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# Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 10, 1856

## Senator Douglas' Bill—What it does not Remedy.

We shall be told by the locofoco press that the Democratic party have concerted, and attempted to carry into effect, measures for the pacification of Kansas. And who is the pacificator? The same man who was bold and bad enough to strike down the compromise of 1820. The Bill introduced by Mr. Douglas, say they, will fairly and satisfactorily adjust the whole difficulty. Why was not this bill introduced sooner? Does Mr. Douglas suppose the work of subjugating Kansas to the slave power complete, or has the admonitory uprising of the northern masses intimidated him to do even this much? Mr. Douglas' bill is more favorable to the rights of the people of Kansas than any measure the Slave-driving Democracy have yet introduced in Congress, but it is by no means equal and exact justice for that oppressed people.

First, The Bill of Senator Douglas postpones until next December the possibility of the admission of Kansas, leaving the wronged and impoverished settlers to contend with the border ruffians until then.

Second, The Commissioners are to be appointed by President Pierce, the chief criminal in the Kansas conspiracy.

Third, While it pretends to prevent the enforcement of a portion of the laws passed by the bogus Legislature, and provides for punishment for illegal voting, fraud and violence at elections, it does all this prospectively, and leaves the South in quiet possession of all the power acquired up to this time by these very instrumentalities provided against.

Fourth, It recognizes the bogus Legislature, only censuring, by implication, one or two of its acts.

It is plain that that this bill does not meet the present emergency in Kansas. Relief for that Territory to be effective must be immediate, and this the Democratic party will not grant. The Senate voted down an amendment offered by Mr. Wilson for the immediate admission of Kansas. The people of Kansas can never submit to the laws of the bogus Legislature, and these acts must be annulled forthwith or there can be no peace. Government has not taken a single step toward the punishment of the robbers, murderers, and mob-leaders of Kansas, and as long as they run at large to continue their work of devastation there can be no peace. And if the above is conceded as justice demands, it remains that the despoiled people of Kansas shall be compensated for their heavy losses. These inflexible demands Mr. Douglas' bill does not reach, and it is a fraud and deception for the locofoco press to represent it as a measure of pacification for the territory. It has not struck at the root of the matter, and will not bring peace. The time for patch-work and compromise has gone by, and the peace of the Union can only be secured by full and exact justice to the people of Kansas.

## Recent Action on Kansas Affairs in Congress.

From the Detroit Tribune.

The action of Congress during the present week, in relation to the admission of Kansas into the Union as a Free State, is of much interest and importance, and should be thoroughly understood by the people. It is principally significant as exhibiting some faint signs of returning sanity to the Democratic party. Even that somnolent statesman Gen. Cass has been pleased to say, that some of the laws passed by the border ruffian Legislature "are disgraceful to the age." We apprehend that scarcely a week will elapse before the venerable trimmer will apologize to the South for having used this expression, and explain away all its real force. But what of "squatter sovereignty?" Having first been repudiated by the Cincinnati Convention, at the demand of the Southern secessionists, it has now received

its permanent quietus by the recent action of Congress. What will poor old Gen. Cass do now? The good sense of the people of the two countries has prevented his fomenting a war with Great Britain, and now his great gun of "Squatter Sovereignty" has been "spiked," as the Richmond Enquirer said it should be.—The old man should either obey the instructions of the Legislature of this State, and vote in accordance with the sentiment of the people, or he should resign and come home.

The Report of the Investigating Committee has now been placed before Congress and the country, an authoritative and irresistible account of the "Crimes against Kansas." There no longer remains a want of authenticated facts as an excuse for a want of adequate action. The criminality of delay, evasion, or half and half action will at once be manifest to the people. The effect of this report was instantaneous. Douglas, Pierce, Cass, and the minor doughfaces, have all very much modified their conduct in relation to Kansas.—They have themselves suggested measures which six weeks ago they would have denounced and voted down. At last, these traitors to the harmony and welfare of the country catch a glimpse of the retribution awaiting them. They are much milder and more decent, but will have some steps to take yet, before they shall meet the popular demand.

Let us analyze the principal votes of the past week. First, there was the vote on Mr. Dunn's amendment to the Bill for the admission of Kansas with the Topeka constitution, introduced by Mr. Grow from the House Committee on Territories. This was adopted by seven majority—yeas 109, nays 102. Not a Democrat voted for the Restoration, while every Republican member voted for it, except Barclay, Hickman, and Fuller of Maine, who although a Democrat, was voted for by Republicans on account of his opposition to the Nebraska Bill.

Next was the vote directly upon the admission of Kansas under her free constitution.—This was lost by one vote. Every man who was present, and has pretended to act consistently with the Republicans, voted for the admission, but not a Democrat, North or South, cast a vote for it. The Democrats were assisted by Messrs. Dunn, Haven, Barclay, Harrison, Whitney, Wheeler, Broome and Fuller of Maine, either renegade Anti-Nebraska men or Fillmore Know Nothings—except Mr. Barclay—who voted against Mr. Banks for Speaker, and except Dunn, do not pretend to act with the Republican party. Mr. Barclay subsequently moved a reconsideration. Among those who voted against the admission was the murderer Herbert, who had been indicted and imprisoned a day or two sooner, would have left the vote a tie, and the casting vote by Speaker Banks would have admitted Kansas by the House, but the murderer sat in his seat, voted, and defeated free Kansas! The next most important movement in relation to Kansas will be Mr. Barclay's motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was lost. To-day's telegraphic column will probably tell the result of this. Our friends had indulged some hope of effecting a reconsideration and the passage of the bill.

By the above we see that the whole Democratic party is arrayed against any honest effort to restrain or remedy the wrongs of Kansas. It is not enough that they have repealed the Missouri Compromise—that they have, by the territorial appointments, surrendered the territory to the South—that they have sustained the President in the removal of Gov. Reeder, because he was disposed to do justice to the free State men—that they have done nothing to prevent the irruption into Kansas of Missouri ruffians, who have violated the ballot-box—imposed a Legislation of persons not citizens upon the settlers—murdered men for taking an active part for the freedom of Kansas—passed a diabolical code of laws subversive of the organic law of the nation, which laws they have attempted to enforce by a lawless mob, with the assistance of United States troops, and finally have committed numerous murders, cannonaded and burned villages, pillaged the settlers homes and excited civil war—all this is not enough. The great crime

is palpable in all its magnitude, and their responsibility for it is equally palpable, and yet they will not take a single step toward an honest and complete remedy. It is for the people to decide whether they will place in power men who will remedy these great wrongs, and bring the perpetrators to condign punishment.

## State Register.

SPRINGFIELD:

THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1856.

The Kansas Committee.

This "stocked up" committee, or rather two of the three members, made their report to the house on Tuesday. They have performed their job precisely as it was blocked out for them by Greeley & Co., repeating all the exploded trash of the Tribune and Redpath. The report as telegraphed is a regular black republican electioneering document. It was so intended to be when the committee was appointed, and these two strikers of abolitionism have done up their work according to orders. They suggest no remedy for the existing state of things in Kansas. This they leave to the judgment of congress. It will be seen by the telegraphic extracts in another column that "Topeka's" Kansas bill (Grow's) has been defeated in the house.

A Band of "Shrickers."

The editor of the Maquoketa (Iowa) Sentinel thus describes Lane's company of emigrants for Kansas, whom he saw encamped at Iowa city:

On either side of the road on which they were encamped, could be seen strewn over the ground, the very scum and off-scouring of creation—men who know no law—men who have not the common decency of the brute—the counterpart of desperadoes, robbers and villains of whom we read in history, and who infested the Upper Mississippi Valley and were known as the banditti of the prairie. Here on all sides could be seen the "pious" teachings of Henry Ward Beecher—men with countenances bloated, eyes bleared; cards, those "passports to hell," were seen in the hands of groups, accompanied with the vilest of blasphemy; and as they turned their tramp with a horrible oath, mingled with the dismal yell of their debauched companions; the poisonous exhalations rising from their fetid breaths but too plainly told that these lovers of "Kansas freedom" were but the licentious pot house loafers raised in the worst purloins and sinks of infamy. They talk of freeing Kansas! A more degraded, ruffian looking band of beings who would claim themselves to be human, our eyes never before gazed upon—all armed to the teeth with a Sharpe's rifle, bowie knife, six shooter, "flask," &c.

Precisely such a gang as Chicago niggerism sent through this place on the same errand.

THE KANSAS COMMITTEE.—Fair-minded men can hardly fail to note the fact that Messrs. Sherman and Howard, of the Kansas investigating committee, not only assayed to prejudice, in the popular mind, the case on which they were required to sit as the immediate judges by the house, by delivering inflammatory speeches upon it before mobs of infuriated abolitionists in Kansas, but are engaged in the same work on their journey back to Washington. We presume that more perfury, direct, glaring, and palpable, was committed before them than was ever before essayed before such a commission. Their evident design, judging from what the New York Tribune and Times published concerning their method of conducting the investigation, it is clear, was simply and wholly to bolster up the cause of abolitionism in Kansas, rather than to obtain fair and truthful testimony concerning the real occurrences there. Acting as they did throughout their investigations, as attorneys for the abolition cause, rather than as judges sworn simply to do justice between the parties, it is not wonderful that their witnesses should resort to wholesale perjury to help them in making out the case they seemed to be aiming to cook up for effect on the quillible of the north. It cannot be possible, after their recent violent tirades of abuse of the anti-abolitionists of the territory from the stump, that their recommendations to the house with reference to Kansas affairs will be allowed to have the least weight in the minds of fair and really considerate members of congress, otherwise, it will be idle hereafter to hope for the triumph of justice and right before the house, in any case wherein a party point may be essayed to be made.—Wash. Star.



It is but a few days ago since the Journal growled over the "outrage" by the house of representatives in refusing to pass the Kansas bill recognizing the action of the Topeka convention, which all admit was the action of a party, illegal, and of no force. The passage of a bill by the senate to heal the difficulties in Kansas, now furnishes the same paper with a source of abuse of the democratic party. We are now told that this bill was passed when it is too late to remedy the evils the editors have pretended to mourn over. The bill it takes no exception to, except that its passage is too late! Why Seward, Chase, Trumbull & Co. voted against it is not accounted for, nor is the fact that they did so, alluded to. The passage of this bill, the agitators, for which the Journal speaks, fear, will allay the excitement they have raised. It will deprive them of their chief stock in trade. Hence the Journal sneers at its passage as too late to effect a remedy. They would have preferred the adoption of a constitution, concocted by agitating partisans—emanating from a mere fraction of the people of the territory—that the democratic senate would have repudiated; when the agitators could have appealed to the people for redress, by elevating to power the party that has been the great cause of all the evils complained of. The Topeka bill has been beaten in the house. The senate bill will now go to that body, and it will be for the opponents of democracy there to adopt or reject it. They will find pretext to do the latter. Based on their organization is on the single idea of negro agitation, they will not forego the keeping of it up. Without "Kansas outrages," real or manufactured, these woolly patriots are at "the end of their row." Upon them now devolves the responsibility of rejecting or acquiescing in a remedy.

In another column we give a synopsis of the senate bill. It will be recollected that Trumbull was among the eleven negro-worshipping nays against it. We shall see how his coadjutors in the house treat the bill when it is brought before that body.

The hollowness of the professions of the black-republican wire-workers in congress, in regard to Kansas affairs, and their schemes to keep alive the sectional animosity upon which they feed, are thus shown up by the Washington correspondent of the New York Express, an opposition journal:

The black republicans, insolid column, have just voted against the restoration of the Missouri compromise of 1820—PRACTICALLY—though in form they went for it. The thing stands thus:

Bum, of Ind., carried his proposition to restore the Missouri compromise (eyes 110, noses 103)—Havens, of New York, Whitney, of New York, &c., voting aye—and this was carried as an amendment to Mr. Stephens' amendment, to have a fair vote on Kansas—but no sooner were the republicans thus brought up to this great stand point, than they turned face upon the restoration, and voted "no," upon the whole concern (the amendment so amended,) thus showing they were not in earnest, but intended to keep Kansas open for "truck and dicker."

Their excuse is, that this restoration of the Missouri compromise was affixed as an amendment to Mr. (Georgia) Stephens' proposition, to have what seems a fair vote in Kansas for members to frame a state constitution. Why not have accepted the restoration—this great boon—with that fair proposition? Why, to ensure the restoration of the compromise, not go before the people on a fair vote to elect members of a territorial legislature, to frame a state constitution? Why? Ah—you know but little—if you don't know, sectionalism wants nothing settled—but to leave everything unsettled. Peace and order in Kansas would be to it direct calamity—and hence there will be no peace and order—if agitation can keep up disturbances in Kansas, or, what is better, bloodshed and burnings.

When—eyes 110 to 107—the restoration was carried—a victory was won, but to destroy that victory, black republicanism even joined with Stephens—himself disgusted with the restoration movement—to vote down his own proposition.

The Express writer is right. Black republicanism wants no settlement of the question.

"Peace and order in Kansas would be to it direct calamity," and its leaders will leave nothing undone to prevent that peace and order, at least, until after the presidential election, even at the risk of a dissolution of the confederacy.

The "outrage joint stock manufacturing company" in Kansas, having suspended business for a brief period, the Journal has taken up the business on its own hook, and daily regales its readers with a budget of falsehoods. Wentworth and Lovejoy are hard task-masters, but having wallowed all over in negro dirt, the Journal editors think they cannot become more odorous by keeping up their gristly. They are probably right in this.

The vote on the Topeka Kansas bill was reconsidered by the house, on the 3d, and the bill was passed—100 to 97. This bill cannot pass the senate. We shall see what the opposition in the house do with the senate bill. Niggerism does not want anything to pass, but it is possible that there may be enough, with the democrats of the house, to pass the senate bill.

## The North West.

H. D. LA. COSSITT, Editor.

CITY OF DUBUQUE.

THURSDAY, : : JULY 10, 1856.

Mr. Holbrook's Abolition Speech.

Monday, July 7th.

MR. LA. COSSITT:—I listened very attentively last evening to an elaborate discourse, delivered by the Rev. Jno. C. Holbrook, from the pulpit of the Congregational Church, upon the moral, conscientious, and religious duties of man in general, and the political condition of the country in particular. The Rev. gentleman, premised his remarks by saying, that he had no doubt there were some present who might consider it improper to teach politics from the pulpit, but as the subject he proposed discussing, addressed itself to the conscience, and moral feeling of his auditors, he considered it perfectly legitimate and proper. Mr. H. was right in the entertaining of that doubt, there were many there who deemed the subject unsuitable to the place, and I have the misfortune to be closed among the number.

Every man's ideas, words and actions, on all political subjects should have their origin in patriotism: this is a principle that will always inevitably, affect the conscience, or moral feeling of man; therefore, according to the Rev. gentleman's view, all political subjects are fit to be brought into the pulpit for discussion.

But Mr. H., very unintentionally, no doubt, said some things which he ought not to have said, and left unsaid some which he ought to have said.

For instance, in speaking of the state of affairs in Kansas, when he was depicting in such glowing terms the misery and wretchedness that slavery aggression has produced, then he should have told his hearers, that all the agitation, and misery and weal, all the calamities which have fallen upon that territory, grew out of the fact, that those whom he denominates freemen, refused to obey the laws of the territory, and were resolved, with Sharp's rifles in their hands, and treason in their hearts, to bid defiance not only to the laws of the territory, but to those of the United States. While he was telling of the blood of Northern freemen shed by slavery aggression in Kansas, he should also have told of the Southern freemen who have been sacrificed upon the altar of fanaticism, and of the Southern free women and children, who have been driven from their homes, to perish of hunger and thirst upon the wild prairies of the West.

These are only a few of the errors into which the Rev. gentleman permitted his zeal

for the "cause of freedom,"—or rather for the cause of abolition—to carry him; but there are as many as I have time to notice now, and as many, I presume, as you can find space for.

However, there is still another that has just occurred to me, that requires a brief notice. Would any one suppose that a gentleman possessing the cultivated intellect and sound judgment of Mr. Holbrook, should be afraid of slavery being introduced into Iowa, if it should happen to go into Kansas? Yet he stated emphatically that there was danger, unless every man did his duty in the present crisis, of the aggressive spirit of slavery extending itself not only into Iowa, but into Ohio, and Vermont! In a word, it is to pervade the whole North! Is the Rev. Mr. Holbrook an honest, or a sane man? SIGMA.

### Message of Gov. Grimes.

Counting on the general desire that your session should be short, and that your time may be occupied solely by matters relating to the State, I do not deem it proper, at present, to call your attention to the deplorable condition of affairs in Kansas and at our National Capital.

It would be an error to suppose that my failure to do so is attributable to any want of sympathy with the patriotic and devoted men who are struggling to uphold the rights of free speech, free labor, free soil, and a free press in that Territory and in the Councils of the nation. JAMES W. GRIMES.

Iowa City, July 2, 1856.

### Taking the Back Track!

The St. Louis Democrat, (!)—the black republican organ, from which has been copied into the papers of that party, most of the preposterous stories of the troubles in Kansas, is showing symptoms of a hearty desire to "cave right in!" Already it has begun to take the back track. That paper, of Friday, in speaking of the game of its party friends in Illinois, who are sending their deluded followers to Kansas, with arms in their hands, avowedly to propagate treason and civil war in that territory, says:

"In this last instance we feel no sympathy for the Chicago band, who were mustered into service amid political excitements, shipped to Kansas with arms in their hands, and expenses paid, and all to keep up there a ferment of evil dissention, and bring on, if possible, the worst of evils, a civil war. It is but a repetition on the part of the North of the extraordinary guerrilla parties from Georgia and Carolina, by the South. The musket and bayonet give no evidence of peaceful settlement, and the manner in which these, and many similar companies, have been raised, proves only too clearly that agriculture and the ordinary pursuits of the farmer's life are far from their thoughts."

One candid avowal like the above atones for many sins. The notorious abolitionist, REDPATH, in a moment of conscientious reflection, has stated the plain truth in regard to Kansas emigration from the North. We said that the Milwaukee and Chicago companies, one of which was complimented with a supper by the abolitionists of Dubuque, were traitors and murderers in their hearts, and those who sent them, and those who encouraged them were aiders and abettors of treason and bloodshed. REDPATH's avowal sustains us. Men do not arm themselves with muskets, bayonets and revolvers, for peaceful, agricultural purposes. The plough, the axe, the anvil are the implements of peaceful, law-abiding emigration. Will the Dubuque Tribune and Republica imitate the candor of their confederate. REDPATH?

"Who is responsible for the murders already committed (in Kansas)?" asks the yesterday's Tribune at the close of an article. Don't Mr. Hackley know? Don't every intelligent man in the country know that the frenzied spirit of abolitionism, which now rules the republican party, has for years been inciting the hearts of the people to this very issue, that all the bitterness, the sectional hostility which now so threatens to overwhelm our country in ruin, strife, and bloodshed, has

54ulted from the fell and traitorous agitation of abolitionism? It is too true, that the soul-debauched demagogues who conjured this spirit from darkness, for selfish ends, had little idea that its power to do evil would so soon defy their control. They did not believe it would so soon cast off all restraint, and give way to its instincts for treason, rapine and murder—sweeping them helplessly along in its wild career. We hope Mr. Hackley and all honest republicans will see the danger to which this spirit hurries the nation, the crimes it demands of its votaries, and its slaves, and at once cast off the dark spell it has thrown around them.

For The North West.

### The Tongue and the Cane Again.

DEAR SIR:—Perhaps I am unfortunate in the possession of an irascible temperament; but really if I were not of a more pacific disposition than many are disposed to give me credit for, your editorial of this morning would induce me to call out pistols and coffee for two.

The course which editors mark out for themselves is sometimes quite mysterious to their readers, and as one of the readers of THE NORTH WEST, I must confess my inability to sound the depth of any necessity which existed for an apology or explanation "to the *Express & Herald*, and the public," for the language I thought fit to employ towards traitors, in your paper of last week. The American who knows that a Negro in Faneuil Hall called Washington, "the Father of his Country," a scoundrel—who knows that the infamous COLE MCCREA called the Government of the United States, cowardly, traitorous and damnable—who knows that a thing calling himself *Reverend* and presuming to preach the Gospel of Christ, said at the annual meeting of the Board of Missions, in New York last month, that he "prayed twice every day during the last three years for a dissolution of the Union." When I see the *Reverend* Beechers and *Reverend* Parkers, and *Reverend* scamps, supplying Sharp's Rifles and Colt's Revolvers, from the tub which they call a pulpit, to their fanatical followers, accompanied by a bribe for every one of their fellow-countrymen they may shoot down,—when I see these, I say, and a thousand other similar things, equally treasonable and abominable. I see no reason for using candy sticks and sugar kisses, where a well-seasoned hickory will tell with better effect. You "would not have published it without material alterations," forsooth!!! You would smooth off the rough edges, polish the corners, and sugar-coat the pill for the dear creatures to swallow. Would you? You would employ carefully-rounded sentences and well-selected periods; choice words and pretty phrases for fear of offending ears polite? I do not envy you, my dear sir, the possession of your *bagatelle* grace and Bean Brummel etiquette, garnished with a foretaste of pies from the loin of your bleeding country? Be mine the pride of speaking truth, rough hewn from our prairie glades, even though it be necessary to send it to a traitor's heart with clenched fist and Iowa oak.

But "the allusion in the article to the *Express & Herald* is opposed to our (your) views of propriety—utterly." Bless my soul, what mawkish modesty! What did you come from!!! Opposed to your views of propriety to tell the truth, eh! What was that "allusion in the article" at which one of the six-sided editors of the *Express & Herald* pricked his ears, and which you so obsequiously retract? Simply that Mr. MCCREA used the

language attributed to him, and used it under the window of the room occupied by one of the editors of that whirl-a-gig print. This is the head and front of the offence for which you apologize. It is truth in its naked symmetry, and even the editor of the *Express & Herald* is candid enough not to deny it. He simply said that he did not hear it, but that does not make it the less true. MCCREA occupied a stand in front of the window of Mr. ROBBINS' jewelry shop. Directly over that window is the window of the editors' room of the *Express & Herald* office. There was a light in that room, and the editor looked out occasionally to see what was going on. I cannot say whether his head was out at the moment that the dastard used these words or not, nor is it pertinent to my purpose to know whether he heard him or not. The window was raised. Facilities were afforded him for hearing, and if he did not hear it was not the fault of the boisterous speaker. It is a fact then, that the offensive words were used, and at the time and place, and in the manner stated. Neither does it affect the question which of the editors of that paper was in the room at the time, or which denied having heard it! One may have heard it and another may, with truth, deny having heard it. That it was heard by an editor, I believe, and the only object with which it was introduced into the article—entitled the Tongue and the Cane—was to show how lively the sense of hearing in the case of Squire McLOUGHLIN, and how deaf in the case of COLE MCCREA.

In conclusion, Sir, let me remind you that the honest club of a RHODERICK DUT, is more potent in times of peril than the polished diplomatic pen of a CHESTERFIELD.

HONEST TRUTH.

## The Valley Whig.

### KEOKUK, IOWA:

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 10.

A PLUMP FALSEHOOD.—The *Times* publishes the following, which it quotes as in our own words, and explicitly says is language that we uttered, viz:

"Citizens, are you to submit to the treatment of a tyrant, a usurper, like Franklin Pierce, who is endeavoring to put an end to the difficulties in Kansas? No citizens!"

Now it is false as to the language, and the *Times* knows it, for no such language appeared in our paper. It is false in spirit, also, for we did not suggest either directly or by implication, any forcible resistance to the Government of Mr. Pierce, as this language of the *Times* leaves to be inferred. But we did say that the President had violated the Constitution, and was liable to impeachment. He gave orders contrary to its plain provisions, like a usurper and a despot, and the fact is undeniable. As a traitor to the Constitution, a usurper and a tyrant, he deserves impeachment before the bar of a Free People.

It is a little remarkable that the *Gate* can apologize for, and justify the overt acts of a set of men in Kansas against the Territorial and Federal authorities, even after they are indicted for treason.—[*Times*.]

It is a new idea to us, that resistance to Territorial law is treason against the United States. Perhaps the *Times* so reads the Constitution. We do not. And the indictment against the Kansas men does not itself charge them with treason on that account. Nor does the indictment charge

them with having by force and arms resisted the Government of the United States, in the manner contemplated by the Constitution, which says that treason shall consist only "in levying war against the United States, or giving aid and comfort to the enemy." The indictment against them is for the part taken in forming a Constitution and instituting a State Government, charged with the intent to support that Government by force against the United States authorities. The intent, even, is a thing only inferred, and that without evidence, for they never took arms to do so, and declared they never would. The only "overt act," the only actual thing done, was the adoption of a Constitution, and the inauguration of a State Government. It would be a little hazardous to call that treason.

## KNOXVILLE REGISTER.

Thursday, July 10, 1856.

Kansas outrages are becoming scarce, under the efficient action of Col. Sumner's U. S. Troops, who are rigidly executing their instructions to disarm and disperse all parties within the Territory who attempt armed resistance to the laws; and also to repel any armed force which may enter the Territory from abroad.—This measure would doubtless have been adopted months since, were it not for the very proper reluctance of the President to employ the national force in repressing popular disturbances. Public sentiment would not have sustained the measure until convinced of its necessity; and it was not convinced of its necessity until the recent accumulation of our *second order*. In the case now stands, all parties are pleased with the interference.

MURDER OF DOYLE AND SONS.—In another column will be found an account of the cold-blooded murder of J. P. Doyle and his two sons by the Abolitionists in Kansas.—Doyle was formerly a citizen of this county and was known as "Pleasant Doyle." This is an outrage that comes home to us, and would it not be proper for the people of Knoxville to unite with the citizens of Chattanooga in action on the subject?

## The Daily Journal.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 10, 1856

### Kansas Refugees.

The *Sentinel*, speaking of one of the objections urged against the Douglas Bill for establishing slavery in Kansas, that the Free State men have been expelled in such numbers, and such measures have been taken by the Missourians to prevent their return, that nothing like a fair expression of the wishes of the citizens of the territory can be obtained, says:

It is, moreover, a rather long stretch of credulity to suppose that the citizens of Missouri will persist in forcibly preventing absent citizens of Kansas from quietly returning through their State, or new emigrants from proceeding thither by the same route. If, however, the Missourians should thus choose to "bite off their own noses," we do not see that any extra exertions need be made to prevent it. That they would be the principal sufferers by the operation, is a proposition that may be assumed without argument in proof of it.

It needs no very "long stretch of credulity" to believe that the citizens of Missouri have forcibly expelled citizens of Kansas from the territory, and "forcibly prevented their return."



That has been done, and is being done every day. And it will occur to almost anybody but the *Sentinel* writer, that what the Missourians have done, and are doing, they will probably continue to do. That it is demonstrably a suicidal course, is very true. They cut off more than their "noses" in cutting off the enterprising energetic settlement of the Free State men in such proximity as will make them the very best of customers. St. Louis has felt this already, and bitterly protested against it. Sensible men along the border feel it and oppose it. But the determination to force slavery into Kansas, which has made the whole Buchanan party reckless of right and truth and "time-honored compacts," has made the Border Missourians equally reckless of their own best interests. There are facts by the hundred, as the *Sentinel* well knows, but never dares to tell its readers, that show just how the Missourians are constantly sending back emigrants from the Free States, and that they have resolved that emigration up the Missouri from the Free States shall cease. With the evidence furnished by the correspondents of pro slavery papers, the admissions of those concerned in executing their operations, it will take a very "long stretch of credulity to be live that" the Missourians are not "forcibly preventing absent citizens of Kansas from returning."

But how shall these men get back, asks the *Sentinel*:

Do they suppose that the Federal Government shall provide an escort of United States troops to conduct Kansas refugees safely back to their homes through the State of Missouri.

Such a proposition has not been made; but it will strike everybody that an "escort of United States troops," after standing by and witnessing these citizens driven away, without interfering, could not make a better compensation than escorting them back in safety. What more appropriate order could be made than that the troops who saw and did not prevent the outrage, should aid in restoring the victims their rights? We suggest that Mr. Pierce could not use his troops to better purpose. If it was "proper" and "constitutional" to allow the army to help, or at best not to prevent, the operations of the Missouri and South Carolina high waymen, why would it not be equally constitutional and right to allow them to see the exiles safe home again. Does the *Sentinel* think that the army ought only to be used for the benefit of slave holders and slavery advocates? It ridicules the idea of allowing Free State sufferers the protection of the national army, but in did not ridicule the idea of allowing them to stand by and see Lawrence burned. Whatever looks like giving the benefit of the national power to Freedom the *Sentinel* denounces or ridicules at once.

We should like to know what our neighbor thinks of "squatter sovereignty" since its idol Douglas has reported and advocated a Bill that completely upsets the whole idea? Verily, the "steadfast" Democracy has a wonderful facility of picking up and throwing away doctrines to suit its convenience. "Squatter Sovereignty," after being repudiated in the conventions and in the entire South, is now voted dead in a regular law! Great is Democracy on a "dodge."

## DAILY HERALD.

J. J. JARVIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDECIT.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND

Thursday Evening, July 10, 1856.

### Missouri River and Border Ruffians.

A letter from A. E. PARROTT, Esq., formerly a Democratic member of the Ohio Legislature, to the *Dayton Journal*, written at St. Louis, July 1st, gives some items of interest touching Missouri River and Kansas matters. Mr. PARROTT

was a prominent citizen of Kansas last year, and is now on his way home, provided he is suffered to pass the river and land pirates. He writes that the route via the Missouri river is thickly sentinelled by the Border Ruffians, and every boat is searched, and stranger challenged for the shibboleth before he is allowed to proceed. The cannon used at Lexington to stop the Chicago Company, were furnished by the Governor of Missouri! The armed bands from the South are allowed to pass up the river and take possession of the Territory without let or hindrance, and Mr. P. states that such a company left St. Louis on the previous Saturday, on the *William Campbell*, and are now doubtless robbing the Free State men in Kansas. Mr. PARROTT indignantly says:

How effete, how emasculate, how unworthy of its name, is the government which fails to protect its citizens while traveling along great national highways! While the South is allowed to hold the gate of Kansas Territory and to close it against every man guilty of the atrocious crime of being from a free State, which is the subjugated province of the North or the South, and which is the sectional party, the administration or its opponents?

It is not companies only that are stopped and searched and sent away from the Territory. A Mr. Grover, who has resided near Lawrence for a long time, left here last week on the *Star of the West*, and succeeded in getting through to Leavenworth. There a band of regulators wished to search his trunk, but he would not submit to the indignity, and declared his determination to defend it with his life. He was, however, overpowered, and sent away on a boat to Kansas city, at which point he was taken off and whether he is now dead or alive, God only knows.

Matters are far from being quiet in the Territory. I can speak certainly of Leavenworth alone. There are some eight or ten men here who have been driven away from that place on account of their Free State sentiments. Among them is a Mr. Marvin, who has been put under bonds for twenty-five hundred dollars to appear and answer to the crime of having been a judge at an election.

These persons say that a South Carolina company which was driven out by Col. Sumner, took a boat at Westport and got back to Leavenworth, where they are now engaged in pillaging and chasing off all the Free State men.—Col. Sumner has been deprived of nearly all his men, under the pretence of relieving Fort Kearney, which it is said is besieged by the Indians. There are only about thirty men now at Fort Leavenworth, so that the Buford's troops have full swing in the Territory.

Gen. Persifer F. Smith is here on his way to Kansas. I have not been able to learn anything of what his course will be, but the Free State refugees here are very hopeful of good things from him. I shall probably go up with him tomorrow, in hopes that his presence will be a protection from the river pirates at Lexington. If compelled to abandon this plan I shall go at once to Lane's camp at Iowa city, in hope of reaching the Territory by that route. Governor Corwin is here, and talks of these outrages as only Tom Corwin can talk.

## Chenango Telegraph.

NORWICH, N. Y.  
THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 10, 1856.

### PASSAGE BY THE HOUSE OF THE BILL TO ADMIT KANSAS UNDER THE TOPEKA CONSTITUTION.

The week that has transpired since our last issue has been an eventful one in Congress. The outrageous bill of the Nullifier, Toombs, endorsed by the no less detestable Douglas, has passed the Senate, and now awaits the action of the House. This bill provides that only those resident in Kansas on the 4th of July, just past, shall be enumerated or recognized as legal voters at the next election. Thus the expulsion of all Northern men from the Territory is explained. The Border Ruffians doubtless had the intent of the bill communicated to them

from Washington some time since, and proceeded accordingly. More than three hundred emigrants from the North have recently been driven from the Territory, after being robbed of their money, arms and provisions.

In agreeable and cheering contrast to this is the successful termination of the contest in the House over the bill providing for the immediate admission of Kansas as a State, under the Free Constitution adopted by more than three-fourths of her inhabitants.—The bill was at first defeated by one majority, but on motion of Mr. Barclay, a reconsideration was ordered, and, on the 3d inst., it passed by a majority of three. Although there is little or no reason to expect the concurrence of the Senate, to give the measure practical force, yet it will have a great moral effect. It will cheer the hearts of the settlers in Kansas, by showing them that there is a popular sentiment uprising in their behalf which is felt even in Congress. It will stimulate the friends of Free Territory to renewed exertion, by the assurance it gives that they can rely upon their Representatives. And it will encourage these Representatives themselves to resist with increased energy the scheme of the Administration and its Senators to remand the new State to Missouri tutelage, in order to compel it to adopt Missouri Slavery.

JUDGE SHANKLAND HAS JOINED THE FREMONT ARMY!—There are few, if any, of the people of this county who have not a personal acquaintance with the Hon. William H. Shankland. He has presided at the terms of the Supreme Court held here until his presence has become familiar, and the sight of his benevolent face and grey hairs seems pleasant and grateful to those who are called into the village by business or curiosity on court days. Judge Shankland was elected by the Democrats; he has always been a staunch and earnest member of their party, and would, without doubt, have continued through life a worker in its ranks had not its leaders perverted its principles and laid down a platform which no honest man could stand upon. Since the Cincinnati Convention Judge Shankland has expressed his abhorrence of the code there adopted, and at a meeting held in Syracuse to ratify the nominations of FREMONT and DAYTON he was called to preside. On taking the chair he said he was thankful for the opportunity to express his detestation of the present Administration, which was at war with the institutions and well-being of our country and the best interests of mankind. He declared that he renounced all connection with the party which countenances and sustains these acts. He avowed his determination to do all in his power to promote the election of the nominees of the Philadelphia Convention. He pledged his best exertions to secure the overthrow of the myrmidons of Slavery who have brought our country to the very verge of civil war.

MARTIN GROVER HAS DONE THE SAME.—The name of Martin Grover has long been familiar to Democratic ears. No man has exerted so powerful an influence to make the party successful in Western New York during the past twenty years; no man has labored more incessantly for its advantage. The last *Allegany Republican* contains a notice of his intention to address a Republican

meeting to enforce the nomination of FREMONT and DATTON. He too, he says, is disgusted with the "National" cant of the Buchanians, that has no other meaning in it than success to Slavery and death to Freedom.

### RALLYING SONG.

TUNE—The Massillon Hymn.

Behold! the furious storm is rolling,  
Whi h Ruder, Fiends, and devils raise.  
The Dogs of War let loo, are howling,  
And let our infant babes, are howling,  
And shall we calmly view the ruin,  
While lawless force, with giant stride  
Spreads d solution far and wide,  
In guttles blood his hands imbruing?  
Arise, Arise, ye heroes!  
And let our war-cry be  
Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Free Men  
FREEMONT and VICTORY!

Oh, Liberty! can he resign thee  
Who once has felt thy generous flame?  
Can threats subdue, or bolts confine thee—  
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?  
Not by the heavens bright bending o'er us!  
We've called our Captain to the van—  
Behold the hour—Behold the man!  
Oh, wise and valiant, go before us!  
Then let the shout again  
Ring out from a sea to sea,  
Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Free Men,  
FREEMONT and VICTORY!

Hurrah, Hurrah! from hill and valley,  
Hurrah from prairie wide and free!  
Around our glorious Chieftain rally,  
For Kansas and for LIBERTY!  
Let him who first her wilds exploring,  
Her virgin beauty gave to fame  
Now save her from the curse and shame  
Which Slavery o'er her soil is pouring.  
Our Standard-Bearer then  
The brave Pathfinder be!  
Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Free Men,  
FREEMONT and VICTORY!

## The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 10, 1856.

TO KANSAS VIA IOWA.—The Detroit Advertiser states that the route to Kansas through Iowa is now complete, by rail and stage. From Iowa City, and through the territory of Nebraska, stages are established, by a company fully able to maintain the line efficiently. This will enable Free State settlers to reach Topeka without being subjected to the danger of the Missouri route. Already large number of persons have passed through by way of this route, and, at the last accounts, many more were quartered at Iowa City, ready to proceed.

### The Kansas Report.

The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives is so voluminous that we are utterly unable to give it entire. We have, however, made a selection of several columns, one instalment of which is given to-day.—Another will follow to-morrow. The disclosures made on oath—many of them by witnesses in the interest of the pro-slavery party—are astounding, and must fill the minds of all thinking people with apprehensions for the future.—Unless the Free States now come to the rescue of Liberty, its downfall is inevitable.

THE RUFFIANS ON THE BORDER.—The new tactics of the "Border Ruffians" are more bold and dangerous than those adopted at an earlier day. DOUGLAS' "pacification" bill is suited to them, and was drawn with reference to the late policy of the propaganda. Having expelled a large number of the Free State settlers, the Ruffians now stand guard upon the borders, and have concentrated armed men there in sufficient numbers to prevent the entrance of any emigrants from the East and North. This exclusion is absolute; for whoever attempts to go into the territory via Missouri, the most direct route, runs the risk of his life. Two companies of men, women and children, bona fide settlers, were confronted at Waverly and Leavenworth, by the emissaries of Atchison, and obliged to

return. But they were not "subdued" by the minions of Arnold Douglas, and will still be found upon the disputed ground, prepared to defend their rights as American citizens.



FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 18, 1856.

### Hear a "Border Ruffian."

From the Montgomery (Alabama) Journal.

FROM KANSAS.—We give the following extract from a letter received by one of our compositors from a relative, who went out to Kansas with Maj. Buford's company:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

## THE CABINET:

E. D. BOYLSTON, Editor & Proprietor.

Amherst, ----- July 10th, 1856.

### THE WRONGS OF KANSAS.

There are many who affect to feel and speak lightly of the wrongs and injuries that have been and still are inflicted upon the freemen of Kansas, but the recent reports to Congress fully confirm the worst statements—and they are so palpable that many who have hitherto acted with the South, are free to utter their condemnation of such outrages. This report (says the Tribune) "is made up almost entirely of a simple recital of the multiplicity of facts established in evidence. Among these facts are a conspiracy and organizations, both secret and open—contemporaneous with the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska bill—to establish Slavery by any means and at all hazards. Indeed it was assumed that Slavery was established in that Territory by the very passage of that bill, and that for Northern men to move into it for the purpose of making it a Free State was a gross outrage on the rights of the slaveholders, and to be prevented and punished at their pleasure. It is shown that every election held in the territory, and particularly the election at which the bogus Legislature was chosen, was carried by force and violence on the part of invasive ruffians from Missouri, among whom figured largely, Atchison, "Sheriff" Jones, and Mr. Oliver, the minority of the Committee, and who intends to make a minority report. It is shown that the action of this bogus Legislature had for its sole end and object the depriving the Free State men of all control over the policy of the Territory, all officers being appointed for some years in advance, and the meeting of a new Territorial Legislature postponed till 1857, under the idea that before that time Kansas would have become a Slave State. It is further shown that the entire action of the Territorial officers, both those

appointed by President Pierce, has been limited exclusively to suppression of Free-State opinion; no attempts having been made to prosecute or punish any crime except the refusal by Free-State men to recognize the bogus Legislature, and the organization, on their part of a State Government, with a view to admission into the Union.—The infamous Judge Leecombe appears in this Report as participating in a meeting called to approve the lynching of a member of the bar because he had been active in obtaining a new election in the district in which they both resided, on the ground that the first had been been vitiated by fraud and violence, and as issuing process for the arrest of Gov. Reeder for the very intent, as the Committee are satisfied, of interrupting their proceedings.

## The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 10, 1856.

### The Political Reformation.

However deeply we may lament the terrible national agitations growing out of the slavery question; however sadly we may deprecate the evils inflicted upon individuals and communities by the slave power, in its desperate struggles for life and enlargement; however much we are tempted to shrink from the fierce contest with a great and deeply planted wrong, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact—the grateful fact—that a stupendous reformation is in progress in this country, which is to tell powerfully upon the nation's destiny. It is a political reformation, based on the issue between freedom and slavery; and it is well, while it progresses, to note its characteristics and developments.

The inception of this reform was far back among the years, but that which is its present basis, apparently, at least, is the late rapid and astounding development of the real spirit and true designs of the pro-slavery power. The faithless abrogation of the Missouri compromise, the unparalleled outrages resorted to for the purpose of forcing slavery upon Kansas, the domineering and ruffianly spirit exhibited in Congress by the representatives of the slave interest, the open advocacy by portions of the southern press of the resumption of the African slave trade, and the entire commitment of the government, in its present hands, and of the national democratic party, to the schemes of the slavery propaganda, have opened the eyes of all candid men to the dangers which impend over the country. The conviction has been fastened upon every true heart that the time for compromises has passed,—that slavery has compassed new triumphs with every compromise hitherto, and that no compact or compromise will be allowed to stand in the way of the slavery propaganda. In view of these facts, and acting upon this conviction, the free people of the North and West have aroused themselves, with a determination hitherto unfelt and unknown, to do battle, on a direct issue, with the slave power. Reforms based on such a conviction as this, involving, as it does, the highest sentiments of justice and humanity and the principles of religion, never go backward. The moral sense of a great people, quickened under the infliction of stinging wrongs, cannot be repressed until it has found satisfaction in the attainment of its objects; and whether those objects be attained this year, or ten years hence, it matters little so far as the continuance of its life and activity is concerned. Henceforth there will be no peace until justice shall have been established in the administration of the national government, and the influence of the government placed upon the side of freedom. There is to be no "patching up of peace," hereafter.

The democratic party, in its fancied invincibility, presses confidently forward toward the accomplishment of its designs, apparently unconscious that it is daily growing weaker, and that treason is busily at work within its own ranks. The party has based all its calculations upon the strength of its original and avowed enemies, and its calculations must consequently fail, for every

have read



where, throughout the free states, and in democratic strongholds the most, the democrats are turning from Buchanan to Fremont, as the best representative of the principles they cherish. They turn from a sham democracy to a true democracy. The old party bands are loosening. Men prominent as democratic leaders are stepping boldly out, and placing themselves upon the side of freedom; and thousands of voters only await the privileges of the ballot-box to do the same. The reform proper is the most active in the democratic ranks, and the strongest hopes of the friends of freedom are springing up amid the very hosts of the opposition.

Another sign of hope has developed itself. For many years there has been an anti-slavery sentiment at the South which has waited a weary while to assert itself. The men who entertain this sentiment are watching this struggle with the most profound interest. Some of them are outspoken at home. In Missouri, Kentucky and one or two other states, the press speaks out. In Kentucky, there is a republican organization. Northern members of Congress are constantly receiving letters of encouragement from the South, stating that they only wait a united North to begin operations at home. The reins of government once fairly in the hands of the opponents of the slave propaganda, and that power would have sufficient occupation at home; and in many states would find itself condemned in the mouth of those it has deemed its supporters. The southern freemen feel that there is not a single hope for the slave so long as the slave power has the charge of the national government. As slavery finds its strongest apologists and supporters at the North, when the government is controlled by the South, so would freedom find everywhere champions at the South, were the North in power.

Another encouraging sign connected with the reform is the support which it universally receives from the Christian ministry of the North and West. Wherever the true gospel is preached, the reform is felt to be demanded by the principles and the interests of the Christian religion; and the time is not distant when this period will be referred to as having been as signally an illustration of the noble devotion and independence of the Christian ministry, as the period of the American revolution.

With true men in the democratic ranks placing themselves boldly on the side of reform, with good men at the South praying for it, with the Christian ministry avowedly in its favor, with every sentiment of love for country, love for freedom, and love for the right, enlisted for it, the friends of reform have everything to hope for, and the greatest encouragement to spend and be spent in its behalf. It is a great object to labor for, and one which all should be proud to engage in. It is a great age to live and labor in. Let those who come after us read a history of this day which in true heroism and self-sacrifice shall be, and forever remain, unsurpassed!

In an affidavit of J. F. Bliss, published in the Galesburg (Ill.) *Free Democrat*, giving a conversation he listened to at Fort Leavenworth, between Judge Lecompte of Kansas and other parties, occurs the following suggestive paragraph:

"One of the men expressed fears as to the orthodoxy of Mr. Buchanan on the slavery question. Lecompte replied that he had letters from some of Buchanan's friends, and that he was all right on the 'goose,' and that he would pursue the same policy that Pierce had—but that it must be kept still in order to carry Pennsylvania and New York; and," said Lecompte, "he will fool old Reeder into supporting him, too! Old Buck is all right, boys, don't fear him."

For the Republican.

#### Fremont Rallying Song.

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

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

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

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

Stockbridge, Mass.

E. W. B. C.

## Weekly Transcript.

THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1856.

### Report of the Kansas Investigating Committee.

The report of the Kansas investigating committee, although a plain and calm statement of facts sustained by sworn evidence, is the most important and exciting document ever presented to Congress. It will produce a profound sensation throughout the country. The main fact set forth have been frequently stated on undoubted authority, but they are so arranged by the committee as to present a connected history of the monstrous frauds and usurpations by which the ruffians of slavery have obtained the control of Kansas, and to leave no room for doubt or cavil henceforth among honest men anywhere as to the right and wrong of the Kansas difficulties. It is impossible for us to print the document in full, but it will be issued in large numbers at Washington and New York, and a copy of it should be placed in the hands of every voter in the whole union.

The Committee present with their report, the journal of their proceedings and the record of the testimony taken before them.

### Kansas in the Senate and the House. An Artful Dodge.

The defeat of the Kansas bill in the House of Representatives on Monday week last, carries with it the everlasting disgrace of the misrepresentatives of the North who voted against it. Its final triumph by a vote of 100 to 97—though a matter of intense satisfaction to the whole North—is, however, no palliation of the offence. It should not have been defeated in the first instance; and, were it not for the influence of the Southern party over its Northern associates, it never would have been defeated.

But the Border Ruffians at the Capitol quail before the storm they have raised; and Douglas abandons entirely the principles of the Nebraska bill, while he resorts to a fresh manoeuvre to throttle territorial freedom. This man has introduced a bill which annuls the leading acts of the bogus Legislature, and provides for the taking of a new census, for a new election, for the formation of a constitution, and for the final admission of Kansas as a free State. It provides for the appointment of five commissioners by the President, with the consent of the Senate, who are to exercise absolute power in all questions connected with the census and the rights of citizenship. The purpose of this measure is apparent. With the leaders of the Free State party in prison, and two-thirds of the actual settlers either driven from the territory or sleeping beneath its soil, the Border Ruffians will have an easy victory at the polls. This bill, in short, is speciously designed to allay the present excitement. It is proposed quietly to substitute it for the House bill, when that document gets

before the Senate, and then send it to the House for endorsement. This the House will not do—dare not do. But whether it does or does not, the fact is patent that the only way of securing fair play for all questions connected with Freedom is that taken by the Republicans—and that is, to construct a party upon that exclusive issue.

## The Daily Spy.

THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1856.

The following just rebuke of the indifference of our people to the claims of their brethren in Kansas, is copied from the Newburyport Herald:

We are in favor of freedom in Kansas, and every where else in this republic, peaceful and constitutional freedom, such, too, as can be acquired under the Nebraska act and under Douglas' present bill, if the north mean what they talk, but when the State of Massachusetts does not raise so much money to sustain their own sons and daughters now in Kansas—the bona fide settlers that would support freedom—as their children expended for fire crackers and powder last Friday, all we have to say is that the end is not yet; and when it comes it may be different from what we desire. They want no rifles and no pistols for Kansas; they need men and bread.

## The Atlas.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 10, 1856.

### TELEGRAPHIC DESPATCHES.

By the House Printing Telegraph Line,  
OFFICE 31 STATE STREET, BOSTON.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session  
WASHINGTON, Wednesday, July 9.

SENATE.—Mr. Benjamin's resolution was adopted, directing the Secretary of the Senate to take the three bills passed over the President's veto, to the Secretary of State, in order that they be deposited in that Department.

Mr. Benjamin remarked with reference to the question raised the other day, whether two thirds of the members present, or two thirds of all the members of the Senate, were requisite to pass a bill over the President's veto. He had examined precedents, and found at the first session of the first Congress—composed in a great part of those who were members of the Convention—which passed the Constitution, passed both Houses of Congress, and in both were adopted by two thirds of the members present, and not two thirds of the whole body of members.

Messrs. Mason and Toucey expressed the opinion, after more deliberate reflection, that the decision of the Chair was correct.

Mr. Toombs said precedents were not worth much. When they were in a person's favor, they were relied on, but when they were contrary to his opinions, they were disregarded.

Mr. Johnson, from the Committee on Printing, reported in favor of the motion to print 20,000 extra copies of the Kansas bill, as passed in the Senate, but adversely to the motion to print the amendments proposed, and the yeas and nays thereon.

Mr. Trumbull thought if the Senate was going to send this forth as an "electronic document," the action taken on the various amendments ought to go with it, so as to present a fair view of the subject.

Mr. Webster read the report of the Committee conferred in. The position held by a majority of the territorial Legislature was frankly misinterpreted, and they desired that the public mind should be set right.

Mr. Wilson was willing to send to the country as many copies of the bill as the majority desired.

He regarded the bill as intended to carry on the work which the order ruffians of Missouri commenced in 1855. The people of the country so understand it. Why was not this bill brought in in the first part of the session, before Kansas was conquered, since that time Kansas has been twice or thrice invaded. Houses have been burned, cities sacked, and some free state men murdered, while others have been driven out of the territory, and have on their way thither arrested, disarmed, and sent back. The proposition brought forward at this time took position precisely contrary to that assumed six months ago, also holding out the appearance of fairness and justice, but keeping the word of promise to the ear, and breaking it to the hope.

Mr. Wade took ground similar to that of Mr. Wilson. He was willing to scatter the bill broad cast over the country, for it showed that the doctrine of popular sovereignty was renounced and entirely given up by the Democratic party. The bill also virtually admitted that the territorial Legislature was fraudulent and right over their heads, and annulled many of their acts.

Mr. Douglas vindicated the Senate bill, and said the Republicans did not want peace until after the election, for it was all they had for political effect. Their capital for the coming Presidential election was blood, and an angel from Heaven could





kan it Erar be extended wan bel beyond its present limits, as I firmly believe, if Sum means can be devised whereby the Tongues of the brawlin abolitionists among Us, (men wat Have no more true patriotiam about 'Em, than there is Blood & life in a pavin-stone,) can be lither kut out, or so tied up that They kant wag any jist anuf Tu be abel to ax For a meal o' vittles, till The kuntry bekums agin Quiet, & the peopel happy & Kontented.

& now Havin sed thus much konsarnin the Niggers, I klose with The follerin suggestion—

won a man Undertakes to tell me as How a slaveholder aint nothin But a skoundrel & a Murderer, & on 'futher hand, An abolitionist is wan o' Heaven's ainted, he Bekums either a fool Or a knave;—a fool, for Thinkin I was idiot enuf Tu beleave any such nonsense, or A knave who, havin an idee I was Such a ninny, should so Try to bamboozle an honest Man.

I have seen missourie Men out in this kuntry, alongside of Whom, if I shud Place parker pillabery, ward beecher, loyd garrison, & The rest of that tribe, (who Are longing for The Day wen the felds of This kuntry shall Run in rivers of Blood!) the kontrast Wud strike the beholder as though He was loking at A flo of angels, ranged By the side of so meny devils!

but no More yu-day. JOB BASS.

per Scrip. has the late mare, the Docktur, arrived home Amung ye!

awitho' the Gude man eskaped out o' the territory under The garb of a nigger Driver, "goin south arer a fresh Drov o' chattels," (as he Telled the steamboat kaptains, on the river,) I shant feel Easy till I know, for A sartinly, he's safe in Boston.

If I shud larn that he was Strip't, tarred, feathered, & horse-whipped klean Thro' missouri, I shud'n't Bee surprised,—for Jist as like as not, afore He's got 10 miles intu That 'ere state, h'll make Out tu lett the passengers know, Who & wat he is. (that was A way he Had, wen he was Mare.) J. B.

## Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, THURSDAY, JULY 10.

### Latest Doings of the President in Kansas— —The Free State Legislature Dispersed by U. S. Troops.

The following late news from Kansas has been telegraphed from St. Louis to the morning papers: "St. Louis, July 9. Advice from Topeka to the 4th inst., state that a Convention met there on the 2d, and passed resolutions in favor of the Republican party, and denunciatory of the Democrats, appealing to the friends of free Kansas in Congress to stop the supplies until Kansas is admitted under the Topeka Constitution.

Marshal Donelson and Judge Elmore read to the Convention the President's February proclamation, and Gov. Shannon's proclamation, and one from Mr. Woodson, Secretary of the Territory. Also, a note from Col. Sumner saying that he would prevent the meeting of the legislature. They were unheeded. About 800 persons were present, all armed.

Both branches of the legislature met on the 4th inst. The roll was called, and a quorum found to be present. About noon Col. Sumner entered the town with 200 dragoons, and planted two cannon at the head of Kansas Avenue. The troops were drawn up before Constitution Hall, when Sumner told the citizens that he would not disarm them or break up the Convention, but he had orders to dissolve the legislature, and he would do so.

Sumner then repaired to the Hall of Representatives, and informed the members that he had orders to disperse them. He said: "I am called upon to perform the most painful duty of my life. Under the authority of the President, I am here to dissolve this legislature. In accordance with my orders I command you to disperse. God knows I have no party feelings in the matter, and will have none while I hold my present position in Kansas. I have just returned from the border, where I have been sending home the Missourians, and I am now here with instructions to disperse this Legislature. I again command you to disperse."

Judge Schingles asked if they were to understand that they were driven out at the point of the bayonet? Col. Sumner replied: "I will use the whole force under my command to enforce my orders." The House then dispersed.

A similar scene was enacted in the Senate, which also dispersed.

The Convention was preparing resolutions endorsing the State Government and the Topeka Constitution. Fears of invasion had kept large numbers from attending. Col. Lane had not arrived.

The body against which the President has proceeded in this infamous manner is the only Legislature which the People of Kansas have ever been permitted to elect. It represented seven-eighths of the actual inhabitants of Kansas. The popular

branch of Congress—that branch which most directly represents the people of this Republic—has sanctioned the movement which brought it into existence and recognised it as a lawful body. But the President, who audaciously pretends to be a "Democrat," has employed the army of the United States to crush it out. If he had employed the army to disperse the Missouri ruffians who assembled at Shawnee Mission, pretending to be the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, and afforded the people protection against these ruffians, Kansas would now be quiet and prosperous. But those who use him decreed that Kansas should be governed by the Missourians; and the Free State Legislature has been dispersed in this high-handed fashion because they will not tolerate in that Territory even the faintest protest against the Border Ruffian despotism which has been established there under the control of Atchison and Stringfellow.

There was no decent excuse for such proceedings at Topeka on the Fourth of July, unless the President was anxious to have the day celebrated there somewhat in accordance with his own principles; but the decency of this excuse was not very apparent to Col. Sumner, who evidently felt the baseness of the order under which he acted. The free State Legislature had no intention to act against the Government of the United States, as is well known; the only object of the people of Kansas is to secure a deliverance from the thieving and murdering pirates of Missouri; and the President's only reason for trampling them under foot in this way, is the determination of the slave power to uphold the Missouri ruffians in order to transform Kansas into a slave State.

And now, to enable him to complete the work as soon as possible, the Buchanan Kansas bill which Toombs and Douglas are endeavoring to get through Congress, proposes to give him authority to send five Commissioners to superintend the transformation of Kansas into a slave State immediately. If justice were allowed to regulate the proceedings of the Senate, the President would be formally tried and properly punished for his great crimes against the people of Kansas.

## Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON:  
THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1856.

