fifty Carolinians arrived at Leavenworth a day or two since.

"They 'pressed' a sufficient number of horses in the neighborhood to mount themselves.

"The pro-slavery force, consisting of Georgians, Carolinians, and other late emigrants from the south, are encamped some eight or ten miles from this city, in the interior. Some 800 of Lane's men are between this and Lawrence.

"Day before yesterday a company of about ten persons, on their way from Lawrence to Leavenworth, were taken prisoners by F. Emory's (pro-slavery) men. In the party arrested were Mrs. Hoppes, (wife of the unfortunate man who was shot and scalped by Fugate some time ago), her brother-in-law, an old man of 70 years of age, and a young man, all of whom were en route for St. Louis at the time. The men were taken to the pro-slavery camp—the woman and children were permitted to go to Leavenworth. Mrs. Hoppes took passage on the J. M. Conyers, but her brother-in-law was not permitted to accompany her. One of these prisoners, a German, was shot down in the streets of Leavenworth city, in endeavoring to effect his escape from his captors.

FROM KANSAS.

[From the Western Dispatch Extra, Aug. 31]
News from the War!

OSSAWATTOMIE IN ASHES!

BROWN KILLED AND HIS MEN ROUTED!

Five Pro-Slavery Men Wounded.

THIRTY ABOLITIONISTS KILLED.

LETTERS FROM REID AND CHILES.

MEN ARMS, AMMUNITION & PROVISIONS WANTED

Mr. F. F. Shepherd and three others have just arrived in this city from Bull Creek, with the letters we publish below. From Mr. Shepherd we learn that the abolitionists have committed numerous outrages and murders within a few days past. Cattle and horses have been run off, houses burned, property destroyed, and pro-slavery settlers murdered, or forced to take refuge in the brush and wood along the streams and ravines. We have not the space to enumerate the many incidents of this kind detailed by Mr. Shepherd, but hasten to lay before our readers the letters from Chiles and Reid.

A battle took place on yesterday morning, between two hundred and fifty pro-slavery men under General Reid, and about two hundred abolitionists under command of Brown, the assassin. The first fire came from the abolitionists, wounding five pro-slavery men. A piece of artillery was fired upon the abolition forces, and three of their number killed. A charge was immediately made by Gen. Reid, in which not less than thirty of the enemy were killed, (our informant thinks there were more than that

number,) and four taken prisoners. The notorious Brown, and one of his sons, were certainly killed.

Many of the abolitionists, in their flight, attempted to swim the river, and a number were drowned.

Ossawatimie was burned to the ground, every house, as well as its contents, being reduced to ashes. There were no women or children in the place.

All those wounded before the charge will recover, with proper care. Mr. Jackson has a more serious wound than any one of the five.

Reid commanded 250 men. The number under Brown could not be estimated, as they were partly concealed by the bushes, and into which they commenced retreating soon after the first fire.

Four were captured as prisoners. Two pro-slavery men were prisoners in the hands of Brown, and were rescued by Reid's forces. From them Mr. Shepherd learned that a battle had taken place in the direction of Fort Scott, in which Brown killed thirteen of the law and order citizens of the territory. We could gather none of the particulars.

We are personally acquainted with Mr. Shepherd, and vouch for him as an honorable, reliable man.

Here are the letters. Shall the appeal be fruitless? *See page 4.*

NEWS FROM KANSAS.

CAPTURE OF OSSAWATTOMIE.

[From the St. Louis Republican, September 6th.]
The western mail, yesterday, brought us news from Kansas of very recent date. Our correspondent at Westport furnishes us, substantially, with everything that had transpired, in the following letter:

[Correspondence of the Republican.]

WESTPORT, August 30, 1856.

A communication has just been received from Gen. B. R. Atchison and Aft. Gen. L. M. McClane, by special express, saying that Col. Reid, with 300 men, took the town of Ossawatimie yesterday morning about sun up, with the loss of one man badly, and four slightly wounded—among them Capt. Boston, of Lafayette county. The two Browns, and about twenty others, were killed, a few (some six) made prisoners. No plundering was allowed. All the town was burnt, excepting the houses where the women and children were assembled.

Last night N. B. Stanton and eight others were taken prisoners, carrying an express from Lawrence to Ossawatimie. Valuable information was obtained from the papers found on them.

When the town was attacked, most of them fled, as usual, and opened a fire from the brush, a half mile distant, but our men soon put them to flight. I presume the big fight will come off at Lawrence, if Gen. Lane don't run, as usual. This is said to be a free fight, and all are invited to piten in that feel inclined. B.

A correspondent sends us the originals of two letters captured from the spies of the "Army of the North," parts of which, so far as they refer to public affairs, are here copied:

LAWRENCE, K. T., Aug. 27, 1856.

On Sunday morning we were aroused by the beating of drums, to call together volunteers to remove towards Leavenworth, as the ruffians were committing depredations there, so the Free State people had to leave, though to-day we hear that they were marching to Lawrence to sack that place again. So we gathered up a company of 125 men, and marched to Lawrence on Sunday night, a distance of thirty-five miles. They heard that companies of Free State men were gathering at Lawrence to defend that place, so they turned their course, and are down at Easton. We cannot catch up with them, as they are mounted on horses, and the Free State men are on foot. But the Free State men are getting mounted as fast as possible.

The Ruffians rode and pressed horses from them till they had almost got out of horses. Now they have taken the turn and press horses from the Missourians. We have got this place all fortified well, and about six or seven hundred men are here under Col. Lane. I do not know where we will go to from here. We talk of going to Leavenworth and Easton, to rout out all the Ruffians there, but I do not know whether we will march for a day or two yet, as there is a report that they are going to attack us on the South, with a tribe of Indians they have got to help them. But it is no use to attack us with less than five thousand men, for we are too well fortified. There is a company of horsemen started out some place, to rout a set of Ruffians. It is all excitement here at present. We will go back to Topeka soon, unless we can have a chance to fight and get some. We will stop at Topeka; we all like that place better than Lawrence—it is a healthier situation than this. I will close for the present.

R. H. CARNIN.

CAMP AT LAWRENCE CITY, August 27, 1856.

Dear Brother: Your letter came to hand a few days since. Immediately after receiving it, we were sent for to come to this place, where we are to remain a few days previous to crossing the Kansas river, which we intend to do before long, and wipe out some of the infernal horse-stealing murderers. I wrote to you a week ago, after the fight at Franklin and Leecompton, which letter I suppose you have got before this time. I sent it with Capt. Strawn, (son of old Jake Strawn). I am going to work as soon as I get me a good horse, which I should have had before this time, if I had met a damned Missouriian on one that suited me. Some of the boys drove in twelve fine cattle that some of the old friends dressed for us to eat—that is, we won them. Your Brother, J. NEWTSIP.

Kansas Meeting at New Orleans.

A Kansas meeting was held at the St. Louis Exchange, in New Orleans, on Wednesday evening, 27th ult. Mayor Waterman presided. A set of resolutions, intensely Anti-Black Republican in their character, were passed unanimously. It was resolved that a committee be appointed to solicit subscriptions to defray the expenses of sending a company to the Territory, and another committee to request the Governor, in the name of the meeting, to "correspond with the Governors of all the Southern States, with the view of creating a concert of action among the several Legislatures thereof, upon this subject, and if necessary, in his opinion, to convene our Legislature for the purpose of deliberating and determining upon the measures necessary at the present crisis."

There were about six hundred persons present, including a number of the wealthiest and most influential men in the city.

THE EVENING NEWS.

Saint Louis:

FRIDAY EVENING, SEPT. 5, 1856.

Work for Gov. Geary.

Gov. Geary had hardly arrived at St. Louis, on his way to Kansas, and taken a few hours rest, before intelligence of one of those "scrimmages," which are the natural productions of Kansas soil, disturbed his ruminations over coffee and rolls at Barnum's. Perhaps this last battle at Ossawatimie is a timely occurrence, as it meets Gov. Geary right on the threshold of the scene of his labors, and impresses him with a lively appreciation of the pleasures that await him. We assume the privilege of a veteran, in this matter, and suggest to his Excellency that it would not be well to believe all that the papers tell him about this Ossawatimie battle. We are used to such things here in St. Louis, and seldom allow ourselves to be agitated by the terrific conflicts and bloody battles, which the newspaper editors on the border manage to bring about every day or two, between the Abolitionists and "Border Ruffians." If Gov. Geary will accustom himself to the habit of cutting those battle bulletins, the newspaper extras, in half, and taking the half of one of these moities, he will generally be in the neighborhood of the truth.

Still, although affairs in Kansas are prodigiously exaggerated by the magnifying descriptive talents of the "Border Ruffians," they are bad enough to justify the most active and stringent measures on the part of the new Governor, and we hope to find in him what we have never yet seen—a good Governor for Kansas. His position is not a bed of roses. It is full of grave responsibilities and arduous duties. Yet, if he restore peace to the Territory, suppress disorder, erect the prostrate form of law, and make the desperadoes who infest the country feel the weight of the arm of retribution—he will deserve better of his country than the highest dignity in the land.

THE VOICE OF CONSERVATISM—Listen to it.

We mentioned, a few days ago, a circumstance which occurred at Lexington, in this State, which singularly illustrated the terrorism which a few self-styled friends of the South sway over the more honest and conservative people. An old man named Hoerbeke, a citizen of Kansas, had been brutally beaten in Lexington, by a fellow named Owen, for claiming a pair of horses which had been stolen from him, and sold in Lexington. The Lexington Citizen narrates the whole affair as it occurred, and comments thus upon it:

During the Kansas excitement that has for many months pervaded the community, we have heard many disgraceful things charged upon the Abolitionists of Kansas Territory; and every man of every party will bear witness that we have, at all times and under all circumstances, even when reports have reached us of the butchery of our friends, guarded against placing too much reliance upon rumors and vague reports.

Others may boast of having contributed largely to keeping up the excitement; we have nothing to boast on that score. We consider it our good fortune that our humble talent has at all times been exerted in keeping down all excitement of a sectional character. We have aimed to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and have labored without ceasing, at all times, to keep the South—Missouri especially—in the right, and the North in the wrong, and while we have heard some good men regret that the word conservative was in the English dictionary, we rejoice that it is there, and that so many of our citizens know its meaning and carry it out in practice. The threat of being "spotted" or charged with favoring northern fanaticism has no terror to us. Our past life and present practice are all the rebutting evidence that we have to offer. And we would just as soon be charged with northern abolitionism, a sentiment which above all others we abhor, as to be suspected of justifying all that is said and done by some of those styling themselves "whole souled pro-slavery men."

That the abolitionists have been guilty of repeated acts of atrocity, murder, robbery, arson and horse stealing in the Territory, none of their own villainous party will deny; but that they have done all that has been said against them is neither true nor probable. There are Southern men just as bad as the worst abolitionist. That some of these men have been guilty of horse stealing and probably murder in the name and on the credit of the abolitionists—that their thefts have been perpetrated on Northern and Southern men without distinction—will hardly admit of a doubt.

DAILY REPUBLICAN.

QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

FRIDAY EVENING, SEPT. 5.

KANSAS AFFAIRS.

Atchison and Stringfellow are certainly two of the most unmitigated scoundrels that were ever permitted to go unhung. A few weeks ago they published an inflammatory circular, and scattered it through the border counties of Missouri, stating that the free State men under Lane had commenced hostilities by attacking and taking Franklin, and were driving from the Territories the pro-slavery men. All this turns out to be false!—there is not a particle of truth in these statements!—they were gotten up for the purpose of arousing the people of Missouri, and rekindling a civil war. The Border Ruffians are again invading Kansas, and committing outrages upon the persons and deprivations upon the property of the settlers. Atchison and Stringfellow are responsible for this last raid.

From Kansas—Later.

A young gentleman from Michigan, who left Kansas City on Friday last gave us a statement yesterday in regard to the affairs of Kansas, which confirms the other reports which we have from the Border. There is no doubt of the intention of the Ruffians to attempt the expulsion of every

Free State man in the Territory. For this purpose they are assembling in great numbers at Little Santa Fe, on the Missouri and Kansas line, armed and provisioned for at least a month. The force they boast will be augmented, before the attack is made, to five thousand men. Our informant thinks that a large party of Ruffians under Gen. RICHARDSON have gone up the Missouri to cut off all communication from Iowa. His party is reported to be a thousand strong.

A great many conflicting rumors are afloat among the Missourians themselves, and it is impossible for one not in their councils to arrive at a true understanding of their intentions or a knowledge of their strength. It is evident, however, that the demonstration is intended to be imposing and so far as numbers can make it, successful.

The Free State men, he heard it rumored, were talking of a descent upon Leavenworth in strong force, for the purpose of opening a road to supplies which are now almost entirely cut off. They were in good spirits and confident, in the event of a collision, of a victory if they are not overwhelmed by great disparity of numbers. Provisions and ammunition were scarce among them—the latter particularly so. Gen. LANE was in Lawrence on Thursday last, assisting and counseling in whatever way he was able.

Only a few days will elapse before we hear something decisive.—[Chic. Trib.]

The Daily Journal.

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 5, 1856.

Equality of Rights in the Territories.

Our old line friends still insist that "Squatter Sovereignty" is part of the perquisites bestowed upon the settlers of Kansas by the bill or organizing that Territory. It is manifest, however, that "Squatter Sovereignty" in its obvious meaning, and as universally received, was not conferred by the Kansas and Nebraska bill upon the settlers of the Territories, but was expressly provided against in the bill itself. "Squatter Sovereignty," as promulgated by Mr. Cass, aimed to confer upon the people of the Territory the right to legislate for themselves, including that of admitting, prohibiting and regulating slavery. "Squatter Sovereignty," as promulgated by Mr. Douglas's Kansas Nebraska bill, and as accurately embodied in the resolutions covering this subject in the Old Line platform, require the right of the settlers in the Territory to admit and regulate slavery through the territorial legislatures, but not to prohibit or abolish it. And during their territorial existence, they have not the power to prevent its introduction into the Territory, and only when they come to form a State Constitution can the voters pronounce against it; and then only, in the form of a State constitutional prohibition, and not in that of a territorial prohibition. Should a convention be called for the purpose of forming a State Constitution for Kansas, and the election of delegates be had in a legal and unexceptionable manner; and for any reason, after deliberation, they should determine it to be inexpedient and separate without the formation of a State Constitution, the territory must revert into slave territory under the Old Line construction of squatter sovereignty, although the previous election should demonstrate that a great preponderance of the suffrages were in favor of free territory. Or, if a free constitution, or slavery-recognizing constitution, were formed by the convention, and upon submission to popular vote were voted down, the territory, as in the first instance, would become slave territory. That is, there would remain no legal means of keeping slavery out of the territory, until at a renewed attempt to form a State Constitution. The State to be formed

now, a rigor of procedure never pretended either north or south. And if the slave is "property," and more than property, then they claim under the words "property in slaves" more than a man claims under "property in horses," and under the pretence of "equality of rights," produce an inequality against the non-slave holder.

It is this adjunct to property in slaves which the South mainly desire, because it is through that that they command the means of controlling the public policy of the country. It is because their slaves constitute a basis of representation in Congress, and in the Presidential electoral college, where all the millions of free State capital and property never yet counted a unit. And a proposition to the South to relinquish all her interests in slavery except those of "property," or to confer equal political advantages upon the "property" of the North, which she

great political parties of 1852, to abide by the Compromise, and No State felt deeper regret when one of these two parties forgot its plighted faith to the country and wantonly disturbed the Missouri Compromise. No State in the Union more earnestly deprecated the repeal of that Compromise than Maryland, and could the question have been submitted to her people, nine out of every ten would have voted to maintain it inviolate. It was not repealed because the South had ever asked for its repeal. No petition from any Southern State had ever crossed the threshold of either House of Congress asking its abrogation. A Northern Senator, the prince of demagogues and doughfaces, Stephen Arnold Douglas, proposed this violation of a sacred compromise, and a portion of the South were weak enough to acquiesce. But for myself, said the speaker, if I had been a member of Congress at that time, sooner should my right arm have fallen palsied from its socket, and my tongue have cleaved to the roof of my mouth, than I would have given my vote for that measure, and there are tens of thousands in my State who are of the same way of thinking.

Mr. Traversé went on to remark that it was a noteworthy coincidence that both the extremists of the North who were opposed to the Compromise of 1850, and the extremists of the South who were opposed to that Compromise, are now found in one or the other of the sectional parties that threaten the existence of the Union, while most of the patriotic men who supported the Compromise of 1850, and opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, are now in the American party, and with Houston of Texas, Bell of Tennessee, and Hunt of Louisiana, are the advocates and exponents of national American principles. The conservative men of the South rebuke the border ruffians and repudiate them, and hold both the sectional parties responsible for the present unfortunate condition of the country. They do not desire the spread of slavery, although a portion of the Southern people misrepresenting the sentiment of the South, have engaged in an attempt to force slavery into Kansas.

Mr. Traversé alluded in eloquent terms to the candidate presented to the consideration of the people by the American party, to his past life of brilliant public services, to his patriotism and the elevation of his character, saying that the people required of him no pledges; that they would take him with or without any particular platform, that he was a platform of himself broad enough for all national men and true lovers of the Union. Mr. T. then told in a somewhat diverting style, what the people of his State thought of Mr. Fillmore's competitors. Fremont is a stirring young man, who had done the State some service—and done himself some service; whose great exploits were incurring the ire of Col. Benton and stealing sweet Jesse, shovelling snow from the Rocky Mountains, eating mule steaks and making a dessert of grass-hopper pie. Besides these distinguished claims to the highest office in the country, he had served a term of three weeks in the United States Senate, during which he had opened his mouth (to say yea or nay) three times. If such services as Fremont had rendered were titles to high office, Kit Carson should have been nominated for President, and Fremont for Vice-President, for the claims of the latter were inferior to those of Kit Carson. Buchanan was described as a respectable old gentleman of sixty-five, who had been on every side of every question, but who was now no longer James Buchanan, but part and parcel of the Cincinnati platform. It was a serious objection to him that he is an old bachelor, and he appealed to the ladies present to say whether their sex would not unanimously oppose his election, as they were in favor of marriage—to a man. Mr. Traversé closed his remarks by a truly eloquent appeal in behalf of the Union. He was frequently and warmly applauded, throughout his speech, which was listened to with deep attention and interest.

When at the close of Mr. Traversé's remarks, Mr. Haven made his appearance in the meeting, he was greeted with a perfect storm of applause, long, loud and intensely enthusiastic, and renewed again and again, as if the assembled multitude felt that they could not make sufficiently emphatic their welcome plaudits of "Well done good and faithful servant." The Chairman of the meeting in introducing Mr. Haven, said that he appeared before his fellow citizens to render an account of his stewardship. After the cheering which again arose had subsided, Mr. Haven entertained the people for more than two hours, with one of his old-fashioned talks, in which some original and humorous observations were occasionally interspersed, that few men could do

duer again on board, the road doing an excellent business, and never having to make an assignment.

This political campaign is now just commencing, and the American people will come to a right decision within the coming two months.—Republicanism was already getting pretty well boiled down, having evaporated a good deal in steam. This is not the first time that the country has had one portion of its citizens arrayed against the other—not the first time that dissension, difficulty and trouble have grown out of sectional questions; but now, as heretofore, the people of the country will not consent to forget their common history, their common struggles for Independence and all the proud recollections of a glorious past. The weak members of this family of States were as precious and as fondly cherished as the more powerful; little Rhode Island as dear as the noble Empire State, just as when there is a tender little one in a family, the household cherish that little one with as true affection, and even more fondly for its very feebleness. In the glorious struggle of the Revolution, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, Georgia and South Carolina, Virginia and New York, stood shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy, they look back to that period with a common interest, and will never consent that sectional animosities shall obliterate those glorious recollections of a common past and the still more glorious hopes of a common future. In view of such considerations the people will come to the conclusion that these sectional quarrels are small business. Sam—and by Sam he meant the American people—Sam is a curious genius, he is rather slow, but a fellow of excellent sense and pluck, ruminates a good deal, takes time in making up his judgment, puts his hands in his pockets and whistles while he coolly walks round and round an invention and speculates in his own mind as to what can be made out of it. It is not characteristic of the American people to act in important matters under the hasty impulse of sudden excitement. They are a reading, thinking, ingenious people, and will coolly canvass the merits of a presidential candidate as they would that of a new machine, and when several are submitted to them they are pretty sure to make selection of the best. The campaign has but just opened, its real results are only now budding, Sam is going about looking on and whistling with a view to make up his mind, and though a little slow he is very sure.

How was it in this State last fall? Then, as now, the papers having the largest circulation in the State, the *Herald*, the *Tribune*, the *Times*, the *Evening Post*, were all arrayed in active and determined hostility to Sam, and predicted as they do now his overwhelming defeat. But when Sam had whistled around and surveyed matters on all sides, he quietly made up his mind what it was best to do, and you all know the result. And so in this campaign, although a powerful and industrious press has presented one state of facts, on one side of the question. But the American people are too shrewd to make up their minds before they have seen what can be said for the other side, and Sam in this campaign will have a great advantage in making the acquaintance of the people which he has never had before, as he has taken the slide out of his dark lantern, or as he sometimes told the boys, they had split open the pumpkin in which they used to put their candle.

After some humorous remarks on the democratic platform which was now running for the Presidency, Mr. Haven declared that he went for Fillmore. Notwithstanding all that has been telegraphed all over the country from Washington, he was a Fillmore man yet, as were likewise all who had been Fillmore men since the 23d of February. As soon as Mr. Fillmore was nominated, great pains was taken to spread the impression that he would not accept. This was insisted on up to the time his letter of acceptance was received, and even afterwards it was insisted that as soon as he returned to this country and saw the state of things he would decline. But when, contrary to all their predictions, it was seen that he did not decline, that he would not retire from the canvass, it was insisted with equal emphasis, that his friends had made up their minds to withdraw him. There was just as little foundation for this report, as there was for the other; and so far from the friends of Mr. Fillmore withdrawing from his support, their number had gone on increasing every day.

When one or two old whigs of Maryland, or one old whig of Massachusetts, declared that it was not their intention to vote for Mr. Fillmore, the whole democratic and republican press was about that Mr. Fillmore's friends were not so discouraged, and that they were every

the limits we had proposed, and cannot even allude to many interesting matters that Mr. Haven touched upon.

The people will have opportunities to hear from him again, and all who heard him know how poor and tame must be any account of his speeches, except a full and verbatim report.

Mr. Haven was frequently and enthusiastically applauded throughout his speech.

to pass the pacification bill, which one of their distinguished champions pronounced to be aim at perfect and thus effectually prevent civil war in Kansas—their strenuous opposition to the bill availing of a leading divine? endorsed by many of the advocates of civil war, instead of preaching peace on earth and good will to men, he had hitherto supposed necessity of a grand rally of the democratic party "whose object is always indissolubly connected with the welfare and prosperity of this vast republic."

DAILY CHRONICLE.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1856.

[For the Daily Chronicle]

An Appeal for Kansas.

Inhabitants of New England—who whose homesteads occupy the soil from which sprung the heroes of the Revolution—compare the efforts put forth by the South—the land of Tories—to enslave Kansas, with what you have thus far done to make it free, and blush at the contemplation.

Reflect;—the blessings of civil and religious liberty, which you now enjoy, are not of your own creating, but are the bequests of heroic men of all ages and nations; cannot you realize your indebtedness?

Reflect; they who basking in Freedom's smiles fail to honor the self-sacrifice of its generous founders, by sustaining its champions, and maintaining its boundaries, are guilty of ingratitude, the basest of sins.

Reflect; though the men who fought the battles of the Revolution are now beyond your reach to cherish or remunerate, their banner and their mantle have passed to the Free State men of Kansas; will you sustain them, or Southron-like, repudiate just claims?

Reflect; the country is in danger of the rule of three hundred thousand slaveholding despots, for the one tyrant it cast off through the Revolution, and while you have enjoyed the comforts of quiet homes, the brave spirits who have garrisoned your outposts have endured all the horrors of war. Will you sleep over your peril and their sufferings?

Workingmen and Workingwomen; the well-being and progress of your class—your individual social position—is in danger from this threatening cloud of negro-slavery extension. Will you not each fling a hard dollar in the face of the advancing foe?

Men and Women of New England; a dollar from each of you contributed *immediately* to the Kansas Fund may preserve Kansas from slavery; but suppose it does not, you will but have paid the shade of a shadow of the interest of a mighty debt you owe *somewhere*; and if the men, women and children who have suffered so much at the hands of tyranny and oppression in Kansas, because the rights of freemen have been asserted there, are not entitled to indemnification at your hands, where and to whom can you pay your debt of gratitude? Oris

Buchanan's special organ says:—
"The Democratic party have always had unlimited confidence in the PEOPLE—we have it still. We still retain our faith unshaken, that THE PEOPLE in the Territories and the PEOPLE in the States are capable of self government."

Then why did you allow a Missouri mob to invade Kansas to dictate the people of that Territory?

It further says:—

"Neither the General Government nor National Congress have any power over local laws, if enacted by the THE PEOPLE in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution."

Very true. The Shawnee Mission laws were not enacted by the people of Kansas, but by those of Missouri, and many of them are unconstitutional. The Topeka Constitution was adopted by the people of Kansas without interference from abroad, and in accordance with the Constitution in letter and spirit. These facts being undenied and undeniable, why does the General Government refuse to sanction the latter, and use mili-

tary power to enforce the former?

The organ winds up thus:—
"What, then, is the true issue between-national and the sectional men! It is not, whether negro slavery shall exist or not exist in Kansas, Oregon, Minnesota, or Nebraska—but whether THE PEOPLE of the Territories shall decide the question for themselves."

The people of Kansas have decided it for themselves, and the party of Mr. Buchanan are endeavoring to force upon them a contrary decision made by the people of Missouri.

This monstrous tyranny is so well understood by the Democratic masses of Pennsylvania that the Pennsylvanian—the original Buchanan press of the country, under the redoubtable Forney, the Consuelo of the great Bachelor party—in its last issue makes a most pathetic, coaxing, urgent, dying appeal to all the faithful genuine boo-hoo Democrats to increase its subscription list, not for its own sake—Oh, no!—but for the salvation of the Union!! We rather think if the Union were in danger it might be saved by increasing the circulation of the Pennsylvanian, for it is a paper we always read with great edification when we feel depressed in our spirits.

Boston Daily Courier.

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 5, 1856.

THE BATTLES IN KANSAS. The New York Tribune has a letter from Lawrence, dated Aug. 25, which exhibits in detail some of the troubles which have been mentioned by telegraph. It is unfortunate that "special correspondents" from Kansas do not write any thing except that which may subserve the political ends of their employers. It is presumed that they are on the ground of action, unless their letters are manufactured for the occasion, and their correspondence would be worth something if it was not found to be altogether on one side. A delegation from Lawrence, which city appears by accounts to be beleaguered and sorely beset, had waited on the Governor. He says to them—"Submit to the laws." They say—"The laws are not legally applicable to us." The two parties are in deadly hostility to each other, and armed men prevail over the state. At this distance from the scene of action, we cannot decide as to the character of the outrages which each party is said to commit, though the free state men have, without doubt, been unlawfully and wrongfully assaulted in Missouri. The Tribune correspondent has a list of the sufferers, thus:—

Boston Journal.

FRIDAY EVENING, SEPT. 5, 1856.

THE KANSAS EXCITEMENT IN MISSOURI. The Lexington (Mo.) Citizen of 27th inst. gives the following description of the excitement prevalent there on the Kansas question:

"For more than a week our city has been in the most feverish excitement on the subject of Kansas matters. The streets have been crowded with men, horses and wagons—men armed with bowie-knives, swords, revolvers, shot-guns, Sharpe's rifles—and the company which left this place for the scene of action, took with them two pieces of artillery—a six and an eight pounder.

The precise number of men mounted and armed that have passed through the city from Saline, Howard, Ray and Boone, we have no means of ascertaining, but including those from this county, we presume the number to be something over four hundred."

The editor counsels the pro-slavery party not to commit any act of "unnecessary cruelty." The St. Louis Evening News has the subjoined remarks on the subject:

The stupendous stories which have lately been fabricated at Westport, Leavenworth, and other localities on the border, about battles, victories, defeats and massacres in Kansas, have had the effect for which they were manufactured for—that of exciting a sympathy in Missouri for the supposed to be oppressed Pro-Slavery people of the territory. Missourians from all the adjacent counties are flocking to the rendezvous in Jackson county, to aid their friends in Kansas. No doubt, as soon as they discover how they have been imposed upon, they will quietly return to their homes, disgusted with the cause they have rallied to support."

SLAVERY AND KANSAS. The Squatter Sovereign is the recognized organ of the Buchanan party in Kansas Territory. It receives the patronage of the administration, and carries the names of Buchanan and Breckinridge at the head of its columns. That paper thus exposes the fixed purpose of those who have made Kansas a field of strife and bloodshed:

"We are determined to repel this Northern invasion, and make Kansas a Slave State, though our rivers should be colored with the blood of the victims, and the carcasses of dead abolitionists should be so numerous in the Territory, as to breed disease and sickness, we will not be deterred in our purpose. Let those who desire graves in Kansas, engage in this loved institution, just as now being waged against the South by the fanatics of the North."

The Chicago Tribune thus comments upon this paragraph:

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

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPT. 5, 1856.

Late News from Kansas—Letters from Lawrence and Topeka—State of things in Kansas—Movements of the Ruffians—Gov. Geary—Gen. Lane.

We are permitted to print the following letter which has just been received from Kansas. It is from a very intelligent gentleman, a graduate of Yale College, who went to Kansas a year or two since, to become a peaceable and permanent settler there:

LAWRENCE, Aug. 25, 1856.

HON. HENRY WILSON—Dear Sir—Wishing our friends to be well posted, on Kansas matters, I hasten to give you a reliable account of the stirring events of the last week or two. Our people, having been pressed and driven past all endurance, and forborne till forbearance has ceased to be a virtue, and seeing little hope of aid from Congress or Government, in time to do us any good, and finding our foes were renewing their depredations, plundering and murdering on the highway,—determined to bear our grievances no longer, but take the field, and defend our liberties, our property, our homes, our families and our lives, or fall in the contest.

