

Lowell, Monday, July 7, 1856.

The Popular Sentiment in the North and West all one Way.

At Springfield, in this state and at Keene, N. H., on the 4th of July, there was a good chance to compare the relative popular strength of Fremont and Buchanan, as there were Fremont and Buchanan conventions in operation at the same time in each place. While the friends of Fremont rallied by thousands, full of enthusiasm and conscious strength, and made the welkin ring with their cheers and shouts, the Buchanan democrats, both at Keene and Springfield, could be stowed away in a dozen oyster slips without elbowing each other in the least. B. F. Butler of this city, was present in Springfield. The democracy first gathered in the City Hall, but finding like the snail who had crawled into a lobster shell, that the apartment was inconveniently large, and that they resembled a small flock of sheep huddled up in one corner of a ten acre lot, the unterrified concluded to adjourn to a back parlor of Warriner's hotel. Here everything was delightfully quiet and snug, and there was some small talk over a small dinner table. At Keene those soldiers of fortune and wandering buffaloes, Harry Hibbard of Bath, and B. F. Hallet of Boston, addressed a terribly lean and shrupken gathering of Cheshire county locofocoism, while near by thousands of enthusiastic Fremonters responded to the appeals of their orators with myriad voiced applause, like the roar of many waters. These Springfield and Keene gatherings we say were fair exponents of the state of popular feeling throughout the north and west. The Buchaneers in the free states are few and far between, are chop fallen, dispirited and hopeless. The current of political feeling runs in one direction, and one only in every section of the United States north of the Dismal swamp. On the the borders of the Dismal swamp locofocoism begins to look up a little, and so on south. But in the direction of the north star it has had its day. A few more spasmodic twitches and all will be over with it. In the free states the American people have as it were by one simultaneous and spontaneous impulse abandoned it. On all sides we hear of defections of leading democrats from their old political allegiance. The report of the Kansas congressional commission is a document that must complete the ruin of the bogus democracy in every free state. Such a damning mass of testimony against an administration and party was never gathered together before. Most of it too comes from the mouths of border ruffians. This whole Kansas business will take its place in history beside the Bartholomew massacre, the massacre of Glencoe and the bloody rule of the grim Spanish tyrant Alva of Toledo, in the Low Countries during the reign of Philip the Second.

As we have said, the popular current at the north and west, is all flowing Fremont wards. Buchanan is out of the question. Freemen will not defile themselves by supporting one, who has declared himself to be the embodiment of the black, piratical Cincinnati creed, of the Jack Cade and Jack Shepherd confession of faith, which was adopted in that city in the early part of last June. The ear must be deaf that cannot hear, and the eye must be blind that cannot see the premonitory symptoms of such an overwhelming popular ground-swell and sea-like uprising in November next in behalf of Fremont, as will not leave a plank or splinter of the Buchaneer craft afloat. The popular enthusiasm of 1840 was but a ripple, a mere wavelet when compared with the enthu-

siasm which will be manifested this fall. In 1840 the people had no such cause for arousing themselves as they have now. The excitement was to a great extent forced and kept alive by artificial stimulants. Now it is spontaneous and irrepressible. The nation's heart is moved to its deepest depths, a just and righteous indignation has been stirred up, which will consume with flame like fury the hosts of border ruffianism and the scoundrels who lead them, big and little.

## THE HERALD.

Monday Morning, July 7, 1856.

**TWO KANSAS BILLS PASSED.** On Friday last, we announced the passage of Douglas's bill in the Senate, for the pacification and admission of Kansas. It will be seen by reference to the Congressional proceedings, that the House reconsidered by a vote of 101 to 99, their vote of Monday, rejecting the admission of Kansas with the Topeka constitution, and passed the bill 100 to 97. It now becomes a question which body shall recede. The reconsideration was brought about solely by Mr. Barclay of Pennsylvania; and the fact that it was carried by a Pennsylvania democrat is most significant of the feeling in that State, for we imagine that he does not act without considering his district.

The majority for the House bill is very small; while the Senate majority for the opposing measure is very strong. The first would settle the Kansas difficulties at once, since it would endorse the election of Gov. Robinson, and we should have him and his legislature and the new State, in one day, in successful operation; the latter submits the question to the popular vote, and puts off admission to another Congress. Somebody must give way—will it be the House? There may be a compromise effected, and should be, by which the people, who have settled in Kansas and been driven out, and those wishing to make it their home, but have failed to go on account of the troubles, could have time to get there and become voters. We have stated before that the only objection we could see to Douglas's bill, was that it required three months' residence to vote, and there are but four months intervening between this and the election, so that the voting, and the forming the character of the State, would be given to the present residents, and evidently to the South. If it could be so amended as to require but thirty days' residence, and give three months for the settlers to return, and would effect an immediate release of the Free State leaders who are under indictment or in prison, we should not see the least objection to it.—If the six millions of Southerners could send more men there than seventeen millions in the free States, and could conquer it by actual voters in a fair field, they certainly ought to have it; and the majority of actual settlers ought to have the right to form those institutions, compatible with the constitution, that they deem for their happiness and general well-being.

If the settlement of Kansas was left to the natural course of events, very few if any slaveholders would go there; but we are not certain, if it is left to Aid Societies, that the South, with but one half as much free population, and not a quarter of the wealth, would not succeed. With them slavery is a vital question, affecting their moral and social standing in the world—their wealth and ease, and their political power in the confederacy. It is indeed their all; and they will sacrifice for it even to blood if need be. With the North there is a sentiment in favor of freedom—old and strong, but not an acknowledged interest; and there may not be a deep seated feeling of opposition to the outspread of the slave institution. Men will talk loud and loud from sentiment; but they will act from interest; they will write in prose and poetry from sentiment; but they will vote and pay from interest. Hence it is that New Orleans can raise an expedition to seize Cuba, or South Carolina enlist and support Buford's regiment to subdue Kansas, or Missouri pay the expenses of an invading army for a new territory; while the North has neither raised money or men, in amounts or numbers to accomplish a purpose.

The Emigrant Aid Society built a hotel at Lawrence, and erected a few saw mills in the territory; but that was a simple investment of money where it was expected to pay. When we have come to raising men and money specially for the freedom of Kansas, it has been up-hill work. The late subscriptions of the whole State of Massachusetts are less than \$40,000, when Essex county, if she had in fact as much interest for free institutions there, as Missouri has for slave institutions, would have subscribed \$450,000; and the free States together could in thirty days raise \$5,000,000 and forward fifty thousand people.

Ardent men declare that Kansas never can come in as a slave State, even if revolution and disunion are the result of resistance. They doubtless think so now, but if a crisis comes that will really threaten the peace of the country, so as to affect the pecuniary interest of the North, disturb business, lessen the value of property, and pinch the poor man in his bread for want of labor, what then will they say?—and who then will yield? will it be the South to give up its interest, or the North to give up its sentiment? We have seen what was done on the Texas annexation; and when the Fugitive Slave Law and the Compromises of 1850 passed by the influence of Daniel Webster, we read the letters, with the long list of northern names appended, approving his 7th of March speech. Men said then there was real danger to peace and prosperity—not the peace and prosperity of Kansas, but of the nation—and when they think so again, will they not act so again?

We are in favor of freedom in Kansas, and everywhere 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.

## PORTLAND ADVERTISER.

July 7 — 1856.

### The Poem on Kansas!

We are glad to learn that arrangements have been made with Dr. Hebbard for the delivery of his great Poem in this city. It will take place at Deering Hall on next Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock. The Poem is entitled "The Patriot's Hope." The subject is one of the most vital and thrilling interest to every true American—and, if we may credit the expressions of Henry W. Longfellow, John Pierpont, John G. Whittier, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, and others of like literary standing, to say nothing of the high and almost extravagant commendations of the Press, it is treated with a Masters hand. It has been rehearsed before Legislatures, Colleges, and other public Institutions, and in most of the principal cities and towns of New England, with great success—and its recital here will be no exception to the rule. The admission is to be free. The galleries will be reserved for ladies.

As introductory to the occasion a good Choir will sing the following

### NATIONAL SONG.

By DR. HEBBARD—Author of "The Patriot's Hope."

AIR—"Marseilles Hymn."

Ye Sons of Freedom, break your slumbers!  
List, list the tones that bid you wake!  
In thunder peals, from untold numbers,  
Those tones our very Union shake!  
And shall our souls, their call unheeding,  
In cold indifference still remain,  
While Freemen fall on Kansas' plain,  
And Freemen on that shrine are bleeding?  
Your votes, your votes, free men,  
Four forth with fearless hand!  
Vote on, vote on, all hearts resolved  
To free our Fatherland!  
Vote on, vote on, all hearts resolved  
To free our Fatherland!

92  
 The fearful storm, in awful thunder,  
 Which God in mercy long delays,  
 Shall burst, and this loved Union sunder;  
 Unless our vote the vengeance stay,  
 And we may now prevent the slaughter,  
 Ere lawless force, with guilty stride,  
 Shall scatter ruin far and wide,  
 And flood our land with blood like water!  
 Your votes, your votes, free men,  
 Pour forth with fearless hand!  
 Vote on, vote on, all hearts resolved  
 To free our Fatherland!  
 Vote on, vote on, all hearts resolved  
 To free our Fatherland!

Then rise ye freemen! break your slumbers!  
 And ere the Dawn melts into Day,  
 Forth to the field in untold numbers,  
 And strike for Freedom while you may!  
 Famine and not a "fillibuster."  
 Should be our Leader in the van,  
 Around whose standard every man  
 True to his Liberty will master!  
 Your votes, your votes, free men,  
 Pour forth with fearless hand!  
 Vote on, vote on, all hearts resolved  
 To free our Fatherland!  
 Vote on, vote on! all hearts resolved  
 To free our Fatherland!

## Whig and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

MONDAY, JULY 7, 1856.

MARK HIM AGAIN!

THOMAS J. D. FULLER OF MAINE,  
 WAS THE ONLY MAN FROM NEW ENGLAND,  
 WHO VOTED AGAINST ADMITTING  
 FREE KANSAS INTO THE UNION.  
 VOTERS OF THE SIXTH DISTRICT!  
 MARK HIM!

## THE FREE PRESS.

BURLINGTON:

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 7, 1856.

The Majority Report of the Investigating Committee.

We would be glad if we could publish in our columns the report of Messrs. Howard and Sherman, the majority of the committee appointed by the House of Representatives to investigate the doings in Kansas; but its length makes it impossible. It will be found in the large New York Journals. The report with the accompanying documents will be published by the House in a few days we suppose, and we hope it will be widely circulated. It will be read with most painful interest by all who have not sacrificed their love of honor, justice, humanity and liberty to a mad determination to extend slavery at all hazards and by whatever means shall be necessary for that end, or to sustain a political party merely because it bears a name which they have been wont to delight in. The enormities perpetrated during the year past to force slavery into Kansas have been such as almost to *stun* the public mind—to create the feeling in many that the statements, even when reported by eye-witnesses and suffers themselves, must be exaggerated—that in a professedly free country, where the rulers are chosen by the people, such unheard of violations of law in the name of "law and order"—such flagrant outrages on the rights of men under the pretense of "popular sovereignty,"—such scandalous acts of official delinquency and crime, could not take place.

Appalling however as the fact is, it is undeniable that the half was not told us. The more the matter has been examined the greater the outrages are shown to have been.—Even the New York Herald—a most thorough going pro-slavery journal, and earnest to have Kansas come into the Union as a slave state, so that the slave states may be equal in number to the free states, speaks thus forcibly of the case as established by the commission:—

## Morning Chronicle.

MONDAY, JULY 7, 1856.

GEN. SMITH.—The Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune states that Gen. Smith's instructions concerning Kansas are emphatically to prevent armed invasion from any quarter, and to afford protection to peaceful settlers at any cost. Sumner will retain his present position, subject to the orders of Smith, who is intrusted with large discretion, and is fully possessed of the President's views. Smith was selected for this trust with reference to his prudence, ability and firmness, as well as legal knowledge, enabling him to discriminate on delicate points that may arise.

This may be true; if any real protection is extended to peaceful settlers, we shall be happy to make a note of it. But until we see something of the kind, we disbelieve the story. As yet, we have seen no evidence of any attempt by the Federal government, to protect any thing there but slavery.—Those who have attempted to protect anything better, are denounced and arrested as traitors.

N. H. LEGISLATURE.

THURSDAY, July 3.

Kansas resolutions.—The House resumed the consideration of these resolutions, on motion of Mr. Edwards of Keene, and the vote was taken as follows:—yeas 155, nays 92. So the resolutions were adopted.



NEW YORK, MONDAY, JULY 7, 1856.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.

WASHINGTON, July 3.

The Senate, by a great effort, passed the Kansas bill in spite of the pertinacious opposition of the minority after a session of twenty-one hours. The bill will give peace to Kansas and to the country; and, to that extent will disappoint the party which relies for success, on the coming election, upon the continuance of agitation and civil war.

The passage of the Topeka bill by the House does not even discourage the hope that the Senate bill will ultimately pass that body.

It was admitted by some of the Senators who voted against the pacification bill this morning, that it was a fair bill, and would do very well under an honest Administration. Every reasonable objection that they could make to the bill, was met by amendments.

Thus, it was objected that some of the free State men who had been compelled to quit the Territory, would not be registered voters under the provisions of this bill. But the bill was so amended as to allow them to resume residence, and be registered any time before the 1st of October next, or thirty days before the election of members of a State Convention.

All the laws of the Territory which the free State men complain of, are rendered, by this bill, inoperative.

The fact is, that if the Republicans should agree to pacification on these terms, they would have no exciting cause, and not even any plausible issue, with which to go before the people at the Presidential election.

Both Houses, after fatiguing sittings, agreed to adjourn over to Monday next, in honor of the eightieth anniversary of American Independence.

WASHINGTON, Saturday, July 5,

The Senate Kansas Bill is the general subject of conversation, and the Republicans find it difficult to oppose it, and, therefore, misrepresent it. The best answer to their objections is to publish the bill itself. In my letter of the 3d, I suggested a modification that would remove all objection to the bill, which was, the same day, adopted:—Permitting any person who had at any time, since the organization of the Territory, resided in it, and who had left it on account of the disturbances, to return, and be registered as legal voters, any time before October.

If the Committee of Investigation are correct in the statement that a clear majority of Free State men

voted in the Territory, at different times, then there can be no doubt that the Territory will by that bill be still left in the hands of the Free State party.

I hope you will publish so prominently and repeatedly the 11th section of the bill as to leave no excuse for the misrepresentation of its provisions which I find to-day in Northern papers.

The bill is a tender from the South, if you please, to the North, of an amicable adjustment of this threatening controversy. The bill is, to some extent, a condemnation, or an abandonment of the principle of squatter territorial sovereignty. It extends federal power, with its strong arm, over the territory, for the preservation of peace. It repudiates and annuls the laws of the Territorial Legislature. What can the Republicans ask more? Nothing, except that their cry of "war in Kansas" shall not be taken from them, before the Presidential election. If robbed of their "cry," they will be, like the beggar girl, in the same situation, deprived of the means of existence.

There is much speculation, to-day, upon the subject of the probable action of the House upon the Kansas Bill of the Senate. There are half a dozen members who voted in the majority upon the final passage of the Topeka Bill, who are very well disposed towards the Senate Bill. If only two of them should change, and go the Senate Bill, it will be passed—and save the country from further commotion. I could name two or three who will thus change, when it shall become necessary.

But I suppose that the first movement in the House upon the Senate bill will be to amend it by adding a clause for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise Bill. For this measure there is a supposed majority of eight or nine. But, as the Senate will reject this, the House will, I think, ultimately recede from it, and suffer the Senate bill to pass.

Some of the Anti-Nebraska men say, that they would accept the Senate bill, if they could trust the President to appoint the five Commissioners who are to execute it. But, as they say, the President will appoint five more Governor Shannons, who will labor only to counteract the objects of the Act. They admit that the scheme would work well if we could have proper men to carry it into effect. Among those named as suitable men for Commissioners, whom the country would trust, are Edward Bates of Missouri, Wm. C. Rives of Va., Edward Everett, or R. C. Winthrop of Mass., and well known members of the Democratic party,—one from the middle, and one from the North-Western States.

On the whole, I am convinced that the House, before the end of the session, will concur in the Senate bill,—possibly with some unimportant amendments.

P. S.—A letter appeared recently in the New York Courier, from a member of the House of Representatives, stating that a member from Indiana, Mr. Brenton, has prepared a speech upon the sectional topic, and had shown it to some of the Southern members, who had advised him not to deliver it, assuring him that such a speech would not be tolerated in the House. I am authorized and requested, upon the very best authority, to contradict the statement. Mr. Brenton ignores and denies it.

## COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

MONDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 7.

SENATE'S KANSAS BILL.—The bill for the admission of Kansas as a free state with the Topeka constitution has, as readers of the Commercial are aware, passed the House of Representatives, on reconsideration, by a majority of three, having been previously rejected by a majority of one. It will be apparent to every one, that the vote was so close that the final result was a mere contingent upon the presence or absence of two or three members at the moment the vote was taken. The Senate bill "for pacification of Kansas," was passed by a very decided majority of that body, after a whole night's close application to its details. It merits, therefore, the fullest popular consideration; and we subjoin, for the reader's information, a careful synopsis of its provisions.

It will be seen that this act is not open to the objection that has been urged against it, of excluding from their legal rights, those free state men who by the late outrages have been driven from the territory. It gives them to the 1st of October to return, and in the meantime declares certain enactments of the present territorial legislature to be of no force, and authorizes the President to employ military force to insure the faithful execution of this and the other provisions of the bill. It is not all that we could desire, but it would, we believe, prove to be what it is called, a pacification bill.

THE ALARM AT WASHINGTON.

The tailors are not a blood-thirsty class, yet there is a story on record of one of them who committed a most barbarous murder by cutting the throat of a certain journeyman, his rival for the affections of a young woman. After the corpse of his victim was cold, he carefully sewed up the wound he had inflicted, making, as the witnesses on the trial agreed, a very neat job of it. This symptom of remorse, however, for the crime he had committed, did not avail him with the jury, who unanimously found him guilty.

They are attempting a like process in the United States Senate; they have committed a murder upon the body politic of Kansas, and now they are sewing up the throat to give the exanimate form a decent appearance. They have waited till the detestable code enacted by the Missourians at the Shawnee Mission, aided by the influence and power of the federal government and the arms of the United States troops, has done its profligate work, and now, after eight or nine months have elapsed; after the settlers in the territory have endured nearly a year of proscription and oppression; after they have been scattered by inroads of armed men, their dwellings plundered and burned, and the cultivation of their farms prevented; after their number has been diminished by murders, arrests, imprisonments, and flight; after hundreds of their best men have been obliged to return to the East, by the certainty of starvation if they remain; after bodies of emigrants from the free states to Kansas have been stopped and turned back, the late defenders of the Missouri outrages in the Senate, who never thought of doing anything to prevent these mischiefs, who had not a word to say against the spurious Kansas code till now, come forward with a proposal to repeal the test laws and the penalties against freedom of speech and several other enormities of that code. Now that their victim is lifeless, they gather about him and carefully sew up the throat they have cut. Douglas brings forward the bill to repeal these foul ordinances of Stringfellow and his associates, whose conduct he has defended on the floor of the Senate, and proposes a scheme for holding an election in desolated and depopulated Kansas, framing a new constitution, and admitting the territory into the Union as a state.

The pro-slavery party are evidently frightened. Douglas, who, a little while since, was violently against letting Kansas into the Union till she had a population of ninety-three thousand, consents that she shall come in with her present population. The senators who lately saw nothing wrong in the conduct of the Missourians who usurped the powers of a territorial legislature, or in the laws they pretended to enact, now eagerly give their voices for repealing some of the worst of their provisions. Mr. Cass, who made an elaborate speech the other day to prove that every thing was right in Kansas, now whimpers out a disapproval of the ordinance crushing the freedom of speech in the territory.

Yet all this is but sewing up the wounds in a dead body. We must have something better than this, something life-giving, restoring, re-suscitating. The bill which has just passed the House of Representatives, admitting Kansas into the Union, with the constitution framed by its representatives at Topeka, brings Kan-

sas back to life. It takes Kansas in her palm-est days, when she was most flourishing, with her largest population, before her most eminent men were imprisoned or compelled to seek safety in flight, and admits her into the Union with the constitution which her people then adopted. In that bill is a resurrection from political death. If the Senate has any desire to calm the agitation, which now convulses the Union; if the majority desire to put the slavery question out of Mr. Buchanan's way; if they feel any regret for what has happened, and any wish to avoid such scandals for the future, the way is open before them; they have only to pass the bill sent them by the House. It would settle the question at once; it would deprive their political adversaries of a fruitful topic of animadversion which is likely to be most effectually used against them.

But this bill of Douglas's, with all the amendments which the senators, in the haste of alarm, have suggested and adopted, does but half of the little it pretends to do. It repeals the test laws and the penalties against free speech in Kansas. If these laws are so unjust that the interference of Congress is called for to set them aside, how happens it that the same authority does not require the release of those who are under arrest for not obeying them? If these laws are so wicked, let the men who are persecuted for disregarding them go free. The bill makes no provision for changing the order of things under which these persecutions have arisen. It leaves still in office the judges, marshals, sheriffs, and the whole list of territorial officers, who are pledged to aid in the work of introducing slavery into the territory, and who shrink from no perversion of their authority which may promote that end. It leaves the entrance of emigrants into the territory from the free states as unsafe and as subject to obstruction as ever. Besides, the effect of the bill, by repealing a part of the ordinance of the spurious legislature of Kansas, is to admit the legality of the rest, and thus to legalize slavery in the territory.

The House of Representatives has done well in passing the bill admitting Kansas with the Topeka constitution, and its duty to abide unflinchingly by that bill is plain. The members who have voted for that bill cannot conscientiously accept a bill under which a fair expression of the public opinion of the territory cannot be had—which leaves untouched the usurped pro-slavery organization of the territorial government, bending all its strength and using all the means in its power to pervert the elections—under which there is no hope that the fugitives from the territory, driven out by the persecutions of a bad government and bad laws will be allowed to return before the elections.

The country is looking to the House of Representatives to hold fast to its integrity. The friends of Buchanan in the Senate are alarmed at the manifestations of popular feeling on this subject, and will probably yield to a firm demeanor on the part of the House.

New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, MONDAY, JULY 7, 1856.