Correspondence of the Traveller.  
Freedom of the Pulpit in Washington.  
WASHINGTON, July 8.

Editor of the Traveller:

It was my pleasure to listen to a sermon last Sunday, in this city, preached by the Rev. M. D. Conway, pastor of the First Unitarian Society. Mr. Conway is a member of one of the "first families" in Virginia, and speaks of slavery by the book. He is a free and original thinker and an independent actor. He is young yet, and promises much. His sermon of last Sunday was, all things considered, one of the boldest and ablest efforts to which I ever listened. His society is partly composed of persons who are yet connected, in a variety of ways, with the "pecklar institution." Some who listened to his discourse last Sunday are large slave owners, and hold offices under the present administration. Without further comment I proceed to give you a few extracts of the sermon, especially of that portion relating to recent and passing events, and which has produced a rupture in his society, and will perhaps cause a separation of pastor and flock; a meeting of the society to consider that subject will be held next Sunday, and it is the opinion of members of the society with whom I have conversed, that Mr. Conway will be dismissed. So much for the freedom of the pulpit in Washington!

His text was from Zachariah iv, 6 and 7—"Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts. Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain."

The times, said the speaker, approach us at present with the stature and solemnity of eternities. Minds which are alive may learn by a daily touch of the telegraph more than a life-time one generation back could teach. In the terrible current of events the hair whitens in a night.

When I left you, friends, it was with the beautiful music of peace wafted on Eastern winds to our ears. I return to you when the first sad notes of civil war come on Western winds, and a great heap of black cloud lies along the gloomy horizon, sending out in fitful flashes its fiery sword.

[The speaker then proceeded to depict the horrors of war. He dwelt with great power upon the recent European war, showing the damage it had done to trade, its direct cost to the nations concerned in it, and the immense loss of life accruing therefrom, and the great lesson it taught. He then continued as follows:—]

But as yet the lesson is not learned. With the grief, the tears of the war just closed fresh upon us; with the blood of seven hundred men crying to us, pause; with the wailings of bereaved women and children filling the air, this nation is going steadily toward a war, which, should it come, will be the darkest, deadliest, and most awful which ever cursed this planet. All other war yields to civil war in terror. If one comes, and it seems inevitable where two sections have lost the last vestige of respect for each other, ten generations will scarcely see it concluded. Read the histories of civil wars. No young man ever glowed with enthusiasm over them, as over great national encounters. They turn the heart sick.

Whilst these fresh red drops are falling let every man who will stand by the Prince of Peace, unflinch that holy banner and stand by it forever. Were Christ on earth there would he be found standing.

Or else it would be a waste of breath to appeal to slavery for peace. As well appeal to the fang of the serpent not to strike, as to that poisoned fang of hell, Hyman slavery, not to send, by any means it can command, its deadly virus into the fresh young blood of Freedom. Why should we expect this monster to change its instincts? Can a leopard change its spots? Is there anything incompatible in buying and selling men and women, made in the image of God, on the block, and a violation of the most sacred compacts? Is it anything wonderful, when tearing babes from their mothers, husbands from their wives—scenes which passed my unconscious childhood as an amazing panorama of the Pit, to raise within me at last, thank God, a hatred of slavery which shall never cease save with the last heart throb; never, till this tongue is dust again. Is it, I ask, anything wonderful, when all this, in the South, becomes, in Kansas, murder, robbery and arson? Is there anything unnatural, when oppression and brutality toward the weak and helpless, in Carolina, become dastardly and cowardly assassination of the unforgotten and defenceless, in Washington? Nothing unnatural, say the South, in endorsing those men who have worn their way into power by the very slime they secrete, and use it to lift themselves on the happiness of millions. Nothing, they repeat, in universal representative sanction of a crime which would have been a scratch, but for their sanction, which makes the word Union a satire, and virtually says to half the men in this land, "There is no point of honor between us. The lowest white Southerner must be forewarned and challenged, or the assailant loses cast forever. But you Northerners shall be beaten as we beat dogs: we do not forewarn our dogs when we beat them."

Living in the midst of slavery, I have ever felt that it was dishonest and wrong that the Northern men should not know how we are trained to despise Yankees as worse than anything else; how it is nearly a proverb that there is no gentleman North of Mason and Dixon's line. *Gutta percha* is very honest at any rate, and places the matter frankly before the freemen of this country. It is well if even the devils become honest, real devils, and conceal nothing in their hearts.

No, I make no appeal to slavery to bring us peace; it would be a hypocrite to do so, and hypocrisy is worse than war: but on you, freemen and friends of Humanity, I call to lend all your efforts for peace; to stand and shed your blood, if need be, for peace.

True, not the most infinitely small atom of principle must be conceded for peace. Better this country should sink beneath an ocean of blood, than one of the rights of Humanity be surrendered, than the supreme law of Justice to all men fall. But for these strive to fight through all the forms of peace, knowing that the success of your cause depends on standing on your ground even to death, not on your overcoming the man who opposed it. He is nothing and can do nothing against your cause if it is right.

It would be a sad, deplorable victory of slavery over liberty,—worse than any it ever got—if the barbarous code of duelling should be consented to as the true one to settle the disputes of sections or men. The boar selects fusties, the bee a sting.

"It proper power to hurt each  
Creature feels,  
Bulls use their horns and  
Ases lift their heels."

Slavery takes naturally to bludgeons or pistols. Freedom should as naturally take to reason, truth of thought, speech and act, and that courage, not animal, which can bravely stand for God and Right, and be shot down, if that is the thing to be done.

But must we not resist an assault, it is required. It is never right deliberately to prepare for it, and if resistance should be the best thing, when the moment comes instruction and strength will flow from God and nature; then your resistance will be as healthy as the inevitable lightning. Leave it to nature. She is the best teacher, and no absolute rule can be made. Tooth is necessary, but take care it does not become fang. One is animal, the other human. So are war and a proper resistance very different—the one animal, the other human.

As soon as war in Kansas becomes inevitable, as it will be when it is decided that the present

policy towards that territory is to be continued, we should all earnestly turn our attention to disunion. The blood which has stained the free soil of Kansas, and stained the floor of the Senate from her ablest advocate, is the vicarious ransom of the North for her past sins of servility and compromise. That blood has blotted out all traditional bonds and amenities between slavery and freedom. The friends of liberty now stand free—free to be guided by their own law; bound by no compact but their compact with God; under no covenant with any save their wronged and suffering brothers. Now for once freedom steps forth untrammelled by any rose-water talk of sectional courtesies, sacred compacts, and the like; she has room now for a free use of all her strength; we fear not the encounter with slavery.

We only need now that this new strength of Freedom should be rightly directed to save us from civil war. We can see that the strength is coming, though as yet it but "sees men as trees"; we see it in the houses half finished which may now be pointed out in the North, the workmen sent away that more money may go to Lawrence; in the fact that those who give most for this end, give most in the North, are those who never voted for a Republican in their lives; in the fact that the States are fast forming in a line in opposition to every claim of Slavery which is not found surrendered on the very face of the Constitution. This is right. Let them know that though the branches should be pruned the tap-root of Border Ruffianism lies deep in the human subsoil of Washington. Let them send men here, not invertebrate animals! who will bend from the honest truth to dodge a blow; but "men, high-minded men, who know their rights and knowing dare maintain."

Brothers, this Union freighted with so many hopes and joys, is worth another effort to save it. In this awful crisis it is the sum of the Law and the Prophets, of the old and new Testaments, the sum and substance of them all, that every man should enter with all the force that is in him into this work. Voting rises to the solemnity and dignity of prayer. Rear your defences, O freemen! let Mount Washington and Quincy Granite, and Plymouth Rock be brought here in human shape, to speak the word of death to that demon which having enslaved three and a half millions of negroes, would now conquer thirty millions of men with Saxon blood in their veins.

And let it be once for all seen and recognized by you who love freedom, that the cause you have adopted is the most sacred of all causes. It is the Christianity of to-day. Remember that the system which you have been adjured by all the ties, fraternities, memories, courtesies which ever did or did not exist to tolerate and submit to, is one whose roots are in the lowest basement of man's nature; whose trunk has been ignorance and degradation to white and black, causing the statistics of Virginia to show sixty thousand white adults to-day who cannot read or write; whose blossoms have been slave-auctions, slave-burnings, Nebraska bills, Missouri Ruffianism, Congressional Ruffianism, fugitive slave hunts. These are its blossoms; what the fruit shall be God alone knows! It is this system which you men of the Free States have continually invited to triumph and riot, and thought that it would treat you more tenderly than it did negro mothers and their babes. Then the power whereby you are at present an almost subjugated people is your own folly.

"Dear foxes," you have said with feeling,—"we wish our geese to wander in your rich thickets, that they may grow fat. Do not, we pray you, annoy them. We send them out with entire confidence that you will not molest but will even protect them." Let them come, say the foxes, "they shall be welcome to our rich thickets." Then going carelessly on a week after, you find every bramble covered with white feathers, and slowly on your amazed perceptions dawns the truth that, since the foundations of the earth were laid, the eternal laws of the universe, ethical and physical, have arranged that foxes shall slay and eat geese. Slavery is no abstraction; it is a great black fact, to tell the fearful tendencies of which no tongue has yet been formed from the dust. You can expect nothing of it, and remember it is not the foxes who are blameworthy, but those who committed their geese to their tender mercies.

And let one other thing be remembered,—it is a sad thing to say,—*no body can be trusted on this subject.* If it were only a man that God made, he might be voted for in the faith that he would do right. But for every man in this country slavery has a bribe at every pore, and a lash over all who will not obey its behests. It is even in our church and whiped that thin-skinned convention of Unitarianism at Chicago into servility, dragging Unitarianism baptized in freedom into their manifold fears. I feel the presence of its great infernal power in this house to-day,—there lurking amongst you whispering—"Don't stand such preaching as this; if you do your friends will turn away from you, and you will be called an abolitionist." It is up here whispering to me,—if you do not stop this preaching against slavery it will have its end over your head,—your friends will be fewer even than they are now. Get these behind me, cunning Devil! I will tell on thee. I will say to northern men, "Trust none but those who are distinctly committed to the right side in every way possible,—committed in white and black, by temperament, by their whole lives, by all the associations and pursuits of their lives, so that even selfishness necessitates the right side."

I have not the least doubt from what I have myself seen in Washington, that if the angels Gabriel and Michael should descend and be elected senators of a free state without the most distinct understanding as to their course on this question, we should find them popping champagne with the minions of slavery, and coming to the celestial faith that the people of the territories should be left "perfectly free" to arrange their own institutions, with the single condition that they should be shot and have their houses burnt over them, if they should so arrange them as not to suit the South. I believe it would be unsafe to trust any of the hierarchy so long as any question was unanswered.

Oh, thou slave-king! thy days are nearly numbered. Weighed art thou in the balances and found wanting. Thanks to the dear God, every free soul in this land has heard on the West wind the burden of the old prophecy—"Arise, for this matter belongeth unto thee; be of good courage and do it." Let the full fact burst upon us, that 350,000 men, the entire number of slaveholders, are keeping thirty millions in deadly commotion and feud fast leading to civil war; that one more inch of United States territory given to slavery implies that every man, woman and child in the North is a slave; that the pro-slavery representation of Kansas, which is larger than all New England, would, should it be admitted, checkmate all the anti-slavery power in Congress, for five centuries, and make the Union absolutely intolerable. Let each man feel that his personal manhood is involved, and that crawling in the dust is not living. Whatever be our occupation let us strike the task and join to save the State. Let the artist see that he cannot be so good an artist nor find so much patronage as if this was settled. Let the farmer see that labor is degraded and agriculture clogged. Let the man of letters see that the special faculty is mixed and maimed by those inlaid spirits of duty whose clamor drowns all other spirits. Let the moralist see that it is the fountain of public and private corruption; that in it the olden prophecy is fulfilled, "because iniquity doth abound the love of many shall wax cold." Thus each man, approaching the fact from his own office, by his own door, shall find that, as the form of man cannot be found on the same geologic plain with the vast extinct monsters which needed primeval marshes for their element, so the highest spiritual manhood cannot co-exist with this dragon, poisoning the air. Thus has the Infinite Father of African and Caucasian, made it one cause with them. If the North should consent to slavery extension, it would now forfeit not only all nobility, which many could yield because they have none, but all their interests, which they cannot yield. Every spirit which can be roused against it is now roused. Nature is now in labor with millions of human hearts which shall be sent on earth to cry to this guilt—Anathema Maranatha! We all live in a different country of that of six weeks ago. I trust we have all undergone the birth adapted to the new conditions. What is the praise or blame when it is unfolded all we are born to be or do.

One thing is now for ever settled, that the subject is to be definitely dealt with. It is up now, and cannot be put down by any power, nor postponed. Henceforth no freeman is ever going to be quiet. It is idle to think of it. Go to Mary as she sits beneath the Cross whereon her only Son hangs, with five ghastly wounds, and bid her calm her grief. Never, till she sees him arise from the tomb shall she be calmed. So we, sitting here under the very shadow of the cross where Freedom hangs crucified with those five bleeding wounds which the last ten years have given, in each of which is a tongue of fire—how shall we be quieted? It cannot be! Not until the resurrection morn of Freedom rises on our land shall we cease to weep and pray and work and watch by the sepulchre. Already, oh my brothers, I hear the flutter of the angel's wings as he comes to roll away the stone and break the seal of the slave power.

Let us all be ready, standing, awaiting the victory of God. The mountain is indeed high and strong; our strength is small; our might weakness. But if each one surrenders himself this day and henceforth to be the passive instrument of the best instinct striving in him,—his acts will cease to be the work of a mere man and rise to the grandeur and influence of direct acts of God. Each one can be now a workman for God, his visible finger entering and moulding the affairs of men. I beseech you, Oh Christians, yield yourselves thus. Lend a hand to the great cause of God and man; and know that success is certain. The tongue of God hath spoken it. "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts. Who art thou, O great mountain, before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain."

[From the Boston Journal.]

## TO THE NORTH.

Muffle the Nation's drum!  
Our flag is stained and torn  
The dreaded hour has come  
When the true heart must mourn.

Not for the stricken down,  
While at his earnest toll;  
His putteth on the Martyr's crown,  
And Freedom's angels smile.

But mourn that there should be  
This spot upon our shield;  
That reason, justice, liberty,  
To coward force must yield.

Arouse! 'tis Freedom's call!  
Thy mantle throw aside;  
Within the Senate Hall  
Floweth the crimson tide.

The blood of one who dared,  
Armed but in virtue's might,  
By bowie-knife unseared,  
Battle for human right.

The forum hath become  
The brigand's hiding place;  
The dark assassin's home;  
An emblem of disgrace.

Prove to the boasting knave,  
The would-be chivalry,  
He representeth but the SLAVE—  
Not Heaven-born Liberty!

To the assassin, thanks,  
For that misguided blow;  
It summons to the ranks  
Spirits of long ago.

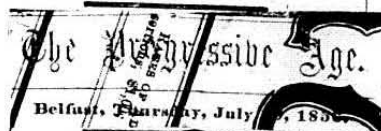
Tingles the flush in veins  
Of many a stalwart son,  
Where blood, ancestral, stains,  
Concord and Lexington.

Kindles, renewed and bright,  
As meteoric blaze,  
On Bunker's far-famed height,  
"The light of other days."

Hark! how it thunders forth,  
As from a cannon's mouth,  
Now SHALL THERE BE A NORTH!  
As there has been a South.

Arm, Northmen! to the teeth!  
Bright let your weapons shine,  
Away the useless sheath,  
Death is the countersign!

—Waltie Anonymous.



## Review of the Issue.

The purchase of the Louisiana territory—Its extent—The Missouri Compromise—The power it conferred upon the Slave holding States—The supposed limit to Slavery extension.

Lying outside of the United States, extending from the Gulf of Mexico at the South, to the British possessions at the North, and from the Mississippi River at the East, to the Rocky Mountains at the West, was a vast territory belonging to France. This was purchased by our government in 1803. It included the whole territory of Texas, which territory, in 1819, our government exchanged with Spain, under whose control Mexico then was, for the territory of Florida, which was another Spanish province. Texas then became a part of Mexico under Spain. The portion of the Louisiana purchase, now embraced in Louisiana as a State, was then partially settled and embraced nearly all the improved part of the purchase. Slavery ex-





102 THE MEASURE OF SLAVERY, BUT WITH THE REAL OF PRODUCING A GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION OF PARTIES, WHICH MIGHT INSURE THEM THE NEXT PRESIDENT. The people of the North went BLINDFOLD into the snare, followed their leaders for a while with a zeal truly moral and laudable, until they became sensible that they were *injuring instead of aiding the real interests of the slaves*, that they had been used merely as *TOOLS for electioneering purposes*: and that *trick of hypocrisy then fell as quickly as it had been got up.*"

Let not "the people of the North" now be led "BLINDFOLD" by such leaders, to find hereafter that they, too, have "been used merely as **TOOLS for ELECTIONEERING purposes!**"

It remains to be seen whether the *House will refuse to make such just and proper provision for the admission of Kansas, and the protection of the rights of settlers from violence, from whatever quarter it may come.*

☞ The Journal, in its hot haste relative to Kansas laws, says "they were enacted by a body of men *not citizens of Kansas.*" Now, while we condemn certain of these laws, we can see no especial advantage in perpetrating such a fabrication as the above statement of the Journal. In the Council of Kansas one member had been a citizen but five months. The residue of the other twelve ranged from 6 months to 18 years. In the House the residence of members ranged from 6 months to 23 years. This correction is of little consequence, but where the truth will do just as well, why not tell it? Even the Kansas Committee do not question their residence in *Kansas*, though they say that some did not reside in the *district* from which they were elected.

#### Peace in Kansas.—Its Cause.—The Whig grieves over it.

The Whig of yesterday gives vent to its grief and ill-disguised chagrin, under a leader headed "Order reigns at Warsaw." It is an open and distinct, though somewhat unexpected verification of the truth of a statement of ours the day preceding, that there would be *mourning* in the black republican camp when wrong and violence should cease in Kansas, which we predicted would soon be the case. While we rejoice, as every friend of humanity—every lover of his country, and its priceless blessings—every friend of freedom should rejoice in view of this auspicious event,—the black republicans—or the leaders of that party, including particularly their hypocritical organs in this state, will curse the hand that has done this, as much as they pretended to deprecate the negligence which permitted it.

But we are glad that even the stolid conductors of that paper have, contrary to their usual and established custom, *admitted a fact*—that "order reigns" in Kansas. To millions of real friends of liberty, humanity and law, this will be good news indeed. That paper does say, whether true or no, matters not to those who are benefitted thereby, that a "pressure" has been brought to bear upon Mr. Pierce, "to induce him to stop the Kansas outrages at the eleventh hour,"—exactly one hour too soon for the fell purposes of their sectional party. Instead of rejoicing with a relieved people, it grimly declares with shut teeth and hissing breath, "it is too late," and endeavors to find consolation for itself and friends by laying all the responsibility of those outrages upon the democracy.

But the logic of the Whig is only equalled by its mendacity. Just note.

First, they are compelled to admit the fact—(the first act of the kind for a long time of that nature,) that the influence of Mr. Buchanan's friends—the "pressure" as it is pleased to call it—upon Mr. Pierce, has induced him to interpose the power of the government to arrest violence, and restore peace to Kansas. Yes, they admit that the *friends* of this honorable gentleman have done this thing. And yet, a moment afterwards, they turn and gnash their teeth at them, declaring in the face and eyes of these *admitted* facts, that Mr. Buchanan and his friends are pledged to follow in the footsteps of Mr. Pierce.

It follows, then, that if Mr. Buchanan, whom they impliedly admit will be the next President, follows in the steps of Mr. Pierce, he will take

good care to continue and preserve that peace and order which now reigns in Kansas. To this we say amen—so let it be. And here is another admission on the part of our *keen* witted neighbors, to wit: that the very *NOMINATION* of Mr. Buchanan, a man known for his ardent love of this Union, and whose life no one will dispute has been honorably spent in the service of his country—we say no one will dispute this, even though honestly opposed to him in politics—has months before the election restored peace and happiness to that distressed territory. And from our hearts we believe with The Whig, that this is so.

According to this, then, Mr. Buchanan's nomination has accomplished all that the ELECTION of Mr. Fremont could. To our minds, we cannot believe that a man, the very influence of whose name and principles has been like oil upon the billows of strife in Kansas, will suffer on this account in the estimation of the people. "Blessed are the peace makers," says a dear old book;—a curse on Frank Pierce for making peace at the "eleventh hour" in Kansas—and doubly cursed those friends of Buchanan who induced it, say this *honest, patriotic, FREEDOM loving "republican" party.*

We ourselves feel disposed, with The Whig, to credit Mr. Buchanan's friends with this estimable boon to Kansas. To them, or whatever influences has done it, we give our sincere thanks, as we know the honest and just will throughout the land. [Bangor Journal.]

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM KANSAS TO THE BOSTON POST. "I have just been informed that *five pro-slavery* men were brutally murdered, about ten miles above here, on Saturday night last. If such be the case, it is an outrage that will call loudly for vengeance. A party of 'abolitionists' in the vicinity of the murder, are suspected; one of them was in town this morning after aid, but got none—which was right. I am a Free State man, but am willing to submit to the voice of the people on that question, as on all others. I say, obey the laws that be, but if odious, hasten their repeal, and not rush hastily to arms and murder those who oppose us. I firmly believe the troubles here were mainly brought about by political fogies and party strife, in which the North is as deeply implicated as the South, and, in my opinion, the sooner both sections of the Union can be compelled, or otherwise induced to be honest, the sooner will their matters move on harmoniously, as they were wont to do in other days."

### MACHIAS REPUBLICAN.

MACHIAS, ME., THURSDAY, JULY 19, 1856.

#### A Down-East Specimen of Democracy.

The *Union* of this week thus announces the vote of the House of Representatives upon the Bill to admit Kansas to the Union as a Free State, since reconsidered and reversed:

"Thus it will be seen, that the illegal and revolutionary attempt, made by the Free State leaders in Kansas, to override the organic law of that territory, by calling together the brawling Abolitionists, who had been sent by the Emigrant Aid Societies of New England and New York, and organizing themselves into what they represent to be a convention, and forming what they declare to be a Constitution, under the immediate supervision of such men as Lane, Reeder and Robinson, and in conformity to terms dictated by Greeley, Seward and Hale, instead of the terms and principles required by the Constitution, and the actual and peaceably disposed citizens of Kansas, has been rejected in the popular branch of Congress."

Suppose a majority of the settlers of Kansas had been abolitionists, does that make the oppression and injustice, with which they have been treated by this pro-slavery administration any more excusable? Are not Abolitionists American citizens, and entitled to the same protection under the laws and constitution, that slaveholders enjoy? or has it come to this, that to hate human slavery and wish to have it abolished, as all virtuous and christian men do throughout the civilized world, subjects a man to visitation from the police or the mob?

But a majority of the settlers of Kansas who participated in the Topeka Convention, were *not* Abolitionists, nor Free Soilers, nor Free Soil Whigs, but Democrats, who had voted for Frank Pierce. Reeder was a Pierce Democrat, Lane, made his colleague as Senator, was a Pierce elector in 1852. A large proportion of the Free State men in Kansas were emigrants from the Slave states, probably not a twentieth part of them even *Free Soil men*, still, less *Abolitionists*. In the Topeka Convention so Democratic was the tone of the delegates, that a very influential party wished to preface their action by an endorsement of the *Kansas-Nebraska bill*, which every Free Soiler loathes. It was only by dint of great prudence, eloquence and earnestness, that Robinson, who is a Free Soiler, persuaded a bare majority not to press a resolution so obnoxious to his own friends. All through the struggle Lane, Delahay and others insisted upon it, that they were carrying out the principles of the *Nebraska bill*, and that Douglas was with them, and would come out in their favor at the next session. Nay so confirmed were they in their Democratic tendencies, that when their Constitution was prepared they committed it to Gen. Cass with a complimentary speech, requesting him to lay it before the Senate. That corrupt and cowardly old politician treated them, as they might have expected. He pocketed their compliments, presented the document to the Senate, as if he was holding it with the tongs, and when the *daugh-faces* and *slave-drivers* broke out in malignant ridicule of the paper and insult of the brave man, their own late confederate and friend, who was the bearer of it, withdrew his treacherous hand and let them both to the ground.

There is another index of the conservative character of the Kansas Free-Statesmen. In the Philadelphia Convention the men, fresh from the counsels of Reeder, Lane and Robinson, steadily gave their votes for McLean, the most conservative of the candidates, whilst slaveholders holding Kentucky would not vote at all, because she could not vote for Chase, an abolitionist, whose name had been withdrawn.

Why was the Topeka Convention "illegal and revolutionary." Is it then illegal for the people of a territory peaceably to assemble and form a Constitution for a State Government? Is it revolutionary? Have the people of the territories no rights. Do you assail, as Gen. Cass says, "the right of man to govern himself." If it was illegal in Kansas to do this, then was it illegal for California and Michigan to do the same. How else can a territory form a State Government? How else do even Toombs and Douglas propose to have the Constitution of Kansas prepared, except by the people of Kansas?

"Sent by the Emigrant Aid Societies." The settlers, who went under the auspices of the Aid Societies, were not selected on account of their politics, nor from the nature of these societies was it a matter of the slightest concern, whether the settlers they aided, as a pecuniary speculation to themselves, were pro-slavery or anti-slavery. How many, who voted for delegates to the Topeka Convention, had been aided by these societies it may not now be possible to ascertain. But of the 6320 persons who voted for members of the Territorial Legislature in March, 1855, there must have been less than 92 voters so aided, as up to that time, the *Aid Society had sent but 159 persons in all, into the whole territory, 67 of whom were women and children, and many of whom had become dissatisfied and left the territory before the election!*

"Terms dictated by Greeley, Seward and



Hale." There never was a popular movement less dictated from abroad than the Topeka Convention. Read the debates of that body disclosing talents of the very highest order. Would men of such mental power need help from abroad? Read the articles of that Constitution, with some exceptional features, the ripest fruit of political wisdom and republican progress in this century. So little had Seward and Hale and Greeley to do with the Kansas movement, that both Seward and Hale thought they came to the rescue of Lane when suffering from the cold sneers of Cass, and the brutal calumnies of Douglas, whom he trusted as his friends, both said in the Senate that they had not the honor of his acquaintance. It was Cass and Douglas and not Seward and Hale, that he put himself first in communication with.

Gov. Reeder has been claimed as the personal friend of Buchanan. The Democratic papers falsely announced that since the Cincinnati Convention he has been closeted with the Democratic candidate for the Presidency for a whole day, and claim even now that he intends to support him at the next election. And Reeder and Lane are the first Senators of Free Kansas!

One more evidence of the conservative character of the Kansas Free State men is furnished in the same article, to which these observations apply, to wit. The Topeka Convention in spite of the resistance of Robinson and the Free Soilers, who were in the minority, adopted the proscriptive Black cause, (or rather submitted to the people, who afterwards adopted it by a special vote), borrowed from the Democratic code of Illinois and Indiana. This is the surest confirmation of our position. The scent of *negro-hate*, which runs through all the democratic philosophy, cannot be mistaken.

Why did the editor mention this fact, so violently slapping in the face and flouting his previous statement, and like a poor pig cut his own throat, before he had half swam over the foul ditch of his low calumnies.

We have smothered our indignation to reply *seriatim* to those absurd statements, put forth either in the most flippant ignorance of the whole subject, or with the poor hope of keeping such rickety falsehoods a going one little week ahead of the truth, sure to demolish them. The Report obtained by a Commission of Congress is before the Nation, and from that, and not from such sources as the *Union* will the people learn the facts of this stupendous crime. Never since we had a history, so must every impartial reader exclaim in raising from the perusal of that report, has a series of events occurred, so fraught with danger to the liberties, peace and union of the American Nation, so utterly subversive of all for which our forefathers fought, so destructive of the very principle of loyalty and good faith, upon which all government is based, as the invasion of Kansas by the *Border Ruffians*, prepared beforehand by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and supported afterwards by the active executive connivance of *Franklin Pierce*.

But what can be said of the spirit of such an article. Is it possible that the man, who wrote it, inside of his partizan pretenses, and seemings, has no manly sympathies, which make him secretly wish, that the gallant enterprise of that handful of patriots, struggling by peaceable means to rescue an oppressed and plundered people from the domination of a pro-slavery mob, might succeed? Is it possible he wishes or dares to pray that Atchison's or Stringfellow's oath: "*By God, we will make Kansas a Slave State,*" shall be made good?

Can he exult that with a bribed court, a perjured executive, a corrupt Senate, all against the cause of Free Kansas, the popular branch

of Congress elected on pledges to oppose the mischief of the Kansas bill should throw their weight against her in the scale?

How can a man be so dead to all the good instincts of human nature, as in the sottishness of his devotion to a distant oligarchy, to throw contempt upon the principles of his education, and all the wholesome sentiments, which ennoble his country and his kin!

He who has the heart to exult at a triumph of the South over the North in this righteous warfare, could only parallel his meanness, in rejoicing over his father's felony, and making a boast of his sister's seduction.

### Peace and Order Restored!

Sixty-eight men, two women and three children, mostly from Chicago, on their way to Kansas as actual settlers, were stopped at Lexington, Mo., on the 19th ult., by a mob of 300 armed Missourians, having with them three pieces of cannon, and compelled to surrender their private arms, which were taken to the town and stored. Further up the river near Leavenworth, the boat on which they were passengers, was boarded by Atchison, Stringfellow, Jones and others, who informed them that if they returned to Alton, Ill., they would not be molested, but if they attempted to land in the territory, there would be useless bloodshed. The company had no choice but to return accordingly. At Weston they were again boarded by the Border ruffians, their carpet bags were opened and rifled, so that on their return to Alton, they had scarcely anything left. The same party of emigrants have since entered Kansas via Iowa.

A few days later a party of Massachusetts emigrants under Dr. Cutter were mobbed and plundered at Warnley. The same day a large force of Southerners on the "William Campbell" passed unmolested into the territory.

Gov. Price of Missouri has lately sent 12 pieces of cannon and 22 boxes of muskets to Atchison and Stringfellow to aid in the conquest of Kansas.

The bogus Sheriffs of Kansas aided by the *dragoons* are active in making arrests of prominent Free State men, while guerrilla parties wait upon others, plunder their property and threaten them unless they leave the territory.

At this nick of time, when mobs, dragoons and Leecombe's court are in their several departments, plundering, arresting, and imprisoning the Free State men, while Atchison and his horde of ruffians are stationed at the border to turn back northern emigrants, while hundreds of the settlers are fugitives at the North, seeking aid for their ruined fortunes, the adroit and unprincipled Douglas proposes another election under the auspices of Pierce, Shannon and the territorial officials. He proposes to secure by forms of law the advantages gained by lawless force and the strong hand!

ABSENCE ACCOUNTED FOR.—The Bill for the admission of Kansas as a free State was reconsidered and passed on the 3d of July, as the Union says "in the absence of 37 members."—Where the 37 members were does not appear, but one good administration vote, was lost to Slavery, because one of the Honorables "HAPPENED TO BE LOCKED UP IN JAIL FOR HAVING INDULGED HIMSELF IN THE LITTLE PEC-CADILLO OF MURDER AT HIS LODGINGS,—a pastime not unfrequent among gentlemen hailing from Southern parts." The house purged out its murderers with very wholesome effect upon the vote. Could it proceed to lock up another batch of culprits like Brooks and Rust, the majority for righteous legislation would be still greater.

On our outside will be found a petition from the inhabitants of New Inverness Georgia, to Governor Ogleshope, against the introduction of Slavery into that colony, copied from the Gentlemen's Magazine London 1739. Georgia was settled by Abolitionist, "*branching abolitionists*," assisted by English Emigrant Aid Societies. How have the constituency of Toombs and Stephens degenerated since 1739.

[For the Machias Republican.]

MR. EDITOR:—I wish to ask the *Union*, through the columns of your paper, a few questions,—a satisfactory solution of which, will greatly relieve the minds of many Democrats here, who have for some time past been seriously perplexed to find out the exact whereabouts of their party.

They have become convinced of the existence of a great wrong somewhere, from the fact that the country appears to be in a tremendous commotion and excitement. They have asked the leaders of their party, "Whence comes it? Why all this trouble? Who makes it?" And they have been told, "The Black Republicans are doing all this." "They are for destroying your liberties; dissolving the Union, and trampling underneath their riotous feet the glorious institutions of your Country." "Be ware of them."

They naturally turn their eyes towards Kansas, as the theatre where these "Black Republican" schemes are said to have been carried out. But what do they see there? Instead of a lawless, bloodthirsty, violent set of men, (as they had been led to suppose from what had been told of them)—they find a peaceable, law-abiding, Union-loving people, who have emigrated from all parts of the country to Kansas, for the purpose only of securing to themselves and their posterity a happy and peaceful home—guilty of no other crime, (if crime it be), other than a strong desire and purpose, that the fertile plains and valleys of Kansas shall be emphatically, "The land of the brave and the home of the free." They find them establishing there, (in that far off but lovely land), School-houses, Hotels, Houses of Worship; and also, (that palladium of all true liberty, and foe of all tyranny) the Printing Press.

Again they look and behold the fair fields of Kansas are overrun by armed ruffian bands,—sent there by the slave power, backed by the whole democratic administration, determined to drive out from the land every settler who will not bow to the Baal of Slavery.

Men are to be arrested, imprisoned and robbed by them, who dare to exercise the rights of a freeman. The Printing Presses of the people are destroyed by mock law—private dwelling houses are pillaged and burned; villages are sacked and laid in ruins, and all this, for what? Why, for the purpose of "crushing out" the spirits of freedom in the land, and establishing more firmly the damning principles of human slavery.

Again they look to discover the party perpetrating, aiding and abetting these outrages, and—what?—is it so—yes it is *even so*—the fact is too palpable to be longer conceded or denied,—they see now for themselves, that these things, (which have been charged home upon the Republican party,) are being perpetrated under the stained banner of the Democratic party.

This is the party that repealed the time honored Missouri Compromise and thus opened wide the door for all these evils to enter, and out of which have grown all the difficulties that now agitate this Republic to its very centre, and which threaten to plunge the whole country into one vast civil war.

The Republicans—the "Black Republicans," as they are reprehensibly termed by the sham democracy of the present day, seek only to stay and avert these mighty evils,—to sustain Republican institutions, as they were sustained by Washington and Jefferson—to sacredly guard the purity of the Ballot Box—uphold the freedom of the Press, and maintain the peoples rights "unawed by influence and unbriled by gain." And yet, this party whose great aim is to enlarge and extend the area of freedom—to guarantee equal rights and privileges to all, both

And poor, high and low, is most constantly assailed and misrepresented, in order that the minds of the voters may become prejudiced. But Mr. Editor, I have wandered from my first object, being led away by the magnitude of the subject. Will the Union please answer the following questions and enlighten many of its benighted brethren.

1st. Has the Democratic party, ever had (in times past) any opinion about the Missouri Compromise? And if so what was it?

2d. Does the Democratic party this year hold any opinion in regard to the repeal of that measure? And if yea. What is it and ought it to be expressed?

3d. If a member of the Democratic party should find himself in a position where it becomes necessary to express an opinion on the subject, before he had learned what opinion the party held, and it should afterward appear that such expressed opinion was contrary to the opinion of the party, would such person thereby be subjected to any imputation of being deficient in Democracy?

4th. Did the Democratic party of Maine ever have or hold the opinion that Slavery should never be allowed to spread into the Territories of the United States, and that Congress had the authority, (and ought) to prohibit its extension into them?

5th. Does it hold any such opinion now? if yea or nay, what is its opinion?

6th. Did the Democratic party in 1852 when Pierce was nominated declare that they would resist then and thereafter any and all attempts to open again the agitating question of Slavery?

7th. Has that question been since opened? if yea please say what efforts the Democratic party put forth to resist its being opened.

I. W.

The Petition of the Inhabitants of New Iwerness, to Gen. OGLETHORPE, Jan. 3, 1739.

We are informed, that our Neighbors of Savannah have petitioned your Excellency for the Liberty of having Slaves: We hope, and earnestly intreat, that before such Proposals are harkened unto, your Excellency will consider our Situation, and of what dangerous and bad Consequence such Liberty would be of to us for many Reasons:

1. The nearness of the Spaniards, who have proclaimed Freedom to all Slaves who run away from their Masters, makes it impossible for us to keep them, without more labor in guarding them, than what we would be at to do their Work.

2. We are laborious, and know a white Man may be, by the Year, more usefully employed than a Negroe.

3. We are not rich, and becoming Debtors for Slaves, in case of their running away or dying, would inevitably ruin the poor Master, and he become a greater Slave to the Negroe-Merchant, than the Slave he bought could be to him.

4. It would oblige us to keep a Guard Duty, at least as severe as when we expected a daily Invasion: And if that was the case, how miserable would it be to us, and our Wives and Families, to have one Enemy without, and a more dangerous one in our Bosoms!

5. It is shocking to human Nature, that any Race of Mankind and their Posterity, should be sentenced to perpetual Slavery; nor, in Justice, can we think otherwise of it, than that they are thrown amongst us to be our Scourge one Day or other for our Sins: and as Freedom must be as dear to them as to us, what a scene of Horror must it bring about! And the longer it is unexecuted, the bloody Scene must be the greater. We therefore, for our own Sakes, for our Wives and Children, and our Posterity, beg your Consideration, and intreat, that instead of introducing Slaves, you'll put us in the way to get us some of our Countrymen, who, with their Labour in time of Peace, and our Vigi-

lance, if we are invaded, and with the help of those, will render it a difficult thing to hurt us, or that Part of the Province we possess. We will ever pray for your Excellency, and are, with all Submission, &c.

## Calais Advertiser.

Calais. July 10. 1856.

### KANSAS.

Our readers will notice that in concert with the production and passage of Mr. Douglas' bill in the Senate, facetiously called the bill for the pacification of Kansas, which provides for the census of the inhabitants of that territory on the fourth day of July 1857, making them all voters, and shutting out those who came in afterwards, that the Missourians have begun to pour in their forces again, with a view of making Kansas a Slave State.

They were no doubt duly notified of the probable passage of the bill, and directed by telegraph from Washington to the Blue Lodges, to make sure work of Kansas.

This is not all. At the same time, the steamboats carrying free state men up the Missouri river, have been boarded by the Border Ruffians, headed by no less a personage than David R. Atchison, and forced to turn back with their passengers.—The plot is, to put into Kansas a sufficient number of pro-slavery men, subvert them for four months, or until election, and at the same time prevent by force, Free State men from entering the Territory.

Meanwhile, Mr. Douglas, assisted by the President is pressing his bill upon the house, and by promises and threats is striving to induce them to pass it. If they do so, there is no hope for Kansas, or for the future states beyond, and the people of the North must bear with every enormity and outrage, until the Almighty in his own good time shall so arouse the people that the whole iniquity of slavery shall be destroyed by the overwhelming indignation of all just and honest men.

If the house does not pass this bill, as we earnestly hope, and devoutly believe, that they will not, there is yet hope for Kansas, and we may breathe more freely until the next scheme is launched by Douglas and Toombs.

The election of Fremont can alone put an end to the horrible condition of things, and restore to the Territories their sacred rights.



DOVER, N. H.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 10, 1856.

THE KANSAS INVESTIGATION.—The Report of the Kansas Committee is published in full in the New York papers filling three or four pages. It is ver-

minute and thorough in its details, and so arranged as to present a complete and authentic history of the affairs of the Territory from the beginning to the present time. Its disclosures are of the most startling character, and they cannot fail to add greatly to the excitement already existing in the Free States. Such another record of political filiality and ruffianly violence can scarcely be found in all history. The Committee, in concluding their report, say that the following facts and conclusions are established by the testimony reported to the House.

### PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 10, 1856.

BORDER RUFFIAN OPPOSITION TO THE SENATE BILL, REAL OR AFFECTED.—Some of the most prominent actors in the conspiracy to make Kansas a slave State, with or without the consent of the people, profess great dissatisfaction with the bill that has passed the Senate. Among them are Stringfellow and Jones of the Lecompton Union. They say that the permission to return, given to the free settlers who have been driven out, will endanger the ascendancy of the slave party, which can only succeed by fraud or violence. They object, also, to the repeal of the unconstitutional laws that were enacted to keep the free State men out, and to prevent such of them as remained from any share in the government. They say that these laws, however indefensible, are quite necessary; to be sure they are, as Gen. Cass says, "disgraceful to the age;" but then, the extension of slavery by fraud is "disgraceful to the age." Nobody doubts that; and if any mawkish sentiment is to prevail in the matter, it might as well be directed to the end as to the means. They say, too, that the principles of squatter sovereignty give them the right to pass such laws as they please, and if these laws are unconstitutional, let them be set aside in the territorial courts, (Judge Lecompte's.) And if he decides wrong—supposing such an error possible—an appeal can be taken to the supreme court at Washington, and the case can be reached in a year or two after slavery has been fairly established, by virtue of the laws which the court will set aside.

We confess, however, our doubt of the genuineness of all this. With the commissioners appointed by the President and Senate, we do not see what anger there can be to slavery in the bill. It matters little what be the law, so long as its execution is entrusted to the tried friends of human bondage. With such men as Gen. Pierce has heretofore appointed in Kansas, it would be easy, under any law and against any legal or judicial right, to carry out the objects for which the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, and which have been steadily kept in view, in all the subsequent legislation and administration connected with the subject. We are not without suspicion, therefore, that this border ruffian hostility to the bill is only pretended, and calculated to impose upon those who wish to let the real people of Kansas settle the question of slavery for themselves.

LEGAL BARBARITY IN KANSAS.—We copied the account of the barbarous treatment to which eight persons arrested for treason were subjected in Kansas, being cruelly chained and driven on foot till one of them fainted and another went insane. In the true spirit of Kansas Democracy, the Post says that these prisoners were murderers, and that they deserved this, and even worse treatment. Without going into the question of whether it is proper to treat even the worst criminals with unnecessary cruelty before they have been tried or even examined, it is enough to say that five of them were discharged, nothing whatever being found against them! and the others were indicted for treason and conspiracy. It is all the same we suppose if Judge Lecompte gets hold of it. The story that the Post revives of Free State men mutilating the dead bodies of their enemies was long ago contradicted. It is quite as well, however, to repeat this as to invent new ones, or to deny the established facts of border ruffian outrages.



The Journal of Commerce argues that, under the Senate bill, Kansas will come in as a free State; and adds that the people of Missouri are opposed to the border ruffian outrages, and that they will probably abolish slavery at home in the course of ten years. The two statements have at least the merit of consistency. When Kansas comes in as a free State under the act framed by Douglas and Toombs, and administered by Pierce, we think that Missouri will be abolished.

## NEW YORK HERALD.

New York, Thursday, July 10, 1856.

### THE LATEST NEWS.

BY MAGNETIC AND PRINTING TELEGRAPHS.

#### VERY IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON.

##### Prospect of an Early Passage of the Senate Kansas Bill.

THE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE HOUSE FOR THE NEW COMPROMISE UPON THE KANSAS QUESTION—THE NORTHERN AGITATORS TO BE ROBBED OF THEIR STOCK IN TRADE—PROJECT OF THE FUSION BETWEEN THE DEMOCRACY AND THE FILLMORE MEN OF THE HOUSE—MR. BUCHANAN ACQUIRES—EXCITING DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE SUMNER CASE, ETC., ETC.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, July 9, 1856.

It is understood among the democratic members of the House that they are to hold themselves in readiness for a coup d'état at any moment, upon the Senate Kansas bill of Mr. Toombs. That bill has not only been fathered by Mr. Douglas and the administration, but it is understood that Mr. Buchanan has authorized his Northern friends to give it their cordial support. The bill covers two great objects—the settlement of the Kansas question and its removal from the canvass, and the speedy admission of the Territory as a slaveholding State. The five Commissioners to be appointed by the President, and the Judges of the Elections, &c., are all that the South requires, whatever else may appear upon the face of the bill.

This accounts for the late pregnant remark of Mr. Buchanan that this Kansas excitement will be ended in six weeks. There can be no doubt that he is fully possessed of the whole plan, and approves it. The bill itself will be so shaped that Northern agitators cannot use it—it will be so smooth and fair; but Mr. Pierce will see to its execution, and that will be satisfactory to the South. They say so. To snatch from the republicans the weapon which they are now using so powerfully against Buchanan in the North, and to make sure work of this in a final settlement of the Kansas issue, upon a general basis of fairness and impartiality, negotiations have been entered upon between the leading democrats and some of the judicious Fillmore Know Nothings of the House, in the way of a political bargain. If these negotiations are carried out—and I have no doubt they will be—the first result will be the passage of the Senate bill by the House, with the aid of the Fillmore members; the next result, it is expected, will be the dropping of Fillmore in the South, and a turning of the tables in the North against Fremont, and in favor of this new act for the pacification of Kansas.

It is supposed that the Pennsylvania Dutch democracy will not hear of the admission of Kansas as a slave State until a year or two after the event, and that, as far as New York is concerned, the Fillmore diversion will secure the State to Buchanan. From the frequent consultations of late between Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, (elected as a free soil Know Nothing,) and Mr. Douglas, it is supposed, even among the republicans, that the mine is nearly ready to be fired. Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, is an active supporter, also, of the new scheme, and Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, is anxious to kill off Fremont. Foreign missions and fat offices are to do the rest. What would you say to the appointment of Mr. Fillmore himself as Mr. Buchanan's Minister to England, by way of inaugurating another "era of good feelings?"

The most intense excitement prevailed in the House today during the discussion on the report to expel Brooks. At one period a personal collision would have occurred between Messrs. Keitt and Hickman, but for the prompt intervention of friends. Col. Orr's speech was exceedingly able, discussing the power of the House to take cognizance of affairs occurring elsewhere, and showing up vigorously the exaggerations of the majority report. A great many members are prepared to speak on the question, and it will probably occupy two or three days more.

The most strenuous exertions are being made to prevent any collisions, yet it is plain that there is a good deal of tinder lying about, and the slightest spark will kindle it. It is not supposed the necessary two-thirds vote can be procured to expel Brooks.

Mr. Campbell declares his intention not to call the previous question until the speeches are exhausted. Mr. Clingman quoted Dr. Franklin, who thought freedom of speech and freedom of cudgel should go hand in hand,

and also alluded to the attack on Mr. Churchill by Mr. Cullom, since elected Clerk of the House by the republican party. Mr. Clingman, as well as Colonel Orr, avowed their responsibility, in or out of Congress, if any gentleman was electioneering for a fight. The republicans use many harsh epithets in debate, but invariably declare when called to account that they do not mean to apply them to the party present. Senator Butler was in the House during the discussion.

The announcement of Mr. Ball's resolution, of which I made mention yesterday, caused considerable stir in the House to-day, and most intense excitement exists in and about the Treasury Department. They have discovered more bribes given for awards of contracts, backed by affidavits of five or six gentlemen. The committee will be appointed to-morrow, and the investigations will commence immediately.

A rumor prevails here that several Northern States intend to bolt Fremont's nomination, and call a new Convention for the purpose of nominating McLean or some other well known man. A great deal of bad feeling is felt towards Fremont by a large number of prominent republicans. The charge that he was educated a Catholic is also injuring him. Herbert's trial commenced to-day. Taking testimony will occupy to-morrow and next day. The general impression is, he will be acquitted. Messrs. Brady and Percy Walker and Senator Weller defend him.

The Northwestern republicans, and many from the New England and Middle States, deny the truth of the statement that the party in caucus thought best that Messrs. Dayton and Johnston should withdraw as candidates for the Vice Presidency. They say that no fears are entertained but that the whole matter will be harmonized to the satisfaction of all concerned, and that they are opposed to the withdrawal of Mr. Dayton.

Secretary Dobbin is much better to-day.

#### Important News from Washington—The New Kansas Compromise.

Our special advices of last evening from Washington, upon the Kansas question, are very curious and of the highest moment. It appears that the Senate bill of Mr. Toombs, adopted by Mr. Douglas, was not the result of a hasty conclusion, but of a deliberate and comprehensive scheme; that the administration is a party to the movement; that Mr. Buchanan is thoroughly identified with it, and freely consents to the cession of Kansas to the South as a slaveholding State, in consideration of the advantages which this new compromise is to secure to himself and the democratic party in this Presidential campaign.

Our correspondent says that there are two leading objects involved in this bill, each of the greatest importance—that the first is to remove the existing causes of the Kansas excitement, and to leave Fremont and the Northern free State agitators without a visible excuse for complaint. This, it is supposed, may be done by a bill so fair, impartial and conservative in its provisions and regulations that the most rabid free soiler can utter no reasonable objection against it; while, on the other hand, it may be used by the Northern democracy as a splendid illustration of the disinterested patriotism of the democratic party. Thus much for the North. In the second place, it is understood that the agents and discretionary power of the President in the execution of this new law, are to be given him for the express purpose of securing a pro-slavery State Convention in Kansas, a pro-slavery State constitution, and the admission of the Territory into the Union, under these arrangements, as a slaveholding State.

It further appears that the Presidential estimates of the democratic politicians at Washington, from the passage of this bill, are very encouraging. It is supposed that in snuffing out the present Northern Kansas agitation this bill will give a new impetus to the cause of Mr.

Buchanan in this section, and leave the Fremont party a tub without a bottom to stand upon. Meantime, to make all sure in the South, the arrangements with the Fillmore Know Nothing members for the passage of the bill comprehend, it seems, the adoption of these gentlemen into the ranks of the first creditors of the democratic party, in the event of Mr. Buchanan's election. It does not appear to be considered necessary that the Fillmore party of the South shall be turned over to the democracy. All that Mr. Toombs and Mr. Douglas ask is the vote for their bill of the Fillmore members of the House; for without their support the democracy are as powerless in the House as are Seward and Sumner in the Senate.

Let the bill pass. As a measure for quieting the Kansas excitement and for securing to the South a balance of power in the Senate—we repeat it—let the bill pass. Remove this Kansas trouble out of the way, and the Fremont movement will be rapidly extended throughout every State in the Union, upon the more practical platform of hostility to this Pierce administration, its demoralizing corruptions, its rapacious spoils-men, and their wasteful expenditures of the public money. By reducing the issue to a question between a new administration, new men, and new measures, against the perpetuation of this Pierce dynasty, and its domestic corruptions and ruffianism and foreign filibusterism, the Fremont party would be able to make a much more vigorous campaign than upon the single issue of Kansas and the border ruffians.

With these views, we cheerfully recommend the passage by the House of the new Kansas compromise of Mr. Toombs, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Pierce, Mr. Forney and Mr. Buchanan.

## New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1856.

The Telegraph brings us important news from Kansas. A Convention of the Free-State men met at Topeka on the 2d inst., and passed resolutions in favor of the Republican Party. Marshal DONALDSON and Judge ELMORE were present, and read to the Convention the President's February Proclamation, and the one issued by Gov. SHANNON, and also a note from Col. SUMNER, commanding the United States troops, indicating that he would prevent the meeting of the Legislature. The latter body met on the 4th, when Col. SUMNER, in accordance with his previous announcement, made his appearance in the town with two hundred dragoons and two pieces of cannon, and forced the members to separate. No resistance was offered.

#### The Douglas Dodge.

The "Pacification bill," as it is pompously styled by its supporters, does not make much headway in Congress. Its design is a little too palpable for instant success. The whole country knows that the PRESIDENT of the United States is responsible for the present alarming condition of Kansas:—that the office-holders whom he has appointed there are the basest tools of Slavery:—and that it is through their efforts that the Free-State settlers have been robbed, murdered, or driven from the Territory. The proposal, therefore, to place in his hands the power to consummate this grand iniquity—by appointing a new set of officers who shall have absolute power to finish the work so well begun by their predecessors, does not strike the people

ably,—especially when styled a measure of pacification. Peace is very desirable,—but it depends somewhat on the manner in which it is made. Certain border ruffians, of whom ancient history tells us something, used to make a solitude, and call it peace. The precedent is not a good one. We have no doubt the Missouri invaders, under Federal authority, left peace in Lawrence:—just as Order reigned in Warsaw, after its inhabitants had been butchered. But this is not precisely the kind of “pacification” which the country demands.

If a Commission is to be appointed to govern Kansas, let it be a Congressional, and not a Presidential, Commission. Gen. PIERCE has shown his ability to select men for office in that Territory. Now let Congress make the trial. Let five of the members of the Commission be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and three by the President of the Senate. With such a Commission, acting under regulations that would secure the rights of the inhabitants of Kansas, the people of the country at large would be far better satisfied than with such a one as the Toombs and Douglas bill proposes.

## THE EVENING POST.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 10.

### SLAVE BREEDING IN VIRGINIA.

Governor Wise, of Virginia, in his speech a week or two since at a Buchanan ratification meeting in Virginia, made a statement which properly understood, furnishes the key to the whole pro-slavery policy of the middle states, and fully accounts for their inveterate insensibility to every argument that can be addressed to their heart or understanding in vindication of the doctrines once freely professed by her Washington and Jefferson, and received without a question by the mass of her population. The Governor is deploring the loss of a market for Virginian slaves in California in consequence of the rejection of Mr. Buchanan's proposal to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific in 1850, and in the progress of his argument says:

“The cost of not running that line to the Pacific may be valued thus to Virginia: We now get a thousand dollars for a sound slave; we would then have gotten from three to five thousand dollars for one operative in the gold mines of California; four hundred thousand multiplied by five thousand, or even three thousand, will show our immense loss. One billion of dollars would not compensate Virginia for her loss in not running the line on to the Pacific. The North had fixed the line. They had the advantage of its untill annexation. It was then our turn, and we did not take it. That was not Mr. Buchanan's fault. Had it so been fixed, ‘‘who shins and gizzard feet’’ true, couldn't have poked their noses North into the dominion of Jack Frost, but then free-soilism couldn't have poked its nose South of that line, as it has since the compromises of 1850.”

The slave population of Virginia, according to the last census, was 472,528, and the annual increase, at the moderate estimate of five per cent., exceeds 23,000, which at the market value for the last few years, of \$1,090 each, amounts to twenty-three millions of dollars.

The product of wheat, which is the staple of next importance in a financial view, was by the same census about 11,000,000 bushels. Now, putting wheat at one dollar per bushel, its average price in Virginia, we find the annual crop of humanity in that state is more than double the value of her other great staple. In other words we see that slave-breeding is the great business of Virginia. How natural that she should be sensitive to every cause affecting the value of this great staple. We see, in this state of things, the power of the argument used by Governor Wise, in his ratification speech at Richmond. He said substantially, elect Buchanan, open the western

territories to slavery, and you will not only perpetuate the dominion of the slave-holding oligarchy, but you will triple the annual value of the great staple of our state.

The extension of the slave market caused by the annexation of Texas, has, it is supposed, more than doubled the market price of this product. A short time previous to that event Mr. Clay estimated the marked value of negroes at \$400 each, and now we see by the quotations in the slave markets the price is nearly three fold. One of the plainest maxims of political economy is, that prices will always be governed by demand. Hence the persistent and unyielding anxiety of the slave-breeding states to increase the area of slavery and thereby the demand and price of human chattels.

Those best acquainted with the business of slave-growing inform us that the actual cost of raising slaves is very trifling. They are grown principally on corn bread, sour milk and the bits and pieces from the master's table, which, at the North, are thrown to pigs and poultry; so that the actual cost of keeping young negroes, including the cotton used for their scanty clothing, does not exceed ten dollars per annum. At six or eight years they are put to service of some kind, and soon after expected to do more than pay for board and clothing.

The act of Congress of 1803, for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, which was the work of the humanity of one portion of the country united with the avarice of another, has produced a wonderful revolution in the business of the slave-breeding states; and the change in their views and feelings on the subject of human freedom is not less remarkable. The constitution gave Congress the power to prohibit both the “importation” and “migration” of certain persons after 1808.

As we have said, the humanity of some, united with the avarice of others, promptly prohibited the “importation” under the penalty of death, while it left the “migration,” which is equally objectionable, in a moral point of view, totally unobstructed. This legislation is now acting as a protective tariff of at least 1,000 per cent. on the business of slave-breeding. But for this legislation the cost of capturing on the coast of Africa, and delivering in the slave marts of New Orleans: human chattels, would probably not exceed \$100 per head; whereas, under our protective policy, the cost is increased more than 1,00 per cent.