About ten days since, a man, (brother-in-law of the Rev. Mr. Nute, Unitarian minister of Lawrence) was found murdered and scalped, between this place and Leavenworth. Last week another man by the name of Jennerson, from Townsend, Mass., and a nephew of mine, went to Kansas City with a team, in company with a pro-slavery man named Dreyman. They got their leads and returned as far as Westport, when Jennerson was stopped by one Allen McGee, taken to his house and detained and the team and load taken possession of. There are several brothers of these McGee's who have taken an active part in the robberies and murders of our people from the first. The next we hear of Jennerson is that he was taken in cold blood, scalped and then murdered. This report I have thoroughly investigated, and find, by the evidence of four men who have come in from Westport, that the report is, beyond all doubt, true. The enemy have been collecting their forces for some time and fortifying themselves at different points. They had quite a force in Franklin, a pro-slavery den, where they have made their head quarters heretofore. Our men rallied and made an attack on their camp, completely routed them, took a cannon, about 80 muskets and a quantity of provision and ammunition, and we now have a camp of our own men fortified near them. The next move we made was upon a fort they had built of logs, double walls and earth thrown in between and entrenched. Here we had another specimen of Southern valor and daring. With a spy-glass from the top of the fort, catching a glimpse of our force, approaching their impregnable fortress where they had boasted they could meet ten to one, they decamped in such hot haste as to leave their arms, provision and even food cooking on the stove. Our men took the spoils and burnt the fort. They then marched for a ruffian den, near Leecompton, commanded by the famous Col Titus of the southern chivalry. Here they were taken by surprise and surrounded before they had a chance to run. Our cannon, taken at Franklin was drawn up, and the second or third shot brought out the white flag. Titus and ten of his men were taken prisoners, with some arms, &c. Two or three of their men were killed and several of our men wounded; one mortally. One of our men was killed at Franklin, and one (Mr. Hoyt) they shot near the fort I mentioned, some days before our attack. The capture of Titus was a week ago, Friday. On Sunday Governor Shannon and Major Sedgwick, of the U. S. dragoons came into Lawrence, and wanted to exchange some

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proceeds, who had accidentally fallen into the hands of the Ruffians at Leocompton, for Titus and his gang. This we agreed to do, on condition that they would return our howitzer, taken at the sack of Lawrence. They consented to this, and the exchange was made. Titus received three wounds, and it is thought doubtful whether he recovers. These decided movements of ours took them by surprise, as we have before stood only on the defensive. It has created a panic among the Pro-Slavery men in the Territory, and they have left in great numbers. We have now a decided advantage here, and can maintain it, till we are reinforced from the Free States, if they will rally promptly to our aid. We feel that the crisis has come, and now is the time to strike a decisive blow. If we maintain our position now, we are safe, but if we are crushed, all is lost. The enemy are making a desperate effort to rally their forces, in Missouri.

Yesterday, news came into camp that a force of 800 was approaching us, on the east, and were to camp last night within six miles of us. Another force of 500 is reported as coming in on the north side of the Kansas river, from Leavenworth. Our forces are concentrating, and if they come ten to one we shall do our best; for we feel that it is life or death with us, having already seen what we have to expect if we fall into their hands. Will our friends of the free States stand by and see us shot down and scalped and butchered, or will they rally to our defense? We want more men and ammunition. I never was a military man, but I am in for the war. Give me Liberty, or give me death. It is reported that Government is collecting some 1500 troops in the territory—for what purpose I know not. All we know is, that thus far their aid and sympathy has been on the side of our enemy. Duty calls me to the camp. Yours in haste.

The following from a Topeka correspondent of one of our friends, has just arrived. It will be read with much interest:

TOPEKA, (Kansas), Aug. 24, 1856.

My Dear D.:—This Territory is all in commotion again. I hear that outside Ruffianism in Missouri is stirred to its lowest depths, and is pouring into the Territory, and has blocked every road. Hence our men in arms have a pretty serious duty on their hands, to wit, to clear the Territory of outside Barbarians. Everything, to-day, looks as if all which has transpired in Kansas hitherto in the shape of civil war, has been but children's play comparatively.

In the meantime the United States dragoons from Fort Riley, for the third time, passed through our town yesterday. They are at hand, but how or when they are to be employed, has not transpired. Many of the men here whose blood is up, hug the belief that they (the United States troops) will remain neutral and let the belligerent parties have a fair fight. But this is hardly probable. Shannon is just stepping out and Geary stepping in; and from the latter the free State men have expected much. The prestige of Mr. Geary's coming is most excellent, thus far. He is personally popular, and may work out much good for Kansas, if the cabinet will let him, or he does not make a blunder. Let him come among all of our parties, and get into the spirit which stirs up the elements into whirlwind, noise and confusion; in a word, let him make Kansas a study, and no great amount of genius will be necessary to obtain a solution of the "Kansas question." For example, the new Governor might set free the prisoners at Leocompton. As it would be an administration move the odium with the ruffians would be transferred to Washington, but the justice of the thing may be traceable to Geary himself, who, it may be, insisted on this act of clemency, as a condition precedent to his assuming the post of Governor. His being the mere conduit of the release would be much in his favor. Let him fail not to reach the heart and feeling of the people. I do not mean the men only who are now in arms, but the mass of the population, who are at work securing their crops, and preparing shelter for the coming winter.

P. S. Since penning the foregoing I have seen Col. Lane. He has received an appointment as commander-in-chief from the forces assembling, by a popular election. So far as I can learn Col. Lane will ask the U. S. officers to clear the roads to the Missouri, which, if they will not do, he will do himself or perish in the attempt. The Missourians will rue the day they meet these men. I think Gov. Geary will be here in season to prevent bloodshed. A. H.

KANSAS. A Kansas aid meeting in Concord last evening, was addressed by F. B. Sanborn, Judge Hoar, and others. Two hundred and thirty dollars were pledged for Kansas. The women of Concord are making up clothing for the people of Kansas, having obtained \$125 to procure material.

A Kansas fund is being collected at the New York Tribune office, made up from contributions by the public generally. It has reached the sum of nearly \$7000.

The editor of the Worcester Spy has had put in his hands a donation of one hundred and fifty yards of satinnet for the benefit of the suffering Free State men of Kansas. One of the clothing houses in Worcester has volunteered to cut it out, and the ladies will make it up into garments.

Tribune KANSAS, Sept 3, 1856

The St. Louis Republican of the 31st ult. has several Pro-Slavery letters from Missouri border towns, repeating and exaggerating the rumors and fabrications adverse to the Free State men of Kansas. They seek to blame the President and Gen. Smith for letting the late emigration enter Kansas from the North, saying it might and should have been prevented. But for this, they think there would have been no more fighting [as the Free-State men would not have been strong enough to resist their oppressors and plunderers].

—This letter clearly implies that Gov. Shannon is counseling and cooperating with the invading Ruffians, which is very strange, after his treaty with the Free-State men not ten days before; but he is utterly unreliable every way. We fear the Missourians are closing upon and starving out the Free-State men, cutting off all supplies and accessions, and at the same time compelling our people to assume the offensive, or possibly submit to be "crushed out" as they were at the sack of Lawrence. But nothing has been heard from our side for several days or probably will be for several more, as all the channels of communication, including the Mails, are in the hands of the Ruffians. We have not received the most important letters forwarded by our correspondents during the earlier half of August, and never expect to see the letters mailed by them within the last fortnight. For the present, we must be content with such accounts as the Ruffians choose to send us; but the truth will come out at last. We feel confident that Lawrence had not been taken up to Saturday night last; but we shudder at the thought that the anaconda coils are slowly closing around it, and that the Free State men of Kansas can neither resist nor submit without incurring reproaches from those who should be their friends.

Later.—We received, late last night, the following:

From Our Special Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Aug. 25, 1856.

The rumors that large bodies of men were gathering together at Leavenworth, Westport and Little Santa Fe, for the purpose of another invasion, have proved to be more than rumors. On Friday last, the Ruffians threw the engine, boiler and other machinery for a large saw-mill, into the Missouri, at Kansas City. It was the property of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, and was consigned to the firm of Walker & Chick, forwarding merchants, and had not been delivered to the agents of that Society. This firm, of course, will be the losers, if the laws of Missouri are good for anything.

Yesterday, a committee of five of the citizens of Lawrence waited upon the Governor at Leocompton, to see what course he was going to take in regard to these mobs which were about to march upon us, and to see whether he was still willing to carry out faithfully his side of the treaty of last Sunday. When they reached Leocompton they found Woodson acting as Governor. He was in the tent or quarters of the officers in command of the troops, eight hundred in number, now at Leocompton. The committee stated to Woodson that the people of Lawrence were out of provisions; that their roads were blockaded by armed mobs; that two of their teamsters had been murdered, and that they desired to know whether he would grant them a guard to their teams to Westport and Leavenworth, or leave them to guard their own teams and open the roads. They desired to know further, whether he intended to interpose with the troops to prevent this overwhelming mob from murdering, burning and pillaging, or whether he intended that they, the people of Lawrence were to take care of themselves?

These questions were asked Woodson directly by the Committee, and that gentleman vouchsafed this reply: that if the people of Lawrence would obey the laws (the Bogus laws), and if he (Woodson) could have assurances to that effect, this thing, that is, the proposed invasion, could be settled in *five hours*—that he would bring the troops, of which he is commander-in-chief, to bear upon these mobs and disperse them.

Now, it would not be easy to conceive of a more impudent remark from any official, and especially from a Governor, than this. Reducing it down, it simply means this: "Gentlemen, if you obey these laws, passed by a mob from Missouri, for your Government, I will protect you; but if you don't, I will let a mob from Missouri cut your throats, scalp, shoot, or hang you, as they may see fit." This is the gist of the reply—its entire essence; and I submit that its impudence is unequalled in the history of civilized diplomacy. C. W. Babcock, esq., the Chairman of the Committee, then said:

"Governor, are we to understand that your position is this: That if we obey the bogus laws you will protect us with the whole force under your command; and if not that you will allow us to be murdered? Is that your position?"

Here Gov. Woodson protested that he had no desire to see them murdered, but that the laws must be obeyed, and writs must be executed. Some further conference was had with the commanders of the United States troops; but the Committee came to the conclusion that if Lawrence is to be defended her own citizens will have to do it. It may be that Woodson, Smith and Cook will look on and see this struggle without any interference of the troops. Col. Cook is you commandant of the whole force at Leocompton, was at Commandant at Fort Riley, and must not be confounded with Gen. Cook, the Commander-in-Chief of the Free-State Volunteers, about whom *The Squatter Sovereign* howls so much. They are two different men.

This morning, a regiment of volunteers, mostly residents of Topeka and its vicinity, arrived here, and things look decidedly warlike. The forts, built last Winter, are being repaired, and new forts are to be built. A strong guard is now placed around the city. It is believed that from fifteen hundred to two thousand armed men can be raised in twelve hours to defend Lawrence. The mob gathered to attack us have about three thousand in all, at Kansas, Westport and Santa Fe. The mob at the Big Stranger may not number over five hundred. Of course, no much dependence is to be placed in the numbers which rumor gives. To avoid exaggeration, I have given the aggregate of the *minimum* of the estimates which I have heard. The battle will come off on Wednesday, the 27th inst.—so they, the Ruffians, say. They will attack us simultaneously, on both sides of the Kaw River. So much for the war.

The following is a correct list of the wounded on the Free State side at the battles of Franklin and Titus's Camp:

G. W. Smith, Jr., formerly of Butler, Pa.; wounded slightly in the head and leg.
Arthur Gunter, formerly of Boston, Mass., wounded very dangerously in the breast and chin; case very doubtful.
A. W. White, formerly of Missouri; very dangerously in the arm and breast. (His arm has been amputated since.)
George Henry, formerly of Hartford, Conn.; slightly, in the breast.
James N. Velsor, formerly of New-York City; a severe shot through the arm.
John Brook, formerly of Mansfield, O.; a dangerous wound in the head.
W. Wells; slight wound in the hand.
D. A. Kleyton, formerly of Union, N. Y.; a severe wound in the ankle.
George Leonard, formerly of Massachusetts; a slight wound in the back.
Charles Jordan, formerly of Maine; a slight wound in the back.
Samuel Shepherd, formerly of Ohio; a flesh wound in the thigh.
John Crocker, formerly of Massachusetts; a slight wound in the head.

These patients are well cared for, are in a temporary hospital, and are under the care of a board of surgeons, with Dr. Prentiss at their head. There is but one doubtful case in the hospital, and that is the case of Mr. Gunter. POTTER.

[By Telegraph.]

St. Louis, Tuesday, Sept. 2, 1856.

Letters to *The Republican*, dated St. Josephs, the 27th ult., state that Major Baldwin, agent of the Kickapoo Indians, has just returned from a visit to the Indians. He reports the country between Grasshopper and St. Josephs full of armed bodies. Free State men were moving along the western border of the Kickapoo reservation. Capt. Scott, with a hundred men, had moved in that direction, and other forces were to join him to cut off further accessions in that quarter to the ranks of the Free-State men. The Pro-Slavery party were also stationing strong bodies of men along the northern line of the Territory to prevent the ingress and egress of any Free State party there; and along the Missouri River it is so well fortified that no Free-State forces can approach in that direction. The Pro-Slavery men are arranging plans for a speedy concentration of their forces upon Lawrence. The excitement in the Territory and border counties continues.

St. Louis, Thursday, Sept. 4, 1856.

Our dates from Kansas are to the 29th ult. Fifteen hundred men, under Gen. Atchison, were preparing to attack Lawrence on the 1st inst. The Free-State force is estimated at 1,500 to 2,000 men.

PRESIDENT PIERCE ON THE OUTRAGES IN KANSAS—INTERVIEW WITH THE KANSAS COMMITTEE.

To the National Kansas Committee:

The undersigned, in obedience to your instructions, waited on President Pierce on the 30th ult., and prayed his interposition against the threatened Slave Oligarchic invasion of Kansas. The following is a summary of results:

Views of the President. The opinions expressed by the Executive are substantially as follows:

"While Government has been exhausting its constitutional powers (which are limited) to maintain order, Kansas Aid Societies have been actively stirring up rebellion. A factious spirit among the people of Kansas respecting institutions which they need not have concerned themselves about, and which would have all come right in time, originated the troubles. From the nature, habits and education of the bordermen, it was natural to find them excited by such an agitation. At this crisis, the North, instead of sending in armed men, who went about boasting of their ability to protect themselves, should have sent in order-loving and law-abiding citizens; should have sent in peace-seeking men, who would have promoted concord by moral agencies—by Bibles rather than by Sharp's rifles. Such a course would have strengthened the hands of the President, instead of tying them, as they had been. The sufferings of the settlers are therefore of their own seeking, and the legitimate fruits of that gunpowder-bible-preaching which they and their supporters at the North have advocated. Each side is doubtless to blame. Inflammatory appeals are circulated both South and North, and reports, false or exaggerated, put forth by heated partisans to stir up sectional strife. If each party would only get rid of about a hundred of their designing and restless leaders, agitation would cease, and a speedy end be put to the disorders.

"The interposition of the Executive is claimed by both sides, each party urging against the other exactly the same charges. At his distance from the scene of strife, the President cannot determine between them. His action must be guided by official reports. Gen. Smith communicates a very different condition of things from the exaggerated statements which have gone abroad. No apprehension of an armed invasion need be apprehended. But, should it happen, the whole power of the Government will be exerted to repel it, come from whatever source it may. The army in Kansas is not there to prevent or correct outrages unless they amount to invasion or insurrection. The civil power alone is competent to this. Application should be made there. Gen. Smith had no power to redress the wrongs of Mr. Strawn. He applied to the wrong quarter. He should have gone to the Courts, as to granting him an escort, Gen. Smith thought if Mr. Strawn was smart enough to find his way safely to him without one, he ought to be able to find his way back! The Courts are open to all classes of citizens without distinction. No authentic information has ever reached the Executive of an individual who has sought a redress of wrongs at the hands of the civil power in Kansas, and failed to obtain it. If one such case had been presented, he would at once have removed the offending official. If the majority of the people in Kansas had wanted peace and quiet, they could have had it. The way to get it was for the settlers among themselves to frown down all agitation growing out of differences of opinion as to local institutions. The Executive had always felt solicitous about the Territory, and had exerted his constitutional powers to their full extent to preserve order. The affair at Lawrence had given him great anxiety, and he at that time telegraphed both to Col. Sumner and Gov. Shannon, besides sending a special messenger. (Here the President produced copies of his telegraphic dispatches, which, we believe, were made public at the time.) The outrages at Lawrence were not done by authority. The President admits that mistakes have been made, as is evident by his removal of Shannon. But an impartial man has now gone there, who will see justice done to both parties. If he should catch either party in acts of violence, they shall be hung up on the spot. **THE CIVIL POWER OF THE TERRITORY MUST BE MAINTAINED!**"

A CARD.

TOPEKA, Kansas, Aug. 15, 1856.

We, the undersigned, conductors of a Company of Emigrants into Kansas, would hereby inform the public that we have succeeded in achieving a safe and peaceful passage through Iowa and Nebraska, and on a new road, which we with our company have opened, have arrived, and are now encamped in Topeka, the seat of Government of Kansas.

Along the road we have established colonies and towns, for greater convenience to emigration, viz: Plymouth, situated three miles from the line between Kansas and Nebraska, which will be important to immigrants in crossing the frontier as a post for supplies; Lexington, about twelve miles from Plymouth, and at a convenient distance therefrom for protective purposes and the remission of supplies for immigrants;

and Union, on the creek, three miles from Skidmoreville.

The roads between Nebraska City and Topeka are generally excellent, and where not so, a small expense, now in process of incurrence, will render them safe and easy; and we would hereby invite all emigrants to Kansas to adopt it in the transmission thither of their families and effects.

M. C. DICKEY } Conductors of
CALVIN CUTLER, } Emigrant Train.

KANSAS IN THE SOUTH.

A meeting was held in New-Orleans on the 27th over which the Mayor presided. The object was to consider what should be done in view of the disturbances in Kansas. Col. Wm. Christy was the first speaker. He said:

"He would make no attempt at oratory or declaration. The day for such things was gone. The time for compromise was gone. Action should now be the watchword of the South. The fact was now patent that the Union was in danger and on the brink of approaching dissolution. And by whom? He blushed to say it—by the descendants of the signers of our Declaration of Independence. The North had unfurled the standard of treason and received aid and comfort in its nefarious policy from parsons and preachers, who, desecrating their altars and abandoning the legitimate pursuits of their calling, were engaged in preaching a crusade against our institutions. There was a reverend gentleman whom he could name—a Mr. Parker, who, too many years ago, resided in his city, and owned negroes—who was now collecting money and means at the North, for the purpose of purchasing Sharp's rifles, and equipping emigrants to combat the Pro-Slavery men in Kansas. The North is almost unanimous in its opposition to the Extension of Slavery in any more Territories. These are undeniable facts. What are we to do? The difficulty is susceptible of an easy solution. We must resist force by force. A crisis has arrived when every man, who cherishes his rights and respects the compact which has hitherto bound the States together, must be ready to defend them at the hazard of his life. It was nonsense to believe the cant that this Northern movement was gotten up for sectional or political effect. It is not. All the surrounding States had adopted initiatory steps. They had all contributed their quota of men and of money. They had all expressed their willingness to cooperate in any movement which might lead to a decisive result. Louisiana alone had done nothing and showed apathy. She had allowed herself to be outstripped in the noble contest by her sister States. It was a stigma which should be wiped out. If Louisiana required his services, he was not yet so old as not to be able to wield the sword or shoulder the musket. He said that the commerce of the State was interested in the result, and administered a severe but just rebuke to Southerners who every Summer go to the North to spend their money among our enemies [Cheering]. As for himself, he would see them to it—before he would spend one cent among them [Tremendous applause]. If ever he had occasion to go to Europe, he would sooner take a sailing vessel than a steamship owned by Free-Soil capitalists. He wanted to see \$250,000 subscribed, and he would pledge himself for one thousand men.

The following resolutions were then read, and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, Organized bands of Free-Soilers have lately invaded Kansas with the avowed purpose of overthrowing its established Government and laws, and of murdering and expelling Southern emigrants from the Territory; and whereas, after full and elaborate discussion, the Representatives of the House of Representatives assembled in the City of New-Orleans, in the President of the United States from the performance of his constitutional duty, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, to suppress insurrection and repel invasion, and thereby affording aid and succor to the lawless bands of Free-Soilers in Kansas, and endangering the peace and union of the States, and promoting a civil war, which may not be confined in extent to the States of Kansas; and whereas, we, the citizens of New-Orleans, convinced that the Northern States which have encouraged these outrages on the South are actuated only by vindictive hatred of the institutions of the South, which they neither study nor comprehend, and that a proper pride, and a just regard for our peculiar interests, require of us a prompt expression of our opinions and feelings, as well as such measures as are adapted to the impending crisis, have, therefore, resolved:

1. That the organs organized in New-England under the pretense of settling Kansas, but really with the view of driving the settlers who are not in favor of the prohibition of Slavery, in directly in violation of the mutual good faith of the Northern and Southern States, and thereby affording aid and succor to the lawless bands of Free-Soilers in Kansas, and endangering the peace and union of the States, and promoting a civil war, which may not be confined in extent to the States of Kansas; and who are actuated only by vindictive hatred of the institutions of the South, which they neither study nor comprehend, and that a proper pride, and a just regard for our peculiar interests, require of us a prompt expression of our opinions and feelings, as well as such measures as are adapted to the impending crisis, have, therefore, resolved:
2. That in the action of the House of Representatives of the United States, attaching to appropriation bills necessary to the support of the Government conditions having no legitimate connection with the objects of these bills, we discovered an intention to elude the power resulting from an unconstitutional violation of the power, not only by the use of such means, but by a menace to those depending on Federal patronage, which we alike condemn and disdain.
3. That it is the duty of every patriot to condemn and denounce the course pursued by the Representatives of the Northern States in the lower House, as well as of the Senators from New-England, during the late session of Congress, in relation to the affairs of Kansas; and we solemnly protest against such conduct as a perversion of power, in violation of their oaths, for the purpose of defrauding the Southern States of their just share in the enjoyment of Territory acquired by the common treasure of all the States of the Union.
4. That for every drop of Southern blood unlawfully shed by Northern emigrants upon the soil of Kansas the South ought to devise such means of redress as will punish the offenders, and which shall be as well "plague the inventors" of "Emigrant Aid Societies," and average the numerous victims of their diabolical designs.
5. That a committee be appointed by the President, at his pleasure, with general powers, and especially to solicit subscriptions of money and other "material aid" to be applied to the

payment of the expense of emigrants from the South to the Territory of Kansas, of such persons as desire to acquire preemption rights there, and who are also willing and able to defend that article of the Constitution which says: "A well regulated militia being necessary for the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

6. That we recognize and will entertain no feeling of amity or plan of compromise with such of the Northern States as systematically assail our institutions, and encourage the spoliation of our rights; and that we regard them, so long as they persevere in this unwise and unjust course, as the irreconcilable enemies of the Southern States.

7. That if the Northern States persist in their present crusade against Southern rights it is the duty of the Legislature of each Southern State to take such steps as will divorce the South from the North, peacefully if they can, forcibly if they must.

8. That the Governor of this State be, and he is hereby requested to correspond with the Governors of all the Southern States, with the view of creating a concert of action among the several Legislatures thereof, upon this subject, and if necessary, in his opinion, to convene our Legislature for the purpose of deliberating and determining upon the measures necessary at the present crisis.

John W. Chilton, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, then made a speech, from which we quote:

The election of Mr. Banks, a rank Abolitionist, to the Speakership of the House of Representatives, had been the signal of open rebellion against the South. And how was this effected? By the party spirit which had inflamed the minds of two bands of Southern patriots—the South Americans and the Democrats—and rendered a perfect union among them impossible. This was an unmistakable sign of the times, and foreshadowed difficulty in the dim vista of the future. He wished to refer incidentally to an act of Congress, which he thought had much contributed in bringing about the present state of affairs. He alluded to the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Previous to the passage of this measure, no one could obtain a preemption right or title to public lands unless a bona fide resident and occupant. The squatter who conformed himself to the provisions of the law might take possession of as much land as he needed. Now the case was altered. What had been the consequence? Southerners were unwilling to emigrate to a country where they could not obtain more than 160 acres of land, and where they were, of necessity, debarred the advantage of bringing their negroes. What planter would go to Kansas and settle there with 100, 30, or even ten negroes upon a piece of land which he could not extend to more than 160 acres? He would appeal to the negroes around him if they would. Of course not. This bill, therefore, while professing to befriend the South, was in reality nothing else but a skillful scheme to draw Northern immigration into the Territory. He could not but denounce it as a deceit and a cheat. The people of the South were told that the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas Act had settled forever the difficulty. Did any one believe the bold assertion? No one. The politicians who aided in securing their passage did not believe it, although they attempted to delude their constituents into that belief. These measures served only to postpone the evil—an evil which has now become incurable, but which would not now exist had the proper remedy been applied in time [Cheers and a hiss]. Mr. Chilton said he heard a hiss. No doubt some New-Englander in the Hall, hatching treason in his brain [A Voice—"Kick him out!"]. Apropos of New-Englander he would say that in conversation with one of them, the other day, he had been told that in case of a difficulty or a collision arising between the North and the South, more than one New-Englander in the city would sell their property and place themselves under the banner of the North. Do it, was the reply, and the sooner the better. But before you join the ranks of the enemy, we'll make an example of you that will serve as a warning to others.

The next and last speaker was Gen. Isaac E. Morse, who talked in this way:

Kansas, which our enemies were now trying to wrest from us with a strong and bloody hand, was once a part of Louisiana, the citizens of which, by the treaty of purchase, were guaranteed all the rights of the citizens of the other States. Had that guarantee been fulfilled? It had not. On two occasions, they, in common with the people of the whole South, had been denied the right to go into and enjoy the common territory of the Union on an equality with Northern States. The first time was when Southern statesmen and politicians submitted with over-tamelessness, if not downright cowardice and servility, to that disgraceful yoke of bondage, the Missouri Compromise, after a fruitless contest of six months. He was opposed to Compromise. He was sick of that physis. Fling it to the dogs! [Applause]. The Constitution was compromise enough—fully enough. Not one jot or tittle would he concede outside of that. That Compromise, in its day, was called a fair bargain. Under it, the South was prohibited from going north of 36 30, but the Free States might come as far below that line as they chose. A beautiful bargain, surely! Nevertheless, there were those who were willing to submit to that, ay, to worse, for the sake of peace and the Union. The same men, on the same principle, would deliver up their slaves, or any other property, if demanded as the price of peace and a miserable abjection called Union, but really and in effect an ignominious bondage. Ten years ago he warned his constituents of what would come. They heeded him not; he was rewarded for his zeal and heedfulness by being superseded by a gentleman of much milder views on the subject of Southern rights. Now the result long anticipated, was come, a war against the South was waged in Kansas, and if we refused to make the battle there—if we tamely submitted to be kicked out of that Territory—we would have it to fight nearer home, and that at no distant day. We would have it to fight, too, with the stigma of cowardice or beaten folly resting upon us! How would we rise with such obloquy weighing upon us! Giddings long ago—ten years ago—declared that the Anti-Slavery movement would never stop, until

...of the Union must be abolished. A voice—"It never shall be."—If the Union have to be destroyed. Such was the purpose he and his confederates avowed—such the goal they aimed at. You may rest assured, said Gen. Fremont, unless a stand is made, they will reach that goal by peaceable or by violent means, and Slavery will be abolished. They might rest assured that if those who are engaged in raising money and sending men to Kansas to murder Southern men are allowed to succeed, the next step will be to abolish Slavery at our own doors. He did not know if Kansas was naturally fitted for Slavery; he did not know if it would ultimately prove profitable in Kansas; but since we were denied our rights in Kansas, and Sharp's rifles were used to drive us out of Kansas, he would have Kansas if it was not worth a d—n [Immense applause]. If we do not fight there we will have to fight nearer home. He then spoke in caustic terms of the puling and sickly complaints about the Union, regardless of those sacred rights which have been so often wounded through that medium. The man, said he, who hurras for the Union under such circumstances, is pretty sure to be a seeker for some Federal office. Your representatives have seldom told you the truth; they have left you in the dark as to the true state of the case between the North and the South. In fact, many of them are but too easily bought—a foreign mission or a fat office at home makes them blindest advocates for the Union, or any compromise which promises them a continuance of place. Gen. M. again reverted to Kansas. He said that Southern men were there as free Americans, their property with them. If they could not maintain their ground, as if Southern men would not back them up, by the very old women of the South would rise up and drive the Abolitionists out with broom-sticks! [Applause and laughter].

SEPTEMBER 5, 1856.

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

Mr. WINTHROP'S ADDRESS.—It has already been mentioned in the Commercial, that the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, of Boston, was called to preside over the Massachusetts Whig state convention, and that he eloquently addressed his fellow Whigs at some length on taking the chair. We find in the Boston Courier a full report of Mr. Winthrop's admirable address, from which we make some extracts. The whole speech has the true ring of good metal, and we regret that the space at our disposal is too limited to permit our giving it in full. The following embodies a just thought felicitously illustrated:—

For the first time since its formation, the Whig party of the state and nation is called upon to take the field, if it takes the field at all, not so much as an independent phalanx, to advance any distinct objects, and promote the success of any distinct candidates of its own—it acknowledges itself too feeble to attempt that—but as an auxiliary force, to advance the cause and sustain the candidates of that one of the three other parties of the country which shall most nearly approve itself to our best judgment. We are here for no purposes of ratification or of coalition, in any just sense of those terms.—nor, indeed, in any sense.

But if I may be allowed to borrow an illustration from scenes suggested to me by a morning's sail from Nahant, I would liken our party at this moment to one of those loaded cars which are so often seen dragged from one side to the other of some inland steamer, to turn the scale at a critical moment of its navigation, and to give it a better chance of passing safely through some intricate channel, or along some perilous shore. We may not be able to furnish a hand of our own for the helm; we may not even be able to apply any great amount of propelling power to the keel;—but we may throw our weight in a direction to keep the ship of state more steadily and safely on its course, and to prevent it from grounding on the banks or dashing upon the breakers. The great want of that gallant bark at this moment is well adjusted ballast, and if we shall do something toward supplying that want, we shall have deserved well of our country.

After a very generous tribute to the personal merits of the other candidates, Mr. Winthrop said:

I cannot forget, moreover, that there are diseases in the political, as well as in the physical system, for which mere local applications and mere topical treatment are utterly insufficient and often injurious, and where the only hope of a radical cure is in purifying and invigorating and building up anew the general health of the patient. Wise physicians in such cases prescribe what I believe they call an *alterative* medicine. And this deplorable Kansas malady will, in my opinion, prove to be precisely one of this class of disorders. It demands an *alterative*; and those who rely so much upon direct applications for the relief of the superficial symptoms, distressing as they are, will find themselves, I fear, grievously disappointed.

Now, gentlemen, if I contemplate, on the one side, the renewed success of the Democratic party at the approaching election—identified, as it is, with what I must always consider as the unwarrantable as well as most impetuous overthrow of the Missouri compromise, and with so many of the calamitous consequences which have resulted from that repeal—identified as it is, moreover, in the person of its immediate candidate for the presidency, with the Ostend conference, and with the unjustifiable foreign policy therein disclosed and avowed—I can see before us no promise and but little prospect, of either domestic or foreign peace. There is no alternative here. On the contrary,

definite continuance and prolongation of that wretched state of things which has distressed the heart of every true patriot for the last six or seven months,—fears without and fightings within, the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not, fresh conflicts upon our own soil, springing from the squatter sovereignty doctrines which have been so disastrously inaugurated in Kansas, and fresh panics of war with foreign powers, disturbing our trade and finances, and followed, perhaps, by the dread catastrophe itself.