General PERSIVER F. SMITH was ordered to the command of the Department of the West Head-Quarters at Fort Leavenworth—in place of Gen. TWIGGS, ordered there a year ago, but prevented from going in consequence of ill health. Of course SMITH ranks above Col. SUMNER, and will have command of the troops in Kansas. His recent sojourn at the White House is thus fully explained, and he is doubtless advised of the views and wishes of PIERCE & Co. If he aids them in their scheme of making Kansas a Slave State, will he be rewarded with the vacant Brigadier-Generalship?

The Consummation.

The Conspirators are approaching the consummation of their work. They started two years ago to erect a new Slave State upon free soil belonging to the United States. Desperate as the undertaking seemed, it is upon the verge of success. Formidable as were the barriers which had been erected between Slavery and Kansas, they have all been prostrated. The solemn compact which the North and South had made, which all parties and all sections had respected, which thirty years had sanctified, was first repudiated. Outrage, murder, civil war have all been invoked to crush the will of the people of Kansas, and force Slavery upon that Territory against their wishes. They have done their work. Four-fifths of the Free-State settlers of that beautiful region have been murdered, imprisoned or driven into exile. Their leaders—the men to whom they looked for guidance and support in their efforts to erect a Government upon the basis of Freedom—have been indicted for treason, and are tenants of the dungeons of Federal power. Their houses have been burned,—their cattle stolen,—their crops destroyed. Free speech,—the right of assembling and petitioning for a redress of grievances,—have been denied them. Hunted like wild beasts by the ruffian horde who have invaded the Territory, they have been driven to seek shelter elsewhere, and are now fugitives throughout the length and breadth of the Northern States.

All this has been accomplished by the direct aid and countenance of the PRESIDENT of the United States. And now TOOMBS and DOUGLAS, the ringleaders in this great conspiracy, step in to place in his hands the power to finish the work he has so well begun. Their bill, crowded with indecent haste through the Senate on Thursday morning last, empowers the President to name FIVE COMMISSIONERS who are to have absolute and irresponsible power in the affairs of this doomed Territory:—and one of the acts they are required to perform is to record the names of those in the Territory at the present time, and to confer upon them, and upon them alone, the right to vote for Delegates to form a State Constitution. Just at the precise moment when the Free-State settlers have been driven out,—when not one in five of them is there to claim his right,—when those who remain are without leaders, without organization, without food,—and when the Territory lies unresisting in the hands of its Missouri conquerors, the occasion is seized to confer upon its inhabitants the right of saying whether Slavery shall exist within its borders!

The whole scope and purpose of this new bill is to fasten Slavery upon Kansas. DOUGLAS, TOOMBS and their abettors have this in view. They know that their bill will accomplish this object; and that knowledge—the certainty of producing that result—has been their motive for pushing it through. It puts the Government and the fate of Kansas into the hands of President PIERCE and the SENATE of the United States:—and no man of common sense can doubt their determination to carry Slavery into Kansas, at any cost and at all hazards.

This bill has passed the Senate. Its fate now rests with the House of Representatives. Every Democrat in that body will vote for it, under fear of the Executive displeasure. The Fillmore cohort, with HAVEN and WHITNEY at its head and tail, will vote for it, to gratify their innate and malignant hatred of Free-Soil principles. Official patronage will be lavishly promised; bribes will be freely offered; threats, enticements, every possible appliance by which Power knows so well how to crush the Right, will be brought to bear in favor of its enactment. The probabilities are that enough of the

onal and the weak will be found in that by  
to strengthen the Pro-Slavery party so  
to secure the passage of the bill.  
President and Senate will thus be cloth  
with absolute power over the Territ  
A Pro-Slavery Commission will be s  
out, to carry into execution the dect  
of its master. A registry of voters will  
opened and filled by the ruffian maraud  
whom Slavery has planted there for the enf  
ment of its behests. The mockery of an e  
tion will be gone through with. And the  
will be proclaimed that, by the acts of the p  
ple, Slavery has been established in Kansas;  
although there is not one man in a hundre  
blind as not to know that all this is a foul  
base conspiracy, the power of the Union wi  
pledged to its maintenance.

This result will change, but not end, the c  
test. A new Congress is to be chosen  
Fall:—and in every district of the North  
States, the issue will be distinctly made,—  
*the conspiracy be ratified and confirmed? S  
Kansas, thus made a Slave State, be admitte  
such into the Union?* It will render ten  
more intense the agitation which now b  
throughout the land. It will create an i  
before which no *doughface* can stand an h  
and will render impossible the admission  
the Union of any Slave State, through all t  
to come. The Conspirators have hitherto fa  
every danger, and dared all extremities, in p  
suit of their end. If they can look cal  
upon the public perils they now court,—if  
slaveholders of the Southern States think t  
can afford thus to brave results which threa  
them with ruin,—they cannot be far from t  
insanity which is said to be the divine pre  
nition of sure destruction.

#### The New Kansas Dodge.

Senator DOUGLAS falters in the work he has  
undertaken. He quails before the popular con  
demnation of his Kansas policy. His proud pro  
clamation that he would "subdue" the North and  
compel its acquiescence in the principle of the  
Nebraska bill, has been falsified,—and Sena  
tor DOUGLAS himself has been compelled  
to make a show of modifying his policy  
for the purpose of appeasing the popular indig  
nation which threatens to sweep his party from  
power. In another column will be found the  
new bill which he reported on the 30th, and  
which was forced through the Senate on the  
morning of the 3d inst. On its face, and to all  
appearances, it is a complete abandonment of  
the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and a direct  
reversal of the policy of the Administration in  
regard to Kansas:—and although these appear  
ances are utterly deceptive, they prove the  
extent to which DOUGLAS and his fellow con  
spirators have been startled and alarmed by the  
developments of public sentiment within the  
last ten days.

The principle of Popular Sovereignty, as it  
has been expounded by DOUGLAS, demands that  
the people of Kansas should be left perfectly  
free to manage their own affairs. The Kansas  
bill pretended to confer upon the inhabitants  
the right thus to regulate their own concerns.  
The Legislature of the Territory was to pre  
scribe the time, place and manner of holding  
elections:—to provide for an enumeration of  
the inhabitants:—to make all laws concerning  
property:—and generally to exercise all the  
rights and powers vested in State Governments.  
This was proclaimed to be the fundamental  
principle of the Kansas bill:—and no extrem  
ity of disorder or commotion was to be allowed  
to interfere with its enforcement. President  
Pierce, in his special message, declared his  
determination to enforce the laws of the Kansas  
Legislature:—and his proclamation menaced

the people with the power of the Federal army  
as a means of compelling obedience. Thus far  
the Administration has taken this stand and  
maintained it. The Federal Judiciary in the  
Territory has indicted men for treason, for hav  
ing refused obedience. Scores of the best citi  
zens of Kansas now lie in prison under such a  
charge. Federal Judges have denounced free  
presses, and hotels owned by Free-State men,  
as nuisances:—and mobs, acting under Federal  
sanction, have destroyed them both. All this  
has been done in pursuance of the purpose to  
enforce the laws of Kansas, and thus maintain  
the principle of Popular Sovereignty.

All this Senator DOUGLAS now abandons.  
He has brought in a bill declaring null  
and void sundry enactments of this Kan  
sas legislature. He has stripped the Kan  
sas authorities of the right to regulate  
their own affairs, and proposes another tribu  
nal, which shall do all this for them. There  
could not be a more complete repudiation of the  
Squatter Sovereignty doctrine than is embodied  
in his new bill.

But his devotion to Slavery and his determi  
nation to promote its extension into Kansas,  
have not abated a single jot. Both are con  
spicuous in this very act. Although he repu  
diates the sovereignty of the people of Kansas,—  
although he strips them of the power to regu  
late their own affairs,—he is equally careful to  
deny it to Congress, where it properly belongs.  
He proposes to vest the PRESIDENT AND SEN  
ATE with substantial power over the whole mat  
ter. He proposes that the President shall,  
with the consent of the Senate, appoint a COM  
MISSION OF FIVE PERSONS, in a majority  
of whom shall be vested complete and  
absolute authority over the Ter  
ritory. We hear rumors from Wash  
ington that assurances have been whispered  
that this Commission shall be fairly consti  
tuted,—that all political parties shall be rep  
resented upon it. The man who trusts to such  
assurances is a political idiot. The whole  
scheme is intended to deceive. Its precise  
scope and purpose is to place in the hands of  
President PIERCE complete authority over Kan  
sas;—and that man must be a fool who does not  
know that at the bottom of all this lies the deter  
mination to MAKE KANSAS A SLAVE STATE. This  
is the grand end at which the whole Kansas  
conspiracy has been directed. It was for this  
and this alone that the Missouri Compromise was  
repealed;—that Kansas was thrown open to  
Slavery;—that secret lodges were formed in the  
Slave States to carry Slavery into the Territo  
ry;—that the Border Ruffians invaded it and  
took possession of the polls;—that the Slave  
laws were extended over it;—that Lawrence was  
besieged, her houses burned and her free press  
destroyed; that all Free-State men have been  
imprisoned or driven out of the Territory; and  
that for the last six months the whole region  
has been ravaged by ruffianly Pro-Slavery  
hordes. And is it supposable that Senators  
DOUGLAS and TOOMBS,—the ringleaders of this  
grand Pro-Slavery conspiracy,—are now to  
abandon the object they have had in view from  
the beginning, or to do anything which would  
leave its consummation doubtful? This bill,  
it must be remembered, is TOOMBS' bill. It  
has been concocted by the leaders in the Kan  
sas Conspiracy,—under the personal supervision  
of ARCHIBON, STRINGFELLOW & Co. They  
know perfectly well what its effect would be;—  
and they never would have brought it forward  
unless they had known, in the first place, that  
it was necessary to appease and divert the pub  
lic indignation,—and in the next place, that  
this scheme would answer their purpose just as  
well as any other.

The bill proposes that the President and Senate

shall appoint Five Commissioners, a majority,  
(or three) of whom shall have entire control over  
the election of delegates in Kansas to form a  
State Constitution. It proposes that, under  
their direction, and under regula  
tions to be issued by the Secretary of the  
Interior, all the citizens of Kansas shall record  
their names on the 4th of July, (to-day),—and  
that, in November, these men and no others shall  
be allowed to vote. Now, DOUGLAS, TOOMBS &  
Co. know perfectly well that more than half  
the Free-State men of Kansas have been driven  
out by violence, and cannot possibly be there to  
register their names. They know that all their  
leaders are either in prison or in Exile, and  
that indictments for treason are pending against  
them. They know that the Territory is full of  
Missouri men, who have taken possession of it  
and will be on hand to record their names.  
They know that the whole machinery of Gov  
ernment in Kansas,—legislative, executive and  
judicial,—is in the hands of the Pro-Slavery  
men; and that they will have, therefore, an  
overwhelming advantage in such an election as  
they propose. And it is this conviction which  
has led them to propose it. Nothing but the  
most absolute certainty that this bill will aid  
them in their grand purpose,—to make Kansas  
a Slave State,—would ever have induced them  
to bring it forward.

We trust the House of Representatives will  
arrest a measure so fatal to Freedom in Kansas  
as this bill will prove to be. If the Govern  
ment of Kansas is to be put in Commission, LET  
THAT COMMISSION BE NAMED IN THE BILL. To  
clothe the President with any such authority is  
a monstrous departure from Republican princi  
ples, which nothing but the domineering spirit  
of Slavery could ever have forced upon the  
representatives of freemen.

A Fact Carefully to be Remembered—Food  
for the Campaign—The Way a Vote was  
Secured—The English Peace Addresses.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

WASHINGTON, Saturday, July 5, 1856.

EXPOSURE OF A PRETEXT.

One fact connected with the Kansas question  
should be marked distinctly, and carefully remem  
bered, by those whom it most directly concerns:  
SOLOMON G. HAYES, GEORGE G. DUNN & Co., wanted  
the Free-State Kansas bill barred in Committee of  
the Whole, a week ago, because they deemed it im  
portant to hear the report of the Kansas Committee  
of Investigation before voting on the bill. The re  
port was made consequently, on Tuesday, and was  
read in the presence of these gentlemen. DUNN  
paid not the slightest attention to the read  
ing—an indication, it must be supposed, that  
he had, in reality, determined upon his course,  
and that no statement of facts should change it.  
HAYES listened attentively, and, if we may judge  
by his vote, came to the conclusion that the Border  
Ruffians were right, and that the Free-State men in  
Kansas had no grievances to complain of worth his  
aid in redressing. For HAYES, DUNN, HARRISON,  
FELLES, BROWN, WHITNEY and WHEELER voted, at  
last, against the bill for the admission of Kansas  
with her Free-State Constitution, notwithstanding  
the necessity for such admission, as the cure of the  
stupendous evils proven by the Kansas Report to  
exist. They have fulfilled their partisan duty, and  
satisfied the South that the Fillmore Party can eat  
as much dirt for the Slave power as the veriest  
Buchanan can manage.

FOOD FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

Mr. Grow, of Penn., as Chairman of the Committee  
on Territories, deserves great credit for his skillful  
engineering of the Kansas bill through the House.  
His speeches in opening and closing the debate were  
clear, pointed and logical. Nothing could be more  
simple and convincing than is his argument showing  
that the conduct of the people of Kansas in forming  
a Constitution and State Government has ample  
precedent in the cases of Michigan and Arkansas,  
which were recognized and admitted without ques  
tion by the United States. Republican Associations  
seeking suitable matter for dissemination  
among the people ought not overlook this speech of  
Mr. Grow's.

PERSISTENCE AGAINST DIFFICULTIES.

Hon. RICHARD MOTT, of the Fifth District of Ohio,  
has been for some time past on Long Island shore,  
for the benefit of his health. On Tuesday last a  
dispatch was sent to him, stating the importance  
of his presence here, to vote on the Kansas bill.  
The dispatch fell into the hands of his nephew, at  
New-York, who saw that it would be impossible to



Dayton. They are very intimate, despite their political differences and frequent discussions, and on the evening of the fourth they met together, when the following conversation took place.

REED—Well, I am rejoiced to learn that Kansas has been admitted into the Union under the Topeka Constitution, and that another victory has been obtained in the popular branch of Congress.

BROWN—That bill will never pass the Senate, and as the latter body has shown a disposition to harmonize the difficulties complained of in Kansas, the House had better adopt the Senate bill.

STOKES—So it seems to me. I am sick of this continual wrangling on the Slavery question.

REED—"Adopt the Senate bill," why that would be surrendering up Kansas to Slavery. That bill contains the same specious frauds as that which characterized the original Kansas bill. It has only a semblance of fairness, and is designed to secure the establishment of Slavery in the new territories of the West, although not bearing such a title.

BROWN—In my opinion, you entirely misrepresent the nature of the proposed law. In Kansas there are such disputes as render us unable to know the real condition of affairs. This Senate bill proposes to take a new census and to adopt a State Constitution by a fair vote, after it has been found out who the voters are. All the laws of the Territorial Legislature, in reference to test oaths, are annulled, and the force of the United States is to be used to prevent the people of Missouri from voting. What more can be asked?

REED—It is you that mistake the matter. This new bill, urged by Douglas, is a specimen of the art of the demagogue and nothing else. The original Kansas Bill was passed upon the ground that the people of Kansas should regulate their own affairs. Now this has been abandoned, and this bill of Mr. Douglas provides that the control of Kansas shall be given, not to Congress, but to the President and Senate, both governed and controlled for the basest purposes of Slavery. The Senate bill proposes that the President shall, with the consent of the Senate, appoint a COMMISSION OF FIVE PERSONS, in a majority of whom shall be vested complete and absolute authority over the Territory. Now we know that President Pierce and the Senate will appoint three persons on that Commission determined to carry out the designs of the Slaveholders. We know it by the whole policy of the past, which has been, at any and every sacrifice, to make Kansas a Slave State.

STOKES—I have never read this law, and this is certainly an objection to it; but what will be the consequences of opposing it? Will it not bring trouble and endanger the Union?

REED—Never mind the Union question just now, friend Stokes. We will discuss that some other time, but now I am desirous of showing Brown that this Senate Bill in relation to Kansas is not offered in good faith. Now that the report of the Kansas Investigating Committee has been published, we can see clearly the great frauds which have been practiced, but they will be far more easily carried out under a corrupt commission, such as Mr. Pierce and the Senate would appoint.

BROWN—It must be conceded that you have some ground for such charges, but after all the question must be settled in some way, and this bill appears to be satisfactory to a large majority of the Senate.

REED—So was the Nebraska Bill, full of evils and premeditated wrong as it was. But there are other objections to this Senate bill than the one I have urged. By villainy and wrong of the most outrageous character a large portion of the Free State Men have been driven from Kansas. Nearly all of their leaders are in prison or are now flying from a false charge of treason. The Law is without any protection for these. Beyond this at the present time bands of Missouri ruffians line the practicable route to Kansas and disarm and send back Free State Settlers, while they send forward all Southern emigrants. The bill proposes no remedy for this. It is in truth and in fact, as it at present stands, only another scheme to carry out the purposes of Atchison and Stringfellow.

STOKES—Why cannot this bill be amended in these respects so that the matter can be harmonized without keeping up this continual excitement?

BROWN—I have never defended the conduct of the Administration in the affairs of Kansas, but Old Buck will right them when he is elected.

REED—You have no evidence of this. No man has ever more fully committed himself to the South than Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Wise says that he is with them and of them, and no one can doubt but that he fully understands him. But I do not wish to be led aside from this Senate bill, which you both seemed to approve without understanding its nature. It is as I have said entirely Pro-Slavery in its character. There are some fair provisions in the bill, but when consid-

ered in full view of the recent crimes in Kansas, its base character is detected.

BROWN—Something should be done to meet this condition of things and here is a plan proposed which may be passed. Is it not best to yield something and thus secure the settlement of this question? If not, let another more perfect scheme be adopted.

REED—The true method of righting this whole matter has been adopted by the House of Representatives, in carrying through the admission of Kansas as a Free State. "No man can doubt, after the proofs furnished by the Kansas Committee, but that the Convention at Topeka represented the wishes of the People of Kansas, and that their acts were indicative of the feeling of the State. No man who will look at this matter divided of party prejudices can fail to understand the purposes and designs of the South. If we cannot carry the admission of Kansas in the Senate as a Free State now, we should act so as to ensure our victory in the future. We have nominated a man for President, who, if elected, will soon put matters right in Kansas. Your Shannons and Leocomtes will sink into merited oblivion, and the much suffering people of the territory will be defended and sustained.

STOKES—It seems to me that Mr. Fillmore would act just right in this matter, while he would not give offence to the South.

REED—Unfortunately Mr. Fillmore's friends give him a very bad record. They all voted on Thursday against the admission of Kansas as a Free State, and they would unhesitatingly follow the South farther if they were required. Mr. Fillmore is supported at the North, friend Stokes, by a body of men, who do not think or reflect in reference to the present great issue before the Country, and as light is diffused the number of his friends will continue to grow small by degrees and beautifully less. It is a great mistake to flatter yourself that the South will be deceived. When they express confidence in Millard Fillmore they know whereof they speak. His views, however, are of little importance, for he has no considerable strength anywhere. Those among his supporters who believe that Kansas should be free will soon be out for Fremont, and if the others can be kept from Buchanan, it will increase our chances of success. The real issue before the Country is whether Kansas shall be a Free or Slave State, and Fremont is the only candidate who plants himself on that basis. Buchanan and Fillmore stand in precisely the same condition and cannot be supported except by pro-slavery votes.

BROWN—I agree with you that the contest is entirely between Buchanan and Fremont, but I feel safer with the former than the latter, and while I am unwilling to defend the conduct of the Administration in reference to Kansas, yet I feel that Mr. Buchanan is a safe man.

STOKES—That is all nonsense. I do not doubt but that Hunter, Mason, Stephens, Toombs and Jeff. Davis will force Mr. Buchanan with them just as they have Mr. Pierce. He never did have pluck sufficient to resist this species of intimidation, and I have seen nothing to show that he would desire to.

REED—When it can be shown that Mr. Buchanan will change the policy of the present Administration, if he comes into power, we will discuss this branch of the subject. The Cincinnati platform endorses the whole policy of Mr. Pierce, and Mr. Buchanan says that he is entirely merged in that, to the absolute exclusion of himself. Against this evidence the assertion of a political friend can go but little.

# Daily Pennsylvanian

WILLIAM RICE, PROPRIETOR.  
OFFICE 46 SOUTH THIRD STREET.

## Senator Bigler's Speech.

Senator BIGLER addressed the Democracy, in Independence Square, on the 4th, at great length and with telling effect, presenting and discussing all the political topics of the day, and holding the vast crowd for full two hours. His speech will be published at length as soon as prepared. It will make a good campaign document. We insert the following extract from it for the purpose of correcting an error which the reporter for the Bulletin and Despatch seems to have committed, as to what Mr. BIGLER said touching the Kansas difficulties. The graphic and terrible description of the state of society in that Territory, attributed to him, by the reporter, is that which he gave as coming from Republican members of Congress:—

But now for the Kansas question, and the course of the Republican or Fremont party. Ever since the commencement of the present session of Congress the whole country has been agitated, deeply and violently agitated, con-

cerning the state of society in Kansas. The most accomplished artists of the Republican party have painted the startling picture from time to time. That the simple reflection of the truth would have made a picture, for enough, no one can doubt; but that the deepest shado purposes of their own, have given it a picture more practicable, is just as evident. We had been told by the Republican orators in Congress, on the rostrum and in the pulpit, that the people of Missouri had invaded the Territory, and controlled the elections for members of the Legislature held in March 1855; that the free-State men had been driven from the polls; that the government had been usurped by mere brute force; that the laws of Kansas were not valid laws; that the people would and should resist them; that anarchy reigned in Kansas; that arson and murders were invoked to serve the ends of slavery; that finally Kansas and liberty lay bleeding at the feet of the border ruffians, and that the whole country was on the verge of civil war. Here is a picture; now what remedy did the Republican Representatives in Congress propose. Did they ask a legal and just measure of reform? By no means, fellow-citizens; but with the denunciations against the lawless authorities of Kansas fresh on their lips, they became advocates of the Topeka Convention and the State Constitution framed by that body, a movement admittedly without law, and in controvention of law and in menace of the Government. With all this seeming reverence for the law, they could advocate a revolutionary step taken in defiance of the Government. We were told that the admission of Kansas as a State, was the only remedy; for her evils; the only mode of quieting the public mind and averting civil war in the Territory.

Well, gentlemen, it had become apparent to all, that some effective and final measure of pacification was demanded by the best interest, not only of Kansas, but of the whole nation; that whilst the laws of the local Legislature were technically legal, the right of suffrage had been abused in selecting the members, and the many of the Statutes were oppressive and unjust, and in conflict with the Constitution, and the original Kansas Nebraska act.