This commercial revolution has, of course produced a corresponding change in the opinions and convictions of those interested in the subject; for as some one has well remarked, such is the power of avarice upon our selfish, money-loving humanity, that it does really seem that the pocket is the most conscientious place about us.

Such a state of things may be very proper if the duty and destiny of this great country is to breed slaves and hunt runaway human cattle. But how incompatible with a genuine christian civilization! How it moves the pride and curls the lip of European despotism! How it strikes down the power and crushes the hopes of the struggling friends of freedom all over the world!

Is it strange that in this wholesale traffic in the bodies and souls of fellow-men, the manners and morals of the people who pursue the dreadful trade become barbarous? The chain of slavery, like other chains, has more than one end; and it is the ordination of a wise Providence, that while men fasten one end of this

chain upon the ankle of their victim, the other end and the heavier end coils itself, serpent like, about the very soul, and drags its possessor back to barbarism.

The correspondent of the New York Tribune, writing from Topeka, under date of July 4, gives the following additional particulars:

“You are aware that the state legislature was to meet here to-day. After it was assembled, Col. Sumner, in company with Postmaster Donaldson, rode into Topeka at the head of five companies of dragoons, all equipped for war, and planted two pieces of artillery at the head of Kansas avenue, the gunners having lighted matches. The dragoons were arranged in the streets in military order, after which Col. Sumner dismounted and went into the Hall of Representatives and dispersed them. He did the work in a gentlemanly manner, but told them he was there to disperse them, and would enforce his orders. He then entered the Senate and also dispersed that body.

“The people assembled here had agreed, as had the legislature, not to fight the troops. Marshal Donaldson had previously come with a proclamation, under the authority of Franklin Pierce, to disperse the legislature, but no attention was paid to it till Col. Sumner arrived with his forces.

“The Convention assembled here are passing resolutions fully endorsing the state movement and the Topeka constitution. Though Lane has not arrived, some 800 people had assembled. Fears of invasion by the Missourians had kept many at home.”

## ILLINOIS.

(Correspondence of the Evening Post.)

Speech of Thomas F. Marshall, of Kentucky—His Exposition of the slavery Question—the Power of Congress to Legitimate for the Territories—Disappointment of the Doughfaces at the speaker's Conclusions—Discomfiture of a Unitarian Clergyman of Kansas.

Chicago, July 7, 1856.

A large crowd was attracted on Saturday evening last by a notice that Hon. Thomas F. Marshall would address the citizens of Chicago at Metropolitan Hall on the politics of the day. Mr. Marshall removed here about a month ago from Kentucky, to improve his private circumstances and devote himself exclusively to the practice of the law. He had been waited upon since his arrival by committees of the Republicans, Buchanan men and the Fillmoreites, with invitations to address their respective meetings, all of which he declined. A body of emigrants from Kentucky, of whom there are a large number here, many more than from any other southern state, requested him to deliver a political address, just such as he pleased, which he consented to do. The tone of his remarks was in doubt; but I noticed that leading Nebraska's were present, doubtless expecting much aid and comfort.

Mr. Marshall had a full house and a very attentive audience, who listened to him for over two hours and a half. He avowed himself as disconnected from all parties, and without political aspirations. He had hesitated long to leave his native state, and had come to Chicago to practice his profession for a livelihood; to be a permanent resident, and to lay his bones on the shores of Lake Michigan. The question of slavery was now the great question, one on which he most disliked to speak. He was born and educated in a slave state. About his earliest connection with politics was in 1831, when by his voice and vote he did what he could to secure the passage of the law of Kentucky, which prohibited the importation of slaves into the state, thus subjecting himself to the imputation of being an abolitionist. When the new constitution was formed, he on the stump avowed himself in favor of making that act a part of the fundamental law, and on that issue was defeated. He then commenced an historical review of slavery as a national question, reading the articles in the constitution relative to it, and reviewing the acquisitions of territory. The word slave found no place in the constitution; why, he would not say. The ordinance of 1787 was the means of securing freedom to the magnificent domain northwest of the Ohio river, and no man questioned its constitutionality. The Missouri Compromise was made in 1820 to settle a vexed question. The line of 36.30 was drawn by real big giants—an allusion to the “Little Giant” which drew forth much applause. There were giants in those days, he added. Henry Clay gave the might of his voice and influence to secure its enactment. No man then, and none until recently, denied or doubted its constitutionality. That was a mad band which erased it. He himself predicted then the results which have followed. The territory is now in a state of anarchy, and all this is the result of the Nebraska bill. He then defended the power of Congress to legislate on the subject of slavery in the territories in the most masterly man-



der and by the clause giving power to it is denied from the clause giving power to make rules and regulations relative thereto, or as incidental to the power to acquire, or as necessary, it certainly exists. The power to legislate for the territories must reside somewhere, and it can reside nowhere but in Congress. It was folly to suppose it could reside in a territorial legislature, the mere creature of Congress, and yet not reside in Congress, for a principal could not delegate power to an agent which he did not possess himself. By the Nebraska bill, Congress abdicated its power, and left the whole thing in doubt. He spoke of the terms "inconsistent with the principles of the Compromise Measures of 1850," "inoperative and void," used in repealing the Missouri Compromise, and said it was the first time in legislative history such language had ever been used in repealing a law. There was no such inconsistency. Slavery could not exist without the sanction of positive law. It was prohibited in the territories when acquired, which were covered by the Compromise of 1850, and whether it could exist there without a special act was left as a judicial question.

In relation to the different parties now before the country, Mr. Marshall dissected from all of them. The proslavery, by the Know-Nothings, of men on account of their birthplace or religion he severely condemned. To the appeals for sending men and money to Kansas to shed blood, as he thought, he could not assent. The doctrine of the Buchanan platform, that Congress had no power to legislate for the territories, he did not believe in—and its foreign policy was equally obnoxious. He dissected from the Republican platform because it denied that Congress could institute slavery in the territories. He believed it could both institute and prohibit. He was in favor of admitting new states whether they presented themselves as free or slave, and he also disagreed with that platform which resolved against admitting slave states. The error of the last he considered more generous than that of the former. The Buchanan man says the constitution carries slavery into all the territories, and neither Congress nor the territorial legislature can establish it. The Republican, on the other hand, says the constitution is for freedom, and neither Congress nor the territorial legislature can establish slavery. Then, with withering scorn he said: "Can it be that our fathers when they made that constitution to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity, intended in advance to legislate slavery into all territories wherever the flag of the Republic was carried?"

Mr. Marshall, in conclusion, avowed no political relations with any party. The Nebraska men who were present in large numbers, were much disappointed in his line of argument, and withered under the force of his logic and sarcasm, which was directed against their fallacies. The doughfaces blushed at the contrast between themselves and the speaker, who had passed his life in a slave state. Among them was Colonel Richardson, the leader of the Nebraska bill in the House of Representatives, and now the candidate of his party for governor in this state.

There were passages in Mr. Marshall's address of great brilliancy. Among them was an allusion to Henry Clay. His enunciation is rapid and fluent, and he does not rise to that altitude of voice to which most western speakers are prone. His gesticulation is quick and constant. He passes from one end of a long platform to another every fifteen minutes, and his attitudes are almost as various as the human body are capable of. He speaks beyond his time, and does not leave his audience when his peroration would be most effective—a fault which is but too common with many very good speakers. He gives one the impression of a generous and manly nature, and yet without that steady current of character and that all-animating central purpose which makes an effective life.

Rev. Mr. Nute of Lawrence, K. T. is here on his return from the East to that territory, having succeeded in raising the requisite funds for the Unitarian church in Lawrence. Last evening he preached a discourse, in the Unitarian church, on affairs in that town, vindicating its citizens against the charges of violence, rebellion, and treason. He deeply regretted the action of the Western Unitarian Conference recently assembled here, which influenced by a worldly policy, had tabled resolutions of sympathy for his society.

## NEWARK DAILY ADVERTISER

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 10, 1856.

### Douglas' Bill.

We are afraid, if Douglas' bill should be adopted in the House, that Kansas will be sealed as a Slave State. We fear this from the nature of the case. The Free State men have been hunted out of the Territory, and immigrants from the East have been systematically disarmed in Missouri before their farther journey would be permitted, and otherwise thwarted and discouraged in a thousand ways; whereas Missouri and other Slave States are pouring in a population, more or less temporary, without restraint, indeed with every sort of encouragement and aid. Now, is it likely, under such untoward circumstances, that the friends of liberty can augment their numbers much, or even hold their own?

Then again, the urgency of Pierce, Douglas and Toombs in pushing along their new measure, is suffi-

cient of itself, without a particle of other evidence, to convince us that, in their opinion at least, the passage of it through Congress will give them a triumph. They have staked their credit and hopes on the introduction of Slavery into Kansas. For this they have labored these two years, and brought down upon them the execrations of millions in America, and other millions wherever their names have been heard all over the globe. And does any one suppose that, after having earned the deep and lasting malediction of all mankind beyond the petty Southern Slave Confederacy, they will be such fools as now to let go their prey? No; they may err in judgment, as we hope they have, but their hearts are fixed, and they firmly believe that the prize of a new Slave State is just within their grasp. Depend on that; these men believe so; their advisers, the Atchisons, Stringfellow and the rest, believe so, let them say what they will. They doubtless suppose they are playing a safe card in this last one.

And who knows best? These gaublers in Slave property and Slave craft, who seem for years to have had no other business or ambition, but how to propagate Slaves, Slavery and Slave power, or you and we, who turn to the subject with loathing, and turn away again with disgust, as soon as conscience will allow its voice from the thoughts. That these men are constantly besieging, wheedling, bribing, and otherwise operating on members of the House to vote for this bill, is the very highest testimony to show that it is expected to bring all their labors and plottings to a successful close. People at the North see this—every body out of Washington can perceive this consummation of their plans.

But in that city men seem to be under some kind of local fascination, which they are unable to resist. Every plan hitherto heartily espoused by the South for the extension of their great institution, has been successful through the assistance of the North. Northern representatives have been disgraced for this; but something—we will not say what—makes up for self-accusation and for social dishonor, and reconciles them to act as the jackals of the South. The shame heaped on their predecessors by such want of fidelity to liberty and country, seems not to be enough to deter men from venturing on the repetition of the same offence; something weighs still more heavily than principle and an upright name, and they cannot withstand it. They surrender their dear integrity, and consign a soil of imperial extent to the certain blight of a withering institution.

Many will be heard to say—Douglas is perhaps now whispering it into the ears of members—"pass the bill and Kansas will be free." Trust them not; all such talk is deceptive; it is false. So they said two years ago, when Kansas was made a Territory under squatter sovereignty. It was not true then; it is no more true now. Kansas is in the same latitude and as fit for slavery as Missouri; and how Missouri likes it we know full well. Beside, Slavery will go where it is not for the mere pecuniary interest of proprietors to maintain it. That species of labor is, for many reasons, so agreeable to the whites, that it will survive its profitability for years and centuries. Its profitability is one reason only, and a low one, for its continuance. But we will not dwell on this, for it has no application to Kansas. Slave labor will be as profitable there as in many other places where it flourishes. Why, does any man suppose that Atchison, Stringfellow and their rabble, have been pillaging and murdering for amusement—for a nonentity? Such a notion is ridiculous. They are and have been contending for property and power, and mean not to give up the struggle, as long as they can dispute an inch. No, they are battling for something substantial, and they know what it is, which something they are pretty sure of getting, if the present scheme of Toombs and Douglas shall be carried into

### Where are the Fillmore Men?

What are the supporters of Mr. Fillmore in the House doing? Is it possible, that they can be brought to vote for Douglas' bill? They went generally against the immediate admission of Kansas the other day with a constitution the same unquestionably as it will finally adopt in any case, with the exception of the slavery clause. Is it because of that clause then, that they objected to it? Having gone against the admission of Kansas as a free state, they must support its admission virtually as a slave State under Douglas' generalship, or else do nothing, for those two are the only measures before Congress.

If they thus act, surely no one can wonder, that a man of genuine northern principles cannot support Mr. Fillmore for President. He might as well enlist under the Buchanan flag, as far as concerns the great

political question of the day, one which, as it shall be settled, will permanently more affect the country in all likelihood, than any other which will probably be presented for decision for the next four years. From the present constitution of Congress, the tariff can hope to receive no real improvement during that time, what other question so important as that involved in the Kansas admission is then likely to be agitated?

## American and Gazette.

### THE OVERLAND ROUTE.

We mentioned recently that this season, for the first time in several years, a considerable number of emigrants to our Pacific colonies have made the journey by the overland route. They started from Council Bluffs, passing through Nebraska territory along the margin of the Platte river, intending to cross the Rocky Mountain barrier through the great South Pass. A number of returning emigrants from California have also taken the overland route from the Pacific side, and thus the caravan system of transit between the Missouri and the Pacific bids fair to be re-established.

The circumstances which led to the abandonment of this route some years ago, are now inoperative. General Harney's vigorous campaign against the Indians, has completely subdued the refractory tribes. When he first went among them, they fancied that they could delude him, as they had so many other officers, by professions of peace. But the General plainly told them that he would rather fight. They had courted war, insolently defied the authority of the United States, committed murders and depredations upon the whites, and now they might take the consequences. What those were were likely to be, he showed them in the bloody battle of Ash Hollow.

Emigrants may, therefore, traverse the overland route now without fear. We rejoice to see this re-established, and trust that hereafter the government will energetically maintain and defend it. Our communications with California and Oregon ought to be made through our own possessions, and it has been a reflection upon our enterprise that we neglected to do so, and expended so much money in perfecting the Isthmian transit routes far south of us. It was always palpable that so long as we depended upon them alone, our communications were constantly liable to interruption either by foreign war, intervention, or troubles with the people and governments holding possession of those regions. The Nicaragua route has become virtually impracticable, in consequence of the civil strife in that country, and the seizure of the steamers by the *de facto* government. Almost at the same time the Panama route was rendered perilous by the occurrence of the terrible riots in which so many innocent American passengers lost their lives. Our latest accounts from Panama render it evident that, in consequence of the intense prejudices of the natives against the Americans, the safety of that route is at all times very precarious.

There is another fact which has tended to revive the overland emigration. All the steamers plying to Panama and Nicaragua have been horribly overcrowded with passengers. The very last boat which arrived at New York, carried about three hundred more passengers than her legal complement. Such was the inhuman stowage that women were obliged to sleep on deck, or to turn out the male passengers from their own state rooms. That such a condition of things could be other than pestilential and abominable, cannot be doubted. Hundreds of persons have fallen victims to cholera and ship fever in consequence of this crowding.

Under such circumstances, it is plainly the duty of Congress and of the general government to take measures for rendering the overland route permanently practicable. The Senate has made a show of doing this by the passage of an act authorizing the construction of a wagon road from California to the Missouri frontier. We say a show, for it has nothing practical about it. The Missouri pirates, led on by Buford, Stringfellow, and Atchison, have rendered that route far more dangerous than the Fillmore men and mobs have made the Panama and Nicaragua routes. Not a single Free-State emigrant is allowed to pass the Missouri frontier, and if the wagon road were constructed, it would be of no more value than would one to Canada. Our Pacific colonies are free of slavery by law, and consequently emigrants must be without slaves. If, therefore, the Missouri route be impracticable for the only emigrants desiring to use it, the construction of a wagon road thereon

would be of no real value to the country. In view of these facts, it is not at all likely that the House of Representatives will pass the bill.

The Platte River route has always been the main one for the overland emigration. When the emigrants ascended the Missouri River, they landed opposite Council Bluffs, and traversed the valley of the Platte. They do so now. If, therefore, Congress desires to do anything for the communication between the Atlantic and Pacific, it should take a route which has no obstruction upon it. Nebraska and Iowa are perfectly quiet and peaceable. No lawless gangs of armed vagabonds, way-lay steamboats, stages and wagons, to arrest, lynch, and rob unsuspecting emigrants. Moreover, the land grants made by Congress will secure the immediate construction of four superior railways to the Missouri River, through Iowa. A letter in the Newark Daily Advertiser from Lyons, in that State, says that the Lyons Railroad is already graded for some miles, and will in all probability be in running order by January next, or soon after, to Maquoketa, a distance of thirty-five miles. A railroad has recently been completed from Chicago to Lyons, one hundred and thirty-six miles long, so that the whole distance from Chicago to Maquoketa would be one hundred and seventy-one miles. The most advanced, however, of the Iowa railways is that from Davenport on the Mississippi to Council Bluffs on the Missouri. This is completed and in operation from Davenport to Iowa City, and the portion between Iowa City and Fort Des Moines is far advanced in construction. Davenport is opposite Rock Island, and is connected with it by a railroad bridge, so that the whole distance from Philadelphia to Iowa City is now traversed by railway. These facts indicate that, if the national government would construct a good wagon road to the Pacific by the Platte River route, it would speedily be followed by a good railroad, for, as the first through railway in Iowa will be finished in less than two years, and the settlement of Nebraska is now rapidly advancing, the wagon road would be immediately occupied all along its route by settlers, and thus the railroad would be demanded by necessity.

#### FROM WASHINGTON.

From our own Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, July 8.

So far as the Criminal Court is concerned, the assault of Mr. Brooks upon Mr. Sumner has been determined, and the measure of damages assigned. The case came up this morning, and, after an examination of the witnesses and a speech from the accused, it was submitted to the Court, and Judge Crawford imposed a fine of \$300. In passing the sentence, he did not even remotely refer to the peculiar features of the offence, but went out of his way to suggest that an investigation was proceeding before another tribunal; as if any inquiry by the House of Representatives into the conduct of one of its members, became properly the subject of remark in a judicial proceeding, as a seeming extenuation for the penalty fixed. Mr. Brooks has escaped what he most feared—imprisonment, and his friends are greatly rejoiced at the turn the case has taken. Mr. Sumner was not able to appear as a witness, having been ordered away by his physicians in the hope of recruiting strength, under a more congenial climate. The Court room was crowded, and several of the South Carolinians and other Southern members were conspicuous among the throng of spectators. This result will tend to aggravate the feeling that exists on the other side, being regarded as wholly inadequate to the grave nature of the injury inflicted.

There is a very decided impression here, that the recent violent proceedings at the points of access to Kansas, upon the persons of Free State emigrants, was part of an extended scheme, of which Mr. Toombs' bill was an important element. That bill provided that the census should embrace persons within the territory on the 4th of July, fixing that as the arbitrary date of inclusion. Former outrages and injuries had expelled large numbers of peaceable settlers from the North, so that, in fact, although there may have been, subsequently, a numerical majority of Free State men in the territory, the influence of the South from concerted and armed organization predominated. The managers here knew this, and hence all the recent movements have been conducted with remarkable quietness, and with an apparent tone of conciliation. They accordingly took measures for the introduction of what is called a measure of "pacification," having first informed their confederates in Missouri what was contemplated, and the steps that were necessary to give the project practical value. It is easy to understand how these preconcerted plans were devised, and now that whole companies of Northern emigrants have been turned back by armed bands, who appeared at various points, that they were executed in strict conformity to well considered instructions. The

conviction is that, as soon as this plan was privately concocted, before being presented to the Senate, secret lodges were formed and forces organized to exclude emigration until after power was secured to the Southern interest. In view of these facts, which seem to be sustained by a striking coincidence of time and event, even those features of this bill which claimed some regard for fairness are materially impaired in influence and character. Yet, as has already been intimated, there will be a decided effort to press the bill through the House, and co-operation may be found in quarters not now anticipated.

No intelligence has been received confirming the rumored resignation of Gov. Shannon. Indeed, his communication with the government of late has been quite limited and unsatisfactory. He shows that his conduct has not attracted confidence or respect in Washington, any more than it has commanded favor with the country; and nothing but a mistaken idea of policy has suffered him to retain a position for which he was unqualified by competency as well as character.

Since the contingency of the Presidential election being thrown into the House of Representatives has become a question of discussion, it has attracted observation in quarters that were previously inclined to scout the idea. The very natural conclusion which I reached in a recent letter, when canvassing this probability, is now materially changed by subsequent developments, which may have an important bearing upon the Presidential election. It was assumed that, in the event suggested, the Southern States, with American majorities, would, following the course pursued during the contest for Speaker, finally concentrate upon Mr. Buchanan, as a more acceptable alternative than the other. This assumption is now disclaimed by some of those who ought to be best informed, inasmuch as their votes will determine the result.

They are free to say, if the election shall be brought into the House, they intend to resist any such combination as has been suggested, and to stave off an election until the 4th of March, with the purpose of bringing Mr. Breckenridge into the White House, under the Constitutional provision, which prescribes that the Vice President shall act as President, if the House shall not elect before the 4th of March. And this movement will be seconded by other Southern States, professedly supporting Mr. Buchanan. Whenever the choice shall be presented between electing a Northern and Southern man, no matter what platform may be adopted, or what commitments made, the course of the South may be considered as fixed, and abundant justification will be found for it. For one, I hope, the election under no circumstances will go to the House, and that the people in their own majesty, will decide who is to administer the government for the ensuing four years. No precedent can remove the objections to that obnoxious resort, and under existing circumstances, a repetition of it might be attended with serious consequences.

INDEPENDENT.

## The Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH:

THURSDAY - - - JULY 10, 1856.

KANSAS.—Mr. Howard, of Michigan, one of the members of the Congressional Commission, delivered a speech a few evenings ago, at the Fremont ratification meeting, in the course of which he said:—

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

This is the opinion of a man who, having been in Kansas, laboriously attending a legal investigation of the troubles in Kansas, gives thus an indication of the result.

## Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

THURSDAY MORNING.....JULY 10

The Atrocious Outrages Perpetrated by the Abolition Ruffians in Kansas—

The Facts in the Case—The Plea of Self-Defense.

The Leavenworth Herald thus comments upon the miserable pretext put forward by the outlaws

and midnight assassins in this Territory, that they have been acting only in self-defense:

The correspondent of the St. Louis (Mo.) Democrat, speaking in defense of the Free-State Abolition party of Kansas, says: "All that has been done (by Free-State men) has been in self-defense, and the charge of being assassins is utterly false and unfounded, and whoever makes such a charge, knowing the facts in the case, as nearly every one in Kansas does, is a WILLFUL LIAR." This is the way these Kansas letter-writers represent affairs here, which they and every one else know to be false and base and willful perversions of facts. Was it in self-defense that Branson was rescued by a mob from the Sheriff, and the officer and his posse threatened with their lives? Was it in self-defense that families were driven from their homes, and women and children turned out in the midst of the winter's blast to find a shelter in Missouri? Was it in self-defense that Free-State men banded together for resistance to the laws? Was it in self-defense that Pat Laughlin was attempted to be assassinated for exposing the midnight plottings of treason and revolution by the secret, oath-bound Northern army, gotten up to Abolitionize Kansas, and drive Pro-slavery men from the Territory? Was it in self-defense that Sheriff Jones was attempted to be assassinated, and was shot in the back, under cover of night, by one of these confederate band of outlaws? Was it in self-defense that Wilkerson was taken from his bed, and murdered amid the cries of his sick wife, by this same party spoken of by the correspondent of the Missouri Democrat? Was it in self-defense that old man Doyle and his two sons were inhumanly murdered, having their arms and feet cut off, and their heads split open? Was it in self-defense that Whitman and others were brutally murdered the same night by this same party of outlaws? Was it in self-defense that these outrages have been committed by those acting with the Free-State party? And yet this same writer has the impudence to say "the Free-State squatters of Kansas are not disposed in any way whatever to impose upon those differing in opinion with themselves." This is but adding insult to injury, and yet these things are published as true in a paper in the slave State of Missouri.

To which we would add:

Was it in self-defense that the Massachusetts Legislature, as early as 1854, soon after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, incorporated the Emigrant Aid Company, with a capital of \$5,000,000, for the avowed purpose of defeating the legitimate intent and purpose of that great measure of popular sovereignty, and of waging a war of extermination upon the institutions of one-half the States of this Union?

Was it in self-defense that this self-same Emigrant Aid Society shipped into the Territory of Kansas, in the fall of 1854, hordes of hired voters, who, after voting for their candidate for Congress, shipped from the State of Pennsylvania, returned immediately to the East with their candidate, who has never since shown his face in the Territory?

Was it in self-defense that the Emigrant Aid Society repeated the same game upon a more extensive scale at the 30th March election, in 1855, the minions of which, upon being beaten by the bona fide settlers of the Territory, determined to resist to a "bloody issue" the execution of the laws of the Territory, and, for this purpose, entered into a secret military organization, bound together by the most horrid oaths, to resist unto death the regularly constituted authorities? And for this purpose began at once the erection of a fort, misnamed a hotel, in the town of Lawrence, with means confessedly furnished by said Aid Society, which has since supplied them abundantly with cannon, howitzers, Sharp's rifles and other deadly weapons, with which the more effectually to prosecute their treasonable intentions.

Was it in self-defense that these self-same minions of the Aid Society of New England broke up, by threats of violence, the Second District Court of the United States for this Territory, Judge Cato presiding, at its late term in Linn County?

Was it in self-defense that the myrmidons of this self-same Aid Society, in the town of Lawrence, attempted on two occasions to assassinate one of the deputy sheriffs of Douglas County while asleep in his own house?

Was it in self-defense that they attacked the neighboring town of Franklin under cover of night, assassinating one of its most worthy citizens in his own house, and committing sundry other depredations?

## WASHINGTON.

THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1856.

CONGRESS—YESTERDAY.

The discussion yesterday in both Houses was quite animated and occasionally acrimonious.



Upon a resolution of the Committee on Printing to print twenty thousand extra copies of the bill [published in the *Intelligencer* of Friday last] to authorize the people of Kansas to form a Constitution and State Government preparatory to admission into the Union, a long and discursive debate ensued, in which the whole merits and objects of the bill were freely canvassed. On the one hand, the propriety of printing was urged on the ground that the people ought to have an official copy in order to obviate and correct any misrepresentation of the provisions and objects of the measure. On the other hand, this was objected to as but a partial means of informing the public, and it was alleged that the majority felt the necessity of an electioneering document to mislead the people; that the bill, with an appearance of fairness, provided no security to persons who had been expelled which they did not possess before; and that the brief time allowed in the bill for a starting point as to population was insufficient to allow the "free State" men to resume their residences, from which they had been illegally driven. A portion of the opposition, however, were willing to aid in printing the largest number desired, because the bill would develop its true design, and the intelligence of the people would detect the motives and objects of its framers. This led to severe retort, even to the extreme verge of parliamentary privilege, and the accusation was made against the minority that they did not desire peace in Kansas whilst the Presidential contest was pending. The discussion was maintained on one side by Messrs. JOHNSON, WELLER, TOUCEY, BIGLER, DOUGLAS, STUART, TOOMBS, and CRITTENDEN; and on the other by Messrs. TRUMBULL, WILSON, WADE, HALE, PUGH, FESSENDEN, and FOSTER, and was continued until nine o'clock, when the question on printing was decided in the affirmative.

ton. Under these names we will march forward to certain victory.  
*July 10, 1856*  
 KANSAS

We have ceased to be astonished at any enormity the Border Ruffians may commit. It seems that, in prospect of the passage of Mr. Toombs's bill, for enumerating the inhabitants of Kansas on the fourth day of July, preparatory to a Convention for a State Constitution, they have organized armed bands, and stationed them at Weston, Lexington, Waverley, and various points on the Missouri river, so as to disarm emigrants from the free States, arrest them, and compel them to go back, while Southern emigrants have free course into the Territory. The object of course is to keep out a Free State population, so as to secure to the Pro-Slavery men in Kansas the majority of delegates in the State Convention to be held in pursuance of the bill of Mr. Toombs. In another column the reader will find accounts of at least three large parties from Illinois and Massachusetts thus disarmed and driven back. It is said that Governor Price, of Missouri, is aiding and abetting this violence. This is not all: the editor of the *St. Louis Democrat*, writing from Jefferson City, the capital of the State, June 28th, says:

"There are no cannon in Jefferson City but two spiked, unmounted ones, in the basement of the Capitol. Sterling Price, Governor of Missouri, a State nominally at peace with the United States; sent twelve pieces of cannon and twenty-two boxes of muskets to Atchison and Stringfellow, for the conquest of a Territory of the United States."

Some of the Northern Pro-Slavery papers, apprehensive of damage to the prospects of

Mr. Buchanan, affect to discredit these accounts as exaggerated. To show how false they are to Truth and their own section, we quote the one-sided account of the disarming of the Chicago company, by the *St. Louis Republican*, a "Border Ruffian" paper, and a supporter of Mr. Buchanan. It confirms all that has been said, and evidently is exultant over the outrage:

"The officers of the steamer *Star* of the West made a contract with a commission house of St. Louis to go to Alton and receive a hundred and twenty-five emigrants, not armed men, for Leavenworth city. They went to Alton Thursday evening, June 19th, and found, instead of a hundred and twenty-five men, only seventy-six men and two women awaiting their arrival. They had very little baggage, and after that was taken aboard, the emigrants went to a warehouse, and were each provided with a Hall's carbine, all of them loaded.

"The steamer left Alton about 12 o'clock at night. The captain of the boat did not learn until the next morning that the guns were loaded, but as soon as he did so, he ordered the guns to be discharged, which order was promptly complied with. After the guns had been discharged, they were taken into one of the state-rooms.

"Before the boat had arrived at Lexington, the emigrants had managed secretly to reload their guns and supply them with bayonets, and one of the men was caught in the cook house, making bullets.

"On Sunday, before their arrival at Lexington, a good deal of excitement prevailed amongst them. The company assembled in squads, and seemed to be holding consultations. Having, by some means, gained information that they were to be intercepted at Lexington, their heroism began visibly to decline; and they offered the captain \$1,000 for his consent not to land at Lexington. The captain informed them that he had freight for that place, and was obliged to land, to discharge it; and would land there, at all events, freight or no freight.

"On their arrival at that dreaded place, a committee of the citizens came on board, and demanded an audience with the captain of the party. The leaders were difficult to find, but as Messrs. A. C. Griffin and A. A. Griffin had gotten up the company in Chicago, they at length came forward to answer. The committee in a respectful manner announced their object, and demanded their arms. After some hesitation, the emigrants finally concluded that 'discretion was the better part of valor,' and surrendered. The guns were found secreted in the state-rooms, ladies' cabin, Texas, and in almost every other portion of the boat. They were carried ashore and placed in a warehouse for safe-keeping, and a receipt was given for all the arms taken.

"During this scene, which lasted some time, no hard words nor disrespectful language passed on either side. The work was done very quietly, and the emigrants went on their way, with only a portion of their side arms in their possession. They arrived at Kansas at daylight next morning, where the steamer was awaited by Gen. Jones, with a company of thirty South Carolinians.

"On their way up the river, Gen. Atchison, Gen. Stringfellow, and Mr. Wm. H. Russell, also got on board. When these gentlemen learned what had passed, they requested an audience with the leaders of the company, and told them that orders had been given to disband all armed parties in the Territory, and advised them to return home. They had found by experience that this advice was good, and concluded to accept it. They had all agreed to return before they reached Leavenworth city, their destination. When the boat drew up at that place, a very large crowd were assembled on shore to receive them. The crowd were informed that the party had concluded not to land, but to pass on to Weston, and return with the boat. This announcement was satisfactory, and an escort was sent with them from Leavenworth to Weston, where they did not attempt to land, having given up all idea of settling in Kansas. A committee was appointed from Leavenworth and Kansas to escort the company out of the river.

"The captain of the *Star* of the West having agreed to land his passengers either at the mouth of the river or bring them to St. Louis,

as they desired, about forty chose to be put at the nearest possible point in Illinois. The remainder arrived here yesterday morning, without having received any serious injury."

A statement of the same transaction appears in the *New York Tribune*, in a letter from Rev. T. W. Higginson, dated Chicago, July 2d.

Now, bear it in mind, that a regular communication between Atchison on the border and his friends in Congress, is constantly maintained: that the former seems to be always apprised in advance of measures to be proposed in Congress, in relation to Kansas affairs: that for some reason, the friends of the bill of Mr. Toombs determined that, in the census to be taken, no persons in the Territory should be included, who were not inhabitants on the 4th of July: that, about two months ago commenced a system of Terror, designed to drive out the Free State men from the Territory, and about three weeks ago commenced a system of espionage and armed organization all along the highway to Kansas through Missouri, by which Free State emigrants were disarmed and turned back: bear in mind, we say, all these things, and then judge whether this fair-seeming bill of Mr. Toombs really means to secure fair play in the Territory.

Meantime, let Free State emigrants shun Missouri as they would the gates of hell. If there is not civilization enough there to protect peaceful emigration, let its enriching tide flow through Iowa. If the citizens of Missouri, while they condemn such outrages, cower in silence before "Border Ruffianism," let them look to it for their reward. Already the route is open through Iowa to Kansas, and companies are now passing over it unmolested. Eastern capital cannot be more profitably or beneficially invested than in opening a direct railroad route to Kansas.

The Missouri towns will ere long understate how much they owe to the Italians whom they encourage.

## DAILY GAZETTE.

W. A. LITTLE & CO., Proprietors.

Office—N. E. Corner Fourth and Vine Sts.

### The Conciliation of Missouri.

We copy the following item from the *Lexington (Mo.) Express*, of the 5th of July. There is no safety for a man in that State who cannot prove that he has never been opposed to slavery.

ROW IS LIBERTY.—We hear that a very disgraceful row occurred in Liberty some days previous to last Monday. An American meeting was being held there, at which a man from Richmond, whose name we did not learn, was acting as Secretary. While in this situation, several persons came to the door; one of whom beckoned the Secretary to him. He stood talking with the crowd at the door for some minutes, the meeting going on with business. The man asked him to walk down into town with them; he declined, saying, his business would not allow him to leave the meeting, when he was seized by one of the crowd, and pulled down stairs, both falling as they went. The crowd carried him to a livery stable, and ordered horses and carriage to convey him away, saying they would drown or hang him, because he was an Abolitionist, and that they had a requisition for him. The Secretary protested against the proceeding, and said if the mob had any legal process against him, he was ready to stand his trial. The whole thing was stopped at this stage, by several persons appearing at the stable, armed, and demanding his immediate release. The Secretary appointed last Monday for a county meeting to inquire into the justice of the charge against him, and invited all to be present. The meeting was held, and is said to have been large, and the man was acquitted by the voice of every one present, except the ruffians who had so wantonly abused him. These are the particulars, as detailed to us by a gentleman from Liberty, and if they are not correct, we do not know it.

## Aid to Kansas—What has been Done—What Should be Done.

Repeated inquiries have been made of us, as to what the Kansas Aid Committee, appointed at the meeting in Greenwood Hall, which was addressed by Col. LANZ, have done, and are doing. We have been unable to answer the inquiries, but we believe the Committee have done nothing. It is unfortunate that more earnest and energetic men had not been placed upon the Committee; for there are many persons among us who would gladly contribute to their means, and others who would emigrate to Kansas if any aid was offered them in reaching that Territory. The condition of Kansas grows more critical every hour, and the danger to the Free State men daily becomes more threatening. All the power of the General Government is used for the purpose of disarming and driving them from their homes. Every species of outrage is practiced upon them by the bogus Territorial officers, while Col. SUMNER and his dragoons are only active in preventing the Free State men from protecting themselves against the Border Ruffians. The most horrible outrages have been perpetrated upon the wives and daughters of the settlers, and by men who claim to be acting under the authority of law, and neither SHANNON nor Col. SUMNER makes an effort to arrest the perpetrators.

Every mail brings us the sickening details of outrages more cruel and barbarous than those of the Austrian tyrant, Haynau; but as the Border Ruffian Haynaus are laboring to extend slavery, the loco foco demagogues who took Kossuth under their especial protection, and professed so deep a sympathy for the oppressed nations of Europe, either have not the disposition or the courage to protest against their proceedings.

Having plundered the people of the Territory, until there is little left to steal, the marauding thieves and cut-throats who overturned all law and order in Kansas, have turned their attention to the Missouri river, and are now robbing and maltreating every steamboat traveller who hails from a Free State, and is suspected of harboring a love of freedom, or possessing any valuables which could readily be appropriated.

This condition of things has now lasted some weeks, but what effort has been made in any quarter to put an end to it? Congress was prompt enough to dispatch an agent to Panama to investigate the bloody riot which sprung from the drunken folly of some steamship passengers; but though the laws we systematically violated at the towns upon the banks of the Missouri river, and its navigation interrupted by bands of pirates from South Carolina, Georgia and Missouri, Congress does not attempt to interfere. President Pierce and his Cabinet, we suppose, think that it is all right, as it is all done to make Kansas a Slave State. But while the river is closed to Nothern emigrants armed or unarmed, Southern emigrants are permitted to enter the Territory "armed to the teeth."

There is no way of rescuing Kansas from slavery but by sending emigrants into the Territory at once. Our Committee has done nothing to turn the sympathy almost universally felt by our citizens, for the settlers, into a channel which might result in something practically beneficial. The State Committee at Columbus, has not given publicity to its proceedings. We hope, if they do not think it expedient to let us know what they have done, they will at least tell us that they have done something and are still at work. We of the North, have passed almost enough in legislation resolutions, if printed in fair type, to carpet the whole Territory; but we have, so far, done little to help the cause of freedom. While we are sending our men with their ploughs and hoes, the South are sending theirs with rifles and revolvers—which they are not afraid to use. It is idle to send men into the Territory without the means of defending themselves and the spirit to do it. It is throwing money away to send men who permit themselves to be stripped of their arms and turned back, before they reach the Territory. Emigrants to Kansas, should take their lives in their hands, and be ready to lay them down rather than be treated like dogs and slaves; if they are not ready to do this, they had better stay at home and take care of their father's calves.

If Kansas is made a free State, it will be by the use of the means which are now employed to make it a Slave State. The Free State settlers must be

just as quick with their rifles, revolvers and bow-knives as the Border Ruffians, and it will be all the better if they are a little quicker, since the general Government wholly fails to protect our fellow citizen. Physical force must decide whether Freedom or Slavery shall be the "peculiar institution" of Kansas. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that any law passed for protecting the bona fide settler in the exercise of his undoubted rights, would be at all regarded by President PIERCE and his tools, SHANNON and LECOMPT. All law is trampled under foot in Kansas and it will continue to be until FREMONT is elected, or the Free State men of Kansas have been exterminated. If anything is to be done, let us do what the exigency of the case requires, and not make ourselves ridiculous and waste our money on schemes and projects, which has always failed hitherto and will always fail.

## Letter from Nebraska.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati Daily Gazette.

NEBRASKA CITY, N. T., June 24, 1856.

This is one of the hundred cities, located on the Missouri, but not yet built. So numerous are they, that one almost wonders whether any part of the fertile country bordering the river has, in the minds of city builders, been reserved for agricultural purposes. This, or rather these, for there are three distinct plats, is located about the site of old Fort Kearney. The old block house, abandoned some three years ago, still stands, serving the more peaceful, (if not less bloody,) purpose of a city meat market.

The location of Nebraska City is very beautiful. The west bank of the Missouri is here quite bold and underlain with thick strata of limestone. Ascending by a gentle slope for a mile, you reach the top of the ridge whence the rural prospect is fine. The rolling prairie, to a considerable extent fenced into large enclosures and dotted with neat little dwellings, extends for miles in sight, to the west and south, and the thick timbered valley of Table Creek passing through it, gives variety to the scene.

The City is but a sparse and extended village, but buildings are in the course of erection on every hand. One great advantage it has over most competitors—is an abundance of timber, building stone and brick clay; and one in common with others, room enough to use them for a century.

Rail roads of course are talked of; did you ever know an embryo city where they were not? The western terminus of the southern Iowa road from Burlington is fixed "near the mouth of the Platte river", and this place being only twenty miles south of the Platte is supposed to be sufficiently near to have pretensions.

Kansas emigration now passes through Iowa, on account of the obstructions in the navigation of the lower Missouri, and this point is likely to be a sort of entrepot for Kansas, at present.

There is a peaceful invasion of Missouri now going on, which may produce results hereafter.—Since the land offices in Iowa were closed, emigrants holding warrants have been obliged to seek their locations elsewhere, and hence turn their attention to the fertile vacant lands in Missouri, adjoining Iowa. Many thousand acres have been entered there within a few weeks, by eastern emigrants. I notice a Paris, Missouri, newspaper is quite elated at the chance of lands in its vicinity, a farm with some improvements having actually sold at ten dollars per acre! But if these abolitionists, (every man for a free State, is an abolitionist) continue to pour into Missouri, it will need all the efforts of Atchison, Stangifellow & Co., to keep down the prices to reasonable limits. While they are benevolently striving to bring Kansas into the same blessed predicament with southern Missouri, they will find a "fire in the rear" requiring attention.

The weather is extremely warm; the mercury ranging from 90 to 93 deg. at midday in the shade.

L.

## The General Government Paying the Whisky Bills of the Border Ruffians in Kansas.

Dr. J. P. ROOR, a member of the New Haven company of emigrants, who was taken prisoner by the Border Ruffians a few days before the burning of the Free State Hotel at Lawrence, and, thereby, was afforded an excellent opportunity of watch-

ing the Border Ruffians. He was for some time supposed to have been murdered by them, but they only kept him prisoner ten days or two weeks, treating him and his fellow prisoners with great cruelty, and allowing them only one meal a day, and that neither good in quality nor sufficient in quantity. In his statements, the Dr. says:

I carefully read a bill sent in by a Mr. Stephenson, of Leecompton, of sundries charged to the United States Marshal's posse; and among other things, quite an amount of whisky at one dollar per gallon; and French brandy at eight dollars a gallon. The whole bill footed three hundred and seventy dollars and eighty-six cents. The only fault found was for a charge for five gallons of whisky, which, it was claimed, did not reach the camp. It was finally acknowledged, however, and paid.

Regular rations of whisky were dealt out to the men of our camp, and all bills footed from the Treasury of the United States.

The Dr. says all the "Ruffians" engaged in the sacking of Lawrence were to receive two dollars per day.

## How they Escaped the Robbers.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Times says one of the chief subjects of anxiety with the Committee while in Kansas, was the safety of the evidence they had collected. After hearing repeated rumors that an attempt to obtain possession of the evidence, and destroy it, was contemplated by the Border Ruffians, who continually surrounded the Commission, the Committee took pains to obtain correct and reliable evidence of their purpose. They soon became fully possessed of the plans of the Borderers. They learned that night after night these men debated the particular plan by which they proposed to get possession of the testimony. All agreed that it would never do to let this testimony go out of the Territory; but how to get it without killing a majority of the Committee, or whether it was wiser or advisable to take their lives, was a subject of considerable discussion. The more generally approved plan was to watch an opportunity when the Committee should be traveling, and, at unguarded moment, to seize upon their baggage, ransack it for the testimony, and carry it off in the tumult. The Committee of course took every precaution to guard against a surprise. But they did not trust alone to their vigilance. A part of the evidence taken was sent off, as is already known, by Gov. Robinson, and was safely brought through by his wife. The remainder was put in charge of an honest old farmer living several miles distant from town, who, with his wife, buried it during the night time, in a box of leached ashes, which they covered with straw and a hen's nest. This box was left standing out in the yard, back of his house. The farmer vindicating his own confidence in the security of this hiding place by depositing in the same box with the testimony some two thousand dollars in gold, of which he feared he might be robbed by the Border Ruffians who were prowling about the country. The manuscript and the gold lay thus concealed for three or four weeks—nobody knowing its whereabouts except the farmer and his wife, and Messrs. Howard and Sherman. As early as possible a complete duplicate of the testimony was prepared and secretly deposited in the Fort, in charge of Colonel Sumner.

## CONNEAUT REPORTER

BY D. C. ALLEN.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 10, 1856.

## Kansas in Congress.

In both branches of Congress Kansas is the theme for discussion, and the flood of evidence of the wrongs inflicted upon the settlers in that territory, which the masterly report of the Committee sent to Kansas has brought to light, (confirming far more than has been written in the correspondence from that region,) has not only startled the friends of Freedom, and nerved them to meet more decidedly the great issue, but has forced upon the Slave propagandists and the hireling administration of FRANKLIN PIERCE a seeming necessity to conceal the mischief of their hands, by an effort to delude the People, and finally to make a sure thing of Kansas as a Slave State.



In the Senate, the bill of Mr. SEWARD to admit Kansas under the Topeka Constitution, receives no consideration from the majority, for that branch is ruled with the same servility and code that a slave-driver adopts to keep in subjection the human beings of his plantation. The whip of Slavery is wielded by the propagandists, and such doughfaces as CASS, DOUGLAS and PECUN play the part of menials, or stand out in bold advocacy of a system of wrong which is racking the government to its very foundation. Mr. TOOMBS' bill providing for the admission of Kansas as a State, first ordering a new territorial election, a new census, a new State Convention, and abrogating some of the odious laws of the bogus legislature, was introduced in the Senate, and hurried through for political effect; but its objects, its aims, and the malicious purposes of its authors were most thoroughly discussed by SEWARD, WADE, WILSON and TRUMBULL. The passage of Toombs' bill would not contribute in the least to allay excitement in the country, while it would bring Kansas into the Union with Slavery forced upon it beyond a peradventure. Under ordinary circumstances this bill might be considered in another light; but when the Free State settlers of Kansas are being hunted down and driven from the territory—the emigrants on the Missouri river intercepted by armed bands of Missourians, and forced to return—and the "border ruffians" holding complete sway, aided by a Governor who can perambulate the territory, harrassing the settlers, and telling the women that he will butcher their husbands, and living continually in drunken debauchery—with a court that recognizes no law or decency, but places the power of the judiciary at the mercy and will of such vagabonds as ARCHISON, STRINGFELLOW and JONES—when all this is considered, and the readiness and alacrity of Missourians to cross over and do the voting for the settlers, we ask what guaranty is there for the rights of Freemen? This bill has passed the Senate, and been sent down to the House where the chains of Slavery sit more loosely, and where Freedom sometimes triumphs.

But while "border ruffianism" was endorsed so easily in the Senate, and Slavery made the rule, another order of proceedings was had in the House. The bill from the Committee on territories to admit Kansas as a State, under the Topeka Constitution, was apparently hopelessly lost on the final vote by one majority, but before the vote was beyond re-consideration the House adjourned amid the utmost excitement. The morning following, (July 3d,) a Democrat from Pennsylvania, Mr. BARCLAY, moved by the impulses of a freeman, carried consternation into the ranks of the slave-propagandists and doughfaces, by rising and moving a re-consideration of the vote of the evening before, by which the Kansas bill was rejected. Calls of order, and motion after motion went up to the

speaker's chair, and every device which the infernal tools of Slavery could suggest were attempted, and the lash was plied with severity to Mr. BARCLAY; but, unmoved, he stood there, a noble man—a freeman—in the conscientious discharge of his duty. The vote to reconsider was taken, and the bill to admit Kansas as a Free State passed the House—yeas, 100; nays, 97. As usual, HARRISON, of Ohio, DUNN, of Indiana, and HAVEN, of New York, sent to Congress by Republican votes, acted in concert with the enemy, and voted uniformly with Southern Slave-drivers and Northern doughfaces to defeat the bill.

Thus a partial triumph for Freedom has been gained. The hearts of millions have been cheered by the noble victory in the House. Let the representatives of the People but stand firm and true to Kansas, now in the day of her trial, and if defeated, let the appeal go to the People direct, where the cause of Freedom is gathering its hosts, and receiving strength and encouragement of a noble and brilliant triumph under the lead of FREMONT and DAYTON.

#### The Louisville Journal on Border Ruffianism.

The Journal publishes a synopsis of the memorial of the people of Kansas to President Pierce, in relation to the outrages which have been perpetrated there. Upon it, the Journal makes the following comment:

"Such, without any exaggeration, as we believe are the recently perpetrated atrocities in Kansas as portrayed in the memorial—perpetrated if not with the direct sanction, at least with the unequivocal connivance of U. S. Officers, the appointees of the present Democratic Administration—officers who stand unrebuked for their participation in an unparalleled infamy which indicts so enduring a stain upon National character and republican institutions—officers who, according to every fair presumption, acted in accordance with what they knew to be, or at least had reason to believe to be, the wishes of the Administration.

This is the mode the Democratic party fulfills its pledge in its platform of 1852, that the country should have peace and quiet on the slavery question—thus it fulfills its other pledge in the act repealing the Missouri Compromise, that the question of slavery in Kansas should be settled by the sovereign voice of the people of the Territory. This is a specimen of what squatter sovereignty means with the Democracy. It is a specimen of the manner it will be permitted to be carried out by Mr. Buchanan if elected, and the proclaimed approval by his party of all the acts of the Pierce Administration, and his pledges to walk in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor.

We, of course, expect the miserable stipendiaries of the Administration to abuse us as favoring Free-soilism, because we dare to speak plainly of the outrages perpetrated by some of the ultra pro-slavery men in Kansas, led on by the Pierce Administration's officials. We care not. Thank God we have independence enough to denounce atrocities, no matter where or by whom committed.

The people want the truth and can stand it, and those of them who read the Journal shall have it.

#### The Georgia Journal & Messenger

Is published every Wednesday morning at \$2 50 per annum

WASHINGTON, MAY, 1856.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your letter on the subject of the nominations made by the Democratic Convention at Jefferson City, and am greatly pleased with the whole of them, except the one which relates to myself. That takes me by surprise, and must remain under consideration until I return, and will be soon, as I am nearly through the occupation which has detained me here. In the mean time, if any other person was thought of for the Governor's nomination in the event of my inability to accept it, I would wish him to be brought forward at once, without awaiting any further answer from me.

It is my intention to speak on the state of public affairs when I get to Missouri, but not in the way of a canvass, nor as a candidate for any office, but to do my part as a citizen in trying to preserve the peace and harmony for the Union, and to keep agitations and sectionalism out of our borders—two evils now besetting the whole United States, and our own State above all.

I consider a slavery agitation (and its natural offspring, sectional antagonism) the greatest curse, both socially and politically, which could befall our Union and that curse is now upon us, and brought upon us designedly and for the worst of purposes. The Missouri compromise line, the work of patriotic men, had stood above thirty years, and there was not one among those contriving its repeal who was not upon the record (in votes or speeches) for its support up to the time of its abrogation; and Mr. Calhoun himself, as late as 1845—only two years before his death, and after he had broached the doctrine of no power in Congress to legislate upon slavery in Territories—repudiated the idea of repeal, and declared that the "attempt" to do so would "disturb the peace and harmony of the Union." It has been attempted and accomplished; and the peace and harmony of the Union have been destroyed.

Out of the repeal of this compromise has sprung forth a new test of Democracy, which consists in exacting party allegiance to the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The first inquiry upon the virtue of this new test is, to find out what those principles are: and the result is diametrically opposite, as it comes from one side or the other of the Potomac river. From the North the answer is, squatter sovereignty; as being the inherent right of the people of the Territory to decide the question of slavery for themselves, and to have it or not, just as they please. In the South that definition is held to be rank demagoguery, and that the people of the Territory, no more than Congress, have not a particle of power on the subject; that the Constitution carries slavery with it into every Territory as soon as acquired, overriding and controlling all laws against it, and keeping it there, in defiance of the people or of Congress, until the Territory becomes a State and excludes it. Thus the advocates of the test are as opposite as light and darkness in telling what it is and surely they ought to agree upon it before they require others to believe in it.

It is impossible to believe in both; and I believe in neither. I believe in the old doctrine, that the Territories are the property of the United States and under the guardianship of Congress, and subject to such laws as Congress chooses to provide for them (or to permit them to make for themselves) until they become States; and after that (the children arrived at twenty-one years of age) they are out of guardianship and have all the rights of their fathers. That is my belief, and has been the belief of the whole United States until lately and especially the belief of those who now deny it, and who are upon the record (and that often and recent) against their own denial. Witness (to go no further back) the bill for the admission of Texas in 1845, on which all who voted for the re-establishment of the Missouri compromise line in all that part of its south of the Arkansas river where it had been abrogated by the laws and constitution of Texas. Witness also, the debates and speeches on the Oregon bill in 1846; also, the attempts to extend the compromise line to the Pacific in 1850; also, the votes of some of these advocates in favor of the Wilmot proviso; and above all, the protest of the ten Senators against the admission of the State of California in 1850, because Congress would not legislate upon the subject of slavery in the territory which was to compose it. With all these authorities and evidences in favor of the old doctrine and against the new test and its authors, I think the old Democracy may be allowed to dispute its binding force, at all events until its advocates can agree in telling what it is.

Respectfully,  
THOMAS H. BENTON.

\* \* \* I deny that the laws of Mexico can have the effect attributed to them, (that of keeping slavery out of New Mexico, California, and Utah.) As soon as the treaty between the two countries is ratified, the sovereignty and authority of Mexico, in the territory acquired by it, become extinct, and that of the United States is substituted in its place, carrying with it the Constitution, with its overriding control over all the laws and institutions of Mexico inconsistent with it.—[*Mr. Calhoun's Oregon speech, 1846.*]

[COMMUNICATED.]

MESSESS. EDITORS:—The Editor of the Augusta Constitutional of the 12th July, says—"Squatter Sovereignty was rightfully considered a dangerous doctrine for the South, as under it, it was apprehended that the first settlers or squatters on a territory, though a handful, might assume that the sovereign power was vested in them to determine whether slavery should or should not exist in the Territory." The people of Kansas do not have to assume that power. In the formation of a territorial government for Kansas, Congress invested the people and the Legislature of the Territory with full and undoubted power to legislate upon the subject of slavery; to establish or prohibit slavery while in a territorial state. Mr. Douglas of Illinois, Mr. Norris of New Hampshire, and Gen. Cass said so in their speeches in the Senate on the Kansas bill.—What are the words of the fourteenth section of the Kansas bill?—"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." You will observe, Messrs. Editors, that the subject of slavery is not excepted in the fourteenth section of the Kansas bill, and not being excepted is a subject of legislation by the people of the Territory while a Territory.

This odious doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty is in the Kansas bill, and is to-day being practically carried out. If not, why this great desire to get men there by or before the first of November next? Why all this raising of money and men, North and South, for Kansas if the people and the Territorial Legislature cannot prohibit or establish slavery? I agree with the Editor of the Constitutional—that the right to establish or exclude slavery is expressly denied to the Territorial governments of Utah and New Mexico; but not so with Kansas, and he knows it. I will quote from the section that gave to Utah and New Mexico Territorial governments, and I call the attention of the people of Georgia and ask them to notice particularly the wording of the Kansas and also the wording of Utah and New Mexico bills. These are the words of the Utah and New Mexico:—"The legislative power of the Territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States, and the provisions of this act; but no law shall be passed interfering with the primary disposal of the soil, nor establishing nor prohibiting AFRICAN SLAVERY." Now, sir, I have correctly, and from the record, quoted the provisions of the two bills,—Nebraska and Kansas, and Utah and New Mexico. The last is the work of Judge Berrien. The first of Stephen A. Douglas. Contrast the language of the two sections of those bills. Did not the Editor of the Constitutional in 1848 deny that the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty was in Gen. Cass's Nicholson letter? Did he not deny that Gen. Cass was in favor of Squatter Sovereignty?—and he denies that Mr. Buchanan's is in favor of Squatter Sovereignty. Mr. Buchanan is much bolder and stronger than Gen. Cass dared to be in 1848. I say it is a cardinal principle of the Democratic Party, and he knows it. He knew Gen. Cass was in favor of it in 1848, and he supported him, and now he denounces the doctrine (just as he did in 1848) and supports the man for the Presidency who boldly announces it as an inherent principle of the Territory; a principle to which they are entitled to independent of the government of these States. The Editor of that paper was either deceived himself in 1848 or else he deceived the people then, (or rather tried.) Well, he is either deceived now or trying again (as in 1848) to deceive the people. I tell him, I tell the people of Georgia, that Mr. Buchanan is (in his letter of acceptance) a bold defender of Squatter Sovereignty. I said in 1848 that Gen. Cass was in favor of that doctrine; the Editor of the Constitutional said he was not. I say Mr. Buchanan is in favor of Squatter Sovereignty; he says he is not. I leave the people to judge of the correctness of his and my opinion then. If I was right then, I am certainly right now.

CAROLINA.

## LE COURRIER

PUBLIÉ TOUTS LES JOURS, EXCEPTÉ LE LUNDI.

### KANSAS.

CHICAGO, 1er juillet.