The speaker next adverted to the sectional or geographical character of the Republican movement, and justly observed,

Let parties among the people and parties in Congress be fairly divided and fully separated by mere sectional issues and mere geographical lines, and let the jealousies and animosities which necessarily belong to such a state of things continue to foment and rankle a term of four years, or even of one year, and who can foresee the day when any other issues or any other lines would again become practicable, and when the politics of the country would be anything else than a still continuing, never-ending, and always inflamed angry feud between the North and the South, while a burning spirit of hate and an eager yearning for mutual injury and revenge would thoroughly supplant that reciprocal confidence, regard and affection which ought to be, and so long have been, a stronger bond of union between the states than any laws or constitutions whatever. And is such a condition of the country proposed to us as a remedy of anything? Why, if this be the only remedy for existing evils, we have indeed arrived at a point in our history like that with which Livy commenced his account of ancient Rome, when we can bear the remedy quite as little as we can bear the disease.

Nor, gentlemen, is it, in my judgment, the destiny of any party formed upon such a geographical basis to accomplish any thing permanent or valuable for improving the condition of the colored race on this continent, or even for preventing the diffusion of that race in a state of bondage over fields from which they are now excluded. This, I am sensible, is a matter of opinion and of speculation, involving quite too much of abstract discussion for an occasion like this. But I am unwilling to omit the opportunity of renewing the expression of my firm belief, that the agitators and extravagances of anti-slavery men and anti-slavery parties, and particularly of some of those in Massachusetts, have impeded and retarded the very cause in which they have been employed. Thus far, certainly, they have only served to invite, provoke and stimulate those very Southern aggressions which they have from time to time so violently denounced.

We hear the leaders of the Republican party shouting at every turn "free soil, free speech, free men, and Fremont." And if they would stop here, there would be no cause for complaint. Every party has a right to manufacture its own cries, and there is no denying that this is a taking and telling cry. But when any of them insist on imputing opposition to free-soil, and hostility to free-speech and free men, to every one who does not see fit to support their candidate for the Presidency, or to brand as doughfaces everybody who is not as crusty as themselves, they are guilty of an assumption which is as arrogant as it is unjust. Why, it is but a few years since the cry ran for "free soil, free speech, free men, and Van Buren," and it was as good then as it is now, except the alteration. But where is Mr. Van Buren now? I would say nothing disrespectful of that venerable ex-President, but his position is certainly a caution against confiding too much in mere party cries, and can hardly fail to suggest the old adage of "a great cry and a very little wool."

We all know that there are Whigs here, and Whigs in other states, who are as ardent friends of free soil and free speech and free men, in any just application of those phrases, and who are as deeply sensible of the wrongs of Kansas, and as earnestly desirous for their redress by an constitutional and proper means, as any in the land, who yet neither see their way clear to vote for Mr. Fremont, nor have a particle of faith in the capacity of the Republican party to effect anything for those great ends,—even were they to succeed in obtaining possession of the presidential chair on the 4th day of March next. Why, gentlemen, what can such a party do? With no certainty of another majority in the House, with a Senate unalterably opposed to them, and with the whole Southern mind embittered, exasperated and inflamed to a white heat against them, what hope would there be of their accomplishing anything either for the relief of Kansas or the good of the country? They might bring the government to a dead lock now and then, as they have lately done on the army bill; but if the Senate should see fit to follow the example which the House has now set, and to limit the action of the executive by provisions of a similar sort, Mr. Fremont might be rendered as powerless for good, as his friends have attempted to render Mr. Pierce powerless for evil.

What has a Republican House of Representatives accomplished during the last nine months? They have elected a Speaker, and doubled or trebled their own compensation. I know. But what have they accomplished for suffering, bleeding Kansas? And does any man doubt that if men of less extreme and extravagant views, men more conciliatory and practical in their purposes, had been in Congress, those odious and abhorrent Kansas laws would have been repealed before the session closed? I have not a particle of doubt that such would have been the case.

For myself, I do not believe it is written in the book of American destiny, that this government can be carried on prosperously, if it can be carried on at all, upon a principle of sectional hostility and hate of party, which either cherishes such a principle less or naturally excites and stimulates it in its opponents. I agree with Col. Benton that there is too much sectional antagonism for the safety of the country. Sectional animosities and sectional hatred

are the greatest evils of the times, and unless they are speedily allayed they will be the fountains of an incalculable mischief to us and our posterity.

Mr. Winthrop thus concluded an address, the calm, dispassionate reasoning, and the fervent patriotism of which cannot fail to produce a good and lasting impression upon the mind of all who heard it or candidly read it:

These, fellow Whigs of Massachusetts, are my views, the best which I am capable of forming. I seek not to force them upon others, but I cannot shrink from avowing them, and acting upon them myself. I have entered into no careful calculation of the chances of success, having never been accustomed to take my rule of political duty from either the estimates or the returns of popular elections. In my experience thus far, I have voted for a President of the United States once, with only four states, and once with only my own state, and I am prepared, if need be, to try how it feels to vote without any state at all. But no such prospect is at present before us, and the declaration that Mr. Fillmore has no chance, is one to which I cannot and do not at all subscribe. Every day convinces me that there is a growing feeling in his favor in all parts of the country, and an increasing conviction that his election would save us from a world of trouble.

At any rate, I shall act on no suggestions of despair but hope on to the last, that a spirit may still be aroused among the people which shall secure us the only result which can restore harmony and concord to the country. Others may seek the distinction of ministering to the passions and prejudices of the hour;—but I should esteem myself the happiest of men, if I may appropriate with a slight alteration the language of John Adams to old King George, when he first appeared before him as an ambassador from Independent America,—I should esteem myself the happiest of men, if I could be instrumental in restoring an entire esteem, confidence and affection, or, in better words, the *old good nature, and the old good humor*, between the different sections of this distracted and afflicted land. For out of such a restoration, I do believe, would come a better hope for all that is dear to us and to our posterity, and better, wiser and juster views of even African slavery itself, at the South as well as at the North, than from all the crinations and contentions which are now shaking the capitol and the country to their foundations and threatening to rend asunder the whole framework of American freedom.

The Semi-Weekly Times.

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

All Communication shut off—The great Trial for the Free-State Party at hand.

Social Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Friday, Aug. 22, 1856.

All communication with the States has been cut off for several days, and if this reaches you it will be a wonder. Our position was never more critical than now, on account of our want of supplies, &c. We hear of thousands rallying along the border to exterminate us. Pro-Slavery families are all leaving. We believe there is a mighty storm at hand. The Union will feel the shock. It can no longer be said we have not made sufficient sacrifices in both blood and treasure. We always have said it would take many precious lives to save Kansas to Freedom: they are now being offered. Probably your next news will be that the great battle has been fought, and many hundreds will fall in the contest. The North is responsible for the loss before all Heaven.

RANDOLPH.

LETTING ALONE.—The Democratic party, as a national party, neither defends slavery nor goes out into a crusade against slavery. It lets it alone. It favors the policy of allowing it to be settled by the people of States and Territories; and of subjecting both, in this respect, to the provisions of the constitution.—Boston Post.

The Democratic party is answerable to God and the people for the slavery excitement which now agitates the nation. We care not for its theories or its platforms; the subtle logic of its newspapers or the harangues of its demagogues; practically it is working affirmatively and with fixed and unalterable purpose to extend slavery into territory now free.

Would to Heaven that it had never revived the subject—that it had "let it alone!" Then President Pierce, elected on the Compromises of 1850, would never have attacked and obliterated an older and quite as sacred a compact, that of 1820; then Kansas, forever consecrated to free labor, would never have become the theatre of those bloody scenes which converse that unhappy Territory, and everywhere dishearten the friends of constitutional liberty; then we should not have the spectacle of a free people conquered by a neighboring State—with the assistance of the United States troops!—and appealing in vain for redress to the President, to the Judiciary and to Congress. And finally, we should not have seen the North, nation, and lone suffering, unexcitable in

temper and sluggish in action, slowly rousing itself from its Sampson-like repose, breaking, one by one, the withes with which its mistress, the South, has been crippling its hands, and girding itself up for action when inactivity would no longer be good nature, but cowardice.

It is too late for the Boston Post to uphold the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty. The plea was subtle, but it has been proved to be specious. Even the Senate (with the lethargic exception of General Cass) repudiates it, and by its recent action and the avowals of its leading members, has re-instated the principle authorized by the Constitution and sanctioned by the practice of seventy years, that on the question of slavery, as on all others, Congress has a right to legislate for the Territories of the United States.—N. Y. Mirror.

Kansas News.
The Kansas City Enterprise, of Saturday, has the following:

Robbery of a Santa Fe Train.—A train of ten wagons, belonging to Mr. McKinney, a Santa Fe freighter, was attacked by Brown's band at Palmyra, on Monday last, and captured. Sixty head of cattle, ten wagons, and the entire contents of the train were taken. A council was held for the purpose of determining the fate of the drivers and persons in company. Strong efforts were made by a portion of the robbers to have them shot, but they finally agreed to let them go, as most of them were from Northern States. Our informants were four in number, two of whom were journey-men printers. They were just in from Santa Fe, and having escaped the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, had thought themselves free from savages. We suppose Gen. Smith will send a party out there in three or four days—find nobody there—and write to Washington that this is all a lie too. Gen. Cass will read the letter in the Senate, and that will be the last of McKinney's train. And this is the way Kansas is to be made a Free State. The sixty oxen go to feed Lane's army, and men who come eight hundred miles with their trains, thinking the government will protect them against pillage, are plundered, within sight almost of a U. S. Fort.

From the Lexington Citizen, Extra.
WESTPORT, Thursday Night, Sept. 4.
Wm. Muagrove, Esq.—Sir: If I regarded the thousand and one rumors, which circulate upon the streets, and even believed for awhile by those who are not given to trust lightly to rumors, I might have filled this sheet with disasters. For instance we have had news, (said by Colonel Boone to be reliable,) of the destruction of Tecumseh, and of a severe fight between the Abolitionists and Pro-Slavery forces, under Richardson, near Leecompton; but the arrival of the Leecompton stage this evening, proves the news entirely without foundation. Passengers by the stage say that two parties of Clarkson's forces, (numbering 700) from the North side of the Kansas river, have passed to the South side and are now on the California road at different points near Lawrence, awaiting the forces from this place—not having heard of the retreat. This is all we have of news from the Territory.

Capt. Shelby's company arrived here this evening—also a company from Boone county, and proceeded to camp; a company from Chariton, to which is attached a few men from Saline, under Capt. Brown, are a few miles back, and will arrive to-morrow. A small company from Caldwell has also arrived. Much encouragement is felt here since the arrival of the companies to-day. The Lexington and Boone companies look to be of the right sort, and will doubtless give a good account of themselves. They were received with great enthusiasm.

Daily Democrat.
Sept. 5, 1856.

We had a conversation with a man named Daniel Martin, a tavern keeper at West Point, in Pates county of this State, who was taken prisoner at his home last week, and being conveyed to Westport, was there, with his wife, put on board the steamer Polar Star, on which boat he reached our city yesterday morning. He states that a party of about one hundred and fifty men came into the town of West Point and quartered themselves on the inhabitants. They were under the command of Col. Doniphan, of Missouri, and Captains Clark, Crouch and Grant, of Georgia and other southern States.—After remaining a day or two, they held a court or meeting, and after trying Mr. Martin without giving him a hearing, pronounced sentence against him, that he should leave the place in four hours, and his wife in two days, although they had a very sick daughter lying in their house at the time. Afterwards Martin was taken prisoner, and then some of the company went to his stable and took out one of his best horses, worth \$150. Some other of the officers took a splendid spy glass which was presented to Mr. Martin some time ago by an English traveler named Benwill, and which he valued very highly. Mr. Martin was then marched off to Westport, and turned over to Col. Boone, while his

wife, with one or two little children, in a few days were conducted to Kansas. The family met again on the Polar Star.

Mr. Martin says he came from Illinois, and has been living in Missouri more than two years. He owns a good deal of property at West Point, and has but little hope of recovering it. He says they charge him with being an abolition spy, but that the charge is false, and he has always acted the part of a good and law abiding citizen.

FROM KANSAS.

Reliable News of the Battle of Ossawatimie.

Statement of Prisoners who were Captured by the Pro-Slavery Party.

PARTICULARS OF THE FIGHT.

BRUTALITY OF THE VICTORS, &c., &c.

A party of some five or six Illinoisans and Indians, who had gone out to Kansas to settle, returned to this city yesterday morning on the steamer Polar Star, having been captured at the battle of Ossawatimie by the forces under Gen. Reid, and after being detained a day or two in captivity, were conducted to Westport, and there placed on board the steamer to be taken out of the State of Missouri, and accompanied with the threat that if they ever ventured back to the territory of Kansas, and were caught, they should instantly be hung or shot.

Learning of the arrival of this party, we had an interview with its men on board the steamer Baltimore, on which they had taken passage for Alton, Illinois. Their several accounts agree so perfectly, that we have condensed and embodied all their statements that we might present our readers with a complete and reliable narrative of the terrible conduct at Ossawatimie.

The town of Ossawatimie was composed of from thirty to forty houses, and was a thriving place before the Kansas difficulties, and had a population of about two hundred. It is situated immediately between the forks of a branch of the Osage river and the Pottawatomie river.—The distracted state of the country had occasioned an almost total desertion of the town by the families living in it, and at the time of the fight it was occupied by about fifty armed free State men and a few women and children.

At six o'clock on last Saturday morning, just after sunrise, a pro-slavery party of about 400 men, under General Reid, made their appearance before the town, having in their command a piece of artillery, and most of them mounted.—They had made a forced march of thirty or forty miles from their camp on Bull creek. As soon as the free State men descried the pro-slavery force, they put themselves under command of Captains Brown and Updegraff, formerly of Ohio, and sought shelter in a growth of underbrush about three hundred yards distant from the town. The pro-slavery force maintained their ground at about a half mile, and commenced firing with their cannon, which was loaded with grape and cannister shot. They had an advantageous position, and each discharge of the gun raked the ambush of the Free State force with fearful effect. One of our informants states that he saw three of his comrades fall at once; still they returned as brisk a fire as they could, and succeeded in wounding several of their enemies. After some ten or a dozen discharges from the artillery, a company of about eighty of the pro-slavery force dismounted from their horses, and having surrounded the place of retreat made a charge and completed the entire rout of the Free State men, several of whom, in attempting to cross the stream along which the fight raged, were shot in the water and were either instantly killed or so badly wounded as not to be able to save themselves from death by drowning.

The special correspondent of the New York Tribune writes from Lawrence, under date of August 23rd:—

Nearly a thousand free-state men are in arms in Lawrence, or within a few miles of it, and messengers have been sent to Grass-hopper Falls, Waubousie, Manhattan, and other points, to rally all those who can find arms and can use them. If the enemy march toward Lawrence they will be attacked before they reach it, unless they bring an overwhelming force.

Apprehensions are entertained that the ammunition will be exhausted in a few days if there is hard fighting. Many of the free-state men in the Territory are still poorly armed or not armed at all. The force under arms at this place would be much larger but for this fact. While active preparations for defense are going on here, there is as little fuss and demonstration made about it as possible.

We have just heard that the Missourians, together with a few Pro-Slavery men of the Territory, have called on Gen. Smith to interfere and put a stop to the course of the "Abolitionists." They have volunteered to help him with a force of "Militia" from Missouri. This is equal to a confession of weakness, and in my opinion some little evidence that the present storm will blow over without the fight, which, I fear, must come sooner or later.

A considerable force of dragoons is assembling about Leecompton, and it is reported that Smith intends to have all the force he can muster congregate at that point or thereabouts. If he does, there will be no fight, unless the Administration have determined on the work of extermination, and I hardly think the Oligarchy would venture on that in the present state of public feeling, however much they might desire to.

body of our informant states that he saw the body of Capt. Brown in the water. He knew it was him by his coat and hat. He thinks there is no doubt of his being killed. Seven of the Free State men were captured, after which the town was set on fire and entirely destroyed.

In marching back to the camp on Bull creek, the prisoners were subjected to very cruel treatment, and two of them, the one named Williams and the other "Dutch Charley," were taken out of the camp and shot by their infuriated enemies. The latter was a Hungarian who had fought under Kossuth; and since his removal to this country, had lived in Kansas and taken a very active part with the free State party. He was present at the battle of Black Jack, and after the capture of the pro-slavery party, was appointed to guard the prisoners, one of whom was a man named Coleman. This Coleman was at the battle of Ossawatimie, and after the capture of the free State men recognized Dutch Charley. He demanded that Dutch Charley be delivered up to him, and taking him out shot him dead.

Frederick Brown, son of Capt. Brown, was also killed. He was one of the picket guards of the free State camp at Ossawatimie, and being surprised, he was shot through the heart by a preacher named Martin White. After being killed, and while lying on the ground, with the mouth relaxed and open in death, another shot was fired down his throat.

The above is the straightforward tale of this party of men, and bears upon its face the impress of truth.

Murder of Phillips at Leavenworth City.

OUTRAGES OF THE MOB SOLDIERY UNDER CAPT. EMERY—FREE STATE MEN DRIVEN FROM THEIR HOMES—THE CITY DESERTED, &c., &c.

A gentleman whose name we are not at liberty to publish, but who has been engaged in business at Leavenworth City for more than a year past, reached this city yesterday on the Polar Star, and calling at our office, obliged us with the following statement of the murder of Mr. William Phillips at that place on Wednesday morning last. Mr. Phillips it will be remembered, was a lawyer at Leavenworth, and during the disturbances in Kansas last winter, was subjected to a coat of tar and feathers at the hands of a mob of pro-slavery men. He has always been a staunch free State man, and having great courage and determination of character, boldly avowed his sentiments on all occasions, and thus made himself extremely obnoxious to his pro-slavery antagonists. He was, however, very much liked by his free State friends, and it seems by his manly course, had gained considerable favor with many of the more law-abiding and conservative men of the opposite party. For the rest we give our informant's language as nearly as we could write it down:

Last Monday was election day in Leavenworth for municipal officers. The free State men anticipating a difficulty, had resolved not to vote at all. Phillips, himself, said that he was not going to the election, and would have nothing to do with it. One free State man who did attempt to vote, our informant states, he understood was fired at four times by the crowd around the polls.

Towards noon, about fifty men under Emery, but very few of whom were Missourians—the company being made up of a mixed crowd of desperadoes, who had mostly come from South Carolina and Georgia—marched up to the house of a brother of Mr. Phillips, on Shawnee st., where he was boarding, and demanded his arms and himself as prisoner. The doors of the house were bolted, and he replied to them out of a window, that he wouldn't give up his arms, and that if they attempted to force their way in, it would be at the peril of their lives. They then rushed up, and two of them were immediately shot dead by pistols in his hands. The house was soon broken open, and in a moment Phillips fell a

corpse pierced by a half a dozen bullets. His brother who was also defending the house, was wounded in the arm. The mob then removed the body and all the things out of the house, and were about setting fire to the premises, when they were stayed by a leader of the pro-slavery party named W. H. Russel.

When night came on the mob set fire to three offices owned by Mr. Phillips, which were all consumed, together with a grocery store occupied by a man named George Wetherill, who, although a very peaceful and quiet man, had incurred the hatred of the pro-slavery party by acting as one of the judges at the free State election.

Our informant states that another murder was committed in Leavenworth, on Friday last. A butcher, whose name he could not learn, who had a family of six children, and lived in Leecompton, was taken last week, while in company with six wagons which were going to Leavenworth. Although a prisoner, he had been allowed to walk about the city as much as he pleased. On Friday, while in the office of Phillips, Captain Emery approached and asked him to go along with him. The couple walked up the street, and on reaching the Leavenworth Hotel, Emery passed up the steps, and the man walked ahead. He had gone about fifty yards, when he was fired at by some one in the street. He knew not from whence the shot came and began to run, and had got about one hundred yards further, when he was shot dead. Four shots had been fired at him.

After his death, Phillips came up and addressing himself to those standing by, said: "What was this man killed for?" "He was found in bad company," was the only answer.

Our informant says the city is nearly deserted; no business is doing. Many of the stores have been closed for weeks, and the citizens were all anxious to get away.

Later Particulars from Leavenworth.

The Steamer Emma, which arrived here yesterday with later news than that by the Polar Star, brought down quite a number of the citizens of Leavenworth, who had been compelled to give up their homes and fly for their lives. We heard several of the names of these persons, but do not feel at liberty to publish them. There is no doubt however, of the fact of their having been driven from their homes, and we hope some of the gentlemen who are now in the city may be induced to give the public a full and explicit statement of the condition of things at Leavenworth city, over their own signatures, so that there may be no mistake or possibility of error. It is times that the truth and the whole truth should be known by our citizens. We learn that the mob under Emery have full possession of Leavenworth, and have put every man of the free State party, and many who are but moderate pro-slavery men, to the test, as follows: "Will you take up arms and fight the d-d abolitionists, or will you quit the Territory?" The alternatives are terrible, and a majority have adopted the latter, some of whom are now in this city, having brought away their families and left all their possessions behind, without the least security in the world that they will be preserved.

We here close our accounts from Kansas.—What next, must be the common inquiry? We shall wait with fearful apprehensions.

From the St. Louis Republican, 6th Inst. 504
BORDER NEWS!

(Furnished by the Officers of the Polar Star.)
The latest intelligence of immediate interest which reached us from the Territory, as we passed down, was the account of an attack by the pro-slavery party upon a company of about three hundred Free-soilers at Ossawatimie, on the 29th ult. Thirty of the Abolitionists—among whom was the notorious villain-leader, Brown—were killed, and several prisoners taken. The pro-slavery party had four men wounded. The "enemy" are reported to have made their resistance with exceeding cowardice—throwing down their arms and vanishing almost at the

first fire. On Monday, at Leavenworth City, four men were killed—two of each party—in a sort of general fracas, and about one hundred of the citizens of Weston went down that afternoon, on the ferry-boat "Lewis Burns," to assist in quelling the disturbance. Monday night three or four houses were burnt at Leavenworth, creating considerable panic among the inhabitants. About fifty of the Free State residents were notified to leave, which they did with precipitate haste. We had on board several who fled from their homes with such of their effects as they could most readily secure. On Sunday night a row occurred in a gambling house, which resulted in the death of a man by the name of Rogers. "Accidents" of this nature are, however, of so common occurrence in the Territory as to hardly excite attention or remark.

A general battle between the opposing forces was not anticipated for some days. The pro-slavery party is still greatly inferior in numbers to that of the Abolitionists, and also in discipline and the supply of munitions. A more effective organization will be made before the attack upon Lane is attempted. That valiant and patriotic General was still intrenched at Lawrence, and awaiting an action. It is reported that his supply of provisions is becoming very much reduced, and that a "foray" on his part will soon be necessary. Numbers of the pro-slavery party are detailed to intercept the Yankee provision wagons, and it is almost impossible for any further supply of stores to reach Lawrence, unless some new demonstration on Lane's part requires the pro-slavery leaders to concentrate their men.

A large proportion of the rumors and stories concerning affairs in the Territory are of course without foundation; but the presence there of nearly four thousand armed men, of the same kindred, country and clime, all eager for a fight, and upon whose respective banners "no quarter" is fearfully inscribed—the daily, authenticated reports of barbarities most inhuman—"murders most foul!"—these are circumstances, the bare mention of which is sufficient to make every American citizen who deserves the blessings he enjoys, pause and ask, "What are the times upon which we have fallen?"

Five of the Free-State men who were taken prisoners at Ossawatimie were sent down on the "Polar Star," and their passage paid by their captors—a novel, and certainly most humane method of getting rid of such trophies of victory. Who shall say, therefore, that the Border Ruffians are not largely generous?

More Fighting in Kansas.

BORDER RUFFIAN ACCOUNT

[From the St. Louis Republican, 6th Inst.]

CAMP AT INDIAN CREEK, K. T.,
September 2, 1856.

A number of different reports having no doubt reached you concerning the battle of Ossawatimie, I propose to give a correct account of the doings of the Pro and Anti-Slavery parties in this beautiful Territory of Kansas.

On Saturday, the 23d of August, we left our camp at Westport, and took up our line of march for New Santa-Fe, at which place we arrived the same day. We found about 400 Pro-Slavery men encamped. On the 24th we formed a regiment, and selected Col. P. H. Rosser, of Virginia, as temporary Commander-in-Chief. On the 25th, our forces had increased to 1,150, rank and file. We then went into a permanent organization, and selected Atchison as Major-General, Reid as Brigadier-General, Brown as Colonel of the 1st, and Rosser of the 2d regiment, and gave the name of our forces "the Army of Law and Order of Kansas Territory."

On the 26th, we took up a line of march for Ossawatimie, and encamped that night at Cedar Creek. On the 27th we resumed our march and encamped at Bull Creek. On the evening of the 28th, Gen. Reid selected 250 men and one piece of artillery, and moved on to attack Ossawatimie. On the morning of the 29th, he arrived near that place and was attacked by 200 Abolitionists, under the command of the notorious Capt. John Brown, who commenced firing upon Reid from a thick chapparel four hundred yards off.

Gen. Reid then formed his men in an open prairie, and Major Bell fired upon the Abolitionists with the artillery load d with grape. Gen. Reid then made a successful charge upon them, killing 31 and took 7 prisoners, amongst the killed was Frederick Brown.

The notorious John Brown was also killed by a Pro-Slavery man named White, in attempting to cross the Marias-de-Cique.

Among the prisoners taken is the son of O. C. Brown, of Lawrence notoriety; he will be humanely treated, and set at liberty when the war is over.

The other prisoners taken were shipped on the Polar Star, and a pledge exacted from them never to return again to Kansas.

The Pro-Slavery party have wounded, none believed to be dangerous. Capt. Boyce received a wound in the left wrist; Frank Gordon in the left shoulder; Sackson in the mouth; Jno. Gordon in the thigh, and Parker in the leg.

The Pro-Slavery men burnt nearly all of the houses in Ossawatimie.

They took some forty head of cattle, six horses, two wagons and one carriage.

On the same day, Capt. Hays, with forty men, attacked the house of the notorious Ottawa Jones, burnt his house and killed two abolitionists. Jones fled to the cornfield, was shot at by Hays; and is believed to be dead.

About 6, p. m., the 29th, the Abolitionists numbering about 250 men, came within about three-quarters of a mile of our camp, and attempted to surprise us—they no doubt thinking that our forces had been so much weakened by Reid's march on Ossawatimie, that we would retreat and leave our baggage; but not so; the drum beat and soon every man in camp was ready for battle. Seeing that we were ready to meet them, they fled. The most of the men were in favor of pursuing them, but were prevented from doing so by Gen. Atchison.

On the morning of the 30th, a council composed of the field officers and captains of the different companies, was held, and by a large majority of those in council, it was decided to fall back on Indian Creek, until we could get more provisions and ammunition, and to enable the soldiers composing the army to become better drilled and disciplined.

On the 31st, the army took up the line of march, and encamped at Cedar Creek for the night.

On the 1st of September, Gen. Atchison resigned his commission, and Gen. Reid was selected in his stead.

Our army, which has consisted of 1,200, had now been reduced to half that amount, are now stationed at Indian Creek—and from the last information that I could get, the pro-slavery party in the Territory only number about 1600, of which number 600 are encamped at Indian Creek, and 1,000 on the north side of the Kansas River, near Lecompton.

The pro-slavery party have eight pieces of artillery and plenty of horses for cavalry, but they need an efficient regiment of infantry.

The Abolition forces in the Territory do not exceed 1200 men; they are well drilled, and each one of them is armed with a Beecher Bible and Giddings Prayer Book. They have two pieces of artillery, one that they took at Franklin and the other they got at Lecompton, in exchange for the brave Titus, Donaldson and others.

Ammunition and provisions are needed, and a number of infantry men that will enlist for the war—those that are willing to do their duty as soldiers, and no others.

occurs. The President refuses to throw the troops between the opposing parties, and refuses to use them to repress disturbances, declaring that the civil authorities are amply sufficient for the preservation of law and order. Pahaw! The civil authorities are of no account whatever. Sheriffs, magistrates, and other legal officers are no more feared or respected than if such functionaries had no existence. There is no redress in the courts for the hundred grievances, in the shape of murders, robberies, thefts and arsons, which occur daily. Not a criminal has been convicted in Kansas since it was organized as a Territory. War alone is the order of the day in that unhappy region, and yet the President persists in his refusal to allow the troops to interfere. Of course, then, nothing remains to the two hostile parties but to fight it out, and that they are now doing with a vengeance.

Outrage at Leavenworth City, K. T.—Four Men Killed.

We learn from passengers on the steamers Emma and Polar Star, which arrived yesterday from the Upper Missouri, that on Monday last, a very serious affair took place at Leavenworth City, K. T. It seems that a company of about one hundred men went from Weston to Leavenworth on a ferry-boat, and ordered all the men capable of doing service to join them and go to the seat of war. Those that refused were driven out of town. This was not done without a skirmish, in which, four men were killed, and several wounded. Two of those killed were named Phillips, a third, Rogers, the other unknown. One of the Phillipses, we understand, was the person of that name who was tarred and feathered last fall. He was a lawyer and a Free State man. Rogers was a gambler.

We are told there was no discrimination made by the Weston men, as to the politics of those they drove off. The Pro-Slavery and Free State men were about equally divided in Leavenworth City, and the citizens have endeavored to maintain a neutrality with reference to the Kansas disturbances. It was a very flourishing business town, and prudential motives restrained the inhabitants from taking part in the hostilities. The Weston men, however, were determined to force them into the fray, and drove off those who would not join them. The town was in a great state of excitement, business being entirely suspended.—About fifty of the inhabitants, who were driven off, came down on the Emma and Polar Star.

The editor of the Nashville Gazette advises the Georgians to put the following ugly-looking questions to Howell Cobb when he takes the stump:

To the Hon. Howell Cobb:
"Sir—Did you never write a letter to any gentleman, in which you solemnly declared that you would never fellowship with the Free Soil Democracy of the North, such as the Van Buren and King, nor with the ultra Free-Soil Democratic party of the South, such as met in the Nashville convention of 1851? Did you not declare the following in said letter: "That Hell itself could not furnish such material as composed that latter party?"

Now, Georgians, this language is milder than that used in said letter which we once saw and read, and which we will procure to be published, if the Hon. Howell Cobb denies the above and will authorize the publication of it.