With a view to meet these difficulties, Mr. Toombs, a Southern Senator, about ten days since, introduced a bill providing for the prompt admission of Kansas as a State. His proposition was referred to the Territorial Committee, and reported to the Senate on Monday last, by Mr. Douglas, and Wednesday fixed for a day to consider it. The bill provided that the present inhabitants may elect delegates to a Convention to meet in November next, to form a constitution, preparatory to admission as a State; that a board of five commissioners should be appointed by the President, to repair to the Territory, to superintend the election of delegates; to make an enumeration of the legal voters, and put up a list of voters at every District; and that only those who are now in the Territory, and those who have left on business or in the cause of the sad state of the society, shall vote. The law throws ample guards about the ballot box, by heavy penalties against illegal voting or violent efforts to interfere with the right of suffrage; it also annuls all the Territorial statutes subversive of the liberty of speech and the freedom of the press, and the rights of the citizen, and the rights of the Fugitive Slave Law as qualification for a voter and other absurd provisions. These statutes being inconsistent with the Constitution and the organic law, are clearly within the scope of the Congressional correction, without interfering with the doctrine of non-intervention, for the Kansas law provides that the action of the territorial legislature shall be confined "to rightful subjects of legislation." Here, then, was a measure of peace, of fidelity to our original promise of Kansas as a State, irrespective of her decision on the Slavery question. Its vital object being to terminate at once all motive on the part of outsiders to force temporary population into the territory, with the view to control its policy on the Slavery question.

What followed? Did the Republican Senators support this measure? Did they accept this proposition to bring the State into a state of peace, by an amendment to meet their violent resistance. The first demonstration came from the Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Wilson, who proposed to strike out the entire bill and insert a section, simply repealing all the laws of Kansas; substituting anarchy for the admission of the Territory as a State. The Senator from New York, Mr. Eward, the leader and the intellect of that party, stepped into the Topeka Constitution, and in the face of all his antagonists against the lawless authorities in Kansas, he voted to sanction a measure wanting in the slightest coloring of authority, and which had been brought forth in defiance of the law and its officers; and what is surprising, in addition, his course seems to be sanctioned by the entire Republican press, headed by that common fountain of fanaticisms, falsehoods and vagaries, the New York Tribune. The Senator from New Hampshire, Mr. Hale, proposed to strike out the fourth of July, 1856, as the time that the law should take effect, and insert July, 1857, so that the strife in Kansas might last a year longer; that bleeding Kansas, for whose people so many crocodile tears had been shed, might bleed on. They first objected that the local laws forbid and punished free discussion, and thus the slavery men had to be amazed; but then the bill was amended, and had been agreed upon by the committee, so as to annul all such laws. The next objection was, that the Free State men had been driven from the Territory, and the friends of slavery would have things all their own way; then the bill was so amended as to give all former citizens the opportunity to return and participate in the election. The next objection was, that the intention and effect was to bring Kansas in as a Slave State. The answer was no; it provides that the unrestrained will of the bona fide citizens shall settle that question, and that the objection could not properly come from the Republican side, because they had uniformly claimed that a very large majority of the real settlers are against slavery, and that all they sought was a fair expression of popular will. But then the bill was amended, and in the end, and finally the bill passed at the end of a session of twenty-one hours, by a vote of 33 to 42.

Within a few hours after the House passed a bill admitting Kansas under the Topeka Constitution, and thus the issue is fairly made up. The Democrats are for bringing in Kansas by the straight way and under the auspices of the law; the Republicans insist upon her admission by the crooked way, a way furnished by violence and revolution. The Democrats contend for a constitution to be made by the whole people, through a pure ballot box; the Republicans for one made by a party without the agency of law or of the ballot box. Judge ye between us.

The Adopted Citizens and Kansas. Our German fellow citizens are appealed to leave the Democratic party, because some lives have been lost in the struggle which has taken

place in Kansas, although truth requires us to say that many of the reports in reference to the proceedings in that Territory have been proved to be the grossest fabrications. The men who are appealing to the Germans on this ground, to oppose the Democratic party, have been elected, many of them to Congress, by Know-Nothing votes; and are now banded in the free States with the secret oath bound fraternity pledged to unceasing war upon our German fellow citizens. Can it be possible that the Germans have forgotten the manner in which they were persecuted by the Know-Nothings in Cincinnati, in Louisville and in Baltimore? For every life lost in Kansas fifty Germans have been sacrificed to the fell spirit of religious proscription—have been offered up as victims to appease Know-Nothing hatred to their fatherland! This fact cannot be too indignantly commented upon, and we trust our intelligent German friends will make use of it in all proper quarters and upon all proper occasions.

# The Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH:

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 7, 1856.

## Kansas Commission.

We give up as much of our space as we can, for the report of the Kansas Commission. It is a document which should be read by every American who sets any value upon the free institutions of his country. It presents a picture of wickedness and wrong such as is without an equal in the political history of any land having a republican name. It more than verifies the very worst that had ever been said of the doings of the Border Ruffians of Missouri, and must overwhelm the slavery propagandists with confusion and shame, if they have a particle of manly feeling left. It is a hideous and crushing exhibition. Examine and judge.

# DAILY GAZETTE.

Office—N. E. Corner Fourth and Vine Sts

## Republican Meeting at Bellefontaine.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati Daily Gazette.  
 BELLEFONTAINE, July 4, 1856.  
 MESSRS. EDITORS—Five thousand Freemen are in Convention here, ratifying the nomination of Fremont and Dayton. Never before has there been assembled in our county so enthusiastic a multitude. Several hundred ladies graced the throng with their presence. The times of 1840 are returned. The sham Democracy are in consternation. Your fellow citizen Hon. C. B. Smith, addressed the multitude to-day in a most powerful discourse, carrying conviction and conversion to many a mind. He was followed by Gen. C. Anthony, of Springfield, and John Lea, of Tiffin City. A grand display of fire-works concluded the day. The assemblage is now dispersing after nine cheers for Free Kansas and Fremont.  
 Put down old Logan at 1,200 majority for the Republican ticket, in November next. The Mad River Valley is all right. Not time to write more now.  
 Yours, &c.,  
 REPUBLICAN.

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 pass through a region which is beyond the interference of the followers of Atchison and Stringfellow. The company organized for the purpose of establishing the line, is said to be fully responsible, to have a heavy capital, and to be, in all respects, reliable. As the Missouri river route is completely closed to all Northerners emigrants bound for Kansas, this Iowa railway and stage line will become exceedingly useful. The result of the movement will be to cause Northern emigration to shun the Missouri borders, and to settle further in the interior of Kansas. Already a 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.

## Report of the Kansas Committee.

From beginning to end, this has been an extraordinary business, and it was fit that it should bring forth such a monster as the report and accompanying documents.—Washington Union.

True, very true, Mr. Union. This Kansas business, from beginning to end, has been an extraordinary business, and the "monster report" it has brought forth will cover your party and its wicked schemers with the blackness of darkness. It stamps you indelibly with infamy, and places you on a footing with the worst of traitors. As traitors have suffered temporal death, so your party will be sentenced to political death. The chief witness against you in the trial you are now undergoing is the "monster document." No wonder you hate it, for like all villains, you fear the truth

## Affairs in Kansas.

The following extract from a letter published in the *Western Christian Advocate*, of this city, gives an idea of the present condition of affairs in Kansas—

It is now utterly unsafe for a person to travel upon the highway. The public stage has been stopped twice between here and Westport. The passengers were required to show their baggage, and have it examined. They were also required to show their papers and pocketbooks. Men are disappearing very mysteriously from the free State ranks. It is said no less than eight dead persons lie on the road between here and Westport, their bodies bleaching in the scorching sun! Some are taken prisoners, and retained as such till an engagement takes place, when they are rescued. A local preacher in our Church was taken by them, and eventually rescued by a company of our men. While in their hands he was treated with almost every indignity, and among others drenched with whisky. An agent of the American Bible Society from one of the eastern States, was taken one side by them, and had it not been for a pass he had previously obtained from Governor Shannon, they would have closed his agency speedily; as it was, they searched him, and treated him with other indignities. Must we submit to all these outrages with our dress? Must our mouths be shut, our presses be destroyed, our God-given rights trampled upon, our persons outraged, and not murmur? We must submit, I suppose, like the cringing serfs of Russia, and exclaim, "All right." Never. The pent-up fires of liberty burn too strongly in the hearts of the people of Kansas. The spirit that animated the sires of '76 still animates their noble sons. As they threw off the yoke of Britain, so will the freemen of Kansas throw off the galling yoke of oppression that bears them down. Must the freemen of Kansas spill their blood for the cause of freedom and yet be left to perish? Must they, as well as the poor African, groan under the burden of Slavery, and bow beneath the oppressor's rod on soil long since dedicated to freedom?

Our most prominent citizens are in the hands of the enemy: Governor Robinson is in their hands; George F. Brown and others are prisoners; while a mere handful, without a leader, have to meet the overpowering forces of the enemy. May Providence overrule everything for good!  
 BAXTER C. DENNIS.  
 Lawrence, Kansas, June 13 1856

## Kansas in Congress—the Dodg—the Cheat.

The affairs of Kansas, and of course the affairs of freedom, for these are now synonymous terms, occupy a most important position in the Congress of the United States; and with breathless silence and throbbing hearts, the opponents of slavery extension will watch the events of the next few weeks at the capital of the nation.

The House of Representatives as our readers are aware, passed by a very small majority the bill admitting Kansas into the Union as a Free State. The Senate passed by a large majority the Kansas Bill reported by Senator Douglas.—This last bill if it should pass the House, will

make Kansas a Slave State. This is the object of the Bill. While the act has a show of fairness upon its face, yet the man must be a fool, who cannot discover in its provisions unmistakable evidence of knavery. DOUGLAS has dodged the issue, but he has not abandoned the intention to make Kansas a Slave State, and while compelled to give up the idea of "subduing" the people of the North directly, in an open fight, on a clear issue, he is, with that hypocrisy characteristic of the man, and of the administration, endeavoring, while professing peace, and exhibiting a fair countenance, to accomplish covertly and indirectly, his wicked purpose, viz: the subjugation of the freemen of Kansas, and the defeat of the Anti-Slavery extensionists of the North. Douglas has abandoned, in appearance, the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, and although deceptive, this course proves how much the Administration party have been alarmed by the development of public sentiment within the last few weeks.

The Kansas Nebraska Bill pretended to confer upon the people the right to regulate their own concerns. This was declared to be the fundamental principle of the Kansas Bill. Under this act of Congress, a Legislature was formed in Kansas, and laws were passed. President PIERCE declared that he would enforce these laws. What do we find now? DOUGLAS reports a bill, and it is passed by the Administration party in the Senate, providing for a Commission, to regulate the affairs of Kansas, and repealing a portion of the laws of the Kansas Legislature.

But let no one suppose that this new bill reported by DOUGLAS, and passed by the Senate, is anything else than a dodge and a cheat: or that it is any thing else than a part of a deep laid scheme commenced many weeks ago, and superintended by ATCHISON, STRINGFELLOW & Co.

The first and second sections of this bill expose the fraud intended to be practiced by its framers and supporters. In the first place, the President is authorized to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate, five Commissioners, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the act: No one acquainted with the past acts of the President, with reference to Kansas, will be at a loss to know in advance the character of this Commission.

The second section provides as follows: That it shall be the duty of said Commissioners, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe, to cause to be made a full and faithful enumeration of the legal voters resident in each county in the said Territory on the fourth day of July, eighteen hundred and fifty-six, and make returns thereof during the month of August next, or as soon thereafter as practicable; one of which returns shall be made to the office of the Secretary of the Interior, and one to the Secretary of the Territory of Kansas, and which shall also exhibit the names of all such legal voters, classed in such manner as shall be prescribed by the regulations of the Secretary of the Interior.

On the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November, an election is to be held for members of a Convention to form a State Constitution, at which election no person shall be permitted to vote whose name was not recorded as a bona fide resident on the 4th of July.

This accounts for the efforts that have been made by United States forces and Border Ruffians to drive out the Free State men; and it accounts also for the blockading of the Missouri river, and the care with which every Free State man is being driven back or imprisoned. Evidently, then, it was part of the plan, the consummation of which is being attempted in Congress, to hunt down, murder, drive out, and keep back Free State settlers, while Southern emigrants and Border Ruffians have been pouring into the Territory by hundreds; so that on the fourth of July the bona fide settlers would show a large majority of Southern men. It is therefore evident, as remarked in the outset, that this is a scheme to make Kansas a slave State, and if the Senate bill shall pass the House, the great fraud may be regarded as having been accomplished.

In this connection we copy the following remarks from the *New York Herald*, a paper that has very little sympathy with the anti-Slavery extensionists: Kansas is to be a slave State. That was, we presume, on the part of Mr. Douglas, the intent of the division of the Nebraska Territory, and the object of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. It is the particular purpose of the bill: and if passed by the House of Representatives, it will accomplish the work. As a balance of power in the Senate, the South are entitled to Kansas—they have fought

for it through good and evil report; and now all that they require to secure the prize is the concurrence of the House of Representatives. The time is auspicious for this movement: the bill is exactly adapted to the time, the means and the agencies to make it good; and all that is now wanted to secure Kansas to the South is the vote of the House in behalf of the measure.

But will the House concur? Upon that question the whole case hinges. We think it very likely that the Southern leaders of the Senate know what they have been doing, and that they would not think of resolving upon sitting out the bill through a session of twenty four or forty-eight hours, as the case might require, without a pretty distinct understanding that the House is safe for the measure. The late test in that body, by which the bill admitting Kansas as a free State was lost by one vote, is a strong indication in favor of this new expedient in the Senate. But will the Fillmore Know-Nothings stand firm? We incline to think they will, because the forlorn hope of their candidate is the South.

Assuming, then, that with the aid of the Fillmore men in the House this bill will soon become a law of the land, we have no hesitation in declaring it equivalent to the admission of Kansas as a slave State. The President is to appoint the Commissioners to carry out this law, and to superintend its execution; and after all the prescribed preliminaries shall have been fulfilled, the settlers of Kansas, under the limitations set down, are to vote upon the question of a new Constitution—slavery or no slavery. The cream of the bill is in the executive authority of Mr. Pierce, and in the limitations defined. The "border ruffians," by and with the advice and consent of the administration, have exalted the bulk of the abolition and free State settlers by fire and sword; the Territory is in the occupation of the pro-slavery squatters, including, doubtless, many valuable land claims, town sites, &c., conquered from the Northern emigrant colonies, and held by the ancient feudal tenure, that—

He shall get, who has the power,  
And he shall keep who can.

The Northern abolition and free soil squatters thus driven off, impoverished and dispossessed, will hardly desire to try their unfortunate pilgrimage to Kansas over again; but if they should desire it, they can hardly be mustered back into Kansas in sufficient numbers to outvote, on the day appointed, the convenient Missourians, who have only a three month's sojourn to undergo in the Territory to secure the golden prize.

Hence our conviction that the passage of this bill is equivalent to the admission of Kansas, in so many words, as a slaveholding State; and we repeat that, taking the late House vote upon the "Free State bill" as the test, we think this bill can be passed.

#### Vote on the Kansas Bill in the House.

The motion of Mr. Barclay, of Penn., to reconsider the vote by which the bill admitting Kansas as a Free State was defeated, having been adopted on Thursday, the Bill, as already advised by telegraph, was then passed by a vote of 101 to 97. Mr. Mott, who had been sick in New York, was present and voted yea; HERBERT, who voted NAY on the former occasion, was in jail for the murder of Keating, and bail having been refused he was unable, at this time, to support the Administration by his vote. Payne (South American) was absent, without having paired off. Chaffee had paired with Mr. Carlile. Haven, Whitney, Valk, Wheeler, Dunn, Scott Harrison, Fuller & Co., (Fillmore Americans,) voted, as usual, with the Border Ruffian Democrats. The following were the yeas and nays on the passage of the Bill. The names of the Representatives from this county we have printed in prominent letters, so that their constituents may readily distinguish their position. We do not think Mr. Harrison will ever again be afforded an opportunity to violate the confidence reposed in him by the constituency of the Second District.

**THE IOWA ROUTE TO KANSAS,** (says the *Cincinnati Gazette* of the 7th,) 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 the Nebraska city, a new stage route has been established. This carries the line to the southwest 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 the whole route passes through a region where, beyond the interference of the following Missouri river route is completely open to all Northern emigrants bound for Kansas, this Iowa railway and stage line will become exceedingly useful. The result of the route will be to cause Northern emigrants to cross the Missouri border, and to settle far

by way of the Missouri river, at the last accounts, many more were quartered at Iowa city, ready to proceed.

## CHARLESTON

Monday Morning, July 7, 1856.

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

### Who bears the Blame!

Who bears the blame? From North to South  
An impious threat has rung;  
From Southern lip and Northern mouth  
Defiant words are flung—  
The words which are a nation's shame—  
"Disunion," "Strife!" Who bears the blame?

Ho! Massachusetts! land where first  
Fair Freedom's banner rose;  
Ho! Carolina! land where burst  
Her lightnings on our foes!—  
Are ye ashamed of Monttrie's fame?  
Of Warren's blood? Who bears the blame!

Avenge on Monttrie's battle-ground,  
To warn the South, comes forth;  
From Bunker's height, with solemn sound,  
A voice rebukes the North!—  
The martyred dead their wrongs proclaim,  
And North and South must bear the blame.

They bear the blame—on South or North,  
Who range the hostile line—  
Whose words are fierce, whose hearts are wroth,  
Who threaten—arm—combine;  
Who marshal here a hostile band,  
And there in hostile columns stand!

They bear the blame, who urge the strife  
In Freedom's hallowed guise;  
They bear the blame who bare the knife,  
In slavery's cause to rise!  
Or North or South, 'tis still the same—  
Ye dare not ask "Who bears the blame!"

Forbear! forbear! The warning comes  
From Vernon's sacred tomb—  
With mourning march, with muffled drums,  
Our martyrs walk the gloom.  
Our star-thick banners sink in slime—  
Our Union falls! Who bears the blame?  
—A. J. H. DUGANNE.

## CHARLESTON.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 7, 1856.

# THE COURIER.

BY A. S. WILLINGTON & CO.

JULY 7, 1856.

What is it but a map of busy life? — COWPER.

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

### KANSAS AFFAIRS.

Report of Mr. Douglas on the several bills for the pacification of Kansas, referred to the Senate Committee on Territories.

The Committee on Territories, to which was committed "a bill to authorize the people of the Territory of Kansas to form a constitution and State government, preparatory to their admission into the Union when they have the requisite population;" and to which was referred "a bill to restore order and peace in Kansas;" and a "bill supplementary to an act to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas," and to provide for the faithful execution of the said act in the Territory of Kansas, according to the true intent and meaning thereof;" and an "amendment prepared by Mr. Seward, to the bill (S. 172) to authorize the people of the Territory of Kansas to form a constitution and State government, preparatory to their admission into the Union when they have the requisite population;" and "an amendment" proposed by Mr. Dombas as a substitute for the last named bill, (S. 172), have examined and considered the same, and beg leave to report:

The existing government in the Territory of Kansas was organized in pursuance of an act of Congress approved May 30, 1854, instituting temporary governments for the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, preliminary to their admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, so soon as they should have the requisite population. The organic law of Kansas is identical with that of Nebraska in all its provisions and principles. Each is based on that great fundamental principle of self-government which underlies our whole system of republican institutions, as promulgated in the declaration of Independence, consecrated by the blood of the revolution, and consolidated and firmly established by the constitution of the United States. Each recognizes the right of the people thereof, while a Territory, to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the

constitution of the United States, and so to preserve the right to the Union so soon as they should attain the requisite number of inhabitants, on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever. These two Territories were thus organized in 1854, under the authority of the same act of Congress, with equal rights, privileges and immunities, and with the same safeguards and guarantees for the quiet enjoyment of their liberties, without molestation by foreign interference or domestic violence.

In Nebraska the inhabitants have enjoyed all the blessings which it is possible for a law-abiding people to derive from the faithful administration of a wise and just government. Life, liberty and property have been held sacred, the elective franchise has been preserved inviolate, and all the rights of the citizen have been protected against fraud or violence by laws of his own making. These are the legitimate fruits of the principle, the practical results of fidelity to the provisions of the Nebraska organic act. There was no foreign interference with their domestic affairs, no fraudulent attempt to control the elections by non-resident voters. Emigrant aid societies, with their affiliated associations and enormous capital, did not extend their operations to Nebraska, and hence there were no counter-schemes formed to control the elections, and force institutions upon the Territory regardless of the rights and wishes of the *bona fide* inhabitants. The principle of the organic law—the right of the people to manage their internal affairs and control their domestic concerns in obedience to the federal constitution—was permitted to have fair play, and work out its natural and legitimate results. Hence peace, security and progress in all the elements of prosperity in this Territory, have vindicated the wisdom and policy of the Nebraska act.

Fortunate would it have been for the peace and harmony of the republic, and still more fortunate for the unhappy people of Kansas, had they been permitted, in the undisturbed enjoyment of their acknowledged rights, to derive similar blessings from the same organic law. Your committee can perceive no reason why the same causes would not have produced like results in Kansas but for the misguided efforts of non-residents of the Territory, citizens of the different States, who had no moral or legal right to interfere with the elections and legislation of the Territory, to seize upon the legislative power through the ballot box, and thus control the local and domestic institutions of a feeble and sparsely settled Territory. Upon this point we have no reason to doubt, but much to strengthen and confirm, the correctness of the views contained in the report of the Committee on Territories of the 12th of March last, to wit:

"In tracing, step by step, the origin and history of these Kansas difficulties, your committee have been profoundly impressed with the significant fact that each one has resulted from an attempt to violate or circumvent the principles and provisions of the act of Congress for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska. The leading idea and fundamental principle of the Kansas-Nebraska act, as expressed in the law itself, was to leave the actual settlers and *bona fide* inhabitants of each Territory perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States. While this is declared to be 'the true intent and meaning of the act,' those who were opposed to allowing the people of the Territory, preparatory to their admission into the Union as a State, to decide the slavery question for themselves, failing to accomplish their purpose in the halls of Congress, and under the authority of the constitution, immediately resorted in their respective States to unusual and extraordinary means to control the political destinies and shape the domestic institutions of Kansas, in defiance of the wishes and regardless of the rights of the people of that Territory as guaranteed by their organic law. Combinations in one part of the Union to stimulate an unnatural and false system of emigration, with the view of controlling the elections, and forcing the domestic institutions of the Territory to assimilate to those of the non-slaveholding States, were followed, as might have been foreseen, by the use of similar means in the slaveholding States, to produce directly the opposite result. To these causes, and to these alone, in the opinion of your committee, may be traced the origin and progress of all the controversies and disturbances with which Kansas is now convulsed.