Une compagnie de 40 hommes, allant de Worcester au Kansas, a été désarmée à bord du steamer *Sultana*, de la même façon que l'a été la compagnie de Chicago.

Le désarmement a eu lieu à Waverley, dix milles au-dessous de Lexington. On a annoncé aux hommes de cette compagnie qu'on avait

l'intention de les retenir prisonniers et de disposer d'eux suivant les circonstances. Soixante carabines de Sharp ont été saisies.

On dit aussi qu'une compagnie venue d'Ottawa (Ill.) a été arrêtée et désarmée samedi.

Toutes les villes le long de la rivière ont déclaré ne pas vouloir laisser passer d'émigrants du Nord pour le Kansas.

Un correspondant du *Democrat* de St-Louis dit que le gouverneur Price a envoyé 12 canons et 22 caisses de mousquets de l'arsenal des Etats-Unis à Stringbellow.

Rue de Chartres No. 83, entre Conti et  
Bleuville.

NOUVELLE-ORLEANS:

JEUDI MATIN, 10 JUILLET.

### La situation au Kansas.

Le rapport fait par le comité d'enquête envoyé au Kansas par le Congrès nous est parvenu et nous allons l'analyser lorsque nous nous sommes aperçus que nous avions été devancés par nos confrères du *Courrier des Etats-Unis*. Nous allons donc leur emprunter leur analyse en faisant seulement observer que le rapport est l'œuvre de deux représentants hostiles à l'esclavage. Le troisième membre du comité a présenté un contre-rapport, qui n'a pas encore été publié. Voici l'analyse du journal français de New-York :

Nous avons lu le rapport de la commission d'enquête envoyée au Kansas, avec l'attention et l'intérêt impartial qu'inspire le désir de connaître la vérité, sans préjugé de parti. Pour nous, il en résulte évidemment que la pratique des élections populaires a été viciée et faussée au Kansas dans des proportions qui sembleraient incroyables, si nous n'avions pas encore sous les yeux les détails des faits qui, à San Francisco, ont donné lieu à l'action du comité de vigilance.

Ce rapport est celui de la majorité, c'est-à-dire de MM. Wm A. Howard et John Sherman, qui l'ont seuls signés. Nous aurons à examiner un contre-rapport du troisième membre de la commission, constituant la minorité; mais en attendant sa publication, il est de notre devoir d'accepter comme concluant le document officiel actuellement soumis au Congrès, les hommes qui l'ont signés, etant, quelles que soient leurs opinions politiques, au-dessus du soupçon de partialité dans l'accomplissement de leur mission.

Le contre-rapport sera d'ailleurs probablement une atténuation plutôt qu'une contradiction au rapport déjà publié; il aggravera sans doute les torts et les fraudes de la part des *free state men*, sans affaiblir ceux de leurs adversaires.

Quoiqu'il en soit à cet égard, le document rédigé par la majorité nous offre assez de renseignements pour que nous nous en tenions à ses informations. L'opinion des commissaires est que, sous l'empire du compromis du Missouri, le Kansas se fut peuplé et colonisé sans trouble ni difficulté. Mais le passage du bill du Nebraska Kansas, en ouvrant carrière à l'institution de l'esclavage dans le Territoire, a causé toutes les illégalités que signale le rapport.

La première démarche en ce sens fut l'entrée dans le Kansas d'un grand nombre de citoyens du Missouri, qui vinrent y former ce qu'on nomme des *squatter meetings*, assemblées dans lesquelles on vota des résolutions dénégant les abolitionnistes, et déclarant que l'esclavage existait de fait dans le Territoire. C'était aussi une prise de possession de la part du Sud, du terrain que le Nord se préparait énergiquement à lui disputer.—Pour l'assurer davantage, une société secrète connue sous divers noms, mais principalement sous celui de *Blue Lodge*, se forma dans le Missouri, pendant l'automne de 1854, et depuis lors dirigea et contrôla les mouvements d'invasion dirigés dans un but électoral.

Cependant lors de la première élection, qui eut lieu le 29 novembre de cette même année 1854, il ne paraît pas qu'aucune fraude importante ait été mise en œuvre, excepté dans quelques districts épars au milieu des régions les plus lointaines. Sur ces points seulement, l'apparition et l'intervention des Missouriis a été constatée par ce chiffre mathématique de 1,700 votes illégaux déposés par des étrangers aux districts, contre 1,100 votes fondés en droit. Cette intervention, du reste, n'influa pas sur le résultat de l'élection, qui était en faveur de M. Whitfield, même sans l'appoint des votes du Missouri.

L'agitation contraire à la pression des Missouriis sur les élections commença à se manifester énergiquement au Kansas durant l'hiver suivant (1854-55). Nombre de meetings furent convoqués à ce sujet, et contribuèrent à amener au mois de février 1855 un recensement d'après lequel le nombre des électeurs s'élevait à 2,905.

Cette mesure ne fit qu'activer l'ardeur des résidents du Missouri, et dans les élections suivantes ils s'organisèrent en compagnies,

pour envahir le Territoire, au nombre d'environ 5,000, et se répandant dans tous les districts moins un, d'après les calculs du comité d'enquête. La veille du jour fixé, l'invasion eut lieu par bandes organisées militairement, avec bannières, provisions, munitions et armes de guerre, et l'élection se fit sous la pression matérielle de ces camps volants établis partout où étaient installées les boîtes de scrutin.

La plus grande partie du rapport est consacrée à établir en détail et district par district les fraudes et les violences commises à cette occasion. D'après les documents mis sous leurs yeux, et les dépositions des témoins cités devant eux, les membres du comité établissent que, sur 6,300 votes déposés pour nommer les membres de la législature territoriale, cinq mille provenaient d'étrangers n'ayant point qualité d'électeurs. Sans cela, pense le comité, la majorité des deux chambres de la législature eût été composée de partisans du travail libre.

Le gouverneur annula l'élection dans quelques districts, qui ayant été appelés à voter dans des conditions plus vraies, se prononcèrent tous pour des partisans du travail libre, à l'exception de Leavenworth, où il est allégué que les fraudes ne peuvent être encore réprimées.

Les actes de la législature sont sévèrement jugés par le comité, ainsi que le désordre du pays où l'impunité est acquise à tous les crimes. Un seul parmi tant de criminels, nommé MacRae, a été atteint par la justice; c'était un partisan du travail libre.

Le shérif Samuel J. Jones, dont il a été tant parlé, il y a quelque temps, n'est pas épargné dans le rapport, non plus que M. Oliver, le troisième membre du comité, accusé lui-même par ses collègues de s'être rendu dans le Missouri, avec un des envahisseurs, et d'avoir prononcé un discours dans un district électoral.

En somme, le comité d'enquête, à la majorité de deux contre un, conclut que toutes les élections qui ont eu lieu dans le Kansas sont le résultat de l'invasion des habitants du Missouri. En conséquence, l'assemblée législative de ce territoire est un corps illégalement constitué et sans pouvoirs pour faire des lois valides. Ses actes sont donc nuls. Ni l'élection de G. W. Whitfield, ni celle de M. Reeder comme délégués au congrès, ne s'est opérée conformément aux lois, bien que le dernier ait obtenu plus de votes des résidents que le premier. Dans la situation actuelle du Territoire, une élection sincère ne saurait avoir lieu sans un nouveau recensement, une loi d'élection précise et bien exécutée, un choix de juges impartiaux, et la présence de troupes fédérales, à tous les scrutins. Enfin, les diverses élections qui ont eu lieu avant la formation du gouvernement d'Etat, ont été aussi régulières que le permettrait la situation agitée du Territoire. La constitution votée par la Convention qui est sortie de ces élections, représente donc la volonté de la majorité de la population.

Le rapport se borne ainsi à signaler le mal, mais sans indiquer le remède, question qui ne lui paraît pas entrer dans ses attributions spéciales.

### The Fate of Franklin Pierce.

The *Albany Journal* thus graphically sums up the fate of the late Mr. Pierce.

Never was an unknown man taken up and borne into office on such an overwhelming wave of popularity, as Franklin Pierce in 1852.—Never was an office holder stranded high and dry by such a general ebb of confidence, respect and friendships as Franklin Pierce in 1856.

He was helped into power by the votes of "free soilers," whom he had conciliated by a speech against the fugitive slave bill; and by "Union compromise men," whom he solemnly promised in his Inaugural that he would discountenance any revival of "slavery agitation." Before he had been three months in office he broke faith with both. He devoted the energies of his administration to the renewal of agitation and the extension of the power of slavery.

The slaveholders wanted office. He gave it to them. They wanted patronage. He gave it to them. They demanded the seizure of fugitives. He ordered troops and ships to that service, and to prevent the least delay, sent his hurried orders by telegraph. They wanted territory, he gave Kansas and Nebraska. They wanted connivance with marauding expeditions. He connived at them. They wanted the recognition of a filibustering government. He recognized it. They wanted Cuba. He exerted every nerve to buy it, beg it, quarrel for it. They wanted money from the treasury expended to build Southern forts, and not for the improvement of Northern harbors. He signed the appropriations for the one and rejected those for the other. They wanted an in-



vasion of Kansas and stands upon the ballot-boxes. He not only gave them immunity, but sent his Marshals, Judges, and Postmasters to head the invading mob. They asked for the sacking of Lawrence. He gave it to them, and it smokes in ruin. They asked for lynchings and murders to drive out free State men. He gave them Dow and Brown and Jones and Stewart, and they lie in new-made graves. In every act, he was the facile, docile, supple tool of Slavery.

He has his reward!

The slave States themselves refuse him a re-nomination. They fling him aside as a worn out, useless thing; and take a new Northern doughface to again delude the North, and serve the South and then be flung aside in turn.

## Bath Daily Tribune.

THURSDAY, MORN., JULY 10, 1856.

THE DEAD-LOCK AT WASHINGTON.—The New York Mirror says:—"As might have been anticipated from their structure, the two Houses of Congress have come into collision on the Kansas business—the Senate after an exciting session of twenty hours, having passed the Douglass-Toombs bill by a large majority, while the House, by the close vote of 100 to 97, has agreed to admit Kansas into the Union with the free constitution adopted at Topeka. Here the matter sticks fast, and unless one or other of the Houses recedes from its action, the "bleeding wounds" of poor Kansas will continue to gape open without even an experiment at Congressional doctoring. Which House will give way? Mr. Seward stands ready with his bitter pill concocted at Topeka, and will make or take no concessions. He insists that Kansas shall be admitted into the Union with the constitution adopted at an informal and voluntary meeting of a part of the citizens of the territory—a meeting entirely unauthorized by law. His bill is perfectly impracticable, and the Republican leaders must know that, in its present shape, it can never pass the Senate. Still the House has proved its determination and its power to insist upon that bill and no other; and if the one hundred Republican voters stand firm, Mr. Douglas will find that, with all his compromises and concessions, his scheme has utterly miscarried."

On Tuesday the Senate bill was substituted in the Senate for the House bill, and as amended passed and sent to the House for concurrence. Soon we shall learn the action of the House. The republican papers oppose the Douglas-Toombs bill, and declare it to be a trick; the friends of the bill reply that the republicans are determined to make no attempt to settle affairs in Kansas, but are bound to carry the subject into the next presidential canvas. The Douglas bill provides for the appointment of five commissioners to take a census of the country on the 4th of July, 1856, and to make all suitable regulations for the election which is to come off on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. The provisions of the bill are carefully guarded, and if properly executed, there can be no objection to the measure. Everything would depend on the character of the men who are to constitute the commissioners. The republicans say that the Free State men have left the territory, and that it is no time now to take the census of the inhabitants. All necessary time is given, as the board is to set to October 20th, to hear and count returns, consequently this objection falls to the ground. The Boston Telegraph, in no-

ting this bill, says—

"It is the final effort to enslave Kansas. Let not Free State men in Congress or at the north be deceived by it. Stand firm against it, and pour in your votes next November for FREMONT—thus will Kansas be saved, and not otherwise."

And this is undoubtedly the key note—no adjustment of the Kansas troubles, but pitch it into the next campaign for capital. We are firm of the faith that some course will yet be devised to kill off the monstrous projects of the republican party.

Hon. John P. Hale, on the day previous to the passage of the bill, said of it—

"I take this occasion to say, that the bill, as a whole, does great credit to the magnanimity, to the patriotism, and to the sense of justice of the honorable senator who introduced it. It is a much fairer bill than I expected from that latitude. I say so because I am always willing and determined, when I have occasion to speak anything, to do ample justice. I think the bill is almost unexceptionable."

# THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 11, 1856.

## THE TOPEKA LEGISLATURE DISPERSED.

A letter from a correspondent, in another column, details exactly the process by which the Bogus Legislature of the State of Kansas was "wiped out," when it attempted to get together on the 4th July. The next thing to be done will be to arrest LANE, if he should put foot upon the soil of the Territory of Kansas, under the indictments against him, and to send home the rascals who have been annoying the people of Iowa City, Iowa, for sometime past. The account of the dispersion of the Kansas Legislators is from an unquestionable source.

## COMING TO A HEAD.

The House of Representatives, a few days since, passed a bill admitting Kansas as a State into the Union, under the Topeka Constitution, with all its vagabond and runaway officers. It was sent to the Senate. There, the bill was amended by substituting in its place the bill which had previously passed the Senate, authorizing an enumeration of the inhabitants and the formation of a State Government, upon the terms therein prescribed. This bill will be sent to the House, and the Black Republicans will have to take this proposition, or nothing. As, however, they do not want the question settled peaceably, they will move heaven and earth to prevent its adoption in that body.

A correspondent writing from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to the Boston Campaign Times, uses the following language in reference to the efforts made in the North to obtain men and money for Kansas:

"Money is wanted for speculation, to make roads, survey and lay out towns, build hotels and saw-mills, erect bridges, dwelling houses and stores; to purchase large tracts of the best land, &c., &c.; and then, as men come to settle, this property will be in demand, and prove a handsome investment in the hands of the shrewd men who manage to handle the money in aid of Kansas!"

"I have been informed some ten or twelve young men, from 19 to 25 years of age, have left Boston on the wild and dangerous adventure of going to Kansas. It is the most wicked thing conceivable to induce inexperienced youth, without money, without friends, and even without the possibility of finding any one to aid and assist them after they reach the Territory,—to think of rushing headlong into the jaws of war, suffering and despair! For this is the undeniable situation of the people already in Kansas, if we are to believe the letter writer in the *Courier and Enquirer*.—Then why add misery to their sufferings by sending others to embarrass and oppress them? Is this doing to others as ye wish them to do to you?"

"We have had indignation meetings in abundance, and any amount of fire-eating, cannon proof resolutions, and an upbreathing of mental patriotism perfectly shocking to some folks; and one would suppose Massachusetts was in earnest in this thing, if words and talk meant anything. But, sir, mark my words. I do not believe two hundred can or will be sent from this State to Kansas. The call is for money, and not for men. To be sure the story is that men enough can be had in the border States—only shall out the dime! This is the situation of things at the present writing, and men can think and form opinions accordingly. My own opinion is, this Kansas business is an unmitigated humbug, and somebody is managing it for merely speculative purposes, who care no more for freedom than Satan cared for Lazarus when at the gate of the rich man."

"If any thing was meant to be done to settle bona fide emigrants in that Territory, do you believe four weeks could pass away, and not fifty men ready to depart, or any provision made for the patriotic youth who have volunteered to go? I tell you, editor of the Times, there is something here which requires searching out. I understand the company which left Boston the present week were merely furnished with through tickets, and not a dollar to help feed them on their long journey, but had a promise of \$25 after reaching the Territory. Now, if this be true, and I am afraid it is, can you wonder I feel constrained to utter these warnings, and call on all independent editors to echo the warnings, unless they wish to add fuel to the fire by sending young men and youth into such a place as Kansas is known to be at the present time, unprovided for, unprotected and unknown."

THE DISARMING OF KANSAS EMIGRANTS.—The Milwaukee (Wis.) News under this head administers a well timed rebuke to those who are making the disarming of Chicago ruffians the basis of additional shrieks for freedom. It says:

"We have published in the News full telegraphic accounts of the disarming of those who have attempted to carry Sharpe's rifles into Kansas, from Illinois and Massachusetts. While doing this, we have been conscious of giving currency to gross exaggerations and

These falsehoods, concocted and sent over the telegraph lines by men who, in their hearts to-day, would rather see every inch of territory in the United States surrendered to slavery, than meet with the defeat which awaits them at the ballot box, in November. The first blood shed on account of these difficulties, was shed by a Free State man. Coles McKee, a poor, worthless vagabond, shot a man there, and then returned to the free State to be lionized and feted by the long-faced, canting, puerile devotees of Sharpe's rifles. Parson Beecher, and humbuggery, until he concluded to add larceny to the crime of lying and murder, which could not be tolerated even in New Haven, and Coles McKee departed. The vagabond was the first to commit homicide, and the party that now complains of violence on the part of Southern men, received the murderer with open arms, and said: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

In reference to the threats and insolence used by these miscreants on their way up the river, the *Neos* adds:

"They were insolent and made threats, were armed and were proceeding in an organized body to invade Kansas. Under such circumstances the citizens of Lexington disarmed them. They placed no obstacles in their path, but permitted them to proceed to Kansas where they can vote to make Kansas a Free State and we hope they will. But the rifles could not have voted and would have probably had no other effect than those bad which were sent to Lawrence. The men carrying them, bragged, blustered, and invited an attack, but when the attack came, they yielded and stacked their rifles on a notice of fifteen minutes. Why not send men, there with provisions and clothing and money to support the until they can procure a subsistence from tilling the soil? Have your rifles done any good? Are you not disgraced by the conduct of those who have carried them into Kansas and stacked them? Instead of 'another rifle,' give another coat, or 'another loaf of bread,' and let your men go there and demean themselves like peaceable citizens, lying upon the justice of their cause, the Constitution of their country, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the God of our fathers, for protection in every emergency. In that way freedom will be established, permanently established, and violence and anarchy and murder and rapine on the plains of Kansas will be no more heard of in this free and christianian country."

#### FROM KANSAS.

Correspondence of the Republican.

LEAVENWORTH COUNTY, K. T., July 7, '86.

EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN—DEAR SIR: Many, if not all, of your readers are anxious to know what took place at Topeka on the 4th inst., and as I was an eye witness, I take the liberty of communicating the facts as they occurred.

By a resolution of the "bogus Legislature," at its session in March last, it was determined that that body should re-assemble at Topeka on the 4th of July, 1886, for the purpose of enacting laws for the "State of Kansas." As this was nothing more or less than an attempt to establish a government over this Territory, in place of that created by Congress, and as this was to be done by means of a secret military organization, it could be considered in no other light than as treasonable, and, of course, the necessary authority was enjoined upon the military and civil officers here to prevent a meeting of that body. To this end, acting Governor Woodson, Marshal DONALDSON, and Col. SUMNER, with about eight companies of the 1st cavalry, and United States Attorney JACKS, were encamped near Topeka on the 3d inst.

The Abolitionists were in convention here for a day or two previous, and military companies, with drum and fife were parading the streets. This military turn out was under the pretext of a celebration of the Fourth, and on this account, it was deemed inexpedient to interfere with them, notwithstanding it was an organization "outside of the law." In the afternoon, a deputation came down to camp for the purpose of learning what course would be taken, in case the "Legislature" should meet. These persons did not represent themselves as authorized to represent their friends, but there can be no doubt that they were. The object of this committee was also to find out how far they would be permitted to go, and whether the members would be arrested, or if the military would take them in hand. There was no disposition on the part of the officers to disguise or mince matters, and they were told that it was determined not to permit a meeting of their "Legislature." They wanted to know if they would be permitted to meet, call the roll, and then adjourn to another day, with the view of keeping up their organization. The opinion of the officers was unanimous that they could not meet for any purpose whatever, and that to prevent them from keeping up their organization was the main object of the authorities. When the deputation found they could make no terms of the kind, they suggested it as their opinion, that if the Colonel and acting Governor would send up a proclamation avowing their purpose,

that no attempt would be made to organize. As this was a matter of great public concern, and probably pregnant with important results, proclamations were sent up early the next morning, declaring in most emphatic terms the intention of the Government to prevent an organization.

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Before closing, I would add that after the proclamations of the President, Gov. SHANNON, and acting Gov. Woodson were read by the Marshal in the morning, the Abolitionists gave three cheers for Gov. ROBINSON, and three groans each for Gov. SHANNON and President PIERCE. I will here mention a fact going to show how low and degraded these creatures are. Notwithstanding they groaned the President in the morning, still, they in the evening, passed a resolution in their convention to memorialize him on various subjects.

Everything is quiet here. I think, and many admit, that the Free State movement will fall through, unless Congress should admit the present bogus Constitution.

In the foregoing, a simple statement of facts is made, without a regard for any other purpose than to give true information on the subject. KAW.

#### FROM KANSAS.

Correspondence of the Republican.

PALERMO, K. T., July 5, 1886.

Yesterday was an epoch in Palermo. The proprietors of the city, MORRIS PARKER, MAHAN, MINDEL-

ros, &c., had sent out invitations to their neighbors to join them in the celebration of the birth-day of our Republic, and there came multitudes from Doniphan, Whitehead, Watness, and all the intervening country, who passed the day in harmony so complete, that there seemed never to have been discord in the country. A looker-on would not have conceived that there was martial law and civil war in Kansas.

The Freesoiler and the Pro-slavery man were there, as brothers—all differences being merged in the one prevailing sentiment of *National Independence*. The North and the South, the East and the West, with all antagonisms—political and social—were blended into one concordant entity—and that entity, THE UNION, panopied by the constitution, consecrated by the blood of our fathers, and enshrined in every patriot heart.

A band of music came from St. Joseph, and made the hills echo their soul-stirring strains. The Doniphan Blues were also here, and made the streets glitter with their polished bayonets, and dizzy with their intricate evolutions. At ten o'clock the concourse congregated in the shadows of some noble elms, whose contiguity of foliage shielded them off equally from the radiant sun. A stand and seats were there prepared for the orators and audience, and Capt. M. THOMPSON read the Declaration of Independence, prefaced with some appropriate remarks, and L. McARTHUR, Esq., delivered an eloquent oration.

C. I. FRANK MAHAN, marshal of the day, then announced the FEAST, and escorted the not reluctant throng to the spacious dining hall of the new hotel where a repast was spread, whose excellence would have done credit to any of "mine hosts" of your metropolis, and of which there was practical evidence of due appreciation by the company present.

When the cloth was removed toasts were drunk, the band played, speeches were made and joyousness prevailed, until that witching hour that Vesperus woos Terpsichore, when her votaries assembled in a large room above, and in the maze of dance and whirl of waltz they sped the night, as if by magic, into morning.

Such was the scene on Independence day in this peaceful portion of our country. While arson and murder run riot in other portions, we are busy in industrial avocations and pleasant in social quiet. You will naturally wonder how this can be—why we are not in arms and involved in high excitement, and that broil and battle which so balefully pervades the Southern portion of our Territory! It is simply, that we have been saved the curse of any "Aid Society" interference. We have Free Soilers amongst us—many of them—but they are men of individual character, responsible, true and patriotic. They revere the constitution and respect the laws, and while they should prefer a free, as we should prefer a slave State, they are, under any and all circumstances, good citizens, and are improving their estates and expect to make this their permanent abode. They did not come in squads for the special purpose of voting, nor in armed companies to control our institutions; but they came with their families, their horses, their cattle and their plows to improve the country and themselves. We welcome all such as our fellow-citizens, no matter whence they come, and in our intercourse we know no difference between those from the North and those from the South.

And thus would it have been throughout Kansas but for the attempt made by a foreign organization styled "The Emigrant Aid Society," to force upon us a pauper population and to control our political and social destiny by mercenary, base and unfair means. Wherever they have sent their subjects, there has been lawlessness and bloodshed. The people would not have institutions forced upon them; they resisted—they resisted successfully; and those poor creatures who have been deluded by false assurances, who have been betrayed into fatal indiscretions by treacherous leaders who deserted them in their extremity, have many of them suffered death, many ruin, all alarm, and they are now fleeing the country, in distressed and destitute conditions, by every possible mode of escape. I know and could name many free-soil men who have taken sides and enrolled themselves with the pro-slavery men in defence of the law and in the maintenance of their common rights. At the polls they will differ, as freemen have a right to do, but they stand shoulder to shoulder in vindication of the integrity of the Government. I had occasion a few days since to go to Leavenworth, thence to Kansas City, and thence to Leocompton and Osawkee, and can only confirm what you have heard of the wretched condition of that portion of the Territory. My acquaintances at Leaven-



These falsehoods, concocted and sent over the telegraph lines by men who, in their hearts to-day, would rather see every inch of territory in the United States surrendered to slavery, than meet with the defeat which awaits them at the ballot box, in November. The first blood shed on account of these difficulties, was shed by a Free State man. Coles McKee, a poor, worthless vagabond, shot a man there, and then returned to the free State to be lionized and fêted by the long-faced, canting, puerile devotees of Sharpe's rifles. Parson Beecher, and humbuggers, until he concluded to add larceny to the crime of lying and murder, which could not be tolerated even in New Haven, and Coles McKee departed. The vagabond was the first to commit homicide, and the party that now complains of violence on the part of Southern men, received the murderer with open arms, and said—"Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

In reference to the threats and insolence used by these miscreants on their way up the river, the *News* adds:

They were insolent and made threats, were armed and were proceeding in an organized body to invade Kansas. Under such circumstances the citizens of Lexington disarmed them. They placed no obstacles in their path, but permitted them to proceed to Kansas where they can vote to make Kansas a Free State and we hope they will. But the rifles could not have voted and would have probably had no other effect than those had which were sent to Lawrence. The men carrying them, bragged, blustered, and invited an attack, but when the attack came, they yielded and stacked their rifles on a notice of fifteen minutes. Why not send men, there with provisions and clothing and money to support the until they can procure a subsistence from tilling the soil? Have your rifles done any good? Are you not disgraced by the conduct of those who have carried them into Kansas and stacked them there? Instead of "another rifle," give another coat, or "another loaf of bread," and let your men go there and demean themselves like peaceable citizens, relying upon the justice of their cause, the Constitution of their country, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the God of our fathers, for protection in every emergency. In that way freedom will be established, permanently established, and violence and anarchy and murder and rapine on the plains of Kansas will be no more heard of in this free and christian country.

#### FROM KANSAS.

Correspondence of the Republican.

LEAVENWORTH COUNTY, K. T., July 7, '86.

EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN—DEAR SIR: Many, if not all, of your readers are anxious to know what took place at Topeka on the 4th inst., and as I was an eye witness, I take the liberty of communicating the facts as they occurred.

By a resolution of the "bogus Legislature," at its session in March last, it was determined that that body should re-assemble at Topeka on the 4th of July, 1856, for the purpose of enacting laws for the "State of Kansas." As this was nothing more or less than an attempt to establish a government over this Territory, in place of that created by Congress, and as this was to be done by means of a secret military organization, it could be considered in no other light than as treasonable, and, of course, the necessary authority was enjoined upon the military and civil officers here to prevent a meeting of that body. To this end, acting Governor Woodson, Marshal DONALDSON, and Col. SUMNER, with about eight companies of the 1st cavalry, and United States Attorney ISACKS, were encamped near Topeka on the 3d inst.

The Abolitionists were in convention here for a day or two previous, and military companies, with drum and fife were parading the streets. This military turn out was under the pretext of a celebration of the Fourth, and on this account, it was deemed inexpedient to interfere with them, notwithstanding it was an organization "outside of the law." In the afternoon, a deputation came down to camp for the purpose of learning what course would be taken, in case the "Legislature" should meet. These persons did not represent themselves as authorized to represent their friends, but there can be no doubt that they were. The object of this committee was also to find out how far they would be permitted to go, and whether the members would be arrested, or if the military would take them in hand. There was no disposition on the part of the officers to disguise or mince matters, and they were told that it was determined not to permit a meeting of their "Legislature." They wanted to know if they would be permitted to meet, call the roll, and then adjourn to another day, with the view of keeping up their organization. The opinion of the officers was unanimous that they could not meet for any purpose whatever, and that to prevent them from keeping up their organization was the main object of the authorities. When the deputation found they could make no terms of the kind, they suggested it as their opinion, that if the Colonel and acting Governor would send up a proclamation avowing their purpose,

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It is evident that the object of the deputation was to learn the utmost point their friends would be permitted to go, so that they could make as much for "bancombe" as possible, without endangering their precious persons from a charge of treason or criminal prosecutions. The question of resistance was discussed, and from the speeches made in the Convention one would have felt certain that a collision would be inevitable; but at the appointed time (12 M.) Col. SUMNER, with his command, and Marshal DONALDSON, went up to the "State House." Two or three companies of armed Abolitionists were formed in front of the house, under the pretext of a banner presentation, when there can be but little doubt that, had the U. S. Marshal gone up to arrest them with only a few men, these companies could have prevented him from doing so, and the "Legislature" could have met and adjourned over to another day, thereby perpetuating their organization. This circumstance will account for the necessity of the presence of Col. SUMNER's command, which was formed upon the ground occupied by the Abolition troops, who left in double quick time. Colonel SUMNER then entered the State House, followed by a large number of the members, a crowd of citizens, abolition troops, ladies, &c., amidst shouts, yells and confusion. The roll having been called it became known that a majority of the "Legislature" answered to their names, some of them declined answering at all. This done the Colonel told them in a manner that clearly meant that he would do what he said, that they must disperse or be arrested; and the Marshal in a like manner told them the same; upon this information they all left the hall. Col. S. then requested those persons claiming to constitute the Senate, to meet him in their chamber, which they did, all other persons but the Marshal having been excluded; and when there, told them that they would not be permitted to organize, to which they seemed reluctantly to assent. The Marshal then told them that in the discharge of his duties he should require a pledge of honor that they would not meet, organize, or attempt, then, or at any future time, (under their present organization,) to pass any act of a legislative character. To this proposition, they were not well disposed to assent, and gave as a reason, that they "could not pledge themselves for absent members," to which the Marshal replied that a quorum of the members were present, according to their own statement, and that if each of them did not give a pledge of honor to this demand, he would arrest every one of them, before they should leave the room; they then consented, but desired to organize informally with the view of taking a vote of adjournment, but the Marshal told them that they could not organize formally or informally, that that, with other things, was what he came there to prevent—all of which was concurred in by Col. S. The Marshal then put the question of adjournment, on the condition aforesaid, to the bogus members, and the vote was unanimous in the affirmative. Thus terminated one of the most treasonable bodies that ever assembled in this or any other country. This is the degrading result of the efforts of the Aid Society, and the "Free State movement."

Before closing, I would add that after the proclamations of the President, Gov. SHANNON, and acting Gov. Woodson were read by the Marshal in the morning, the Abolitionists gave three cheers for Gov. RONKINSON, and three groans each for Gov. SHANNON and President PIERCE. I will here mention a fact going to show how low and degraded these creatures are. Notwithstanding they groaned the President in the morning, still, they in the evening, passed a resolution in their convention to memorialize him on various subjects.

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row, &c., had sent out invitations to their neighbors to join them in the celebration of the birth-day of our Republic, and there came multitudes from Dunphar, Whitehead, Wathens, and all the intervening country, who passed the day in harmony so complete, that there seemed never to have been discord in the country. A looker-on would not have conceived that there was martial law and civil war in Kansas.

The Free-soiler and the Pro-slavery man were there, as brothers—all differences being merged in the one prevailing sentiment of National Independence. The North and the South, the East and the West, with all antagonisms—political and social—were blended into one concordant entity—and that entity, THE UNION, sanctioned by the constitution, consecrated by the blood of our fathers, and enshrined in every patriot heart.

A band of music came from St. Joseph, and made the hills echo their soul-stirring strains. The Dunphar Blues were also here, and made the streets glitter with their polished bayonets, and dizzy with their intricate evolutions. At ten o'clock the concourse congregated in the shadows of some noble elms, whose contiguity of foliage shielded them off eternally from the radiant sun. A stand and seats were there prepared for the orators and audience, and Capt. M. THOMPSON read the Declaration of Independence, prefaced with some appropriate remarks, and L. McARTHUR, Esq., delivered an eloquent oration.

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When the cloth was removed toasts were drunk, the band played, speeches were made and joyousness prevailed, until that witching hour that Vesperus wove Tenebris, when her votaries assembled in a large room above, and in the maze of dance and whirl of waltz they sped the night, as if by magic, into morning.

Such was the scene on Independence day in this peaceful portion of our country. While arson and murder run riot in other portions, we are busy in industrial avocations and pleasant in social quiet. You will naturally wonder how this can be—why we are not in arms and involved in high excitement, and that broil and battle which so balefully pervades the Southern portion of our Territory! It is simply, that we have been saved the curse of any "Aid Society" interference. We have Free Soilers amongst us—many of them—but they are men of individual character, responsible, true and patriotic. They revere the constitution and respect the laws, and while they should prefer a free, as we should prefer a slave State, they are, under any and all circumstances, good citizens, and are improving their estates and expect to make this their permanent abode. They did not come in squads for the special purpose of voting, nor in armed companies to control our institutions; but they came with their families, their horses, their cattle and their plows to improve the country and themselves. We welcome all such as our fellow-citizens, no matter whence they come, and in our intercourse we know no difference between those from the North and those from the South.

And thus would it have been throughout KANSAS but for the attempt made by a foreign organization styled "The Emigrant Aid Society," to force upon us a pauper population and to control our political and social destiny by mercenary, base and unfair means. Wherever they have sent their subjects, there has been lawlessness and bloodshed. The people would not have institutions forced upon them; they resisted—they resisted successfully; and those poor creatures who have been deluded by false assurances, who have been betrayed into fatal indiscretions by treacherous leaders who deserted them in their extremity, have many of them suffered death, many ruin, all alarm, and they are now fleeing the country, in distressed and destitute conditions, by every possible mode of escape. I know and could name many free-soil men who have taken sides and enrolled themselves with the pro-slavery men in defence of the law and in the maintenance of their common rights. At the polls they will differ, as freemen have a right to do, but they stand shoulder to shoulder in vindication of the integrity of the Government. I had occasion a few days since to go to Leavenworth, thence to Kansas City, and thence to Leecompton and Osawkee, and can only confirm what you have heard of the wretched condition of that portion of the Territory. My acquaintances at Leaven-

worth and Kansas City were earnest in their disquisitions against my venturing into the interior, giving it as their confident opinion that I would be assassinated unless I took a guard. I went, however, with only one companion, in a buggy.

We found agitation, excitement and alarm everywhere. Everybody was armed *cap a pie*, and none went or remained alone. Small companies, and parties on horseback and on foot clustered in cabins, or passing along the road, seemed ready and expectant of aggressive or defensive battle. Murder is of every day occurrence. Since those eight peaceable men were torn from their beds, their wives and families, in the dead hour of the night, and so barbarously butchered by Abolitionists, there has been no quiet in that neighborhood. At Osawkee we were informed by Judge TUBBS and Mr. DWYER that a day or two before, they had called a meeting of all citizens who desired, under the law, to organize themselves for mutual protection, and that about one hundred assembled, at least fifty of whom were free-soilers, and that since that time they had felt greater security. The whole country was looking forward to the Fourth at Topeka. The Free State Legislature was then and there to meet. It was rumored here and along the river that LANE was at Iowa City, with five hundred men, on his way, to be there on that day. The nearer I approached Topeka, the more was LANE's force augmented, until it reached 2,000 strong, and he was then said to be in the Territory and only a day and a half's march distant. None of the legislators had reached that place, but rather several members from that and the adjoining counties had fled the country. The probabilities were that there would be no effort to meet.

As I came in I met Capt. ANDERSON with one hundred dragoons, on his way there, and he informed me that three pieces of artillery were coming after him, but he had no idea that LANE would be so simple as to endeavor to carry out his purposes, or to go there at all.

We found MAJOR'S and RUSSELL'S train of wagons and cattle encamped just back of Fort Leavenworth, afraid to venture out until the country becomes more settled. Such is the condition of things below. As you approach this upper section you find men unarmed save with the scythe, with which they slay the golden grain, and with the plow, which they send deep into the bowels of the green prairies. The wheat and corn are excellent, and the corn is very promising. We are in the midst of harvest.

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

The proposition of Senator TOOMBS, mentioned by your Washington correspondent in your issue of 28th ult., meets with general approbation here. I think it would be the soonest and surest way of settling our disturbed and distracted country. And in this connection, I would suggest to all persons who desire to come to Kansas now to make this their point of destination; for here there is no excitement; we have a flourishing town, where accommodations and stores are abundant; the country back of us is of the most beautiful and fertile character, and health and prosperity are universal.

## Appeal by the Law and Order Party of Kansas Territory to their Friends in the South.

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

That a state of insurrection and civil war exists among us, is abundantly evident. The Law and Order party on the one side, opposed on the other by the Abolitionists, who are backed up and sustained by the Emigrant Aid Societies of the North. A brief review of the points at issue, and their controlling circumstances, may be useful to justify this, our appeal for aid. In Territorial politics, the question of free or slave State has swallowed up every other. The Abolitionists on the one hand, in accordance with their early teaching, regard slavery as the greatest possible evil—they deem it a monstrous national evil, which their false theories of government impute equally to every portion of the confederacy, and thus feeling themselves individually responsible for its existence, they feel bound to struggle for its overthrow: to such extremes have wicked demagogues stimulated their fanaticism, that their perverted consciences justify any mode of warfare against slaveholders, however much in violation of law, however destructive of property or human life, and however atrociously wicked it may seem to others; nay, many of them already go so far as to oppose all religion, property, law, order and subordination among men as subversive of what they are pleased to call man's natural and inherent equality. And with them it is no mere local question of whether slavery shall exist in Kansas or not, but one of far wider significance; a question of whether it shall exist anywhere in the Union. Kansas they justly regard as the mere outpost in the war now being waged between the autogonic civilizations of the North and the South; and winning this great outpost and stand-point, they rightly think their march will be open to an easy conquest of the whole field. Hence the extraordinary means the Abolition party has adopted to flood Kansas with the most fanatical and lawless portion of Northern society; and hence the large sums of money they have expended to surround their brother Missourians with obnoxious and dangerous neighbors.

On the other hand, the pro-slavery element of the "Law and Order" party in Kansas, looking to the Bible, find slavery ordained of God; they find there, as by our law, slaves made "an inheritance to them and their children forever." Looking to our national census, and to all statistics connected with the African race, and considering too their physical, intellectual and moral nature, we see that slavery is the African's normal and proper state: since in that state that race multiplies faster, has more physical comforts, with less vice and more moral and intellectual progress than in any other. We believe slavery the only school in which the debased son of Ham, by attrition with a higher race can be refined and elevated: we believe it a trust and guardianship given us of God for the good of both races.

Without sugar, cotton and cheap clothing, can civilization maintain its progress—can these be supplied without slavery? Nay, in the absence of slave institutions, must not social distinctions supervene among the free, to the detriment of republican equality? This is no mere property question, but a great social and political question of races. It is not a question of whether A or B shall be owner, but of whether the slave, still having a master, shall still be a working bee and not an idle drone in the hive: a question of whether the South shall still be a land flowing with milk and honey, or a land of mendicants and vagabonds: a great question of races: a question of whether we shall sink to the level of the freed African, and take him to the embrace of social and political equality and fraternity: for such is the natural end of Abolition progress. Fanaticism must defend its beneficiaries—first, by sending the Federal army to protect them, and ultimately by giving them the right to bear arms, vote, testify, make and administer law; in short, the right to eat out our substance, to pull us down to their level, to taint our blood and bring us a degradation from which no time can redeem us. Thus radical and marked the difference in theory between the two parties, and not less so, their difference in practice; while we in good faith sustain and uphold the laws, the Abolitionists, on the other hand, in effect repudiate and set them at defiance. With open disloyalty they assert the invalidity of the Territorial laws, while they render our national insignia only the mockery of a hollow respect—indeed, more than once they have openly resisted the Marshals in the service of processes, and in some places their organized armed resistance to the Territorial laws is so overwhelming, that ministers of the law there never attempt the discharge of their fiscal duties; they have repudiated payment of taxes, and have held and published the proceedings of large public meetings, at which they resolved to resist, even to blood, the Territorial laws, and especially the laws for the collection of public revenue.

According to testimony under oath, lately given before the Investigating Committee, they have sent military organizations for resisting the laws and for carrying out their abolition designs upon Kansas—organizations, in which the members are bound, by the most solemn of oaths, to obey every order of their leaders, not excepting even murder and treason. It is abundantly proved by eye-witnesses, of unquestioned veracity, that at this present time they have at different points in the Territory, banded together in actual encampment, large numbers of armed men, subsisted and kept together by their Aid Societies, for no other object than to make forage upon the country, and drive our friends from their homes. By such banditti, the murders near Osawatomie, on Pottawatomie creek, were committed; declarations by the per-

petrators, some of whom were our most worthy neighbors, doubtfully show the parentage of these crimes. Six victims, whose bodies have been found, fell in that massacre, besides four others missing from the neighborhood and not yet heard from. Of the six, one was Allen Wilkerson, Esq., member of the Territorial Legislature and Postmaster at Shermanville. Sick, with measles, for no other offense save that of being a Law and Order man, he was dragged at midnight from his bed, and from the side of a sick and imploring wife, by a band of Abolition assassins, acting as they said in the name of the great Northern army; within hearing of the terror-stricken wife, with fiendish barbarity, he was flayed alive, his nose and ears were cut off, his scalp torn from his head, and he was then stabbed through the heart. Such is the *avowed evidence of his widow*, lately tendered in Westport, before the Congressional Investigating committee. It is revealed on the part of their friends, such a picture of hellish ferocity, that that committee, for once, blushed, and even stultified themselves, rather than receive the testimony as competent. They had already received and recorded the evidence of Jardee Butler, testifying that since their appointment as Commissioners, he had been tarred and feathered for negro stealing; but this decision they unblushingly reversed and erased the evidence, rather than be forced to put against their friends this horrible tale of the Osawatomie murders upon the record. Beside Wilkerson, Wm. Sherman and brother, and Mr. Doyle and two sons, were proved to have been murdered the same night, by the same band, one of whom also had his fingers and arms cut off before he was finally dispatched. Incredible as these things may seem, they unquestionably happened in Kansas Territory in the latter part of last month. Yet what is more incredible, but not less true, is the undeniable fact, that these outrages are not as some pretend, the mere extravaganzas of a few irresponsible individuals, but on the contrary, are justly chargeable to the Abolition party, as the legitimate fruit of their party measures and party discipline, and as naturally resulting from the public teachings, advice and counsel of their chief men and most distinguished leaders. The outrages above specified were preceded, and up to the present time have been followed by others of a like character, and dictated by a like settled policy on the part of our enemies to harass and frighten by their deeds of horror, our friends from their homes in the Territory. Undoubtedly this policy (a well settled party system) has dictated the notices lately given in all the disturbed districts, by armed marauding bands of Abolitionists, to the Law and Order men of their respective neighborhoods, immediately to leave their country on peril of death. Under such notices, our friends about Hickory Point and on Pottawatomie and Rock Creek, have all been driven out of the Territory, their stores have been robbed, their cattle driven off, their houses burned, their horses stolen, and in some cases they have been assassinated for daring to return. Some, too, of these outrages, have been perpetrated under the very nose of the United States troops, who all the while assure us that all is peace and quietness, and that they will afford ample protection, without the necessity of our banding to go her in armed bodies for mutual defence. Among many others of our friends thus driven away, we might specify the case of Masses, Hargus, Jones and Owens of Hickory Point, who in two hundred United States troops stationed within two miles of their homes, have been unable to inspire with a sense of security.

Morton Bourn, a most exemplary, quiet and unoffending man of our party, living within eight miles of Leecompton, the capital of the Territory, where quite a number of troops are stationed, was lately driven from his home by a band of twenty-five armed men, who robbed him of all his guns, five saddles, three horses, and blankets from off his bed, and over fifty dollars in money. The thieves gave him twenty-four hours to leave with his family, and threatened to kill him if he returned, saying, they intended to serve all the pro-slavery men in the neighborhood the same way. Mr. Bourn is still out of the Territory, and though anxious about his property, and desirous to return, yet dares not do so, although as often as he applies the Governor and the troops assure him that all is quiet, and that he shall have ample protection; but he knows that unless they remain constantly about his house, they cannot keep marauders and murderers away. This case is specified, not for its peculiar enormity or hardship, but because it is a fair type of a large class of such cases, and because the undersigned have all the details from Mr. Bourn himself, and know them to be strictly true; indeed, one of us assisted his family in their flight the day after the robbery.

In short, the introduction of the troops, not only has proved no protection to our friends, but (and perhaps without being so intended) has the contrary, by preventing our armed organizations for self defence, which has worked, as to permit the lawless desperadoes that infest the country, to separate into little marauding parties and plunder and murder with impunity.

It is but too evident the troops cannot enable our friends to maintain their ground in any part of the Territory where the Abolition element is in the ascendant: not withstanding, we assure our friends that, after the most diligent enquiry and attention to that point, we firmly believe that our party has a well established, decided and increasing majority of actual settlers in the Territory. This majority, however, we do not believe can be maintained unless something be done to give confidence to our friends where they are few and weak in number: this can only be done by colonizing large settlements together, under one common head with absolute control. Let, say, from one to three hundred Agriculturists, Mechanics and Laborers, so settle together, in some suitable point, to be indicated by the undersigned, or some other committee charged with the general interests of this party. This can be lawfully, safely and efficiently done. By this means the Territory can be saved, and



we say this too, notwithstanding we are in possession of very convincing evidence to the fact that the Abolitionists of the North intend, during the coming month, to introduce large numbers of their hired bands, to put their treacherable, pretended government into operation by force. These measures of mutual defence and future progress, however, require means, and demand aid from our friends abroad. The Colonists should be subsidized a reasonable time, and each individual furnished with adequate agricultural or mechanical outfit, so there can be no want of settlers coming and remaining at the points where they are most needed. Funds are required, and for these we call upon our Southern friends—upon all having a common interest, or a love of equal State Rights, or of a Union based on true fraternity. That State deceives itself, that fondly trusts these fanatics may stop at Kansas, for it is unquestionably a part of our enemy's settled policy to use Kansas as the mere means of ulterior operations. The most convincing proof (if proof were needed) of this was recently given before the Congressional Investigating Committee. Judge Mathew Walker, a Wyandotte, an unimpeachable witness and most reliable man, testified before the Committee, that before the Abolitionists selected Lawrence as their centre of operations, their leader, Gov. Robinson, attempted to get a foothold for them in the Wyandotte Reserve, near the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers; that in his negotiations for that purpose, Robinson, finding it necessary to communicate their plans and objects, divulged to Walker, (whom he then supposed a sympathizer) that the Abolitionists were determined on winning Kansas at every hazard; that then, having Missouri surrounded on three sides, they would begin their assault upon her, and as fast as one State gave way, attack another till the whole South was abolitionized. That this revelation was actually made, the undersigned have not the slightest doubt, and we are equally confident that in that matter, the Abolition party was truly represented by Robinson, who has always been their chief man and acknowledged leader in Kansas. It is widely reported and generally believed, that the Northern Abolitionists are now raising large bodies of armed men, under military organization and discipline, to be surreptitiously introduced into the Territory, for the object of driving out the peaceable inhabitants, setting the law at defiance by armed force, and overthrowing the Law and Order Party at the decisive election for a Territorial Legislature, to come off on the first Monday in October next. It is not improbable they may partially succeed in their aim, their faculty for misrepresentation is so extraordinary—so fatally bent on mischief: their papers for instance show up the Osawatomie massacre as an outrage of our own. According to their account, five pro-slavery men were hanging an Abolitionist, when his five friends providentially came up and shot them in the act.

All have heard through the papers, of the killing of Stewart by Cosgrove. The facts were these: Stewart being in Lawrence, when news reached there of an Abolitionist having been just killed at Blanton's bridge, in the vicinity, started off with four of his friends towards the California road, all swearing they would kill the first pro-slavery men they met. Lieut. Cosgrove and Dr. Bratton, two worthy and quiet men of our party, happened to be passing just as Stewart and his men reached the road. The five halted—the two at a distance of only five or six paces—and to the astonishment and horror of the weak party, immediately after halting, they began snapping and firing at the Cosgroves, seeing Bratton shot through the arm, fired and killed Stewart, and then, with his wounded companion, made good his retreat under a shower of Sharp's bullets. The next day a Lawrence man was apprehended with a letter in his pocket to a friend in the North, detailing Stewart's death, in which he said Stewart was met alone, unarmed, and without cause or excuse, shot down by five border ruffians. Indeed, it was proved before the Investigating Committee, that the Abolition party had travelling agents in the Territory, whose duty it was to gather, exaggerate and report rumors to prejudice the pro-slavery party, and excite Abolitionists to come to the Territory; and the witness, Parrott, swore that he, as agent, had prepared such a report and placed it in the hands of Sherman, a member of the Congressional Investigating Committee, since his arrival in Kansas. Sherman was then on the Committee, and did not deny it. How can there be other than the most exasperated state of feeling between the two sections? How can civil war be avoided, if honorable Committee-men collude in such devilish machinations. Look the future in the face like men. If standing up to our rights and to our responsibilities brings peace and security, so much the better—no other course can effect it.

Send us men and means, we must have your help. Appoint agents, responsible, trustworthy, reliable men, for every State, district and neighborhood, whose sole business shall be to canvass for aid. Did we know suitable persons who would act, we would not hesitate to appoint them all over the country. Let our friends send their names with details as to character and qualification, and we will duly accredit them. Oao, an Alabamian, Alpheus Baker, Jr., Esq., of Eufrasia, Alabama, whom we all know, who has been here, and has distinguished himself by the zeal and signal ability with which for a while he canvassed the border counties in Missouri for aid, we take the liberty of nominating without assurance that he will accept. We trust that he may.

Friends of the cause must contribute their aid according to their several gifts. We must not meanly abandon our birthright, and, without a struggle, yield to grasping monopoly, this fairest Eden of our common domain—this land of flowing brook and fertile plain. Kansas is indeed the garden spot of America: in every way adapted to Southern institutions: in no other part of the Union is slave labor so profitable:

and in the present imperilled state of our civilization, if we do not maintain this out-post, we cannot long defend the citadel. Then rally to the rescue.

Any communications our friends in the South may be pleased to favor the undersigned with, will reach us most safely and certainly, if directed to West-Port, Missouri. Funds contributed may be sent to our Treasurer, A. G. Boone, Esq., directed to him at the same place.

DAVID R. ATCHISON,  
W. H. RUSSELL,  
JOS. C. ANDERSON,  
A. G. BOONE  
B. F. STRINGFELLOW,  
J. BUFORD

June 21, 1856.

For the Republicans.

*The humbuggery and betrayal—The coalition of Benton with the Black Republican Know Nothings—The Shrieks for Freedom manufactured to order—Benton the prime mover and secret messenger of the Black Republican crusade—His assaults upon the Administration explained—His performance of his part in the Fremont crusade.*

The news from Washington is full of interest. The Black Republicans have been defeated in the House on their first revolutionary measure. SEWARD's plan, endorsed at Philadelphia, to admit Kansas under the Poeka constitution, and overthrow the laws and constitution of the United States, and place ROBINSON, REEDER, LANE, POMEROY, and their fellow rebels and traitors, in authority, was too gross an outrage for even all the Black Republicans in Congress, acting under their official oaths, to either acquiesce in, or tolerate. It was voted down by a majority of one only, showing how near the country was on the brink of ruin, under the fanaticism aroused by the incendiary appeals of northern sectionalists, aided and abetted by a faction in Missouri. The times demand that every patriot should at once throw off all hesitancy and indifference, and rally to the support of the party that has taken bold ground for the constitution and the supremacy of law. The violence, disorder and civil strife prevalent in different parts of the country is the legitimate and logical result of the inflammatory articles and treasonable doctrines advanced against the laws of the United States. The Sharps's Rifle crusade and its abettors must be overthrown by the patriotic masses. Talk of peace, indeed, whilst denouncing the government, and encouraging the Black Republican revolutionists! There is only one way to secure peace anywhere, in a civilized and free government; and that way is, to enforce the law against all who violate it, and to bury fathoms deep, under public indignation, all who incite the rebels to their work of treason. Those who have been entrusted with power must be sustained in the execution of the laws, or anarchy and lawlessness will prevail. He who, at such a crisis, assails those executing the laws, is an anarchist. As during VAN BUREN'S, POLK'S and FILLMORE'S administration, as well as during JACKSON'S, the conservative and patriotic of all parties came to the rescue in the hour of danger, so now every honest and law-abiding man must rally to the support of the government and "crush out" the whole pestilent brood of fanatics wherever they are scheming against the laws and constitution.

We have given numberless proofs that the FREMONT crusade is a deliberately prepared plot against the supremacy of law. FREMONT's letter to ROBINSON declared for that mischievous incendiary; it took open ground in favor of the Poeka rebellion. Everywhere Black Republican orators and presses are denouncing the Administration and its policy—weakening, to their utmost extent, the arm of authority, and strengthening the rebels. Money, arms, ammunition, and paid janisaries, are raised to invade Kansas and overthrow the law and the constituted authorities. The President, and the Governor of Kansas have resolved to enforce the law, and to punish all of its assailants, regardless of their opinions or whence they come. There can be no mistaking the views and policy of the Administration. It was announced in the general and special messages to Congress, which were at the time endorsed by every press and every politician in the land, save only the Abolition presses of the North and the Benton presses of Missouri. The organ of the Administration has reiterated the President's views nearly every week, in language of this character:

The other prominent point of difference in the two platforms relates to the maintenance of the constitutional authority of the laws of Kansas. The democrats maintain that until the laws of Kansas are repealed, or are declared invalid by judicial action, they must be enforced and executed, and that individual or associated resistance to them by force is to be regarded as insurrection, or rebellion, or treason, and treated accordingly. The Black Republicans assume to determine the invalidity of the Kansas law without ju-

dicial investigation, and uphold their party in the Territory in insurrectionary and rebellious resistance to their execution.

This raises an issue which, in our estimation, is far more important than that involved in the question whether slavery shall or shall not be established in Kansas. To assert the right of any portion of the people of Kansas, on their individual judgment, to resist the laws of the Territory or of Congress as invalid for fraud or oppression, is to maintain a doctrine which strikes at the foundation of all government, and proclaims mob law or military rule as the true arbiter of legislative enactments. In the event of an armed resistance of the constituted authorities it becomes treason and it well becomes all, whether in Kansas or out of it, who contribute material aid, in money or in Sharpe's rifles, to carry on such resistance, to consider whether the crime of treason does not lie at their door.

The laws of Kansas, passed in pursuance of the constitution and the organic law of the Territory, are as obligatory as the laws of a State or of Congress. The mode of testing their validity is the same in the one case as the other. Who would ever justify an individual, or any number of individuals in resisting with force a law of a State or of Congress because, in the opinion of such individuals, it was passed by fraud? Who would hesitate to pronounce such resistance either insurrectionary, rebellious, or treasonable, according to the character of the resistance? And who would hesitate to say that the whole power of the government, State or federal, should be applied to enforce such a law? The case is in no respect different when the laws of a Territory are resisted; and hence the broad issue is made up between the democrats and the black republicans—the one maintaining that the laws must be executed, the other excusing or justifying forcible resistance to the laws. We repeat, that this issue is of more importance to the well-being of the government than the question whether slavery shall or shall not be established in Kansas.

In this connection it is proper to remark that there is no issue between the Democrats and the Black Republicans on the question whether slavery shall be established in Kansas or not. The issue is, whether Congress or the people of the Territory shall determine that question. To charge the Democratic party with advocating the Kansas law and insisting on the enforcement of the laws in the Territory for the purpose of establishing slavery there is to make a false issue. They advocate the Kansas law because it does justice to all sections of the Union, and allows the majority of the actual settlers to have or not to have slavery, as they choose. They insist on the execution of the laws in Kansas because they are passed by a legislative tribunal whose enactments must be regarded as valid until set aside by legal means. They do not approve the exertions of President Pierce to enforce the laws there because thereby they wish or expect him to promote the establishment of slavery. His orders are directed to the military officers for the enforcement of the laws and the protection of the rights of the free State as well as the pro-slavery men. The South does not ask the President to discriminate between pro-slavery and anti-slavery men in the execution of the laws. What they demand is, that the Kansas law in its true spirit shall be faithfully carried out—that the actual inhabitants shall be protected in their right to decide the character of their domestic institutions for themselves. These are the true and paramount issues made up between the two parties, and on them the Democrats enter the canvass with standard-bearers in whose wisdom, experience, statesmanship and patriotism they have implicit confidence, and of whose success they have no doubt.