Is it not strange how this political chngeling and hypocrite now pigs, tails and heads, in the same trundle bed with the leaders of this same party which he declared, but the other day, "Hell itself did not contain such material as composed?"

We challenge Howell Cobb to deny the above, and authorize the publication of his letter.

Upon which the Louisville Journal remarks: Of course Howell Cobb will not deny it. He dares not. It is true. What could more strikingly illustrate the vile and disgusting insincerity of the Southern Democratic leaders? There is scarcely one of them who is not a living and speaking lie. There is not a particle of earnestness about them. Their professed zeal for the rights of the South is the most pernicious of humbugs. No sensible man can or does doubt that the hottest Democratic fire-eater in Georgia would become the hottest abolitionist in Massachusetts by a mere change of residences from one State to the other. As a class, they are thoroughly unprincipled. No wonder that the clear-sighted, reflecting people of the South look with such deep and hearty scorn upon these self constituted guardians of their rights—They are the direst enemies the South has ever known. It is high time for the South to crush the vipers beneath her long-up-lifted heel, and she will do it.

WHO ARE THE SYMPATHIZERS?

Richardson is in Egypt. The St. Louis Republican, the most bitter opponent of the free State settlers in Kansas, heralds his progress through the district with the same zest and spirit with which it has from time to time chronicled and applauded the triumph of Atchison and his border ruffian hordes, over the stricken inhabitants of Kansas. Richardson recently made a speech at Olney, Ill., which is spoken of by the Republican as being excellent. After the speech the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That the recent accounts of acts of robbery, murder, and civil war in Kansas, by the Abolitionists, aided, counselled, and abetted by the Republican party, are disgraceful to the age in which we live, threatening to the perpetuity of our Government.

Resolved, That all such acts meet with our unqualified condemnation; and that we implore a spirit of obedience to the constitution and laws, and appeal to the President of the Republic for an exercise of the strength of the Government, to suppress these accounts of violence; and we pledge ourselves to support and uphold him.—[St. Louis Republican.

It seems that Wm. A. Richardson so far succeeded in bringing the sentiments of his audience up to the standard of bitter hostility to Kansas free men, characterizing the Republican, that they were induced to pass resolutions of condemnation upon freemen, equal to any that have recently been got up by the border ruffians themselves.

When the facts of the recent outbreaks in the territory are so well known—when all goes to prove that the free State party were nobly defending their lives and their homes in all they did, how sad and disgraceful a spectacle, to behold those who should be Illinois freemen, reproaching others, probably from their own State, as well as the whole North, for defending themselves from the murderous attacks of marauders.

We ask the Freemen of Illinois to remember that W. A. Richardson harangues assemblies, where he induces the people to pass such resolutions as the above. And such is the pro-slavery Democracy of Illinois. Where can these slaveocrats point to an instance of their own condemnation of the Ruffians, when they were openly carrying fire and sword against the defenceless inhabitants, of the territory. But now in hot haste, when the formerly crushed party, in a single instance, has successfully beaten back the oppressors, the pro-slavery democracy with Richardson at their head, denounce the attempts of the dawning to defend themselves as "disgraceful to the age in which we live, disgraceful to our free institutions."—What right have these cringing southern sycophants with Richardson as their leader, to talk of freedom or free institutions, when they are leagued with the slave power to crush out freedom and its priceless institutions. They have no right to profane the name.

The Illinois slavery party with Richardson at their head even run before their southern masters, lest they should be suspected to be wanting in devotion to southern interests.—Thus while northern pro-slavery democrats skulk and hide away if possible, attempting to conceal the true aims of their party, they

THE INTELLIGENCER.

SAINT LOUIS.

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 6, 1856.

Kansas.

We give in another column what purports to be an official account of the recent battle at Ossawatimie. The account puts down the wounded on the Pro-Slavery side at five or six, and the killed on the Free State side at twenty or thirty. The victorious party did not follow up this success by an attack on Lawrence, as they desired to do, but returned to their camp at Bull Creek.—They were short of ammunition. They call for more reinforcements, declaring that they must have 5000 men to take Lawrence. They have plenty of horses—too many, they say—but are in need of foot soldiers. They seem determined to make an attempt to reduce Lawrence, and we shall shortly hear something from that quarter.

Elsewhere we give the particulars, so far as learned, of a most unjustifiable outrage at Leavenworth, by a band of armed men from Weston.—Things have come to such a pass, that neutrality is entirely out of the question—every man in the Territory being compelled to take up arms, and fight either one side or the other, at the risk of being shot down in case of refusal.

It is somewhat astonishing, that while these outrages and fights are of daily occurrence in the Territory, Gen. Smith with his U. S. soldiers, is resting quietly at Lecompton, prepared for any emergency, but never acting when the emergency

On every occasion in every opportunity to assure the southern oligarchy that they are in reality their devoted slaves. By what power are the people blinded, that they do not see the treacherous league of northern democracy with the southern slave power.

We ask the freemen of Illinois once again, are you prepared to elevate to the highest office in the State W. A. Richardson; the man who is thus publicly pledging Illinois to lend her power to curse with slavery the territory once given in sacred compact to freedom. It was Richardson who aided in violating the rights of this State with that of the whole north and now shall he be rewarded for the deed by the people of the State with their highest gift?

No, answer him with the withering rebuke with which the nation has already spoken to Douglas, when he thought to lay his hand upon the presidency as the price of his treachery.

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPT. 6, 1856.
ST. JOSEPH, August 29, 1856.

I have time to write you only a few leading items, brought in by express last night. Gen. Atchison has been elected commander-in-chief of the armies in Kansas. His staff consists of some of the most distinguished officers of the Mexican war. He has eleven hundred and fifty men in one division, and some five hundred in another. They will concentrate to day upon Lawrence. Gen. Richardson had taken up his line of march for the northern line, to cut off further invasion from that quarter, but he received orders yesterday to move down to Lawrence. That town will be surrounded, and its fate decided before Monday night.

The following is an extract from a letter to the Milwaukee Sentinel of yesterday, dated Lawrence, Aug. 28:

By a scout on last evening we learn that the enemy are within some six miles of us in strong force, from 1,000 to 1,000. It is unaccountable that since they congregated at Little Santa Fe, eight days since, our military authorities have been able to learn their whereabouts at most but once, and even that was doubtful. Jim Lane is here in chief command.

Yesterday a party of about 100 horsemen left our town and crossed the river, north, to drive out a number of marauding gangs of invaders said to number 300 to 500 men. They have been committing depredations of various kinds, as is usual with them, and the scattered Free State men have been obliged to leave their homes. They will undoubtedly bring a good account of themselves when they return.

NEWS BY TELEGRAPH.

EXCITING NEWS FROM KANSAS.

The Free State Men Driven from Leavenworth

Property Destroyed and Plundered.

SEVERAL PERSONS KILLED.

St. Louis, Sept. 5.—Private advices from Kansas state that on Tuesday last, every Free State man was driven from Leavenworth, at the point of the bayonet, and all property destroyed or confiscated.

Phillips and his brother were killed—Phillips' house and his brother's store were burned. It is said Phillips fired from his house and killed two pro-slavery men.

Forty sufferers arrived here to-day, entirely destitute.

No particulars yet transpired.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

Sept. 6. DEPT. T. 1856

Kansas Correspondence.

A Free State Man Shot for his Scalp on a Bet—A Ragout of Abolitionists.

LAWRENCE, (K. T.) Aug. 7, 1856.

EDITOR ADVERTISES:—

Thinking your readers would like to keep posted in regard to Kansas matters, I place a few lines at your disposal. I came up the Missouri one week since, and landed at Leavenworth. There is no difficulty in unknown persons coming up the river singly, or in small parties, if they keep perfectly quiet, and hide their sentiments, if interrogated. This new excitement will lead to renewed vigilance on the part of the authorities, so that the over-land route is generally preferable. No large armed party can come up the river without a fight.

When the boat started at Lexington, some red-faced men came on board, with extras just issued, calling upon the people to rally for the defense of their friends in Kansas. The call was a pathetic one, and detailed accounts were given of battles between law-and-order men and abolitionists, in which the latter were victorious, and were slaughtering men, women and children. But these are old stories, and many considered their source.

The day we reached Leavenworth, there was to have been a general rally of fifteen hundred pro-slavery men, and a speech from Atchison, but the orator did not come, and there were no more in town than usual. That night fifteen Free State horses were stolen, which took about all there was left in town. Leavenworth is the largest town in the Territory, containing about two thousand inhabitants, and about equally divided upon the slavery question. There were several hundreds hereabouts, who, although Free State in sentiment, did not unite with Lawrence last winter, but they are now fully aroused, and will strike for freedom with a will.

We found the road to Lawrence blockaded, and, disguising my companion, who would not meet with good usage in their hands, we engaged a team to take us around through Topeka, making a journey of 100 miles to get 30.

A border ruffian made a bet in Leavenworth, about a week since, of a few dollars against a pair of boots, that he would have an abolitionist's scalp before night. Going out on the road to this place, he met a gentleman who had arrived in the city a day or two before, and having carried his wife to Lawrence, was returning alone in a buggy. The ruffian inquired where he came from, and receiving in reply, "Lawrence," immediately shot the stranger through the head, and cut off a large piece of his scalp from the back of his head! Some children witnessed the scene, and their screams prevented the robbing of the victim. The ruffian went to the city and claimed his boots, and with them and his bloody trophy, went down the river to Kansas City, while hundreds knew of his guilt. The Free State party in that town have very few arms, but they are dreading by their antagonists somewhat more than formerly.

Your readers have, ere this, heard of the victory at Franklin, and the taking of Col. Titus' house, near Leecompton, and other recent engagements between the belligerent parties, in which our men were always victorious. Col Titus was dangerously wounded. There is an incident connected with this capture. The evening previous to the capture, (which took place in the night,) the Colonel's negro cook inquired what "Massa" would have for breakfast. "Half a dozen staved abolitionists!" replied the valiant Colonel. After the capture the negro told the story, and added—"God's amity! I guess massa got belly full of abolitionists dis time!"

In the battles our men took several stands of arms, ammunition, &c., and some prisoners. The authorities had taken some Free State men at Franklin on a legal process, but after the capture of Col. Titus, an exchange of prisoners was made, the prisoners of war being given up for those taken by the officers of the law. Comment is unnecessary.

I know it was supposed that there would be peace in Kansas till after election, but the border ruffians were taking advantage of the lull in affairs, to erect forts and concentrate provisions and the munitions of war. Our men saw how things was going, and nipped it in the bud. They would have taken Leecompton, had not there been U. S. troops there. All the forces in the territory are now concentrated there, and it is thought that they will not interfere between the warlike parties, but stay there to protect the Government. Shannon was in this place when the treaty, or exchange of prisoners was made, and in a little speech declared that he had the power in his own hands, and could use it.

He is now deposed, and the dotard is begging for an escort of troops to guard him out of the Territory.— He wishes to be saved from his former friends. He is hated by all parties. Sheriff Jones is at Leecompton, and will probably never recover from his wound. He is very weak. Very many pro-slavery families, who have been active in the aggressions upon our party, have gone to Missouri, but in no instance have our men molested quiet citizens, neither do they go about plundering private houses, but all feel that hostilities will not again cease till one party is conquered, and all Missouri is warned that this is to be a war of extermination.

The prospect is now that a general fight will reign. Our situation is this: In this town is a company of fighting men, well officered, and all under Gen. Lane, a terror to the Missourians, as well he may be. Upon his military skill, courage, and devotedness to the Free State cause, all rely, and our men will follow him to the death. We have artillery commanded by an old naval gunner, and he has made some telling shots. There is now a good road to Iowa, through Nebraska, and if it is blockaded, our neighbors up there will clear it. Several thousand dollars in funds, from the East has come, and is being disbursed as most needed. Our men are healthy and in good spirits. A large and excellent fort is being made of the stones which composed the walls of the Free State Hotel. The whole Territory is awakening, and we can rally three thousand fighting men of the right stamp, and if we have arms many more.

While the regimental review was in progress yesterday afternoon, an Aid rode up to Gen. Lane and informed him that a scout reported five hundred of the enemy within eight miles of the city. The Gen. immediately replied, "send out a dozen scouts," and went on with the review. The five hundred proved to be sixty-five men; forty two mounted, and all armed, who had been gathered together in the country back of Leavenworth in one day, and who were in search of Border Ruffians. Two or three hundred of these villains are divided into parties of twenty or thirty, and scouring the country around Leavenworth in quest of plunder, and committing outrages of all kinds.

A Council of War was held last night, and to-day a party of sixty or seventy of our mounted men went back to Leavenworth, accompanied by six wagons, to draw flour, as we are about out of that article. I will report to you upon their return.

But, from the statements which present the Free State cause in its most favorable aspect, you must not infer that we are entirely safe. Our enemy have already gathered to the amount of between one and two thousand, and are using every means to bring all Missouri against us. They cannot, we think, raise a force sufficient to take Lawrence—because we expect the North to rally to our support—but they will do much damage in the country. Had it not been for the help rendered by the North since the sacking of Lawrence, our people would now be entirely at the mercy of the foe. Our men must be supported, and Kansas must be free, but the North must continue in the good work, or we fail.

Some of your readers may recollect that an "Appeal for Kansas" appeared in your columns a few weeks since over my name, in which I stated some facts in regard to movements in Detroit. This drew from the Tribune a good natured warning to beware of "self-styled lecturers or others," but no explanation or denial of the facts. As I before stated, Detroit had given previous to the sacking, more than any other place in proportion to her wealth, and I hope she is moving now. Let Michigan unite to support her sons who are here struggling for Free Speech and Free Kansas.

C. C. HUTCHINSON.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 6, 1856.

ON WEDNESDAY EVENING, Charles B. LINES addressed a large assembly in New Haven, on the state of affairs in Kansas. As he has just arrived from that Territory, and is universally known to be a man of truth, his statements were listened to with much interest. He commenced by showing that the great question involved in the present contest, was the Extension of Slavery. To carry slavery into Kansas was the cause of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The South urged that repeal for the sake of seizing Kansas to themselves. Mr. L. said:

"Yet we are told that the apprehension that Kansas will be a Slave State, is all moonshine—that it is to be free. Ah! my friends, had you heard what I have heard during the past few months, you would be amazed at the folly of the man who should tell you that seriously. THE KANSAS BILL WAS PASSED FOR THE PERPETUATION AND EXTENSION

OF SLAVERY. Said a Missouri lawyer to me, as our colony went up the Missouri river to the Territory—"Your coming here is an invasion of our rights, though we cannot meddle with you, such are your objects. Kansas is ours, you may go to Nebraska."

He thus reports a conversation he overheard carried on by David R. Atchison:

Missourian—"Well, Mr. Atchison, how do you like the nomination?" [of President, then just heard of.]

Atchison—"The nomination is not exactly what I had desired. I should have preferred either Pierce or Douglas, because he and Douglas both are so thoroughly identified with our cause, that a victory won with them would be a victory worth fighting for—BUT BUCHANAN WILL ANSWER JUST AS WELL, BECAUSE THE PARTY IS THOROUGHLY IDENTIFIED WITH OUR CAUSE."

The course taken lately by the Hartford Times and the Buchanan orators shows fully the accuracy of this remark of Atchison's.

Mr. Lines's narrative is interesting, but we have space for only a few facts:

"I hear that at a Buchanan meeting in this city last week, a distinguished gentleman said he had counted up all the murders which had taken place in Kansas, and they amounted to sixteen. [Voice from the crowd: "he said, thirteen."] Well, thirteen, then. Well, I don't know the precise number that have been committed, but I do know that thirteen is not the half or quarter part. I could call to mind many more than that myself. These murders and robberies, mark you, have not been murders and robberies for the ordinary purposes of plunder, but in every instance, before the robbery or murder was committed, the question has been put, "Are you for a free State, here?" and then robbery or murder has followed, or not, as the answer was. Men are robbed and murdered BECAUSE THEY ARE FOR FREEDOM. These are specimens of the way in which the Free State men are treated.—INVADE FROM THE SOUTH DO NOT LOCATE. I have not learned of one instance where any of them have settled. They live in camps. I have passed their encampments. They are moved from one place to another as occasion requires. I should make a qualification, however. I did in one instance know of two or three of Buford's men who had left his Company, settling on a location. One of our own colony also came by another party of Buford's men and talked with them. They told him that they had been cheated—in fact they were going home, and more than that, that they were going at once, in order to prevent certain other ones from coming. But enough have remained behind, fellow citizens, to do their work. I found on board the boat, an old Quaker, with his wife and two young ladies.—They had lived on the Shawnee Reserve, keeping the Quaker Mission. A camp of Buford "boys" was in the neighborhood but had never harmed the old man's property, as he told me, except to shoot some of his pigs occasionally. A few days before this however, at noon, 18 of them rode up to the house, and coming in said they had come for his horses. Said the old Quaker—"if you take my horses (he had five) now, you break up all my work; we have been plowing this morning, and we are going to get some wheat this afternoon. You will seriously distress my family." The answer was: "We don't care a d—n for your wheat or your family—we want your horses." Going to the stables, they found four of the horses with the harness on. They cut them off, with their bowie-knives, not stopping to take them off. The Quaker informed them that his wife was ill and asked if they would let him have one of the horses to go to Westport, for medicine. "No, d—n you," was the reply, "another word and I'll shoot you through," a gun being cocked and aimed at the same time. They then had the four horses.

As to Lane's "army" and the "Black Republicans" of the U. S. House of Representatives, as they are called, being in collusion, the latter to prevent the passage of the army bill, and the "army" to take advantage of it, that is simple nonsense. Not a shadow of truth belongs to it. The Free State men of Kansas do not want Col. L., if he wanted to, to bring into the Territory an army, to attack pro-slavery men. They desire no conflict whatever, but they will be ready for one. They only desire the U. S. troops to prevent a conflict between the two parties.

Mr. Lines closed his address with the following appeal:

My fellow citizens, I submit to you, in view of all these things, the question, whether it is worth the while of the people of Connecticut, so far as they participate in the coming election, for the purpose of perpetuating the system of Slavery, of giving up it on new territory, to SAVE THE UNION BY electing Mr. Buchanan, or TO SAVE THE UNION BY CASTING THEIR VOTES FOR COL. FREMONT. I have

said enough to show you our view of the issue.

But we are told that these stories of outrages are manufactured for political effect. What does that mean? What is it but a barefaced assumption that nobody has any right to take action in politics, except the administration party? If we move to oppose them, they cry out that we are getting up a party for political purposes; if we quote facts, they say it is done for political purposes. There are few men in this crowded hall who care for Col. Fremont or Mr. Buchanan, except as to this great question. Fremont is as much of a Democrat as ever. So is Bissell in Illinois, who does not even run for Governor as a "Republican," but as an anti-Nebraska Democrat. BUT FREMONT IS THE STANDARD BEARER AROUND WHOM ALL WHO WILL NOT BE CHAINED, GAGGED AND BOUND FOREVER, RALLY TO CONCENTRATE THEIR ACTION.

The timely action of the President has disconcerted these plans, and put a new face on affairs. The army is still on foot in Kansas, and we are glad to see that Col. Sumner, the Abolition commander at Fort Leavenworth, has got leave of absence from the seat of trouble, which we hope is of indefinite duration. Lane and Brown, and their army of lazzaroni and thieves, will have to face the Federal troops on one side, while the infuriated Pro Slavery men, who are mustering by thousands to avenge themselves, will attack them in the rear. THEY HAVE SOWN THE WHIRLWIND; LET THEM REAP THE STORM.—*Richmond Examiner.*

The *Examiner* is a Buchanan paper. Who will deny, hereafter, that it is the steady, settled purpose of the South to make Kansas a slave state, by force? Southern papers are full of such sentiments. There is among them a feeling that the passage of the Army Bill throws on their side the power of the Federal Government and the whole army of the Republic. We shall soon see the novel but lamentable spectacle, of the forces of the United States, at the orders of the President, driving away the free state settlers from a territory to which, to say the least, they have an equal right with the South, or else, in the chaste language of the chivalrous Brooks, "cutting their throats."—Is it to be wondered at that such a course of the pro-slavery party should create a storm of indignation in the Free States? Is it any wonder that they should arise as one man, forgetting old party ties and old party differences, and should unite to bear such an Administration to the ground? Is it any wonder that they should use all the constitutional means in their power to prevent the perpetuity of such a party?

What does the Times think now of the certainty of Kansas becoming a free state, about which it boasted so much, a few months ago?

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

The Kansas War.

We give in another column exciting news from Kansas. These dispatches may not be accurate in all particulars, but there is no doubt but there has been a battle and blood spilled. The *Tribune* thinks that the Mr. PHILLIPS spoken of as murdered, is not their special correspondent.

The correspondence between the Kansas authorities and the general government, with reference to the troubles in the Territory, has been published, together with the instructions to the newly appointed Governor. GEARY was at St. Louis on the 4th inst., on his way out. The force of regular troops being inadequate to the exigencies of the case, the Governor is ordered to enroll and organize the militia of the Territory. One division, under General RICHARDSON, is already in the field. Requisitions have also been made upon the Governors of Kentucky and Illinois for two regiments of infantry, to be placed under the enrolment of Gen. SMITH, to aid in suppressing insurrectionary combinations against the constituted government of Kansas.

The question which is to be solved, is whether the Free State settlers are to be crushed out. Shall they be?

Mr. Eaton's Speech at New Haven.

The public have not been favored with a report in full of this effort. The *Register* did not see fit to employ a phonographer to take it down, as in the case of Mr. DEMING. This fondling of mere neophytes,

(although they be pupils as apt as Mr. DEMING has proved himself,) and neglect of more veteran speakers, might excite jealousy with some gentlemen. It is not to be looked for in the quarter we speak of. Mr. EATON, like the Vicar of Bray, "stands up to the rack, fodder or no fodder," with the single exception of that lucrative office, the City Attorneyship.

A correspondent of the *Tribune* daguerreotypes Mr. EATON as follows:

The next topic in prominence was Squatter Sovereignty. The chief speaker was one Eaton of Hartford. From his skill in artful dodges and in telling "big ones" with a brazen face, one would suppose he might have been a "confidence man." Has he mistaken his vocation? He said the great issue was precisely that of the Revolution: "Shall the people rule themselves" (perfectly true) "without interference from Congress?" (perfectly false.) He should have said, "without coercion from the Slave power." How any Democrat can maintain Squatter Sovereignty after Democratic votes have passed Toombs's bill through the Senate, he did not say; and his arguments were rather rich. 1st. "The people of the Territory, by knowing their own condition, and by having slaveholders among them, could tell better than any one else, whether Slavery was best for them." So a man could tell better whether he could swim after he had jumped overboard. But if he knew beforehand that he could not, what then? We know the effects of Slavery.

Next, it was the "fairest way of deciding the question." Perhaps. It is really leaving the matter to chance. If more Free State men than Southerners happen to settle any Territory, it will become Free; if not Slave. Chance may be "as fair for one as for the other," but is it statesmanship, is it justice? If so, send home your senators, and toss up a penny on every law proposed; dismiss your judges, and let the plaintiff and defendant draw cuts (Not sure, either, but that would be an improvement on our present Administration and national judiciary.)

The next argument was the "constitutional" one. "Slavery goes into the Territories under the Constitution!" Be it known, Northerners, that a Democratic orator in Connecticut used just such language! That looks like Slavery extension. And that "Congress has no right to legislate on the subject at all." But he did not touch on the vital question: "Does not Constitutional Republicanism demand a refusal to admit another 'Slave State'?" Perhaps he was not prepared to refute Daniel Webster's Memorial. Grant that question, and it does not matter much about the Territories.

Now came Kansas. We were told that "all the troubles there were caused by Northern immigrant societies." To prove it he says: "They began this system, and of course Southerners must form societies then, and bloodshed must result." But why? "Because it is a hot-house process." That is all the proof he gave. So he proved just nothing, even if you admit his premises, and those were false. It is ludicrous to see a man take the trouble to lie in public, and then prove nothing by it. Then he tried to fasten the blame on the North by saying "There had been no fighting in Nebraska—therefore the emigrant societies caused Kansas troubles." Might not somebody say, "There were no Southern settlers in Nebraska—therefore Southern settlers caused all the Kansas troubles?"

But the next speaker (Southern gentleman) had not the patience to chase an absurdity thus far. He took a shorter road. Said he, "Parson Beecher and the rest of the Reverends (so they call themselves,) tell you that the Border Ruffians went into Kansas and caused all these murders and outrages. It's false—as false as hell—and they know it. It takes two to make a fight" (and only one to commit a murder.) Ought not a man to have a tolerably high moral character before he gives the lie to the body of New England clergy? It was quite plain, though, where the lie belonged, from the single fact that neither he nor any other speaker dared mention the flooding in of Missourians upon the polls, even to deny it.

I suppose you fully understand what a Democratic speech is, and can supply the eternal catchwords and slang, and above all the ever-present element of falsehood. I can't specify—our sheet would not hold them. But Eaton gave us one of such size and shamelessness that it ought to immortalize him. He said: "The facts that Congress fixed upon the 18th as the day of adjournment long ago when there was peace in Kansas, and that a Black Republican majority had stayed off the army bill, proved to him that there was a collision between the black-hearted traitors in Congress and the Ruffians from New England to clog the wheels of Government, let loose murder and rapine on the country, in order to create capital for election." To such shifts is the Democracy driven! The party whose hero, in other days, was Jackson, the soul of honor, is forced to such impudent lies as this to get votes in Connecticut, their old stronghold.

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPT. 6. 1856.

[For the Boston Courier.]

The Honesty of the Editor of the Boston Daily Advertiser, Demonstrated in One Lesson.

In the editor's summary given in the Daily Advertiser of September 5, of subjects of interest to be found in the columns of the paper, is the following:—

Some interesting intelligence from Kansas will be found in another column. A committee of citizens of Lawrence waited upon the acting Governor of the territory, and were told that he would protect them if they would obey the laws of the pseudo legislature, "but," said he, "if you don't, I will let a mob from Missouri cut your throats, scalp, shoot or hang you, as they may see fit." The citizens of Lawrence are fortifying the city in expectation of a siege. A list is given of the free state men who were wounded at the battles of Franklin and Titus Camp.

On turning to the "intelligence" itself, which is contained in a letter to the New York Tribune, the reader finds the following:—

Yesterday, a committee of five of the citizens of Lawrence waited upon the Governor at Leecompton, to see what course he was going to take in regard to these mobs which were about to march upon us, and to see whether he was still willing to carry out faithfully his side of the treaty of last Sunday. When they reached Leecompton they found Woodson acting as Governor. He was in the tent or quarters of the officers in command of the troops, eight hundred in number, now at Leecompton. The committee stated to Woodson that the people of Lawrence were out of provisions; that their roads were blockaded by armed mobs; that two of their teamsters had been murdered, and that they desired to know whether he would grant them a guard to their teams to Westport and Leavenworth, or leave them to guard their own teams and open the roads. They desired to know further, whether he intended to interpose with the troops to prevent this overwhelming mob from murdering, burning and pillaging, or whether he intended that they, the people of Lawrence, were to take care of themselves.

These questions were asked Woodson directly by the Committee, and that gentleman vouchsafed this reply: that if the people of Lawrence would obey the laws (the bogus laws), and if he (Woodson) could have assurance to that effect, this thing, that is, the proposed invasion, could be settled in *five hours*—that he would bring the troops, of which he is commander-in-chief, to bear upon these mobs and disperse them.

Now it would not be easy to conceive of a more impudent remark from any official, and especially from a Governor, than this. Reducing it down, it simply means this:—"Gentlemen, if you obey these laws, passed by a mob from Missouri, for your government, I will protect you; but if you don't I will let a mob from Missouri cut your throats, scalp, shoot or hang you, as they may see fit." This is the gist of the reply—its entire essence; and I submit that its impudence is unequalled in the history of civilized diplomacy. C. W. Babcock, Esq., the Chairman of the Committee, then said:—

"Governor, are we to understand that your position is this:—That if we obey the bogus laws you will protect us with the whole force under your command; and if not, that you will allow us to be murdered? Is that your position?"

Here Governor Woodson protested that he had no desire to see them murdered, but that the laws must be obeyed, and writs must be executed.

Does this justify the editor of the Advertiser in stating, as the language of the Governor, "if you don't (obey the laws) 'I will let a mob from Missouri cut your throats, scalp, shoot or hang you, as they see fit.'" The time has been when the "respectable Daily" would not have done this—but it was then under other management.

THE KANSAS OUTRAGES. The St. Louis Republican has letters from Kansas which are as one-sided as those which appear in the New York Tribune. There is no crime of murder, robbery and rapine which is charged by the Free Soilers upon the "border ruffians" which is not returned back, and no one can tell which to believe. From a couple of volumes of this sort of letters, we take two paragraphs:—

More than one thousand pro-slavery men have been driven from the territory since last April. Our border counties are crowded with men, women and children, who have had to leave their homes, their all, or fall beneath the revolver or Sharpe's rifle of the midnight assassin. Who can forget the massacres of Doyles, of Wilkinson, of Sherman, last spring at Ossawatimie. The very men who committed these outrages are at this time running at large. How long are these things to be borne with?

The Missourians are denounced for invading Kansas. What father or brother would stand by

DAILY ADVERTISER.**BOSTON:**

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPT. 6. 1856.

FROM KANSAS.

A letter from a perfectly authentic source, dated at Lawrence, in Kansas, Aug. 26, 1856, states that the people there had made active preparations for their defence, in case of the advent of the expected army from Missouri, and they felt confident of their ability to repulse any force of Missourians that might appear against them. The want of the presence of Governor Robinson, on account of his imprisonment, is felt as a severe loss; General Lane by no means makes good the absence of the governor. The money contributed here had been of essential service in the territory, and is gratefully acknowledged. The letter says: "We are feeling the advantage of having friends." It concludes as follows:—

"I wish you could have seen, our Lawrence city last evening, with seven hundred men under arms. This morning, at sunrise, they had all left. All work is suspended."

BOSTON POST.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1856.

The black republicans frequently make the most singular exhibitions of their idea of freedom of speech. At a democratic mass meeting in Richmond, Indiana, J. L. Robinson, one of the speakers, made some remarks touching a man named Shombre, a free state marauder who was killed in Kansas; and after the meeting was over the friends of Shombre made an assault upon Mr. Robinson, and boast that they "badly whipp'd his body guard." The truth appears to be that the black republican ruffians did attack Mr. R. with clubs as he was hurrying to the railroad cars, but he "poked away" two or three of the foremost of his assailants, and escaped without injury.

Civil War.—The predictions of our Kansas correspondent, as to civil war, seems to be confirmed by the telegraph—if any reliance whatever is due to this catcher up of every wild rumor.