"If these unfortunate troubles have resulted as natural consequences from unauthorized and improper schemes of foreign interference with the internal affairs and domestic concerns of the Territory, it is apparent that the remedy must be sought in a strict adherence to the principles, and rigid enforcement of the provisions, of the organic law."

The correctness of this position in respect to the causes of "these Kansas difficulties," that each one has resulted from an attempt to violate or circumvent the principles and provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act; and that "the remedy must be sought in a strict adherence to the principles, and rigid enforcement of the provisions, of that act," is recognized and affirmed in the provisions of "a bill to restore order and peace in Kansas," introduced by the senator from Illinois [Mr. Trumbull] and referred to this committee. The first section provides "that for temporary purposes, and till Congress shall otherwise direct, the Territory of Kansas be, and the same hereby is, annexed to and made part of the Territory of Nebraska, and all the laws now in force in the Territory of Nebraska, and not locally inapplicable, are hereby extended to and over the Territory of Kansas, and shall have the same force and effect therein as they now have in the Nebraska Territory."



a violence on them, and driven them out contrary to law, are there now to keep them in. And more than that, since this bill has passed your body, since it has gone to the other house, we have information that the violence, instead of being lessened, has increased; that there now stand on the borders armed men, who, when they meet emigrants coming from Massachusetts and Illinois, or from any of the free States, tell them they cannot and shall not enter. This violence, instead of being diminished, instead of being exercised to drive people out of the Territory, is exercised, now that they have been driven out, to keep them out. Does your bill touch them? No, sir. It was illegal to drive them out; it is illegal to keep them out; and just as much illegal without the bill as with it. Therefore, while the bill holds out this fair proffer of indemnity to these men to go back and resume their citizenship and exercise their rights, in reality they are less able to go back than they were before.

The Senator from Illinois complains that it has been represented that there was an intention, a desire, a purpose, by the legislation of Congress, to make Kansas a slave State. Mr. President, I have been educated to believe in the wisdom of that maxim of the common law, which says that a man intends the natural consequences of his act. It is not for a man to take a gun and fire into a crowd, and say he did not mean to hurt anybody. The law says that he intended the natural consequences of his act. If this were a matter that could be brought before the cognizance of a judicial tribunal; if the honorable Senator from Illinois, or any other, who voted for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, were on trial before a judicial tribunal, would it not put a fair, a legitimate, a legal, and an honest instruction to the jury to pass on the question, for the judge to say, "Gentlemen, here was an act prohibiting the introduction of Slavery into the Territories; the individual is charged with having removed it for the purpose of introducing Slavery into the Territories; and it is for you to say whether, in taking down the only barrier that kept Slavery out, and the one that kept it out perfectly, he did not intend to do what has naturally followed from his act?" That is what I mean, when I say it was the intention of the act to make a slave State of Kansas.

[Mr. Hale proceeded to read an extract from a speech of Senator Evans, of South Carolina, where the intention was avowed.]

There the sentiment is frankly and honestly avowed that the purpose, the wish, of the slave States, in this act, was to obtain Kansas as a slave State, and to obtain it as a guarantee. Then, when we look at the history of the legislation of the country; when we see its natural, its inevitable effect, and when this candid avowal is made on the floor of the Senate, by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, let me ask if there is any want of candor, or of fairness, in saying that it was the intention and the desire, by that system of legislation which was inaugurated by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to introduce Slavery into Kansas? I confess such has always struck me as being the palpable object. The honorable Senator from Georgia [Mr. Toombs] says to me that ninety-nine out of every hundred men in the slave States wanted it as a slave State, and never denied it. I thank him for that admission.

[Mr. Hale next defended the Topeka Constitution.]

Sir, the movement was not revolutionary, but it was something short of revolution. They did not disturb the existing authorities. They admitted the authority of your Governor; they not only admitted his right, and the right of the persons appointed by the United States of America, to execute process upon them, but they tendered themselves as assistants to aid it. They did deny the authority of the Territorial Legislature.

How was your authority carried out? How was this submission received? Why, sir, they were treated, on the part of the authorities, as if they were rebels, they protesting all the time that they were not. I am not going to repeat here what was done in Lawrence. I suppose it is not matter of doubt that the hotel was burned; it is not matter of doubt that the printing presses were demolished and thrown into the river; and that that was done, or pretended to be done, by virtue of an indictment found by a grand jury which pronounced it a nuisance.

Mr. Toombs. That is it.

Mr. Hale. "That is it," the Senator says Sir, where was it ever known on the face of God's earth, where they had Anglo-Saxon government, whether free or despotic, that an indictment for a nuisance was executed by demolishing the thing that was pronounced a nuisance, before there was any judgment found whether it was a nuisance or not? It is admitted that this was done—that your Federal officer, with that indictment in his hand, went and did these acts.

Sir, it is difficult to talk of these things with that coolness and moderation which have been

Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones, Iowa, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, and Yulee—32.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. Collamer. I offer the following amendment as an additional section, on which I ask for the yeas and nays:

And be it further enacted, That in all that territory, ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north 36° 30' north latitude, and not included within the State of Missouri, Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in punishment for crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited: *Provided, always,* That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and being taken, resulted—yeas 12, yeas 30—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Collamer, Dodge, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Trumbull, and Wade—12.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Benjamin, Biggs, Bright, Brodhead, Butler, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Douglas, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, and Yulee—30.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. Pugh. It was suggested by the Senator from Vermont, and reiterated by the Senator from New Hampshire, that there was no provision in the amendment reported by the committee to protect the persons who have been driven, as they say, out of the Territory by violence, after their return. I think it is sufficiently covered; but I invite those Senators, or any of their colleagues, to propose any amendment which will more effectually protect persons and property in the Territory, and especially the persons who have been driven out; and, for one, I shall vote for it, as I have no doubt a majority of those who support the bill of the committee will do.

Mr. Trumbull. I just offered a proposition which I thought would accomplish that by getting rid of the usurpers in the Territory who were and are oppressing these people; but it met with no favor.

Mr. Pugh. If that is all the remedy the Senator has to propose, I shall not vote for that.

The question being taken by yeas and nays on the substitute reported by the Committee on Territories, it was agreed to—yeas 32, nays 13—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Douglas, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, and Yulee—32.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Collamer, Dodge, Durkee, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Trumbull, and Wade—13.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended; the amendment made as in Committee of the Whole was concurred in, and ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time. The bill, as amended, was read the third time, and Mr. Seward called for the yeas and nays on its passage.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and being taken, resulted—yeas 30, nays 13—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Douglas, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Pearce, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, and Yulee—30.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Collamer, Dodge, Durkee, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Trumbull, and Wade—13.

So the bill was passed.

On motion of Mr. Douglas, the title of the bill was amended so as to read, "An act to authorize the people of the Territory of Kansas to form a Constitution and State Government, and to come into the Union on an equal footing with the original States."

## PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE, ON THE KANSAS BILL, JULY 24th.

Mr. Collamer, a member of the Committee on Territories, said, the bill reported might appear very plausible, but the existing circumstances of the case rendered the adoption of that measure exceedingly improper. He believed the only true and sound mode for affording redress for existing evils was first to remove the cause of those evils. It would not do to say that those evils should be remedied, and at the same time declare that the causes which produced them should not be touched. Such a course seemed to be inconsistent, unreasonable, and paradoxical.

With reference to the provision allowing settlers to return to Kansas, he said there was a blockade of the Territory by men of violence, whose habitations were full of instruments of cruelty, and thus it was impossible for them to get back. The same power that drove them away was still in the ascendancy, and no provision had been made for their security in the Territory. Thus, it was but a mockery of justice to tell them if they would return they would be allowed to vote, while they have not the power to return. Hence they would derive no advantage from this bill, although its provisions appeared to be so fair and plausible.

Mr. Hale. I am going to answer a few of the objections which have been suggested by the honorable Senator from Illinois, or some of the positions he assigns to those of us who sit on this side of the Chamber. He says, that one of the objections stated by me was a want of confidence in the President of the United States to carry out this enactment, if adopted. That is true; but I do not stand up here to rail against the President of the United States. The objections I have brought against him are specific, not general. I think I have done justice to the President. I did it when he was in the zenith of his power. I did it when the star of his hope was in the ascendant. I did it when he was the rising sun to whom all bowed. I did not believe then that he would be renominated, and I thought it was a kindness in me to tell him so. I did say so; but I do not believe that he took it as a kindness. History has vindicated the justice of the position which I took. I believe, sir, that I have never said anything against the President of the United States, except that, upon the very subject which is brought in issue by this bill, he was not to be trusted.

I thought that, in his annual message, he took a very unjustifiable course. I thought the reproaches which he flung at our common State, and at the Northern States, were obnoxious to all that I said of them, and a great deal more, if I had pleased to say it. But, sir, beyond that, I have never gone. I am not one of those who have indulged in an indiscriminate abuse of the President of the United States. I know what belongs to this place, and to his place, better than to do any such thing. I think I can do justice to all the high traits of his character which were alluded to by the honorable Senator from Georgia [Mr. Toombs] the other day. I am not so much of a Democrat, but that I believe in stock—I mean good stock; and the President comes of a good stock—some of the best that we have in New Hampshire—the very best that we have anywhere—he comes of the Revolutionary stock. His honored father commenced at Bunker Hill, and continued fighting the battles of the country until the treaty of peace was signed; and I believe the President is as patriotic a man as his father was. I have never said the contrary. I said this when he was a candidate. I said it when he hoped to be a candidate again; and I say it now, when there is so little reverence paid to him, that you ride rough-shod over his votes, with only a little band of about eight standing here to guard him. My voice is the same under all these circumstances, and I shall say it when the band gets to be less than eight.

But, sir, I said that on this subject I could not trust him; and I cannot trust him, notwithstanding the honorable Senator from Michigan comes in to endorse him.

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But, sir, I said that on this subject I could not trust him; and I cannot trust him, notwithstanding the honorable Senator from Michigan comes in to endorse him.

\* \* \* \* \*  
The Senator from Illinois, pursuing his appeal to these factious Abolitionists, says the obnoxious laws have been stricken out. I do not so look upon it. I am going to deal fairly. In this bill, there is a general amendment proposed by the honorable Senator from Missouri, [Mr. Geyer. It is general in its character, and, I believe, no more specific than the Constitution of the United States. I proposed, and my honorable friend from Connecticut, [Mr. Foster]—if he will allow me to call him so—proposed some specific amendments. They were voted down, and voted down on intimation made by the honorable Senator from Delaware, [Mr. Clayton,] and assented to, as I understood, by these who voted with him, that a specific repeal of those laws was not necessary, because they were repealed by this general provision, which had been inserted on the motion of the honorable Senator from Missouri. But, let us look at it, and see whether it be so.

I believe it is a pretty general rule for inferior judicial tribunals, in administering law, (at least, it is so in that part of the country where I have been most conversant with the courts; and if it is not so elsewhere, I should be glad to be corrected,) to say, "While there is a statute on the statute book, we are to construe it as the law of the land, until the court of superior, or appellate, or final jurisdiction, pronounce it to be unconstitutional." It is generally conceded to be the safest way for judges of inferior and limited jurisdiction to take the statute as they find it, until a court having final or appellate jurisdiction overrule it. That may not be universal, but it is the practice, generally, in the part of the country where I have practiced law—is it not?

Mr. Bell, of New Hampshire. Yes, sir.  
Mr. Hale. It is not universal, I grant; but, from a pretty intimate acquaintance with courts for twenty or twenty-five years, that has been the general practice in courts where I have seen law administered. The chief justice in Kansas, I believe, is from Maryland. I do not know what the practice is there; but this judge from Maryland has given some instructions to the grand jury upon what constitutes the crime of treason; and if he goes quite as wild, or nearly as wild, on this subject, as he has done on the law of treason, God only knows what he may instruct a jury in reference to this matter. He may instruct them that these laws, being on the statute-book, are constitutional, and are not inconsistent with the general provisions introduced into the amendment offered by the honorable Senator from Missouri.

Now, if you really and *bona fide* intend to repeal those laws—if you intend to remove these obstructions, and restore freedom of speech, why not say so? Why not abrogate the precise laws which you intend to reach by this rather loose mode of dealing with them? It seems to me that the more direct and more proper and more obvious way would be, if you intend to remove these objections, to say so directly and distinctly at once.

Besides, if the honorable Senator from Vermont will excuse me for it, I wish to dwell a moment on a suggestion that he has dwelt upon, and that is this: by removing these obnoxious laws, you have not done the first thing towards giving permission to free State men now in exile to go back. Why? Because they have not been driven out lawfully, but lawlessly; and have been deprived by men there of the exercise of their legal and constitutional rights.

What do you do by the bill? You simply say that it shall be lawful for them to go back. It is lawful, whether you pass the bill, or not. I ask the friends of this bill if they add one feather's weight to the legality of a single man going into the Territory of Kansas by the passage of this bill, that he had not before you passed it? Not at all. What was the objection, then? Why are not these men in Kansas now? Simply because, by violence, by usurpation, by illegal oppression, they have been driven out. The very men who have exercised

here what was done in Lawrence. I suppose it is not matter of doubt, that the hotel was burned; it is not matter of doubt that the printing presses were demolished and thrown into the river; and that that was done, or pretended to be done, by virtue of an indictment found by a grand jury which pronounced it a nuisance.

Mr. Toombs. That is it.  
Mr. Hale. "That is it," the Senator says Sir, where was it ever known on the face of God's earth, where they had Anglo-Saxon government, whether free or despotic, that an indictment for a nuisance was executed by demolishing the thing that was pronounced a nuisance, before there was any judgment found whether it was a nuisance or not? It is admitted that this was done—that your Federal officer, with that indictment in his hand, went and did these acts.

Sir, it is difficult to talk of these things with that coolness and moderation which have been so much commended to us by those who, I understand, stand here as the apologists of what has been done in Kansas—done by the Government—yes, sir, I repeat it, done by the Government. Has there been any word of reproof sent out by the Executive? Has there been anything intimated to the men who have done this, that it is not exactly the way in which judicial process is to be served? Has there been any rebuke administered to the judicial officers who have taken this way to execute the laws? Not at all; but these men are sustained to day by the President of the United States. These officers, who have thus outraged the rights of citizens, are kept in office. The same violence that has driven these men out of Kansas, instead of being rebuked, is countenanced, and it extends itself to the borders, and keeps free citizens from coming in; and then we are asked to submit to this bill at this time.

I will not occupy any more time, sir. I have said all that I propose to say; but before I sit down I will renew the motion I made on the other bill—and that is, in the fifth and sixth lines of the second section of the substitute of the committee, to strike out "the 4th of July, 1856," and insert "the 1st of April, 1857," as the day on which persons must be residents in order to be counted.

The Presiding Officer, (Mr. Stuart in the chair.) The question is on the amendment of the Senator from New Hampshire to the amendment of the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Wade. I call for the yeas and nays.  
The yeas and nays were ordered; and being taken, resulted—yeas 13, nays 32—as follows:  
YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Bell, (N. H.,) Collamer, Durkee, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Trumbull, and Wade—13.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Benjamin, Biggs, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Dodge, Douglas, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones, (Iowa,) Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson, (Ky,) Toombs, Toucey, Weller, and Yulee—32.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. Trumbull. If this proposition is to pass, I desire that it shall be put in such a shape as will place the parties in the Territory of Kansas, as nearly as we can do so, on an equality. But I do not think there can be any equality between them, while the so-called Territorial laws are in force, and continue to be enforced by the persons claiming to be officers. I believe it to be absolutely necessary to wipe out those laws, and dismiss those Territorial officers who are riding, booted and spurred, over the Territory, and, under various pretences, imprisoning, and plundering, and robbing its inhabitants, before anything like a fair election can be had.

With these views, I now offer the amendment which I offered the other day, to abolish those laws and dismiss those officers. The amendment is to add as an additional section;  
*And be it further enacted*, That all the acts and proceedings of any body of men heretofore assembled in the Territory of Kansas, and claiming to be a Legislative Assembly thereof, with power and authority to pass laws for the government of said Territory, are hereby declared to be utterly null and void; and no person shall exercise any power or jurisdiction, or hold any office under or by virtue of authority derived from such Legislative Assembly; nor shall the members thereof have or exercise any authority as such.

On this amendment I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and being taken, resulted—yeas 12, nays 32—as follows:  
YEAS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Collamer, Durkee, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Trumbull, and Wade—12.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Benjamin, Biggs, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Dodge, Douglas, Fitzpatrick,

Toucey, Weller, and Yulee—30.  
NAYS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Collamer, Dodge, Durkee, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Trumbull, and Wade—13.  
So the bill was passed.  
On motion of Mr. Douglas, the title of the bill was amended so as to read, "An act to authorize the people of the Territory of Kansas to form a Constitution and State Government, and to come into the Union on an equal footing with the original States."

Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones, Iowa, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, and Yulee—32.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. Collamer. I offer the following amendment as an additional section, on which I ask for the yeas and nays:

And be it further enacted, That in all that territory, ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north 36° 30' north latitude, and not included within the State of Missouri, Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in punishment for crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited: *Provided, always,* That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and being taken, resulted—yeas 12, yeas 30—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Collamer, Dodge, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Trumbull, and Wade—12.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Benjamin, Biggs, Bright, Brodhead, Butler, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Douglas, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, and Yulee—30.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. Pugh. It was suggested by the Senator from Vermont, and reiterated by the Senator from New Hampshire, that there was no provision in the amendment reported by the committee to protect the persons who have been driven, as they say, out of the Territory by violence, after their return. I think it is sufficiently covered; but I invite those Senators, or any of their colleagues, to propose any amendment which will more effectually protect persons and property in the Territory, and especially the persons who have been driven out; and, for one, I shall vote for it, as I have no doubt a majority of those who support the bill of the committee will do.

Mr. Trumbull. I just offered a proposition which I thought would accomplish that by getting rid of the usurpers in the Territory who were and are oppressing these people; but it met with no favor.

Mr. Pugh. If that is all the remedy the Senator has to propose, I shall not vote for that.

The question being taken by yeas and nays on the substitute reported by the Committee on Territories, it was agreed to—yeas 32, nays 13—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Douglas, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, and Yulee—32.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Collamer, Dodge, Durkee, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Trumbull, and Wade—13.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended; the amendment made as in Committee of the Whole was concurred in, and ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time. The bill, as amended, was read the third time, and Mr. Seward called for the yeas and nays on its passage.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and being taken, resulted—yeas 30, nays 13—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Douglas, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Pearce, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, and Yulee—30.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Collamer, Dodge, Durkee, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Trumbull, and Wade—13.

So the bill was passed.

On motion of Mr. Douglas, the title of the bill was amended so as to read, "An act to authorize the people of the Territory of Kansas to form a Constitution and State Government, and to come into the Union on an equal footing with the original States."

### More Arrogance and Violence.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Courier and Enquirer gives the following picture of violence at Washington, under date of July 7:

"Another remarkable illustration of the violence and insolence of the Pro-Slavery faction at the seat of Government, was supplied last evening, by a combined border-ruffian attack upon Mr. Hanscombe, a Clerk of the late Kansas Investigating Committee, at his lodgings. This gentleman is a correspondent of one of the New York papers, and being informed of the facts, naturally called attention to the pillow-story displayed by the self-styled Capt. Pate, when captured by Capt. Browne. Pate being here with a numerous delegation of persons of his own class from Kansas, required Mr. Hanscombe to retract his statement. This Mr. Hanscombe refused to do, because, he said, among other reasons, it corresponded in all essential particulars with Pate's own published account of the affair. Not being satisfied with this reply, Pate has been lurking about the Hall for some days with a gang of kindred spirits, seeking an opportunity to assail Mr. Hanscombe at a disadvantage. Not finding it, the gallant borderer yesterday afternoon, made a descent upon the residence of Mr. H. with a posse numbering four or five apparently fighting men. They were all intoxicated, and no doubt all armed. Mr. Hanscombe came to the door, when, after some parleying, Pate aimed a blow at him, and then instantly retreated behind two of his friends. Mr. H. placed his hand upon the stock of a pistol which he had provided for the emergency, but at this moment Captain Darling, door-keeper of the house, not perceiving the motion of Mr. H.'s hand, seized and thrust him back into the hall of the house, and himself stepped forward, and placing himself in a fighting attitude, politely invited any and all of the gang to a set-to with nature's weapons, which they unanimously declined, and soon disappeared. Two of the gang, very large and powerful men, subsequently returned, and assailed one of Capt. Darling's messengers—a small and feeble person. Mr. Phipps and the messenger being present, seized one of the ruffians by the throat, and while engaged in choking him, his confederate completed the assault which both had commenced on the defenceless young man. In the meantime, one of the assailants amused himself with cursing a colored servant belonging to the house, and only desisted from his abuse upon Capt. Darling's threatening to blow him through with a pistol, which at this stage of the affray had been produced.

The atmosphere of violence and lawlessness which surrounds this community, and especially the Northern members of Congress and persons in attendance upon it, was further thickened by Whitfield himself threatening, within the hall of the House, to have the messenger who was yesterday assaulted,—who is keeper of one of the doors of the House, and was upon duty at the time,—beaten within an inch of his life, if he dared to denounce the man who committed the violence upon him. This is precisely the spirit which exists in Kansas, and indeed which animates the party and the section now struggling and clamoring for the extension of slavery."

I am opposed to slavery in the abstract, and on principle, sustained and made habitual by long settled convictions. While I feel inflexible in the belief that it ought not to be interfered with where it exists under the shield of State sovereignty, I AM INFLEXIBLY OPPOSED TO ITS EXTENSION ON THIS CONTINENT BEYOND ITS PRESENT LIMITS.

JOHN C. FREMONT, 1856.

"I repeat that I never can and never will vote, and no earthly power will ever make me vote, to spread Slavery over Territory where it does not exist." HENRY CLAY, 1850.

Under no circumstances will I consent to the further extension of the area of slavery in the United States, or to the further increase of representation in the House of Representatives.

DANIEL WEBSTER, 1848.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, July 8.

SENATE.—Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, to which was referred the House Kansas bill, reported back said bill, with an amendment, striking out the preamble and all after it, and inserting the Senate bill passed on Thursday. He asked its immediate consideration, which was agreed to, and then proceeded to advocate his amendment.