And yet how gross the perversion of the issues, how wilful the misstatements of fact—made by all who favor Black Republicanism—that ism which sides with rebellion and treason. We care not how "indiscreetly" the aid to that ism is given, it is none the less aid to anarchy and rebellion. It must be stopped. There is power in public opinion to overwhelm the anarchists with indignation, and there is patriotism enough in the country, so soon as the real scheme and tendency of the plotters are understood, to teach them a lesson which will be of invaluable service in all coming time.

The full extent to which the Kansas opposition would be carried, was probably unknown to many of its opponents in the beginning. To others it was not only known, but it was by them planned and urged forward. All remember that so soon as Congress passed that act, a meeting of its opponents was held in Washington to devise means for overthrowing it. An organization was started there, as an Aid Society, and elsewhere, North, to take possession of Kansas at all hazards. Men were forwarded from the east by mammoth corporations, under the control of Abolition-fanaticism, and that foray was dictated by fanaticism and love of gain.

Those corporations seized upon large tracts of land, under the agency of their train-bands, in utter disregard to the claims of prior settlers. They drove the honest settlers from their claims, sometimes by threats, sometimes by violence, and where no other means would accomplish their land-piracy, by cold blooded murders. All that time, REEDER was at his dishonest speculations; and, bound to those Abolition bands by "the cohesive power of public plunder," was working for their common ends—the ejection

ment of bona fide claimants from their just claims, and the violation of Indian rights and public treaties. That land-piracy soon became complicated with the political views and purposes of its instruments. Hence the troubles which have followed.

But the political game was never lost sight of by those selfish partisans, who at Washington took no other interest in the matter than to create enough popular excitement to enable them to seize upon the reins of power, and fasten themselves again upon the public treasury. Every act of indiscretion on the part of others has been studiously magnified and distorted—false issues presented—wholesale fabrications circulated through the press—incessant assaults kept up against the authors and supporters of the Kansas act—indeed, every circumstance which political ingenuity could devise to excite party spirit, was resorted to, without hesitation. All of this was for the purpose of creating a new party, and defeating the Democracy. Each successive step in the intrigue can be distinctly traced, from the hour when the Congressional opponents held their meeting at Washington, down to the nomination of FREMONT.

And we are asked to believe that Col. BENTON had nothing to do with all this. Despite the evidence, his known organs have constantly furnished, and his occasional publications during the last two years—and despite, too, his recent conduct and speeches, his friends deny that he is implicated in the plot. We have given proof enough heretofore, to convince any candid man, that he is really working now, and has been for years, to overthrow the Democracy and its principles. So the assembled representatives of the whole party at Cincinnati thought, and they pronounced a unanimous verdict accordingly. A jury of more than five hundred, chosen from every State in the Union, sat upon the case presented by Col. BENTON's friends, at his instance and request, and they gave judgment unanimously against them.

Since then, proofs have been constantly accumulated. Every speech he makes, every article his organs publish, and every movement taken by him and his partisans, demonstrate the justice of the national verdict.

The mail has just brought us new and damning proof against him. It has just been dragged to light from the "dark lantern" privacy. Read it Missourians, and then blush to think that one so long honored could have combined with the enemies of this State, the Know Nothing-Black Republicans, in a scheme to deceive the people, and defeat the interests of Missouri. Here is the proof that the BENTON coalition originated at Washington—that BENTON himself was the Lieut. General of the allied campaign—that he planned the mode of operations, that it was agreed that his participation in the plot should be kept secret from his constituents, and that the conception of all the present mischief under which the country is now struggling is due to him. Read his speeches and discover how faithfully they follow the outline prepared by him two years ago for this crusade! Look at his allies, CAMPBELL and GIDDINGS, of Ohio, and the whole host of Black Republicans in Congress, whom he directed in their movements and instigated to action! then determine what is his present design and to what party he really belongs.

We copy this new proof:

WASHINGTON, June 29, 1856.

THE WAY TO CONDUCT THE KANSAS CAMPAIGN.

One of the richest and most curious documents of the season was read in debate yesterday, by the Hon. Lewis D. Campbell, of Ohio, in his reply to Mr. Stephens, of Georgia. Mr. Campbell commented at length upon the paper as he read its contents, line by line, but without naming its author. Curiosity was excited throughout the hall, and yet no one dared inquire the origin of the precious manuscript until Mr. Campbell explained that it was handed to him on the morning night preceding the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, at about 10 o'clock. Col. Benton had been requested by the opponents of the bill to retire, as they were sufficiently strong to make the fight without him, if he would furnish the programme for the struggle. This he did, and in immediately prepared and handed to Mr. Campbell, the document, a literal copy of which I subjoin for the benefit of those who feel a curiosity to learn how great political measures are met and opposed in the national Sanhedrim. While Mr. Campbell has been guilty of no violation of confidence in giving his characteristic production to the people, it will, nevertheless, prove Col. Benton's death-warrant in Missouri, where he is now a candidate for gubernatorial honors. But for the document itself, which, without dotting an "i" or crossing a "t," reads as follows:

GENERAL PLAN FOR ALL THE SPEECHES OF THIS NIGHT. THE GRAND MOVEMENT.

1. Vehement attack. No argument about Missouri Compromise. A general charge against the authors of the bill to propagate slavery by every means known to power, and the end of all policy at home and abroad.

2. Specifications under the general charges; and under this head Gadsden's mission to get a broadside of Mexico; Soule's to get Cuba or a fight. War with France and Spain—Alliance with Russia; all offices at home given to nullifiers and slavery propagandists; all appointments abroad the same. Bedinger trying to convert Admiral Napier, and making no more impression than if he had been singing "Old Dan Tucker." All judges to be nullifiers, especially the twelve new federal judges now to be created, and to legislate for slavery under the pretext of judicial decision. The six frigates for the Cuba war; army and navy to be increased for the Cuba war.

SECOND PART OF THE SPEECHES.

Vehement declamation against the conduct of the Administration in suppressing all the business to push this propagandist policy. Enumerate the President's recommendations in his message—also the appropriation bills set aside to make room for it. Declaim on this point. All speeches should be short—fifteen or twenty minutes—not argumentative but denunciative. The grand movement indicated by Sewall should be commented upon—with demands to tell what that movement is to be.

Here we have the Bentonian plan for the Black Republican campaign, followed faithfully by BANKS, CAMPBELL, GIDDINGS, BLAIR, SUMNER, HALE, SEWARD, WILSON and FREMONT. And who believes that, without such support, RENDLER, R. B. RINSON and their associates would ever have dared to rebel in Kansas? Who will now deny that BENTON is the leader, instigator and originator of this whole anti-Kansas crusade? And who can support him, or any of his adherents, without aiding, with his eyes open, the Black Republican crusade against the constitution and laws of the country?

Daily Democrat. JULY 11, 1856. Returning Reason.

We are glad to see that all the citizens of Lexington, Mo., do not endorse the course of the nullifiers in that county, in regard to Kansas affairs. This may be seen from the following proceedings of the anti-Benton meeting held there, to bring out candidates for the general assembly. It will be seen that the gang led on by Billy Shields and Col. Anderson, a recent convert from the know-nothing lodges were bearded in their den by Col. Young, who pronounced the doers of the Kansas outrage a miserable squad not countenanced by the people of the county. Verily old Bullion's campaign in behalf of conservatism, of peace and law and order, is doing wonders to bring the people to take this matter in their own hands. Here are part of the proceedings:

Col. Washington was introduced to the audience by Mr. Anderson. His speech fell still-born at the feet of friends and foes. In the language of a friend who heard him, he was lame as a lamb, and dead as a summer's breeze. His speech did not occupy more than twenty minutes.

After Col. Washington was done speaking, the meeting was regularly organized for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Legislature. The official report of their proceedings will be found in another column. But there were many things which the faithful secretary did not report. When Mr. Sharp introduced his resolutions nominating Dr. Calhoun for the Senate, and Judge Lewis and A. W. Ridings for the House of Representatives, Col. Young took the floor and asked that the resolutions might be given into the possession of the meeting. To this Mr. Sharp made some objections, but they were all promptly and immediately demolished. He said that it was an old democracy, and Dr. Calhoun was an old whig, and could not and would not endorse him. They differed on all the important issues of the day—on every principle of democracy. Before he could support the Doctor, he must come out and endorse the State and National Platforms of the democratic party. More than that, he must go for Buchanan for President and the State ticket of the Anti-Benton party from Truman Polk down. When he had done this, he would endorse him and vote for him, but not before.

F. C. Sharp, Esq., replied. He tried to smother it all down, and endorse the candidates without requiring from them any pledges whatever. Next on the floor was Col. Anderson, a better man than Col. Washington, and now making his maiden speech as a democrat. He said he had lately been out to Warrensburg; he had seen Dr. Calhoun, and had heard him in conversation with other gentlemen. He (Col. A.) was present while the doctor was conversing, and he would vouch for his soundness on both the State and national platforms, and that he would vote the anti-Benton ticket throughout. Col. Young replied. He had had an altercation with Col. Anderson on the subject of the Kansas question, in which Col. Anderson had insulted him. He was not satisfied about the matter. Col. A. was a new member in the democratic ranks, and he ought to take a neck and a new set of rules since Col. A. had joined them. He could not see the democracy that it was not two months since he had seen that gentleman going around with a paper, denouncing both the political parties, and trying to get up a purely southern party. If that gentleman wanted an office at the hands of the democracy, he would have to perform a different course from that pursued by him heretofore.

He said there was a small clique in town here that had been doing many things in the name of the country, which the country people knew nothing about and did not endorse, in regard to the Kansas question. Here Gen. Shields interrupted him and asked him to specify what had been done which he and the country people could not endorse.

Col. Young replied—Sir, keep your seat; I was not talking to you, nor do I intend to notice you. For himself, he condemned the southern warfare now going on in Kansas, let it come from whatever source, and he disavowed the people of the country condemned it also. He was opposed to all violations of law and order. Col. Young continued his remarks in this strain for some time and then concluded. Gen. Shields now took the floor. He said he had been in all the Kansas meetings that had been held in this county, and he endorsed all that had been done, and again called for Col. Young to specify any act which he did not endorse. The General, as usual, was a little excited; he made, and made a loud noise in general. He endorsed Dr. Calhoun and defended his own position on the Kansas question. Col. Young said he wished to know if this crowd endorsed all that had been done by the little clique in town here about Kansas. Who could endorse it? He did not, and the people generally did not endorse it. The above is but a faint description of the debate, and of what occurred. The resolutions were however finally passed. Thus began, continued and ended the "harmonious" "national" anti-Benton meeting. So much "harmony" will be left to crush the very honorable gentlemen who bear its endorsement for the Senate and House of Representatives.

THE DAILY SENTINEL.

RUFUS KING & WM. H. WATSON, PROPRIETORS. Under the Name and Firm of Rufus King & Co.

MILWAUKEE:

Friday Morning, July 11.

How it Goes.—The following is an extract from a business letter received at this office, dated Sparta, Wis., July 5:

"The nominations of Fremont and Dayton are enthusiastically received here, and I have yet to see the first man, who has acted with the Republicans, who is dissatisfied with the ticket; while there are many among us who, like myself, never voted anything but a Democratic ticket, will this fall vote for a Free Press, Free Speech, Freedom for Kansas and FREMONT. We of Monroe County mean to give a two-thirds vote for Freedom this fall and claim for her the honor of being the Banner, County of the State. Thank God, Douglas democracy does not flourish on the noble hills and the beautiful valleys of Monroe, and she will this fall protest against Border Ruffianism, as she did last fall against Barstowism.

The Motive of the Act.

The Washington correspondent of the News, in yesterday's issue of that paper, thus "officially" states the reason which prompted the Democratic Senate to disfranchise a large class of foreign-born residents of Kansas, who, under the provisions of the original Kansas-Nebraska Act, had enjoyed the right of suffrage in that Territory:

The passage yesterday morning of the Kansas Bill is, however, truly important, that measure being one of an eminently heading and conciliatory character. It is the bill of Douglas, framed on the basis of that presented by Mr. Tombs, and amended in minor particulars by Senators Geyer and Adams. The patriotism of Democratic Senators, and especially of Hunter and Mason, was conspicuous in conceding, for the sake of saving the principles of the bill, to the Know Nothings, the exclusion of foreigners who had merely declared their intentions and were not naturalized, from the right to vote on the character of the local institutions of the new State. That concession should go far to disarm opposition in the House.

We call attention to this frank avowal. The German, Irish and other foreign-born settlers in Kansas were disfranchised by the Democratic Senate—so says the "official organ," the News—as a concession to Know Nothings! To obtain their votes for the Douglas bill, which is designed to make Kansas a Slave State, foreigners are coolly deprived of the right of suffrage. And the News correspondent lauds the "patriotism of Democratic Senators," in making this concession, and thinks it should "go far to disarm all opposition in the House!"

F We have, in this revelation, a fresh proof of the new and natural alliance between the Border Ruffian Democracy and the Pro-Slavery Know



Notings. They are both in favor of extending Slavery and restricting the rights and privileges of foreign-born electors. This Senate Kansas Bill accomplishes both objects. It gives up Kansas to Slavery by disfranchising a large class of foreign-born residents whose votes would have helped to make it a Free State. And the "Democratic Senate" is lauded in a Democratic journal for the "patriotism" which thus induces them to ostracize foreigners, at the bidding of the South and as a "concession" to the Know Nothings. Well may our adopted citizens exclaim, "Save us from our friends!"

## Minnesota Times.

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1856.

Free Land!—Free Men!—Free Speech!—Free Press!  
Free-mont!—Freedom!

## KANSAS ADMITTED.

Freedom Triumphant!!

The Bill rejecting Kansas with her Free Constitution, has been reconsidered and passed! We have not time to give the vote—the announcement of the fact is sufficient. "There's a God in Israel!" P. S. Vote—yes 100 to 97.

## Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:  
FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 11, 1856

### The Cat Out of the Bag.

More than one innocent soul has inquired, when reading accounts of the atrocious murders following, each time, the repeated invasions of Kansas, what possible motive had impelled Ruffianism to the commission of such acts. Lieut. Warren D. Wilkes, of the South Carolina Banditti, one of the self-constituted regulators of the affairs of Northern men in that Territory, one of the patriotic destroyers of Lawrence, and a highway robber in general, answers the inquiry in the *Charles-ton Mercury*. We give his own words:

"The importance of securing Kansas for the South may be briefly set forth in a positive and negative form:

"1. By consent of parties, the present contest in Kansas is made the turning point in the destinies of slavery and abolitionism. If the South triumphs, abolitionism will be defeated and shorn of its power for all time. If she is defeated, abolitionism will grow more insolent and aggressive, until the utter ruin of the South is consummated.

"2. If the South secures Kansas, she will extend Slavery into all territory south of the 40th parallel of north latitude, to the Rio Grande, and this of course will secure for her pent up institution of Slavery an ample outlet, and restore her power in Congress. If the North secures Kansas, the power of the South in Congress will be gradually diminished; the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas, together with the adjacent territories, will gradually become abolitionized and the slave population confined to the States east of the Mississippi will become valueless. All depends upon the action of the present moment."

Now, we trust, the efforts to drive every Free State man out of Kansas are accounted for.

## The Daily North West.

H. D. LA. COSSITT, EDITOR.

CITY OF DUBUQUE:

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1856.

### Kansas.

From Kansas we learn that the United States troops had pretty effectually dispersed the armed bands of abolition desperados and pro-slavery marauders, and put a stop to outrages. The troops have picked up and buried 25 to 30 corpses, evidently assassinated when alone, and without a struggle. Most of these, the abolitionists themselves boast, were southern citizens. The Lane banditti will be in tight quarters when they undertake to enter the Territory. Summer is on the look out for them.

The bogus Topeka legislature attempted to renew its sittings, in defiance of law and federal authority, on the 4th of July, but were dispersed by Col. Sumner. He made no arrests. It is false that he interfered with the celebration of the Fourth in a peaceable and patriotic manner. He encouraged and joined in proper festivities. Their abolition falsehoods fall before the truth.

### WEEKLY

ILLINOIS STATE REGISTER

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1856.

The Issue in Congress—Topeka Law or the Law of the Majority.

The people of Kansas come before congress under the agis of popular sovereignty, present to congress a constitution, which they have formed, and ask the democracy to follow the example of their predecessors, and admit Kansas as a state into the Union. And what does Thomas L. Harris now say? "NO, YOU CAN'T COME INTO THE UNION AS A FREE STATE. If Douglas' bill, 'which is to make Kansas a slave state comes 'here I will vote for it.'"

Such is the position, now, of Thos. L. Harris—and the whole power of the Douglas faction is to be exerted to re-elect him to congress from this district.

With such balderdash as the above the Journal daily regales its readers. It furnishes them with neither of the propositions before congress, but taking up, for the most venal partisan purposes, the "shrieks" of abolitionism, it asserts that the one measure is positively for the fixing of slavery upon Kansas, and the other is positively to exclude it. It now takes up and defends what it has been constantly its theme to oppose—"popular sovereignty." Maj. Harris did make issue before the people of this district that the people of Kansas were entitled to frame their own municipal laws. His fusion opponent, Mr. Yates, backed by the Journal, as warmly opposed their right. But now "popular sovereignty," as construed by the Journal, is just the thing, and Maj. Harris is stigmatized as approving it, because he denies the right of a mere faction in the territory of Kansas to dictate the fundamental law for the whole people.

The Topeka constitution, against which he and the democracy voted in the house, was not the work of the people of Kansas. It was gotten up by a mere faction, led by such men as Lane and Mark Delahay, who were afterwards the recipients of the empty honor of title to official place under it. The mass of the people of the territory had nothing to do with getting it up. It was the mere work of a minority party, unauthorized by law, either territorial or national, but black republicanism now seeks to thrust its work of a faction upon the people, and the Journal calls such action vindication of "popular sovereignty!"

It is but a few days ago, one of the leading organs of Fremont, the *New York Times* thus

poke of the trick of this abolition managers:

"If the admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution could be decided upon its merits, without reference to consequences, we have no hesitation in saying we should oppose it. The application upon the face of it is irregular; and more harm would not be done by insisting upon regularity than by waiving it for the time being, we should favor a rejection of the present application and compel Kansas to seek admission under the authority and with the preliminary sanction of congress. In this case, as our readers know, the application comes from a convention of delegates elected at the call of a PARTY, and not of congress or the territorial authority, and by the votes of only A PORTION of the people."

If its "irregularity" was the only objection the Journal might have some ground for its twaddle about "popular sovereignty" and Harris' opposition to it, but the irregularity was the means adopted by a minority to overthrow the will of the majority. This is the end of "popular sovereignty" the Journal advocates. Against such "popular sovereignty" Maj. Harris and the democracy take position, and in this district and throughout the country the democracy will make battle against it.

The work of such men as Lane and Delahay, in defiance of popular will, the Journal now seeks to force upon the people of Kansas in defiance of popular right. Its party in congress know that no such measure can ever pass the senate, hence they pass it in the house, that the demagogue leaders of abolitionism may have food for abolition purposes up to the presidential election.

It is not claimed by any, except the Journal, that this Topeka constitution had the sanction of other than a mere faction. Indeed, its own files will show this admission, but for agitating purposes it joins the abolition "shriek," now for "popular sovereignty."

In opposition to this measure the democracy propose one which really leaves to the people of the territory the framing of their constitution. It secured the votes of every national man in the senate, democrats and whigs, and only had the opposition of eleven abolition agitators, including Trumbull. Of the two measures the Washington Union remarks:

"These two bills present the issue on which all national men will cheerfully go before the country in the presidential canvass. It is now so much simplified that the popular judgment can be rendered with a perfect understanding of its merits. When the senate bill was introduced it was conceded to have many provisions that were satisfactory. Before it was finally passed, every objection that had even a show of plausibility was removed by amendment. The two leading objections were that by the laws of Kansas free discussion was made criminal; this objection was removed. The other objection was that many of the free-state inhabitants have left the territory on account of the disturbances there. This was removed by Judge Douglas' amendment. The measure, as it finally passed, guards with scrupulous care the rights of the inhabitants of Kansas, and secures to the majority a fair and impartial expression of their will. It provides that the true spirit and intent of the Kansas law shall be carried out, and that the will of the people shall determine the character of their domestic institutions. Such is the measure adopted by the national men of the senate for the immediate settlement of the Kansas troubles."

The senate measure proposes that the people of Kansas, in the spirit of the Kansas-Nebraska act, shall settle the character of their own institutions. If the Journal is sincere in alleging that the people of the territory prefer the constitution adopted at Topeka, why does it now oppose the testing of the question at the polls in November, as proposed by the senate bill? If its new-born zeal for "popular sovereignty" is honest, why advocate the work of a faction as supreme law, when that work is repudiated by a majority of the people, who only ask that a fair election may be had, and the whole people permitted to participate in the getting up of a convention to adopt or reject it, or frame a new state constitution?

It is untrue that the Topeka constitution is opposed by the democracy because it guarantees a free state. They oppose it because it does not emanate from the people of the territory.

Because it was gotten up by a band of broken-down political hacks and traffickers in negro agitation, who cared not whether the new state was free or slave, so that they could obtain place and line their pockets by the dirty work that they were employed to do by the leaders of abolitionism in the states.

These Topeka tools did their work to order. They created the excitement that was expected to further the schemes of abolitionism in the states, and they left the scene of their rascality. Lane, Delahay and their associates have been perambulating the country since, filching from the pockets of gulled men, women and children in the free states thousands in behalf of "poor suffering Kansas" which has been applied instead to their own discreditable personal purposes. So glaring has been the conduct of some of these men that they have openly boasted of their success in playing upon the gullibility of the class who are habitually plucked by Greeley, Beecher, Lovejoy and their fellows.

It is the work of such men, with a handful of backers, that the Journal would put upon the country as the work of the people of Kansas, in the exercise of their "popular sovereignty." Maj. Harris and the democracy oppose their work and combat their unpatriotic schemes. They will support the senate bill, which leaves to the whole people of the territory, by election regulations properly guarded, the settlement of the question which has been the source of so much difficulty. That such a settlement would withdraw the bone of contention which abolitionism lives on is the great trouble with the Journal and its fellows. Their occupation would be gone if Kansas were quiet, hence they do and will oppose any just settlement to the bitter end.

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#### Kansas by an Eye-Witness.

We take the following interesting article from the Albany Atlas and Argus. It shows that the lack republicans are sympathizing with the real border ruffians in Kansas—those who have committed the most atrocities. The Atlas and Argus says:

Dr. Geoghan, who resided two years ago in this city, and who left for Kansas in March, 1855, as returned from there and brings favorable accounts of the state of affairs. He was driven from Topeka by the free-state party, who had reorganised a band of sworn men, forty in number, to kill every member of the marshal's party.

But this state of disorder and insurrection is confined to Topeka and Hickory Point and Lawrence. Col. Sumner is driving before him, with great vigor, all armed bands. Buford's men, impelled to retreat to the Indian reservation, were driven from there by the United States troops. The participation of Gay, the Indian agent, in this act probably called down the vengeance of these men. There is a story that some Indians, in revenge for acts of the agency, were his instruments or principals in this murder. Whatever the cause, the crime is deplored and condemned.

But the great bulk of the outrages have been committed by the free-state men, as the marauding and predatory bands call themselves. Their main object is theft; but when they take horses ("pressing for the army of the north") they call it they lay hands upon whatever is nearest; and if resistance is made, they do not hesitate at murder.

The Hickory Point murders—five men mutilated and tortured with worse than Indian cruelties, in one night, and afterwards killed—were perpetrated by this party without provocation under the lead of an Ohio man, "Ossawatimie Brown." One of these murders was particularly atrocious. A German called "Dutch Henry" had refused to go into the Topeka insurrection, and was styled, in the slang of the day, a "pro-slavery man." He was marked out as a victim; but he was absent when the attack was made; and his brother, a German, who had been only three weeks in the country, was in the house. He was asked if he was a pro-slavery man. He replied, no. Was he a free state man? No. He was taken to a ravine near the house, his ears and nose cut off, and other more infamous mutilations perpetrated, and then his throat cut. The three Doyles, a father and two sons, torn away

from wife and daughters, tortured and killed, were victims of the same party.

It is difficult to account for these atrocities. But this whole movement was organized in defiance of law; and these crimes are the natural consequences of this bad beginning.

These marauding parties generally go at night, when they burn houses and fire into dwellings, and generally succeed in escaping. On the 15th of June, Haney, living in the precincts of Lawrence, a deputy sheriff, was attacked by a band of nine or ten marauders under command of Hopkins, of Michigan. They had fired into his bed the night before, and he lay on the floor in the centre of the room.

This time they discharged their pistols and guns so close that they set the bed on fire. Haney had only a horse pistol, which he fired at the leader, who was seeking to disguise his person in an Indian blanket. The shot was a fatal one, and Hopkins fell, pierced through the heart, and the others fled; but Haney had to take refuge in the camp of Col. Sumner.

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Dr. G. went to Kansas without any prejudices against the so-called free state men. Indeed, he acted with them, until they took treasonable ground. If they had obeyed the laws and gone quietly, he is sure they would have had a majority of four to one in the territory. The northern states were sending in an emigration of ten to one. The first emigrant from the south came without slaves, and had no desire to introduce them. But the treasonable Topeka movement drove these men and a great number of the northern men into the ranks of law and order. Those have been denounced abroad and assailed as pro-slavery men; and doubtless, at the time, that party is in the majority. But the state is destined to be a free one; and there would not have ever been a question of this, at this day, but for the criminal folly of the so-called free state men.

threaten the execution of the infamous Kansas code by arms. Instead, they repeal those laws and admit the enormous wrongs by which their enactment was secured. They no longer trample defiantly on the feelings of the Free State men, and boldly defend the schemes of their partisans to enslave Kansas. Instead they assume an appearance of fairness, and hope to lull the wrath they have provoked, by conceding everything that would interfere with their design of establishing slavery in Kansas at last. That will not be, and is not conceded. Their Bill, in the present condition of Kansas, is just as well suited to cure its evils, as a tonic would be to cure the hydrophobia. It is a medicine certainly, and in an ordinary condition of the territory would be a safe and effective medicine. But now it can only operate to strengthen those who are determined to make Kansas a slave State. It is not designed to accomplish anything else, though the authors, frightened at the feeling they have provoked in the North, dared not pursue their purpose so defiantly as before. It is reasonable to suppose that men who have so long outraged every principle of right, and every compromise of expediency, to accomplish that purpose, have not abandoned it, merely because they see that it cannot be effected by intimidation and violence. They are working quietly now. Threats have lost power. Their Bill closely scrutinized will show that it is designed adroitly for the very purpose we have stated, and the simulated hostility of Stringfellow and Whitfield to it, is of a piece with the same policy. They expect their opposition to give it some strength with Free State men, notwithstanding its suspicious origin. But they can't deceive anybody. Their scheme has already been exposed, and the Bill is considered by all the best informed men at Washington as certain of defeat.

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FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 11, 1856.

Correspondence of the Democratic Press.

Letter from Nebraska.

Omaha, Decatur Co., Nebraska Territory, June 15th, 1856.

## The Daily Journal.

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The public mind is so filled with Kansas and the thrilling story of wrongs, that Nebraska, its quiet neighbor, is almost overlooked. And yet the people of this uncultivated country, are quietly pursuing their way, and amassing fortunes with a rapidity seldom equalled even in this "fast" country. The slaveocracy devised a scheme of dividing our new and free territory between slavery and freedom, and under a show of equality and justice, subjugating one State to slavery because they allow one to remain free. The scheme so outraged the moral sense of the nation, that all eyes have been turned to Kansas, and every community that has had an emigrant, or a dollar, or a thought to spare, has given it to that land where freedom and slavery have grappled in fearful and eventful conflict.

Nebraska contains all the elements of a vigorous and powerful empire. Its population is from all parts of the Union, and it has a reputation for intelligence and enterprise never surpassed in the history of an infant State. The amplest provision is made for schools, and all religious denominations are vying with each other in the early possession of the country. The geographical position of the territory is predictive of an earlier commercial character than is usual for a new country. The Pacific Railroad bill now before Congress, and destined to become a law, provides for the meeting, at Fort Kearney, of several lines of railroad that, passing through older regions, are now pointing toward the Pacific. From Fort Kearney they are to proceed on a single track through the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains. Thus the natural developments of Nebraska will unite with the imperative demands of our present Atlantic and



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In the extremity of their terror at the crushing indignation of the North, the Slaveites have retreated before the advancing hosts of Freedom, cursing, begging, threatening, and entreating in the same breath; still going back and further back from the impudent assertions that they dared to insult the country with in their day of fancied power, till they present the most ridiculous spectacle of alarmed rascality that ever defied any land. They no longer dare to

The public mind is so filled with Kansas and the thrilling story of wrongs, that Nebraska, its quiet neighbor, is almost overlooked. And yet the people of this uncultivated country, are quietly pursuing their way, and amassing fortunes with a rapidity seldom equalled even in this "fast" country. The slaveocracy devised a scheme of dividing our new and free territory between slavery and freedom, and under a show of equality and justice, subjugating one State to slavery because they allow one to remain free. The scheme so outraged the moral sense of the nation, that all eyes have been turned to Kansas, and every community that has had an emigrant, or a dollar, or a thought to spare, has given it to that land where freedom and slavery have grappled in fearful and eventful conflict.

Nebraska contains all the elements of a vigorous and powerful empire. Its population is from all parts of the Union, and it has a reputation for intelligence and enterprise never surpassed in the history of an infant State. The amplest provision is made for schools, and all religious denominations are vying with each other in the early possession of the country. The geographical position of the territory is predictive of an earlier commercial character than is usual for a new country. The Pacific Railroad bill now before Congress, and destined to become a law, provides for the meeting, at Fort Kearney, of several lines of railroad that, passing through older regions, are now pointing toward the Pacific. From Fort Kearney they are to proceed on a single track through the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains. Thus the natural developments of Nebraska will unite with the imperative demands of our present Atlantic and

One of the editors of the DEMOCRATIC PRESS will remember his refutation of a popular error in reference to Nebraska, in his able address upon "The Undeveloped North." The error is, that the northern portion of the Territory is wholly unproductive, uninviting alike to the herdsman and the husbandman. This was shown to be a great error, resulting from limited exploration; and besides, this charge has never been made against any portion of this Territory that will ever be a part of the State of Nebraska. That portion that I have seen or heard from is far from being uninviting or unproductive. So many inducements to the emigrant seldom smile upon the same shore as are found in this rising State. The only objection imaginable is that timber is generally scarce. Nature, however, supplies the lack of timber by other abundance. Fencing can be done better and cheaper with hedges than with fences, brick for building can be made and furnished at reasonable rates; limestone suitable for both building and burning, is abundant; bituminous coal is plenty almost everywhere, and artificial groves for either ornament or value can be reared with almost fabulous rapidity.

Four railroads are now partly built, having eastern terminations and pointing directly towards the heart of Nebraska. This early rivalry for its trade indicates the importance of the country in the estimation of far-seeing capitalists. Each county on the Nebraska side, into which these roads will directly pour their emigration and their commerce happens to possess, in many other respects, superior advantages for an early and valuable settlement. I shall only speak now of Dacotah County, the one into which the Dubuque and Pacific Railroad, now in the course of construction, will pour its men and means. Here you find a loose rich soil, abundance of timber, almost unlimited water power, coal and limestone. Streams that run over pebbly beds, water this county abundantly, and are the abode of many varieties of valuable fish. About one year ago the smoke first curled up from an emigrant's cabin in this county, now the settlers are counted by the hundreds, and mills, stores and mechanical shops are springing up as if by magic. This county spreads out for many miles both north and south of the point where the Dubuque and Pacific Railroad crosses the Missouri River, and of course it will be one of the first counties in the country to rise into value and distinction.

To the emigrant, the adventurer or the capitalist, I would say seek Dacotah County, and to the tradesman I would say find its chief river town Omadi, and you cannot fail to be in the line of eminent success.

Friday Evening, July 11, 1856.

**Affairs in Kansas—Dispersion of the Bogus Legislature.**

There can be no doubt that it is a part of the regular plan of the Black Republicans for conducting the Presidential campaign, to keep up the excitement in Kansas to the highest possible pitch. They cannot afford to let it die out, for it is the salient on which their party lives, the vital air which it breathes, and its very existence depends on a constant and unflinching supply.— They are fully determined that the Kansas troubles shall not be quieted until after the

Presidential election. They accordingly introduced into the House of Representatives, and urged the passage of a bill which they perfectly well knew would be defeated in the Senate, as there is no surer way of keeping alive the controversy than to insist on an impracticable solution of the difficulty.

The recent dispersion of the so-called "Legislature" of Kansas at Topeka, was no doubt anticipated and desired by the Fremont party of the country. Everybody of course knows that this "Legislature" has no power to pass any valid act, or to give the force of law to any of its measures. Why then should they waste time in so idle a business as to meet in their assumed legislative capacity? Why indulge in this foolish child's play? They no doubt assembled by the advice of the leaders of the Fremont party of the country, for the very purpose of being dispersed by an armed force in order to keep up the excitement. It was all done for political effort, as they knew beforehand that they would not be permitted to remain in session as a Legislature, and they yielded as soon as they were told by Col. Sumner that if they did not comply with his demand he should use all the force at his disposal. We trust there is too much good sense in the country to be duped by any such Black Republican artifice.

DETROIT:

FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 11, 1856.

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

### A Question of Veracity.

The *Free Press* attempts to convict the resolutions adopted by the Republican State Convention of falsehood, because they aver, that the bill of Senator Douglas recognizes the validity of the late acts of the bogus legislature, and it quotes a portion of the bill to disprove the resolutions, with a perfect unconsciousness that it does not disprove them. We grant that the section of the bill quoted invalidates some three or four laws passed by the bogus Legislature, (and we will here remark that if Congress can invalidate three laws it can invalidate all, and then where is "popular sovereignty,") but that Legislature passed several hundred laws, and are any of them beside the four above noticed invalidated? No, and the *Free Press* knows they are not. It is then a disgraceful perversion on its part to imply that it has invalidated them. The laws which Senator Douglas' Bill provides against were the most obnoxious on account of their intrinsic character, of any passed, but the opposition of the *Free State* men is to any law no matter whether useful, or pernicious and oppressive, passed by a Legislature which they did not elect, but which was imposed upon them by the fraud and violence of ruffian invaders. Does Senator Douglas's bill invalidate all these laws? The *Free Press* dare not say yes, and if it does not invalidate these laws, it recognizes the authority of the bogus Legislature, as that paper has stigmatized it in its own columns.

### The Senate Pacification Bill.

We are told that Senator Douglas' bill is for the pacification of Kansas, and there is a certain speciousness on the face of the bill, going to prove this as its object. But let us look below the surface. The difficulties in Kansas have resulted primarily, from the repeal of the Missouri compromise, which aet invited invasion from the Missouri to make Kansas a slave State, but the more immediate cause, may be found in the attempt to enforce the laws enacted by a Legislature which was imposed by violence upon the inhabitants of the territory.— They will not submit to be governed by laws which have been framed by a body of raffianly usurpers. It is not in Americans to submit to such degradation. Civil war in Kansas commenced on the very day that the *officers chosen by the Legislature for a space of six years, attempted to en-*

force the laws of that Legislature. The settlers resisted, which invoked force to compel submission, which in its turn incited greater resistance, and thus by degrees arrived the present deplorable condition of affairs. Let it be borne in mind that we are not dealing in unsupported assertion, for the report of the Kansas Committee fully sustains us in our position.

Here then is the cause of the Kansas troubles. Now there are only two ways in which the matter can be met. *Either the oppressive laws must be abrogated, or the people must be compelled to submit to them.* The latter has been tried and failed, and indeed is wholly impracticable, and we have only to consider the former. We say that they must be *abrogated*. But says one, why not modify them? We respond; because the real objection is not to one or two, or half a dozen obnoxious and unconstitutional laws, but *to any law passed by a Legislature which was elected by invading Missourians*. Hence a *modification* of the laws will not do. If our argument so far be sound and logical, as we maintain it is, it is a perfectly clear proposition that any bill for the pacification of this territory, which recognizes the authority of this Legislature will not answer its intended or pretended purpose.

Senator Douglas' bill in none of its propositions strikes at the root of the matter. *It contains the fatal recognition of the authority of the usurping Legislature.* It is true that in its amended form, it invalidates certain particularly infamous laws passed by that body, and therein transcends the principles of Squatter Sovereignty, which profess to be the basis of the organic law of the territory, but it does not treat the Legislature as a fraud—a violent, shameless fraud which no free people can submit to. *The irresistible conclusion then, is that Senator Douglas' bill will not pacify Kansas.* It is merely an ingenious deception concocted by a Demagogue for the present campaign. We are told by the Locooco party that the country would experience a profound and permanent peace after the passage of the Nebraska Bill. We know how false that has proved, and this new measure of pacification is even sadder than that. And shall we now be so unwary and weak, as to trust them who have but recently so cruelly deceived us? Even if their motives were good, and their measures honest, we cannot forget that for eighteen months and more they have not lifted a finger to stay the devastation in Kansas. But what have they done. They have maligned, misrepresented and oppressed the people of that unfortunate territory, and now we are asked to accept their measures for the remedy of its wrongs.

## SONG OF FREEDOM.

FOR THE 80th YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC

Ye who dwell in quiet hamlets,  
Ye who crowd the busy ways,  
All who love this great Republic  
In these dark, imperilled days,  
Does your freedom never seem  
Like the beauty of a dream?

Must the lightning's flash and thunder  
On our slumber glare and break,  
Ere from false and fleeting visions  
We to real danger wake?  
Must the earthquake's heavy tread  
Crush us sleepers with the dead?

From the bloody plains of Kansas,  
From the Senate's guilty floor,  
From the smoking wreck of Lawrence,  
From our Summer's wounds and gore  
Comes our country's dying call,  
Rise for Freedom, or we fall!

Hear ye not succeeding ages  
From their cloudy distance cry?  
See ye not the hands of nations  
Lifted towards the threatening sky?  
Now, or never, rise! and gain  
Freedom for this fair domain!

We have vanquished foreign tyrants,  
Now the battle draws anear;  
Let not despots have this boasting,  
That a Freeman knows to fear:—  
By your fathers' patriot graves,  
Rise! nor be forever slaves!

ALL the branches of study, together with all incidental expenses, are included in the tuition. For all the advantages of the institution, including the use of modern books, sheet music, drawing, etc., etc., leaving no extra charge or any expense whatever to the student.



## "Freedom for Kansas"—What it Means.

"Freedom for Kansas" means that there shall be no check or limit to Foreign and Papal influence in this country; that the "hordes of foreigners" flocking to our shores shall continue to rule America, by banding themselves together with one or the other of the political parties, claiming for themselves special privileges, such as sectarian schools, with teachers (as Gov. Seward recommended) professing the same faith and speaking the same language with themselves.

"Freedom in Kansas" means that Bishop Hughes and all the other Bishops shall continue to hold millions of Church property in their own name; that this property, belonging to the Catholic laity, and placed in their hands by the Church Property Bill, shall be restored to the Bishops, by the repeal of said law.

"Freedom in Kansas" means that there shall be no reform in our naturalization laws; no limit to European pauper immigration; the right of unnaturalized foreigners to vote in the Territories, and that the mighty power which foreigners have hitherto exerted in this country openly at the Ballot box, and secretly through the machinations of the Church of Rome, shall be perpetuated.

"Freedom in Kansas" means that we are ever to be deprived of a *Registry Law*, by which the purity of the Ballot Box can be preserved; the absence of which leaves the door open for the grossest frauds upon the elective franchise, frauds which the friends of the foreign vote have always profited by.

Under the hollow cry of "Freedom," the destruction of the American and Protestant sentiment of the country is sought. The American who allows himself to believe that the great questions involved in the question of *Americanism*, can be postponed for the present, commits a fatal error. Unconsciously, but nevertheless really, he becomes an ally of the enemies of the American cause, and occupies precisely the position that Bishop Hughes, the Woods, the Littlejohns, and all the maligners and traitors to the American party, would have him occupy. These men dare not longer openly oppose the American and Protestant sentiment of the country. They know that if they attempt to stand before it, it will crush them to the earth again, as it has crushed them in times past. Hence they attempt to divert attention from *Americanism* to the excitement and outrages in Kansas. They point to "Kansas," thousands of miles away, and while attention is directed thither, they hope to regain their lost power, and thus achieve a triumph to be used in putting down every man who entertains an American sentiment, or who is not wedded to the system of party politics that courts the Foreign vote, and which favors upon Catholic Bishops, because these Bishops have power and influence over the Catholic laity.

Republicanism is only Weedism and Sewardism under a new name. Its success in this State would restore to power the old Junto at Albany—the old office Brokers would resume the places in the temple from which the people have driven them. No party in this State has done deeper or come out dirtier, in pandering to the Foreign Catholic vote than that represented by the leaders of the Republican party. They are ready to do it again, just as soon as they can succeed in cheating Americans into giving them their places again. They have not changed. Bishop Hughes still holds their pledges, which they dare not repudiate, if they would.

While it is the boast of this Republican party

that Foreigners are flocking to its standard—that the Irish and the Germans are all good Republicans—let AMERICANS continue to stand by their colors, by their party, its platform, and its candidates. "Freedom in Kansas" is but the hobby of a day—a hobby which will be out of breath as soon as the Presidential election is over; Congress can, and very soon may, settle the whole Kansas question by a single act of legislation, and thus sweep that issue from the contest; but the Reform, demanded by the American party, can only be obtained by the success of American measures and American men. Then let AMERICANS **PULL TOGETHER**; and high above the red flag of Buchanan Filibusterism, and higher still above the Black Republican fog, let that Banner float gallily and triumphantly on which is inscribed—**"AMERICANS TO RULE AMERICA!"**

## The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:  
FRIDAY, JULY 11.

### The Proposed Kansas Commission.

The Abolition Know Nothings. Struck almost dumb by the Senate's fair bill for the admission of Kansas, and settling the troubles there, are faintly raising the objection that the Commissioners whose duties are well defined, are to be appointed by the President and Senate—as if such an appointing power would select any other than honorable men for such a post.—*Times*.

Ay, as if they could be "any other than honorable men." What is SHANNON? what is LECOMPTRE? what is DONALDSON? Are they not all "honorable men?" What have been the President's appointments in Kansas? With but a single exception every man of them has been opposed to the great body of the people, and enemies of the cause of freedom.

"The commissioners will be men of honor and integrity," says *The Times*. "My parlor is clean and beautiful," said the spider to the fly; "walk in and examine it." Let PIERCE have the appointment of Commissioners to whom are committed the rights of Kansas, and who doubts the remorseless and unscrupulous character of the board? We would as soon give the keeping of a flock of sheep to furnished wolves.

But what kind of democracy is that which would place the right of voting in Kansas, in the hands of five commissioners appointed by PIERCE? A despotic power. "Let the people rule," said these men when they repealed the Missouri Compromise, and opened the territory to the extension of Slavery. Now, let five commissioners, appointed by PIERCE, decide upon their rights. That PIERCE, who has declared in his special message that he would enforce the Border-Ruffian laws by all the power and means invested in the Executive. Laws which the Senate has annulled because they are "a disgrace to the age in which we live." Oh what "honorable men" the President would appoint to be commissioners, if he had the power!

## The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.  
FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 11, 1856.

### Spread the Facts!

The great instrumentality of those who favor the success of the political revolution that now hopefully threatens the country, should be the facts in the history and character of the attempts to force Kansas to become a slave state, and the history and character of the man whom they present as the means by which the revolution shall be inaugurated. Good, hard, solid facts are the best stones for the friends of freedom and Fremont to throw in the great campaign now so briskly opened. Inflammatory appeal, specious argument, conventions, flags, banners, gunpowder and hurrahs are all of secondary, if not of

last, and some of them of no consideration. The facts, simple, plain, unconfused, are the best arguments. And while the world never saw a better case than the reformers can make out upon these against the administration and its sequence, Mr Buchanan, they seem in danger, amid the outward excitements of the struggle, to depress their value and importance, and elevate the clap-trap which dazzles the senses into supreme agency.

What we would urge as the first duty of all Fremont, Freedom or Kansas Clubs, or of individuals desirous independently to contribute to the supremacy of the Right in this its deadly struggle with great Wrong, is the procurement and faithful circulation, among all wavering, doubtful and opposition voters, of documents and papers containing the facts on which the issue is made up, and the merits of the several candidates as well as their relations to the facts.

First in value of such documents is the Report of the Majority of the Congressional Kansas Investigating Committee. This is too long for general reproduction in the papers, but too valuable not to be brought within the reach of every voter. It is an official review and presentation of the entire history of the wrongs of Kansas, based on sworn evidence carefully procured, under cross-examination, both sides present and assisting, and is written in a calm, logical, statesmanlike manner. It is in no paltry sense an "electioneering document," but one of the most important and able papers ever submitted to Congress, and proves more and greater wrongs and outrages against the settlers of Kansas by the administration party and the people of Missouri than even the most exaggerated conceptions based upon the newspaper accounts. There is no document more necessary to a full and faithful enlightenment of the people in regard to the truth of history in Kansas. Wherever it goes, it will shut up the cry of the weak and wicked that the stories about Kansas are political inventions. This report shows them to be great, monstrous, persevered in and repeated outrages upon the plainest principles of justice and liberality,—wrongs and invasions compared with which those which induced our revolutionary fathers to rise against England sink into small significance. The report in pamphlet form may be procured for \$2.50 per hundred or \$20 per thousand copies, by sending money and order to Greeley & McElrath, Tribune office, New York. Every Fremont and Freedom club should order at least one thousand, and then see that they are well disposed of.

Next to this, we would recommend as an efficient means towards the victory of the Right, the free circulation of an authentic Life of Col Fremont, the people's candidate for the presidency. The best and most reliable is that by Charles W. Upham of Salem, published by Ticknor & Co. Boston. This will stand the test of literary and historical criticism, and develops the man in all the true originality and force with which nature and self-education and hardy experience have invested him. But, costing 75 cents, it is too large and expensive for popular campaign circulation. A briefer but not less faithful and graphic sketch of Col Fremont's life and character, has been prepared by a competent person, and will be immediately published by Greeley & McElrath, Tribune office, New York, and sent to cash orders for 250 per one hundred and \$20 for one thousand copies. No Fremont club should open the campaign without five hundred or a thousand of these to start with.

As a third document the late congressional speech of SCHUYLER COLFAX of Indiana, on "The Laws of Kansas," or rather of its bogus territorial legislature, seems to us to present points on which there is room for light with the people. The utter enormity and lengthened rascality of the Missouri code, forced upon Kansas first by Missouri votes and then by U. S. dragons, is but little understood. Two or three of the more prominent laws have been much quoted and heavily cursed, and these are the ones shorn of their sting by the Douglas and Toombs bill of the Senate; but there are others, not less wicked in their details, which the pacification bill of the Buchanan party does not propose to invade; and the whole code and its attendant officers of execution are so steeped in wickedness and the sin of slavery that nothing but their absolute and

entire abrogation can or should restore peace, or be submitted to for a moment, by the friends of free Kansas. Mr Colfax's speech shows up these things in their true light, and may be procured for 1,25 per hundred or \$10 per one thousand and copies by addressing as above.

The admirable speeches of senators Seward and Sumner in review of the Crime against Kansas and its Remedy will be potent for good wherever read with candor. They are among the finest specimens of senatorial argument and eloquence which the history of our Republic has produced. They may be procured in pamphlet form, as above, at 1,25 per hundred and \$10 per thousand for Mr Seward's, and twice the same for Mr Sumner's which is more than of double length.

The little two-column speech of senator Hamlin of Maine, in taking position against the Cincinnati platform and its candidate, though ever heretofore a democrat of the strictest party school, and the rough but vigorous letter of George Law, in review of the candidates and questions before the country, seem to us, also, to contain more of the meat of the matter in issue, than have anywhere else been compressed into the same space. Their very brevity and directness should secure their universal republication by the local press, and then their wide circulation among the voters.

The extra circulation of well conducted daily and weekly papers is also justly regarded by many as one of the most efficient modes of spreading political truth among the people. Special campaign papers are also often resorted to with good effect. The only one of these we can safely commend for the present campaign is the semi-weekly campaign New York Tribune, which gives up its columns wholly to politics, and is enabled to publish important speeches and documents that the press generally cannot reproduce. So far as the distribution of extra copies of the *Republican* may be thought of value in helping on the cause and the candidates of Justice and Freedom in this popular struggle, they are to be had by individuals and clubs at cost price by the quantity—namely, \$1,25 per hundred copies of Daily and \$2,25 of Weekly, not less than ten copies of either issue being taken under one order.

But whatever form be chosen to circulate the truth, we cannot too strongly impress the importance of its free, cheap and faithful circulation. Let the people have light. Give them the facts, and the issue cannot be doubtful. In those parts of the country where the people are the most intelligently informed as to the political events of the last two years, there the vote for Fremont and Freedom will secure from two thirds to three quarters of the whole poll. Let this fact be the basis of the labors of the campaign. The contest is mainly that of Intelligence against Ignorance. See to it that Ignorance be made intelligent, and the battle is won.

(Correspondence of the Tribune.)

After the three bills for the improvements of river and harbor passed the House to-day over the president's vetoes, a distinguished democrat remarked that another such day's work would demolish that party. The leading administration men in the House are awfully chagrined.

The statement that Lieut Governor Roberts of Kansas is a Buchanan man is not true. He stated when here that he should give his support for Fremont, and expressed the belief that Pennsylvania would give a large majority for the Pathfinder.

Mr Crittenden and Humphrey Marshal are entirely sanguine that the popular vote of Kentucky will be given for Fillmore. A Douglas man informed me to-day that the democratic party gives up the election of Buchanan.

H. Winter Davis of Maryland, Broome and Fuller of Pennsylvania, and other South Americans, have declared against Toombs and Douglas Kansas bill, and the republicans are a unit against it.

The Brooks case will occupy the whole of this week. It will be impossible to get a vote to expel him, but there will be a strong vote of censure. Mr Pennington of New Jersey and Mr Campbell of Ohio will speak.

The Illinois election case will be taken up immediately after the Brooks case is decided.

As soon as the Kansas report is printed, the committee on elections will report a resolution declaring Whitfield's seat vacant.

Lieut Gov Roberts of Kansas has written an able article, to be published in a Pennsylvania paper, showing up the wickedness of Mr Toombs' bill.

#### Kansas Notes.

A company of emigrants will leave Boston for Kansas, the 21st, accompanied by a gentleman well acquainted with pioneer life.—At a Kansas aid meeting in Fitchburg on the 4th, several hundred dollars were pledged on the spot, in sums from \$200 downward. One gold watch was thrown in, with the remark, "such as I have give I thee."—James Hunnewell of Charlestown celebrated Independence day by contributing \$100 to aid the suffering in Kansas. This is in addition to \$100 previously given by the same gentleman.

Shannon wrote to Maj Buford that he had resigned, some three weeks since, but as no intimation of that desirable fact has been received at Washington, it is supposed he has thought worse of it, and decided to stay as long as he can be of service to the ruffians. There is no doubt the administration would now prefer a more discreet villain in his place.

Quite recently three respectable young men started from Bond county, Ill., for Kansas, in a wagon, with the intention of becoming settlers. They had proceeded on their way until they got within twelve miles of Independence, Mo., where they stopped by a spring to eat their dinner and feed their mules. While thus engaged a company of fifteen or twenty Missourians, well armed, came up, and learning that they were from Illinois, declared that they were abolitionists, and swore that if they did not turn and go home they would kill every one of them on the spot. The Missourians actually assaulted the Illinoisans and would not permit them to finish their repast, but compelled them to start immediately for the place whence they came.

The Iowa route to Kansas is now complete, so far as it can be made with stage routes. From Chicago to Iowa city, there is a complete railway connection, and from the latter point to Dayton, on the Missouri river, opposite Nebraska city, a new stage route has been established. This carries the line to the southwestern corner of Iowa. From Nebraska city, another line of stages will be established through the territories of Nebraska and Kansas to the town of Topeka, on the Kansas river, the free state capital. Thus a wide berth is given to the Missouri vicinity, and the whole route passes through a region which is beyond the interference of the followers of Atchison and Stringfellow.

## BOSTON DAILY TIMES

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1856.

### The Dispersion of the Topeka Bogn Legislature.

The news from Kansas, published in yesterday's *Times*, furnishes an illustration of the folly of any body of armed men attempting to defy the authority of the United States. The armed bogus Legislature of Kansas has been dispersed by Col. Sumner of the U. S. Army, as were the armed Missourians a short time previously. Uncle Sam has taught a lesson to both his belligerent boys in Kansas. That fair territory is again free from ruthless marauders from all sections, and, under the new Kansas Pacification Bill, all differences will soon be in a fair way for adjustment. This is as it should be. Nothing can help a reign of peace following the late reign of terror in Kansas, a reign of terror to all peaceable citizens, which was kept alive by incendiary appeals in different parts of the country, in the North as well as the South—nothing, we say, can help the blessings of peace flowing upon this once troubled region, except a wicked desire on the part of the opposition to keep alive sectional excitement for purely political purposes. The new Kansas bill is everything that could be wished, and against it nothing can be urged except for the purposes we have named. It meets almost every point mooted by both parties, and with the experience of the past to govern future action, the friends of good order may hope for the happiest results.

*Liberator* July 11, 1856  
From the Carolina Times.  
FROM KANSAS.

CAMP CAROLINA, K. T. May 23, 1856.

Dear — I arrived here last night from Lawrence, our expected battle ground. We had no arms. We took one twelve pound mounted howitzer, three small cannons, and some few Sharpe's rifles; though at least one thousand Sharpe's rifles were either moved or buried. We destroyed two printing offices and the hotel built by the Aid Society; it was a perfect fort; the top was filled with port holes, and had the bravery, two hundred men could have defended the town against one thousand, but the cowards deserted the town. The women only were brave; they maintained their honor by remaining in town, and had the boldness to tell us that they could not be made to leave it. Our party numbered about five hundred; at least two hundred and fifty of them were Carolinians—and we had the honor of planting our banner the first upon the trenches of the city of Lawrence. It also waved over the Herald of Freedom office and the hotel.

Lieutenant Andrews, of our company, has his arm badly wounded by the bursting of a musket, and young Burt, son of Ex-Governor Burt, of Nebraska, was wounded in the head; not badly; he is well now. We have not lost a man, only by sickness. Two of our company died at Westport, Missouri. Eight or nine Abolitionists were killed at Lawrence. We have Brown, the editor of the Herald of Freedom, here, a prisoner. He is to be tried for treason, and if not hung, the boys will never allow him to get off. Robinson, the bogus Governor, is in custody—he is bound to be hung. Reader has escaped so far. We had Miller; he is from Chester District, and has been publishing an abolition paper here—he was tried for his life, but was not convicted. Every man I meet is armed to the teeth, and if he claims to be a freesoiler, we take his arms from him. I saw Hamilton Hardy and David Fleming at Lawrence; they are both well. James Waddell has gone to Atchison with the Charleston company. I leave with a squad of twenty mounted men for Hickory Point directly. The pro-slavery men were run from there night before last by the Yankees.

Truly yours, &c.

## The Atlas.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 11, 1856.

### DISPERSION OF THE KANSAS LEGISLATURE.

The minions of tyranny move in beaten paths. The history of usurpation is always the same. In these days of the decadence of liberty, many are the parallels which crowd upon the mind of the spectator. How Cromwell's veterans drove from their seats the representatives of the people of England, how the soldiers of the first Napoleon dispersed the deputies, how the agents of the second Bonaparte crushed out, amidst the horrors of the *coup d'état*, all expression of the popular will, history tells us. We shudder at these outrages as we read of them, but we forget that the same acts are going on under our own eyes, perpetrated by our own officers, heaping upon us, as citizens of this Republic, a private responsibility. For the first time since we have been a nation, a deliberative body, assembled under the forms of law, has been dispersed by a hiring soldiery. Those who please may smile at a comparison between the great events which we have quoted, and the outrage upon the humble legislature of a humble half-settled Territory. But principles remain the same, whatever may be the outward forms and modes and shows. We can see little difference between Bonaparte's grenadiers and Sumner's dragoons. In the employment of each, the same end was sought, and that end, the suppression by violence of free legislation. In each case, cannon and sabre and musket assailed and triumphed over deliberation, free speech, and legislative laws.