We have also rumors from Washington to the effect that additional force will be sent into Kansas. While there is reason for putting every confidence in Gov. Geary and Gen. Smith—in their prudence, energy and humanity—we hope the President will carry out the views he expressed to the "Kansas committee," and pour troops enough into Kansas to put a stop, at once, to this disgraceful domestic violence, whoever may be engaged in it.

We have received a note from Mr. G. P. Lowrey, of Kansas, dated at the Revere House in this city, Sept. 6, in which he denies the statement of Josiah Cole, editor of the Democrat, a German paper at Easton, Pa., that he, Mr. Cole, was offered \$3000 by Mr. Lowrey to come out for Mr. Fremont. Mr. G. P. Lowrey says he has had no communication with said editor for eighteen months, nor does he believe that any person has offered said editor any money for any such purpose as stated.

Boston Journal.

SATURDAY EVENING, SEPT. 6, '56.

Kansas Document for the Malice Election.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 4. In order to correct false and exaggerated statements regarding the position of things in Kansas, and the acts and purposes of the United States Government, and show the precise truth in both

NEW HAVEN DAILY PALLADIUM

NEW HAVEN:

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1856.

THE ADMINISTRATION ON KANZAS

Jefferson Davis, Pierce's Disunion Secretary of War, in a despatch to Gen. Smith dated Sept. 2, directs him to call on the Governors of Kentucky and Illinois for the militia of those States, if he needs more troops to enforce the barbarous laws of Kansas. The traitor Davis has left no opportunity unimproved to bring the Government into disrepute in order to favor his scheme of Disunion. He wants the North to be as sick of this Government as he is himself.

The Daily Transcript.

E. K. PANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS.,

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 6, 1856.

from all parts of the country, are favorable to Fremont's election. Throughout the western States the movement for freedom is sweeping everything before it; the near proximity of these States to Kansas and the horrible outrages committed by the "border ruffians," supported as they are by the whole power of the Buchanan party have produced a state of feeling at the West which cannot be described. The murders, rapes and numberless crimes perpetrated in Kansas against the free State settlers are sanctioned and sustained by the Buchanan party and the people know it; hence they feel that the only hope of permanent and effectual redress is to turn out of place and power the unscrupulous demagogues and tools of the slave power who now control the Federal Government. Relief for Kansas now must indeed be had in some other way; we cannot afford to wait for the inauguration of a new government in order to secure protection for the oppressed in Kansas. But unless the Buchanan party is defeated in the national contest there is little or no hope of securing freedom for Kansas. This is understood and thoroughly appreciated by the people in all the Great West, and they will so completely rout the Douglas and Buchanan forces, that the fragments will not be worth gathering up. The vote of these States for Fremont will from present appearances be large beyond all precedent. New England will certainly do her duty in this canvass; of this there can be no doubt in any reasonable mind; Buchanan will not get a single electoral vote in all the New England States. We wish we could say as much with equal confidence for Pennsylvania and New Jersey. But there the battle will be much more hotly contested and the result is doubtful. That Pennsylvania can be carried for Fremont we believe; that it will be certain if his supporters do their duty in the case. But it will require a most thorough and stirring canvass and we fear that the Fremont men if beaten, will be defeated in consequence of an overweening confidence in their own strength. It is never wise to underrate the strength of the enemy, nor to count much on factitious helps and chance advantages. If the Americans and Republicans make a thorough and cordial union and go into the campaign with all the necessary ardor and properly equipped, Fremont will carry Pennsylvania. A little neglect, however, or any want of union there among his supporters and he loses that State, and will be defeated in the Presidential race.

reports, the Union to-morrow will punish the following interesting correspondence:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, Aug. 26, 1856. Sir:—The present condition of the Territory of Kansas renders your duties as Governor, highly responsible and delicate. The instructions heretofore communicated to your predecessor in February last, in the annual message to Congress on the 24th of the previous December, and in the orders issued from the War Department, printed copies of which are hereby furnished, you will find the policy of the President fully presented. It is first to obtain order and quiet in the Territory of Kansas, and to the extent necessary, to bring to punishment the offenders.

Should the force which has been provided to obtain these objects be insufficient, you will promptly make known the facts to the President, that he may take such measure in regard thereto, as to him may seem to be demanded by the exigencies of the case. It is important that the President should be kept advised of the state of things in Kansas, and that the source of his information should be such as to insure its accuracy. You are, therefore, directed by him to communicate constantly with this Department. Such facts as it is deemed important to have early known here, you will cause to be transmitted by telegraph as well as by mail. The President indulges a hope, by your energy, impartiality and discretion, the tranquility of the Territory will be restored to the persons and property of our citizens therein protected.

I am, Sir, &c. W. L. MARCY. To His Excellency JOHN W. GEARY, Governor of Kansas Territory.

In a letter to the War Department, dated Aug. 22, Gen. Smith speaks of exaggerations relative to contemplated attacks, but says, on the assurance of both the Governor and Major Sedgwick, that there are 800 armed men assembled at Lawrence, who can be increased to 1200, and that it is expected they would attack and destroy the capital of the Territory, Leecompton.

I have ordered Lieut. Johnston's Second Cavalry to go there, with all the troops at Fort Leavenworth, except a small company, and have ordered all the men from Fort Riley, except a small garrison, to the same place. I have sent down to have all the troops, recruits and others, at Johnson's Barracks, to be sent there, and will send them and any companies of the Sixth that may arrive to reinforce the command of the Kansas, if necessary. A large force may prevent any violence; a small one might tempt to the commission of it.

He further says: I enclose also a communication from an officer of the militia on the Northern border of the Territory, showing how contradictory and inconsistent are the accounts spread over the country, for the party that Lane brought from Iowa is on the Northern border, and on the Kansas at the same time.

Col. Sumner's regiment cannot now muster 400 men, including Capt. Stuart's company, on its way to Fort Laramie, and a detachment under Lieut. Weston en route for Fort Kearney, with the Sioux prisoners. Lieut. Col. Cooke's six companies have a little more than 100 horses.

A letter from Gov. Shannon to Gen. Smith, dated Leecompton, says that he (Shannon) had just returned from Lawrence, whence he had been with a view of procuring the release of 19 prisoners that were taken, and that he saw in that place 500 men, who manifested a fixed purpose to demolish the town.

Gov. Shannon further remarks that he knew they intended an attack, and that he too in a very short time, and that it was from the business of whipping out, as it was called, of the pro-slavery party had been commenced. Under these circumstances, Gov. Shannon requests Gen. Smith to send from the fort all his disposable force.

Major General Richardson, of the Kansas militia, August 18, says to Gen. Smith: In addition to the extra herewith enclosed, I have received reliable information that a "actual war exists in Douglas County, and that in other parts of the Territory within this division, robberies and other flagrant violations of law are daily occurring, by armed bodies of men from the Northern States.

In the absence of all information from the Governor of the Territory, I have taken the liberty of exercising the authority in me vested, in cases of invasion, by ordering out to the best strength of my division to rendezvous at various points, to await further orders.

Gen. Smith, in his instructions for the officer in command of a detachment of U. S. troops ordered to assemble in the neighborhood of Leecompton, on the requisition of the Governor, to repress insurrection, concludes as follows:

The General begs and directs you to avoid, as long as possible, any appeal to arms. Use every endeavor in your power to bring those who are in opposition to the law to the sense of their error.

Avoid especially small conflicts, and consider the shedding of a fellow citizen's blood as the greatest evil that can happen, except the overthrow of law and right which must end in civil war.

But when the necessity of action, and the employment of force, are undeniably arise, employ it at once, with all the power and vigor at your command, but continue it only until you have suppressed the insurrection, and then intermits to prevent any cruelty from others.

The Governor of the Territory should, if possible, take measures to keep the prisoners arrested, under his authority, and such as hereafter may be directed. Their custody embarrasses the troops, and diminishes their efficiency.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Sept. 2, 1856.

Sir:—Reliable information having reached the President that armed and organized bodies of men are openly in rebellion against the territorial government have concentrated in such numbers as to require additional military force for their dispersion, you will have the militia of the Territory completely enrolled and organized to the end that they may on short notice be brought into the service of the United States, upon the requisition of the commander of the military department, in which Kansas is embraced.

You will furnish, by companies or regiments, or brigades, or divisions, such numbers and composition of troops as, from time to time, you may find on his report to you to be necessary for the suppression of all combinations to resist the laws of the United States, too powerful to be suppressed by the civil authority, and for the maintenance of public order and civil government in the Territory. W. L. MARCY. To his Excellency, J. W. GEARY, Governor of Territory, Leecompton.

Jefferson Davis to Gen. Smith, Sept. 3, says:—Your despatch of the 23d August, and enclosure, sufficiently exhibit the inadequacy of the force under your command to perform the duties which he derived from the present condition of Kan-

sas. By orders and instructions heretofore communicated to meet the exigencies, the President has directed the Governor of the territory to complete the enrollment and organization of the militia, as you will find fully set forth in the enclosed copy of a letter addressed to him by the Secretary of State, and the President has directed me to say to you that you are authorized from time to time to make requisitions upon the Governor for such military force as you may require, to enable you to execute your orders and suppress the insurrection against the government of the Territory of Kansas, and, under the circumstances heretofore set forth in your instructions, to give the requisite aid to officers of the civil government, who may be obstructed in the due execution of the law.

Should you not be able to derive from the military of Kansas an adequate force for those purposes, such an additional number of militia as may be necessary will be drawn from the States of Illinois and Kentucky, as shown in a requisition, a copy of which is here enclosed.

The views contained in your instructions to the officers commanding the troops, dated Aug. 19, are fully approved and accord, so far as they relate to the purposes of the Executive, as to leave but little to add in relation to the course which it is desired you should pursue.

The position of the insurgents, as shown by your letter and its enclosures, is that of open rebellion against the laws and constitutional authorities, with such manifestations of purpose to spread devastation over the land as no longer justifies further hesitation or indulgence.

Therefore, as to every soldier whose habitual feeling is to protect the citizens of his own country, and only to use his arms against a public enemy, it cannot be otherwise than deeply painful to be brought into conflict with any portion of his fellow countrymen.

But patriotism and humanity require alike that rebellion should be promptly crushed, and the perpetration of crimes which now distract the peace and security of the good people of the Territory of Kansas should be effectually checked.

Just as we was stepping on the plank of the steamer in order to follow Mrs. Hobb, he was forcibly prevented by a brutal pro-slavery ruffian named Murphy, and did not get on the steamer. The strong probabilities are, that unless Mr. Nate escapes he will meet with a violent end, as he was threatened with hanging on the day I left. I saw several of the prisoners alluded to, and from them I learned that they had seen Lane and knew the officers under his command, and they were ready to meet the pro-slavery rabble when they made a demonstration. The Missourians are marching some of their men to the northern part of Kansas, in order to cut off the communication between Kansas and Nebraska, and prevent the Free State men from getting through to Lawrence. This ought to be looked to by our friends, if they expect to save Kansas and our suffering brethren from the ravages of Southern desperadoes.

Since the above was written, our eye has fallen upon the following paragraph, from the Alton (Ill.) Courier of Sept. 2, which throws some light upon the detention of Mr. Nate:

"A gentleman who arrived from Kansas last evening states that Rev. Mr. Nate of Lawrence, and several gentlemen and ladies, among them Mrs. Hoppe, the widow of the man who was shot and scalped, were arrested near Leavenworth city on Thursday last and prevented from taking passage down the river. They were arrested without a shadow of warrant. All the horses in the town had been pressed into service by the Pro-Slavery men, and the stores of Free State men have been closed by order of the Pro-Slavery men. A collision between the Northern men and the Missourians was daily expected."

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, SATURDAY, SEPT. 6, 1856.

KANSAS. Atchison, Stringfellow & Co., alarmed at the determination manifested by the Free State settlers no longer to submit to their ruffianly outrages, have issued an appeal to "the people of the Union," in which they strive to "make the worse appear the better cause," and to array the wolf in sheep's clothing. They charge the Free States with fomenting the disturbances in Kansas by means of Emigrant Aid Societies, "raising troops," &c., and accuse the Free State settlers in Kansas of numberless murders and atrocities. The emigrants who have gone to Kansas under Gen. Lane seem to excite their indignation highly (for what right had they to go there?), and their coming is evidently the cause of this manifesto. After enumerating their grievances, they remark: "Though we have full confidence of the integrity and fidelity of Mr. Woodson, now acting as Governor, we know not at what moment his authority will be superseded. We cannot await the convenience in coming of our newly appointed Governor—we cannot hazard a second edition of imbecility or corruption. We must act at once and effectively. These traitors, assassins and robbers must be punished—must now be taught a lesson they will remember. We wage no war upon men for their opinions; have never attempted to exclude any from sitting among us; we have demanded only that *they should alike submit to the law.* To all such we will afford protection, whatever be their political opinions. But Lane's army and its allies must be expelled from the Territory. Thus alone can we make safe our persons and property—thus alone can we bring peace to our Territory. To do this we will need assistance."

The authors of this circular have over-shot the mark. The third paragraph above quoted had better have been left unwritten. It contains the germ of the whole Kansas troubles, publicly acknowledged by the pro-slavery party. They say they have demanded "only that all should alike submit to the law." But what kind of laws? Laws which Democratic Senators in Congress have pronounced unconstitutional, cruel, and a disgrace to the age. To accomplish their work of extermination the "memorialists" say they need assistance. We are glad to learn this. The pro-slavery party has not got so firm a hold upon Kansas yet, but that they fear the Free State men, and despair of conquering them without help. If the North is true to itself, they will *always* need assistance to accomplish such a fiendish purpose.

A correspondent of the New York Evening Post, writing from Leavenworth Aug. 29th, narrates the particulars of an interview with Ex-Governor Shannon. The Governor says that Lane has from 2500 to 3000 men, all completely armed and thoroughly drilled, under him and about the town of Lawrence. He is well fortified and entrenched, and ready to meet the pro-slavery forces as soon as they advance upon him. The following from the same correspondent in regard to Rev. Ephraim Nute, we do not understand:

"Mr. Nate was among the prisoners that came to town yesterday, and had in company with him the widowed Mrs. Hobb. Just as the steamer Cataract was at the levee of this city, Mr. N. was expecting to leave with his sister-in-law and the property of the deceased Mr. Hobb, and the other prisoners whom I have

The Fremont Republican

TAUNTON, MASS. SATURDAY EVENING, SEPT. 6, 1856

"THE FLAG OF SLAVERY."

There is a flag floats in our sight,
On which the name should be
In characters of living light,
"The Flag of Slavery."

Methinks to bear such weight of shame,
Might well require a chain;
Some angel should blot out its stars,
And let its stripes remain.

The "Flag of Liberty"—it is
A libel on the name!
No word it bears that is not linked
With slavery and shame!

Shame, shame on him who gave the gold
From his ill-gotten gains!
Has he not grown too base to breathe
The air which it profanes?

It is enough to make
The blood of freemen boil—
At the black shadows which it casts
On Freedom's sacred soil!

Then up, ye Rocky Mountaineers!
Ye freemen of our town—
And let your FLAG OF FREEDOM float
Till the black flag comes down! JESSIE.

Slavery and Kansas.

The Squatter Sovereign is the recognized organ of the Buchanan party in Kansas. It receives the patronage of the administration, and carries the names of Buchanan and Breckinridge at the head of its columns. That paper thus exposes the fixed purpose of those who have made Kansas a field of strife and bloodshed:

"We are determined to repel this Northern invasion and make Kansas a slave State, though our rivers should be colored with the blood of the victims, and the carcasses of dead abolitionists should be so numerous in the Territory as to breed disease and sickness, we will not be deterred in our purpose. Let those who desire *graces* in Kansas engage in this unholy and unjust war against the extension of our beloved institution, that is now being waged against the South by the fanatics of the North."

The Chicago Tribune thus comments upon this paragraph:

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

SOUTHERN NEWS FROM KANSAS.—The following is an extract from a letter in the Richmond Enquirer:

Kansas City, Aug. 19, 1856. We hear of nothing but distress now from Kansas, and while I write companies are being formed to go to their relief. Col. McCarty and all our folks will leave

... We will go in this time with a force sum-
... clean out Kansas, you may rely on that; and
... that this attack will make Kansas a slave State, beyond
... all doubt. Let me assure you that Missourians will
... never go into Kansas again without driving out the
... last scoundrel. Before eight days have elapsed, Mis-
... souri will send in 5000 'border ruffians,' and they will
... never leave as long as there is an abolitionist in that
... beautiful territory. They have been there twice, and
... the third time will tell the tale. Nothing is surer now
... than that Kansas will be a slave State. While I am
... writing this, Clay county is sending over 500 men,
... who are now crossing at this place, headed by Col.
... Doniphan. Platte county will send 500 men, and
... Jackson county 1000.

Yours,
J. A. HUTCHISON.

New-York Daily Tribune

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1856.

Another act of the tragedy in Kansas is this morning reported in our columns. It is stated in a telegraphic dispatch from St. Louis that a battle was fought at Osawattamie on the 30th ult., between three hundred Pro-Slavery men and an equal body of Free-State settlers. The struggle is said to have lasted an hour, and to have resulted in the defeat of the Free-Soilers, with a loss of twenty killed and several wounded. Among the killed were Mr. Brown, the leader of the party, and his son. On the Pro-Slavery side the loss was only five wounded. Osawattamie was burned by the victors, who saved only the provisions and ammunition found there. A special dispatch to THE TRIBUNE, received at a late hour last night, adds that two brothers, named Phillips, were shot, and that all the Free-Soilers have been driven from Leavenworth. Forty of them have reached St. Louis in a state of destitution, as, before sending them down the river, the triumphant party robbed them of every cent. Our correspondent at St. Louis appears to be under the impression that the Mr. PHILLIPS, who, with his brother, has been shot, is the Special Kansas Correspondent of THE TRIBUNE, whose death has long been an avowed object among the Missouri Ruffians. This, however, is a mistake. Our Mr. Phillips recently left the Territory for a brief visit to the States, and on the day of the battle he was in this city. He is now returning, and will soon be at his post again in Kansas.

The dispatch narrating the circumstances of the battle is doubtless exaggerated. It is not probable that in an equal fight the proportions of killed and wounded would so greatly differ on the two sides. But that such a conflict has taken place; that the Free Soilers have been beaten; that Osawattamie has been destroyed; and that a large number of Free Soilers have been driven from Leavenworth there is no reason to doubt. The question of Freedom or Slavery in the Territories has now become in earnest a matter of civil war in Kansas. The peaceful settlers in the Territory, having been barred from the ballot-box, deprived of every right of a citizen, and subjected to the most atrocious legislation, have at last, by a prolonged course of murder, robbery and arson, been driven to take up arms in their own defense. They are now fighting desperately against the organized army of Missouri Ruffians, while the Federal Government and the so-called Democratic party look on, aiding and abetting the atrocities of the invaders. This affair at Osawattamie is but the beginning of the end. We may daily expect to hear of battles far more desperate and bloody. It seems hardly possible that the friends of Freedom in Kansas should be able to hold their ground

against the odds now arrayed for their destruction. Such is the position of affairs in the Model Republic in the year 1856. Men are murdered, and women and children driven from their homes, because they prefer Liberty to Slavery! And this is all done in the name of Democracy! And men go about the country, calling themselves friends of Mr. Buchanan, or of Mr. Fillmore, for the purpose of persuading the people of the Free States not only to submit to these wrongs, but even to vote an approval of them!

Now the Northmen and the Southmen,

After many a year of quarrel
On the ancient Coffee question,
Came, at last, to open battle
On the bloody field of Kansas;
There to have the final struggle
For the ownership of Coffee
And the lordship of the country.
From the North, the furious Legions
Hastened to the place of fighting
Armed with two ds, and armed with pistols,
Armed with traps, and armed with Bibles,
Armed with Beecher's moral rifles,
Which would preach most moving sermons,
And convince their foes of error.

From the South came other Legions,
Also ready for the struggle,
Also armed with swords and pistols,
Bowie-knives and long revolvers,
With a store of stinging horsewhips,
With a store of tar and feathers
To regale their captive foemen,
Treat their Anti-Slavery foemen.
There for years they kept the fight up,
From the North and South recruiting,
As their forces, both, diminished,
Till at last the very women,
All the women and the children
Of the land of Pin-bye talk,
On the fatal field had fallen,
And the land was all deserted.
Coffee, when the fight was ended,
Took possession of the country,
And himself the King elected.

*For continuation, by

PLU-RI-BUS-TAH.
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MEETING AT UNION HALL.

SPEECHES OF H. S. SMITH, CHAUNCY SHAFFER AND OTHERS.

A meeting of mechanics favorable "to the promotion of Free Labor and the non-Extension of Slavery over Territory now free, and the election of Fremont and Dayton," was held last evening at Union Hall, No. 163 Bowery.

The call for the meeting was not extensively published, but there was a fair attendance on the occasion.

DANIEL COGHER was called to the chair temporarily, and ANDREW MURRAY was appointed Secretary.

After reading the call of the meeting, the subjoined resolution was offered and adopted.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare and draft resolutions for this meeting, to select permanent officers for the Mechanics Working Men's Central Club for the city of New York, and that they report this evening as soon as practicable.

The PRESIDENT appointed as such committee Messrs. John Windt, John H. Keyser, Thomas Emery, Joseph Hodgeman and Madison Conover.

The Rocky Mountain Glee Club then sang the rallying song with fine effect.

HENRY S. SMITH was introduced to the audience. He said:

REMARKS OF MR. SMITH.

He said that this contest, if it resulted in the success of the Republican ticket, would prove one of the most miraculous events in the history of politics that the world, or at least this country, had ever known. It is true the party now presenting the names of Fremont and Dayton was an infant party, born in a day, as it were; but it has grown in strength, and it is steadily achieving a triumphant success, as evidenced in the State elections already held since the nomination of the Republican ticket. The success of the Republican ticket—first in Iowa, and then in Vermont—had inspired the friends of Freedom every where with renewed courage to fight the battles of Freedom; and the Republican party will go on from success to success until the whole North, and he hoped some of the Southern States, would show still their action that the love of Freedom still prevailed throughout the glorious Union. The spirit that animated a Washington and a Jefferson had not ceased to actuate the American heart of the present day, and the friends of Freedom now would not prostitute upon the altar of Slavery that sacred legacy for which their fathers so nobly fought [Appl's.]. Legislation, to be Democratic, should be legislation for the whole people. The majority of the people of this country were workmen and producers, but the minority, the slaveholders, were always consumers. He would not say a word against the slaveholders as men, but he directed his remarks against the institution of Slavery as coming in competition with free labor. Did the mechanics of the North desire to see inflicted upon the Territories of the Union the curses ever following in the train of slave labor? He had in his hand extracts from Southern papers which showed conclusively that Slavery was no longer considered a question of color, but the doctrine advanced was that the rich were made to rule the poor. Capital was to be made the test of a man's merit, and humanity was to be degraded by the unjust distinctions sought to be enforced between the rich and poor. That would be

the legitimate working of the policy laid down by the Democratic party of the present day. It had none of the true, genuine spirit that actuated the masses at the present day and although it still professed Democracy in name, it did not carry it out in practice. The speaker, after commenting at considerable length upon the positions of the various candidates in regard to the question of Free as against Slave Labor—a question which he considered as of vital importance to the audience before him—gave a brief summary of the leading incidents in the life of Col. Fremont, and read a number of extracts from the speeches and letters of the Hon. John A. Dix, Allen of Ohio, and other prominent Democratic leaders, bearing most unqualified testimony to the good service rendered to the country by Fremont during his eventful career. He then concluded by conjuring them, as workmen, to put this question to themselves: "Shall we allow the plans of Kansas, and the free and fair fields of our new Territories, to be degraded by Slavery, or shall we keep them as an inheritance for the workmen and freemen of this country—the Democracy?" [Great applause].

The Committee on Organization and Resolutions then submitted the subjoined preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, The mechanics and workmen of the City of New York, at the present crisis, embracing the approaching Presidential election, will be the most numerous party in our country's history since 1776; that the destiny of themselves and families, for good or for evil, for many years to come, will depend upon wise or foolish action now; that is, whether we shall adopt the great outlet for great labor, that has hitherto existed in the cheap lands of our Free Territory, and which is being destroyed by the Slavery Extensionists, and thus in time degrade Free Labor below even Slave Labor; and whereas, the Democratic party, which should have remained the protector of Free Labor, as in the days of Jefferson, Madison and Jackson, has been gradually losing its character; until it has become a mere platform for crushing out Freedom; while large numbers of the "American" party, forgetful of the precepts and example of Washington, are ultra lovers of Slavery at the South and ultra haters of the citizens of the North; the result of their policy, like that of the Democratic party, being hostility to Free Labor; therefore,

Resolved, That the platform of the Republican party is alone worthy of our support, for its nominee, John C. Fremont is the open enemy, and distinguished friend of Free Labor; and that, in preference to the evils of poverty to itself, we have an additional guarantee that he will, if elected, use every constitutional means for "the triumph of Free Labor," and of "such a disposition of the Public Lands as will make every settler upon them a Freeholder."

Resolved, That it is peculiarly the duty and interest of every adopted citizen, who honestly labors for a subsistence, to aid us by his vote and influence, to keep a refuge in the Free Territory of our Public Lands, where surplus laborers may gain a home and independence instead of being forced to remain in overcrowded cities, bidding against each other in the labor market, and, as Jefferson expressed it, "eating each other up."

Resolved, That the Free laborers of this country must decide the question of their own destiny, and they fall to vote for Free Soil, Free Speech, a Free Press and their own rights; and their own heads will be the guilt, shame and suffering a store for them—and they will deserve their fate—though their innocent wives and offspring will have to share its miseries.

Resolved, To give effect to the above resolutions, the great cause we will unite under the name of The Mechanics and Workmen's Central Republican Union of the City of New York, and that the affairs of the Club be conducted by a President, three Vice-Presidents, and an Executive Committee of one from each Ward.

Resolved, That in the Republican nomination of John C. Fremont for President, and Wm. L. Dayton for Vice-President, we have men with whom we can safely intrust the rights and interests of Free Labor.

JOSEPH SIMPSON, President of the Mass Meeting of Mechanics in the Tabernacle opposed to the repeal of the Nebraska bill, advocated the resolution in a brief speech.

The preamble and resolutions were adopted unanimously.

The Committee reported also a list of officers for the permanent organization of the Association, which were confirmed. The officers are as follows:

President—ROBERT B. MONTGOMERY; Vice-Presidents—John Windt, Geo. F. Hooper, and Thomas Baxter; Secretary—Andrew Murray; Treasurer, Daniel Cogher.

On taking the chair, Mr. MONTGOMERY made a brief speech, in which he showed the manner in which the Pierce Administration had sacrificed the interests of workmen by giving valuable contracts to men who were not mechanics, and whose only merit was that they were successful pot-house wire-pulles.

CHAUNCY SHAFFER was the next speaker. He said that he had attended a great many political meetings in his life, but he had never attended one where he had been so deeply interested as here to-night in the presence of the workmen of this city. Here was an organization of mechanics, whose interests had suffered greatly at the hands of unscrupulous politicians, coming together, resolved to assert their own rights. He had witnessed nothing in this campaign so full of interest as this determination by the mechanics and workmen of New York. They lived in an age of excitement, and it was the time to grow excited when they saw the power of the Administration exerted to sanction the violation of a compact thirty-five years old, showing that pledged faith was not to be regarded in this Republic. It was time to grow excited when they saw the power of the Administration exerted to drive free labor and free men—at the point of the bayonet and the mouth of the revolver—from a territory which was solemnly dedicated by their fathers to free labor [Applause]. He had the pleasure of addressing a Convention of mechanics at Philadelphia last evening, where they were assembled by acres. He had great sympathy in every movement intended for the benefit and advancement of the workmen and mechanics of this country; for his father was a mechanic, and was fully as honest a man as any of his children [Laughter and applause]. His father was a weaver, and that gave the speaker his taste for spinning yarns [Laughter]. He (the speaker) had the good sense to marry the daughter of a mechanic [A voice—Did you steal her?] No, he did not; but he would have stolen her if he could not have got her in any other way [Laughter]. But to return to the question before them. Never had they seen in the history of the country such a contest as that now exhibited. For what were they contending? It was not to simply give the vote with which they had always voted a vic-

THE NEWS.

From Kansas. The storm that has been so long brewing, has at length broken. It seems, and if the telegraphic reports speak truly, with more than anticipated fury. (But these reports are not to be relied on, as fully correct.)

Via St. Louis, we have intelligence of a battle between 300 pro-slavery men, and the same number of free-soilers. After an hour's fighting, the free-soilers were routed, with twenty killed, the opposing force losing five. The town was sacked and burned.

From later despatches, it would appear that there has been a collision at Leavenworth, the pro-slavery men being victorious here also.

By way of Chicago, it is represented that the Iowa road to Kansas is stopped by the pro-slavery force and that 150 free state emigrants were detained. A collision was expected.

Governor Geary had left St. Louis for the territory. From Washington we learn that he has received ample authority relative to the employment of the U. S. forces there, with a view to the restoration of peace.

From Washington also we have a condensed statement of the latest government correspondence from the territory,—which, of course, is reliable. It pertains generally, however, to matters already past and presents no particularly new features, except that the telegraph has not belied itself in the transmission of exaggerated stories.

The Wisconsin Legislature, in extra session have been entertained by Gov. Bashford with a recommendation to take measures to protect citizens of Wisconsin in Kansas.

THE KANSAS NEWS

with its "Battle of Osawatimie," etc., freshens up the journals. Some of the latest reports from the seat of war, are doubted,—and thought to be manifest exaggerations and distortions, as nearly all "Kansas news" is. The prompt action of the President, in calling upon the States of Kentucky and Illinois for troops—to meet the exigency—gives assurance, that the strong arm of the Government is to be put forth, at once, to suppress the now getting-to-be bloody feud between pro-slavery men and free soilers. The country is beginning to realize that this thing has gone far enough, and that the time is come to end a conflagration which has been kindled by political demagogues elsewhere. It will not do to let civil war go on in Kansas merely to elect Fremont to the Presidency. There is real danger now,—the wolf is at the door,—and the sooner he is taken care of the better. Let the Government act, then—promptly and decisively. The game, here, is to keep Kansas "bleeding" till November,—but if the President do his duty now, peace and order will be restored there in a fortnight.

The whole number of United States troops in Kansas, at this moment, probably, is not more than 1000, all told,—yet even this handful of men, it is to be hoped, will be able to prevent a battle between the Misourians, under Capt. Reed, and the Free State men, under Brown. But we are reminded by the "JOURNAL OF COMMERCE" that,—

"Had the Black Republicans been able to command four more votes in the House of Representatives, even the hope of escape from a dreadful calamity and disgrace would not exist, as the army would have had to be disbanded for want of the means of support."

NOT KILLED,—ONLY RUN AWAY.