Mr. Douglas said the proposition before the Senate was a plain one—viz.: whether they would admit Kansas into the Union with the Topeka Constitution, or whether they would substitute the proposition which had been modified to obviate the objections made against it, and adopted by the Senate after a full and thorough examination, the other night. There was no evidence whether the majority or minority of the people of Kansas voted for the Topeka Constitution, but it was known that the Constitution which had been presented here, and which it was now proposed to legalize, was a mutilated document. That fact was ascertained, not only from general report and newspaper statements, but was proved by the report of the House Committee of Investigation. In commenting on that report, Mr. Douglas characterized it as partial, unfair and unreliable. He argued the fairness and justice of the proposition submitted by him.

Mr. Collamer, a member of the Committee on Territories, opposed the amendment. He said:—

The bill reported might appear very plausible, but the existing circumstances of the case rendered the adoption of that measure exceedingly improper. He believed the only true and sound mode for affording redress for existing evils was, first to remove the cause of those evils. It would not do to say that these evils should be remedied, and, at the same time, declare that the causes which produce them should not be touched. Such a course seemed to be inconsistent, unreasonable and paradoxical. With reference to the provision allowing settlers to return to Kansas, he said there was a blockade of the Territory by men of violence, whose habitations were full of instruments of cruelty, and thus it was impossible for them to get back. The same power that drove them away was still in the ascendancy, and no provision had been made for their security in the Territory. Thus it was but a mockery of justice to tell them if they would return they would be allowed to vote, while they have not the power to return. Hence they would derive no advantage from this bill, although its provisions appeared to be so fair and plausible.

Mr. Pearce spoke briefly in favor of the amendment.

Mr. Hale opposed it. He said the President came from some of the best stock in New Hampshire. His father was brave and patriotic, and he believed the son equally so. He had said this when Mr. Pierce was at the zenith of his power, and expected to be a candidate at the next election, and he would say it now, when the President had fallen so low that the Senate could ride rough-shod over his vetoes, and only eight or ten of its members found to stand by him. He moved to amend the amendment by extending the time allowing residents to participate in its benefits until July 4, 1857. Lost—yeas 13, nays 32.

Mr. Trumbull moved as an amendment, to repeal all the Territorial laws of Kansas, and dismiss all the officers under them. Rejected—yeas 12, nays 32.

Mr. Collamer offered an amendment in favor of prohibiting slavery in that part of the Louisiana purchase north of 36° 30' not included within the territory of Kansas. Rejected—yeas 12, nays 30.

YEAS—Messrs. Bell of N. H., Collamer, Dodge, Fessen'cn, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Trumbull, Wade.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Benjamin, Briggs, Bright, Brodhead, Butler, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Douglas, Fitzgerald, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Jones of Tenn., Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Ky., Toombs, Weller, Yulee.

The amendment, as reported by the Committee on Territories, was then agreed to by yeas 32, nays 13, and the bill, thus amended, passed.

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den. The next in order is "a bill supplementary to an act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and to provide for the faithful execution of the said act in the Territory of Kansas, according to the true intent and meaning thereof," introduced by the senator from Missouri, Mr. Geyer. This bill makes

Mr. Houston moved to lay the motion to reconsider on the table.  
Mr. Howard, of Michigan, said that he rose to a question of higher privilege than the one under consideration. The special committee to investigate the affairs of Kansas were prepared to report.  
Mr. Houston raised the point of order that all questions of privilege were on terms of equality, and took precedence according to the manner in which they were submitted to the House. He held that the motion of the gentleman from Michigan was not in order, because there was a question of privilege pending, and read the 56th rule to support this position.  
The Speaker was of opinion that the report of the investigating committee was a question of higher privilege than the one before the House, as it involved the right of a member to a seat on the floor, and that, therefore, it took precedence of the business under consideration.

Mr. Orr appealed from the decision of the Chair on two grounds: first, that the resolution appointing the committee did not give them the right to report at any time, which was necessary under the rules; and, secondly, that the House was considering a privileged question, and according to the rules that question must be disposed of before even a question of privilege could be entertained.

After considerable debate on the point of order, and much confusion,  
Mr. Oliver, of Missouri, a member of the committee of investigation, stated that no action had been had upon the report which the gentleman from Michigan proposed to be fairly expressed, and their will imbodied in that fundamental law, without fraud or violence, or intimidation, or any other improper or unlawful influence, and subject to no other restrictions than those imposed by the constitution of the United States.

It is true that each party claimed, at the time the Topeka constitution was formed, and now claims, to have a large majority of the legal voters in Kansas, in opposition to the pretensions of the opposite party. Each party has always professed a willingness to test and decide this disputed point in respect to the majority, at the ballot box, whenever the elective franchise can be exercised in security and protected against illegal voting, fraud, and violence, and a fair expression of the popular voice thus obtained. The amendment proposed by the senator from Georgia, (Mr. Toombs) as a substitute for the original bill of the committee, has been prepared expressly with reference to attaining this desirable result. Your committee have carefully examined and revised the proposition of the senator from Georgia, and made such alterations in its details as in their opinion would promote its efficiency, and now present an outline of its provisions to the consideration of the Senate. It provides for the appointment by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, of five commissioners, whose duty it shall be to take an accurate census of all the persons authorized by the act to vote, and make a fair apportionment among the different counties according to the number of legal votes, and to cause the said apportionment, together with a list of all the legal voters in each county, (specifying the name of each voter) to be published and generally circulated throughout the Territory, and one copy to be deposited in the clerk's office of each county, and other copies posted up in at least three of the most public places in each voting precinct, to the end that every inhabitant of the Territory may have the opportunity of pointing out any error that may occur on said list, either of the omission or insertion of any name improperly, and apply to the commissioners to have the error corrected. The commissioners are then required to remain in session each day, (Sunday's excepted), until the 30th of October, at such places in the Territory as will be most convenient to the inhabitants, to hear complaints, examine witnesses, and correct all errors in the said lists of voters. When all the errors shall have been corrected, and the revised lists shall have been completed, the commissioners are required to have them published and generally circulated throughout the Territory before the day of election, and one copy thereof to be deposited in the clerk's office of each county, one copy to be delivered to each judge of election, and three copies to be posted up at each place of voting in the Territory.

voters, classed in such manner as shall be prescribed by the regulations of the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior, immediately after the passage of this act to prescribe the regulations and forms to be observed in making the enumerations aforesaid; and to furnish the same with all necessary printed blanks, to each of the commissioners as soon as may be after their appointment; and the commissioners of Kansas Territory, and proceed to the discharge of the duties herein imposed upon them, and appoint a secretary to the board and such other persons as shall be necessary to aid and assist them in taking the enumeration herein provided for, who must also be duly sworn faithfully, impartially and truly to discharge the duties assigned them by the commissioners.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That said board of commissioners shall, so soon as said census shall be completed and returns made, proceed to make an apportionment of the members for a convention, among the different counties in said Territory, in the following manner: The whole number of legal voters shall be divided by fifty-two, and the product of such division, rejecting any fraction of a unit, shall be the ratio or rule of apportionment of members among the several counties; and if any county shall not have a number of legal voters, thus ascertained, equal to the ratio, it shall be attached to some adjoining county and thus form a representative district; the number of said voters in each county or district shall then be divided by the ratio, and the product shall be the number of representatives apportioned to such county or district: *Provided*, That the loss in the number of members caused by the fractions remaining in the several counties, in the division of the legal voters thereof, shall be compensated by assigning to so many counties as have the largest fractions an additional member for its fraction, as may be necessary to make the whole number of representatives fifty-two.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the said board, immediately after the apportionment of the members of the said convention, shall cause a sufficient number of copies thereof and of the returns of the census (specifying the name of each legal voter in each county or district) to be published and distributed among the inhabitants of the several counties, and shall transmit one copy of the said apportionment and census, duly authenticated by them, to each clerk of a court of record within the Territory, who shall file the same, and keep open to the inspection of every inhabitant who shall desire to examine it, and shall also cause other copies to be posted up in at least three of the most public places in each voting precinct, to the end that every inhabitant may inspect the same, and apply to the board to correct any error he may find therein, in the manner hereinafter provided.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That said board shall remain in session each day, Sundays excepted, from the time of making said apportionment until the twentieth day of October next, at such places as shall be most convenient to the inhabitants of said Territory, and shall proceed to the inspection of said returns, and hear, correct, and finally determine according to the facts, without unreasonable delay, under proper regulations to be made by the board for the ascertainment of disputed facts concerning said enumeration, all questions concerning the omission of any person from said returns; or the improper insertion of any name on said returns, and any other question affecting the integrity or validity of said returns; and for this purpose the said board and each member thereof shall have power to administer oaths and examine witnesses, and compel their attendance in such manner as said board shall deem necessary.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That as soon as the said lists of legal voters shall thus have been revised and corrected, it shall be the duty of said board to cause copies thereof to be printed and distributed generally among the inhabitants of the proposed State, and one copy shall be deposited with the clerk of each court of record within the limits of the proposed State, and one copy delivered to each judge of the election, and at least three copies shall be posted up at each place of voting.

SEC. 17. *And be it further enacted*, That said commissioners shall receive as their compensation ten dollars per day during their attendance on the business of said commission, beginning on the day they depart from home, and their actual expenses, and said secretary of the board the sum of eight dollars per day, computed in like manner, and his expenses, and the said assistants, for taking the census, shall receive such reasonable compensation as the board shall deem just and equitable.

SEC. 18. *And be it further enacted*, That inasmuch as the Constitution of the United States and the organic act of said Territory has secured to the inhabitants thereof certain inalienable rights, of which they cannot be deprived by any legislative enactment, therefore no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust; no law shall be in force or enforced in said Territory respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of people peaceably to assemble and petition for the redress of grievances; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized; nor shall the rights of the people to keep and bear arms be infringed. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation. In all criminal prosecution the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process of obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence. The privilege of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless, when in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law. Excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. 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 vote at any 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 thereon by the people of said Territory.

SEC. 19. *And be it further enacted*, That the following propositions be and the same are hereby offered to the said convention of the people of Kansas for their free acceptance or rejection, which, if accepted by the convention, shall be obligatory on the United States and upon the said State of Kansas, to wit:

First. That sections numbered sixteen and thirty-six in every township of public lands in said State, and, where either of said sections or any part thereof has been sold or otherwise been disposed of, other lands, equivalent thereto and as contiguous as may be, shall be granted in said State, for the use of schools.

Second. That seventy-two sections of land shall be set apart and reserved for the use and support of a State university, to be selected by the Governor of said State, subject to the approval of the Congress of the United States.

July 8, 1856.

## Plundering Emigrants.

FORT LEAVENWORTH, July 3, 1856.

EDITOR OF MISSOURI DEMOCRAT:

You will have various and conflicting stories of the robbery committed yesterday on a number of Kansas emigrants, at Leavenworth City, and being one of the company, I will give you an account of what actually took place.

The emigrants made no show of arms, nor did they boast of what they would do, but left the boat quietly, and engaged a team to take their goods to Mr. Cracken's warehouse, supposing that they would be safe till we could hire teams to convey them and us back into the country, where it was our design to found a settlement. But before we could get our provisions and implements of husbandry into the warehouse it was taken possession of by a band of marauders with United States muskets, supported by a large crowd of South Carolinians and Georgians, all armed with revolvers and bowie knives, while at the same time bands of men armed as the rest, with government arms, were parading the streets. We demanded their authority for the proceedings, and were answered, they were not here to answer questions. Resistance was seen to be worse than folly, and the work of rifling our baggage began. Trunks were all opened, and even carpet sacks, some of them not more than fifteen inches long, were opened, as they said, for Sharp's rifles.

Our provision and dry goods boxes were broken with axes and hatchets. Apart from the indignity offered us as free American citizens, and our loss of more than one thousand dollars worth of private, not public, property, by the hands of these robbers. It was really amusing to see them examine a can of tea for a concealed Sharpe's rifle. After they had got all they wanted, not excepting at least one pocket-book, taken from the pocket of one of our men, they guarded us in the warehouse while arrangements could be made to return us to Col. Russell's warehouse, to examine our persons, and those who had not previously and did not, during the removal, make their escape, were examined at said warehouse, and then put aboard a downward boat and sent back to St. Louis. I have not been informed whether their trunks were given them or not. The trunk belonging to the writer, filled with dirty clothes and two cloth coats, was stolen, and I do not yet know how many others fared in the same way.

They report the capture of seventy guns.—The regulators can lie as well as plunder. Twenty-three guns were all we had, and they did not get all the slides for even so many. These men are in dens around Leavenworth city, and swarm out at the arrival of every upward bound boat, and if a body of troops come in sight they squat and hide till the troops leave, and they continue their depredations.

OTTAWA.

## The Kansas Report.

We publish on the first page of to-day's paper a part of the report of the majority of the Kansas commissioners, and shall give the remainder to-morrow. The minority report has not yet been made to Congress. When it is, we shall publish that likewise, so that our readers may be put fully in possession of all the facts elicited by the investigation.

We shall only remark in passing, that it brings to light and establishes by sworn testimony, far greater enormities and outrages upon the settlers of Kansas by the Atchison bands than were ever published in the columns of the Missouri Democrat.

## Squatter Sovereignty.

The Richmond Enquirer scornfully repels the notion that squatter-sovereignty has been endorsed by the Democratic platform, or nominee. After speaking of Mr. Buchanan's antecedents, it says:

"These considerations (in which men of all parties in the general will concur) afford a clue to ascertain and determine his meaning and opinions as to squatter sovereignty. The Nebraska bill has been charged with ambiguity, yet it is hard to suspect the majority in Congress who enacted it with fraudulent intention. The changed phraseology employed on the same subject in the Cincinnati platform, was adopted in order more explicitly and fully to repudiate the idea of squatter sovereignty. The subject had been fully discussed before the sitting of the convention, and the entire south went into convention, resolved that no room for doubt or cavil should be left, even to our enemies. To place other construction on the platform is to assert that a few knaves in convention duped the whole south and most of the north.

"But although the convention satisfied its friends by resolutions on this subject, unanimously adopted in convention, it did not stop the cavillings and affected doubts of its adversaries. No wonder Mr. Buchanan cannot satisfy men who are predetermined not to be satisfied. But it would be strange, wonderful, incredible, that Mr. Buchanan, knowing that squatter sovereignty had but one conspicuous advocate in the Union, knowing that the resolutions of the Cincinnati convention were carefully framed, so as expressly to exclude such doctrine, and had, therefore, met the unanimous approbation of southern as well as northern members, should studiously accept the 'ipissima verba' of that platform and resolutions, as coincident with his own opinions, and as the guide of his policy if elected. We say it would be strange, wonderful, incredible, that he should suddenly turn short round, eat his own words, elasp squatter sovereignty to his bosom—and for what? To destroy his reputation for truth, honesty, common sense and consistency, to offend a nation and lose an empire."

## Sending State Arms to Kansas Invaders.

JEFFERSON CITY, July 7th, 1856.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

SIR:—I see that your correspondence from this place, mentions the fact, that nearly all the cannon from our State arsenal have been given out for Kansas under the special garb of being delivered to, organized companies in the State; but all the while they are getting them of the Governor and Quarter-master general, they are talking of the emigrants from the North going into Kansas, and pretend they are getting them as a matter of self defence. But the next time they are heard of, they are crossing the border into Kansas, showing that it is not self-defence they are obtained for, but to bring about a civil war, and thereby force a dissolution of the Union, for which the anti-Benton leaders have been working since the adoption of the Jackson resolution in 1849—in fact since their first attempt in 1833.

Benton's speech here acted like a charm on the masses. I learn he made a splendid speech in Boonville. John M. Richardson is after Polk and the white mules. The new Kansas bill strikes terror to the anties, they and their Power Test having gone out of date, and their sail having been lowered by taking away from the "border ruffians" the right to tyrannize over the people of Kansas.

## THE INTELLIGENCER.

WEEKLY PUBLISHED

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 8, 1856.

## The Folly of Lying.

Everybody admits that lying is very wrong; but few comparatively know, what is equally true, that it is very foolish. Ministers declaim against the sin of the thing, but perhaps it might prove a more effective antidote with many, if they would also show it up as a crime against society. Now that Kansas is in disorder, everybody complains that the telegraph lies. The very fire of heaven—that tongue of flame whose line is gone out into all the earth, and its words to the end of the world—it lies. If any affair takes place in Washington, capa-

ble by any ingenuity of being perverted to party purposes, in five minutes it is in New York, falsely affecting the fortunes of the capitalist in stocks and the price of exchange on Europe.

Let it be known, then, that it is not the telegraph that sends the message, not the officer that receives it, but some responsible man, some partisan or political tool, some one interested in fanning the flame of civil strife or sectional warfare, some agent of an associated press, trusted and employed to tell the truth, but violating his word, who (not to mince the matter) lies. It matters little to this conclusion that the report is not made up out of whole cloth, but may have some coloring of truth, some foundation in fact. That renders it but the more false and dangerous, because the more plausible and less easily detected.

The witty Tallyrand—that prince of deceivers and diplomatists—once replied to a lady who was making some dull disquisition on the necessity of clearness in the use of terms, "Language, Madam, is an instrument for concealing our thoughts."—Certainly many of the Kansas telegraphs are the efficient means of concealing the true state of things there.

Men are at liberty to make use of silence to conceal what they wish to remain unknown, and none can blame them. But every item of news sent, designed to convey an impression contrary to fact, however literally true or untrue, is a matter of the greatest injury to the party sending it.

It gives, for instance, plausibility (a though, of course, not truth) to the idea that the opposite party is thereby released from speaking the truth. Let one party circulate a false report and gain anything by it, for the moment, and how long will it be before the opposing interest will have out twenty more plausible falsehoods on the other side. But beyond all this, one deviation from truth discovered throws a suspicion upon every thing else that is said, however true. If the author is not known, it throws a general doubt upon all language. But no man can lie once without its becoming certain that, if not detected, he will do the same again and again. Then it will become a confirmed habit, and how long can such a habit be continued without being found out? But directly such is the result, no matter what the individual says, the power of his tongue is palsied. He speaks, but his lips have no power, they are not believed. He might as well or better be dumb, for all words have weight only as they are supposed to represent true ideas. But he who is once known to speak untruly, cuts off from himself the power of conveying the conviction of his veracity, no matter how great the truths he has to speak.

Now ever so soon, even he who will utter the most gross falsehoods, wishes to give a hundred true ideas to one in which there is any deception. Here then lies the great penalty of lying; a man who uses himself to be distressed a hundred times while speaking the truth, in order that on the hundred and first time he may be able to deceive.

And what is still worse, just in proportion as it is most important to be believed, it becomes proportionally harder to believe him, because greater interests than ordinary ones are at stake, and if he can better serve his own ends by a falsehood, this is just the case in which his ingenuity will be taxed to the utmost. It amounts to this, then, that for a trifling advantage in one or two cases, by every deceptive word, he renders himself incapable of vindicating himself in a hundred instances most important to his own welfare. So by the habit of not speaking the truth, when against his own interest in little matters, it renders a hundred more important communications unreliable, when his dearest interests are in peril.—[Phil. Ledger.]

## THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS:

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 8, 1856.

From the Kansas City Enterprise.

OUR TICKET.—Since the nomination of FREMONT, and from our inability to support the ticket, on the ground of injustice to more eminent men, we have concluded to commence President-making on our own hook, and present, for consideration, the following ticket:

For President,  
KIT CARSON, of Santa Fe.  
For Vice President,  
TIM. GOODELL, of Kansas City.

We shall, in brief, give our reasons for "the faith that is in us." To KIT CARSON, Fremont is indebted for all the fame he possesses. It was Kit who piloted him through all his explorations, who showed him the passes through which he passed the mountains, who selected his camping grounds, who found him his "springs of water in desert places;" who provided his stores of buffalo, elk, deer, antelope, moun-

...sweep, grizzly, etc., and protected him by his prowess, daring, and skill from the savage Indian and treacherous Mexican. Had it not been for him, his scalp would have been long ago smoking in the lodge of the red men, and his sufferings at the burning stake been the music for a general fandango of Camanches, or Cheyennes, in the gorges of the Rocky Mountains. We cannot then stand by and see his superior claims ignored, and his protegee steal the well deserved honors of the noted mountaineer.

In regard to our own fellow-citizen, Tim, we must say that there is but one voice among all who know him. Fremont, the Presidential candidate, was only a short time in the mountains. Tim has passed seventeen years in their exploration. As Fremont tried to find the central pass and could not—and as Tim has been through it a dozen times, and knows the mountains like a book, his claims are such as we cannot pass with justice. Added to this, we know Tim to be an honest man, a gentleman, and "a sound on the horse."

We make these announcements without any consultation with our candidates. Kit Carson, is attending to his duties as Indian Agent in New Mexico, and Tim Goodell, is out on a trip as guide to the Topographical Engineers, under Lieut. Bryant, on an exploration for a wagon road from Fort Riley to California. But, as they are both patriotic men, and ever ready to respond to the call of their country, we can pledge their willingness to serve if elected. Let Fremont look to his horse, as our candidates are the candidates of the horse,—unbought, unsolicited and unconquerable.

**Hoary.**

**THE MURDERERS OF GAY.**

The head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has, very properly, offered a reward of five hundred dollars for the apprehension of the murderers of GAY, the late Shawnee and Wyandotte Agent. See advertisement.

From the Rock Island Argus.

**Letter from H. S. Blackwell, Esq.**

We take pleasure in laying before the public, the able letter of H. S. Blackwell, Esq., of Chicago. Mr. B. is a talented and influential lawyer, an able speaker, and popular man. He was one of the Scott electors for this State in 1852, and was the Whig candidate for Congress in this district at the last election. He has hosts of friends, all over the State, who, like himself, can never act with a sectional fanatical party, and knowing the Democratic party is the only national party, will give their support to it and its candidates.

We do not fully coincide with the views he expresses in every particular, especially in regard to the Administration of Gen. Pierce. But they are his views—not ours, and we deem it due to him to have a fair opportunity of expressing them. Having done this, he plants himself proudly upon the great national platform of the Democracy and will do efficient service in the coming campaign. We welcome him as a national Democrat, upon equal terms, and entitled to all the privileges of any of the "old regime." His voice will, probably, be heard in our county during the coming canvass.

We invite an attentive perusal of the letter:

CHICAGO, June 24, 1856.