Those who suppose the Kansas Legislature to have been an illegal body, set up their opinion against that



of the House of Representatives of the United States, which has already recognized it as a legal body. The cannon of Sumner were pointed, not only against the representatives of Kansas, but against the whole people of the United States, speaking as directly as the Constitution will permit, and protesting against the assassination of Freedom. In that one act, we all were conquered. The decree of a decaying and well-nigh defunct President, which consigns the patriots of Kansas to prison for doing what Congress in one branch has said they have a right to do, is aimed at the liberty of every citizen, no matter where may be his domicile. The power which has planted cannon against the little State House in that rude Western wild, may bring the same ordinance to bear upon the State House of Massachusetts, or the Council Chamber of Boston.

It is now for the House of Representatives to assert its privileges. We look to it for protection against Executive usurpation. To no other power can we look, and no other do we recognize. There is now pending before the House a bill which will make legal the outrage upon the Kansas Legislature, and he who originated the measure which has brought this indignity upon the principles of republicanism, is asking votes for that sanction, of the representatives of the Free States. Let his overtures be spurned. Let the House, by flinging his bill into the Avenue, show that it still possesses some sense of the nature of our institutions!

**A SUGGESTION TO OUR SOUTHERN FRIENDS.**—Far be it from us to stir up the already perturbed spirits of Southern chivalry to any sudden flood of mutiny. We would have peace if we could, but if we cannot have it, we prefer to see the war carried on in gallant style by the enemy. It is conceded on all hands that Toombs's Kansas bill, if carried in the House, would bestow upon Kansas the unspeakable blessings of slavery. It is also conceded that, if it be defeated, it will meet its fate by a very small majority. The course to be pursued by our Southern friends, to secure its passage, is apparent. Let them forthwith knock down and drag out from the House six opponents of the bill. Let them administer the blows with mercy, but at the same time with firmness great enough to secure the desired object. Let them send these malignants to the seclusion of the sick chamber, and call at once for a vote upon the bill. It will be enacted; Kansas will be a slave State; and all these agitating, disuniting questions will be settled. The cost will be only \$1800. Judge Crawford has fixed the tariff of felonious assault at that price, making it \$300 per head broken. This sum can easily be raised, and the money paid into Court before any disagreeable arraignment and pleading. Just think of quieting the country at the cost of only \$1800! What a bargain! Seize your canes, chivalrous gentlemen of South Carolina and of Arkansas! Go in AND WIN!

**Washington Correspondence of the Atlas.**  
WASHINGTON, July 7, 1856.

If the South constituted one single party, with one Northern tail, it would be less formidable than it is. By dividing itself into two parties, Buchanan and Fillmore, it enjoys the extra privilege of two Northern tails. The Fillmore tail is not very long, in fact, hardly beyond the length of an average bobtail. It consists of Haven, Dunn, Whitney, Broome and Harrison,—only five voters; but that number in a close House becomes important. Buchanan and Fillmore are both bidding for Southern support, and the votes of their adherents in Congress must be made acceptable to the interest of slavery. Hence their combination, and temporary success, in opposition to the bill admitting free Kansas. The time may come when it will be the policy of parties to consult the feelings of the North.

The appointment of Gen. P. F. Smith to the command of the military force in Kansas, is differently received in different quarters. Gen. Smith is a Southern man, and almost all the army officers of high rank are so. The government we live under is

slaveholding in all its departments, and we must take things as we find them. After all, what will be done by the military force in Kansas, will depend somewhat, perhaps, on the officer immediately in command, but mainly upon the orders issued from this Capital.

It has been affirmed, and denied, that "new" orders were issued about a month since to Col. Sumner. The language of the Union, the official organ, was ambiguous. It merely stated that Col. Sumner had been "quickened" by fresh instructions from the War Department. We can only judge of the extent of this "quickening," by results and events. It was only the other day that the Chicago company, on board the Star of the West, were waited upon by a committee of ruffians at Leavenworth, in sight of the Fort, and compelled to return home. Does not this case seem to call for a little more "quickening"?

The slave power which controls the Administration is determined to make Kansas a slave State, and to that end, is determined to enforce the bogus Territorial laws of Kansas. At the same time, they wish to do it in a manner and by methods as little offensive as possible, and are sincerely desirous to substitute U. S. dragoons for the drunken ruffians of Buford and Wilkes. The end to be accomplished is precisely the same. The free-State men of Kansas will be "subdued," and that without remedy, unless the power of the Presidential office is placed in different hands.

**THE MURDERED KANSAS INDIAN AGENT.**—The murder of Wm. Gay, late of Michigan, and, at the time of his assassination, Indian Agent for Kansas Territory, now the facts are becoming known, is creating a profound sensation in the State of Michigan. The Detroit Daily Advertiser publishes a detailed account of his death, furnished by a townsman of Gay. From this it appears that the statements which have represented Gay as a pro-slavery man have done him signal injustice. It now appears that he was in favor of freedom for Kansas, and that he owed his death to his manly avowal of his preferences.

## THE Boston Daily Chronicle,

**THE TOPEKA LEGISLATURE DISPERSED.** If the last outrage of Pierce and his ruffians does not make the blood of every honest American boil, we shall no longer resist the dogma of the total and entire depravity of our race.

The tools of the slave power, to get rid of the Legislation of Congress against slavery in the territories, consecrated by time, flew in the face of common sense and the Constitution, and repudiated the Missouri Compromise—to enthroned popular sovereignty, as they said! When that popular sovereignty appeared likely to reject the infernal institution, in whose pay they were enlisted, they sanctioned an invasion of the ballot box and afterwards the legislature and laws that grow out of it.

When under this intolerable tyranny, popular sovereignty sought to protect itself, met peaceably to procure the redress of grievances, formed a Constitution, and provided a Republican State government to shield an innocent people from daily robbery and murder, this same executive which so foully tore up the great Freesoil compact, in favor of its profound deference to the sovereignty of the people, marches its dragoons into the people's own assembly and disperses it on pain of instant massacre!! Pandemonium never bred or harbored hypocrisy like this.

All this is done in America on the 4th of July! Is there an American who will show his face on European soil after this, till the infamous hypocrites who have perpetrated this shame, are sunk below any resurrection trumpet save the Archangel's?

What would New England Democrats have said

if Gov. Dorr's Legislature, before doing anything else, save organizing and debating, had been charged upon and dispersed by the armed dragoons of John Tyler? O Democracy! Wretched lick-spittle of the Brookses, who having suppressed all free speech in fifteen States of the Union, now tempt such traitors as Douglas, Pierce, and Cushing to cheat the other sixteen States into the same delightful despotism.

## EVENING LEDGER

Boston, Friday, July 11, 1856.

**SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY**, of which we have all heard so much of late years, seems to be dead at last—dead as an Egyptian mummy, and unembalmed. It died on the 22d of July, after a short and rickety existence, though it had quite a decent appearance when it was first displayed to the light of day. That men should ever have been deceived into the belief that this abortion was a thriving child, and was destined to become, not merely a man, but a giant, with his feet on the earth and his head in the skies, like the genie in the Arabian Nights, who came out of a little tin-pot, and yet was capable of expanding to the most enormous dimensions, is very strange. That a government should deliberately abdicate some of the most important of its power, and transfer them to a body of nameless settlers, would have been a wonderful thing indeed, if it had been done. Though it was talked of, it was never done, and it was never meant that it should be done. It was a part of the game of humbug which it was found necessary to play, when the slavery agitation was renewed by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. To reconcile men to the revival of discussions of which they had become heartily tired, it was found necessary to bring forward a principle to be coupled with it, and that principle was the right of every man to do as he pleased with his "niggers," it being assumed that among the inalienable rights of white men is that of owning as many "niggers" as he can beg, buy, or steal. Having established this immortal principle by the triumph of the Nebraska bill, and a Legislature for Kansas having been chosen by squatters, who were so in the most comprehensive sense of the word, it would seem to follow that Congress had no right to interfere with the doings of that Legislature—if squatter sovereignty has any vitality about it. Such, however, is not the opinion of the gentlemen who have been most conspicuous in advocating that sovereignty, if acts, which are proverbial for speaking louder than words, are to be taken as indications of what their opinions really are. Squatter sovereignty has been killed in the house of its friends, and nothing is left now to be done in its behalf except decently to dispose of its remains.

The manner in which squatter sovereignty was killed was this. When Mr. Douglass' bill was before the Senate, on the 2d of July, a motion was made, by Mr. Geyer, of Missouri, to amend it, by adding the following: "No law shall be made or have force or effect in said territory which shall require a test oath or oaths to support any act of Congress or other legislative act as a qualification for any civil office or trust, or for any employment or profession, or to serve as a juror, or to vote at an election, or which shall impose any tax upon, or condition to, the exercise of the right of suffrage by any qualified voter, or which shall restrain or prohibit the free discussion of any law or subject of legislation in the said territory, or the free expression of opinion hereon by the people of the said territory."

This was opposed by the extreme friends of popular sovereignty, on the ground that Congress ought not to interfere with the acts of a Legislature that had been chosen by the squatters, the amendment being directed against the outrageous acts passed by the Shawnee Mission Legislature, which body all the friends of the Nebraska bill have pronounced to be the legitimate Legis-

...to be obeyed. Mr. Cass himself taking that view of its character. Absurd as such opposition may appear to us, it was consistently offered, for if there be anything in squatter sovereignty, Congress has no right to pass a law in violation of one that has gone through that high and mighty body, the Shawnee Mission Legislature. Even if that Legislature had passed an act to burn all men in the Territory who did not own slaves—and such an act would have been in no respect more absurd and wicked than some others that are contained in its slavery-promoting code,—Congress, according to General Cass's principles, ought not to have forbidden its enforcement. Sovereignty is absolute. It cannot be qualified. But the General, who is a very decent sort of an old gentleman, concluded to swallow his principles, and, declaring that some of the acts of the Kansas Legislature were disgraceful to the age in which we live, he coolly voted for Mr. Geyer's amendment, which was carried, 40 to 3. He did right, but he did so in total violation of his principles, and treated "squatter sovereignty" with all the contempt to which it is eminently entitled. The whole proceeding shows that the advocates of that burlesque on political science care no more for it than do its enemies. It was got up as a party "dodge," and having answered the purpose for which it was called into being, is now consigned to some vacant rat-hole. The truth is that such men as Cass, Bell, Bright and others of that stamp, cannot so far afford to trifle with their reputations as to countenance the logical consequence of their own doctrines, and it is charitable to suppose that they never supposed that, when they supported "squatter sovereignty," they had any idea of what squatters were capable of doing under the promptings of such fellows as Atchison, Stringfellow & Co.

## Portland Advertiser.

Friday Morning, July 11, 1856.  
The Dry Bones Disturbed.

Philadelphia is a genuine specimen of *fogy* dom in which the principal topic of interest among certain "governing classes" is the "fall trade." But the exciting events in Kansas and at Washington, have slightly moved the good people of that beautiful city of brotherly love, and signs of commotion begin to manifest themselves. An unusual sensation was produced at Philadelphia by the announcement that on Sunday evening, the Rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Epiphany, Rev. Dutley A. Tyng, would discourse on the subject of "Our Country's Troubles." The Bulletin gives the following account of the affair:

## Watchman & State Journal.

BY E. P. WALTON.

MONTPELIER, JULY 11, 1856.

Which is the *Negro* party?—Among the laws framed by the Border Ruffian Legislature of Kansas, is one which enacts that any person enticing, conveying away, or kidnapping a *white* child from its parents or guardians in the Territory of Kansas, shall suffer the penalty of six months imprisonment in the county jail, and be further liable to such fine as the discretion of the Court may suggest.

Another law makes the penalty for enticing, conveying away, or kidnapping a *negro*

*A Sad Case.*—The Boston Gazette has an interesting letter from ex-Mayor J. V. C. Smith, dated at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, June 21st. Mayor Smith relates the following:

"A woman with four little children are sitting near where I am writing, who are returning in a helpless and heart-rending condition, back to Louisville, Kentucky. She says her husband was driven out of his hut, three weeks ago, in the night, by the bloody rangers, and she does not yet know his fate. She has abandoned the claim, with its improvements, and is now on her way to her friends, spiritless and discouraged.

P. S.—I have this moment learned that the poor woman's husband was shot with a rifle ball in the pit of the stomach which passed out near the spine. She passed within a few feet of his dead body with her screaming fatherless little ones, when running from their rude home, without knowing it; and ere this, the wolves have left the bones bare to bleach unburied, on his own farm. Out of kindness to the disconsolate widow, this sad discovery is kept from her knowledge. Yet he was a pro-slavery man. Hence you will perceive that the assailants are no respecters of persons, but assume all the remorseless characteristics of Italian brigands."

For the Watchman and Journal.

## Campaign Song.

By NED GREENO.

[Air, Nelly Bly.]

When tyranny, in any form  
Obtains the aid of power,  
And with the fury of a storm,  
Pours on the weak a shower,  
We have one hope when all is dark,  
When truth's resources fail,—  
There is afar, a shining spark,—  
The right, shall yet prevail.

Chorus: Ho Brothers! true Brothers!

Never strike your flag!  
We'll not desert the "stars and stripes,"  
While there's a single ray.

That shining spark, a type appears  
Of brightly coming day;  
The rapid wolf, when daylight nears,  
Will quickly flee away;  
So then hold out, with steady nerve,  
Till daylight breaks, and then  
You'll have a chance to track the bear,  
And kill him in his den.

A President of cotton cloth  
Is nothing to the race;  
When you have swept his backers off,  
Then you'll have won the race;  
Then bring the gun of Freedom—  
Tion, out into the field,  
And charge it up with courage true—  
Our broadside makes then yield.

Full many cowards, north and south,  
(They well deserve the name,)  
Are swaggering, with loudest mouth,  
That they will have the game;  
But such short sighted brags as they  
Can never win Sharp's Rifles;  
We laugh at their revolver play,  
And scout them all as trifles.

One steady aim, one valley now,  
Saves Freedom from her fate!  
One faltering word—one tardy brow  
And all may be too late!  
Their cowardice is plainly seen,  
And scowling of brains,  
Who fight, when men are off their guard,  
With gutta serena canes.

But what a noble boon, to wear  
A scar for freedom's cause!  
How precious every drop of blood,  
Which despotism draws!  
Then rally round our bold FREEMONT,  
Ye brave ones, east and west—  
Up Gerritt, lay Buchanan's frame  
With silent exit blest

## The Great Question.

### THE SLAVOCRACY FRIGHTENED AND CRYING FOR MERCY!

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

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

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

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

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

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

This is apparently fair. Upon its face it pretends to secure an honest census, an honest election, and an honest decision, by the people of Kansas, of the slavery question. Impliedly it is a confession that Pierce, Douglas and all the Slavocrats have been, up to this time, wrong; that Congress has something to do with this question; that the Missouri Bogus Legislature was wrong; that its laws were wrong; that the outrages upon the freedom of speech and the press were wrong; that the outrages upon life, liberty and property were wrong; that the infringement upon the right to bear arms was wrong; that murders, robbery, rapine, arson, have been all wrong; that the test oath was wrong; that the seizure of Govern-



or Robinson and other Free State men, on charges of treason, was wrong; that the driving of Free State men from the Territory was wrong. These are just conclusions from Douglas' report and bill as above reported. The whole thing is a confession of GUILTY!—GUILTY!—GUILTY! to all the terrible charges on which the present Government and the Sham Democracy have been arraigned at the bar of the People. It is a plea of GUILTY, and a cry for MERCY.

Freemen of Vermont! Consider this plea of guilty. Why is it so suddenly made?—Down to the nomination of FREMONT & DAYTON, there was but one cry from Douglas, Pierce, and the whole slavocratic crew—but one threat, openly and insultingly made to the freemen of Kansas, and to the friends of Freedom throughout the Union. It was this: "WE WILL SUBDUCE YOU!" Look at the Cincinnati Platform—not yet six weeks, old: binding Buchanan & Co. to the same principles from which sprang the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the attempted Africanization of free Kansas, and the terrible outrages upon her free people; eye, and against these outrages—now publicly confessed to be wrong by STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS, and a Slavocratic Senate at his heels; we say, against these gross violations of the Constitution itself, the Cincinnati Platform contains not one single word of

condemnation. Oh! honest freemen—charitable freemen—forgiving freemen: do you believe in this sudden conversion? Is it honest? It is true, genuine, heart repentance—or is it only the selfish, cowardly, skin deep repentance, forced upon the Tyrants by their fears of Fremont & Dayton, and of the wrath of the people? Judge ye. For our part, we hesitate not to say that it is spurious repentance. There is indeed a confession of guilt; but mark this: THERE IS NO REPARATION! The infamous laws of the Bogus Legislature are not repealed; the real Kansas Legislature is not recognized; Robinson is not released from the charge of treason; the Border Ruffians are not driven from Kansas; Lawrence is not rebuilt; the printing presses are not restored; private property destroyed is not replaced; the Topeka Constitution is not received; the will of the People of Kansas, already expressed by a popular vote, and maintained in spite of the hired ruffians of the Slavocracy, is not respected. No! none of these things are done.

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

Let two things be remarked, for with all the apparent fairness of Douglas' bill, there are two fatal traps in it:

I. The President, with the advice of the Senate, is to appoint the five Commissioners who are to take the census, and provide for the election. In fact they are to control the whole affair—counting whom they will as citizens, and admitting whom they will to vote. Is President Pierce worthy of this trust?—No! and Douglas and Cass have been the very first to prove that the people have no

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

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

These two considerations stamp Douglas' new bill as a sham—as a scheme, plausible on its face, but really designed to consummate that perfidy to Freedom which originally repealed the Missouri Compromise, and has power, and there cannot be a state within a state sought to extend and establish Slavery State. Yet before Mr. Cass's words, asserting the legality of the laws of Kansas had reached the State which he misrepresents, the bill, we give the following extract from a letter addressed to us by a Vermont Member of Congress:

"House of Representatives, }  
Washington, July 3, 1856. }  
"Phelps of Missouri now says that with Toombs' bill, [as reported to the Senate by Douglas,] Kansas would be sure to be a SLAVE STATE."

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

### The Ellsworth American.

ELLSWORTH:  
FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 11, 1856.

A HEMLOCK THUNDER.—Every body knows, for every body has been informed over and over again, that the principle of popular Sovereignty applied to the territories, or as Mr. Cass designated it "Squatter Sovereignty" was the application of a new and improved democratic principle in the legislation of the country. The people were to be left free in the territories, to make their own laws, in their own way and in their own time, subject only to the constitution of the United States.

This specious humbug, which has furnished the theme for many a demagogue's windy street oration, which was fair to look at, and plausible in the mere statement of it without an examination into its foundation, has been throttled by its keeper, and seemingly without any compunctions of conscience.

Mr. Cass was the earliest champion of this new principle. He brought out this doctrine for inspection, and asked for it an approval, the same time that Barnum brought out his "wooly horse." Barnum has run his race and become bankrupt, financially; and Cass the originator, and Douglas, Pierce, & Co the endorsers of this humbug, have become bankrupts, politically.

But the other day, in the Senate of the United States, Mr. Cass made a long speech demonstrating that the Missourians, assembled at Shawnee Mission were the Legislature of Kansas, and that the ordinances they passed were the laws of the territory, and must be obeyed at all events. This was in perfect keeping with his theory, of "Squatter Sovereignty." A doctrine denying that the federal government is the Sovereign of the territories. If this Sovereignty is not in the federal government then it must be in the people of the territories, where Douglas, Cass, and Pierce, declared it to be.

Yet Mr. Cass, since making his speech in favor of the bogus Legislature, has declared that "Some of the laws passed by it, are a disgrace to the age in which we live." Well, supposing they are, who, according to the doctrine of popular sovereignty possesses the power to annul them? No body but the people, acting through their legislature, certainly—because there resides the sovereign power, and there cannot be a state within a state. Yet before Mr. Cass's words, asserting the legality of the laws of Kansas had reached the State which he misrepresents, the bill, we give the following extract from a letter addressed to us by a Vermont Member of Congress:

"The Senate on the 21st inst. Mr. Douglas's bill, which provides for holding a new election in Kansas, after having driven the free state men away, came up for discussion when Mr. Geyer, of Missouri, moved to amend the bill by adding the following:

"No law shall be made, or have force or effect in said territory which shall require a test oath or oaths to support any act of Congress or other legislative act as a qualification for any civil office or public trust, or for any employment or profession, or to serve as a juror, or to vote at an election, or which shall impose any tax upon, or condition to, the exercise of the right of suffrage by any qualified voter, or which shall restrain or prohibit the free discussion of any law or subject of legislation in the said territory, or the free expression of opinion hereon by the people of the said territory."

The question being taken on the amendment, it was agreed to—yeas 46, nays 2—as follows:

"YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Bell of New Hampshire, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Bigler, Bright, Brodhead, Cass, Clayton, &c.

Here we find in a Senate of sixty-four members, but three who own the doctrine, and vote against abridging it."

Let us look at this matter a moment. If Congress can restrain the legislature of a territory from passing laws, which Mr. Cass says are a disgrace to the age, and which limit

freedom of discussion, or which impose a test, or which restricts the rights of suffrage, then, by parity of reasoning, Congress may restrain the territory from passing laws which operate against personal freedom. It may also say there shall be no slavery there at all. There would be no greater exercise of Sovereign power in the one case than in the other. Congress does at this time, exercise a restraining and supervisory power over the legislation of the territory of Minnesota, claiming and exercising the attributes of Sovereignty there. It has now asserted the same right in Kansas. If it had not, why should not the people of Minnesota have given to them the boon of territorial Sovereignty? Why this partiality? Where is the equality of rights? Kansas free and Sovereign, and Minnesota under guardianship. The one is a minor under age, the other, though the youngest born, its own master.

But Cass has throttled his own brat, and Douglas, with his hypocritical associates, look on coldly and see the deed done, and assist in the painful operation. Henceforth there will be but two classes of men who will prate of the "great principle of Squatter Sovereignty"—knaves and fools. With the one it is of no use to reason; with the other you cannot.

This humbug has answered the purpose for which it was invented,—to benefit slavery propagandists and now it is discarded. It was never to be found in the Kansas bill, notwithstanding all that has been said of it. Mr. Fuller saw this, and when the matter was before the House, he moved an amendment to the bill, asserting this principle, and it was voted down by the very men who voted for the Kansas bill! But the other day, when the Toombs,—Douglas bill was before the Senate, Mr. Trumbull, Douglas, colleague, moved the following amendment, embodying the genuine "squatter doctrine," and it was voted down:

"Sec.—And be it further enacted, That it was the true intent and meaning of the act to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, not to legislate slavery into Kansas nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free through their territorial legislature to regulate the institution of slavery in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States; and that, until the territorial legislature acts upon the subject, the owner of a slave in one of the states has no right or authority to take such slave into the territory of Kansas and there hold him as a slave; but every slave taken into the territory of Kansas by his owner for the purpose of settlement is hereby declared to be free, unless there is some valid act of a duly-constituted legislative assembly of said territory, under and by virtue of which he may be held as a slave."

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freedom of discussion, or which impose a test, or which restricts the rights of suffrage, then, by parity of reasoning, Congress may restrain the territory from passing laws which operate against personal freedom. It may also say there shall be no slavery there at all. There would be no greater exercise of Sovereign power in the one case than in the other. Congress does at this time, exercise a restraining and supervisory power over the legislation of the territory of Minnesota, claiming and exercising the attributes of Sovereignty there. It has now asserted the same right in Kansas. If it had not, why should not the people of Minnesota have given to them the boon of territorial Sovereignty? Why this partiality? Where is the equality of rights? Kansas free and Sovereign, and Minnesota under guardianship. The one is a minor under age, the other, though the youngest born, its own master.

But Cass has throttled his own brat, and Douglas, with his hypocritical associates, look on coldly and see the deed done, and assist in the painful operation. Henceforth there will be but two classes of men who will prate of the "great principle of Squatter Sovereignty"—knaves and fools. With the one it is of no use to reason; with the other you cannot.

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any other southern state. (Cheers.) Sir, we claim for Kentucky that she is the banner state of the south, and we offer to the entire south a challenge, to maintain that proud position. (Loud cheers.) We will roll up for the nominees of this convention a larger vote than we have ever thrown before, and we claim that we will be the first state from the south that will be admitted into the great republican family. (Three cheers for Kentucky.)

SPEECH OF MR. UNDERWOOD, OF VIRGINIA.

Gentlemen, I have but a few words to say to you, and I shall be compelled to speak them in sadness. Why is it that Virginia is not represented here to-day as she was in 1776? Why has the sceptre departed from the Old Dominion? It is as Thomas Jefferson declared, because God is just, and his justice will not slumber forever. (Applause.)

Sir, it is because slavery has blighted what was naturally one of the fairest portions of our country. It is, sir, because our political masons, instead of building the bulwarks of freedom, have been erecting fortifications for slavery, and cementing the walls with the blood of crushed humanity. (Great applause.) It is because our hunters, instead of pursuing the enemies of freedom, have been hunting down christian women for the performance of acts which might almost invite an archangel to come down from the regions of the blest. (Cheers.) Hunting them down for teaching the poor children of oppression and licensed wrong to read the Word of God. ("Shame.") Hunting them down by means of those tyrannical laws which were not made to govern, but to crush out every sentiment of freedom, of virtue and humanity. Virginia is not here to-day, because her wise statesmen, by their unwise legislation, have polluted its fair land with the sweat and tears of unpaid labor. (Applause.)

And now I ask you, my friends, if you are willing that this blighting curse of slavery shall be extended all over the fair plains of the west? Are you willing that the clanking of manacles and fetters shall be heard all the way to the Rocky Mountains? ("No," "no.") Will you aid in forging more manacles and fetters for the arms and ankles of christian men and women, brothers and sisters, separated from one another, lashed and chained in the coffee gangs of the trader, driven to the cotton fields and dreary sugar plantations of the far south, to drag out their lives in hopeless, unrequited toil, and then to end their existence in agony of woe unutterable. (Continued applause.)

This is the work which Virginia is doing to-day. Shall the same infamous work curse the future states to spring up in the west, which were destined to be the homes of freemen? ("No," "no.") Shall those homes, dedicated to you and your children, and your children's children forever, become the habitations of freedom and happiness, or the habitations of cruel oppression and misery?

Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer. I appeal to you to let the fate of Virginia be a warning. Let us all remember the admonitions of Jefferson. Let us remember that the curse of Heaven is and ever will be upon human oppression. (Long continued cheering.)

For speaking these words, Mr. Underwood has been ordered, by the citizens of Fauquier county, Va., to "leave the state as speedily as he can find it in his power to do so."

pets, a few months since. These churches may have supposed that they were providing the means for sending out emigrants to Kansas. But it was no such thing. They were only dabbling in a land speculation. What their prospect now is, of making a good thing of it, we cannot say. The burning of the Lawrence Hotel blockhouse, which was owned by this company, is rather a damper, but if they can prevail on a plenty of emigrants to go out and settle in that vicinity, they will yet receive a liberal return for their money. It has been no uncommon thing, in time past, for a company of speculators to buy a tract of land, and then by inducing emigration to it, and settlements in its vicinity, to raise its value and make their own fortunes. Nor is the adoption of some plea of benevolence, to give an impulse to the emigration, any novelty. At one time it is an escape from the artificialities of city life to the healthful simplicity of a rural district, which is urged; or the temptations and corruptions of city associates are set forth as a warning to those parents whose children are of an age to be much in the street, as a reason why they should immediately buy a building lot in Green horn street, Ponton village, only 45 miles from the city! The public have been familiar with this sort of financiering, and handbills may doubtless be found, even now, upon the back walls and old fences of the city, full of this benevolent interest in some classes of our population. It has been reserved, however, for the New England Emigrant Aid Society not only to supply the lands and the "privileges" to settlers, and advise them where to locate, but also to see large sums of money collected to further the emigration, without trenching upon their own cash means. We know that several of the subscribers were induced to invest, under the assurance that it would pay large dividends; and if sufficient money be raised outside of the Society, and expended for this purpose, there is no doubt that a tide of emigration may set in the direction of the Company's property, which, while it costs the Company nothing, will greatly enhance the value of its investments. How happy some of those far-sighted philanthropists who took part in this organization must be, to see the expenses and shillings raked in from the pockets of the poor to aid freedom in Kansas and the finances of the Mass. Emigrant Aid Society!

There seems, however, to be a difficulty in getting the funds forward to Kansas. We mean the funds collected outside of the Society. The Boston Journal of July 1st, contains a letter from Ex Mayor Smith, of Boston, traveling in Kansas, dated Fort Leavenworth, June 21st, to the Gazette, in which the following paragraph occurs:—

"Inquiries were made at appropriate sources to ascertain how the money was expended which the papers say has been so liberally raised in Boston, New York, Chicago and other places, for Kansas; and the answer has uniformly been, that no one knows. One gentleman in Lawrence informed me, that a person who visited the East for assistance, assured him that he sent seven thousand dollars on,—but it certainly never reached Kansas. Many justly suspect the integrity of certain managers who are reputed to have fingered specific contributions. This subject should be forthwith sifted to the very bottom. I have heard severer things said than I deem it prudent to write, in regard to this matter."

The Boston Telegraph (Abolition) says in reply,— "It is hardly time yet for the money raised in Boston, New York and Chicago, to make its appearance in Kansas; and the second-hand story about the seven thousand dollars sent on from the East and lost, is too loose a statement to be relied upon."

A fresh struggle to raise funds for Kansas is about to be made, and those who have money to spare for the purpose, or for the promotion of Fremont's election in other ways, will doubtless have opportunity to show their liberality. At a Convention of Kansas Aid Committees in Boston, yesterday, it was resolved that "the contributions of each month should not fall short of \$100,000," "to enable the National Committee to bring to a speedy close the great work which we shall commit its hands." What that great work is, they do not condescend to state. Probably it has some connection with Sharpe's rifles and Kill'emism. There is, however, about as much difficulty just at present, in forwarding rifles to Kansas, as there is in getting money through. But in the latter case, the Missourians do not appear to be particularly in fault.

is the most intense public feeling on the subject, that it is time that it should manifest itself in commensurate tones. The avalanche of evil is actually impending. It is absolute folly to keep quiet and hope for the best. The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the cause of all our present woes, would have never passed the House of Representatives had the great cities of the North, and especially this commercial metropolis, risen in their strength and protested against it, as they might and should have done. That neglect they have rued most bitterly. Shall the sorrowful lesson be without profit? The letter was not intended for publication, but it should meet the public eye.

—We are on the eve of a very grave crisis here, and I much fear that the leaders of Northern opinion do not appreciate its importance.

There is great danger that we shall be beaten on the wickedly delusive scheme of the Toombs and Douglas coalition.

Our men need rousing up. Unless we have from the North some great and general movement, depend upon it the Douglas, or, rather, the Toombs project, will pass the House. Believe nothing that you hear about the dissatisfaction of Southern men. They are all deeply anxious for the success of the scheme. It is exactly what they want, and beside-bringing in Kansas as a Slave State will effect many other objects now unthought of. There is really occasion for very great alarm. All men of property, all interested in the maintenance of social and political order, all desirous of peace, should give their influence, their time and their means, to prevent anything being done to consummate this conspiracy for forcing slavery upon Kansas, and bringing her by fraud into the Union.

This bill, on the part of Douglas, is merely a piece of quackery. He looks upon it as merely an expedient to allay irritation for a moment. But Toombs, its author, regards and intends it as a bold and radical measure for settling everything in favor of slavery, and for exciting civil war at the North, which he desires, and has long sought to effect.

It seems to me that our only safety is in extreme energy. The administration stands ready to purchase votes enough to pass the bill, and we have only two or three to spare. Something must be done to bring a tremendous pressure to bear upon the recalcitrant North Americans. BARCLAY CLARKE is now with us, and so are BARCLAY and HICKMAN, of Pennsylvania, but prodigious exertions are making to gain them over. These efforts may be successful. A well known Silver Grey Whig politician, now a Fillmore K. N., is here, supposed to be charged with a special mission upon BARCLAY CLARKE, and he carried his instances so far yesterday upon a Republican member, that he was repulsed with a fierce insult.

I personally remember the terrible effects of the Union saving meetings of the spring of 1850, here in Congress. They broke down the TAYLOR Administration, broke down the Northern organization, and extinguished all energy and manliness in our Northern members. They initiated and passed that series of measures commencing with the fugitive act, and culminating in the election of PIERCE, and the repeal of the compact of 1820. A fearful, and possibly, a fatal mistake was then made in the object of these meetings, but there can be no doubt of the efficacy of the means employed to that end.

Why cannot the same means be employed to redress the great wrong committed through their instrumentality six years ago! Why cannot you of New York, the solid men, the merchants, property holder, great lawyers, and editors, hold a meeting on the Castle Garden model of 1850, protesting against this insidious scheme for a slave State; sternly insisting upon the immediate suppression by an exertion of federal power of the border ruffians and their outrages; the punishment by law of past excesses; the abrogation of the spurious laws; and the removal and punishment of SHANNON, LECOMPT, DONALDSON, and their accomplices. To do any good, the meeting must, in the first place, be very large, the proceedings must be conducted by your best men, they must be harmonious, and they must be thorough going. The meeting should affix its censures, in all the severity of language consistent with propriety and dignity, upon designated men for specific acts; it should, in short, adapt its proceedings to the exigencies of the present case.

There is, in my view, but one way of avoiding war, actual, raging, general civil war. It is firmness on the part of the North in resisting any and all attempts to appropriate to Slavery permanent advantages from the treacherous outrage of 1854. Abject submission will only gain us a brief respite. I know Southern men, in their public characters, well. I appreciate their policy thoroughly. They do mean to conquer the North, and they never made such rapid strides in that policy as during the two years since the passage of the Nebraska bill. We must arouse and organize a great Northern sentiment; and the first definite act to be performed is bringing the people to bear upon the Northern members to prevent the contemplated surrender on Kansas. The session must be brought to an end without any hollow truce with Slavery here. Any armistice now would be



NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1856.

EMIGRANT AID SOCIETIES.—The recent address of the New England Aid Society to the people of the United States, says: "It (the Society) has never paid the passage of an emigrant." Its authorized capital is \$1,000,000; but in point of fact, says the Address, "the amount of capital actually paid in, has never exceeded \$100,000. It has believed that its funds could be more usefully applied to permanent investments in Kansas." This, then, is the use which has been made of the funds of the New England Emigrant Aid Society—stock in which, if we mistake not, has been subscribed and paid for by a large number of the New England churches. A list of these subscriptions was published in the Boston religious papers, with quite a flourish of tram-

## New-York.

PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 11, 1856.

We invoke attention to the following extract from a private letter from Washington, written by a gentleman who has every means of forming a correct judgment. It presents a condition of things that should produce determined action. We know that there already



week, has slightly increased, but the supply is still large enough to prevent, for the present, a rise of the rates of discount. Call Loans are negotiated at six per cent. and in some cases even below that rate.

What is the sentiment of the American Party in reference to the great question of the day, the extension of Slavery into the Territories? They unquestionably have a sentiment, such as it is, but there is an effort at the North to keep it as much as possible out of view. If we search the platform adopted at the session of the National Council at Philadelphia in February, we find nothing there upon the subject. The matter is utterly excluded. If we turn from the platform to the candidate, we are no more successful. Mr. FILLMORE, however, loquacious otherwise, preserves a dead silence on this point. It is curious to mark what an entire forgetfulness he and his followers exhibit of the resolution introduced by one of his Southern champions (Mr. ZOLLICOFFER) during the strife for Speakership, and zealously pushed forward by every member of the party in Congress.

"Resolved, That in conformity with the principles of a great popular Government, such as that of the United States, it is the duty of all candidates for political position frankly and fully to state their opinions upon important political questions involved in their election, and especially when they are interrogated by the body of electors whose votes they are seeking."

Mr. FILLMORE so far from "fully and frankly" stating his opinions, is dumb to every call. Not a word escapes him. Our only remaining resource then for learning the sentiment of the party is to look at its conduct in Congress. There at least, there can be no concealment—no escape from definite positive action. Well, let us examine. Let us ascertain by its votes the actual position of the party on the slavery question, as exhibited on every great test from the choice of Speaker down to the very last issue.

The party in the House of Representatives now supporting Mr. FILLMORE numbers, thirty-five members—seven of whom are from the North, twenty-nine from the South. They supported Mr. FULLER, of Pennsylvania, in the contest for the Speakership. The candidates, it will be remembered, were specifically interrogated in pursuance of Mr. ZOLLICOFFER's resolution. To the question in regard to the constitutionality of the WILMOT proviso as applied to the territories, Mr. FULLER replied, "I hold that Congress has no constitutional right to legislate upon the subject of slavery." To a question from Mr. WALKER, whether he would vote for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, he replied, "I stated that if I had been a member of the last Congress, I should have voted against the territorial legislation of that Congress. But I am willing now to resist agitation, and abide by the laws as they are; and resisting agitation, I shall vote against it." To a question by Mr. SHERMAN, of Ohio, whether he would allow slavery to obtain an advantage by reason of a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he replied emphatically:

"If Kansas—and I wish to be distinctly understood—presents herself for admission into the Union, I shall vote for her admission without reference to the question of slavery."

In reference to the speech containing the last replies, the Washington Union used the following language:

The feature of yesterday's debate was unquestionably the speech of Hon. Henry M. Fuller, of Pennsylvania. Much interest has been felt as to the position of this gentleman, inasmuch as, when he was put forward by the Southern Know Nothings as an eminently national man, he received during the early stages of the balloting the votes of some of the most decided anti-Nebraska men of the North. The class of Southern Know Nothings who have rallied around Mr. Fuller, finding that their position was becoming uncomfortable in view of the record made by the different and differing supporters of that gentleman, seemed to have determined to have his sentiments on the slavery question clearly understood. With a view to settle the question, no doubt, Mr. Fuller yesterday addressed the House, and in a brief speech of great good sense and excellent temper he defined his position, which, including his prompt response to Mr. Percy Walker, of the Mobile District, may be summed up as follows:—*Acquiescence in the legislation of Congress on the Nebraska bill as a final settlement of that question on the principle of popular sovereignty, and a distinct refusal to assist in restoring the Missouri Compromise. We heard this avowed with much pleasure, and desire here and now to express our thanks to him for the involuntary tribute which he paid to a great Democratic principle.*

This it will be noticed is precisely the position afterwards taken by Mr. BUCHANAN in his "finality" speech. So much for the candidate supported in Congress by this FILLMORE party.

On the 26th of January, a resolution was introduced to test the opinion of the party on the wisdom and justice of repealing the Missouri Compromise. That resolution was as follows:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this House, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1850, prohibiting slavery North of latitude 36° 30', was an example of factious agitation of the slavery question, both in and out of Congress, which was unwise, and unjust to a portion of the American people."

On this resolution, six of the party only voted in the affirmative; twenty-six voted in the negative. So the body of them do not think the abrogation of the Compromise to have been unjust or unwise. Against the policy of laboring to restore that Compromise, either in fact or in substance, they were perfectly united. Every one of them voted the same day against the following resolution:

"Resolved, That a useless and factious agitation of the slavery question, in or out of Congress, is unwise, unjust to a portion of the American people, and, to some extent, injurious to every section of our country, and therefore should not be countenanced; but until the Missouri restriction of 1820 shall have been restored, in fact or in substance, to the said Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, fully and completely, to that extent and for that purpose, it is our solemn duty to the past, the present, and the future, steadily and firmly to persist in our efforts."

On the final vote for Speaker, when a plurality was to elect, they all voted for Mr. AIKEN, a Pro-Slavery Democrat, in preference to a Free Soil American, with the exception of Messrs. BROOM, CULLEN, DAVIS, of Maryland, MILLWARD, and WHITNEY, who continued to vote for Mr. FULLER, and Mr. EDIE (we believe no longer a FILLMORE man), who voted for Mr. BANKS, and Messrs. HAVEN and VALK who absented themselves.

What was the disposition of this party to investigate and expose the Border Ruffian outrages? On the Resolution to send an Investigating Committee to Kansas for this purpose, but three American members voted for it, viz., Messrs. HAVEN, MILLWARD, and EDIE.

What was the disposition of the party to appoint a committee to investigate the SUMNER outrage? On the proposition of Mr. CAMPBELL to raise such a committee, six (including Mr. EDIE) voted in favor, seventeen against, and the rest did not vote. The entire vote of the House stood 93 to 68; thus the American party were as extensively, in proportion, opposed to taking action upon this abominable act, as the Administration party itself.

How stood the party on the vote last week for admitting Kansas with her free constitution? Not a man of them voted in favor of the bill, excepting Messrs. MILLWARD and EDIE of Pennsylvania. We don't include BAYARD CLARKE of this State, for he is no longer a FILLMORE man.

Thus, it is seen, that on every question touching the extension of Slavery into the Territories, or its interests and credit as an institution, the American party in Congress, which now supports Mr. FILLMORE, are a pro-slavery party—as strongly and completely so as the Administration party itself. This might have been inferred at the outset, from the fact that five-sixths of the present supporters of Mr. FILLMORE in Congress are Southern men, and five-sixths of the newspapers which sustain him are Southern newspapers. But we have given, in the above citations of votes, specific, positive proofs, from which there is no escape.

THE FACT IS INDISPUTABLE, THAT THE SUPPORT OF MR. FILLMORE IS THE SUPPORT OF SLAVERY LICENSE AND PROPAGANDISM.

## AFFAIRS IN WASHINGTON.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

WASHINGTON, July 8.

Mr. BROOKS has been fined \$300 for the brutal outrage upon Senator SUMNER. That sum, then, is the judicial valuation of a Senator while in the discharge of his duty. The Free States have thirty-two Senators, and according to this appraisal, they may all be disposed of for the moderate sum of nine thousand six hundred dollars, (\$9,600.) A greater sum has been often paid, indirectly, out of the Treasury for a single vote on a comparatively unimportant bill.

The DOUGLAS and TOOMBS' coalition in the Senate, was reported this morning in the House bill for the admission of Kansas. They were only carrying out their conspiracy for forcing Slavery upon this unfortunate Territory, by simply proposing to strike out the House bill, and inserting that which passed the Senate last Thursday morning, providing a Board of Commissioners and certain other Executive machinery for taking care of the people of Kansas and their institutions.

The Democracy has upon its hands a sick man—a

very sick man—and appears hurrying about with the anxiety of desperation to find a physician and a remedy. The patient is "Squatter Sovereignty." He is indeed in a very hopeless condition, for the very doctors and nurses which surrounded his couch are his most deadly enemies. The parents and natural guardians of the wretched sufferer do not desire his recovery. They stand ready even to put him to death with their own hands, if he give signs of convalescence. Perhaps there is one of the numerous fathers of Squatter Sovereignty not totally destitute of natural feeling in the certainty of his premature decease. This is Gen. CASS. The General went so far a few days since as to describe as disgraceful the means adopted to stifle Squatter Sovereignty, but immediately after gave the vote which put a period to his troubled life.

The pretence of popular sovereignty or self-government, as incorporated in the bill repudiating the Missouri compact, is the most disgraceful piece of deception ever attempted in this country, or perhaps in any country. There is no such principle in the Kansas and Nebraska Act, nor anything like it. The truth is, that Act provides the most despotic and irresponsible system of territorial government ever suggested in Congress. Nearly the whole power of local government is vested in an Executive and a Judiciary, appointed by the President, and removable at his pleasure, and not only hostile to the sentiments and desires of the people, over whom they are appointed to rule, but appointed for that very reason, and kept in office for that reason and no other. And what further illustrates the inappetently fraudulent character and intent of the Act, is the incident that when a crevice was found in the scheme through which the true principle of popular government might possibly find entrance, that contingency was effectually cut off by suppressing the rising spirit of the people in favor of governing themselves, by the introduction of a foreign mob, creating institutions for the territory abhorrent to the inhabitants.

These "institutions," thus established, remain, and are confirmed, but the authors of the fraud hasten to show their contempt for "popular sovereignty" by repealing, under authority of Congress, some few of those savage acts of the mob, by which those domestic institutions, now believed to be secure, are fortified, and which supplementary acts of the mob are thought to be superfluous. It is a case of infanticide—squatter sovereignty has been slain by its parents.

Mr. DOUGLAS re-opened the agitation of slavery in the House to-day by a motion to print 20,000 copies of his Kansas deception bill. An interesting discussion arose between Mr. DOUGLAS and Mr. HALE, in which the former experimented upon the credulity of the country, by asserting that the Free State men in Kansas had committed as many murders, arsones, and thefts as the pro-Slavery party. As we now have the results of a careful official investigation of affairs in the Territory, such statements are perfectly harmless, or rather they are beneficial, for they will teach the public to estimate at their just value other averments of the spokesmen and organs of the Democracy upon these transactions.

There is some mystery about SHANNON's resignation. If received, it has not been acted upon. The President does not wish to assume any further responsibility for the misconduct of his officials in Kansas, and it is, therefore, desirable that SHANNON should remain to bear the brunt of an opposition which his criminal misconduct has called into action. He is almost equally hated and despised by the Free State party and the Pro-Slavery faction, for the sufficient reason that he incited the latter to murder and rob the former, in the stupid expectation that he could arrest them at his pleasure. It would not at any time surprise me to hear that SHANNON had been lynched by some of BUFORD's or STRINGFELLOW's banditti. It is at this moment even uncertain whether he will dare to return to the Territory. It will require all the ability and firmness of General SMITH to shield him from the wild beasts into whose den he has incautiously ventured.

The debate on the Brooks' outrage in the House to-day, was temperate. CLINGMAN, of N. C., evinced the same want of decency and propriety as was manifested by TOOMBS, and declared, in substance, that when a Senator asserted the rights and claims of his section in the emphatic terms employed by Mr. SUMNER, he must expect to be assailed and beaten upon the same rule, CLINGMAN and TOOMBS have deserved to be pounded into insensibility for more

than twenty speeches which I have heard them make. I know of no two members of Congress more addicted to irritating and insulting harangues than these persons. Upon CLINGMAN's own theory it would be perfectly lawful and parliamentary for any one or more exasperated Northern citizens to attack him after one of his diatribes upon the Free States and their institutions, and cudgel him to death on or off the floor of the House. This policy will not be adopted, simply because the Free States are civilized communities and not tribes of savages.

INSPECTOR.

## THE EVENING MIRROR.

H. FULLER;  
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

NEW YORK,  
FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 11, 1856.

### Meeting the Difficulty.

The new Kansas Bill recently passed by the Senate must satisfy all fair-minded men. It virtually abandons and wipes out all former legislation on the subject; and proceeds in a just, liberal and constitutional manner to reorganize the Government of the Territory *de novo*. This is a master stroke of policy on the part of the friends of the Pierce-Buchanan Democracy; and should the Bill pass the House, the game of the sectionalists, so far as the Kansas imbroglio is concerned, will be played out.

Nothing can be fairer than the main provisions of this Bill; and the champions of "free soil, free speech and a free press" can ask nothing more. It allows every citizen over twenty-one years of age, who has resided three months in the Territory to vote; and it guarantees that right by the force of the Federal Government. All that is needed to settle this border difficulty after the Bill becomes a Law, is, for the President to select as Commissioners to execute its provisions, men in whom the people have absolute confidence; men who are not tainted by sectionalism or biased by party prejudices and affiliations. Let him appoint true and tried Union Men, without distinction of party; such, for instance, as Jenkins of Georgia, Bates, of Missouri, Pearce of Maryland, Everett of Massachusetts, and Hunt of New York. There would be a magnanimity, to say nothing of the policy of such a course, that would win the best approbation of the nation, and crown the head of the retiring Administration with honors which it has abundant room to wear. That it would also greatly improve the chances of Mr. Buchanan's election, no one can deny who has faith in the justice of the North, or in the honor of the South. While we do not wish to see Slavery extended, regarding it as an evil to the master rather than to the slave, yet the Territories belong to the whole Union, not to a section of it; and the Constitution has wisely left the question of Slavery to the sole volition and control of the States. It is emphatically a local institution. If a majority of the bona fide residents of Kansas decide in favor of Freedom, we of the North will rejoice; and the South will submit. If the decision be in favor of Slavery, submission will then become our duty; and in that event, the first fanatic who raises his voice or his hand against the peace and integrity of this INSEPARABLE Union, should promptly meet a traitor's doom.

It is hardly necessary to remind our intelligent readers that the happy termination of our difficulties with England, is a brilliant feather in the cap of the Administration. The great organ of British opinion fairly and bravely endorses the President of the United States in the dismissal of Mr. Crampton; and it even exonerates that meddling functionary for his extra-official efforts in violation of our enlistment laws. It also takes the ground, complimentary to the American people, that the growing importance of the United States, and the incalculable magnitude of the commercial intercourse between the two countries, demand of England an abler representation at Washington; and, instead of a promoted Secretary, we may hereafter look for a retired Minister; Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, or the Earl of Derby it may be. It is a notorious fact that while we have been sending to the Court of St. James our best Statesmen and diplomatists—our Websters, Everetts, Bancrofts and Buchanans, England has fobbed us off

with third-rate politicians, who were on their way up the ladder of diplomacy. These mediocre gentlemen have been sent as apprentices to the United States, in order to prepare themselves for the more august embassies of European Courts. It is quite time to resent the insult; and in the discharge of Crampton, John Bull has got a flea in his ear which he will be likely to remember.

With the speedy and peaceful settlement of the Kansas and British difficulties, we are free to admit that the Administration of President Pierce may retire with more honors than could have been achieved, even by a victorious war. "Peace hath her victories." And it only remains for the ETERNAL DEMOCRACY to prove itself neither Pro-Slavery nor Anti-Slavery, neither the champion of Northern fanatics or Southern disunionists—but the steadfast friend of the Union, the whole Union, and nothing but the Union, to scatter all the riff-raff ranks of sectionalism like chaff before the wind.

## The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1856.

We publish this morning a very full and interesting account of the proceedings of the Convention of the Kansas Aid Committees, held at Buffalo yesterday. Ex. Gov. REEDER presided, and made a speech on the present condition of affairs in reference to Kansas. GERRIT SMITH also took an active part, both by word and deed,—promising \$1,500 a month while the war lasted. A very pointed and comprehensive series of resolutions was adopted, and the Convention adjourned *sine die*, after the appointment of a National Central Committee.

### The Douglas Dodge.

The "Pacification bill," as it is pompously styled by its supporters, does not make much headway in Congress. Its design is a little too palpable for instant success. The whole country knows that the PRESIDENT of the United States is responsible for the present alarming condition of Kansas:—that the office-holders whom he has appointed there are the basest tools of Slavery:—and that it is through their efforts that the Free-State settlers have been robbed, murdered, or driven from the Territory. The proposal, therefore, to place in his hands the power to consummate this grand iniquity—by appointing a new set of officers who shall have absolute power to finish the work so well begun by their predecessors, does not strike the people favorably,—especially when styled a measure of pacification. Peace is very desirable,—but it depends somewhat on the manner in which it is made. Certain border ruffians, of whom ancient history tells us something, used to make a solitude, and call it peace. The precedent is not a good one. We have no doubt the Missouri invaders, under Federal authority, left peace in Lawrence:—just as Order reigned in Warsaw, after its inhabitants had been butchered. But this is not precisely the kind of "pacification" which the country demands.

If a COMMISSION is to be appointed to govern Kansas, let it be a Congressional, and not a Presidential, Commission. Gen. PIERCE has shown his ability to select men for office in that Territory. Now let Congress make the trial. Let five of the members of the Commission be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and three by the President of the Senate. With such a Commission, acting under regulations that would secure the rights of the inhabitants of Kansas, the people of the country at large would be far better satisfied than with such a one as the Toombs and Douglas bill proposes.

## The Semi-Weekly Times. 189

### KANSAS.

#### Convention of Kansas Aid Committees at Buffalo.

Highly Interesting and Important Debates.

SPEECHES OF GOV. REEDER AND GERRIT SMITH.

#### LIBERAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Appointment of a National Central Committee.

[BY TELEGRAPH.]

BUFFALO, Thursday, July 10.

The Kansas Convention met at Kremlin Hall yesterday, Governor REEDER presiding. The stated object of the Convention is to secure, as far as possible, unity and efficiency of action throughout the country in behalf of freedom for Kansas. A Committee to draw up resolutions was appointed. Most of the session was consumed in addresses upon the wrongs and wants of Kansas.

W. BARNES, of New-York, and W. F. MAINY, of Illinois, were appointed Secretaries; and Z. CHANDLER, of Michigan, W. PENN CLARK, of Iowa, and THORNDIKE RUSSELL, of Massachusetts, Vice-Presidents.

A Committee of thirteen was appointed to report a plan for the aid of Kansas.

A letter was received from General LANE, recommending routes by which to march troops through Iowa into Kansas. Referred to the Committee.

#### SECOND DAY.

BUFFALO, Thursday, July 10.

This morning the following resolutions were reported by the Committee and adopted:

*Resolved*, That we will proceed to appoint a National Kansas Committee of wise and upright men, whose discretion the whole conduct of our sacred cause shall be intrusted; that said Committee shall be composed of one person from each State, so far as there are States in which a suitable person can be found; and that five additional members shall be put upon the Committee, who are to reside in the city of Chicago, and that three shall constitute a quorum, and Chicago be the usual place of meeting of the Committee.

*Resolved*, That by all that is precious and urgent in the claims of Kansas and liberty, we call on the friends of justice and humanity to organize forthwith State, County, Town, and Township organizations for the purpose of obtaining monthly subscriptions of money to enable the National Committee to bring to a speedy and successful issue the great work which we shall commit to its hands.

*Resolved*, That the contributions of each month should not fall short of one hundred thousand dollars; and that those of the present month should be paid to the Committee by the first day of August, by the first day of September, and in like manner thereafter.

*Resolved*, That the Convention recommend to all emigrants to Kansas to travel through the State of Iowa, and that Congress be urgently requested to establish a daily mail from Topeka, via Nebraska, to Iowa City, and also a daily mail via Nebraska to Mount Pleasant and Burlington, Iowa.

GERRIT SMITH introduced resolutions that armed men must be sent to Kansas to conquer the armed men who come against her, and that justification for sending them is found in the refusal of the Government to do it, and that the Government, instead of protecting Kansas, is the great instigator and upholder of the oppression and outrages which she suffers. Other resolutions, less ultra, were introduced by Governor REEDER and others, and referred to the Committee.

Governor REEDER spoke in favor of the admission of Kansas under the Topeka Constitution, and in denunciation of the Senate bill, which he characterized as designed by the Slave power to perpetuate their sway in Kansas. There was no reason why Kansas should not be admitted under the Topeka Constitution. Was the objection to such admission a want of regularity in the proceedings, because they originated without the act of Congress by the spontaneous action of the people? If that objection was a valid one, then it was true that Kansas could not be admitted—but there are already nine States in the Union which have come in by precisely the same door at which Kansas was now knocking. Among them were Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, Iowa, Florida, Arkansas and Michigan. Each formed a constitution without a particle more authority than Kansas had. This was not all—in 1850, when Arkansas was making preparation to come into the Union, the question was directly raised as to the power of the State thus to apply for admission. The matter was referred to Attorney Gen. BURNES by Gen. JACKSON. He decided on three points—First, that no Territorial Legislature had a right to authorize the formation of a State Constitution, or to adopt one upon which to apply for admission, because it could not go outside of its deferred powers which are to govern the Territory, pass laws for that purpose, and carry on the machinery for the Territorial Government. Second, that the people have the power in primary meetings to originate a proceeding for the formation of a State Constitution, or to adopt one upon which to apply for admission. This power is given by the Constitution under which the people have a right to assemble.



together and petition Congress for relief. The people of the Territory consider territorial grievances, and they can petition Congress to remove them. But Congress has only power to remove it by admitting the Territory as a State. In order to do this a State Constitution must be submitted by the petitioners upon which Congress can act. The machinery must be complete in all its parts, and then set in motion by Congress. The third question decided by Attorney-General BURMAN was "How far can the people proceed in the formation of a State Constitution?" He argues that as the State machinery must be perfect in all its parts before it can be admitted, the people of the Territory have a right to appoint every officer necessary to a State organization, and to choose a United States Senator. They must then apply to Congress to put it in motion. If they put it in motion themselves, when they transcend their duties, because they come in conflict with the Government of the United States. Governor REEDER then proceeded to say that every person who desires to put Kansas in the wrong, asserts that the Free-State men put the machinery in motion themselves. This is a deadly falsehood. They have done no such thing, but have done as all other States did—that is, they assembled together without previous action of the Territorial Legislature or Congress, formed a Constitution, elected officers, and applied for admission into the Union. He further quoted the authority of Mr. BURMAN, who, on the admission of Michigan into the Union, held in the Senate that any action of the Territorial Legislature authorizing the people to form a State Government was null and void, and that the power was with the people alone. He had asked if any Senator would deny that position, and no one had answered but General Cass, whose apprehension was so terribly excited because Marshal STREVENSON had declared martial law in Washington Territory, and trampled the Constitution under his feet, refusing to allow a Judge to hold Court. He was deaf, dumb, and blind to the outrages in Kansas, and shut the door through which he had himself entered against that State.