The Kansas despatches have something to say about the Border Ruffians killing one Phillips, a correspondent of the Tribune. But the Tribune, itself, tells us,—

"This is a mistake. Our Mr. Phillips recently left the Territory for a brief visit to the States, and on the day of the battle he was in this city."

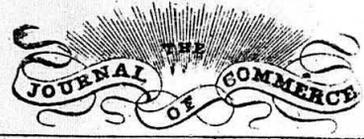
These abolition correspondents are shrewd fellows! Their "brief visits to the States" are generally timed so as to be absent when there is any danger of fighting,—or when there is a smell of gunpowder in the air! When "the day of battle" comes, Bob Aera generally turns up among the missing.

"FREE REDE, PREMIER BODEN, FREIE MENSCHEN."

The "TRIBUNE," to day, is much more of a German than an American journal,—German speeches and German meetings, "for Fremont," occupying its columns. At Jersey City, Friday evening, we are told, a—

"Mr. Tschirner, formerly a member of the revolutionary triumvirate of Saxony, was introduced to the meeting."

rights are guaranteed by the Constitution—the Constitution calls them rights, but I call them wrongs, sanctified by technical terms [Cheers]. Cut the South from the North, and it would be but a brief time before every steamer and vessel in the North would be wanted to bring the slave owners of the South away from their homes to save them from the avenging hand of their oppressed bondmen. I sometimes think the South is insincere in its cry of disunion. In 1842, when John Quincy Adams presented in the House of Representatives from a coterie of Abolitionists in the North for the dissolution of the Union, the South cried out treason, and demanded that the old man should be imprisoned. They tried to coo it too. That reminds me of a lawyer whom I often meet in court, who always begins by abusing me, but, before we get through with our case, begs the protection of the Court [Laughter.] We have to say that Slavery shall be carried no farther North [Cheers], and to secure this end we must elect Fremont [Loud cheers]. After some concluding remarks by Mr. Shaffr, in which he spoke of the candidates, the President introduced Wm. K. Strong, who made an able and effective speech. The meeting then adjourned.



NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPT. 6. 1856.

KANSAS AFFAIRS.—We publish on our next page copies of a highly interesting and important correspondence, which we have received by telegraph, concerning the present disturbances in Kansas. They include two despatches from Secretary Marcy to Gov. Geary, under date of the 26th of August and 2d of September respectively, the one conveying the President's instructions and pointing out the policy the President wishes him to pursue in the Territory, and the other directing him to call out the militia of the Territory to aid the Commander of the Military Department in "suppressing the armed organized bodies of men, avowedly in rebellion against the Territorial Government." There are also extracts of letters from General Smith to the War Department, relative to the disposition and number of the force at his command; of Governor Shannon to General Smith, informing the latter of a meditated attack on the town of Lawrence by the Abolitionists, and calling on the General to send thither "all his disposable force;" of Gen. Richardson, of the Kansas Militia, to General Smith, under date of Aug. 18, informing him that he had received reliable information of a state of actual war existing in several parts of the Territory, that "robberies and other flagrant violations of law were daily occurring by armed bodies of men from the Northern States," and that of his own authority he had ordered out his division and waited further orders. An extract is also given from the instructions given by General Smith to an officer under his command, ordered with a detachment to assist the Governor in the neighborhood of Leecompton, exhorting him "as long as possible to avoid an appeal to arms," and the last dispatch is from the Secretary of War to General Smith, dated Sept. 3, informing him of the President's order to Governor Geary to organize and enrol the militia, and authorizing him to make requisitions upon the Governor for such militia force as he may require to suppress the insurrection against the government of Kansas. Appended to this despatch is a copy of a requisition to the Governors of the States of Illinois and Kentucky, directing them to furnish such additional force from the militia of their respective States as Gen. Smith may need, in case the military force of Kansas should prove insufficient to suppress insurrection and restore the supremacy of the law.

From the Kansas Herald, Aug. 23. Kansas is again invaded, and the work of devastation again commenced. Armed bodies of men from the north are marching over the territory, ravaging peaceful settlements, destroying our crops, burning our houses, driving off, imprisoning, and murdering our citizens. Outrage follows outrage with fearful rapidity. Rebellion, violence, murder, houseburning, bloodshed, and every crime that can disgrace humanity, are being perpetrated in our territory by Lane's armed band of marauders. No place is sacred from the violence of the blood thirsty ruffians. Seditious assassins roam over the country, under cover of night, dogging the footsteps of unsuspecting citizens, and watching the opportune moment to strike the cowardly blow. No man's life is safe from one day to another from these blood-hounds if he has declared his opposition to the Abolitionists in Kansas. They are waging a war of extermination upon all Pro-slavery men. They have boasted that they will drive out of the territory all Pro-slavery men, or reduce them to submission. Concealment is no longer sought by them, but their designs are openly avowed. The issue now before us is whether we shall submit to them, or whether we shall maintain our rights and our institutions. View it in what aspect the reader may, the issue is this—and only this.

tory over which they might rejoice; they were contending for the Freedom of an Empire [Cries of "That's it!"]. In the hands of the mechanics of New-York was placed the freedom of a nation yet unborn. They held in their hands the power to decide whether Kansas shall remain free for the laboring man or whether it shall be delivered over to the reign of mere capital. They were to determine the question whether or not this land shall be embroiled in civil war for the belief that Kansas could never be appropriated by the Slave Power until war rioted all over her fair plains [Applause]. He believed that there was a spirit of inequity in the revenge burning in the hearts of Freedom North, to such an extent that, were it not that the election was near at hand, 50,000 men would be planted upon the plains of Kansas determined to drive back the invader or die upon the ground [Enthusiastic applause]. Look at the question for a moment. In all the usurpations of tyranny, had they ever cast its baneful shade over any and that would at all compare with the aggressions of the Slave Power in Kansas? [Cries of "No, no.!!"] Here was a Government claiming to be Christian—a Government claiming to be governed by those principles of which despots had ever been afraid—a Government that had been the last hope of the down-trodden of the earth ever since it became a Government—a Government that has risen in power and grandeur until the powers of the earth watched its growth with great interest and trembled at her nod; and this Government had now turned against the liberties of its own subjects, and all its power and wealth were now exerted to subdue a portion of the territory embodied within its limits, to the base purpose of Slavery, and to degrade the free mechanics and laboring men from the Free States to a level with the slave himself, who worked with the lash over his back [Cries of "That's true," "That's true!"]. He had often thought of what Dixon H. Lewis once said in this city, in reply to a body of mechanics who formed in procession and greeted him upon his arrival. He said: "Gentlemen, you live in ignorance of your own power. The Government of this City and State is in the hands of the laboring men, if the laboring men would only assert their rights" [Applause]. The laboring man had been content to live by his honest labor, while unscrupulous politicians, neither fearing God nor regarding man or justice, had run riot in spoils, becoming so corrupt and degraded that they could not distinguish right from wrong in practical legislation. The time had come for laboring men to select laboring men to administer the affairs of this Government [Applause]. They all had an absorbing interest in the contest about Kansas now exciting the country from one extreme to the other. If Mr. Buchanan were elected, he stood hopelessly committed to the interests of the Pro-Slavery party that nominated him. If he had common honesty, he must be honest to those who would be instrumental in advancing his election. If he were elected, Kansas would come in as a Slave State, unless it was kept out by such a convulsion as he would not like to see this country subjected to. How would it be in case Fillmore was elected? He was nominated for the express purpose of dividing the North, and the very Southern men who assisted in his nomination—Percy Walker being first and foremost—were now working for Buchanan. Fillmore would not get a Southern State, and he hoped he would not carry a Northern one, for he had not planted himself upon the Northern side of the question. He had no personal hostility against any of the candidates. If Fremont were elected and a bill should be passed admitting Kansas as a Slave State, then the veto power would be promptly applied [Applause]. Let disunion rear its hydra head, and in the language of Gen. Jackson, Fremont would say, "The Union must and shall be preserved" [Applause]. If Fremont were known to be elected President of the United States to day, they would not find a single Border Ruffian left in Kansas, and peace and order would reign in that now distracted Territory. The Freemen of the North could give expression to their sentiments through the ballot-box in tones of thunder, that would be heard all over the land, and the utterance of their honest sentiments would make the breast of the patriot, wherever the English language was spoken, beat with heart-felt joy [Applause]. Where would the laboring men of the Atlantic go if Slavery were carried from the Atlantic to the Pacific? [A Voice—"To Russia!"]. Yes, either to Russia or Turkey; for I would rather be a good Turk than a bad Christian [Laughter]. The South might now have had Cuba had they behaved themselves. The North would have given it to her; but when we heard them talking about renewing the African slave trade, our eyes began to be opened. Walker is in Nicaragua opening the way to the acquisition of Central America for Slavery, and the ultimate annexation of Mexico for a no higher purpose. When this is consummated, what chance will there be for freemen in the North? The South hates free labor; it hates the prosperity visible everywhere in the North. Already they begin to talk about negotiating with England with the view of crippling Northern industry and prosperity. Let the South have its way this Fall, and the question is settled for a term of years, and Mr. Toombs may have the satisfaction of calling the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill [Cries of "Never!"]. But I believe that with one chance for freemen to vote, he will never call that roll north of Mason and Dixon's line [Cheers]. How far this doctrine of breaking Compromises is to operate is not for me to say anything about. But it has often struck me that the South has been very unfortunate in setting the example of breaking Compromises. Why, Sir, nothing but the Compromises now existing under the Constitution prevents the South from being murdered by their blacks. The pressure of the North projects the slave owner to day in the States where his

Many being too hot to hold these "Revolutionary" Triumvirs, they come here to lecture as ignorant and benighted Americans on "freedom" and "liberty." Modest men, these "Red Republicans" ! Better learn to speak the language of Washington, and Franklin, and Madison, and Jefferson first,—before setting up to teach us the "principles of the Revolutionary fathers." A man with his eyes shut,—and not knowing he was on this side of the Atlantic,—might have imagined he was in Paris, at some outside meetings of the Cordelier Club,—or the "Mountain," when,—

The Rallying Song, the Marseillaise of the new revolution was played by the band and sung by five-sixths of the entire audience. At its close all rose and gave three tremendous cheers.

See how studiously they ignore "Know Nothing" music. No "Yankee Doodle,"—no "Hail Columbia." "Tremendous cheers for the Revolutionary "Marseillaise,"—but not even a call for "The Star Spangled Banner!" Among the transparencies on the banners, in the torch light procession,—were the following:—

Aggen Aushreitung der Sklaverei.
Für freies Kansas und freie Arbeit.
Freie Rede, freie Presse, freier Boden, freie Menschen.
Keine Verlangung der Naturalisationen für die Fremden und Davon Schutz und Schirm der Adoptiv Bürger.
Widerstand gegen jede Tyrannie!

ABOLITION THEOLOGY.

The "TIMES," (Black Republican), is arguing to show that the introduction of political topics into the Pulpit,—as likewise, the heated political discussions we are having every week, from some of the so-called religious journals,—are all right.

"At periods of such political excitement as the present people, whether Jew, Gentile, or Spaniard, (we are told) will think of nothing else than politics, will listen with a dumb attention to discussions not bearing with more or less directness upon the paramount issue of the moment."

Then, if such is the general excitement,—is it not doubly the duty of the Christian Ministry to endeavor to make people think of "something else," besides the fleeting follies of the hour,—such as "Fremont," "Kansas," "Shrieks for Freedom," etc. Is it not the duty of these revered gentlemen, at least one day in the week, to endeavor to lead the hearts and minds of their congregations, to the contemplation of higher and holier themes, than those which agitate the party organs, and the bar-rooms, every day and every night? Is it not their duty to try to soften the asperities of a "general excitement," by preaching "Peace on earth, and good will to men," than to be eternally stimulating men's passions, and stirring up section against section? The Roman Empire, in the days of the Savior, had its "Kansas question," and its "Shriek for Freedom," too,—each in its own kind,—but do we read, that the Redeemer ever mounted the stump?

Courrier Des Etats-Unis

NEW-YORK, 6 SEPTEMBRE.

Les formidables préparatifs mis sur pied par les Missouriens des frontières, font jeter à un des *free soilers* de Lawrence ce cri de détresse adressé au *Times* de New-York :

Toute communication avec les Etats a été interceptée depuis plusieurs jours, et si ceci vous parvient, ce sera au grand hasard. Notre position n'a jamais été plus critique que maintenant, par suite de notre manque d'approvisionnements, etc. Nous apprenons que des milliers d'ennemis se rassemblent le long des frontières pour nous exterminer. Les familles favorables à l'esclavage partent toutes. Nous croyons un orage terrible est prêt à éclater. L'Union ressentira la secousse. On ne peut plus dire que nous n'avons pas fait assez de sacrifices de sang et d'argent. Nous avons toujours dit qu'il coûterait bien des vies précieuses pour conserver le Kansas à la liberté; maintenant elles l'offrent elles-mêmes. Probablement les premières nouvelles vous apprendront qu'une grande bataille a été livrée, et que des centaines d'hommes sont tombés dans la lutte. Le Nord est responsable de la perte devant le ciel.

A en juger par la communication ci-dessus adressée à un journal dont les sympathies ne sont pas douteuses en faveur des adversaires

de l'esclavage, il faut donc admettre que ces derniers ne sont pas de force à se promettre la victoire dans le nouveau conflit. Il est assez remarquable que, dans les rapports qui nous parviennent de ces contrées, ce dont on parle le moins, c'est précisément des troupes fédérales à qui incombe particulièrement le devoir de maintenir l'ordre, et de sauver le Territoire des horreurs de la guerre civile.

Les nouvelles qui arrivent du Kansas par voie télégraphique de Saint-Louis, sont de nature à confirmer les sombres prévisions du correspondant du *Times*. On a en effet reçu avis que, dans la journée du 30 août le capitaine Reed, à la tête de 300 partisans de l'esclavage, a attaqué 300 *free soilers* commandés par M. Brown, à Ossawatomie. Le combat aurait duré une heure et se serait terminé par la déroute des *free soilers*, qui auraient laissé 20 morts (parmi lesquels M. Brown lui-même et son fils) et plusieurs blessés sur le champ de bataille. Les vainqueurs ne comptaient au contraire que cinq blessés. On dit Ossawatomie brûlé et toutes les munitions et provisions emportées.

La teneur de cette dépêche du Missouri nous semble suspecte en plus d'un point. La disproportion des pertes, dans un engagement à forces égales, y est telle que nous nous attendons à recevoir d'un moment à l'autre de Chicago des chiffres complètement différents de ceux-ci. Dans huit jours nous saurons peut-être au juste à quoi nous en tenir sur la véracité du télégraphe en cette circonstance. Jusque-là il est prudent de ne considérer

comme certain que le passage à Saint-Louis du nouveau gouverneur M. Geary, lequel va trouver son gouvernement dans un état peu favorable à une administration pacifique.

New-York.

PRINCIPLES. NOT MEN.

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 6, 1856.

The writer of the article in "the United States Democratic Review", entitled "The Union—The Dangers which beset it", admits that the General Government has no power to establish or abolish Slavery, or to declare when or where it should or should not exist.

Without affirming or denying this proposition now it is only cited to show that in his view, Slavery cannot be national or sustained by virtue of Federal laws, and that really, it is a sectional institution existing only in one part of the Republic, among about one-third of our population, and upheld solely by municipal or State law.

The only power which Congress has in regard to it, is the power to provide for the reclamation "of fugitives from labor". The writer says "fugitive Slaves", but he will find no such word in the Constitution. This clause of the Constitution applies no more to the Slave of the South, than to the apprentice of the North who flees from the service of his master.

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution domestic Slavery existed in all the original thirteen States, and prior to that time no right of reclamation of fugitive slaves existed among the Colonies.

It was only under the pressure of the free and liberal spirit of the Declaration of Independence, and the full conviction that the evil of Slavery would soon become extinct in the States, that the rendition of fugitive slaves was made an exceptional provision in the Constitution, and as matter of comity among States which were all involved in the same evil—so much regretted by them all, and so incongruous with the beauty and sublimity of that incomparable Declaration.

Hence the reluctance of the immortal men of that age to admit the odious terms "Slaves" and "Slavery" in the Constitution, that great Chart of Freedom, that in after times no recognition of Slavery should be left as a stain upon its sacred page.

The tacit and indisputable understanding that the

clause in the Constitution, providing for the rendition of persons held to service, included fugitive slaves, cannot be denied; but it included as well, other classes of obligations of service due from one to another, and upon its face, was not repugnant to the principles of the Declaration. And as to the rendition of fugitive slaves, which by mutual consent was implied, in the clause of rendition, it is a historical fact, that all desired, and all expected that the system of human bondage would soon be abolished in all the States.

Still this infringement upon the law of nations allowed by the Constitution, in admitting the rendition of fugitive slaves, is at war with the theory and spirit of free institutions, and places our Republic with Russia and Persia as the only countries wherein this infringement is allowed.

How strange then, that within so short a time from the foundation of our Government, men holding prominent places under the Constitution of the United States should be found, who seek to make this system of Domestic Slavery, whose existence that same instrument ignores, except by implication, the main object of the Federal Government, thus perverting the principles of the founders of the Union, and making the Constitution the protection and support of that very system, which was so abhorrent to them that it was with great caution, not allowed even to be named, in that Magna Charta of our liberties. And yet now, with unblushing effrontery, this same system has become so sacred, that even the freedom of speech, and of the press, in regard to it, has become, in the opinions of its advocates, rank "treason and fanaticism", and a war upon "our civil and religious liberty".

We pass over the absurd and glaring inconsistency of denouncing opposition to domestic slavery in every form and shape, a war upon "civil and religious liberty". No more gross perversion of language could be devised, and yet upon this miserable sophistry is founded the charge, that the expressing of an opinion against the extension of Slavery into "Free Territories of the Union, is "a war upon Freedom," and the constitutional rights of the South"! And in support of this fanaticism, the Federal Government of this Great Republic, under the Administration of FRANKLIN PIERCE, the Senate of the United States, by a large majority, and the Democratic party of the country, are banded together, and seem actuated by no higher zeal than to offer incense to this Moloch of domestic bondage. Deny this charge as they may, and as the Democratic party at the North do, with great affected indignation—still it is, nevertheless, true; and a reference to the present condition of the country is only necessary to prove that the charge is incontrovertible. It is undoubtedly true, however, that this support and countenance of slavery at the North is given by our "National Democrats" indirectly, and against the convictions of their own consciences; but it is still given, as we proceed to show. By sustaining the new doctrine of squatter sovereignty—the most miserable political heresy ever imposed upon popular credulity for corrupt partisan purposes.

By palliating and defending the infamous crimes and barbarities committed by Pro-Slavery men upon citizens of Kansas; and

By condemning the Republican party for its openly avowed purpose to suppress these enormities, and to prevent the extension of Slavery into the free territories of the Union.

We proceed to examine these grave charges:—That the Democratic party are pledged to support the sophistry of Squatter Sovereignty, and deny to Congress all right and power over the subject of Slavery in the Territories, it is only necessary to read the Cincinnati Platform, into which Mr. BUCHANAN has so merged his own identity.

If the dogma proclaimed by Mr. CASS, and reiterated by the Democratic party, that the clause in the Constitution imposing upon Congress the duty to make all needful rules and regulations for the territory and other property of the United States, does not include the citizens of Kansas, but only the mountains and rivers, the forts, arsenals, and other property of the Government, as the advocates of this new heresy maintain, what becomes of the people of the Territories before States are formed and admitted into the Union? What power legislates for them? Can the States, in their individual capacities, perform this paramount duty? Certainly not, for their powers are confessedly municipal and confined to their own limits. When the emigrant settles in the Territory of the Union, is there no law to protect him?

Does he expatriate himself, and go beyond the protection of the Constitution of the United States? Does he look to the statutes of Massachusetts or Missouri to protect him in the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? Nay; has not Congress sole and exclusive power to make all laws for his protection until the Territory on which he settles emerges from its dependent condition and becomes a State of the Union? Every other hypothesis is untenable. The very idea of a Territory involves the condition of dependence, of tutelage, of subjection; and the simple fact that under certain limitations, the citizens of a Territory are permitted to apply for admission into the Union establishes this idea of dependence.

Nothing is more self-evident, and all argument upon this point is superfluous. But, say the advocates of this new doctrine, with particular reference to the question of domestic slavery—If Congress has no power to establish Slavery in a Territory, as all admit, then Congress cannot prohibit its extension and establishment there. The utter sophistry of this dogma of the Democratic Party, so ostentatiously made, will appear by a parity of reasoning in reference to the subjects of legislation. Let us see. Congress cannot establish the union of Church and State in the Territories, therefore Congress cannot prohibit such a union. Congress cannot establish the law of primogeniture, therefore Congress could not abolish such a law. Congress could not legalize arson, murder, or polygamy, therefore Congress could not abolish or punish them. Nothing can be more absurd than such reasoning, and yet this is the sum and substance of squatter sovereignty.

But the most convincing proof of the insincerity of the authors of this popular delusion, is the fact that the provisions of the Nebraska and Kansas Bill not only demonstrate the right and power of Congress to legislate for the people of a Territory, thus killing the very germ of squatter sovereignty, but it also shows, that utter hypocrisy and fraud of its authors and defenders, in the notorious fact, that the people of Kansas, so far from exercising the right of popular suffrage, have been deprived of that franchise, and subjected to the most infamous insults and barbarity, for no other reason than for avowing their determination to exercise that sacred right. Such are the consistencies of modern Democracy! We fearlessly challenge contradiction and argument upon this point. We ask the leaders of the Democratic party, if the Territory of Kansas, both before and after the passage of the Nebraska and Kansas Bill, was not open equally to the North and the South? If Southern men could form societies to facilitate emigration thither several months before any such combinations at the North, as is notoriously the fact, was the subsequent charter of the Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts an aggression upon Southern rights? If Southern men could rightfully go there, and resolve to make it a Slave State, was it treason and fanaticism in Northern men, to go there and declare their purpose to make it a Free State? Is there aggression in the one case more than in the other? Here met the citizens of Georgia and Vermont on perfect equality in this respect. Has the State of Missouri any claim of proximity over that of Iowa? The pretence is absurd and preposterous, and yet this silly and insulting argument, that Northern men had no right to go there with their weapons of defence, as well as Southern men, is put up by the Democratic party at the South, and sustained by the Democratic party at the North. And when they are pointed to the murders and robberies, and other enormities unheard of before in the annals of civilization, committed by their Democratic friends at the South against the Kansas emigrants from the North, the senseless cry is raised, that they had no business there! And we see men in high places at the North, instead of vindicating the rights of their fellow citizens, thus trampled upon, stooping from their high stations, and bowing the suppliant knee to the madness and insolence of party-behest, and hear them talk of "Southern apprehension", of Southern rights, and the nationality of the Democratic party, and its efficiency to maintain the Federal Union!! Or else the accounts of these barbarous cruelties are treated by mendacious partisan papers of the Democratic party, as wholly false and unfounded, and the Northern emigrants denounced as interlopers in the territories, and as receiving, at the hands of the Democracy of the South, the punishment due to their temerity! It would be difficult to determine which were the greater—the party servility, or the moral obliquity of such a course!!

The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise was beyond doubt intended as a means of advancing the selfish purposes of unprincipled aspirants to the

Presidency, and was a fraud both upon the South and the North. To the South it was held out as a boon, inasmuch as it removed an impediment to the expansion of Slavery North of 36° 30'. The North were told that they could lose nothing by this Repeal, because by the operation of natural laws, Slavery could not go North of that line, and besides it was pretended that the great principle of popular sovereignty was vindicated, amid that all restraint upon Northern Emigration was thereby removed. As an underplot in this corrupt political scheme for the personal aggrandizement of a few demagogues North and South, the Kansas frauds were concocted, and are now developing under the lead of STRINGFELLOW and ATCHISON, while their co-workers in this monstrous treason against the peace and dignity of the Republic, and the lives, fortunes and liberties of Northern men, settling in that Territory, are seeking, by the most gross and unmitigated falsehoods, and misrepresentations, to divert public attention from the true character of the crimes there committed.

That this stupendous fraud was concocted in political corruption, appears from the fact that several of the leading Southern journals denounced it, as a cheat upon the rights of the South, and its authors as unfit to be trusted. But the evidence of its corruption consists in the fact, that the party whose leader, were its authors, in their partisan zeal, seem blinded to all moral perception, and not only palliate but even justify the horrid crimes perpetrated in Kansas by their Southern allies; and the present political campaign, unlike anything known in the history of the Republic, presents the gloomy spectacle of the apologists and defenders of Slavery, banded together against the Republicans, who alone resist the extension of human bondage into the Free Territories of the Union, not only by uttering the most villainous falsehoods against them for endeavoring to maintain the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and the doctrines of WASHINGTON and JEFFERSON, and of WEBSTER and CLAY—but, more than this, they stand boldly forth, both at the North and the South, and defend with unblushing effrontery, the crimes and barbarities perpetrated against their fellow-citizens in Kansas.

This terrible feature in the present campaign would blacken the darkest struggles for power among the factions which preceded the downfall of the Roman State; and the leaders of the Democratic party are incurring a most fearful responsibility.

Our election campaigns have, heretofore, been rendered disgraceful enough by outraging all the decencies of life, in the publications of partisan presses, in the disregard of truth and the lying slanders and vile aspersions upon the character of the candidates for popular favor. To these shameful excesses, which have disgraced our institutions, the public mind has become callous, and its effect has been, to disparage and disgrace official station, and to throw the government of the country into the hands of vile and unprincipled men. But the present struggle presents a still deeper shade of corruption, and the popular mind is being made callous to the commission of the highest crimes known to our laws.

To this Moloch of party, hecatombs of peaceable citizens are sacrificed in cold blood, and no common sentiment is awakened against it. The most brutal and cowardly assaults are committed upon the persons of distinguished men in the very halls of legislation, and no common sentiment of popular indignation is awakened against the perpetrators of these disgraceful deeds,—nay, they are even lauded, and the lowest depths of partisan pollution are stirred, to exhale fetid offerings to their praise. We need not consult the historic page to learn that party triumphs are dearly purchased by such tremendous sacrifices. Patriotism and private virtue could alone construct the mighty fabric of our Union. The lust of power and the madness of party zeal may raze it to the ground.

New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, SEPT. 6, 1856.

Mr. R. H. SHANNON, of New-York City, has just returned from Kansas, and furnishes us with some late, reliable, and important particulars about the disturbances there, not yet published. Mr. SHANNON is a cousin of the late Governor of Kansas Territory, and this fact gives to his statements additional interest.

Mr. SHANNON arrived at St. Louis on the 19th of August. He encountered there a detachment of the Border Ruffian army, under a relative of Major WILKES, of South Carolina, en route for the Territory. From thence Mr. S. proceeded to Jefferson City, where the greatest excitement prevailed in consequence of the publications by the Pro-Slavery Press, representing that the Free-State men had been committing murders and other horrible outrages upon the Pro-Slavery settlers of the Territory. These accounts, as we have since seen, were one tissue of willful misrepresentations, and the fact is further confirmed by the testimony of Mr. SHANNON. The people of Jefferson, thus deceived, were greatly indignant, and were loud in their threats against the free settlers of Kansas. At Lexington over three hundred men were speedily collected, and, after they had obtained the requisite number of arms from St. Louis, they started for the Territory. On the 22d of August (on which day Mr. S. reached Leavenworth,) he found the entire population of the city in the greatest commotion, caused by these exaggerated rumors from the adjoining Territory. Mr. S. says that a body of from 75 to 100 Pro-Slavery men, whom he saw here, were a most ferocious looking set of villains—brigands in appearance as well as in action. In this place, of course, no Free-State man was allowed to express an opinion: if he did so he would be immediately compelled to leave the town, or be subjected to some graver outrage. The Pro-Slavery banditti, at Leavenworth City, were at this time in an unusual state of excitement; probably at the prospect of a fresh raid upon the Kansas settlers. Most of them were intoxicated, and, without any apparent cause, they pursued inoffensive citizens through the city, offering them any and every outrage that their brutality suggested. The jailer was an especial victim. He was pursued by the infuriated Borderers, and had to stand some five or six musket shots. Indeed, the condition of the city was such that it was found necessary, for the safety of the lives of its inhabitants, to establish a Protective Police, which was done by the Mayor.

On the 23d of August, that part of the Pro-Slavery forces under WILKES, already alluded to as having arrived at St. Louis, reached Leavenworth. Here they were supplied with U. S. muskets by their party in the city. These men, also, were uproariously drunk. Some of them refused to go on with Major WILKES, and it was at last found necessary to divide the company into two commands. Great depredations were committed by them upon the property of citizens during their stay.

On the 27th a party of EMERY's men came into Leavenworth, bringing in their custody, some twenty prisoners. Among the latter were Rev. EPHRAIM NURE, brother-in-law of HERR, who, it will be remembered, was shot and scalped by the Border Ruffians. There was also among the prisoners a German named BEMERLY. On the 28th of August BEMERLY was set free. After he had regained his liberty he made some statements to the citizens in regard to LAND and capabilities for resistance, and this coming to the ears of the Pro-Slavery men, he was recaptured, and detained again as prisoner. It seems that BEMERLY did not understand this clearly, but fancying himself unjustly re-arrested, he endeavored to escape. The guard in whose charge he was placed called upon him to stop, but not doing so, the unfortunate German was at once and without further ceremony shot. The ball took effect in his back, and he was almost instantly killed. It is proper to add that no inquest upon the body was held, and no inquiry whatever was made into the cause of this most cold-blooded murder. Rev. Mr. NURE, one of the prisoners, was prevented from leaving on the ground that he was "obnoxious," and should be forced to take his trial. It is feared that he has suffered bodily harm at the hands of his enemies. There was also among the prisoners Rev. Mr. AVERY, a gentleman considerably advanced in years. He was a newspaper correspondent and had a diary in his possession. When taken, he endeavored to destroy this, but failed to do so. The Pro-Slavery men discovered it, and sent the owner back to their camp to be dealt with as in their tender mercy, they may hereafter think proper.

Mr. SHANNON gives some important information in regard to the invasion from Missouri, which, indeed, has already commenced. He says that the Missourians have raised an army of from three to five thousand men. They make no secret of their in-

which are to wage a war of extermination against the Free-State settlers of Kansas, and drive them from the territory.

The Free-State men, on the other hand, declare that they have no war to wage except against those who are committing depredations upon their property and murdering their men. The Free-State men are acting upon the defensive only, and in this attitude it is their determination to remain.