Col. J. B. DANFORTH, JR., Editor Rock Island Argus.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of inquiry under date of 19th instant, duly reached me. I have no hesitation in saying publicly, as I have repeatedly done in private circles, that I shall support the Democratic ticket at the ensuing Presidential election. The new election which I have thus voluntarily assumed, makes it proper, in justice to myself, and those personal and political friends with whom it has been my pride and pleasure to act heretofore, to assign the reasons which have induced me to take this step; and your letter, and your allusion in your paper to my present position, gives me an opportunity of doing so, and a desire on my part to prevent misrepresentation as to the principle of action by which I am governed, induces me to avail myself of it.

I have always acted with the Whig party, and should do so again if I had an opportunity. But that glorious old party, led by Clay and Webster, has become disorganized—broken into a thousand fragments—and its members are now at liberty to attach themselves to such old or new organizations as their respective consciences may dictate, and their judgment approve, without the fear of being termed renegades—as there is no party platform to abandon. There are now six Presidential candidates in the field, and each stands upon opposing platforms. It is the right and duty of every citizen to make an honest and manly choice between them, and sustain his convictions of duty boldly and fearlessly. With me the selection is a difficult one. There is not one single platform promulgated by these several parties to which I can give my assent. They either go beyond or fall short of my sense of duty. Yet between several evils I must choose the least. The race is evidently to be narrowed down to a contest between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fremont. The rest of the candidates may be regarded as scrub nags, who will probably be withdrawn before the day arrives for the struggle. The two prominent candidates are Democrats and have acted with the Democratic party heretofore. If a Democrat is to be elected, I confess I prefer an unadulterated one—a original—to a seceder upon a single issue.

The Democratic party as at present organized, I conceive to be more conservative and national in their faith than the newly organized party with Col. Fremont at its head. The latter is too radical to suit my views of loyalty to the Union, the constitution, and the ordinary laws of the land. The constitution is a platform broad enough for all to stand upon; and it is the duty of every citizen to vote for that man who is the chief executive officer of this nation, who he

believes will use his influence to the preservation of the Union, and a faithful and confidential execution of its constitution and laws. That man, in my humble judgment, is James Buchanan, who has devoted the last of a great race of statesmen, and who though himself to the service of his country, and who though often guilty of errors of judgment and indiscretions—which is naturally to be expected during a long course of public service—is yet possessed of a conservative of the spirit, and a desire to promote the best interests of the nation. Such a man, upon whatever platform he may stand, will never sacrifice the welfare of his fellow-men upon the altar of party passions and principles. Party obligations are strong—but official responsibility and the dictates of conscience will necessarily control them, when power is placed in the hands of honest and patriotic statesmen. Mr. Buchanan's past history is a guarantee that he is such a statesman. His integrity and patriotism have never been called in question by those who know his character.

The question of slavery is the most important issue in this contest, and upon that subject a few remarks may not be deemed inappropriate. I believe that Congress possesses the power to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories—but that it is impolitic to exercise that power. The Kansas-Nebraska bill goes no farther. It asserts, in terms, that the Territory is "not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject to the Constitution of the United States." The plain reading of this declaration is the simple banishment of the slavery question from the halls of Congress, in the passage of that bill, is the simple banishment of the slavery question from the halls of Congress. The platform of the Cincinnati Convention, if it does, I do as I understand it, goes no farther. If it does, I do not subscribe to it. The bill, therefore, neither asserts nor denies the power of Congress over the subject, but simply declares that it is more wise and politic that the people of the Territory—instead of Congress—should settle the question of slavery. I think so, too. But this principle, thus announced, is called "squatter sovereignty." The power over slavery in the Territory of Kansas, is derived from Congress, and not from any inherent power in the settlers upon the soil of that Territory. They have no inherent powers. All are derivative. Congress confers upon the Governor, Council and House of Representatives of the Territory, "legislative power," and the bill declares that this legislative power "shall extend to all rights of that Territory consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act."

The only question, therefore, which can arise under this grant of power, is, whether the recognition or establishment of slavery in the Territory by the Governor and General Assembly is a legitimate exercise of legislative power according to the laws of nature and nations. This is a question judicial in its nature, which Congress wisely turns over to the courts of the United States to determine. Where then, if the question of the popular sovereignty of this bill, if the question of that slavery becomes a judicial one? The answer is, that "popular sovereignty" never attaches to the people of the Territory, until with the consent of Congress, they are authorized to call a convention with a view to their admission into the Union as a State. Then, and not until then, are they paced upon a footing of equality with the original States. Then they may establish either a free constitution or one recognizing the institution of slavery as its conceded basis; may do this very day if the people see proper. The doctrine as thus construed, is a harmless one. It only becomes odious when the bill is construed as carrying slavery into the Territories and protecting and shielding it there, by virtue of the constitution and laws of the Union—a doctrine to which few persons assent and which the platform committee in the Cincinnati convention absolutely refused to assent to. It is insisted, however, that this odious doctrine lurks beneath that plank in the platform which declares "equality of States." This declaration is a simple affirmation of the constitution of the United States, which in terms, recognizes the equality of the States.

The same doctrine is announced in the Philadelphia platform, which in simple terms recognizes the Constitution and Declaration of Independence as articles of party faith, to which every one will assent. All persons who reason for themselves, will put such constructions upon the platform as their judgment may dictate. I have given mine, but I do not expect every one to agree with me. This is impossible with fallible beings. If we were all infallible, the Bible would not be so construed to build up a thousand different religious sects—but we would all be of one faith, and act together harmoniously as Christians. Again, party conventions are composed of as discordant materials as all other public assemblages. The members do not think alike. Platforms are matters of compromise between extreme opinions, and policy dictates that a conservative course should be taken, and a platform adopted which will secure union and concert of action between the members of the party in different sections of the Union—and the consequence is, that no platform will be construed alike by the very persons who sustain it. Human language is susceptible of such various constructions, that unity of sentiment becomes an utter impossibility.

The Philadelphia convention acted upon these principles. The adoption of the Declaration of Independence as an article in the party creed, satisfied the Abolitionists, because it announces the equality of the races. That their plank, which recognized the constitution, and with it necessarily the fugitive slave law, and denied the power of Congress to meddle with slavery in the States, satisfied the old line Whigs and bolting Democrats in the convention. This platform will therefore be construed according to the locality of the editor, speaker or voter. Such are my views upon slavery as far as the Kansas-Nebraska bill is expound-

ed by the bill itself, and the Cincinnati platform, are concerned. But I was opposed to the bill originally, because it repealed the time-honored law known as the Missouri Compromise. It was unwise to apply the principle of the Nebraska bill to territory, the condition of which had been fixed by positive law—a law which had been sanctified by time, and acquiesced in by the greatest statesmen and patriots of the land. I opposed it because it renewed the agitation of the slavery question, which I had supposed was regarded as at an end by the compromise measures of 1850. But the deed is done. There is no use of crying over spilled milk. No one proposes to restore the **Missouri**.

The idea of further compromise upon this embarrassing question is abandoned by common consent; and radicalism seems to be the order of the day. The Nebraska bill being now the law of the land, I am for adhering to and enforcing it, upon the same ground that I was for adhering to the Missouri Compromise, because its repeal will cause a still further renewal of the agitation. The idea of punishing the authors and movers in this matter, is not a sufficient justification for creating or continuing further agitation. There is another reason. Some of the bona fide settlers have gone into Kansas Territory on the faith of the bill, who it would be highly unjust to drive from the Territory by a repeal of the law, or the premature admission of Kansas as a State, before the bona fide population is sufficient to settle her, under the present apportionment, to one Representative in Congress. The bill recently introduced into the Senate by Mr. Clayton seems to me to be a just and equitable mode of settling this vexed question.

As a practical question the Nebraska bill is of small importance, compared with the restoration of the former peaceful relations which existed between the members of this confederacy. Slavery can never exist in the northern Territories. Kansas is the only one of our possessions where there is the remotest prospect that slavery will become a part of the institutions of that rising State. The bill does not legislate slavery into that country—nor invite it to go there; it simply removed the question from Congress and placed the power in the people of the Territory. If that law, however wrong it may have been in principle, had been faithfully administered, there was no danger of the introduction of slavery as a permanent institution in that Territory. The fault lay at the door of the present executive in appointing to office as the first Governor of the Territory, a known Free Soiler, who rendered aid and comfort to the "Emigrant Aid Societies." This appointment was made to conciliate the Free Soilers of the Union. The mistake was soon discovered, and Reeder removed; but the man appointed in his place took the opposite extreme, making war upon the free State men and lending his influence to the "border ruffians."

The principle of the Kansas-Nebraska bill—however odious it may be—did not authorize any but natural bona fide citizens of the Territory to have a voice in shaping its institutions. Border and Yankee ruffians had no business there. True, the bill was defective, in not requiring a longer residence in the Territory as the qualification of such extreme radicals as Reeder and Shannon, as the Executive of that Territory—who would have impartially enforced the principle of the bill and kept out of the Territory all outside pressures—the disgraceful scenes of fraud, violence and bloodshed which have stained the soil of Kansas would never have taken place. It is my firm faith and trust in the justice and conservatism of Mr. Buchanan—my strong conviction that he will put an end to these disgraceful effects of radicalism, that induces me to support him in preference to any other candidate before the people.

The election of Fremont will be no remedy for the evil—he would not only be powerless in the Senate for several years to come, during which time the trouble alluded to must continue; but representing, as he would, the radicalism of one section of the country—his position would free him to a commission of the same error which Mr. Pierce is already charged with. I therefore put my trust in Mr. Buchanan, believing that a bad law, when administered impartially, with justice and mercy, is far preferable to no law, or the violence of a mob.

I am opposed to Slavery, regarding it as a great moral, social, and political evil, and would go as far to eradicate it by peaceful measures as any man in the country, and if I believed that in voting for Mr. Buchanan I should be giving aid and comfort to the slavery extension doctrine, I should not hesitate to withdraw my support from him. On the other hand, what guarantee have we in the trustworthiness of Col. Fremont, that should induce any one to prefer him? Mr. Buchanan, who was born in a free State and is called a  **doughface**, Col. Fremont first drew the breath of life in South Carolina, the very hot-bed of this slavery extension doctrine. He grew up and had his education there under the influence of the slavery system. He intermarried with a Missourian. I would therefore seem natural that the influences by which he is surrounded would be at war with the platform upon which he is now compelled to stand. He has no antecedents to save him from this suspicion but his efforts in behalf of freedom in California, a position which many Southern and all Northern men did then take and always have taken, and two or three bidding letters for the Presidential nomination. Why then should any one prefer him to Mr. Buchanan?

I cannot sustain the course of Brooks in assaulting Sumner. It was a very indiscreet and in infamous attack. But Mr. Brooks does not constitute the Democratic party, nor has that party endorsed him or his assault in their platform. Mr. Buchanan was not in Washington at the time, and it may be safely affirmed



that he was neither an accessory before, nor after the fact. The vote of the democratic party on the question of privilege was right, whatever may have been the reasons which influenced individual members of the party. A criminal prosecution was pending in the judicial tribunals of the District of Columbia, and an adverse report and expulsion of Brooks by Congress, would have been prejudging the case, and forestalling the action of the courts. When the courts shall have decided the question of criminal law, whatever may be the result, I should then have no hesitation in voting for the expulsion of Brooks.

Nor do I sustain or palliate the outrages in Kansas. No sane man can justify them. They result from the bad passions of very vicious men, and there are, doubtless, many such on both sides. This result is brought about by that utter disregard of the organic and ordinary laws of the Territory which are, until repealed or declared invalid by competent judicial authority, bound to be obeyed by every good citizen as laws *de facto*, passed by a government *de facto*, however odious they may be. If illegal, the courts will so pronounce them—if legal the only course is to repeal them. There is no middle ground—rebellion and mobs are not appropriate remedies. How free State men, who now have their constitution before Congress, awaiting its action, can condemn the very law under which they justify their application for admission into the Union as a sovereign State, and refuse obedience to the local laws of the Territory, however oppressive, is beyond my comprehension, unless they plant themselves upon revolutionary grounds, and this can never be justified until all legal measures of redress have been exhausted.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
R. S. BLACKWELL.

[From the Lexington (Mo.) Express, 8th.]

### Row in 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 Richfield, 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 to the crowd at the door for some minutes, the meeting going on with business. The men 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.

### Saint Louis.

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 8, 1856

## THE EVENING NEWS.

The two companies of emigrants from Chicago and Massachusetts, who were turned back from Kansas on the Missouri river, have not abandoned the idea of reaching "the battle ground of freedom," altogether. They have gone to Davenport, in Iowa, and joined Lane's army, whose route lies across the State of Iowa.

This army of Lane's has been encamped at Davenport two weeks, being detained for want of funds. Its object is to invade Kansas, take possession of the Territory, and manage affairs to suit themselves. Lane is now in the East, endeavoring to collect money to defray the expenses of the campaign—a task in which he does not seem to succeed very well. If he should get his band of invaders into the Territory, he will, no doubt, be met by Gen. Smith and compelled to disperse his troops. The order from Washington is to allow no armed and

organized bands to enter the Territory, and we are glad to observe that it is rigidly executed.

### THE DISARMED EMIGRANTS.

The disarming of three separate companies of emigrants by citizens of towns on the Missouri river, affords the text for a good deal of senseless declamation and foolish preaching among the partisan journals.

First, a crowd of sixty-eight men armed with rifles and revolvers, sent out by the Chicago Executive Committee, for the avowed purpose of taking a hand in the fighting in the Territory, suffer themselves to be disarmed by the citizens of Lexington, and sent back home without even landing.

Next, a company of forty men, sent out by the Massachusetts Aid Society, under the command of Capt. Cutter, and provided with rifles, revolvers and bowie knives, were, in like manner, disarmed and made to return by the citizens of Waverly.

Lastly, a small band of sixteen, who had gone from Ottawa, Illinois, were even compelled to return on their arrival at Leavenworth. They reached the mouth of the Missouri river, and were put off on the Illinois shore, last Saturday.

If these transactions prove anything at all, it is that men, whether at the North or the South, who will hire themselves out to be transported to Kansas, are not those whose spirit and courage can be relied on in the hour of danger. Had the sixty-eight armed men who went from Chicago been men of self-respect and independence, who were going of their own free will, and paying their own expenses, to Kansas, they would not have allowed their arms to be taken from them, without, at least, a struggle. But they were docile, submissive, spiritless hirelings, unworthy to be classed with the honest freemen of the North, and unfit to reflect honor on the cause they were sent out to assist in upholding. It is time that the Emigrant Societies in both sections of the Union should cease from the unnatural and artificial colonization of Kansas, by persons whose character forbids the idea of their ever becoming good and faithful citizens of the Territory. We make no distinctions between the Northern and Southern hired emigrants. The remarks we make concerning the worthless fellows sent from Chicago, and Massachusetts, apply with equal force to the worthless fellows from South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, led out by Buford. Since their arrival in the Territory, they have been engaged in roving over the country, under the plea of suppressing the Free State rebels. We venture to say the good, staunch citizens of Missouri, on whose hospitality these lawless fellows have been sponging, are heartily tired of them, and would be glad to see them leave the border with the returning Abolitionists. Kansas will not be occupied by substantial, industrious settlers until the indolent rovers and roysters shall have left; and the sooner a general hegira of this floating, unsettled element takes place, the better it will be, both for Kansas and Missouri.

## WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

OFFICIAL COUNTY PAPER.

O. P. WASHINGTON, Editor.

CITY OF ROCK ISLAND:

Tuesday Morning, July 8, 1856.

For the Advertiser.

### Grand Republican Rally.

At a meeting of the citizens of Port Byron and vicinity on the evening of the 2d of July, H. Sadoris, Esq., was chosen President, T. C. Temple Vice President and A. S. Coe secretary.

The meeting was addressed by J. J. Beardsley, Esq., Hon. Ira O. Wilkinson and Joseph Knox, Esq., all of Rock Island.

The meeting was held under the green branches of the spreading oaks and the broad canopy of heaven.

At the sound of the bell, the citizens began to flock by scores and by fifties to their seats in front of the speakers stand.

The number present was by some estimated at nearly four hundred.

The speakers were frequently interrupted by storms of applause.

The old fogies, if any were present, must have bitten some under the plain truths and biting sarcasms uttered by the speakers.

No resolutions were offered, as the storm which had been gathering during the early part of the evening threatened to burst upon the assembled people every moment. They were compelled although reluctant, to retire at half past eleven o'clock, P. M., not however until they had given three cheers for the speakers and three for Fremont.

Their resolutions, will however be known in November when it will be found that they are in favor of free speech, free press, free Kansas and Fremont.

H. SADORIS, Pres't.

T. C. TEMPLE, Vice Pres't.

A. S. COE, Sec'y.

### A KANSAS EMIGRANT.

A letter appeared in a paper in this city yesterday morning purporting to be from a Kansas emigrant, who says he came from Portage City, in Wisconsin. He complains that he called upon us and we did not assist him, but sent him elsewhere, where he got a little of the same kind of comfort, and then he regrets being found in arms against his country, &c., and resolves to be decent in future because some of the "Democrats" of this city made up a purse to send him home, &c.

Well, some individual did call upon us last Monday morning with the intelligence that he wanted to get to Kansas—that he was from Portage &c., &c. These may be facts but we did not know them. He also intimated that he wanted some direction as to what he ought to do. We told him if he wanted to go to Kansas he had better go to Iowa City. He intimated that he had no money, and we did not give him any from the fact that we did not know whether he wanted to go to Kansas or somewhere else.

A Stranger who comes here, alone and unrecommended, and expects to get money simply on his own assertion that he wishes to go to Kansas with it, must be, to say the least, tolerably green—just green enough to be used over his own name, by demagogues for purposes of defamation, and falsehood. That we ever sent the individual referred to to Mr. Knox is a falsehood and

that he ever called upon Mr. Knox is another. If the opposition expect to make anything by using such material for bettering their cause, they are perfectly welcome to keep on trying.

## Daily Republican.

QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

10 Cents per Week, or \$5 per Year.

D. S. MORRISON. F. A. DALLAM.  
EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 8.

### THE SLAVE BILL.

Douglas' Slave Bill with various amendments passed the Senate last week. The Bill is an entire departure from the squatter sovereignty non intervention doctrine. It is no trouble for Douglas to turn a summer-set at any time. Indeed if he were to become a rampant abolitionist, his tools would go with him, and read every man out of the party who refused to do likewise. The object of the Bill is to get Kansas into the Union as a Slave state, and Douglas will do anything to accomplish that. It was supposed that the South had bought up enough of such men as Dunn to carry the Senate Bill through the House, but the reconsideration and passage of the House bill admitting Kansas as a free State will in all probability prevent the passage of the Senate Bill, and defeat the schemes of Douglas and his slave driving friends for the present.

## The North West.

H. D. LA COSSITT, EDITOR.

CITY OF DUBUQUE.

TUESDAY, . . . . JULY 8, 1856.

### Governor's Message.

We give to-day the message of Gov. Grimes addressed to the General Assembly, now convened in special session. The message has one merit—it is brief, and yet it would be better, and do more honor to the Executive of Iowa, were it still shorter.—by the last two paragraphs.

The principal subject referred to is the recent grant of lands to Iowa for R. R. purposes. The Gov. makes no suggestions as to the disposal of the lands, save a general one, that the interests of the people be guarded against the existence of controlling monopolies. We join him in that, at least. He trusts in the wisdom of the Legislature to make a proper disposition of the grant. There are, also, some suggestions referring to criminal proceedings, the school system, the Des Moines River improvement grant, and the state arms.—But as the message is short we presume all will read it, and a synopsis is unnecessary.

In the two concluding paragraphs the cloven foot of black republicanism sticks out. Our Governor avows himself a sympathizer in the treasonable agitations of abolitionism, and the resistance to legitimately constituted government in Kansas. His suggestion that a law be passed granting him the power to dispose of the State's 1900 muskets and 59 revolvers is in most significant juxtaposition to his avowals of abolition sympathy. Does he want to arm the ruffian gang of over 500 men that the villain and traitor Lane has congregated at our State Capitol on their way to overthrow in blood the government of Kansas? Perhaps the 80 chivalrous Chicago blackguards who are now there, and who were stripped of their weapons, spanked and sent home by a score of

men and boys at Lexington, Mo., want to be armed again, and the freedom-shrieking Governor of Iowa, only wants the power to place in their hands the State arms, that weapons belonging to the Union loving citizens of Iowa, presented to them for patriotic and law abiding purposes, may be used in fratricidal and traitorous warfare under the influence of abolition frenzy and coward hate. But Gov. Grimes knows that a majority of law-abiding, firm and unyielding democrats in the Senate stand between his abolition desires and their consummation, and to this cause only are we indebted for the fact that his message does not foam over with the dirty froth of abolition madness and treason. We trust the Senate at least, and perhaps both houses, will administer a reproof to this governor which he will not soon forget—so withering and decided, that the people of the Union will know that his fanatic, false-hearted negro-idolatry finds no responsive chord in the breasts of the patriotic yeomen of Iowa—whose affections like the rivers of her borders flow to "an inseparable Union"—and the air of whose beautiful prairies, while it gives life and vigor to just and national sentiments, is as deadly as the breath of the Ups to the fiendish hypocrisy of abolitionism, and the treason it loves and teaches.

### To the General Assembly of Iowa.—Ruffians and Traitors in Transtula.

There is one theme of great consequence to the character of Iowa,—one duty which she owes to the peace of the country and the perpetuity of the Union, to which the Governor has failed to call the attention of our Legislature.

We, however, as a citizen, must exercise under the constraint of a solemn sense of duty, our constitutional right of petition in the matter criminally neglected by the Executive, and we choose to do it in this public manner, that all may note the appeal.

We therefore appeal to the Legislature of Iowa to know by what right and for what purpose armed and trained bands of men, not citizens of the State, are entering our borders and marching through our territory?

We demand by what right and for what purpose a military rendezvous is established, by men not citizens at our State Capitol, and why recruits are there armed and trained in the exercises of war, preparatory to marching through the State?

Who, and what are the aims of those that thus defy our sovereignty—trample upon our neutrality, and boldly make a parade ground and highway for infantry, cavalry and artillery over our free prairie?

We charge, as a citizen of Iowa, that the armed bands that thus insult our soil are bands of miscreants and traitors, led by men under indictment for treason,—that they are engaged in levying war against the laws and the government of a sister Territory, and against the authority of the Federal Government.

We charge that they are engaged in a crusade against the peace of the Union, and the permanence of our institutions, and that with deadly weapons and military array they are eager to push their schemes to a bloody issue, and bring upon our country, involving Iowa with the rest, the dreadful, the tremendous woes of anarchy and civil war.