Gov. REEDER then opposed GERRITT SMITH's resolutions as being too timid.

Mr. PAGE said they were offered, and only contemplated moral fighting in Kansas.

GERRITT SMITH replied that he was glad Mr. PAGE was the interpreter of his own resolutions, and that he had explained that he only meant fighting—he would not say in a Pickwickian sense, but in a moral sense. The difference between Mr. PAGE and himself was that the former would use moral while he would use physical force. In reply to Gov. REEDER he said, that the resolutions did not declare war against the Federal Government or against the Missouri Border Ruffians. They recommended sending armed men to Kansas to resist armed force there.

After only a few minutes of speech, Gov. REEDER was that the latter desired to wait before resisting, while he believed that the time for resistance had already arrived. If the object of the Convention was to distribute good books and agricultural implements in Kansas, it was doubtless a good one. They might raise their hundred thousand dollars monthly to do it, but they would have no money from him. He had given all the money he could spare for such things, and felt that he was now called upon to contribute means to arm men and send them out to fight. He continued to urge at length the necessity for bold action. Now he saw and understood the sudden change that had taken place in the last few minutes in the opinions of the gentlemen who were the friends of Kansas. They were now looking away from the sufferings in Kansas to the Ballot Box in the November election. Political action just now is their greatest evil and danger—they are looking after ballots when their eyes should be fixed on bayonets—they are counting votes when they should be mustering arms—they are looking after civil rulers when they should be searching after military ones. The golden moments they are now losing would never return, and during the time lost in political maneuvering for votes the Slave power would strengthen itself in Kansas. He quoted from speeches of Mr. ARTHUR and Mr. REYNOLDS of Virginia, to prove that the South had declared they would never give up Kansas until they were forced to give up Slavery. He had also better authority for this, and one which none in this Convention would dispute. He had a letter from their own candidate for the Presidency, Col. FENNER, who shared the same thing. Mr. FENNER continued to speak of the aggressions of the South, and said he only hoped to hear of a collision at Topeka—that he only desired to hear of a collision with the federal troops and that Northern men had fallen, and then he would hear of Northern States arraying themselves against the Federal Government, and would then be the end? No! Missouri would be the next battle-field, and then Slavery would be driven to the wall. Her strength is only apparent—it consists half in Northern cowardice and doughfacedness. It has been brave and rampant, only because the North has fled before it. It time had come when the North faces it. He believed the time had come when the North must strike until the Convention thought with Governor REEDER that was not the fact, with all respect, he could have no sympathy with it.

Governor REEDER replied that he was not in favor of waiting because they had not received wrongs enough, but thought it right to wait until they could strike to the victor. If it remained with him to use the power of the Government—he would not have waited thus long, but the oppressors before this would have been converted into heaps of dead men on the fields of Missouri; but he was willing to wait till to-morrow or two to-morrow. When on the trail of the enemy, against whom he had a deadly hate, he would follow him with cat-like tread, and would strike until he could strike him surely dead. He was, therefore, willing to wait until they had the power he would thus have used. He did not wish to give the South notice of their intentions by marching armed men into the Territory. The dragoons could go in as voters or to investigate the soil, and strike when the right time arrived. When the right time came to strike, he wanted the South to have the first notice of the blow in the blow itself. The Free-State Party take the ground that they will exhaust all peaceful remedies, and that done they will resist to the death and pile the soil, the Constitution no longer protects, with heaps of their oppressors.

GERRITT SMITH thought if his chain of reasoning was correct, then the Convention should sit with closed doors and not pass resolutions to raise one hundred thousand dollars a month. The South would be silly if they did not know this money was to be raised for the purpose of doing something with it.

The Convention then adjourned till the afternoon to receive the report of the Committee.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

On the reassembling of the Convention this afternoon the Committee on Resolutions reported the following:

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

*Resolved*, That the attempt to force Slavery upon Kansas must, at whatever cost, be defeated, and that, too, whether the Federal Government shall or shall not continue to favor the nefarious attempt.

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

The fourth resolution exhorts the Free-State men of Kansas not to despair of seeing Kansas a Free State. The fifth resolution pledges to increased exertion until Kansas is made a place for free men, free speech, and a free press.

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

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

The resolutions were adopted after a long debate, on various motions, to effect new State organizations.

A motion by GERRITT SMITH, recommending the general Committee to appoint ELI THAYER as general agent to superintend the formation of a State Committee, was offered as a substitute for all others.

Mr. WURMAN, of Lawrence, K. T., objected to the use of any name as general agent. There was, he said, a particular objection to the use of Mr. THAYER's name. It was well known that a prejudice existed throughout the States of the Union against the Emigrant Aid Company with which Mr. THAYER is particularly identified.

Mr. THAYER warmly defended the New-England Emigrant Aid Society. He said that Mr. SUMNER had no bad opinion of the Society, which was bound to live, whatever opinion the gentleman might have of it. To its exertions were due the establishment of the Free-State Party in Kansas. He had himself received applications from Kentucky and Virginia to plant the Colonies of the Society in those States. Democrats had been glad to be members of that Society, until President PIERCE issued his edict against it.

A resolution to lay the resolution on the table was lost—10 to 17—after which the resolution was adopted.

A collection was then taken up, and GERRITT SMITH contributed \$1,500 a month during the war—filling up a check on the State Bank of Albany for the first month's installment.

Mr. WHITMAN, of Kansas Territory, moved that a fund of \$25,000 be raised, to be loaned in sums not exceeding \$200 to settlers in Kansas, to enable them to secure their preemption claims at once.

Gov. REEDER entirely approved of the suggestion for loaning money to settlers to enable them to pay for land, but thought that it would answer the purpose to recommend the subject to the notice of capitalists in various cities; who would find such investments profitable ones. He moved an amendment to that effect, which was carried.

Gov. REEDER read to the Convention the report from Kansas of the dispersion of the Territorial Legislature by Col. SUMNER, and remarked at the close that he was sorry that the Legislature had not waited till driven out at the point of the bayonet. [Cheers.]

Mr. L. E. NOBLE asked how many troops there were, belonging to the United States, in Kansas. Gov. REEDER said about 600.

Mr. NOBLE—And how many in the entire army of the United States?

Gov. REEDER—I believe fifteen thousand. Mr. NOBLE—I learn from a friend near me that they can't send more than ten thousand men into Kansas, and so I say let us go on.

GERRITT SMITH desired to see the contributions continued.

A delegate said he would give 100 men who did not fear the devil, and like CROMWELL would praise God and keep their powder dry.

GERRITT SMITH thought funds were wanted first, and hoped to see the collections go on.

After subscriptions, however, were received. A delegate asked for subscriptions to the Kansas Tribune, the editor of which he was now presenting.

Mr. SMITH, the editor, said he was obliged for the notice of his paper, but there were other papers needing more support which had lost their presses.

Mr. ST. CLAIR, of Kansas, admired the generous criticism by Mr. SMITH. He (ST. CLAIR) was agent for the *Heid of Freedom*. Its press had been destroyed, and Mr. G. BROWN, its Editor, was in prison on a charge of treason, without means to defend himself. A sister of Mr. BROWN's was present and would receive any contributions.

Mr. BROWN said he had some maps to sell at a shilling a piece. He would divide half of what he received between the sister of Mr. BROWN and the Tribune.

Mr. ST. CLAIR said he had a watch which was worth some hundreds of dollars, but no money. He would give his watch to be sold for the benefit of the cause.

The following is the National Central Committee: G. H. Russell, Boston, Mass.; W. H. Russell, New-Haven, Conn.; Thomas Hyatt, New-York City; N. B. Craig, Pittsburg, Pa.; John W. Wright, Logansport, Ind.; Abram Lincoln, Springfield, Ill.; S. B. Ward, Detroit, Mich.; Hon. J. H. Tweed, Milwaukee, Wis.; Gov. W. H. Hopping, Providence, R. I.; W. H. Hopping, Cleveland, Ohio; F. A. Hunt, St. Louis, Mo.; S. W. Eldridge, Lawrence, K. T., and G. W. Doie, J. D. Webster, H. B. Hurd, J. Y. Seamon, and J. N. Ferrolld, of Chicago, Ill.

On motion, Gov. A. H. Roeder was added to the Committee. Adjourned sine die.

#### New Ruffianism in Washington and Kansas Is Regarded in Europe.

To the Editor of the New-York Daily Times: EDINBURGH, (Scotland,) Thursday, June 19, 1856.

The position of an American traveling in Europe is just now a most unpleasant one. In railway carriages and other public places when he is not known as an American, he is obliged to hear language applied to his country which it is difficult to allow to pass in silence, and yet which he cannot deny to be just. The most that he can do is to repudiate the disgrace for himself personally, and his section or his State. And this he finds exceedingly difficult to do satisfactorily. Every American citizen is part sovereign of his country, and responsible for the actions of its Government. Every American traveler is and feels himself in a peculiar sense a foreign Minister of his country, a representative of its sovereign. When civilization is outraged in the Senate of his country, can he refuse to explain or defend the stigma attaching to himself thereby?

In society, when one is known to be an American, the studied avoidance of reference to his country is more expressive than the strongest denunciations of the barbarism that has lately reigned in its high places.

One is met by men whom he has formerly known as admirers and lovers of his country and its Government, with expressions of sadness and disappointment. "I have lately been compelled to admit," said one of the founders of the Reform Club, but a man of too liberal views to be ranked among the present Whigs, to me, "I have lately been compelled to admit that the experiment of extreme liberalism in America has failed. In its material results merely it has succeeded wonderfully, but its effects on society are evidently the reverse of favorable to the progress of civilization and Christianity. Even your legislators are murderers and ruffians of the worst stamp; your Government plots civil war, and encourages robbery and piracy in order to give strength and stability to an institution in itself barbarous, and which has in all nations heretofore lost ground just as fast as Christianity and civilization have advanced. Your law system, admirable and superior in many respects to ours, as it is, is apparently powerless to punish crime of the most heinous character, when the guilty parties are men of station and wealth."

It is useless to reply to such allegations that it is but to part of our country they apply. Foreigners cannot understand our nice distinctions between local and federal responsibility. Besides, Washington and Kansas are federally and not locally self-governed. All is charged to the Republican system.

Rarely do we find a friend who is willing to understand late events as favorably to our political principles as the editor of the *North British Daily Mail*, a leading Scotch newspaper, who thus reflects upon them:

"To those who admire the political institutions of the United States the free and enterprising spirit of the citizens of the Republic, their noble self-taxation (exceeding in amount all other public burdens) for purposes of education alone, whilst we even in Scotland are grumbling in our miserly hearts at the proposal of a penny per pound, the respectability secured to labor, the boundless means of industrial development, and the various characteristics in which the political and social condition of that great nation is superior to our own, there is something inexpressibly painful and disappointing in the present state of the affairs and future prospects. We refer to its irritated and hostile relations to ourselves; these are probably but the temporary result of internal maladies, that are far more worthy of consideration. What a scene of anarchy, of outrage, of bitterness, and division, is presented in the interior of the Republic! The protection afforded to noon-day murder in the capital, the introduction of Lynch law into the Senate House, the intolerance of free discussion, the deadly broils between an Anti-Slavery and a Pro-Slavery Party in Kansas, and an infamous war of extermination waged against unoffending Indians in Oregon, present such a combination of elements as can only remind one of the beginning of the end. Whilst empty and heedless stumblers boast of the glorious future of the Republic of the Federal Republic, it is treading over the crust of a volcano, whilst they are reveling in brilliant visions of future destiny, it is advancing rapidly

to the brink of a precipice. Whatever may be the fortune or the fate of the United States in their national capacity, one cannot but observe and regret at least the practical predominance of a spirit which is totally at variance with the principles of their Constitution, and with ideas which we well know to prevail in American society. A man is shot in one of the hotels of Washington with impunity, because he is only a poor Irishman; others are hunted and killed like wolves, because they are only Indians. A Senator is felled with a bludgeon, in the Senate House, because he is only a friend of negroes; and a town is destroyed, and a whole Territory given over to organized violence, because they are only inhabited by some citizens who wish to found a Free State! Where, in such acts, is any trace of that freedom, equality and humanity, which form the basis of the Republic and ought to be its chief glory? The most wretched despotism that has sprung from the drugs of Spanish rule in the New World could do nothing worse than is now being done in the United States; and when a great nation thus departs from its fundamental principles, common sense as well as all history assure us that either a speedy and complete revolution, or that the political system must fall into ruin and dissolution.

At the root of all this disorder in the United States is the question of Slavery. Mr. HENNER, the murderer of the Irish waiter, is protected and screened by the Southern party, because killing a slave or a low Irishman is in their opinion no murder. Mr. SUMNER was beaten with a club by the Brooks because he made a speech in support of Freedom and against Slavery. The town of Lawrence is destroyed because it is inhabited by a "Free State" Party. The present civil war in Kansas has its origin entirely in the breach of the Missouri compromise at the instigation of the Slave States. The grand object of the struggle is to convert Kansas into a Slave Territory, not by fair votes, but by violence, by dragoons and cannon, and by ruffianism. And it is important to observe that of these proceedings of the Pro-Slavery Party Mr. President PIERCE is the strenuous abettor and supporter. The Democratic Party finds it necessary to identify itself with all the wicked outrages of the "nigger drivers." Even Mr. BUCHANAN, to whom the Northerners looked for greater impartiality and dignity of mind than have been displayed by other Democratic candidates for the Presidential chair, has adopted, since his return to the States, all the demands of the slave interest.

On the Continent, I assure you, that Republicanism has lost prestige most seriously from the events to which I allude. The German and French Republicans meet an American with melancholy or scornful and averted faces. "The Austrian Government has been guilty of no greater or meaner crime," said one, "than your Government in its method of extending Slavery, if we may believe the newspaper accounts of the recent movements in Kansas." It is true. The Austrian tyranny works secretly, but straightforwardly and with avowed purpose. The American, with false pretences of impartiality, connives at and encourages measures which naturally and inevitably lead on to the ruin or murder of those whom it has chosen to make its enemies, and then, indirectly, shields from justice and apologizes for the murderous banditti it has employed.

YEOMAN

## SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE,

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1856.

### WOMEN'S KANSAS AID ASSOCIATION.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

JEFFERSON, Ohio, July 1, 1856.

The ladies of Chicago have nobly responded to the wants of Kansas, and formed themselves into a Relief Association, adopted a constitution and resolutions, and sent an agent into the field to labor in organizing other associations.

Their agent is Mrs. H. M. TRACY CUTLER of Dwight, Ill.—a lady of high literary and social merit, and a staunch laborer in the cause of right. She represented Ohio in the London World's Peace Convention, and saw the last day's of the French Republic, and the rise of the Imperial Empire. Broad black stripes of paint were drawn over those words on public buildings so fearful to tyrants—Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Napoleon's royal baby could not see those words and live. So in Kansas are the tyrants trying to paint out these same flaming words, but, strange enough, they use blood instead of paint and oil, and the blood of our friends too. Have you heard in New-York that Mrs. Cutler has visited Cleveland, Painesville and other places, and a few nights since addressed a crowded audience in the Court-House in Jefferson, Ohio?

She proposes to engage all women in all the Northern States in the noble work of raising funds to feed and clothe the destitute in Kansas—especially widows and orphans.

An association was formed here, with Mrs. Senator WADE as President. Mrs. Senator PLUMB as Vice-President, and Miss MARIA L. GIDDINGS, (daughter of our Representative in Congress,) as Secretary and Treasurer.

They propose to meet monthly in social meetings or banquets, and talk and work for and encourage the cause of Freedom in Kansas. God speed their glorious work.

Will the women of the East respond to this

movement for humanity in the West, and shall the suffering women and children of Kansas hear a cheerful voice of encouragement, coming to them from all the North, over the wide prairies of the West?

Ladies at the North should remember that the contest with Slavery is not ended when this campaign is over, but it is to be continued till the end comes, and these organizations can act when politicians have ceased to use those Slavery aggressions as a means of putting an end to the reign of Satan on earth.

Friends! you have heard of Sebastopol, Inkermann, the charge of the brave six hundred; and now that the smoke of battle has cleared off, but one form appears radiant on that field of glory and of blood—resplendent with light and mercy and love, as she passes from tent to tent and from redoubt to hospital, cheering the sick, the wounded and dying soldier; that form is Florence Nightingale—whose name reminds us of a home among the angels. We have many Nightingales, with hearts as large and warm with mercy as hers. Will the women of the East utter their abhorrence against wrong, by feeding the distressed in Kansas?

A MOTHER.

### POSITION OF THE FREE-STATE SETTLERS.

[A Private Letter communicated by a citizen of Cuba, N. Y.]

TOPEKA, Monday, June 16, 1856.

I presume you are anxious to hear what we Free-State men are doing. Well, we are not all butchered yet, and I hope there will not be any more bloodshed. But there probably will be, for the Southerners are still invading our country and threatening to kill or drive us from the Territory; and the troops of our tyrannous, barbarous Administration, are stationed all through the country to protect them in their pillage and insults too outrageous to mention. We are in a bad fix. We could do something—I think we could rid the country of Missouri invaders—were it not for the troops. If we get together to defend ourselves we are dispersed; but we get together again. There will now be resistance. We have submitted too long, we have borne too much, to restrain ourselves longer, when we see our peaceable citizens murdered, our friends robbed and imprisoned. A man came in here a few days since who had been to Kansas City for merchant's goods. On his way back, when a few miles from the city, he was stopped by an armed band, and his team, wagons and loading taken from him. Joseph Allens of Topeka, one of our merchants, has gone to his former home in Rushford. You will see him if he stops in Cuba. Tell him his safe was in the wagon; it was driven into Missouri. Another man came in here the night before last, who was on his way to Kansas City for provisions, and was stopped by the ruffians and robbed of his team, wagon, and \$311 in money. They then bound his hands and feet, his hands behind his back, and he was made to crouch down and a rope fastened to his head to his feet. Not satisfied with that they gagged and blinded him, and then left him! After long struggling he succeeded in getting his feet loose and walked seven miles before he got relief. You ask why we do not rise and put a stop to such work? But what can we do unless help comes from some source? I have spent a large sum already, and I will spend all I have, and give my life too, before seeing this beautiful country made a Slave State.

I received a letter from A. yesterday. I am sorry you are so uneasy about me. Now, I am just where I ought to be and want to be. If I were not here, and knew the state of things here, I would come as quick as possible. We have not been molested at Topeka yet. This is too strong a place for them to attack without a large force. But, they say, "Topeka must come down." We will see about that. They have a bitter hate toward Topeka, it being the headquarters of the Free-State men. They threaten to attack the Legislature which is to meet here July 4. But if they come into this place as they did into Lawrence, they will get a very different reception I assure you; for there is no power in Kansas or Washington that can terrify us. We have no longer hopes of justice or protection at the hand of the officers among us. We must have help. Our arms in many instances have been taken from us by the same officers and given to our enemies. The report is now, that there is great excitement North and East, and that companies are forming to come to Kansas. So let it be. The report is also that they are pouring in from Missouri, which I think is true, as Sumner is calling his troops all below. The troops at this place received a message on Friday, the 13th, to march immediately to Leecompton, which is about twelve miles below here. And to-day a large company passed through here from Fort Riley, which is seventy miles above here. Judging from the past, we have no faith that the troops will do anything for us. I am still delighted with the country. The climate is delightful, indeed. The sun shines rather hot, but there is a cool breeze continually. And shall this beautiful country be blighted and cursed by Slavery? This question must be answered by the sons of Freedom acting now!

### A NORTHERN PRINTER TARRER AND FEATHERED.

191

To the Editors of The Chicago Tribune.

MAHATTAN, Thursday, June 19, 1856.

A courier from Lawrence has just handed me the subjoined communication:

TOPEKA, Kansas, June 14, 1856.

Mr. Jas. Redpath, Lawrence, Kansas.

DEAR SIR—In reply to your favor of the 10th inst., I will give you a condensed statement of facts in the case you refer to.

On my returning to the Territory, from Ohio, in May last, I was intercepted at Lexington, Mo. A small party of the citizens of that place came on board the boat, who made themselves rather officious by questioning travelers as to their destination—most of them Southern men, bound for Kansas. A gentleman (?) stepped up to me and held out his hand, remarking at the same time, "I certainly know you." I replied, "It was possible. He asked me to accompany them into town. I declined, stating that the boat would soon put out, and that I would not have time. He then turned to the others who came on board with him and held a short consultation, when he again turned to me and said: "Accompany us into town."

I replied that I would not.

He then said, "By God, you shall go! Come on, boys, lay hold!"

And, suiting the action to the word, they laid hold of me, and forcibly dragged me off the boat. Resistance would have been useless. They took me to a hotel, where I was introduced to several distinguished (?) individuals, after which we got supper. About 9 or 10 p. m., the same evening, I was invited to take a walk. Of course I was obliged to go. After walking about two miles we met another party—one of whom carried a pail. Very little was said to me; the talking was all among themselves aside. I was asked if I was returning to the Territory? What business I intended following when there?

I had forgotten to state that the leader of this party of hell hounds had seen me when I was a prisoner in the Missouri camp at Leecompton, K. T., in December, 1855. At that time I had in possession two hundred copies of the "Constitution of the State of Kansas," which, with other papers, were stolen and destroyed.

To the inquiry as to my future business in the Territory my reply was that I would probably be connected with a paper. They talked apart for some time. Finally the leader told me:

"We owe you a small debt, and it might as well be paid now as at any other time."

I replied, "As you see fit, gentlemen; I am in your hands."

"He takes it cool," said one of them; another, "It's a damned shame, boys, let him loose."

"No to!" said half a dozen voices. "Let us fix him and give him a starter toward Abolitionism."

"Good," cried the crowd.

"Well, Sir," addressing me, "you will please divest yourself of your clothing."

"I would rather be excused."

"No parleying now Sir; take hold, boys; lay his garments one side, and let everything be done in an orderly manner."

My clothing was removed from off my back; and instead I was covered with a sticky substance, generally called "tar;" feathers were poured over it. I also received several severe strokes from persons in the gang, and was otherwise brutally treated. My clothes were then given to me, and I was told to depart. I started toward St. Louis; walked about fifteen miles between that and morning, pulling up at a wood-yard as soon as the boat came along, and I took deck passage for St. Louis, where I tarried a few days, and again took passage for Kansas City. I arrived safely. Several interesting scenes took place on my second trip, but I will not give them here.

Yours for Freedom in Kansas, J. F. CUMMINGS.

## NEW YORK HERALD.

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1856.

The Institution and Progress of Slavery in the United States.

Many, very many, of the people of the Northern States look upon the holding of the colored race in servitude as an offence against humanity and a violation of Christian principle. Of these a large number are sincere in their opinions; but a very large number are not. They are sustained, not only by the agitation at home, but by the tendency of public sentiment abroad; and as the discussion has grown more serious, it has become more violent.

But are we not obliged, after all, to take a practical view of the subject? Are we not compelled, by the force of circumstances, by natural causes, and by the irresistible necessities of public policy, to look otherwise upon the subject, and that, too, on the score of humanity?

We must not forget how this servitude commenced in this country, nor how it has made progress. It has, by the permission of Providence and the inscrutable laws which control the interests of nations, increased upon us, and become part and parcel of the country, its political, in-



commercial strength. It has not dwindled away, though we have advanced in power; it is an element of our towering greatness; in short, it has become a practical question—one in which there is no desire to exclude the efforts of benevolence, but which outgrows all individual interests and all private feeling.

It is not any longer a question to be dealt with as a moral abstraction, in which our Howards may use their personal influence; it is one foreseen, foreshadowed and provided for in that great instrument of our confederation which we call our Constitution, and under which we have become one of the greatest nations that ever inhabited the globe. It is a political economical question, and as such only can it now be dealt with.

When the Constitution was adopted, slavery was universal in the States. The slave trade itself was for a time recognized as a portion of the commerce of the country, and its extinguishment was only prospective. It was a difficult problem, its angles were many, its elements were conflicting, it gave rise to much and long debate. But finally an adjustment and a solution were found in the present constitutional provisions, and property in persons was recognized as a basis of representation and a guaranty for the safety of the Southern States. This arrangement became indispensable to secure the political independence of the nation and the particular sovereignty of the States, jealous of their rights, and many of them reluctant, up to the last moment, to make any surrender. When these concessions were made, there were but about 300,000 slaves in the country. Still they were largely taken into the account when the ratio of representation was fixed upon.

It was not long, however, before it was found out that certain products—such as cotton, rice, indigo and subsequently sugar—were peculiar to our Southern climate, and their cultivation seemed a natural as well as an industrial necessity. Slave labor, because it was cheap labor adapted to the growth of these staples, became a political as well as an economic resource. They soon interested the whole world. The whole world wanted them. Commerce required them—social life demanded them.

No human self-denial could withstand these wants. Without the fabric of cotton, without the food of rice, without the aliment of sugar, the condition of our own race would not have been so rapidly improved.

Slave labor, therefore, became an important auxiliary in increasing the comforts of America and Europe; and finally, under this irresistible impulse the colored population have become necessary as the cultivators of fields where white men cannot labor, and whose products were actually indispensable. They now number, therefore, nearly three millions, and without their aid one-half the confederacy would be without agricultural value. Nor is this all. The Northern States would lose most of their commerce. Their ships would rot—their warehouses would be empty. Those persons who flippantly ignore all these questions must have taken leave of their judgments if they adopt any other view of the matter. Besides, no race of men on the face of the globe have thus far, been more cared for than this, and none have been better protected. But we are met with two objections: First, that the moral aspect of this state of things is bad; that the rights of humanity are disregarded and trampled on. But is it so? Have we not found, by the actual experience both of England and France, that liberation has not advanced the condition of these people? What is the issue of things in the West Indies but the decay, demoralization and ruin of the emancipated? Is not every art resorted to by these very nations to find other races to do their work, and to submit to a more rigorous discipline? What is the meaning of the introduction of Coolies, Chinamen and South American Indians into the islands of the Antilles, but a confession

that the new system is an entire failure? We cannot shut our eyes to the fact. The principle of liberation has no more elevated the colored race than the erection of our hundreds of churches has thoroughly reformed the city of New York. On the score of humanity and religion alone, their emancipation from servitude may be claimed to be no emancipation from vice. Civilization, industry and good morals have not advanced one step for all the efforts of the liberators, but the contrary. There are about twenty millions of the colored races in the world, and the American slaves surpass them in every respect. They alone of all have made any advances in education, religion, or social comfort.

Next, the South may have good cause to say, that as slave property was made an element of political power by the framers of our Constitution, so by that instrument itself they have a right to require its recognition now. The balances of power were kept even by these compromises from necessity, and they cannot now be kept evenly without them. We have prospered under this practical adjustment of things, and when we cease to recognize it we shall as a nation cease to be. Putting all other considerations out of question, this alone is worthy of serious thoughtfulness. The South and the North must grow together equally in their sovereign power, or they must be forever separated.

The Kansas bill of Mr. Douglas, whatever form it may assume in its details, is a rectification of this disturbed balance of power, and in that light it may be frankly acquiesced in. Suppose this is the real object, why should we blink the question? It is of little moment who succeeds in holding the reins of government for four years, if the government itself but firmly lasts. We must not consider men so much as we should the Union. This bond is all that makes us great and happy and prosperous.

We may, indeed, expect some of our favorite partisans to be damaged in the struggle. When an army goes into the field it expects to lose in the ranks and from its leaders. It is the fate of war—it is the lot of men. So we must not care for these casualties in defence of our great national unity. We will cure the wounded, and we will bury the dead with all the honors of war.

Let, then, the Kansas question be settled in the right spirit. Let the South, if it wishes, have fair play. Let the Territory come in as a slave State, and there will be no further cause of discontent. The Union must and shall be preserved.

A Convention of Kansas Aid Committees met at Buffalo on Wednesday, and adjourned yesterday. The object of the meeting was to secure aid in behalf of freedom in Kansas. Gov. Reeder and Gerrit Smith appear to have been the leading spirits of the gathering, and very billicious and bloodthirsty leaders they were, if we may judge by the reports of their speeches, which we have received by telegraph. The Governor defended the bogus Legislature which has just been so summarily broken up by Col. Sumner. He cited the circumstances attending the admission of Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, Iowa, Florida, Michigan and Arkansas, to show that Congress could not reject the Topeka constitution on the ground of irregularity, and dwelt particularly on the opinion of Attorney General Butler, who, in the case of Arkansas, decided that a Territorial Legislature had no right to authorize the formation of a State constitution. All this was evidently tame talking in the opinion of Mr. Smith. He was in favor of sending armed men to Kansas. They would get no more money from him for Bibles and ploughs, but he would contribute to send men out to fight. He had hoped to hear of a collision between the federal troops and the free State men; then he would hear of Northern States arraying themselves against the federal government. He believed the time had come to use physical force. Mr. Reeder was equally anxious for a fight. When the collection was taken up Mr. Smith put down \$1,500 per month until the war was over. He was very anxious for some one to follow his example, but not

a solitary dime was forthcoming. Instead of subscribing the shew of war, the Convention resolved to raise \$100,000 a month to carry on the campaign, and to do many other extraordinary things. Eli Thayer was appointed general agent, to superintend the formation of a committee who are to disburse the funds when collected. A national central committee of seventeen persons and Gov. Reeder was selected, and the Convention dissolved.

**THE WORK OF THE NEW KANSAS BILL.**—THE CLEARING OUT GOING ON SWIMMINGLY IN THE TERRITORY.—Our last advices from Kansas show that Col. Sumner is doing up the work with the free State squatters in fine style. After establishing a cordon along the Kansas boundary to keep out the pestilent abolitionists, the border ruffians have been ably seconded by the President and Col. Sumner's artillery and dragoons in the dispersion of the free State Legislature at Topeka. The free State party thus being completely silenced in Kansas, and everything being ready in the House at Washington for the bill of Mr. Toombs, now is the time to strike for Kansas as a slave State. The Senate have paved the way, and in the late order for 20,000 extra copies of the bill of Mr. Toombs, excluding the free soil party amendments, they have taken the first step for making out a good case before the people. Every rational man knows that this bill means Kansas as a slave State. Mr. Toombs is honest enough to admit it; but Mr. Douglas, Mr. Senator Bigler of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Pugh of Ohio, deny it and dodge it, and whip the devil round the stump at a full gallop. Make the bill as pure as the gospel, and as clear as the truth in favor of Kansas as a free State, and give the execution of the law to Mr. Pierce, his five commissioners, his army of dragoons and his Missouri militia, and Mr. Toombs will be satisfied. The bill means Kansas as a slave State—nothing else; but we say again, that as the South are entitled to it, let the bill pass. But why not confess its object?

## THE EVENING POST.

FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 11.

### A SOUTHERN VIEW OF DOUGLASS' LAST SCHEME.

Some of the observers of the times at the South dislike the aspect of the political sky. The *Columbia Times*, a South Carolina print, looks up at the clouds and predicts a change of wind. In its issue of the 8th instant, it says:

"The scenes of strife and bloodshed enacting in Kansas Territory, and the consequent excitement of the popular mind in the North, are seriously damaging the cause of the democratic party in the non-slaveholding states, and rapidly diminishing the chances of success of its presidential nominees in November next. In every section of abolitionism there are unmistakable signs that an overwhelming defeat awaits Buchanan and Breckenridge. A union of all the antagonistic elements is rapidly taken place—a union of abolitionism, freemasonry, whigs, democrats, republicans, Know-Nothings; in short, the whole North. Divisions and defections—divisions, that cannot be healed, and defections that can scarce be numbered—are destroying the once boasted unity of the democracy, and rapidly undermining its power.

"Deserted and disheartened the political leaders of the northern democracy, who have seduced the people of the South into the delusion that the party North is sound upon the slavery question and may be implicitly relied on, and those southern political tricksters, who have basely lent themselves to spread and strengthen the delusion, are chagrined by the spectacle and stand in awe, awaiting the dread defeat of their forces, and scarce knowing what to do to prevent it. In their desperation they have devised the scheme of authorizing an enumeration of the inhabitants of Kansas territory, and the holding a convention of the people for the adoption of a constitution, and to make application to Congress for admission into the Union as a state upon an equality with the existing states. They hope by this means to terminate the scenes of outrage and murder that are daily occurring, to allay the excitement in the northern states, and repair the falling fortunes of the democracy."

The *Times* has hit the point of the matter. The authors of the bill in the Senate are not animated by any sense of justice, or any desire

to be left to the parties who are tending for Kansas. They see their adherents falling off by hundreds, by thousands; their party is fast melting away; defeat stares them in the face, and it is important that some scheme should be adopted at once, which shall have a plausible appearance, and a semblance at least, if not the substance of justice, which they can talk of as a measure of pacification, and with which they can allay the popular indignation now rapidly rising to a white heat, at least till the November elections are over.

As a measure of pacification, this scheme of Douglas has nothing in it. Considered simply as a stratagem to postpone the agitation, it is the poorest device in the world. Pass this bill and the struggle will still go on. The people of the North do not mean to allow themselves to be shut out of the territory to the west of Missouri; they are raising money and making preparations to send out emigrants in such numbers as they have never been sent yet, and they will not submit to be stopped at the frontier. In one way or another, they will shortly find themselves on the prairies of Kansas, and whether they go into the territory armed or not, they will be found with arms in their hands soon after they are there. Pass the Senate bill, and it will only hurry the preparations which are now making, and concentrate the agitation. In the meantime, the Missourians will not be inactive in keeping up the blockade of their frontier, and guarding all the passes by which the free-state emigrants could enter the territory through their state. On their own part they will enter the territory freely; Colonel Sumner, with his six or eight hundred men, will not be able to keep them out; if they cannot go in companies, they may slip over the frontier one by one, and assemble at any convenient point in the interior. They will work the harder to drive out and keep out the free-state settlers, because of the shortness of the time in which the task is to be completed, a circumstance which will serve both as a stimulus and an encouragement. If the Senate bill passes the House, therefore, we may expect to see the anarchy in Kansas increase, the murders thicken, the armed conflicts become more frequent. The combatants would, in all probability, under the encouragement of so foolish a law, become so numerous in the territory as ultimately to disregard the presence of the United States troops.

If the leaders of the Buchanan party are in such a fright as their friend of the South Carolina print admits them to be, their best policy is certainly to pass the bill from the House of Representatives, and get rid altogether of the agitation, which they perceive to be so dangerous to their party, by taking away its cause. By the bill which the Senate has lately passed, the cause is left still in existence and activity; the strife for the possession of the disputed territory will go on. The bill from the House decides and quiets the controversy forever.

Let those who are in danger make the concessions by which safety is to be purchased, instead of requiring them from us. The cause of those who resist the extension of slavery into the territory is losing nothing by time—it grows stronger and stronger every hour that the admission of Kansas into the Union, with the Topeka constitution, is postponed. We offer Douglas and Buchanan, and the other leaders of the party, which the Columbia print describes as crumbling into fragments, a measure of peace. Let them accept it, or let the decomposition go on.

## WASHINGTON.

[Correspondence of the Evening Post.]

Another Kansas Debate in the Senate—Trumbull's Commentary on Squatter Sovereignty—The Brooks Affair in the House.

WASHINGTON, July 10, 1856.

The Senate was yesterday nearly nine successive hours engaged discussing the merits of the Kansas bill which it had passed the day before, a noticeable example of the "quieting" effects which commonly follow such one-sided and arbitrary measures of pacification. The motion from which this debate sprang was a simple resolution to print 20,000 extra copies of the bill.

Trumbull observed that he saw no reason for publishing an extra number of this, more than of any other bill, except as an electioneering document as illustrating the change of views in its framers in regard to squatter sovereignty. But in that case, it would be well to have the bill accompanied with the various rejected amendments which were offered by senators opposed to it. Other remarks followed from Weller, Wade, Wilson, Hale and Douglas, the last of whom, in his peculiar manner, adverted to the "Black Republicans" assertion, that the object of the bill was to plant slavery in Kansas, and in turn charged them with desiring to continue the reign of anarchy and murder in that territory merely to make political capital. For this abusive imputation he was rebuked by Fessenden, with a cool severity of criticism that told very disadvantageously on the "Little Giant."

After assuring Douglas that the effect of his arguments was not enhanced by the style and language in which they were usually delivered, he reiterated his opinion that the extension of slavery was the object of the first and of this Kansas bill. That it was the object of the original bill, he proved by briefly reciting its antecedents and its consequences. Among the antecedents he mentioned the peculiar line established for the northern boundary of Kansas. Instead of selecting the Platte River, the natural boundary between Kansas and Nebraska as the northern limit of Kansas, it was, apparently without reason, brought down parallel with the northern line of Missouri, so that the territory could not be watered from the east except through a slave state. The slavery propagandizing societies organized by Aclison and others in Missouri, in advance of the passage of the bill, was another indication of its object, and of what was expected by the border-ruffians of its results.

Mr. Fessenden's speech, though entirely impromptu, was characterized by such compactness of argument, and such admirable precision of language, that no mere sketch could do it justice. Toombs, of Georgia, undertook unsuccessfully to reply to Fessenden. His legal argument, however, was too foggy for ordinary comprehension, though the same cannot be said of other portions of his speech, particularly of his eulogy of the border ruffians, whom he seemed to consider, with the *Richmond Enquirer*, "the highest style of men." Toombs has something of a reputation for eloquence and ability, both of which are vastly overrated, unless a certain vehement overbearing dogmatism can be passed off for such attributes. He admitted that he had not read the late report of the Investigating Committee, and yet he did not hesitate to deny and deride, without stint, the statements which they make as to the events to which they have been witnesses.

The speeches which followed most worthy of remark were those of Stuart, of Michigan; Trumbull, of Illinois; and Pugh, of Ohio. Stuart, with the rest of his northern political associates, feel uneasy at the prospect before the U. They dread the effect of their bill for the enslavement of Kansas among their constituents, as was manifested by the faltering support which they gave it. Stuart protested against the acts of violence committed both by the free-state and the border-ruffian parties. He said that he had to withstand, in maintaining his position at home, the general sentiment of the people, and hence his southern friends would appreciate the sacrifices he had made in supporting this bill.

In reply to the statement that the democrats who voted to repeal certain territorial laws in Kansas, had abandoned the doctrine of congressional non-interference, he said that the bill only repealed such laws as conflicted with the act organizing the territory. He also averred that the argument for the immediate admission of Kansas without a previous enabling act of Congress derived from the case of the admission of Michigan, without such an act was wholly unsound. The cases were not parallel. Michigan was a part of the northwest territory, and by its ordinance of 1787 a provision was made for the admis-

sion of five states, with requisite population. See therefore had an enabling act sufficient to justify her admission by Congress.

Most unexpectantly Trumbull stepped into the argument just here, and effectually demolished the flimsy reasoning of the Michigan senator. He said that the ordinance of '87, dated before the formation of the present Union. How then could a state be admitted into the Union under an instrument which was framed and adopted before that Union was founded? As for Stuart's assertion, that no law was repealed in the bill, except such as were inconsistent with the organic act; and that therefore, those who sustained it had not abandoned the doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty," he would ask whether it was inconsistent with the organic act for the territorial legislature to appoint a day for an election? Obviously not. And yet the law ordering an election on the first Monday in October, is expressly repealed in this bill.

Again, was it inconsistent with the organic act for the legislature to prescribe the qualifications of voters? And yet this bill expressly abrogates the

territorial law to this effect. There were many other instances of the kind, but these two were enough to show how completely democratic senators had thrown overboard their old favorite of squatter sovereignty.

Mr. Trumbull argued various other points with his customary acuteness; among others, he took up the common blood and treasure theory, which asserts that the territories being the property of all the states, the citizens of each state have a right to go in to them with their property of whatever kind. He maintained that slave property cannot be held in a territory without supporting the law of the local municipal laws necessary for its protection, and if the citizens from the states undertook to carry with them the laws and institutions of their respective sections to their new home, there would be no limit to the strife and evil consequences that would ensue.

Mr. Trumbull asserted that no one state, as a state or corporation, whether it be South Carolina or Massachusetts, had a separate peculiar right to the territories of the Union. No one state has a right to insist on the introduction of her peculiar institutions there. Neither does Congress do injustice, when it allows the same rights there to southern as it allows to northern citizens.

Pugh's speech was but an echo of that of Stuart's, though delivered with greater energy of gestulation. Shortly after its delivery, the Senate at nine o'clock at night, passed the bill ordering the printing, and adjourned.

The debate in the House on the subject of expelling Brooks has been quite interesting, and thus far has been characterized by an unexpected good temper on all sides. When, however, Hickman of Pennsylvania told that of South Carolina that, if the (Ore) included him in his remark that those who voted to print 100,000 copies of the report on the Brooks outrage, he said that which was false. Kett sprang forward as if to avenge his colleague, but was restrained by his friends. Otherwise we might have had another scene. For Hickman is true grit, and would not shrink from any encounter which he may perceive. Bingham's argument in favor of the majority report, is much admired for its manly and impressive eloquence.

To-day, Mr. Pennington, of N. J., and Mr. Cumins, of Mass., sustained at length the position of the majority of the Committee, Cobb and Foster, of Ga., taking the side of Brooks, that Congress has no jurisdiction on the subject. The latter, who is a South American Baptist preacher, "improved" his theme by an exhibition of the religious blessings enjoyed by the slaves, from which it might be inferred that in order to enter Heaven it is necessary first to go into bondage.

## THE BLOCKADE OF KANSAS.

[From the correspondence of the New York Tribune.]

Lawrence, Kansas Territory, July 1, 1856.

I learn that the business of stopping all free-state emigrants, be they coming in what shape they may, is general and systematic. The roads leading through Northwestern Missouri to St. Joseph, Parkville, and Liberty, are carefully guarded, and emigrants from the western states, in wagons with their families, are turned back, and in some cases abused and plundered. Missouri and the southern armed emigrants think they can take care of and are coolly preparing to sweep out the free-state settlers by wholesale murder, but they are determined that no more free-state men shall be permitted to enter the territory. Well, let them beware. Our numbers are few; our ranks are thinned by villainous arrests, and still more villainous murder; but they may find another "three hundred" as brave as those who fought at Thermopylae, to stand in the breach. We cannot fight all Missouri, but as sure as there is a just God in Heaven, if there is another Missouri invasion, we will try.

One old man came to me to-day, and asked me "what he should do; what redress he could have?" His son, with his wife and family, had been coming to join him in the territory, but had been driven back while trying to cross the river at Parkville. I told him there was no remedy; none in the courts, none in the territorial or national executive; no security, even, but what the strength of his arm guaranteed.

The dragoons centre their forces toward Topeka. The Missouri frontier is once more exposed, and at the very time that another invasion may be expected. Last night intelligence came in that the dragoons were going about trying to disarm free-state people. I have no doubt from what I have seen that the dra-



goons will attempt to take the arms from all free-state men going toward Topeka, and with the bands of banditti in the country, and the prospect of an invasion, the people cannot and will not allow themselves to be disarmed.

### Murder of Mr. Gay.

[From the correspondence of the New York Tribune.]

OSAWATOMIE, K. T., June 23, 1856.

Of the sixteen horses taken from Osawatomie, two have been recovered. These belonged to the mail-agent between Westport and Osawatomie. Their being in Osawatomie at the time, suffered from being in bad company. Through the kind instrumentality of Colonel Boone, now Postmaster in Westport (the successor of Sheriff Jones), one of the horses was recovered; it was found, I believe, with the Hon. Milton Mayes, of Westport, and was persuaded back by the influence of the Postmaster. The other was yet in possession of Captain Reed, of Independence, Captain Reed was chief in command of the Osawatomie robbers. He is now a candidate for Congress, one of the grandees of Independence, "a Southern Rights man to the core." *Sic transit gloria.*

It was in Osawatomie that I first heard of the atrocious murder of Mr. Gay, the Shawnee Indian Agent. I got the particulars minutely from one who was acquainted with the murdered man, and who has just got to Osawatomie from the scene of the transaction. Mr. Gay was recently appointed by the administration at Washington. He was from Michigan. He had been a national democrat of the Douglas discipleship, but an honest one, and had come to Kansas prepared to disapprove of the steps taken by the free-state men to defend themselves from the attacks of slavery, but tried to reconcile this with a desire to see Kansas a free state. I think the scales of the "aquatic sovereignty" delusion must have fallen from his eyes ere they were brutally closed in the long sleep of political martyrdom for freedom.

Bulford's company had a camp in the Shawnee Reserve. This camp was composed of southerners and volunteers from around Westport. Being in the lower part of the Reserve, and having no free-state man to plunder save an occasional unlucky traveler, they commenced operations on the Indians, killing their hogs, and making themselves at home in a variety of ways. This was going on while the troops were camped some twenty miles up the Reserve, for the purpose of driving them out. Mr. Gay, as was his duty, having been complained to by the Indians, went to Sumner, and requested that the Shawnee property be defended. It was then that Sumner drove out this camp, and they, when they first saw the soldiers, hoisted their flag, and prepared for action, but seeing the artillery, and the strength of the dragoons, hauled down their flag and left. This was undoubtedly the cause of Gay's death.

My informant, while going from Westport to Kansas City, last Saturday, met Mr. Gay and his son going towards Westport, and on conversation learned that they were going towards the Shawnee Reserve; alas! they never reached it. They had gone through Westport, and had passed on the great California road, and had just reached the state line, when they were met by three men, two of them belonging to Bulford's camp, and one being a resident of Westport. They accosted Mr. Gay and his son, and offered them something to drink; the son tasted the liquor, but Mr. Gay told them he never drank. Upon that they asked him whether he was a free-state man or a pro-slavery man, and he had just said he was a free-state man, when one of the villains drew his revolver and shot Mr. Gay in the breast. The wound was desperate, and would probably have proved fatal, but the victim had strength and courage to seize his assassin, drag him from his horse, and throw him on the ground.

At this point the young man, seeing that they were unarmed and would be overpowered, cried to his father to flee, and just as that father was about to do so he received several other pistol shots—one entered the back of his head, another penetrated the temple above the eye, and one pierced his hand. He dropped dead, and the son, seeing his father's fate, turned and fled. A great many shots were fired at the young man, but only one bullet hit him, wounding him severely in the thigh. They followed him, screaming and shouting to "Kill him," but he escaped into Westport. The corpse of the murdered man was brought into Westport that evening. At the instance of some indignant citizen, a warrant was issued by a magistrate, but no officer could be found to serve it; they dared not, even if they had wished. After a day or so, the business men of this place, fearing the effect of such a brutal murder of a United States officer, offered a reward of \$500 for the apprehension of the murderers; but this was a farce. Who dare arrest any one for such a crime in Western Missouri?

and fate of the Parkville Luminary is calculated to awe into silent submission all refractory lovers of peace, justice, and republican freedom. Were it not for this despotic terrorism, there would, undoubtedly, have been long since a strong effort made in that quarter by the press and people to put down mob law, and restore quiet to the border. But Atchison and his followers have provided against all that by lynching some, driving off others, administering admonitory warnings to the suspected, &c. Yet, in spite of all this there are still brave souls in Western Missouri who have joined the "Blue Lodges" for the sole purpose of giving timely notice to the Free State men of all their doings. There are others who furnish contributions in aid of the invasions of Kansas, talk with the collectors, learn the contemplated movements, and immediately send off information to the intended victims. There is scarcely a gang of borderers anywhere in Kansas or Missouri, which does not contain some secret spy of this sort. This was long ago suspected by the leaders, who, to prevent betrayal, have frequently suppressed their plans entirely, not allowing even their followers to know where they intended to strike until they were on the road to the scene of action.

We mention these facts to show that all Western Missouri is not of the border ruffian stripe, and that, should the Free State cause eventually triumph in Kansas, it will find thousands of white men in Missouri, right in the most lawless districts, who will rejoice at it as the dawning of their own freedom from an odious thralldom. In the Weston, Mo., Reporter of June 27th, we find an editorial article on the disarming and turning back of the Chicago emigrants which shows that the press of the region alluded to is beginning to pluck up spirit. After narrating the circumstances of the case, the Reporter says:

"The treatment of these Northern men raises a grave question for the consideration of every man who has an interest in the welfare of this country: Are the citizens of other States to be deprived of their right to emigrate to Kansas? Are the principles of the Kansas bill to be nullified, and bands of men stationed along the border to demand a pass word before the citizens of a neighboring State can have the privilege of going into that Territory? If this be the principle of the Kansas bill, we shall be the last man on the green earth to endorse it. The whole proceeding is an outrage, and cannot be defended upon any correct principle, and the consequence will be most disastrous to the whole country. Against such a course of policy we enter our protest, and appeal to the good men of all parties to rebuke this wild and blind folly of a few men, whose acts are doing more to abet the Kansas than even the Kansas aid societies of Boston."

If the good and true men of Western Missouri had done their duty long ago, in this Kansas business, a great deal of trouble and excitement might have been averted. The Reporter attributes to the "few men" the turning back of these emigrants. They were the same parties in number, and with the same leaders as those who committed the dastardly outrages in Kansas. And if they were a "few men," and not the fair representatives of Western Missouri, why did not the Weston Reporter, and papers like it, come out manfully, without fear of results, and denounce all such reckless proceedings? Whatever might have been the reason, they did not do so. They suffered themselves to be completely cowed. The "few men" have ruled Western Missouri with a rod of iron. They have abolished the freedom of its press, destroyed entirely one flourishing newspaper establishment, proscribed and exiled peaceable Missourians, and at length ruined the trade of the river towns.

Where is the tide of overland emigration which formerly passed up the river, to make its start across the plains? Where are the Indian traders who followed the same route? What Mormon, Christian, Indian trader, or California emigrant will now endanger his safety by passing through Missouri and Kansas? What Northern man will go through Missouri to the far West, under any circumstances, if he can possibly avoid it? The emigrants to Utah, California and Oregon, shun that route as they would a pestilence. The goods they were accustomed to buy in the Missouri frontier towns for their outfit, lie idle and without purchasers. The people of fifteen free States, including a vast majority of the population, wealth, resources, commerce, credit and enterprise of the whole country, are forbidden to enter Kansas by the Missouri route. They dare not set foot on a Missouri river steamboat, without danger of murder or robbery before reaching their journey's end. From the peaceable emigrant the border ruffians take away the gun every man in

that wild region carries to defend himself against desperadoes, Indians and wild beasts. And when they have reduced him to this helpless condition, his wagon, cattle, trunk and valuables of all kinds, fall an easy prey to the bands of outlaws who have seized upon the pretext of the slavery agitation to enrich themselves by plunder. The goods seized and taken from the free State emigrants, have all been appropriated by the robbers to their own use. They do not, therefore, deserve any other name than that of banditti. Political partisans they may have been originally, but they have found it so easy to live by theft and violence that their occupation is now altogether of that kind.

What is to be done in this matter we are unable to say. If the national government or the authorities of Missouri were disposed to do their duty, a way could easily be found of suppressing this organized system of pillage and depredation. But so far from such being the case, the national government has appointed the banditti to responsible offices, where they have more effectually continued their outrages under the sanction of law. And the State arsenals of Missouri have repeatedly afforded them all the arms they needed for their bloody and desperate work. It is useless to ask what right had the Missourians to prevent the northern emigrants from ascending the river to Kansas on a steamboat chartered for their especial use at a port in a free State. No one pretends that they had any right, any more than they had to pillage Lawrence. Fortunately Missouri does not stretch her wing over the whole West. Free Iowa and peaceful Nebraska open hospitably their pathways to the northern emigrants, and Kansas is thus entered by them without trouble. A correspondent of the St. Louis Republican, from whose letter, dated in Kansas, we recently quoted, now writes from Omaha, Nebraska Territory, as follows:

"The report mentioned in my last, that large bodies of emigrants were crossing through Iowa into Nebraska, I find to be correct. Hundreds have undoubtedly crossed the Missouri river into the Territory within the last two weeks, and parties are almost daily pursuing the same route. They are almost wholly composed of young men, very few families being among the number. A portion of these invaders are encamped near Iowa City, awaiting their leader, Lane.

"At Florence, about six miles above this place, the Mormon emigration to Salt Lake has been gathering for some weeks, and this morning the tents were struck, and the whole body, to the number of between seven and eight hundred, proceeded on their journey. Many of them are provided with no other means of conveyance than a small handcart, in which all the moveables, and the young children of the family, are carried. I am told that another body, to the number of six hundred, all Norwegians, are now crossing the State of Iowa towards Florence."

All these emigrants would have passed through Missouri, had that route been unobstructed, and their passage would have been a source of profit to the hotels and storekeepers, and to the makers of articles intended for the outfit of emigrants. The South Carolinians who went to Kansas furnished with goods to sell to the Mormons, have been completely impoverished in consequence of the Mormon emigration taking the Northern route. The emigrants who were turned back on the Missouri have already reached Kansas by the same route. Thus the blockade of the river by a great outrage, while it is not fatal to the cause of freedom in Kansas, is beginning to be felt as a sore evil by those who have given it at least a tacit sanction.

## Our Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH:

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 11, 1856.

### THE KANSAS BILL.

We trust we shall never be called upon to record the passage in the House of the Douglas Bill which has already passed the Senate. Depend upon it, it is a snare, and a delusion, and will be the last act in the great drama of making Kansas a Slave State. That there is danger of its passage it would be idle to conceal. That it is specious is true; but think for one moment of Kansas being put in commission; its future destiny to

## American and Gazette.

PHILADELPHIA:

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1856.

### THE BLOCKADE OF THE MISSOURI RIVER.

A paper published in the Western border region of Missouri, stands but a small chance of safety in undertaking to rebuke as they deserve, the outrageous doings of the followers of Atchison. The

be placed in the hands of five men, to be appointed by President Pierce. Such a movement would seal its fate forever. The Bill of Toombs and Douglas has been framed under the eye of a whole herd of ruffians just arrived at Washington, many of them fresh from slaughter and burnings in Lawrence and elsewhere. It is stated on good authority that four-fifths of the Free State Men have been obliged to leave the territory and it is known that the Missouri River is closed to any but Southern men. In such a state of matters it is adding a new insult to those we have already suffered, to attempt to pass such a bill as that which Douglas urged through the Senate.

To show the danger in which we stand from the candid correspondent of the *North American*, the following:

"Notwithstanding the passage of the bill for the admission of Kansas under the Topeka Convention, the friends of the Administration in the House, are yet hopeful, with the co-operation promised, of carrying that which came from the Senate as a measure of so called 'pacification.' After the recent votes, it is very easy to see that the contest will be close, and that any defection may control the result. Mr. Fillmore's friends, North and South, will combine with the Administration party, as they did on the late tests.

The consummation is near. If the Bill succeeds in the House we deem the case of Free Kansas more desperate than ever before.

## DAILY GAZETTE.

GAZETTE CO. .... Proprietors.

Office—N. E. Corner Fourth and Vine Sts  
Young Men's Democratic Association  
Last Evening.

### SPEECH BY W.M. CORRY!

REPUUDIATES SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY!

THE BIBLE ARGUMENT!

THE UNION IN DANGER!!

A meeting of the Young Men's Democratic Association was held last evening, at which Wm. M. Corry, Democratic member of the Ohio Legislature, made a speech. About one hundred persons were present. At 25 minutes before 9 o'clock, the meeting was organized, and Mr. Corry proceeded to make his speech. His subject was the "Pillars of the Republic." The theory of a republic was that it is as a government by the virtue and intelligence of the community, and for this purpose free discussion was necessary.