Mr. SHANNON gives some interesting accounts of several interviews with his cousin, the ex-Governor of Kansas. Gov. SHANNON left Leocompton on Wednesday, the 27th ult., with a guide. His son and his property were left behind. He had resigned on the 14th of August, and WOODSON was then the acting Governor. Gov. SHANNON, when about fifteen miles from Leocompton, passed, on Stranger's Creek, a picket guard of LANE's forces, composed of about 150 men. They saw him and followed in pursuit, but, thanks to a swift horse, the Governor made good his escape, and reached Leavenworth City on Thursday night. The Governor told Mr. SHANNON of this event, and also told him that LANE was well fortified at Lawrence, and that his men, numbering some two thousand five hundred, were well drilled. Mr. SHANNON subsequently learnt that Col. LANE stood in great need of both ammunition and provisions. The Governor came from Leavenworth to Kansas City, and traveled thence to Westport, where he has announced his intention of remaining until the troubles are over. Previous to his departure, the Governor told Judge LECOMPTÉ that he had better give over all idea of holding the ensuing term of the Court, as it would be broken up by LANE, who was supposed to have 8,000 men under his command. The Judge at this announcement is said to have waxed pale.

Mr. SHANNON reports that the United States soldiers in the Territory favor neither party, but remain absolutely neutral.

In yesterday morning's issue we published an appeal from ATCHISON, STRINGFELLOW and Company "to the people of the Union," in which the following paragraph appeared:

"When Gov. SHANNON, hoping that they would not harm him, who had saved them from unmerited punishment—who had, however unwittingly, so effectually protected them—ventures to Lawrence, which he had saved for them and calls on them to release the prisoners they had taken, his life is threatened—he is told that they do not recognize him as Governor—that they are a portion of the 4th army of the North—are at war with the Government, and hold their prisoners as prisoners of war. They demand and compel him to exchange the gallant TITUS and his fellow-prisoners for fellows in custody, under arrest for arson and robbery.

Mr. SHANNON, on the authority of the Governor himself, declares this to be an unmitigated falsehood. Col. TITUS was treated in the most honorable manner, and no endeavor was made to exchange him for any prisoner accused of robbery or arson.

Mr. SHANNON saw ATCHISON at a late date en route for the northern part of Missouri, where he was about to lead a large body of men to the invasion of Kansas.

Fortifications of Lawrence—Organization of the Free-State Companies—Movements of Pro-Slavery Forces, &c.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times

LAWRENCE, K. T., Wednesday, Aug. 27, 1855. Lawrence is being fortified. The Forts which were erected during the war of last November are being repaired; around the spot where the Free-State Hotel stood a wall of stone is in process of erection, against which an embankment of earth is to be thrown. On Mt. Oread, where Gov. ROBINSON'S house was, another Fort is to be built,—one is nearly finished at Blanton's Bridge, and one is already built and occupied at the Wakarusa crossing, at Blue Jackets.

Volunteers from different parts of the Territory are continually coming in, anxious to join in the defence. Messengers have been sent to the different settlements to warn the people of the threatened invasion and arouse them to a preparation for defence. The men now gathered here have completed their organization, and are divided into different regiments. LANE, who heretofore has remained somewhat in seclusion, has, at the urgent solicitation of the people, assumed the command. The Executive Committee of the Vigilance Committee of Lawrence, the Kansas Central Committee, appointed on the Fourth of July by the people at Topeka, and the commissioned officers of the various regiments and companies, compose a Council, whose duty it is to direct and control the

movements of the people. There are rash spirits in the camp, who wish to precipitate action and march to the strongholds of the barbarians and drive them from the Territory. These men are held in subjection by the wiser and cooler heads in the Council. Gen. LANE, who is noted more for his impulsive rashness than for wise caution, opposes the counsels of those who are so anxious to fight, and it is determined that no movement shall be made by his command, except upon the defensive. His knowledge of western character and master way of using it, has brought under complete subjection the spirits of those pioneers whom persecution, robbery and murder had aroused to deeds of recklessness.

Scouting parties have been sent off in different directions. A company of one hundred men have gone to Ossawatimie to protect the settlers in that region from the outrages committed by the barbarians of the Colony of New-Georgia.

The Franklin Company hold the passage of the Wakarusa, and are continually sending scouts down the road towards Westport. It is reported that the Pro-Slavery men south of the Kaw have, as a general thing, left the Territory. No Pro-Slavery men are in this region, except at Leocompton, where the Government officials are guarded by eight hundred United States troops. The little whisky-loving town of Franklin, founded by Pro-Slavery men, and their head-quarters during the Wakarusa war, has become regenerated, and now has none but Free-State men within her limits.

The Territorial authority is dead south of the Kaw, except when the United States Dragoons enforce it. Our people will not fight them, nor can PIERCE, DOUGLAS, or their agent, Col. WOODSON, entrap them into it, under present circumstances.

The barbarians are using every exertion to send a large force from the Border upon us. ATCHISON, STRINGFELLOW, Col. BOWN, and the Border presses are doing all that they can do to arouse a warlike spirit among their supporters. If we are to believe the statements which daily come to us from that quarter, then the Border is in a perfect flame of excitement. Many believe that their forces are not gathering as fast and in such numbers as they fondly hoped and wished. It is really laughable to see the stories related of the "Abolitionists" in the Border papers. Harrowing as must be these stories to the barbarians, if they believe them, they are amusing to us. They out-ripar Douglas in the magnificence of their lying.

We have just heard from the company stationed at the crossing of the Wakarusa. They report the presence of a body of twenty to thirty horsemen in that vicinity, this evening. It is believed that these horsemen are the advance guard of a larger force. Scouts have been sent to reconnoitre.

Last evening a company of sixty men arrived here from Stranger Creek, a place half way from this place to Leavenworth. They came here asking aid and protection. Some of them had been driven from their claims; others had had their horses stolen from them, and others, who had secreted their horses, had been compelled to get them, and saddle them in obedience to the commands of a party of the barbarians who were ravaging that portion of the country.

These men presented their situation to the Council, and earnestly implored aid to drive away the robbers who infested their neighborhood. They said that they had suffered these outrages until they could bear them no longer, and unless they could have protection they must leave the country. The Council decided that it would be better for them to lay their case before Col. WOODSON, acting Governor of the Territory, and request of him a detachment of troops for their protection.

This matter was presented to WOODSON by a Committee from these men. He could not furnish them with any troops for their protection, and advised them to get writs issued against the parties who had robbed them, and apply to the Marshal to serve them. Who can help admiring the cool impudence of this advice! Marshal DONALDSON serve a writ against Pro-Slavery men for horse-stealing! His posse, called together to sack Lawrence, were the best and boldest horse-thieves the country can produce. The courts of Kansas never indict Pro-Slavery men for "pressing" Free-State horses. These men have no hope only in protecting themselves.

Last Sunday a Committee waited upon WOODSON to see what course he was going to pursue in relation to the threatened invasion. Col. WOODSON pretended to regret the state of feeling in the Territory, and said that all trouble could be stopped if the Free-State men would only obey the Territorial laws. This the Free-State men never will do—they never will obey the laws made for them by DAVY ATCHISON and the Blue Lodge barbarians of Missouri.

Border Anarchism in Bad Order in Missouri.

The atrocities of Border Ruffianism in Kansas have begun to sicken the people of Missouri themselves, as appears from the following extracts from articles in the Lexington (Mo.) Express:

VAN HOORBEKE AND HIS HORSES.

The treatment received by the old man VAN HOORBEKE, at the hands of HORATIO OWENS, has just aroused the indignation of the citizens of Lexington, and we have taken the trouble to inquire diligently into the affair. In common with our fellow citizens generally, we are determined that it shall never be said that a man of any party, and though a stranger, cannot be protected in his rights in this city. We have laws which the high moral sense of our community will require to be faithfully and impartially executed. We want no self-conceited, clerical guardians of our welfare as a slaveholding community, and all such men, whether stragglers in our midst or resident citizens, will be treated, as was OWENS on Saturday last.

The incident in regard to VAN HOORBEKE is in detail as follows: About four weeks ago, a man calling himself FALLAS, and who said he was from Kansas, came to town with two horses, which he sold to Mr. JOHNSON, a livery-stable keeper in this city. On Friday last week, VAN HOORBEKE, accompanied by his son, came to Lexington in a two horse wagon. In conversation with some of our citizens, the old man said that he formerly lived in Cole County, Missouri, but had recently resided in Kansas Territory, and that every thing he had passed along the route from him, except his wagon and horses, which were not at home at the time of the robbery, or they would have been taken also. The old man staid about town all day, trying to sell his wagon and horses, but as he was a stranger, he did not meet with a purchaser. The next day, Saturday, as the son of JOHNSON'S had passed along the street, he was seized by the horses he had purchased from FALLAS, the old man exclaimed: "These are my horses that were stolen from me in Kansas." Whilst the old man was insisting upon his property HORATIO OWENS fell upon him and gave him several hard blows with the back of his sword, denounced him as an abolitionist, and ordered him to leave town immediately. Several persons were present at the time, but were prevented by a citizen of Kansas, who advised them to keep hands off and let OWENS alone. OWENS continued to abuse the old man, and threatened to kill him if he did not leave immediately. VAN HOORBEKE immediately left, protesting, however, that he was not an abolitionist. Several Pro-Slavery men heard of the incident, these facts became noised about, and produced almost universal dissatisfaction and commotion. It was determined that the wrongs of the old man should be redressed, and that he should have a fair chance to reclaim his property. Messengers were accordingly dispatched to request him to return, and to assure him that if he could prove his horse, he should have them. About night it was ascertained that the messenger had taken the wrong road, and others were immediately dispatched on the right road, with like instructions. These men traveled all night, and came up with the old man about daylight. Their message with respect to VAN HOORBEKE immediately returned to this city, and is now here, awaiting the aid of the police to prove his title to the horses. It is scarcely necessary to add that if he makes out his case, they will cheerfully be given up to him.

On Sunday morning last, FALLAS returned to our city with another horse for sale, and was immediately recognized and arrested. He was taken to the jail to be held in Kansas, and his trial was postponed until to-day, in order to give him time to send to Kansas for witnesses. We have not yet heard of their arrival. In company with FALLAS was a gentleman named FAIR, who was also arrested, but being able to give a good account of himself, he was subsequently released.

HORSE-STEALING—BURROD'S MEN THE CULPRITS.

From the Lexington Express, Aug. 30.

On Wednesday before last, several of BURROD'S men came down to this city from Kansas, and represented to our citizens that one of their men had a number of horses from Pro-Slavery men, and had run them down into this State for safe keeping until the present difficulties in the Territory were over. They further represented that said horses had been left in charge of one Mr. WILLIAMS, in Fire Prairie Creek Bottom, about twenty miles from Lexington, and that HEZON had gone back to Kansas, to join the Abolitionists in their war against the Pro-Slavery party. It was then that HORATIO OWENS, who has at intervals resided in this county for the last ten years, together with a man named SLADE, and several others of BURROD'S men, determined to go after and bring them to Lexington, for the purpose of mounting men who might desire to join the volunteers for the war in Kansas. This movement, we are told, was sanctioned by a number of our citizens; and if the statements of these men had been true, that said horses were originally stolen from Pro-Slavery men, that they were running to Missouri only for safe keeping during the present difficulties, and that HEZON had gone back, and joined the Abolitionists in their war against us, we presume there are but few men in any community that would not have approved the taking of those horses to mount our own men for the Kansas war; but when OWENS, SLADE & Co arrived in town with the horses, and put them up at public auction, instead of handing them over to the men having been sent to Kansas, it became evident to every one that said horses had been taken by these men, not for the purpose of mounting men for Kansas, but for the purpose of putting money into their pockets. Suspicious arose immediately that they had not obtained the horses honestly, and that their story about the horses having been run out of the Territory and belonging to Abolitionists, was false, and only intended to justify or screen them in an act of downright villainy. That they had stolen the horses, and brought them here only to sell and get the money, seemed to be the general belief, and under that belief their whole conduct in the matter met with universal condemnation. It is not enough to say that such conduct, if true, is scandalous, disgraceful, but the actors should be brought, if possible, to speedy justice.

The Presidential Election—New Issues and New Elements.

For the first time in this country, the Presidential election is assuming new forms and phases. Political considerations alone have been the chief impulses by which the public mind has been swayed, or through which it has arrived at its conclusions. The under currents of commercial and religious interests have but slightly agitated the movements of the electors. But it seems that other views are obtaining, and other consequences are at hand, than those ordinarily within the control of politicians.

We perceive that the enactment of the Kansas Territorial code is giving alarm to a vast number of the people, especially to those who have regarded previous political struggles with comparative indifference. But the spectacle having been presented of a legislature, elected by the unchecked interference of brutal force against the wishes of actual and legal residents, and of the passage of laws not only infringing ordinary civil and political rights, but actually overthrowing liberty of speech, of the press and of conscience, is one at which good men naturally revolt, and from which they turn away with horror. To disqualify a citizen from being a juror because from moral doubts he is opposed to holding slaves—to make it a felony if he should speak against the right of others to hold them—was bad enough; but to make the mere utterance of a sentiment on the subject punishable with five years' imprisonment is so atrocious an innovation upon the rights of freemen as to create a general burst of indignation. And more than this: to make that imprisonment utterly unendurable by the addition of the ball and chain, and handcuffs, to couple together those unfortunate who are mutually guilty of having hearts and lips, is a feature as astounding as any which has marked the inflictions of ancient and modern tyrants. Nothing surpasses, indeed, the atrociousness of such legislation, except that which has filled the dungeons of the Inquisition overcrowded the pathway to the Bridge of Sighs. The legislation of the usurping law makers of Kansas is of a character so unjust, so iniquitous, so audacious, that we not only do not wonder at the resistance they have met with in that Territory, but we are astonished beyond expression that the people of the United States have not risen *en masse* against their enforcement; we are amazed that any party considerations, any sectional interests, any local prejudices or political schemes, whatever, should be allowed for a moment to retard their overthrow.

But there is, happily for our country, a very large and influential class of citizens who cannot be swayed by any such considerations, and are calmly but firmly breasting the shock which threatens the very existence of our civil and moral freedom. We mean especially those whose sentiments are of a religious cast, who form the great body of American Christian worshippers, whose conduct is governed by the precepts of the gospel, and "whose name is in all the churches." Differences of opinion have, it is true, for a few years back existed as to one question, in its doctrinal character and in its responsibilities; separations among religious sects have taken place on the abstraction, by itself considered; but none whatever has existed as to the right of discussing it—none as to the freedom of opinion which should be allowed to exist with regard to its origin, its bearings, or its remedies. Political contests have not hitherto been considered the proper arena where mere moral opinions should become an element of party strife. But when a dominant party—one seated in power, and struggling to maintain it—goes so far as to originate and enforce the most barbarous of statutes, to back them up with standing army, and to

point the bayonet at every bosom that heaves with indignation—to gag every mouth that utters an honest thought—to fill the public prisons with all who dare express even a sentiment—it is not to be wondered at that even the most unresisting of our religious communities should awake to a sense of their impending danger. A new element, therefore, follows the new issue, and is about to be expressed in a new sphere of action.

We find that element, thus called forth, to be formidable in numbers and influence. Beginning with what are called the Evangelical and Protestant churches, we perceive the Baptists of the United States present an array of—

Associations..... 682 Ministers..... 9,476
Churches..... 14,179 Members..... 1,318,469

The Presbyterians (both schools) have—
Presbyteries..... 259 Ministers..... 2,828
Churches..... 4,738 Communicants..... 374,438

The Methodists, including the Methodist Church South—which, however, is not unanimous, either in Maryland, Delaware, Virginia or Missouri, on the dividing question, but in large numbers adheres to the Methodist Episcopal Church of the North—number, together, as follows:—

M. E. Church South. M. E. Church North.
Ministers..... 1,942 Ministers..... 4,579
Members..... 596,852 Members..... 753,358

The Lutherans have—
Ministers..... 1,900 Members..... 225,000
Congregations..... 1,900

The Quakers are understood to have from 300 to 350 congregations, but their total number is unknown.

The Episcopalians have—
Churches..... 1,323 Members..... 108,550
Ministers..... 1,742

If we add to these the other classes of Christians organized in churches, including the Dutch Reformed and Congregationalists with the Presbyterians, and the Moravians, with the Episcopalians, we will find their aggregates in the following statement:—

Churches.	Ministers.	Members.
Episcopalian..... 1,323	1,742	108,550
Presbyterian..... 10,566	8,472	926,315
Baptist..... 14,076	9,476	1,322,469
Methodist..... 14,000	8,740	1,593,794
Lutheran..... 1,900	1,900	225,000

But there is also an immense numerical and moral force in the American Roman Catholic Church.

This has a body of 1,780 priests, 2,801 churches and stations for worship, 49 literary institutions, and an immense number of communicants—the total of which we do not know at this moment. The Unitarians possess 360 churches, chiefly located in New England. Their total is unknown to us.

But there is still another view of interest. Besides this enormous number of actual church members, or communicants, there is a still greater number who outwardly conform to the doctrines of their churches, are pew holders and regular attendants, and are under their influence, from education, reflection and choice.

The whole Episcopalian population is thus..... 1,012,000
Presbyterian..... 5,500,000
Baptist..... 5,000,000
Methodist..... 550,000
Lutheran..... 750,000

Total..... 12,812,000

Here, then, we have briefly an outline of the moral and religious element which is now disturbed by the immoral and irreligious, unconstitutional and illegal laws of Kansas. Here we see where the new issue is to find its merits investigated, and the principles of political and religious freedom, if ever, are to be reinvigorated and sustained. A common danger, a common feeling must arouse the action of millions of minds which hitherto have felt no alarm. It is not with "drum ecclesiastic" they are aroused to a sense of their insecurity; it will be, it is the small but clear voice of conscience which calls them to the ballot box. It is not with Sharpe's rifles they contend, but with the franchise of electors, and the simple inscription of their preferences. On no other occasion, as we have before stated, has this moral and religious feeling of the country been so aroused as by these laws of Kansas, favored by the President, Jefferson Davis, and their political associates, at the ex-

pense of the constitution and the rights of opinion and conscience, which are enforced by the army of the United States with more than Cromwellian violence, and are to be maintained without scruple or relaxation by Mr. Buchanan. It is this conviction of the religious, as well as the patriotic mind, which gives to the coming contest an importance almost beyond belief.

For the first time in our history all these moral and religious influences will be awakened to action in the Presidential contest. Forty thousand churches and thirteen millions of people are aroused to the consideration of questions vitally affecting their liberties, and perfectly constitutional in their character; and what is to prevent them from uniting in a rush at the elections and carrying every free State in the Union for Fremont, who is the only real representative of the principles which have been thus outraged?

ELECTION SONG.

For the Monitor.

Let us march to vict'ry, friends!
Fremont shall lead our van,
On him a Nation's fate depends,—
Yes! yes! he is the man.
On him a Nation's fate depends,—
Fremont shall be the man!

None, none but he, can save us now,
From Slavery's odious ban,
Then boldly let each heart avow,
Fremont,—he is the man.
Fremont, to guide our vessel's prow,
Fremont shall be the man!

Fillmore, who once such hopes betray'd,
And spoil'd our Freedom's plan,
Shall ne'er our equal rights invade;—
Fremont—he is the man;—
Nor yet that bachelor decay'd,—
Fremont shall be the man!

Then, let us march to sure success,
With Fremont in our van,
None, none but he our choice shall bless,
Fremont,—he is the man.
If Liberty we still possess,
Fremont must be the man!

Strive, Freedom! strive to break our chain,
Strive, Freedom! all you can,
You never more may strive again;
Fremont,—he is the man.
To wash us clean from Slavery's stain,
Fremont shall be the man!

Let us march to vict'ry friends!
Fremont shall lead our van,—
On him a Nation's peace depends,
Yes! yes! he is the man.
On him a Nation's peace depends,
Fremont shall be the man!

RALLYING SONG.

TUNE—"Swannah."

DEDICATED TO THE FREMONT CLUB, READING, MASS.

"Shall the United States—the Free United States—which could no longer bear the bonds of a king, cradle the bondage which a King has abolished? Shall a republic be less free than a monarchy?"

We've come up here together boys,
To edge both heart and hand,
To fight against the foe to Right,
The Border Ruffian band;
Then let the shout swell forth my boys,
Ring out from sea to sea,
There is a North as well as South,
And Kansas shall be free.
Chorus—Rise bold freemen,
Arise from hill and dale,
Your watchword, "Jessie and the right,"
There's no such word as fail.

The hour has come and we are called
To join fair Freedom's van.
'Tis headed by an "engineer,"
A very "rash young man;"
His heart is stout, his arm is strong,
And both are pledged to free
The virgin soil his foot first trod,
From Death and Slavery.
Chorus—Rise bold freemen, &c.

Speak! shall we idly stand and see
This fair land drench'd in woe?
Hark! from each hill and valley deep
The Bay State answers No!
Huzah for our Surveyor bold,
Now give us three times three,
Fling forth your banner to the breeze,
Fremont and victory!
Chorus—Rise bold freemen, &c.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

When Freedom, on her natal day,
Within her war-rocked cradle lay,
Her iron race around her stood,
And gazed her infant brow with blood,
And, through the storms that round her swept,
Her constant ward and watching kept.

When, where the quiet herds repose,
The fearful roar of battle rose,
And language of a common tongue
The universal strife as tigers sprung,
And every gift on Freedom's shrine
Was man for beast and blood for wine.

Our fathers to their graves are gone,
Their stripes are o'er, their triumphs won;
Their nobler conflicts with the race
That mass in their honored place;
Their mortal warfare with the crime
And folly of an evil time.

Let us be, in God's own might,
Fought as for the coming fight;
And, strong in Him whose cause is ours,
To combat with unholy powers,
To grasp the weapons he has given—
The light, the love, the truth of Heaven.

The Daily Journal.

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH:

SATURDAY - - - SEPT. 6, 1856.

LEAVENWORTH, K. T., August 26th, 1856.
MY DEAR SIR—This will inform you that I am in Kansas Territory, and a most beautiful and lovely country it is. The climate is mild and fine, the soil very rich, and if made a free State must become one of the great States of the Union. But unhappily, Sir, the worst blood and passions of the people are terribly excited, and both parties are preparing for war in earnest; and, if not prevented by the U. S. troops, a bloody battle will be fought soon. I will state briefly what has caused the present war preparations on the part of the pro-slavery party. The Southern people have been coming into the Territory in armed companies and settling among the free State men, and instead of going to work as good citizens should do, they encamp, and have been robbing and stealing horses and other property from the free State men, and in this way trying to provoke a fight out of them. The free State men applied to the officers of the Territory who are all pro-slavery men, and asked for protection, and that their property might be returned, but no redress could be had. Some of the free State men finding this getting too hard on them, formed themselves into companies, and undertook to get some of their property back again. The pro-slavery men went in to a log house, which they used as a fort, and shot out of the cracks and killed two or three of the free State men, and wounded a number of others, but the free State men acted with great moderation and did not kill or wound any pro-slavery men. When this was done some of the pro-slavery men formed companies and went to relieve their party, but were too late and were taken prisoners. On last Sunday a week Gov. Shannon went to Lawrence and made a settlement of the matter up to that time by exchanging prisoners (for the pro-slavery men had taken six men who were traveling by their town, Leecompton) and giving up to the free State men the cannon and other arms taken from Lawrence in May last. Since then the free State men have done nothing to give the least offence in any way. But the pro-slavery party commenced the cry of war—war to the knife—kill the abolitionists—drive them all from the Territory—and started express riders all over the land and through Missouri with the most inflammatory reports, stating that war was commenced by the abolitionists—that they were burning towns, robbing post-offices and driving the people off—that women and children were fleeing for their lives, and a great many prisoners were taken, among them Secretary Woodson—and that many pro-slavery men were killed. Now I assure you that there is not one word of truth in the whole of this sort of news! If it is all done to get the Missourians over here to drive out and kill the Free State men, so that they may have the Territory and make a Slave State of it. I have heard them talk, and know their plans.

These border ruffians are the worst people I ever saw in my life. They must have raked it—! to get them. One of them killed a man the other day and took his scalp and showed it to the military company he belongs to, and no attempt was made to arrest him for punish him.

I never heard of any act committed by a civilized man, that was more fiend-like, savage and barbarous, unexampled among the criminal records of christian and civilized countries.— This man that was killed had just come into the Territory a few days before with his wife, and hired a horse and buggy and took his wife out, and was returning with the horse and buggy when this ruffian met him about two miles from town and killed and scalped him, because he was a Free State man. That was the crime for which his life was taken.

I do not know it of my own knowledge, but I do believe from what I have heard pro-slavery men say, that many others have been killed for the same crime, and their bodies hid. There are a great many men here that can be hired to do anything, and they are employed and paid by the leaders of the pro-slavery party.

The Free State party have two to one of the citizens of the Territory, and they have been insulted, imposed upon, outraged and enslaved; they have been denied the right of speech and other constitutional and civil rights, and if any presumed to be so bold as to speak out publicly his sentiments, it was at the risk of his life, or of being driven from the Territory in the most insulting and brutal manner. The Free State men have borne with it all this time for the sake of peace, and for fear the border ruffians, the Missourians, would come over here and kill them.

They have petitioned, remonstrated and stated their grievances to the Administration at Washington, and asked for protection, and all have been treated with contempt. I tell you that the free State men here have been ten times as much insulted, outraged and oppressed, as were our Revolutionary Fathers when they rebelled against England. But the last drop in the cup of forbearance is exhausted, and forbearance is no longer a virtue, and we will fight or be free. This Administration and the leaders of the party are responsible for the present state of things in the Territory, and a terrible responsibility it is. I would about as soon vote for the Devil, as for the candidate of the border ruffian pro-slavery Democratic party. There is not one free State man in the Territory that would vote for old Buck, and thousands of them are old line Democrats and never voted any other ticket. I have stated nothing but the truth, you can rely upon it. I remain very respectfully, your friend,
AARON JEFFRIES.

Mobile Daily Tribune.

MOBILE:

SATURDAY MORNING, SEPT. 6, 1856.

Kansas—Help for It.

On the 1st inst. there was a large meeting in Savannah, the object of which was to hear the story of two delegates sent home by the Kansas Colony, which left Georgia some months ago. The names of these gentlemen are Col. E. M. McGee—an old resident of the territory—and Capt. Batt Jones, a Georgian. The former gave an interesting account of the soil, climate, &c., of the territory and showed that of all our vast landed possessions no part is superior, and very little equal, to this disputed land. The rivers, he declared, are well-timbered with walnut, oak, &c. On the prairies no clearing is needed. Fences are easily made. Turn up the sod with a prairie plough and sow orange seed in the ridge, and within a few years there is a durable fence that nothing living can penetrate. To break up the sod at first requires heavy ploughing; but afterwards a one horse plough is sufficient. The first year will bring from twenty-five to thirty-five bushels of wheat to the acre. The second year the ground is as "light as an ash-heap," and will produce from sixty to eighty bushels of corn to the acre—and that with very little attention, and but one ploughing. Here is a literal extract of the report of the speech:

It is not uncommon for one hand to cultivate 100 acres. There are no weeds there; the tame weeds which trouble you so much here, have not got foothold there. I have seen 50 bushels of corn raised to the acre, without any ploughing; the seed was sown and then left to itself.

I came here to tell you facts about Kansas, and its productions. Hemp and tobacco are the principal productions for export. Hemp will pay at least double what cotton will. It is usual to make a ton to the acre, but we will put it down at half a ton per acre, and at \$150 per ton, (the price is \$160,) one hand can cultivate, break and prepare for market an acre, this will make \$750 to the hand.— But it is considered bad doings to make only half a ton to the acre. I have seen 2,500 pounds raised to the acre. Slaves bring higher prices and hire for more than here.—

I tell you these things in order to show you how you can better your condition pecuniarily by going to Kansas.

The speaker has lived nearly all his life in Kansas. He stated, in beginning his talk, that he had been to school but eight days and a half in his life—for in his boyhood in Kansas there were neither books nor teachers. With this explanation we quote the following concluding part of the report which we find in the Savannah News:

I live just where the northern fanatics landed when they entered the territory.— They had to pass through my lane, and I could see what they brought with them, and hear their conversation. They did not come to settle, they came with their Sharp's rifles, Colt's repeaters and carpet bags. They came to tell Missouri her institutions would only last three years; they came to tell the slaves they had come to redeem them; they told them, "only destroy your master's property, and all will be well; we will free you and take care of you." They went on and built up villages, built what they called a tavern, with a wall three feet thick with loopholes, with a ditch around it, a breastwork, &c. This was a strange sort of a tavern.— They did all this before a single voice was raised from the south. If we had begun sooner it would have been easier to have silenced them. The little band of thirty, which was first formed to resist them, has grown until its voice is heard from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We had sworn to conquer or perish in the attempt, and if we fell it would be with our faces foremost. (Loud cheers.)

Had it not been for the sway-backed, broken down politicians at the north who urged on the fanatics to the second struggle, we should have had peace now. The question will never be settled unless Kansas is admitted into the Union as a slave state.— Maintain your rights and then we care not who is President. Ask a man in Kansas who he intends to vote for, and he will answer Kansas and Brooks. Ask him who is running for President, and he will answer Kansas and Brooks. He don't know, or don't want to know, who is running in the north, he knows the south are for Kansas and Brooks, (long continued cheering.) I am a Union man, and will be as long as we can maintain our rights. I see you have erected a monument in honor of a man who died in defence of your liberty, and I hope if any of us lose our lives while defending your rights and liberty, that you will at least put a little stone on top of our graves.

All that is required is to show a bold front. Northern men are great braggers, but no fighters. They can brag louder and fight less than any people I know. The only time they venture to attack us is when a crowd can come down on two or three. When they come on us only two to one, we whip them easily. Lane, Reeder, and all that crew cannot raise men enough to whip a few Border Ruffians. The news you get here comes through New York, and is very much like the whiskey that goes up the Missouri, it gets mightily mixed before it gets through.

This is all quite interesting, and, it is not unlikely, a little bit exaggerated—for we should suppose it were impossible for a man to take a part in the parties in Kansas without being somewhat prejudiced.

Capt. Batt Jones also delivered a speech, mainly an appeal to the generosity of the people of Georgia. The result was great enthusiasm. Resolutions were passed, and plans were provided for the immediate raising of money.

It may be well to state that the "Georgia colony," so called in Kansas, was recently set upon by some of the abolitionists and broken up. As far as we can learn, the members of it were engaged in the pursuits of agriculture, resolved to aid the south by cultivating the ground, and quietly voting when the time for the use of that right came. They had given no provocation to their enemies; and whilst pursuing this estimable course, they were set upon and driven out, and are now homeless. To get help from their state the two delegates above alluded to have been sent to Georgia.

The other day in a Kansas meeting in New Orleans it was suggested that the state legislatures of the south should act in this matter. It seems to us that that has become the duty of our governors. Let them summon the legislatures, and see what "state aid" can be given in this way. If it be proper that the people of the states should help Kansas, it cannot be improper for the legislatures of the states to help Kansas. And by that sort of help—especially if it were nearly simultaneous—in the extreme south and

south-western states—there would be produced a unity of action which would go far to consolidate the power, opinion and influence of these states. We know that there are some objections to this course. It might provoke a counter-movement in the free states—but it might have a better effect.— It might show the active agitators of those states, what they positively and repeatedly declare to be untrue—namely, that the south is in earnest. An act of the sort would go very far to show the extent of our earnestness, and in that exhibition there might be a large amount of reaction and safety.