We ask of the Representatives of the people of Iowa, now assembled, that they take proper steps to vindicate the sovereignty and honor of the State—to arrest and punish the armed traitors who trespass on our soil, and bring the conservative power of Iowa to bear for the suppression of rebellion, the punishment of treason, and the supremacy of law and the peace of the Union.—We ask them to wipe from the escutcheon of Iowa the foul stain of inactive and infamous acquiescence in the dishonor which these marauders bring upon our soil, and the danger with which their treason threatens our national existence.

## The Daily Journal

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FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 8, 1856.

### POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY.

If ever there was a snare and a delusion, this "popular sovereignty," as it is called by the tyrannical demagogues of the day, is such. We have read over again, as carefully as we might, the famous bill which passed the House on the 22d of May, 1854, and the Senate on the 26th of the same month in that year, generally known as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, of which S. A. Douglas was the putative paternal ancestor. That bill, whose real parentage may be traced to Azekeiah and his gang, living in those regions that lie beyond the sound of Sabbath bells, and where civilization had not, we judge, two years ago, penetrated, pretended to confer upon the inhabitants of the new territory to be by it erected, the right to regulate their own concerns. The Legislature of the Territory was to prescribe the time, place and manner of holding elections; to provide for taking the census;—to make all laws concerning property, etc. In the words of the Sixth Section of that bill "the legislative power of the Territory shall extend to rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the constitution of the United States and the provisions of this Act." So the "popular-sovereignty" government was set in motion, "a wheel within a wheel," one sovereignty upon another, two solid bodies in the same place. It started upon the principle that a man can lift himself over a fence by the straps of his pantaloons. How admirably the thing worked is shown in the report of the Kansas Commission; which the pro-slavery sheets and shouters hate as his Satanic Majesty is said to hate holy water. The laws passed by the "popular sovereigns," are well known. The very flesh creeps as one reads them. It is but a little more than five months since the famous fellow who is President declared in a Special Message, his determination to enforce the Laws of the Kansas Legislature:—and in his proclamation he shook the knout over the people:—he thrust into their faces the army of the United States, in his menaces, as a means of compelling them to submit to the code of Draco. Moreover, the Federal Judiciary has acted its part well, has filled every den, and even tents upon the prairie with their armed sentinels, with men indicted for treason, consisting in a supposed intention of violating these laws. Even presses and hotels have been considered free moral agents for the nonce, have been indicted as nuisances and destroyed. All these little events have had one end and object in view. "Popular Sovereignty" demanded the efforts of our upright rulers to see its decrees faithfully executed.

Now, if anybody wants to see a remarkable specimen of that peculiar method of travel called "craw-fishing," we ask them to read the Bill which we give in a compendious form in our columns this morning. We ask that it be carefully perused. The substance of the

bill is there truly set forth, we believe.

But we trust the people will not be deceived by this bill which is called a "peace measure." There is no "peace" in it save such "peace" as Suwarrow wrote to his master with his mailed and bloody hand, "reigned in Warsaw." It is precisely the "peace" which the choicest of the Roman historians mentions:

"They make a solitude, and call it peace."

Although Douglas has now stripped the people of all the power delegated to them in his first bill, given into the hands of the President the full control of the whole matter of elections, etc., let no one suppose he has lost sight of the great object he has in view, viz.: to make Kansas a Slave State. The Government has permitted the hated laws to stand, and has armed hordes of ruffians to ravage, murder, and destroy, until they have procured control of the territory, driven out a majority of the Free State men, and taken possession of the principal avenues of approach to the Territory, and now it is safe to withdraw the control of their own "domestic affairs" from the people, and turn it over to Pierce.

We trust the House will stand by the bill they have passed and recede not one hair: or if the Government of Kansas is to be put in Commission, let the names of the Commissioners be fixed in the Bill: Let the people name them through their representatives, but trust Pierce not one inch.

### THE CHICAGO DAILY JOURNAL.

Published every evening (Sundays)

On the 19th of June, Gov. Shannon informed his "confidential friend," Col. Buford, of Alabama, that he had resigned his office as Governor of Kansas. Two weeks afterwards, he authorizes the St. Louis Republican to state that the rumor of his having resigned was unfounded.

This but confirms the current report that Gov. Shannon is so drunk half the time that he don't know what he is about.

The question now is, has he resigned, or not? If not, the sooner he does so, the better.

Squire Pierce must try his hand again at appointing a Governor for Kansas. We suggest either Atchison, Stringfellow, Jones or Buford as very properly qualified to carry out the scheme of the Pierce, Douglas and Buchanan party, in Kansas. "Sheriff" Jones is just the man to succeed Shannon in "managing" the affairs of the Territory. Will he be appointed?

#### HE WAS NOT THERE—WHY?

When the votes on the admission of Kansas as a Free State were taken in the House of Representatives, last week, where was Col. Richardson?

In vain do we look through the recorded list of ayes and nays, to find his name. In the Senate Douglas's name appears, as usual, side by side with those of the slave-holders of South Carolina and Alabama, but Richardson's name, for which we instinctively looked in the list of the slave-holders in the House, "comes up missing" for once. It is not there—nor is it on the other side, with those who voted for Free Kansas. No—as well might we expect to find it recorded in the "book of life," among the just and good.

Now the question is, where was Richardson

when these votes were taken and why was he not in his place in the House, where, on such an important occasion, he certainly ought to have been? Will some of his friends answer? Can the Times give us any light on the subject?

We would not be so ungracious as to say right out boldly that Richardson left Washington purposely to dodge the vote on this Kansas question, in order to escape the responsibility thereof. But we ask all reasonable men whether appearances don't point in that direction most suspiciously?

#### Speech of a Virginia Planter—Good 4th of July Oration.

The following is the speech made at the Philadelphia Convention by Mr. J. C. Underwood, of Clark Co., Va., for which he is threatened with personal violence by his neighbors, and required to settle his affairs and leave the State:

"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 and loveliest portions of our country. It is, sir, because our political maxims, 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 also 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 made not to govern, but to crush out every sentiment of freedom, of virtue and of 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 ancles of Christian men and women, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives; to be separated from one another, lashed and chained to 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 an agony of wo 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 these 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? (Cheers.)

"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 must be upon human oppression. (Long continued cheering.)

## DAILY HERALD.

A. JARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDICT

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND.

Tuesday Evening, July 8, 1856.

The La Fayette Courier publishes some interesting extracts from the private letters of a Lady in Kansas to her Husband in Ohio, and vouches for their authenticity. The letters

came by private hand, and thus missed the espionage of Border Ruffian postmasters. The lady says of the

#### FREE STATE PRISONERS AT LECOMPTON.

They are delighted when any of their friends, especially from Lawrence, call to see them. Miss H. was up last week. She says that they appeared sad. Deitzler was impatient, chafed, and vied with the bitter wrong he is receiving. She says he feels it deeply, and his incarceration is galling to his high ambitious spirit. Robinson was discouraged, almost despairing, impatient and tried almost past endurance. He wrote a letter to Amos Lawrence, in which he states our trying circumstances and how aggravating it is to hear of so much sympathy in the North expressed in words and so little of real help afforded. When Robinson gets out of heart there is not much hope for our cause. The rest of the prisoners are also smarting under the weight of their wrongs, shut up and guarded like felons, for nothing else in God's world than a love of freedom. Not one of them has ever counselled resistance to U. S. authorities.

#### FREE STATE MEN SHOT AND HUNG.

It is impossible to give the number of Free State men killed. I heard that they killed some four or five prisoners taken in the affray at Prairie City. Two men have been found hanging on a tree at Cedar Creek and men have been found shot, in different places. One man was found in a neighborhood south of this, so much decomposed that those who found him did not know him. They sent for a woman whose husband was missing, and she immediately recognized him as her husband. Many such atrocities are coming to light. You remember Mr. Jameson told me one day last week that he had seen him and another man, and they told him that the militia had caught them in the woods this side of Westport, had put ropes around their necks and led them to a tree, and asked them if they would vote for a free or slave State. When told a free State, they swung them up until they were nearly strangled, then let them down and repeated the question, then choked them again, and continued their operation of the ropes until they were almost dead. Mr. J. saw the marks of the ropes on their necks.

June 17th, the lady writes she had just returned to Lawrence from Lecompton. She had been permitted to see the prisoners, Messrs. Robinson, Brown, Deitzler, Smith and Jenkins. She talked with all of them, and their opinions, feelings, hopes, and fears were very similar.

#### A TALK WITH GOV. ROBINSON.

I talked with Robinson last and told him to tell me just what to write to Ohio and here it is, for I treasured up every word. He says: "Tell them our hearts are big with hope. It was very hard to make the people of the North and East understand their position; they kept continually writing to him and urging upon him the necessity of submitting to the U. S. authorities, as though they feared we were in danger of rebelling against the Federal Government. We have thus far yielded submission, and the world has seen how the Government officials—officers appointed by and clothed with U. S. authority, have treated us—how United States authority is wielded in Kansas. The outrages in Kansas have been perpetrated in the name and by the authority of the United States, by a band of men organized by Shannon, as Territorial militia, with United States arms placed in their hands by him, and led on by a United States Marshal, Donaldson, and Deputy Marshal Jones. (After Donaldson and Shannon both pledging their honor that no such invasion should be made.) Men have been murdered, property destroyed and stolen, citizens imprisoned without any kind of process of law, and no redress for our wrongs. And yet some of the Northern people are so fearful of our loyalty to the government that they oppress us. Oh! that the steel might enter their souls as it has pierced the hearts of the Kansas people."

#### HOW THE PRISONERS LOOK AND FEEL.

The prisoners seemed in pretty good spirits to-day, and are trying to bear their imprisonment like philosophers. But sometimes it chafes them dreadfully, and they do get mad, but not more than one or two at a time; and then they get over it, and then one or two others take their turns of being mad. Poor Judge Smith has had several ague chills. You know what a conservative, prudent old soul he used to be, but now he is even more radical and talks more "treason" than ever you did. They are all indeed more ready to do desperate things than even Branson and Runners ever were. Oh! they will come out purified, there is a prospect now that they will be out on a writ of habeas corpus. Robinson gets no letters at all. Every one

complaints of getting no letters.

SHERIFF JONES ABOUT TO DIE.

I forgot to tell you that I do not think Jones long for this world. He looks very feeble. I would have scarcely known him; and more melancholy I never saw a man appear. I went there with bitter feelings against him but when I saw him and he was so kind to us I really pitied him. If he had lain still and not been in such a hurry for his revenge upon Lawrence, he might have got along, but the exercise and excitement of that day brought about a serious inflammation of his wound, and there is a fair prospect of his waisting away under it. I think from his appearance he feels that life is drawing to a close, and when I see any one in such a case it stirs up so much of the human in my heart that if it was the old Scratch himself I should pity him.

# The Daily Republic.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 8.

"Fair Play is a Jewel."

The Kansas question is the great question of the day. Politicians of all classes and shades must acknowledge that it is the political question of the day, and the gist of it is slavery.

Now the friends of slavery dare not put the question openly on its merits before the people of the United States, to say whether they are in favor of slavery or not; but the issue which they profess to present, is, that the people of Kansas shall themselves decide whether to have slavery or not.

They who make this proposition, are either desirous that the question should be fairly submitted and decided, or they are deceivers and traitors. In the first place their good faith is sadly exposed to suspicion by their hostility to the free state constitution, already presented to Congress by the people of Kansas, and which, if not the act of the whole people, provides, at least, an organization by which the whole people can fairly act hereafter, and modify their laws and constitution. But suppose, for the sake of the argument, that that hostility really does originate in a hearty respect for forms, intended to secure fairness. With the documentary evidence now before them, proving the banishment and exclusion of free state settlers, the imprisonment of their leaders, and the destruction of their newspaper presses, these scrupulous friends of fairness in Congress, must restore to the free settlers those privileges and rights, and means of action, with full opportunity to recover all ground from which they have been originally driven, and most annihilate and disregard the bogus legislation and all its action, with the same thoroughness with which they would have the Topeka constitution disregarded; all this they must do, or they stand convicted before the people of the United States, as a set of cowards, hypocrites and traitors, having brains enough to see the right, and devilry enough to choose the wrong, but not courage enough to do it openly.

# The Daily Democrat.

TUESDAY, JULY 8, 3 O'CLOCK, P. M.

The Douglas Bill providing for an enumeration of the people of Kansas, while most of the Free State men have been persecuted out of the Territory, and all new emigrants from Free States are robbed and refused the privilege of entering the Territory, receives the warm support of every Doughface paper, whether BUCHANAN or FILLMORE. They are equally unanimous against the House Bill, admitting Kansas as a Free State.

LET THEM TRY THE EXPERIMENT.—The doughface papers have time and again asserted that the Republicans do not want the Kansas troubles settled—that if admitted as a State, it would annihilate the Republican party. Well, if that be so, the existence of the Republican party is now in their keeping. The Republicans have passed the Kansas Free State bill in the House. If its passage in the Senate will so certainly defeat and destroy the Republican party, let Douglas, Cass and their associates join with Seward, Wade, Wilson and other Republicans, in passing it. We undertake to say that if this will kill the Republican party, every Republican Senator will help to execute it. How many Buchanan Senators will aid them?

Letters from Kansas.—The Topeka Legislature is to be Expected on the 4th.—Free State Men Firm.

We are permitted to copy extracts from letters written by young Mr. ANTHONY to his parents and friends in this city, as follows:

DEAR PARENTS:—Yesterday was a very hot day, I drew one load of rails and gave it up.—After I get my lot fenced, I can then do as I please about working, with what help I have, shall finish in one week. Then I shall take a chance to breath. May go to Topeka on the 4th July.

You speak of my leaving the Territory. I could not consent to do that so long as my health remains good, and this seems as healthy as any country. In a few years we can have all kinds of vegetables, fruit, grain, &c., that can be raised anywhere, take no more troubles on any account. I shall do nothing but what I feel to be right; and as to staying here, if I had no great liking for the country, I should feel it my duty to stay till peace is restored. All it wants to settle this matter is for an overwhelming number to come from the East. We believe that Gen. Lane is near here, with a large company of men. Pro-Slavery men begin to look wild, and are leaving fast. They have released John Brown and Williams. They could find no more proof against them than against the rest—that is, that they had defended themselves against the Border Ruffians. The Ruffians swear if one man of theirs is killed, the prisoners will go next. The probability is that there will be a battle at Topeka, or at Leecompton, or in the vicinity, as both parties are taking arms, ammunition and provisions. The Pro-Slavery men at Leecompton have all been furnished with Government arms. Sumner says if both parties gather on the 4th, he will withdraw his troops to Leavenworth, and let them have it out. One week may make a great change in the state of affairs in the Territory.

Bogus law officers have been appointed in Ossawatimie, but they had much rather appoint deputies than to act themselves. We shall now soon see whether we are to be haltered by bogus laws, or be governed by justice. There are secret things in preparation for the 4th, on both sides; what that day will bring forth, God only knows. Good bye.

OSSAWATTAMIE, June 26, 1856.

DEAR SISTER:—Making cheese is the best business here. It now sells for 20 cts. per pound. Any one can keep as many cattle as he pleases, without any expense, except to cure the grass for winter. There are places on my claim now, where grass is three feet high. I shall have any quantity of wild plums, that grow on bushes not more than three feet high. I shall have corn and potatoes enough for my own use, for my cattle, and for seed.

I did talk of trading my Sharps' Rifle for a garden and piece of corn; but perhaps I may still need the rifle more than land and corn.—We guard the place every night and during the day. One of our men went to Kansas City for flour; the mscals tried to get his team when he went down; so he sold them before he started back. When he got about 5 miles out of

Kansas City, five fellows came up and demanded his rifle. He told them they could not have it. So they turned away. Soon five more rode up and demanded his rifle. He told them to get it if they could. One of them shot at him, but did not hit him. Then he returned the fire, and shot one of his assailants, when he ran for the woods, loading as he ran, and firing back. He thinks he wounded another of them. I imagine that it would do no good to be grazed by shot few times. I would then feel right on the "goose." I live at Mr. Crane's. Mr. Wood stops there; Mr. Gardner, printer of our paper, boards there. The first number is to be issued on the 4th of July, when we declare Kansas a Free State, and denounce all bogus laws. O. S. Brown is head man here. You speak of my going away; I would rather you would see me hanging to the first tree, than to think me a cowardly runaway. There are families and people here who cannot get away. They already have homes here which they treasure as their lives. All are in love with the country.—We have an equal right here, and shall maintain it. Instead of one man leaving the Territory, we want thousands to come, to come armed, and make a hole right through the borders. M.

A Trick.—No Doubt.

The Editors of the Express have had sent to them, from Philadelphia, a copy of the Kansas electioneering sermon, preached by Rev. Dudley A. Tyng, in the Episcopal Church of the Epiphany, Philadelphia, on Sunday evening last.—We have read it twice over, and have come to the conclusion, that the Rev. gentleman has been the victim of some wicked wag, who must have taken out of the Rev. gentleman's pocket the sermon he really intended to preach, and put a black Republican stump speech of the worst kind in its place. [N. Y. Express.]

Whether or not the Express has an editorial apprentice who is retained as a scape goat, upon whose head may be cast blunders and sins that older ones commit,—like the foregoing,—and infidel sneers at the christian philanthropy that sends Missionaries and Bibles to those who dwell in heathen darkness—defences of grog-shops—pandering to prurient sentiments—and appeals to ruffian instincts—offences which the free press of this country too often commit, and which indulgent communities tolerate, and a christian people even patronize—we know not. That is perhaps a dodge which the "inventive" genius of another cotemporary has first brought into practice. We can only say, in reference to the extract, that when christian ministers, in Episcopal pulpits, preach sermons that correspond with the sentiments avowed by the Republicans, it is no evidence against the purity and christian graces of the preacher, but a very decided endorsement of the philanthropic and christian character of the Republican cause.—The Satanic sneers of the Express cannot alter or shake the popular conviction of a people educated in the belief of the doctrines of the new Testament. The contumely which such smooth-tongued orators as ex-Governor SEYMOUR may cast upon the preachers who advocate the setting of bounds to Slavery,—the outrages of Border Ruffians upon self-sacrificing home-Missourians at the South-West—the denunciations of plain-spoken discourses, as "black Republican stump-speeches,"—and all the virulent assaults of Douglas, his presses and satellites,—cannot hide the truth, nor modify the indignant feeling of the people against the architects of ruin, who plot the extension of Slavery's black curse over this whole continent.

THE EFFECT.—The New York Herald has ever been one of the firmest allies of the South. Read its comments on the disclosures of the Kansas Investigating Committee.

The Iog us Sheriff JONES presided at a Buchanan ratification meeting, and Bully Brooks writes a letter to his constituents approving the choice of the Sham Democracy.

The Evening Post says Senator Cass was the inventor of "squatter sovereignty." The Post evidently did not read the recent broadsides on that subject in a city cotemporary. Nor did we.

TROY:

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 8.

Extremes Meet.

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Commission, can outrun in zeal any Slaveholders that may be associated with them, in drowning Freedom in the Territory. Can we expect any juster representation of the North and of Liberty upon this Commission, than we now have in the Presidential Office in the person of a citizen of the State of New Hampshire? No! Nothing short of a miracle can save Kansas from being made a Slave State, if the Senate Bill authorizing the appointment of this Commission, is passed by the House and becomes a Law.

If the Commissioners were, every one of them, appointed from the New York State Republican Committee, and so were unquestionably favorable to Freedom in the Territories, Kansas under this Act would be doomed. The assistance given to the Ruffians by the Buchanan Democracy has seemingly enabled them to become a majority. The programme of the South has long openly been declared—to send a sufficient number of temporary residents to Kansas to drive out a part of the Free State settlers, and to out-vote the residue in November. The "Healing Measure" allows this. There is not a line of it which provides for the liberation from jail of the now imprisoned Kansas State leaders—for the quashing of the hundreds of indictments for Treason against citizens of Kansas, now in exile—for the vacating of the offices all through the Territory now filled by the appointees and tools of the Ruffian Legislature—for the expulsion of the armed Propagandists sent there from South Carolina, Georgia and Missouri, for the avowed purpose of injecting Slavery through the ballot box into the veins of the new State—for preserving the free navigation of the Missouri River, so that steamers with Eastern born citizens "returning before October 21st" can reach the Territory, and land their passengers alive and un-maimed—for the restoration to the exiled Free State citizens, of their "claims" and property, seized in their absence by the Ruffians, and necessary to their owners' residence and very existence, after their return.

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day they learned that the Marshal left Lawrence as soon as he had made his arrests and dismissed his posse, and before the destruction of the printing presses and the Free State Hotel. Dr. Root and Mr. Mitchell told the Marshal they had been confined six days, and they wished to know the cause of their imprisonment before they were sent off.—The Marshal said he did not know—he did not even know they were in the camp. He sent for the Captain who had charge of them, but the Captain did not know. The Orderly Sergeant who arrested them, was then summoned, the Ord'y Serg'l could not tell why they were arrested. They then said they wanted their mules restored. The mules were not to be found. The Marshal said he would give an order for the delivery of the mules and other property taken from them. He could do nothing more. They had been taken away without his orders, and he could not be responsible for the lawless acts of his men. Capt. Donalson, who became responsible for the weapons and letters, could find only one pistol. One had been lent, but the borrower had had it stolen from him. The Captain's carpet bag, which contained the rest, had been robbed of its contents. The pistol that had been loaned was paid for, and Capt. Donalson gave his note for the remainder.

The gentlemen then asked the marshal for a pass. They had been stopped without cause, and for aught they knew they might be again before they got into Lawrence. The marshal was very obliging and wrote one for each of them. The following is a copy of one:

May 21, 1856.

Let the bearer, Wm. Mitchell, pass unmolested.

J. B. DONALSON, U. S. Marshal.

During this interval Mr. Mitchell had been elected Captain of the Prairie Guards, a military company composed of members of the Conn. Colony. On the return of Capt. Mitchell and Dr. Root, this company met and escorted them to the camp on the town site, when the following resolutions were read: Whereas the violent proceedings of the U. S. Marshal, in command of a pro-slavery mob, have led to the capture and serious peril of Capt. Mitchell and Dr. Root, members of the Conn. Colony in Wabauensee; and whereas, after a week's imprisonment, without cause, they were set at liberty without accusation and have come back safe through the merciful provision of our God—therefore

Resolved, That we, the Prairie Guards, give expression to our joy and gratitude for their safe deliverance.