He came here not to beat the air but to discuss the great question which now puzzled the people and paralyzed Congress, the question of human freedom, or as some called it—the crime of Slavery.

He would not rely on the Bible argument for Slavery, because that proved to much. If it was good for anything it was good to establish white Slavery. He had no doubt that when Abram and Lot divided the land they both held slaves, but he would not pursue this because he did not intend to go in for white Slavery "as far as advised at present." He hoped men would not be misled by the fallacy that freedom was national and Slavery sectional. He believed in the Constitution, and by that we were bound to admit Kansas as a Slave State, if she claimed admission.

Congress had the right to legislate for all the territories. He did not believe in the right of the settlers in the territories to pass laws excluding slavery or slave-holders or any other class of people. Did not believe in the right of a few men inside a territory to dictate to the twenty-five millions outside.

In Kansas, which was acquired from Mexico, (a voice, from France,) South Carolina has as much right as any other State, for the *Pamlico* registered to acquire it.

Congress held the Territories in trust for the States and could not exclude any species of property recognized in any State. It could not therefore, legally exclude Slavery; but it might polygamy, because that was regarded as a crime in all the States.

The Territories were in a state of pupillage, and this doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty—this claim that a few settlers had a right to make laws for a Territory was a modern discovery—a recent invention.

THE SOUTH HAS OVERSHOT THE MARK.

He said: In the race for this Territory of Kansas I do really believe the South has overshot herself entirely. I do not believe, as was stated here the other evening, that the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Societies were the cause of nine-tenths of the disturbances there. I think the South should have met the Aid Societies by similar Societies. (One faint stamp.)

Slavery was unprofitable where you could not produce rice, or cotton, or sugar. Kansas would be worth nothing to the South as a slave State. Slavery was in a bad condition even in Missouri—it was found very hard to sustain it there.

POLITICAL POWER.

The South was in error as to the political power counted on from Kansas as a slave State. True it would have two slave Senators, but the institution would keep out population, so that it would lose several Representatives.

THE INTEREST OF THE NORTH TO SUSTAIN SLAVERY.

The products of the North—Corn and Wheat—being bulky to transport, it was clearly the interest of the North to sustain slavery, in order to find a market for these near home, to get from the South the gold and silver that they got from Europe for their cotton.

THE SLAVEHOLDER A PUBLIC BENEFACITOR.

The slaveholders were benefiting the world and making us all more comfortable by supplying us with cotton and sugar and coffee.

THE UNION IN DANGER.

He appealed thus to interest, because he had no confidence in man's acting from any other motive, but when he saw a union between men who claimed that slavery *adulterum per se*, and men who claimed that a mere majority had a right to govern he felt that the Union was in danger.

NO FEAR OF THE SOUTH.

There were reasons manifold why the South would not secede. She had her domestic difficulties to contend with—was full of a foreign population of a most incendiary character. The danger was from the fanatics and majority men who were trying to consolidate the Northern States.

LEAVING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

It was a lamentable fact that although its members were not required to speak in terms of respect of a particular Senator, nor to lend a hand in catching a fugitive, nor to vote for extending the area of slavery, yet great numbers were leaving the Democratic party—the only party from which they could expect fidelity or the amelioration of their condition.

The speech of Mr. Corry was an hour and a half long. The greater part of his argument was similar to that in Prof. Christy's book, "Cotton is King."

## CHARLESTON

Friday Morning, July 11, 1856.

## THE MERCURY.

BY HEART & TALKER.

FOR THE MERCURY.

Kansas Meeting in Beaufort District.

At a District Meeting of the citizens of Beaufort District on the 7th of July, agreeable to previous notice, at Gillisonville, on motion of J. H. SCREVEN, Gen. J. H. HOWARD was called to the Chair, and Capt. JAMES BECK appointed Secretary.

The Chairman explained the object of the meeting as being for the purpose of raising men and means for the settlement of Kansas Territory, and the advancement of Southern interests within her borders, and showing the necessity of speedy and immediate action with regard to the subject under consideration.

Capt. R. J. DAVANT moved that a committee of seven be appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions suitable to the occasion.

The Chair appointed Capt. R. J. DAVANT, F. W. FICKLING, Esq., J. H. SCREVEN, Esq., J. D. POPE, Esq., Capt. W. C. JOHNSON, C. C. TRACY, Esq., and Col. A. MCBRIDE PEEPLES, as the committee.

They then retired, and R. L. TILLINGHAST, Esq., being called upon, arose, and reviewing our history from the days of the Revolution up to the present time, laid bare the aggressive acts of Northern invasion, alluding very happily to the days of 1832 as a proud era in the history of South Carolina, urging our claims to Kansas Territory as a principle.

ple to which we are justly entitled, and impressing it upon the minds of the meeting that they ought and should contribute largely to the cause which they were assembled to consider.

The Chair then requested that other gentlemen should come forward and express their views in favor of the Kansas question.

T. E. SCREVEN, Esq., addressed the meeting in a very patriotic and thrilling manner, contributing his every effort towards the advancement of the purpose of the meeting, and urging it as a duty that the Southern people should be up and doing, and prove themselves not to be laggards in the race for equal rights within our common Territories.

Capt. R. J. DAVANT, Chairman of the Committee, upon their return submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which, being read, were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, it is of the first importance to the South that Kansas should become a slaveholding State; we are urgently called upon by considerations of honor, as well as of interest, to do everything in our power to sustain our Southern brethren in Kansas: Therefore

Resolved, 1. That we will contribute money and send men to establish the institution of slavery in that Territory.

2. That a committee of six from each Parish in this District, be appointed by the Chair to receive contributions of money and the names of men who are willing to go to Kansas.

3. That the money raised be sent to the Treasurer of the Charleston Kansas Association, to be applied, in the first place, to the support of men who shall go from this District, and the surplus, if any, be placed at the disposal of the Charleston Kansas Association.

Mr. J. D. POPE then offered a series of resolutions touching the policy of the Government in regard to Kansas, which created an animated discussion, in which Messrs. J. D. POPE, J. H. SCREVEN, R. L. TILLINGHAST, H. M. PARKER, and F. W. FICKLING, participated, and were subsequently withdrawn by the mover.

J. H. SCREVEN, Esq., then offered a resolution that this meeting resolve itself into a Kansas Association by the election Gen. J. H. HOWARD as President, and Captain JAMES BECK as Secretary and Treasurer, which resolution was unanimously adopted.

R. L. TILLINGHAST, Esq., offered a resolution that it is the sense of this meeting, that a Convention of delegates from the several Associations in this State, should meet in Columbia on the 2d Monday in August next, to take such united action as the exigencies of Southern interests in Kansas demand.

The Chair then proceeded to appoint the committees for the different Parishes to receive contributions, as follows:

St. Luke's.—R. J. Davant, Wm. Youmans, T. E. Screven, Jr., H. M. Parker, M. J. Kirk, and Dr. A. G. Verdier.

Prince William's.—Burwell McBride, R. C. Bowers, John Frampton, Dr. J. W. Wynman, Col. W. F. Hutson, and James DeLoach.

St. Peter's.—Capt. W. C. Johnson, Col. Robert Willingham, George M. Rhodes, Col. Isadore Lartigue, Col. W. G. Roberts, and Joseph M. Lawton.

St. Helena.—Edmund Rhett, B. J. Johnson, J. D. Pope, Edgar Fripp, Capt. Daniel Jenkins, and Dr. R. R. Sams.

At the suggestion of the Chairman, it was

Resolved, That the committees appointed to receive subscriptions, shall collect what funds they can, and transmit them to the Treasurer as practicable.

On motion of F. W. FICKLING, Esq., it was

Resolved, That these proceedings be published in the Charleston and Columbia papers.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

JOHN H. HOWARD, Chairman.  
JAMES BECK, Secretary.

## DAILY NEWS.

FRIDAY EVENING July 11

Legislation for Kansas.

[From the Charleston, S.C. News.]  
Can it be a matter of wonder that Kansas is rent by discord and agitated amid confusion, when the congressional legislation for it has been so crude? Crude, because it has been based neither upon the Constitution of the United States nor on any principle or practice in civil government recognized by civilization.



into a civil power; it invited squatters from the South, squatters from the North, squatters from Europe, and devolved it upon them, under the name of popular rights, to decide the question, whether a Southern American citizen, if he chose to go to Kansas and take him to Kansas, should have his rights of property therein recognized in that territory? The result was fraud and violence in every form: fraud in elections, frauds of invasion, revolution and treason, civil war and bloodshed, anarchy and military rule. Yet the unprincipled principle of that law is gravely set up as the high doctrine on which the Presidential and all elections should turn—the elections on which the representative system of our republican government, and all its other vast interests and policy depend. Congress too has caught the spirit that it degenerates the scenes of this political distraction in its halls, and around the very altars of our country.

This banquet of blood and anarchy has been set up by Douglas and such men, as the very "feast of reason and flow of soul!" But now at last comes the mandarin but practical admission that the Nebraska-Kansas Act has proven to be worse than a humbug. Mr. Douglass and his complices having mocked and cheated the South, having lashed into fury the North, having emasculated the Constitution, and enthroned anarchy in and out of Congress, now see that their squatter sovereignty and alien measure will not work, and consequently have reported and acted on a bill to reorganize Kansas.

This measure was upon Wednesday last, engaged in the Senate all night, and passed that body on Thursday morning. The principle of the old Act has proven itself to be unworkable both in theory and practice. Mr. Douglass has found it to be necessary to resume for Congress its legitimate functions over the Territories—powers which he attempted to argue belonged only to the dear squatter people who settled upon them. It is time to speak plain on this matter—still plainer than we have done, although for more than two years we have warned our people against the mischief contained in it. There has been political treachery to the Constitution and the South. To the Constitution on the part of Douglas, because his Nebraska-Kansas measure was but a contrivance for Congress to shirk its duty under the Constitution to afford protection alike to the Southerner with the Northerner in his property when in the Territories. To the South, on the part of Southern statesmen, when they permitted the fatal evasion to be made, apparently under the hollow pretence of securing peace (yet there has been no peace,) but in reality that they might keep in with national parties, share their spoils, and have Washington as their honorable agreeable, *long-ago* place.

It will be remembered that the first Kansas Act contained a clause permitting aliens, not naturalized, not American citizens, to vote in that Territory on three months residence. To the new bill just acted on, Mr. Adams, a Senator from Mississippi, moved an amendment to strike out that clause from the old Act. The following was the vote.

(This vote we have already given [Ed. News.]

Observe this vote closely. The Democratic Senators were quite divided—Democracy now divides on the policy of so wanting a support of all badge in face of the Presidential canvass. It will be observed that fourteen or fifteen Southern Senators voted to restrict—yes, to cut off the vicious privilege of any suffrage by an alien. On the other hand the Senators from the North West, a free-soil region, where the foreign born element is powerful and rampant, Douglas, Cass, Bright and others, pandered to that alien influence. This latter fact is pregnant with meaning. An intense struggle for the foreign vote is going on in the Northern or free States between the Democratic and Black Republican parties; and as that vote there is generally free soil in its tendencies, it now appears to be probable that it will generally go, particularly the Germans, for Fremont. It was to outbid the Republicans, and carry the support over to Buchanan and the Democracy, that Douglas and friends have continued the pandering to alienism.

But it appears that three Southern Senators, Evans of So. Ca., Shidell of La., and Toombs of Ga., split off from the mass of their Southern brethren, and went with Douglas and alien squatters. What can be the solution? Shidell and Toombs are party hacks, and were probably governed by party considerations in favor of Buchanan and Democracy. But this from a South Carolina Senator!

Is it not true that permitting an alien—an unnaturalized foreigner—to vote, is not in harmony with the letter or spirit of the Constitution? Is it not in derogation of the dignity, the essential nature, the fundamental rights of American citizen-ship? Is it just to either the native or foreign citizen? Is it not the very quintessence of demagoguery? Is it not a direct blow, struck not only at our republican system of government, but at the vitals of the South? Nine-tenths of the foreign immigrants land North—are opposed to slavery—are by interests disposed to monopolize the Territory

as free-soil—and such portion as go to Kansas, probably get there under the auspices of the Abolition emigrant Aid Societies.

In connection with Mr. Wilson's vote, which was contrary to all professions of American sentiment, we will consider, in a day or two, the position and prospects, North and South, of the American party. It involves a curious history.

All the four substitutes proposed in the House for the Senate bill in relation to Kansas, reprobate some or all of the territorial laws, and with the exception of the HAVEN-FILLMORE plan, propose to restore the Missouri Compromise. Three or four extreme Southern men profess to regard the Senate bill as too favorable to the Free Soilers. The object of this pretence, is to give some of the weak Northern brethren an excuse for again voting with the South.

From the Cleveland Leader.

"FREE" DOM'S DAWN OF "DAY."

AIR—Oh, Sunday.

1.

Come all ye young Americans,  
And round the banner stand,  
For the Freedom of our country.  
With a willing heart and hand—  
Strike now for Truth and Victory.  
'Tis Duty's mandate stern,  
And the keeping of our birthright,  
Is the work we, young, must learn

CHORUS.

Free then, forever,  
We'll challenge every foe;  
Maintain the Right  
With all our might,  
And Tyranny o'erthrow.

2.

FREMONT, Free Speech, Free State, Freedom,  
Be that the battle cry,  
And with the "FREE" the "DAY" is ours—  
A "DAY" of judgement nigh—  
When Loco knces—(Belshazzar like)—  
Shall knock, but all in vain.  
For then the coming "DAY" of wrath  
Will not be "FREE" from pain.

CHORUS.

Free then, forever,  
We'll challenge every foe;  
Maintain the Right  
With all our might,  
And Tyranny o'erthrow.

3.

For Freedom, then, (the living light  
Of Glory—by that name.)  
And for the Right strike down whatever  
Would quench its sacred flame;  
And for it rally, brave ye hosts  
Of Freedom—Fight your way—  
Down "Black" on "Buchanan" of night,  
And up with "FUNK" and "DAY."

CHORUS.

Free then, forever,  
We'll challenge every foe;  
Maintain the Right  
With all our might,  
And Tyranny o'erthrow! H. G. P.

CLEVELAND, July 4th, 1856.

# Daily Democrat.

July 13, 1856.

## The Conservative Element Aroused.

If no other good result had attended Col. Benton's campaign in Missouri, it would be found that the conservative feeling which is rallying at the first blast of his bugle throughout the State, will entitle him to the thanks of every supporter of law and order, and every patriot who desires to see restored peace.

On yesterday we published the proceedings of a meeting in Fayette county, where Col. Young bearded Billy Shields in his den. To-day, we give below the abstract of a meeting of citizens *irrespective of party* in Clay county. The Liberty Tribune, in speaking of the circumstances which called for such action, says:

"We would quietly rather than add to the excitement produced in our county by the outrage committed on Mr. Sessions, a gentleman who stands as fair as any man among us, but we cannot refrain from saying that our people gave unmistakable evidence on Monday last that such scenes shall not again take place in the county. We are proud to record the fact that the movement at the count house was not a party movement; but that men of all parties voted for the resolutions which will be found in this paper. Freedom of speech is one of the fundamental principles of our government. No man or set of men have a right to set themselves up as the judges of what a freeman shall say except in the way of legal process."

Here are the proceedings of the meeting:

### PUBLIC MEETING.

At a meeting of the citizens of Clay county, irrespective of party, held in the court house in the city of Liberty, on Monday, June 30th, 1856, to investigate certain charges made against the character of Darius Sessions. Thos. T. Sweatman was called to the chair, and B. W. Nowlin chosen secretary. After hearing the statements of a number of persons in regard to the objects of the meeting, and after listening to quite an eloquent and patriotic speech from Mr. Sessions, upon motion the chairman appointed the following committee to report resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting, viz: From Liberty township, Darwin J. Atkins and George W. Wymore; from Gallatin, James W. Craig and Jephtha H. Hollingsworth; from Platte, Theodore Duncan and Joseph D. Anderson; from Fishing river, Milton Cravens and Luke W. Burns; and from Washington, John Arthur.

The committee reported the following preamble and resolutions which upon being read were unanimously adopted, viz:

Whereas, An unfortunate state of excitement in regard to the question of slavery has been awakened in our country, resulting from the movements of the abolitionists in attempting to colonize the territory of Kansas, which is detrimental to the institution of the south; and whereas the fruits of that excitement are seen not only in the territory, but in our own country, in the feelings of suspicion, bitterness and personal animosity which are doing untold mischief among our citizens; and whereas we deem it to be the duty of every good citizen to discourage and frown down all such attempts as tending to destroy the peace and quiet of society, and render insecure and unsafe the property, lives and liberty of our people; and whereas the late attempt to mob Darius Sessions in the city of Liberty was an outrage that deserves public rebuke and condemnation. Therefore resolved:

1st. That the people of Clay county deem it to be a matter of vital importance to Missouri and the south that Kansas should be made a slave state, and that they are ready and willing to use all legal and honorable means to secure that end.

2d. That the excited feeling existing in our country in regard to Kansas affairs, demands that all our operations with reference to that territory should be conducted and managed by men of known integrity and probity, otherwise all public confidence and concert of action on the part of our citizens will be lost.

3d. That while we are willing to punish abolition incendiaries and men who may be found in our midst tampering with our slave property, yet we are decidedly and uncompromisingly opposed to reckless and excitable men constituting themselves a vigilance committee for Clay county, and under the pretext of friendship for the south and southern institutions raise the wolf howl of abolitionism against quiet and peaceable citizens and drive them from their homes and friends by mob violence.

4th. That in the attempt to mob Darius Sessions, our fellow-citizen, on the 23rd inst., in the city of Liberty, we recognize an act of lawless and unwarrantable violence which merits the condemnation of every good citizen in the community.

5th. That in Darius Sessions we recognize a man whose life and conduct whilst he has lived amongst us entitles him to the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens, not only as a gentleman but as a friend to the south and southern institutions. MILTON CRAVENS, Chairman's Com.

L. W. BURNS, Secretary.

The meeting then adjourned.

THOS. T. SWEATMAN, Chairman.

B. W. NOWLIN, Secretary.

## Population Requisite for State Admission.

The bill which has just passed the Senate to provide for the admission of Kansas as a State, practically abandons the requirement that a Territory shall possess the number of inhabitants fixed by the Federal representative ratio, in order to entitle it to admission into the Union. But, in reality, this requirement was abandoned in the year 1845, when the State of Florida was admitted with only 65,000 inhabitants, though the representative ratio was 70,000.

In every other case, the requirement has been enforced, as will be seen by the following summary:

States.	Population when admitted.	Ratio of Representation.
Vermont.....	85,000	33,000
Kentucky.....	73,077	33,000
Ohio.....	45,365	33,000
Illinois.....	55,211	35,000
Alabama.....	144,317	35,000
Maine.....	238,335	35,000
Michigan.....	87,273	47,000
Iowa.....	78,819	70,000
Texas.....	162,500	70,000
Wisconsin.....	305,000	70,000
California.....	92,596	70,000
Tennessee.....	77,262	33,000
Louisiana.....	76,557	35,000
Indiana.....	63,000	35,000
Missouri.....	66,585	35,000
Arkansas.....	52,240	47,000
Mississippi.....	75,512	35,000

We copy these figures as we find them quoted in the speech of a Southern member of the House of Representatives. The reader will find Wisconsin mentioned as having 305,000 inhabitants when admitted. This is not exactly correct, but there are no statistics in existence to supply the defect. Wisconsin was admitted in the year 1848, and the progress of its population has been as follows:

Years.	Population.
1836.....	11,683
1838.....	18,130
1840.....	30,945
1842.....	44,478
1846.....	155,277
1847.....	210,546
1850.....	305,391

Now here is a parallel. In the year 1845 Florida was admitted with only 45,000 inhabitants, while Wisconsin, which three years before had 44,478, and one year afterward had 155,277, had to wait until the year 1848 for admission. Under the operation of the pairing off system, Iowa was admitted in 1846, with 78,819 inhabitants, while at that very time Wisconsin, with 155,277 inhabitants, had to stand aside.

At present Minnesota, with 120,000 inhabitants, stands vainly waiting for admission, while Kansas, with probably not more than 50,000, is to be hurried in. So, too, Oregon cannot get a hearing, while Utah has organized a State government, and finds advocates in Washington. The restriction has never been equally enforced, but has always operated to the disadvantage of the free States. California, with her large and rapidly augmenting population, encountered a desperate resistance when applying for admission, based solely on the fact of there being no countervailing slave State.

The present hope of the Southern politicians is to pair off Kansas, Utah, and New Mexico as Slave States with Minnesota, Oregon, and Nebraska as Free States, and to organize a Slave State in the Indian Territory to pair off with Washington Territory, when it applies for admission. The success of the scheme depends on the defeat of the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and the passage of Mr. Toombs's bill to assist in making Kansas a Slave State. During Mr. Fillmore's administration he appointed slaveholders to administer the governments of Utah and New Mexico. President Pierce has done the same thing, and so no doubt, would Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Fremont would appoint persons opposed to slavery. Kansas, whichever way it goes, will settle the success or defeat of this whole scheme.

## Extraordinary Political Event.

Read what the Louisville Journal says of the new Kansas bill:

"One of the most remarkable political events of the age is the passage of the new Kansas bill by the U. S. Senate. It is a direct repeal of the main substance of the Kansas and Nebraska bill of 1854. It is not only a recognition but a prac-

tical assertion of the right of Congress to legislate for the Territory, and even to repeal its legislation. Moreover, it is an express practical recognition of the native American Principle. It annuls the chief provisions of the boasted bill of '54; it sets at open defiance and wipes out an important resolution of the Cincinnati Democratic National Convention; and it flies directly and fiercely in the face of the loud preachings of the entire Democracy for the last two years.

Fellow-countrymen! look at this thing! The Democratic party of the nation staked itself upon the Kansas and Nebraska bill. That bill was originally made a party measure by the Democracy in Congress, and, when it became a law, the law was made a party measure by the Democracy everywhere. The whole Democracy made this law a Democratic test. Not to support the law in all its provisions was treason to the party. The Cincinnati Convention declared the unconstitutionality of the interference of Congress in Territorial legislation, and the party has endorsed the declaration. And yet now our Democratic Senate does away with the Nebraska law, legislation for the Territory, repeals the legislation of the Territory, and enacts that none but native and naturalized citizens shall vote in the Territory. What the Democratic party one week ago boasted of as its great distinctive measure, its test measure, is annihilated by its own hand. Here is a party catastrophe without the shadow of parallel in party history. The Democratic party is suddenly transformed into a large, empty, making back tracks as never noted ere did before. The spectacle is a monstrous one.

# THE DAILY SENTINEL.

RUFUS KING & WM. H. WATSON,  
PROPRIETORS.

Under the Name and Firm of Rufus King & Co.

MILWAUKEE

Saturday Morning, July 12.

FOR FREE KANSAS-FREE PRESS-  
FREE SPEECH-FREEMONT!  
The Admission of Kansas.

The Watertown Democrat, after announcing the passage of the bill in the House of Representatives for the immediate admission of Kansas as a Free State, thus frankly admits that it is the best way to settle the pending difficulty:

If there was any prospect that the Senate would follow the same course—although there may be some irregularity and informality in the manner in which the proposed State presents itself—we should believe this would be the easiest and best way of settling the whole question, and also of quieting the prolonged and angry excitement which has arisen since the renewal of the slavery agitation, in consequence of the unwise and unjust repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The people of the South cannot reasonably object to this action. The people of the North feel that the territory of Kansas, has once been solemnly consecrated to freedom by the very section now striving to blast its fair promise with bondage, and that all attempts to force this evil on its soil, is a wrong, a fraud; a breach of faith, which ought to be resisted to the last. The sooner this irritating and distracting quarrel is ended, and ended in favor of the right, the better.

Very true. And the quarrel will be ended, the moment the Senate passes the House bill. That will effectually settle the question. The report of the select committee proves beyond all cavil that the Topeka constitution reflects the opinions and wishes of the majority of the actual settlers in Kansas. There would be no more "irregularity" in admitting Kansas into the Union with this constitution, than there was in the cases of Michigan, Vermont, Tennessee, California and half a dozen others. There is, indeed, but one reason why the Senate refuses its assent to the House bill; and that is, to give slavery another chance. Admit Kansas at once, as the Republican House proposes, and the question is settled now and for all time to come. Refuse to admit her and compel the people there to go through the form of passing another constitution, as the Democratic Senate seeks to do, and Slave-

ry will make a second and probably successful effort to erect its black standard on Kansas soil. This is the issue now before Congress. Let the Freemen of the North watch the decision!

# Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:  
SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 12, 1856

## Kansas Aid Convention.

We have by telegraph something like twenty pages of manuscript, giving the proceedings and resolutions of the Kansas Aid Convention, which assembled at Buffalo on the 9th inst. Gov. Reeder presided, and all the Free States except four were represented. Their length and the late hour of their reception compel us to defer their publication until to-morrow.

## Who is Responsible?

The Report of the Kansas Congressional Committee is now before the country. Truly it is said that the "half has not been told." We had some faint idea of the enormities practiced on that unfortunate Territory, but never till now did we have any adequate conception of the abominable tyranny to which her inhabitants are and have been subjected. Compared with our past ideas of matters in Kansas, bad as they were, the reality is overwhelming. It seems to us, that it needs but the general perusal of this document by the American people, to convince them who the guilty ones are in the present crisis; and they will then give them the punishment their evil deeds merit.

This Report is written in a simple, unassuming style, without the slightest attempt at declamation; and it discloses facts well calculated to "harrow up the souls" and rouse the indignation of all true patriots. Chief among these facts, are conspiracies and organizations to establish Slavery in Kansas at all hazards. It was declared that the passage of the Nebraska bill virtually established the institution in the Territory, and all attempts to prevent it were regarded as violations of Southern rights. The myrmidons of Slavery hesitated at nothing to accomplish their designs, and the result has been that in the midst of the light and civilization of this nineteenth century, we are disgraced in the eyes of the world, by a spectacle of tyranny and outrage within our borders, rarely surpassed in the annals of despotism.

We would call the attention of those Democrats who were deluded into acquiescence in the Nebraska Bill on the "squatter sovereignty" doctrines of the present administration and its adherents, to this short paragraph:

"This unlawful interference has been continued in every important event in the history of the Territory; every election has been controlled, not by the actual settlers, but by citizens of Missouri, and, as a consequence, every officer in the Territory, from constables to legislators, except those appointed by the President, owe their positions to non-resident voters. None have been elected by the settlers, and your Committee have been unable to find that any political power whatever, however unimportant, has been exercised by the people of the Territory."

Thus we see that every election has been carried by ruffians from Missouri; and so completely have the settlers been shorn of their political rights, that the Committee "have



been unable to find that any political power whatever, however unimportant, has been exercised by the people of the Territory." Here is "squatter sovereignty" with a vengeance.

Among the leaders of the invasion were JONES, OLIVER, the minority member of the Committee, and ATCHISON, whose profane lawlessness is a disgrace to the country, when we recollect that he once held the second office in her gift.

We find that every effort of the bogus Legislature has been to preserve pro-slavery predominance in the Territory, and that the meeting of the new Territorial Legislature has been postponed till 1857, in the hope that Kansas would become a Slave State before that time. The entire action of the officials, both Federal and Territorial, has been for the suppression of Free Speech, and for the crushing the Free State cause. Outrage and violence go hand in hand, unrebutted and unpunished. The only indictment for murder has been that of McCREA, a Free State man, who killed CLARK, a pro-Slavery man, while pro-Slavery murderers have been allowed to stalk across the Territory "unkempt of justice."

They tell us of the infamous conduct of that American Jeffreys, Judge Lecompte, who took part in a meeting which endorsed violence, and which, before any laws had been passed, resolved "that the institution of Slavery is known and recognized in this Territory." This meeting appointed a Committee of Vigilance, whose first act was to mob a lawyer named PHILLIPS, for making an honest protest with regard to a corrupt election. This is a Judge who holds office under Pierce, whose administration was endorsed in the Cincinnati platform, which platform is endorsed by JAMES BUCHANAN, "its representative." Comment is unnecessary.

With regard to the present lamentable condition of affairs in the Territory, the Committee tell us what they themselves witnessed, and a sad story it is—a story of crime, of robbery and wrong: "All the provisions of the Constitutions of the United States," say the Committee, "securing personal property, are utterly disregarded." The officers of the law, instead of protecting the people, were, in some instances, engaged in these outrages; and in no instances did we learn that any man was arrested, indicted, or punished for any of these crimes."

But time and space would fail us, were we to attempt to give all the sickening details of this report. We commend it to the country. We ask nothing more than that every voter, before he exercises his freeman's right, should give it a careful and attentive perusal. Let it be universally read, and we fear not the result.

The question naturally arises, who are responsible for this state of things? We answer, those men who violated the public faith, and destroyed a government sanctified by the revolutions of more than thirty years, in order to blast the fair plains of Kansas with Slavery. We hold that Administration responsible which sanctions the evil deeds of its officials, by keeping them in office, when their crimes are words in everybody's mouth—that administration which, when the settlers in Kansas appealed to it for assistance, and, like the patriots of the Revolution, refused to obey laws forced upon them by another people, laws flagrantly unjust and unconstitutional,

not only declared that it will not deliver them from their enemies, but that it would aid the oppressor, and, if necessary, would enforce those laws at the point of the bayonet!

Oh! shame, where is thy blush?" To think of a President of free, independent America, and a professed Democrat, giving the lie to the principles he had always proclaimed, and using all the power of the Federal Government to subdue the same spirit of freedom which animated his Revolutionary fathers, and which almost inspired the great JEFFERSON, the Father and Prophet of Democracy.

We further hold that Party responsible which, in its Cincinnati platform, cast an unworthy slur upon the suffering freemen of Kansas, and which declared not only that it endorsed but that it *admired* the administration of FRANKLIN PIERCE. We hold the candidate of that Convention responsible, who announces himself "not simply JAMES BUCHANAN, but JAMES BUCHANAN the representative of that platform." We hold those men responsible who are stretching every nerve, who are using the base tactics of party, to stifle the right and to exalt the wrong in the election of that JAMES BUCHANAN; and if the freemen of America, by casting their votes for this representative of a platform, sanction the iniquity of that party, of that administration and its minions, then will "millions yet unborn" hold them responsible, and their very descendants will curse the day when their fathers lived.

X.

### "Squatter Sovereignty" Dead!

The last nail was driven into the coffin of GEN. CASS' abortion, yelped Squatter Sovereignty, by its godfather, the "Little Giant," in the hall of the Senate, the theatre of its christening ceremonies, one day last week.—The new TOOMBS bill, ironically styled "A Bill for the Pacification of Kansas," reported by DOUGLAS, and which passed the Senate, practically asserts the power of Congress to legislate for the Territories. That power was denied by the Nebraska-Kansas Bill, and this denial is one of the principal planks of the Cincinnati platform, upon which Mr. BUCHANAN is fairly spiked. But here it is.—The power of Congress to legislate for the Territories is written in bold letters in every section of the bill. It defines not only who shall vote, but how long the voter shall reside in the Territory; in what way he shall be registered; it appoints, or provides for the appointment of Commissioners to take the census of voters and make the registration; and in short, it takes all the authority and control over the election from the people, and gives it to the agents of the general government, under President PIERCE! It not only does all this, but it goes so far as to strike down and declare null and void some of the enactments of the "legitimate legislature of the Territory!"

What will our "Buck and Break" sticklers for squatter sovereignty say now? Oh, the order has been issued: "Prepare to pucker!" and upon the word "Pucker!" they will all be ready to insist that Congress should "regulate territorial affairs, by passing Douglas' bill "for the pacification of Kansas!"

"Squatter Sovereignty" is dead. *Requiescat in pace!*

### The Last Swindle.

A Washington correspondent of the N. Y. *Tribune* in the following paragraphs states a few objections against the TOOMBS and DOUGLAS bill for the enslavement of Kansas. That bill has passed the Senate, and a death-struggle of the administration will be made to get it through the House: Douglas and Pierce have already pledged themselves that the Board of Commissioners shall be composed of the best men of all parties, and that everything shall be done with fairness. But the *Tribune's* correspondent thinks it a sufficient reply to remind Congress and the country—

1. That as a majority of the Board have precisely the same power as the whole, even if Joshua R. Giddings and W. H. Seward were two of the five Commissioners, they would be utterly powerless.

2. There can be no appeal from the action of this Board. Their decisions are final, irrevocable, absolute. They will have precisely the same power over the destinies of Kansas that the Czar had over the destinies of Russia; and like him will be responsible for the proper exercise of that power to their own consciences only.

3. Whoever votes for the bill gives a vote of confidence to the present Administration, and is therefore estopped from complaining hereafter of its course in regard to Kansas. For this Commission, which, by its absolute power in registration, appointing officers of election, &c., can control the election with ease, is to be appointed by a President who removed Reeder and appointed Shannon—who still retains that imbecile because he can be used to carry out his plans—who appointed and still retains in office Judge Lecompte—who has no word of rebuke for the ferocity of his judicial career—who declares that the border ruffian laws shall be enforced without any exceptions, the whole code, unconstitutional enactments and all—and who, in spite of the boast of his Inaugural that he would protect American citizens at home or abroad, under all circumstances, has never lifted his finger to preserve the Free State settlers in Kansas from outrages and murder, nor to punish their oppressors for their innumerable crimes. To give him now the appointment of this Board is to affix the approving sanction of Congress upon his entire Administration in the most marked manner possible.

But even if the Board was to be an impartial one, the bill is a Bill of Abominations nevertheless, instead of a Bill of Pacification. For,

1. It directly recognizes and sanctions the Border Ruffian code; which thus far has never been done by Congress, and cannot be accomplished on any fair, square, unembarrassed vote. Section 16 says the delegates shall meet "at the capital of said Territory," and this affirms that a capital has been selected, which was not done by Congress in the organic law, but was by the Missouri legislators.—Section 4 recognizes "the Counties" in the Territory, just as they were laid off by that Legislature of invaders. Section 5 recognizes the appointments of that Legislature by having a special official duty assigned to "each clerk of a Court of Record within the Territory." And they are again recognized in sections 7 and 9. In section 10, "any officer authorized by law to administer oaths" is recognized officially, and the "law" thus directly and unmistakably sanctioned and affirmed.—"The clerk of the tribunal transacting County business" is also recognized in this section. But there is no use certainly in continuing these references. Enough have been made to show that the "true intent and meaning" of this bill is to procure a Congressional indorsement of the acts and appointments of the Border Ruffian Legislature. This is one step toward the "pacification of Kansas."

2. The faithful defenders of freedom who are now in prison or in chains, or else in exile, or under indictment, for having participated in the formation of a State Constitution, which has been deliberately indorsed by the Repre-

representatives of twelve millions of Freemen, and only opposed by the Representatives of nine millions of Freemen, are not alluded to in this bill. They are to suffer on for the crime of having prepared a Constitution which a majority of the Representatives of the whole American people, who, unlike the Senate, are fresh from their constituents, have approved as both just and expedient. And this is the second step toward "the pacification of Kansas."

3. All who are residing in the Territory on the 4th of July, 1856, are to be registered; and as the bill is passing the Senate, we hear that large forces of Missourians are again pouring into the Territory, their "Blue Lodges" doubtless notified by telegraph of the necessity of being on the spot at that particular time. And this is the third step toward "Justice for Kansas."

4. By section 11, all the Free State men and Missourians who have been "bona fide inhabitants" (not residents) of the Territory at any time, can come back by the first of October, to be registered and vote. But, in the meantime, by instructions, or probably suggestions from Washington, the Missouri River is put under blockade—all Free State emigrants robbed and sent back—and the only way they can get into the Territory is by 250 miles wagoning across Iowa and Nebraska; while the Commissioners may register all the Missourians who during any of the invasions "inhabited" the Territory. And this is the fourth step toward "Justice for Kansas."

5. The present Legislature, which has legalized Slavery, struck down Free Speech, annihilated the Free Press of the Territory, and illegally extended the existence of one of its branches till 1858, is not displaced; and if the Constitutional Convention, through the auspices under which it is elected, decides against immediate admission into the Union, the Legislature resumes its authority, and can go to work to crush out what there is left of Freedom in the Territory. And this is the fifth step toward "Justice to Kansas."

6. Of course, "Sheriff Jones," and all the other tyrants of Kansas, who, if impelled by spite against a neighbor, can be appointed Deputy Sheriff and carry him off in chains, (as was seen in a recent case, where, after drying eight prisoners sixty-five miles on foot, chained together with heavy trace chains around their ankles, like a gang of slaves, five were discharged, nothing being found against them, even on the testimony of their malignant persecutors) these champions of "Law and Order" are all retained and confirmed in office by this bill, as the sixth step toward "Justice to Kansas."

No wonder that Stringfellow, who is here, and who doubtless was consulted in regard to its provisions, approves this Act of Pacification. No wonder that Whitfield indorses it. No wonder that Pierce presses it. No wonder that Douglas electioneers for it. No wonder that Toombs fills up the leisure time which must intervene before he can call the roll of his slaves on Buoker Hill, in preparing its provisions. To any who may argue that it has some apparently fair provisions on its face, I ask, does it look fairer than that pledge that "the people thereof should be left PERFECTLY FREE!" Let the experience of that freedom show you what will be the results of this.

Under this bill not a shadow of hope remains for Freedom in Kansas. The Slavery which exists there now, by the authority of the Border Ruffian Legislature, is not touched by the law, but will be continued and will be protected. The reign of terror, which has driven off so many Free State settlers as to make the Pro-Slavery men certain of their prey in enslaved Kansas, is indorsed by it; for the Bill of Rights, which, like the stump speech in the belly of the other bill, has been injected into this, is copied from the Constitution, which was just as much in force in Kansas the day its "code" was enacted as it will be if this bill should pass. The passage of this bill will be the death-knell to the hopes of our long-suffering and persecuted brethren, who have borne such an accumulation of outrage so long and so patiently, waiting for those "Ides of November" which they

hoped would bring the relief. Let the people rally against it. Let them adjure the House of Representatives to stand by the Constitution they have approved and to attach a Restoration of the Missouri Prohibition to the first Appropriation bill they send to the Senate. Let them pour in their letters by the thousand upon their Representatives, reminding them that the House represents THE PEOPLE, while the Senate represents the Slave Power only. Let them implore them, for the single remaining month of the Session to abjure pairing and absenteeism, which have been the crying evils of this Congress. Pour in torrents of the healthy public sentiment that prevails so overwhelmingly in the rural districts upon your Representatives in this Pro-Slavery atmosphere, and all will be well. Neglect to do it, and all may be lost. A single vote will probably turn the scale. God grant that it may turn right.

## DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 12, 1856.

From the N. Y. Herald.

The Kansas Tinklers at Washington—The Crisis of the Game.

The Kansas difficulty in Congress stands between the two houses a simple issue of slavery or no slavery. The House has passed a bill providing for the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, upon the basis of the Topeka State Constitution, which interdicts the institution of slavery. The Senate has passed a bill of a more circumlocutory character, providing for commissioners to take census, a new law, nothing dispensation of the elective franchise, and the abolition of some of the worst of the despotic tests, pains and penalties of the Border Ruffian Legislature; but as this bill leaves the whole management of the matter in the hands of Mr. Pierce and his Border Ruffian agents in Kansas and Missouri, there can be no doubt that the object and the execution of this act, if passed, is and will be the admission of Kansas into the Union as a slaveholding State.

By reference to the Senate proceedings of yesterday it will be seen that Mr. Douglas reported back from the Committee on Territories the House bill, with an amendment striking out that bill and substituting the new scheme of the Senate. Thus amended, the bill will be returned to the House, when the whole issue will be opened again upon the question of concurrence in the Senate amendment. This will be the critical point of the game; for upon this issue will most probably depend the destiny of Kansas—pro-slavery or no slavery. Should the House adopt the Senate amendment, Kansas will undoubtedly be admitted into the Union as a slaveholding State. Should they reject that amendment, the whole trouble will, we apprehend, remain open during this Presidential campaign, to come up again as the first business of the next session; for we dare say that in this new Senate bill Mr. Toombs has given the full length of line that can possibly be spared by the South, unless Mr. Forney, on behalf of Mr. Buchanan, and for the sake of Pennsylvania, should ask, in God's name, for a little more.

The crisis upon this question in Congress is strikingly analogous to that in the Convention of the fathers of the constitution, when they were brought to a dead halt upon the slavery issue, and to the verge of a dissolution; but they were saved by the "sober second thought," and an appeal to Divine Providence. In that Convention, however, there was a large proportion of the wisest and most disinterested patriots of any age. This crisis also bears a strong resemblance to that of the fiery agitation of 1820, resulting in the Missouri compromise; but the political parties and the Congress of that day were composed of men of larger calibre than the mousing and ruffian politicians who now hold possession of the federal capital. The present agitation, and the critical pass to which it has been hurried by an imbecile but reckless administration and a corrupt and demoralized party, is more fearful to contemplate, in every aspect, than the slavery crisis either of 1820 or 1850; for even in the latter case there were still such master spirits in the Senate as Clay, Webster and Calhoun, whose places are now filled with mischievous factionists or feeble old fogies. In fact, neither in the work of framing the constitution nor in the compromise of 1820, nor in the adjustment of 1850, was the issue between slavery or no slavery so sharply defined as upon this Kansas imbroglio; nor has there been at any former period upon this slavery trouble, an issue of such direct and momentous import as this Kansas question, touching the limitation or extension of the geographical area of Southern Slavery.

In this condition of things such small beer peddling politicians as Pierce and Douglas are

hardly equal to the exigencies of the day. Can any democratic philosopher tell us what "squatter sovereignty" is, for example, as defined by Mr. Douglas? Before Mr. Dixon, of Kentucky, threw in his experimental bombshell for a repeal of the Missouri line, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Pierce regarded that line as too sacred to be touched. Since that day the Senate expounder of "squatter sovereignty" has charged front, this way and that way, half a dozen times, till at length we find him kicking it out of doors as a humbug that has served its purpose and can be used no longer. Even General Cass, the venerable father of "squatter sovereignty," bows to the supremacy of Congress over the border ruffians, and pleads for the sake of humanity and decency, the interposition of "a higher law." In a word, the Congressional tinkers of "squatter sovereignty" give it up as a base imposition and have fallen back upon the fundamental principle that the Territories are under the care of Congress, and that something must be done to cut short the bloody career of border ruffianism, or that it will spoil the Presidential election and ripen into civil war.

Hence the new Senate bill of Mr. Toombs, adapted to the double purpose of the North, of "keeping the word of promise" to the ear and breaking it to the bone—a bill repealing the acts of the border ruffians, but just securing to their hands the control of the affairs of Kansas. Mr. Toombs is doing his duty. He is a Southern man, looking to the security of Southern institutions. In making Kansas a slave State he will have secured a balance of power in the Senate against Northern aggressions; if Kansas comes in as a free State, the South in both Houses of Congress will be at the mercy of the North. But a great right can never be made the excuse for the border ruffian policy of establishing slavery in Kansas. The constitutional rights of the South can never be enforced by trampling the Constitution under foot. Bogus Legislatures, Missouri invasions, murders, robberies, confederations, fire, swords, villainous whisky and terrorism are not the agencies for the maintenance of a Southern balance of power in the Senate.

The final issue between the Kansas Free State bill of the House and the Slave State bill of the Senate it is impossible to predict. We perceive that there is a movement on foot in the House to restore the Missouri Compromise boundary; but should they adopt that policy it can never touch bottom in the Senate. The administration, the Cincinnati Convention, the Democratic party and the Democratic candidate, are all pledged to the policy of making Kansas a Slave State. The support of the South depends upon the adhesion of the party to this policy. Governor Wise, in his Virginia ratification speech, predicted that with the election of Mr. Buchanan the price of niggers would be raised in the Old Dominion from a thousand to three, four and five thousand dollars a head, from the admission of new Slave States and the opening of these new markets for niggers. Upon this interpretation of the Cincinnati platform Virginia accepts Mr. Buchanan. The Union is not the question—it is niggers.

The Senate bill is only the fulfilment of the Cincinnati platform. All the niggers, nigger drivers and nigger breeders of the South have a cash interest in it, and all the high tariff Democrats of Pennsylvania will be expected to support it, upon the same principle that they would sustain a bill for the protection of iron and coal. Are not niggers as much an article of home production and consumption as coal and iron? How, then, can the Pennsylvania democracy claim the action of the government in behalf of coal and iron, without conceding to their Virginia brethren some equivalent action in regard to additional home markets for good, fat, healthy niggers? Are not the States all equal in this Union? Why, then, make fish of one and flesh of another? Slavery is recognized by the constitution, and is protected by it; why, then, should it be denied the protection of Congress?

As a supporter of Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Barclay of Pennsylvania, is, naturally enough, considerably frightened concerning the Kansas excitement, and the astounding *furore* for Fremont among the solid anti-slavery Dutch democracy of that State. But Mr. Barclay should look higher than this, and beyond this Presidential election; for what matters it though Mr. Buchanan is the Southern candidate, and his Northern friends must stick to the Cincinnati platform. Shall the price of niggers be raised or diminished? That's the question.

## DAILY ADVERTISER.

DETROIT.

Who are the True Friends of Kansas?

**FACTS:** A bill, reported by Senator Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, has passed the Senate of the United States, and now awaits the action of the House of Representatives, which should command the attention of every man who has the peace and good government of Kansas at heart. So far as the Public are informed by the Telegraph, the bill provides:



1st. For the Freedom of Speech in Kansas!  
2d. For the Freedom of Opinion in Kansas!  
3d. The Free Exercise of Opinion in Kansas!  
4th. It abolishes and renders null and void all Test Oaths; all oaths to support the Fugitive Slave Act; or any Test Oaths as a qualification for civil office, &c.  
5th. It provides for a legal Constitutional Convention; to adopt a Constitution; for the admission of Kansas as a Free and Sovereign State, and guards against invasion, fraud or violence at the election, in the most stringent manner, as follows:

It provides for the appointment of five Commissioners, to be selected (by the President,) from different sections of the Union, to represent fairly all political parties. They shall take a census of all the legal voters in the Territory, and make a fair apportionment of the votes to be elected by each county, to form a Constitution and institute a State Government. When the appointment shall be made, the Commissioners are to remain in session every day, except Sunday, at the place most convenient for the inhabitants of said Territory, to hear all complaints, examine witnesses, and correct all errors in said list of voters, which list shall be previously printed and generally circulated through the Territory, and posted in at least three of the most public places of each election district; and as soon as all the errors have been thus corrected in said list, the Commissioners are requested to cause a corrected list of the legal voters to be printed, and copies furnished to each judge of election, to be put up at the places of voting, and circulated in every county in the Territory, before the day of election—no person to be allowed to vote, whose name does not appear on the list of legal voters; and the judges of election to take place on the day of the Presidential election, and the Convention to assemble on the first Monday in December, to decide, first, whether it be expedient for Kansas to come into the Union at that time, and, if so decided, to proceed to form a Constitution and State Government, which shall be of Republican form. Kansas then to be admitted under such Constitution and Government as the people of the Territory shall decide upon by the vote of the majority of the legal voters of the Territory, and no other test shall be required, &c. It also provides punishment for illegal voting, or fraud and violence at elections, and authorizes the use of the military for that purpose. The main point is, that the persons entitled to the right of suffrage at the election of the Territory shall decide all points in dispute at a fair election, without fraud or violence, or any other improper influence.

The bill passed the Senate by yeas 33, nays 12.  
Every Republican Senator—Bell, Collamer, Dodge, Durkee, Essenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, Wilson, voted against the repeal of the disgraceful and odious black laws of Kansas. Let a candid people judge which is the Border Ruffian party.

What a whopper! Mr. Seward offered a substitute, admitting Kansas with the Topeka Constitution, which is a virtual repeal of the "disgraceful and odious black laws," and these men voted for it.

The question now is, shall this bill pass the House? Or shall the Republicans in the House be allowed to defeat this measure of peace and union?

Every freeman who is in favor of this bill, and who desires to restore to the people of Kansas their freedom of speech, freedom of opinion, and freedom of the press, is invited to attend the Democratic Rally, on Tuesday evening next, July 8th, at Buck & Breck's Democratic Head Quarters, (Briggs' Block,) opposite the Capitol, and sign a petition, requesting our Representatives in Congress to vote for the passage of the bill.

Good speakers will be present.

Peck, Story & Co., have suddenly become apostles of freedom. Although lately vociferous for the great Democratic doctrine that Congress has no power in the Territories, they now come out and boast that by special enactments they proposed to re-establish the principles of the Constitution, its preamble, and of the bill of rights, in the Territory of Kansas.

They accuse Republican Senators of voting down freedom of speech in Kansas, because they refuse to vote for their bill of abomination, humbug, double-dealing and party subterfuge. Freemen of Michigan! it is well known to you that these faithful and honest Senators voted against the Douglas Bill, because it contains no restriction of slavery, and because the Topeka bill, which prohibits slavery, was carried in the House by their efforts and votes of free men, and because they believe that the "new scheme," as it is called, will result in making Kansas a slave State. They voted against the Douglas bill because they have no confidence in Franklin Pierce, not in any "five commissioners" whom he might appoint, to make return of the present population of Kansas. These five commissioners, would probably be Brooks, Keitt, Edmundson and a couple of Northern doughfaces, and would serve their master, the Devil, by any false return of votes, or other swindle, which ingenuity might suggest.

The struggle now is to retrieve lost ground at the North, which has been lost, in saving the support of the South. "Good Devil" has been appeased and the cry is now "Good Lord!" The whole North is sliding from under them, and in their extremity, they call upon the wildest expedients to succor them.

Like the bad little boy in the thunder storm, when the forest around was struck by lightning in a dozen places, Douglas looks around into the blank faces of his companions and asks, "can you pray?" "No, no, no," is the reply, one after the other, "well, by thunder, something must be done."

The fact is, the Border Ruffians have concluded, that

the fiery indignation of the people is working too near their heads for comfort or safety, and coward-like, they run up false flags, with Free Kansas upon them. "Cass and the Wilmot Proviso" was a battle-cry in 1848, after his partisans became terrified, but we never learned that it availed them ought, neither will this dodge. The people know them.

#### The Point of the Bayonet.

The point of the bayonet. There is no point in geography harder to weather than that, especially for a Yankee people born under despotic governments—so called, (for governments are often despotic, though otherwise classed)—become wonted to the bayonet, but not here, where in past days, the military have been seen only as pageants of past glories. Jonathan loves not the bayonet, neither the soldier who propels it, nor the officer who impels the soldier. Of all the Johns, whether John Bull, Johnny Crapeau, or Mass John, "John d'armes" is the most decidedly unpopular. Indeed, we may say that he is decidedly tabooed by the American citizen, whether native or imported. As a very natural consequence, and inasmuch as the constitution of the United States nowhere provides that the military arm of government may be raised to enforce the execution of civil or criminal process, either from the Federal or State Courts, it excited no little indignation on the part of the people of the United States, to learn that the army of the United States was to be employed to help Douglas to "subdue" Kansas. To observe the raff-scuff of the States, whose staple population are brawlers and stabbers, rushing into Kansas, and driving out free settlers, was bad enough, but not quite so systematically tyrannical as the deliberate act of sending the army there, with orders which compelled the officers to take sides with the assailants. A new phase presents itself. On the 4th of July, a day formerly suggestive of national liberty, Col. Edmund V. Sumner, at the head of five hundred U. S. troops rode into Topeka, and dissolved the Free State Legislature, met that day upon its own adjournment, in the following speech:

"I am called upon," he said, "to perform the most disagreeable duty of my life, under the authority of the President's proclamation. I am here to disperse this Legislature, and therefore inform you that you cannot meet. I therefore, in accordance with my orders, command you to disperse. God knows that I have no party feeling in this matter, and will have none so long as I hold my present position in Kansas. I have just returned from the borders, where I have been sending home companies of Missourians, and now I am here to disperse you. Such are my orders, that you must disperse. I now command you to disperse."

Judge Schuyler asked Colonel Sumner "if they were to understand that they were driven out at the point of the bayonet?" Col. Sumner replied: "I will use the whole force under my command to enforce this order." The Legislature then dispersed.

We doubt not Col. Sumner was both sorry and ashamed, and so was every true man and woman in the Bay State, which gave him birth, to hear that the order of tyranny was executed by a man nurtured on her free bills.

Americans naturally feel indignation, because the entire course of Government towards Kansas has been without precedent. When Charles Stuart sought to oppress Scotland, to scatter her Kirk, and to lay waste her temporal Zion, he sent Claverhouse to command the forces, but finding him too bloody, too ferocious and altogether remorseless, he afterwards sent a more moderate and humane General to supersede him. Pierce has reversed the course of Charles. He sent Sumner to Kansas, and finding him disinclined to unnecessary bloodshed, he threatened to send Harney who should have been hung a generation ago, for whipping a woman to death, and when a cry of execration arose, even among his own followers, that such a blood-thirsty miscreant should be dispatched upon an errand which carried life and death in it, he reluctantly changed the designation to another officer.

The American people are slow to anger, but they also love mercy, and we should not be much surprised if this new phase of "Squatter Sovereignty"—this strong-minded mode of putting the pretensions question, and stopping debate by the broadsword and carbine—

should have the effect to remind Northern men that they are mortal, and as such liable to indignation. We are aware that motions to adjourn Legislative bodies admit of no debate, but we are not certain that the rule will not bind in the case of this new mode of "adjourning" the Legislature of Kansas.

## DAILY HERALD.

J. A. GARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDICT

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Saturday Evening, July 12, 1856.

#### The Scheme of Desperadoes.

The Kansas bill concocted by the enemies of humanity—DOUGLAS and TOOMBS—we had supposed would meet its death-blow in the House. We had not dreamed that the friends of Free Kansas could be fooled into voting for such a pit-fall as is that lying bill. It amounts to this. Now that the great mass of Free State men are driven from the Territory, the friends of Slavery Kansas, with smiling face and honied words, pretend to bring forward an olive branch, but, under that specious name, it is but a bludgeon, which will as effectually knock Freedom out of Kansas, as did bully Brooks' gutta percha cane knock life out of a Free-State Senator.

Of this bill, the New York Herald well says: Every rational man knows that this bill means Kansas as a slave State. Mr. Toombs is honest enough to admit it; but Mr. Douglas, Mr. Senator Bigler, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Pugh of Ohio, deny it and dodge it, and whip the devil round the stump at a full gallop. Make the bill as pure as the gospel, and as clear as the truth in favor of Kansas as a Free State, and give the execution of the law to Mr. Pierce, his five commissioners, his army of dragoons and his Missouri militia, and Mr. Toombs will be satisfied. The bill means Kansas as a slave State—notling else.

To the great surprise of the Free States, and the deep mortification of her people, there seems to be danger of the passage by the House of this cunningly devised scheme. A private letter from Washington, which we see in the *Courier and Enquirer*, says:

We are on the eve of a very grave crisis here, and I much fear that the leaders of Northern opinion do not appreciate its importance.

There is great danger that we shall be tempted on the wretchedly devious scheme of the Toombs and Douglas coalition.

Our men need rousing up. Unless we have from the North some great and general movement, depend upon it the Douglas, or, rather, the Toombs project, will pass the House. Believe nothing that you hear about the dissatisfaction of Southern men. They are all deeply anxious for the success of the scheme. It is exactly what they want, and beside bringing in Kansas as a Slave State, will effect many other objects now unthought of. There is really occasion for very great alarm. Toombs, its author, regards and intends it as a bold and radical measure for settling everything in favor of slavery, and for exciting civil war at the North, which he desires, and has long sought to effect.

It seems to me that our only safety is in extreme energy. The administration stand ready to purchase votes enough to pass the bill, and we have only two or three to spare. Something must be done to bring a tremendous pressure to bear upon the recreant Northern Americans. Bayard Clarke is now with us, and so are Barclay and Hickman, of Pennsylvania, but prodigious exertions are making to gain them over. These efforts may be successful. A well known Silver Gray Whig politician, now a Fillmore K. N., is here, supposed to be charged with a special mission upon Bayard Clarke, and he carried his insolence so far yesterday upon a Republican member, that he was repulsed with a fierce insult.