The party leaders, however, are so busy about the presidential election that we suppose all matters must defer to that; and by the time that is over nothing may have been gained and every thing lost—as far as Kansas is concerned.

The North West
Suburban July 21, 1856.

Gunpowder for Lambs.

The New York Observer, a consistent religious weekly paper, administers the following rebuke to clerical politicians who desecrate their pulpits by urging men to rebellion and murder, and declare it a disgrace for a man to shoot at a fellow man and not hit him:—

“Gunpowder for lambs—for the lambs of Christ—for the lambs of Christ in the territory of Kansas. A minister of the blessed gospel of the Son of God, a minister in the State of Connecticut—a minister, we are sorry to say, who inherits the name of Winslow, says in a meeting of ministers, even on the floor of the General Association of that State—In sympathy with the direction of our Saviour—Feed my lambs—we propose to feed lambs of Kansas—to feed them with bread, and with powder too, to protect them against the wolves of Missouri!”

“Now we desire to ask, in all humility, is there any sympathy with the direction of our Saviour, in this proposition to send gun powder to feed the children of God? We have not so learned Christ. If this is the religion of the gospel, the love, the forbearance of the meek and lowly Jesus, then frankly—we confess that we have never felt one emotion of the Saviour's love! Not one. If Mr. Winslow's spirit is religion, we have not the faintest conception of what religion is. And we do not wish to have; we would not, for ten thousand worlds, put our own soul, or the soul of our worst enemy, on the platform of such a religion as this man preaches, with the exception that this religion would save that soul!

“Nor do we expect to reach him, or any of the gunpowder divines by these words. But we know there are many who have not yet bowed the knee to Baal, many who still say, and love to say with that glorious preacher of olden times,—‘the weapons of our warfare are not carnal,’—and to them we speak. Brethren, pray for these deluded, misguided men. Pray for these ministers who have forgotten the words of him who said, ‘My kingdom is not of this world.’ Pray for these preachers who teach that rifles are better than bibles, and that gunpowder is good for the lambs of Christ!

Do not be disgusted and driven away from all hope, for even these half demented men may yet be found, sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in their right mind. They are now, to all intents and purposes, beside themselves. Much excitement has made them mad; fearfully and wonderfully mad. Yet their case is not hopeless. Perhaps their fierceness will consume itself, and leave them cool the sooner.

But to what a wretched pass we have come, when the men who are sent for the defence of the Gospel, thus trample its holy principles under their feet, and bid defiance to the whole system of the Christian religion. It is not for a wonder that the General Assembly of Vermont unanimously declare and lament that ‘the external and agitating questions of the age have diverted us from attention to personal piety, from duty in our closets and families, and from direct individual efforts to save souls.’ Ah! there's the truth. Put sackcloth on your heads, ye political preachers, ye ministerial agitators, ye worldly divines, and go down into the dust of humiliation.

“This same minister of sulphur and saltpetre, Mr. Winslow, goes on to say—

“We are simply a body of ministers, and have a right to act as we see fit. A miserable politician can go into a row, and, by his influence, get fifty votes. Another, with his rum,

can buy up fifty Irishmen. I can only give one vote by acting as we are advised to act.— But I intend to take this matter into the pulpit, and get fifty votes, if I can.”

In this declaration we have the phenomenon explained; we see why the preacher becomes the politician. It is the lust of power. Mr. Winslow says the politician can get fifty votes, the rum-seller can get fifty votes, and I intend to go into the pulpit and get fifty votes! He will use the pulpit as the politician does the stump, and the trader does the rum—to get votes! And this is his idea of the object of the pulpit and the gospel! But he miserably mistakes his Master's will, who thus prostitutes his high calling. He proves beyond all question that he is either totally unfit to be called a minister, or he has fallen from his first love, become worldly and carnally minded, and is in danger of making shipwreck of his mind and soul.

The Rev. Mr. Tyng, in Philadelphia, of the Episcopal denomination, saw fit to make his pulpit the platform for a political oration, a Sabbath or two since. Some of his parishioners rose and left the house, and one gentleman called him to order, remonstrating against the desecration of the house of God. We understand that the vestry of his congregation have since unanimously protested against his course. It is astonishing that a man who is set for ‘the cure of souls,’ whose sole business it is to preach Christ and him crucified to dying sinners, with their salvation as the immediate object of his labors, should so far forget his work, his vows, and his duty, as to devote his strength, his pulpit, his office, and the holy Sabbath, to the pitiful business of electioneering! As if souls were of less importance than votes! As if God would be glorified by dragging the politics of the week into the sanctuary on the Sabbath! Politicians during the week, need to have their minds turned to other and better themes; they desire to be led ‘by the side of still waters,’ away from the troubled sea of party strife, and to repose, for one day, at least, under the shadow of the cross.

At Providence, R. I., during the session of the association, we saw several ministers who appeared to ignore the word of God, and the example of Christ and his apostles as guides in the discharge of his sacred office. When they were called to test their principles by the touchstone of the gospel, they invariably flew off. When charged with this inconsistency, they could not deny it. One minister whispered in our ears, and said to another, that ‘for three years he did not go to a prayer meeting.’ This was in exposition of the man's exceeding zeal to cut off correspondence with the Presbyterians. Another said, ‘as these agitating questions are up, the spirit of prayer goes down.’ And we ventured to appeal to the praying men of New England, and to ask them if they believe that these advocates of guns and powder for lambs, are imbued with the spirit of prayer? Are they the men you would send for to teach your children the way of salvation, or to administer consolation to your own souls in the hour of death? No. They are men who have forsaken their master, if they have not denied him. They have wounded and grieved him, and brought darkness and meanness into their own souls. They have chosen rifles for Bibles, and gunpowder for grace! May the Lord forgive them; they know not what they do.

Another Murder in Kansas.

The following letter, which we find in the Cincinnati Commercial, explains itself:

BLUE SPRING, NEAR TECUMSEH, K. T.,
July 24th, 1856.

MR. W. G. SHERWIN—Dear Sir:—We take this method of acquainting you with the sad fate of your friend. Yesterday morning, we—my friend Rooks and myself—were going to Tecumseh, but when about eleven miles from that place, we were appalled by the sight of the body of a murdered man, tied firmly to a tree, near the road side. He was tied with his back to the tree, with his hands and feet partially around it. He had been shot just above the left eye, with, we suppose, a rifle ball. A huge hunting knife was sticking in his breast. It had been driven clear through him, and the point was two or three inches in the tree. He was evidently murdered yesterday or day before. There was a toad-stool tied to the handle of the knife, on which the following inscription was written "Let all those who are going to vote against slavery, take warning." We went to the nearest house, which was about a mile and a half, and got some help and some tools, and buried him. He was a stranger to all of us, except Mr. More, who says he has been boarding at his house eleven or twelve days. His name was Laben Parker, and came from Cleveland.

He had repeatedly said at the boarding house that he did not intend to resort to force, but so far as his influence at the polls went, he was going to use it for making Kansas a free State. A company of armed men from South Carolina, have been staying around Tecumseh three or four days. A squad of them was down this road yesterday and day before. We don't any of us know where his relations live, but among the papers in his pocket, we find a letter from you, written on the 6th of May, and that is the reason we direct this to you.

Yours, and so forth,

MARTIN RULEX,
J. E. MORE,
FREDERICK ROOKS.

Lane Co., Kansas Territory.

W. G. SHERWIN,
Dayton, Ohio.

Mr. Sherwin, is a quiet, intelligent young man, living in this city, and is now a student of law in the office of C. L. Vallingham, Esq. He has been known to our citizens for several years, and sustains an unimpeachable character. He states that he wrote a letter to Parker, on the 6th of May last, and supposes that his friend has been murdered. He further adds that Mr. Parker's father and mother are dead and that he has a surviving sister living at Cleveland. He has informed her of the fate of her brother.

sistent in regard to the state of things in the Territory. During my presence in the States, I went to the City of Washington, where I arrived in the beginning of May, 1856. I at once saw President PIERCE, and had a full consultation with him on the state of things in Kansas, which was protracted for more than two weeks, and kept up almost daily. I gave him, in the fullest manner, all the information which I had upon the subject, and endeavored to impress upon him the conviction which was upon my mind, that unless some decided course was taken the actual settlers of the Territory would be subjected to the most cruel persecution; that there was a settled determination on the part of the border counties of Missouri—strong in men and means—to deprive them of the right of governing themselves and regulating their own affairs. I stated to him that the seizure of the polls at the two elections which had been held, together with the intermeddling and tyrannic spirit which pervaded the entire action of our Missouri neighbors, concurred with all the information I had received to convince me that there was a settled determination by intimidation and force, to subjugate the Territory entirely to their will, in defiance of the right of the majority and the principle of the organic law. I had learned some new facts since the grant of the certificates of election, which I also made known to him. Indeed, I stated to him all my knowledge and all my views in the most candid manner, for I had still the fullest confidence that he would share all my indignation at the gross wrong of this foreign interference.

I had several times written him on this subject, from the Territory. Immediately after the election of the 29th of November, at which the most disgraceful scenes had been enacted, I wrote him fully what had taken place, and expressed my views on the subject without reserve. Previous to that election I had also written him, and that such an invasion was openly threatened, but expressed the opinion that, by careful provisions in my proclamation, I could counteract it, for I did not then credit that it would be carried to such extremes of recklessness and violence. A short time previous to the election of the 30th of March, I had again written him that the same thing was again threatened. Those letters, however, were private, and I now see that I committed an error in making them so; but I then had confidence that he felt upon the subject as I did, and that the cause of truth and justice would be best subserved by intrusting the whole matter to his discretion, without forestalling or hampering his future action.

The President, in our interviews, expressed himself highly pleased and satisfied with my course, and in the most unequivocal language approved and indorsed all I had done. He expressed some regret, however, that my speech in Boston had omitted all allusion to the illegalities of the Emigrant Aid Society, and thought it was perhaps unnecessarily strong in its denunciation of the Missouri invasion. I told him I had no knowledge of the operations of the Emigrant Aid Company except what was before the whole public, and so long as they had not sent out men merely to vote and not to settle, (of which I had no evidence and which I did not believe) I could not consistently denounce their course as illegal. He stated that this Kansas matter had given him more harassing anxiety than anything that had happened since the loss of his son; that it haunted him day and night, and was the great overshadowing trouble of his Administration. He stated that the most pertinacious complaints of me had been made to him, and the most urgent demands had been made for my removal upon every ground that could be got up; that Gen. ATCHISON pressed it in the most exciting manner, and would listen to no reasoning at all. As to the charges of purchasing Indian lands and interests in towns, he said he was entirely satisfied as to the former, that it was all fair and honorable, and that hundreds had gone so before me—ridiculed Mr. MANNING'S objection to it, and said he had rebuked him when he talked to him of it; he was, nevertheless, sorry, under the circumstances of this case, that I had made any purchases, as they made a pretext for my enemies to annoy him with demands for my removal. As to the purchases of town property he said he was entirely satisfied, from his confidence in me, that they were all right, but he wished me to explain them to him, and refer to the acts of Congress under which towns were laid out, so that he might be prepared to justify me and himself when the subject came up before him. I accordingly gave him all the information on the subject, both as to law and fact, which was in my power, and stated what was the fact, that in no one case had I been concerned as an original projector in the laying out of any town, but in every case had acquired my interest subject to the original laying out. He expressed himself satisfied, except that he thought the act of May 28, 1854, did not authorize the laying out of towns except on lands which had been surveyed. I replied that the Commissioner of the Land Office had so construed the act as to recognize towns which had been laid out before the survey, and that Mr. WILSON would so state to him if he would inquire; and that this construction was right and necessary, for it was idle to expect the Territory to be settled if it was to remain two years without towns. He expressed himself satisfied, and the subject was then dropped. He wished no ex-

PRESIDENT PIERCE AND GOV. REEDER.

How the President of the United States tried to Negotiate Gov. Reeder out of Office.

CURIOUS REVELATIONS.

The Report of the Kansas Investigating Committee has just been published, together with all the evidence taken in the case. From the latter we copy the following testimony, given under oath by Hon. A. H. REEDER, appointed Governor of the Territory by President PIERCE, in regard to his subsequent removal from that office:

"I left the Territory about the middle of April, [1855], and came East for the purpose of taking out my family, and attending to private business, as well as for the purpose of consulting with the Pre-

plianation nor found any fault as to the contract for half-breed new lands, but, as I have already stated, he expressed himself, in strong language, entirely satisfied as to the fairness and honorable character of the transaction.

I, however, pressed that and another matter upon his attention. The contracts of these lands had been before him with the accompanying papers in the month of January previous, and upon Mr. MANNING'S making a most violent and high-tempered report against them upon the grounds of unfairness, as well as of technical want of conformity to the rules of the Department, he had returned them to me, simply declining to confirm them. I now called his attention to them again, and, as he had expressed himself fully satisfied of their honesty and fairness, I requested him to examine the additional papers and depositions which he had procured to supply technical defects and a legal argument I had made to demonstrate, from the decisions of the Supreme Court, the acts of Congress, and the opinions of the Attorney General, that the whole case and all we had to say upon it was before him, and requested him to examine them and decide it. He asked me to hand the papers to Gov. McCLELLAND, Secretary of the Interior, and I did so.

The second matter to which I called his attention was the town site of Pawnee. I had informed him that my proclamation named that place for the meeting of the Legislature, and gave him as a reason for so doing that it was remote from the influence of Missouri. He approved of it very cordially; and a day or two thereafter I complained to him of what I considered the unfair action of the War Department. I stated to him that as soon as it was ascertained or suspected that I would call the Legislature together at that place, it was at once assailed through the press and otherwise to break it down; that a Free-State population recently had commenced settling in and around it; that it was obvious its natural advantages would attract emigrants; that its distance from Missouri would constitute a great objection to the projectors and friends of the foreign invasion of our Territory, while the same reasons would, in a few years, make it a rallying point for Northern men, and draw about it a large settlement; that it was foreseen by the Missourians, and hence their hostility to it and their determination to break it up; that I had been informed by a reputable and credible citizen of Missouri that General ATCHISON had written to General (JEF.) DAVIS on the subject, and that difficulties had been started in regard to the military reserve of Fort Riley, and as to a dispute between the commanding officer there and a couple of intruders, which had so resulted as that the War Department had declared it, wrongfully I believed, within the military reservation; that after a number of houses had been erected, beside a large hall for the meeting of the Legislature, and after it was known throughout the States that my proclamation had conveyed the Legislature there, I explained that Colonel MONTGOMERY had been ordered to survey and proclaim a military reservation at that place, and not being prepared to do so early enough to keep off settlers, had made a provisional reservation without survey of ten miles by eighteen, until he could fully comply with the order by selecting what land he would want, and surveying and proclaiming it. That in the meantime some of the officers of the post, the settlers, and other gentlemen, had conceived the idea of a town in that vicinity, and some of them had addressed Col. MONTGOMERY a letter, stating their wish to lay out a town, designating two places which they supposed he would not include when he came to survey his reservation, and asking his permission to use one of the points for the purpose contemplated; that the Colonel, although not yet prepared exactly to define the reserve he would make, was satisfied that one of the places they named would not be needed or included by him, and had, in his reply to their letter, so informed them, and that he had no objection to their taking possession of it; that they had accordingly proceeded to locate and lay out upon this ground the town of Pawnee; that all this had happened in the Summer before I had arrived in the Territory, or had any knowledge of the town or the men who had laid it out; that in November, 1854, in our tour through the Territory, we had stopped at the fort, and were very hospitably treated by the officers, and were then for the first time made acquainted with the fact that such a town existed. The officers and sutler of the post showed us their town site, informed us that it was outside of the reserve, and, as a matter of courtesy to the five Territorial officers, including myself, whom I have mentioned as constituting our party, presented to each of us a share, being one twenty-fifth part, at the same price as the original stockholders had theirs, namely, a proportion of expenses, which we of course accepted; that the officers of the post were probably led into this project by the fact that the same thing had been done by a number of citizens and officers at Fort Leavenworth, who had laid out a town upon ground excluded from the Leavenworth military reserve, and that the Secretary of War, in a correspondence arising out of the transaction, had defended them and approved the act; that Colonel MONTGOMERY had, subsequently to the laying out of the town, made and returned a survey of so much of the one hundred and eighty square miles as he needed for the purposes of a reserve of the post, and, to ex-

hibit the whole transaction, had returned a draught showing the lines of the surveyed reserve, the lines of the town adjoining it, and the correspondence to which I have alluded; that Quartermaster General JESSE had indorsed the return "recommended to be approved according to Colonel MONTGOMERY'S draught and specifications," the effect of which would have been to extend the town; that the Secretary of War, instead of following or adopting the recommendation of General JESSE, had indorsed the return "recommended to be approved according to Colonel MONTGOMERY'S draught as shown by the exterior lines," the effect of which was, by excluding all except the draught and accepting the exterior lines, to extend the reserve over the town with all its inhabitants and improvements; and as this recommendation had been approved by himself, (the President) probably without being aware of its object or effect, which would be discrediting and disastrous to the Free State Party of the Territory, I stated to him that if he did not choose to revoke his approval and adopt the recommendation of General JESSE, the same result might perhaps be effected if the Secretary of the Interior would include the town in the public surveys.

He stated that he was not aware of the condition of things when he approved of the reserve, regretted that he did not know it, and requested me to call upon the Secretary of the Interior and state to him the facts, and he would afterward have a consultation with him.

I accordingly called upon Gov. McCLELLAND, and, after a conversation with him, was referred by him to Gen. WILSON, Commissioner of the Land Office, to whom I stated the facts. The conversations in regard to the purchases of half-breed lands and the town of Pawnee took place at different times throughout our interviews, although I have stated them here separately, for the sake of convenience. I stated to him, also, that the Secretary of War, by adopting all the reductions of the provisional reserve ascertained by the survey, with the exception of the town-plot alone, had abandoned the provisional reserve and recognized the survey, in contradiction to the original order. I also informed him that the Secretary of War had commissioned Generals CHURCHILL and CLARK to proceed to Fort Luley to investigate and report, and, as it was entirely obvious that the town-plot, a part of which extended at least two miles from the fort, afforded neither water nor timber, I had no doubt Generals CLARK and CHURCHILL would recommend the exclusion, (as I have since learned they did).

The two subjects to which I have alluded were discussed incidentally during our interviews, but the principal question which occupied our attention was the general political condition of the people of the Territory. He was profuse in his expressions of approval of my course, but expressed himself deeply solicitous as to the probable consequences of my return to the Territory. He declared that in the excited state of the community, he was fearful of personal violence to myself, and that if violence was committed upon me the whole North would be inflamed, civil war would probably ensue, and no man could predict the result. He repeated this and enlarged upon it much and often; said that it would be a fearful calamity, the beginning of the end, &c., concluding with the opinion that it would be unsafe for myself, and for the country, that I should return to Kansas in the capacity of Governor. I told him promptly and distinctly that I would not resign the office; that two considerations forbade me to think of it; that, as things now stood, the executive office in my hands was the only means of protection for the people against the persecutions and oppressions which had been perpetrated, and would be continued, from the State of Missouri; that it would be base and dishonorable in me to betray and abandon them, and that no considerations of personal danger to myself would induce me to think of it; that, besides this consideration, the whole country had resounded with threats against myself in case I should return and that a resignation of my office under such circumstances would be attributed to pusillanimity and cowardice. He concurred in this view of the case, and proposed to effect all that was desirable for the public safety and for the public good by removing me from office in a way that would obviate all my objections, and proceeded at length to give his ideas as to what should be done. He proposed that I should make to him in writing a full report of all the proceedings in the Territory, with my views and opinions, referring the whole subject and the remedy to him, and professing my willingness to abide by any plan he should adopt for redressing the existing wrongs and adjusting the present difficulties; that he would rely in writing to this communication, and would take upon himself the responsibility of removing me from office as a part of the remedy, and at the same time would give the most full, satisfactory and unequivocal approbation of my course; that while he would declare my removal to be necessary in order to allay the existing excitement and bring about a more calm and sober state of public feeling, and avert the danger of violence or outbreak, he would exonerate me from all blame in procuring that excitement; that, in order fully to testify the sincerity of his approbation, he would confer upon me some unmistakable mark of his favor, and went on to say that the mission to China would be very shortly vacant by the return of Mr.

McLane, to which *vacancy he would appoint me at once.* To his written answer he proposed that I should reply by saying, in effect, that I was not prepared to say he had acted unwisely. After considerable discussion and much reflection upon this proposition, I finally answered that if we could both agree upon the terms of the entire correspondence between us, and if I could be satisfied that our people would be as fully cared for and protected as if I remained in office, and a successor would be appointed who would resist the aggressive invasions from Missouri, I would cooperate with him. He assured me that the latter conditions should be complied with, and said there would be no difficulty in agreeing mutually upon the correspondence. He requested me then to prepare my communication, which I did, and submitted it to him. He retained it one day, and then suggested various modifications. After discussing them it was agreed I should rewrite it, which I did, and submitted it to him a second time. This did not entirely meet his approbation, and he again suggested alterations and modifications. He then informed me that dispatches had been received from Mr. McLane in England which seemed to indicate the necessity of his returning in person to China, and expressed his fears that it would be out of his power to confer upon me that appointment, but that he would find some other in lieu of it, which would be equally or more desirable. I told him that the obtaining of that or any other office was to me a matter of indifference, in the condition of my family and private affairs, and constituted no part of the inducement to me to agree to his proposition; that I preferred rather to go on and ascertain whether we could adjust the matter in its other aspects, and if we could agree upon them the matter of another appointment would be no obstacle to their adjustment. We then discussed his objections to my second draught, and I agreed to rewrite my communication for the third time.

Having prepared and submitted it to him, I left it with him, and proceeded to Virginia for my wife, who was there on a visit to two of her brothers. After an absence of two or three days, I returned, and he submitted to me, in his own handwriting, a draft of my communication, which very much condensed and generalized what I had written, and which he said he had prepared himself; this draft wanted the concluding portion, in which I was to refer the whole difficulty to him, and profess my willingness to abide by any remedies he should adopt for adjusting it. After examining and discussing this draught, I required that certain alterations and modifications should be made, which I noted, and to which he assented. He also read to me then, or at some previous interview, I can't recollect which, a portion of his reply to my communication, which came fully up to what he had proposed, so far as it went. But my recollection is, that the paper was not entirely finished. I took with me his draught of my communication, wrote out the conclusion and submitted it to him; he was dissatisfied with it, and said it would not answer. I requested him to specify particularly the portions which were wrong. He declined doing so; he said that the whole spirit and tenor of it was unsatisfactory; that it appeared to cast too much responsibility upon him. I replied that it had been distinctly understood throughout all our negotiations that I would neither resign my office nor invite a removal; and that I did not see how I could, short of this, say anything less than I had written.

He sat down and wrote in pencil a substitute, which he handed me, which I said I would take with me, and from the two might perhaps prepare something which would satisfy us both. I then conversed with him, as I had done several times before, as to the extent of protection he would afford to our people. He assured me he would appoint some honorable, upright Northern man, who was above imputation or corruption, and would faithfully perform his duty, and named one individual upon whom he was willing to confer the appointment. He inquired of me what particular action I proposed that he should take. I told him that one great means of protecting our people would be to have all his appointees in the Territory understand that the Administration strictly required of them to set their faces and use their influence against all sorts of foreign interference; that there were some sixteen officers of the General Government in the Territory, and that their combined influence would be all-powerful for good or evil. I also suggested the idea of a proclamation, to be issued by himself, reciting what had been done, sternly disapproving it, and pledging his Administration against foreign interference as a violation of the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill; and the use of the Government troops, if necessary, to prevent a repetition of past outrages; and spoke of the moral influence upon Congress and upon the nation of a fixed and unyielding opposition to those of the Administration. The manner in which he met these suggestions, the objections which he stated to issuing a proclamation, the doubts he expressed of his legal authority to support such a proclamation if issued, and his evasion of the true point at issue by talking of the Emigrant Aid Society, made me very distrustful of any sincere intention on his part to give adequate protection to our people, and I left him, saying that I would come again in the morning.

My reflections that night brought me to the conclusion that if I were removed our people would be left entirely at the mercy of their invaders, and that unless I could have some distinct and positive security for their protection I would proceed no further with the present negotiation. I saw him again the

next morning, and so informed him. Our conversation then, though entirely courteous, did not have that same amicable spirit which had characterized all our preceding interviews except that of the night before. I said to him that it was evident to me that he was about to make concessions in the wrong direction; that he was perfectly aware that in all previous angry collisions between Northern and Southern sentiment I had favored the compromises which had satisfied the South, and had secured their rights against the clamor of the Anti-Slavery men; that I considered this a clear case of aggression on Northern rights; in whatever there was to be of concession or compensation it should be made to the North and not to the South. The interests of the North, the interests of the Democratic Party, and the principles of truth and justice, loudly required it; and that if he would boldly and promptly take that course at this time, before the mass of the Southern people had taken any position upon the question, he would be largely sustained, even at the South; and that the longer the evil was allowed to progress, the more perplexed and complicated would the case become, and the more difficult of remedy. I failed to convince him of my views, which he rather evaded than answered; and finally told him that, as we could not agree, there was nothing left but for him to take the responsibility of his acts and I of mine. He spoke of the dangers of my returning to office; to which I replied that they had no terrors for me, so long as I felt I was in the performance of my duty. He said, "Well, I shall not remove you on account of your official action; if I remove you at all it will be on account of your speculation in lands of the Territory." I told him they were not speculations, but simply purchases.

After I had risen to leave the room, I remarked to him that the additional papers relating to the purchase of half-breed lands were now before him; that he had the whole case, and myself and colleagues were very anxious to have his confirmation or rejection of them before the 1st of June, as several of the contracts expired on that day by their own limitation. He remarked that he had not had time to examine the papers. I then alluded to the town of Pawnee and the military reservation, which was an important matter in its bearings upon the political parties of the Territory, and in regard to which he had promised me to speak to the Secretary at War and the Secretary of the Interior. He replied he would have no time to think of the matter or attend to it, but that, if the vacation of my office could be satisfactorily adjusted, he thought all these matters could be arranged in such a shape as to promote my private interests. I felt insulted by the proposition to such an extent that I dared not trust myself to reply. I was conscious of a state of temporary anger and excited as to leave only the alternative of silent contempt or an angry and indecorous reply. I chose the former, and, as I was standing near the door, with my hat in my hand, I bade him good morning and left him.

Some seven to fourteen days after this, I received at Easton, Pa., a note from him requesting me to send to Washington Hon. ASA PACKER, Member of Congress for that district. This request I communicated to Judge PACKER, who proceeded to Washington in a few days. I made my arrangements to proceed to the Territory without my family. I had previously made all the necessary arrangements to take my family with me, but abandoned the idea after I came to the States in consequence of information received which disappointed me as to the quarters I expected and had provided for them in the Territory.

About 10 o'clock at night on the evening preceding the day I was to leave Easton for Kansas, I received a letter from the State Department asking explanations in regard to the purchase of half-breed lands, and other speculations in lands of the Territory. This letter was inclosed in an ordinary envelope, not franked by any person, and without the indorsement invariably used upon all envelopes of letters coming from the Department on official business, so that, had I proceeded to Washington in consequence of receiving it and there closed the negotiation which had previously failed, there would have been no trace before the public of any evidence that I had received an official communication to call me there. Instead of going to Washington, however, I determined to go to Kansas. A duplicate of that letter, as I afterwards learned, was forwarded to the City of New York, to meet me there in case I should fail to receive the one directed to Easton. The sequel of the correspondence is before the public. On the 26th of June, I mailed a letter containing the explanations called for, which, by due course of mail, must have reached Washington on the 9th of July; and the letter notifying me of my removal on the day of its date, was mailed on the 30th July, (Monday,) although dated on the 28th.

This removal, which had been thus suspended for twenty-one days, was immediately preceded by the intelligence of my veto message, which repudiated the Legislature, dissolved all connection with it, and treated as void all its laws passed at the Snawnee Mission. This message had created much excitement in the Legislature, and a petition for my removal was thereupon prepared and signed by the members, and one of their body dispatched to present and press it in person. This messenger was met on the way in the States by the intelligence which made his further progress unnecessary, and thus the President was saved the embarrassment, or deprived of the opportunity, of considering the main question at issue between the Legislature and

myself. The papers showing the contract for the half-breed lands had been before the President in January, 1855, and had been, of course, examined by him, as they were returned to me by him, with a note from his Private Secretary, stating that he declined to confirm them, without concurring in all the reasons mentioned in Mr. MANNYPENNY'S report. There was no final rejection of the contracts, and I at once proceeded to supply the alleged defects of proof. Nor was there any allegation or intimation in any correspondence or otherwise, that the contracts were illegal or dishonest, or that they were finally rejected.

Having supplied the alleged defects, the whole case was again laid before him in May, and about the middle of June I was called on to explain it. The papers then before the President, and which had been before him in January, contained my own statement and argument with the depositions and certificates of other persons, giving a history and elucidation of the whole transaction far more thorough than any explanations I could make in the absence of the papers. *I have never been informed to this day, and do not know in what aspect and for what reasons those contracts were considered a cause of removal.* Whether they were treated as unfair and dishonorable, or simply illegal, or whether the position was taken that a public officer has not the same right to purchase as a private individual, I have never been informed. The "other speculations in lands of the Territory," of which explanation was demanded after I was removed, was shown to mean the participation in locating the town of Pawnee on the military reservation. Before the removal I could obtain no explanation of what it meant, although I urgently solicited it. There was nothing to be desired of explanation in regard to this matter, which I had not given to the President in May in the most full and ample manner, and I had especially and particularly explained to him that I was not in the country, and had never heard of the town until after it had been located and surveyed in 1854; and that the reservation had been extended over the town in May, 1855. The third draught of my communication to the President, which I made as above stated, as well as the re-draught thereof in his handwriting, and the draught by him in pencil of the intended conclusion, were all preserved by me, and taken with me to Kansas Territory in April, 1856. They were left in my trunk in the hotel in Lawrence when I left there in May, and I can now give no information of them, except that I have been informed by persons who were present, that on the 21st day of May, 1856, when the said hotel was destroyed by incendiaries, the posse of the Sheriff of Douglas County broke open and rifled my trunk, and stole all my clothes and papers. Since then I have not seen these papers, or heard of them. The President requested me to recite in that communication his approval of my conduct, and in his draught recited it himself in his own handwriting.

A. H. REEDER.

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