Resolved, That we welcome Capt. Mitchell to the command of this company, and express our pleasure at coming under the authority of one whose wisdom and courage inspire universal confidence.

Resolved, That we invite Dr. Root to join the company he was instrumental in starting; and we congratulate ourselves on having in our ranks a gentleman whose bravery made it necessary for the U. S. Marshal to detain him through this extraordinary crisis.

M. C. WELCH,

Clerk of the Company.

P. S.—Within a week past certain Connecticut papers have reached us containing statements copied from the Hartford Times, and credited to a gentleman of Hartford who set out with the Conn. Colony and turned back before reaching his journey's end. With regard to these we have only one word to say. The impressions are strangely at variance with those received by the rest of the party, and the account of the wish of the people to return strangely contrary to the fact. The people of Kansas wish not to bandy words with those who have left them. They ask their Eastern friends to give their confidence only to those they know to be worthy of credit.

The Conn. Colony are settled in Wabauensee, a town on the south side of the Kansas river, and over 100 miles from its mouth. They are united as a Colony and have been ever since their first organization. Fifty-six of the original company still belong to it and of those who have withdrawn, only six have gone out of the territory.

The prairie of Northern Kansas is the rolling prairie, and in this vicinity bluffs and hills rise out of it. The country here is well watered. Creeks and smaller streams, fed all along by springs, are numerous. The prairie is not well timbered in the sense that Indiana is well timbered; neither is it flat and dismal and reeking with fever and ague as

many portions of Indiana are. The banks of the Kansas and of these creeks are covered with trees. Besides this, an examination shows that many places now burned down every year will be converted into forests as soon as a stop is put to these fires. These rolling prairies, which look as if they were under high cultivation, the wooded creeks and ravines, and the bold bluffs, give a landscape of surpassing beauty. Nothing but the absence of towns and villages reminds us that we are not in the ancient abode of a civilized people.

M. C. W.

## The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.  
TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 8, 1856.

### Squatter Sovereignty.

The song of the Syren has ceased. Democratic mouths, so lately vocal with the virtues of the seductive idea of popular or squatter sovereignty in the government of the territories, are now dumb, or pitched to other tunes. That cheat has had its day. Omitted in the Cincinnati platform, ignored by Senator Douglas himself, repudiated and spit upon by all the southern democracy, openly rejected by the administration party in the Senate in its proposed interference with the government, it has passed into disrepute and oblivion among the party rubbish of the past. It served to elect Gen. Pierce and secure the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and is no longer of use to slavery. The Richmond Enquirer scornfully repels the supposition that either the platform of the party or its candidate (Mr. Buchanan) has not ceased to represent it; saying, after a recitation of Mr. Buchanan's pro-slavery antecedents:

"These considerations (in which men of all parties in the general will concur) afford a clue to ascertain and determine his meaning and opinions as to squatter sovereignty. The Nebraska bill has been charged with ambiguity, yet it is hard to suspect the majority in Congress who enacted it with fraudulent intention. The changed phraseology employed on the same subject in the Cincinnati platform, was adopted in order more explicitly and fully to repudiate the idea of squatter sovereignty. The subject had been fully discussed before the sitting of the convention, and the entire South went into convention, resolved that no room for doubt or cavil should be left, even to our enemies. To place other construction on the platform is to assert that a few knaves in convention duped the whole South and most of the North.

But although the convention satisfied its friends by resolutions on this subject, unanimously adopted in convention, it did not stop the cavillings and affected doubts of its adversaries. No wonder Mr. Buchanan cannot satisfy men who are pre-determined not to be satisfied. But it would be strange, wonderful, incredible, that Mr. Buchanan, knowing that squatter sovereignty had but one conspicuous advocate in the Union, knowing that the resolutions of the Cincinnati convention were carefully framed, so as expressly to exclude such doctrine, and had, therefore, met the unanimous approbation of southern as well as northern members, should studiously accept the 'ipsissima verba' of that platform and resolutions, as coincident with his own opinions, and as the guide of his policy if elected. We say it would be strange, wonderful, incredible, that he should suddenly turn short round, eat his own words, clasp squatter sovereignty to his bosom—and for what? To destroy his reputation for truth, honesty, common sense and consistency, to offend a nation and lose an empire."

A few days since in a discussion in the Senate between the two Illinois senators, Mr. Trumbull confronted his colleague with this plain question, in order to test his continued adherence to the squatter sovereignty principle:

"Do you believe that the majority of the people of a territory have the right to exclude slavery therefrom, prior to the organization of a state government?"

To this Mr. Douglas unwillingly replied:

"It is not a question for me to decide; it must be left to the supreme court!"

Again, an Illinois democrat, who confesses to have been "taken in" by the popular sovereignty arguments of Douglas, Cass & Co., with which they argued and defended the repeal of the Missouri compromise, but is now getting his eyes open, offers the sum of \$100 to any Buchaneer who will discover in the Cincinnati platform, and make manifest to the naked eye, any plank, or splinter of a plank, conceding to the people of a territory, through the legislature thereof, the right to exclude slavery from the territory, or in

other words, recognizing the doctrine of 'squatter sovereignty,' as preached in the northern states for the last few years.

Squatter sovereignty was but a plank to carry over the democratic party from the good old fashioned, universal doctrine of the right and duty of Congress to exclude slavery from the territories, to the ultra pro-slavery, Calhoun theory that slavery is by right national and can be transferred to all the territories of the Union without let or hindrance, either from Congress or the people. The passage has been made—the bridge is now kicked away—and the entire South and what is left of the democratic party in the North stands forth the acknowledged advocates and defenders of the doctrine, first broached by John C. Calhoun, and then scorned by the entire North and rejected by a large part of the South, that slavery cannot and shall not be excluded from the territories, either by Congress or the resident citizens thereof. It is this doctrine that James Buchanan represents in the pending election. It is the opposite upon which John C. Fremont is planted.

### The Christian's Duty—The Remedy for National Evils at the Ballot Box.

Extract of a "SERMON ON THE TIMES," preached in Warren, June 1, 1856, by REV. S. S. SMITH.

The gospel of Christ is designed, not merely to save the soul from the consequences of sin in eternity, but also to restore the world to its original beauty and glory. Through its influence, every plant that is not of our heavenly Father's planting, is to be rooted up. The lion and the lamb are to lie down together, and there be nothing to hurt or destroy in all God's holy mountain, for the earth will be filled with the knowledge and glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the seas. It is only, therefore, where the gospel has free course, and is glorified in the moral and intellectual elevation of society, that we find the people free, prosperous and happy. The great and comprehensive truth, written as in letters of light upon every page of our history, is this—that our political happiness is identified with our political freedom; that our freedom is identified with the prevalence of knowledge and virtue among the people; and that neither knowledge nor virtue has any vigor or hope but in the principles of the Christian faith and the sanctions of the Christian religion.

And there is no other nation on earth, that has more occasion to understand and act upon this principle, than our own. As our rise has been more rapid than that of any other, so, if we decline, will our descent be more fearful than that of any other, and of all others too, we have least occasion to boast of our security, or to flatter ourselves that our political mountain standeth strong, and will never be removed. The framework of our national government is delicate and frail in the highest degree. Our union of states is a union of popular, independent sovereignties, bound together by a rope of sand—good indeed as chain of adamant so long as the people will to have it so, but driven as dust before the mountain storm whenever the will of the people is turned against it. And let that will be aroused by a spirit of local or sectional jealousy to a warfare against, or in defense of some favored theory of government, or some peculiar institution, and our Union would be rent as were the withs that bound the limbs of Sampson.

The existence of slavery in our land is a perpetual admonition to us, not to be high-minded, but to fear. The time will never come when an enlightened Christian people will endorse that institution as just and good, or when they will cease to bear testimony against it as fundamentally wrong and wicked. Political considerations and questions of national policy may influence and modify the spirit of opposition to this iniquitous system; but this paralyzing as its power may be upon certain minds, will not essentially change the current that is setting against it all over the Christian world.

On the other hand this vice system is law wrought into the very framework of society in one half the states in the Union—it may enlist the conscience of thousands in its defence—it does hold in its powerful grasp the selfishness and pride and passion of tens of thousands who would sooner shed their blood in its defense than lift a finger for its overthrow. And over this volcano of human passion our political institutions are measurably suspended. The recent outrages which have disgraced our country and shocked the moral sensibility of the nation, may be but the "beginning of the end," in respect to the continuance and extension of this system of iniquity in the land. God grant that it may be the end of the wrong and violence with which slavery hopes to perpetuate itself in the country, and that its thirst for blood may be appeased with that which has already flowed. But if it be not, and if what has recently taken place be but the beginning of troubles in reference to this anti-Christian system—then what shall the end be, when the beginning itself is so full of outrage and wickedness? Freedom of speech, for which our fathers struggled, lies bleeding at the feet of oppression in the halls of our national legislature; not but

that men will speak there for the right, even at the peril of their life—of which they are practically admonished by the powers that be in the justification and protection which they bestow upon the cowardly assassin who, in striking down Sumner, aimed also a blow at freedom of debate in the councils of the nation. And the heaven-descended gift to man, of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," lies crushed under the iron hoof of oppression in Kansas, and our national administration are pleased to have it so. But if the friends of national freedom in the land can patiently wait until the national elections shall give them the privilege of hurling wicked men out of places of power and trust in the country, the storm may pass by without any more out-breakings of violence and blood. For this we would devoutly pray—to this, as the better remedy for the evils which now threaten our country, we would confidently look.

It is a privilege, heaven-descended, yet blood-bought, for a people to choose their own rulers, and thus hurl back into retirement and their original nothingness the men who have so basely betrayed the high trust reposed in them. And if they do not thus—but for the sake of party names and party distinctions, voluntarily appoint the wicked to bear rule over them, they ought to mourn, and they will mourn, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. And one cause of our present national disgrace and threatened ruin, is the abuse of the high privilege which God has given to the people, to choose their own rulers. His command is—"Seek ye out from among you, good men, fearing God and hating covetousness, and appoint such to be rulers and judges in the land." But, regardless of this high duty, thousands have gone from the communion table to the ballot box, and there voted for the vilest of men, for the chief places of power; and then impiously prayed that God would cause righteousness to exalt the nation; as though He, in answer to their inconsistent prayers, would violate a fundamental principle in his moral government, and save the people from mourning under wicked rulers of their own choosing, and the nation from reproach under the reigning power of sin of their own enacting! It is only when the Christian has done his duty at the ballot-box,—his whole duty to God and the nation—irrespective of mere party claims, that he can consistently pray for the divine blessing upon the land. And when this sentiment shall be practically understood by American Christians, then will the dark cloud of calamity which now overshadows us pass away, and the light of a better day dawn upon the whole country.

We do not need fiery philippics against the prevailing sin of the nation; or violent harangues upon national injustice and wrong. If we do need these things to stir us up to feeling and action, we have not a soul capable of right feeling and right action. If the accounts of outrage and violence at Washington and in Kansas do not move us, then our influence for good would be hardly worth the trouble of a labored effort to secure it.

The simple question before us is—What shall we do in the present crisis? And I can come to no other rational conclusion than this:—that it is my duty to pray and patiently wait until the providence of God permits me at the ballot-box to testify my belief in his word, that when "the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice; and when the wicked bear rule the people mourn," and then if I go and vote for wickedness and oppression in any form, I deserve to mourn, and shall have but a miserable plea before the Almighty that he will turn my mourning into rejoicing. And what is my duty I believe to be the duty of every man who professes to fear God and keep his commandments.

At present the people need calm councils; but such as shall lead to determined right action when the proper time comes to act. Should other action than is here specified be the duty of our people, and at any earlier day, I trust they will be prepared to perform it, whatever it may be, or at whatever cost or sacrifice of property or of life. But at present it would be a reckless undertaking to raise the exigencies which to some minds seem to call for it. Let the North, as the better method, learn to vote against slavery, before it shall undertake to fight against it. And this the people are now ready to do, under the deep conviction that slavery is not only a system of wrong and wickedness, but one that is full of dangers to the peace and prosperity of the nation; a system that is to be overthrown, or that will overthrow the liberty of the country. We have been baptized into this faith, both by the tears of the oppressed and by the blood that has flowed at the bidding of the oppressor.

Should any one object to the introduction of this subject on this sacred day, my answer is, that the politics of a nation are intimately connected with the religion of a nation; and that the former cannot be debauched without contamination to the latter, and also that if the civil liberties of a people are destroyed, their religious liberties will soon go by the board. If John Knox might preach against oppression and misrule, when the government was vested in an hereditary monarchy, much more may we be humble imitators of Knox, under a government vested in the people. And the stale cry of some, who would cover up the sin of the nation, that the ministers of Christ should preach the gospel, and

leave all civil matters to civil rulers, is but a miserable apology for their own base subservency to the impious demands of slavery. I understand the gospel to be good will to men—to all men—black as well as white, and I do not preach the gospel in its purity unless I proclaim this its heavenly intent and labor to carry it out all over the earth. And had the pulpits in the land spoken out upon this subject, heretofore, calmly, clearly, and in love, the last disgraceful scene at Washington had not been enacted, and the present outrage and bloodshed in Kansas had not existed. It was the unnatural divorcement of the gospel from its appropriate fruits that has brought us to the present alarming crisis. But it is not too late to recover our position; and I believe it will be recovered, and the nation saved; and that, too, through the silent and effective influence of the ballot-box, and the blessing of God upon the appropriate political, as well as christian, action of those who pray for the peace of Jerusalem.

The Salem Register publishes a letter from a clergyman at Lawrence, Kansas, which it says may be relied upon as truthful and unexaggerated. The clergyman says:

"Just now we are subject to all kinds of robbery—some have been robbed of nearly all they possessed by the invading U. S. posse. I have already suffered to the amount of three hundred dollars within a month—a valuable horse and other things—and when remonstrating and endeavoring to save my property, I narrowly escaped being hung. The halt of what has been done here within a month, and under the protection of U. S. law, will never be known East. It could not be believed if told, and yet we are determined to hold on to the end. We need not only the aid of the East but their prayers."

The ruffians have six newspapers in the territory, all sustained more or less by the administration at Washington. The only free state paper not yet suppressed as a nuisance by order of Judge Leconte, is the Tribune at Topeka, which since the recent troubles publishes only an occasional half sheet. As a specimen of the defiant and monstrous spirit of the administration organs of the territory, take the following from the Squatter Sovereign, which is supported by U. S. advertising and has the names of Buchanan and Breckenridge at its head:

"Several parties have inquired of us why the law has not been put in force at Topeka, as well as at Lawrence, against abolition newspapers? Topeka is no better than Lawrence, it is also demoralized; but it is not so well known abroad. If both Topeka and Lawrence were blotted out, entirely obliterated, it would be the best thing for Kansas that could happen. The sooner the people of Topeka sound their death knell the better; they are too corrupt and degraded to live. We would like to be present and raise our Ebenezer in the funeral. It is silly to suppose for an instant that there can be peace in Kansas as long as one enemy of the South lives upon her soil, or one single specimen of an abolitionist treads in the sunlight of the Kansas territory."

(From the St. Louis Democrat, Benton organ.)

*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 Strangefellow, for the conquest of Kansas—a territory of the United States.* This fact requires no comment, but it calls for impeachment. Many a man for a lesser crime has had to stretch his neck over the block.

LET THE HORSE STAND FIRM! Three months ago, Douglas reported that he would not consider the propriety of repealing any of the territorial enactments, because Congress had no power over the acts of a territory. Now he reports and votes for a repeal of some of the worst of these enactments. Then he reported that Kansas must not be admitted till she shall have 93,340 inhabitants. Now he gives that up, and goes in for her admission with such population as she may have. Then he talked of subduing all opposition to the border ruffian acts. Now he votes to subdue the acts so as to disarm the opposition. We have him on the right track at last, and must keep him in motion. By the 1st of December next, he will be ready to report a bill admitting Kansas under her Topeka constitution. But no bargain! No suspension of the destinies of Kansas on what the border ruffians facetiously term an election! With the admission of free Kansas as our rallying cry, we may fearlessly appeal to the people.—N. Y. Tribune.

#### Material Aid for Kansas.

The state Kansas Aid committee of Massachusetts is constituted as follows: George R. Russell, Wm. Ropes, Wm. R. Lawrence, of Boston; Geo. L. Stearns of Medford; S. F. Lyman of Northampton; George A. Crocker of Taunton; Elisha Huntington of Lowell; Dwight Foster of Worcester; Patrick T. Jackson of Boston, treasurer. Local associations can forward money to the treasurer or any member of the committee, and their names are a sufficient guaranty for their

est and judicious appropriation to the wants of the robbed and oppressed emigrants in Kansas. We trust the committee will be supplied with contributions from every town in the state, adequate to the exigency and worthy of the renown of Massachusetts for prompt liberality.

C. Brown of Trumbull county, Ohio, was sent to Kansas with the contributions of that county, and has executed his mission and returned safely home. He reports the most deplorable condition of things in the territory, especially about Lawrence, and says the outrages have not been, cannot be, exaggerated.

A general convention of Kansas relief committees is to be held at Buffalo, N. Y., the 9th, to consult as to general and systematic measures of regular and permanent relief so long as the difficulties in Kansas shall continue.—Fifty families from Virginia, of the denomination called "United Brethren," all in favor of freedom, have, through their ministers, selected a settlement six miles south of Lawrence, on the Sante Fe road, in Kansas, and are now preparing to emigrate.—Major Wilkes of the South Carolina regiment in Kansas, has returned to Charleston and issued an appeal for funds. He complains that although his men were mustered into the service of the United States by Gov. Shannon, and supplied with U. S. muskets, "the government furnishes no ammunition and only a half supply of provisions for the campaign. They now appeal to the South for money to sustain them until the contest is decided by arms or at the ballot-box." Major Wilkes boasts of the exploits of his men at Lawrence, "in carrying out the judgment of the court by destroying certain incendiary presses and free state property." How much private booty fell to the share of his troops the major does not say, but he insists that their purses are now exhausted, and if the South wants them to remain and fight out her battles she must furnish the sinews of war. The importance of the contest he thus graphically sets forth:—

"If the South secures Kansas, she will extend slavery into all territory south of the 40th degree 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."

#### Late from Kansas—The Missouri River Pirates—Return of the Worcester Company.

We are furnished with a letter from a young Massachusetts emigrant to Kansas, recently a member of Williams college, dated at Leavenworth, June 27th. He writes:

"We are just on the eve of a fight. Two days ago a company of sixty-eight men, actual settlers, (the Chicago company), came up the river. At Lexington, Mo., a band of the pirates took away their arms. They have prohibited them from landing here. Atchison and Strangefellow led the pirates, and their gang garrisoning this town assisted. We were obliged to stand and see some of our citizens forced on board and taken down the river under threats of hanging. We have terrible odds against us, and our enemies are armed with U. S. muskets. We have pledged ourselves to make Kansas a free state—the time has come. Though we fall you may be able to sing the songs of victory and liberty over our graves. Last evening I narrowly escaped from a band of pirates who pressed me with their bayonets; to the crowd around me and to the darkness I owe my escape. I go armed constantly—I am on the proscribed list. We go armed to our work; we worship God with our hands on our revolvers. There is no safety. We need help. God defend us!"

#### The Daily Transcript.

Z. K. FANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS.,  
TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 8, 1856.

#### The Latest Outrage.

The very interesting letters of Mrs. Cutler and Rev. T. W. Higginson, published yester-



day, make the public acquainted with the facts of the latest outrage, committed in Missouri upon the company of Kansas emigrants, who left this city a few weeks since under charge of Dr. Cutter. The synopsis of the narrative amounts to this: that the company numbering forty men and two women, fully armed undertook to go into Kansas by way of St. Louis and the Missouri river, instead of taking the route through Iowa; that they did this contrary to the advice of their friends here, but following the counsel of those in Chicago; that they left St. Louis in the steamer Sultan June 24th; were insulted, threatened and maltreated at Booneville and other places in Missouri; met the steamer "Star of the West" coming down the river with the Chicago company of free State emigrants, who had been robbed, on board returning, who advised Dr. Cutter's company to turn back; they attempted to do so but were not permitted to go on board the returning steamer; they proceeded up the river and at Waverly, Mo., ten miles below Lexington, were surprised by a visit from three or four hundred border ruffians, who said they had fifteen hundred in their force, and had cannon planted, ready to sink the boat, unless the rifles in the possession of Dr. Cutter's company were given up; that after a while the rifles were given up, except a portion which were saved by some Yankee shrewdness, and some of those which the ruffians did get will not be very serviceable to them, the slides having been removed from them; that then the company returned to St. Louis, having received no bodily injury, and are preparing to enter Kansas by the Iowa route. It should be further stated that the company had a plan concocted for saving all their rifles, but were surprised before they could carry it into execution. This we believe is a correct summary of their own account of their trials, omitting the incidents, which consisted mainly of the series of insults and abuses by the Missourians, terminating in their robbing and forcing the Massachusetts men to take the back track. Now we presume that we may differ from perhaps every other person, but these things affect us not only very unpleasantly, but we cannot feel at all satisfied with the conduct of the company of emigrants. It mortifies us that any armed company of New England men should have been without resistance robbed and forced out of Missouri by any force the border ruffians could raise.

We think that a series of very great blunders, to say the least, were committed by the emigrant company. They should not have attempted to go through Missouri, and having resolved to do so should have expected resistance and violence, and ought to have been prepared to repel it. They were warned by the Chicago company of what they might expect, and it does seem to us, that, instead of having their rifles boxed up or unfixed, they should have been loaded ready for use, and the Missourians should have had the contents first and taken the rifles afterwards, if they could. It is said "the company were surprised"—well, that is the very thing that mortifies us most; they should have been on the watch day and night and at every point, and constantly looking out for a "surprise," and we wish they had surprised the ruffians by fighting a little, as they certainly would if they had fought.

We admit that the case was a desperate one, but that was what might have been anticipated, and if our people are to be denied the right of a peaceable passage through Missouri, it seems to us that the sooner a trial of strength is had the better; if life must be sacrificed to maintain the rights of American citizens, we know of none who should be more ready than Massachusetts men to sell their lives as dearly as possible for freedom, and we know of no

place where a well fought battle would do more good than in Missouri.

We believe that one, determined contest, answering the border ruffians with their own arguments would do more good, than all the "Kansas speeches" that can be made, and more than the money we can raise. The Missourians think, and not without reason, that our folks don't dare to fight against unequal odds; they should be disabused of that impression. The sacrifice of human life is a fearful thing to contemplate, but when men "take their lives in their hands" and go forth to the defence of freedom, deeds of valor and daring are what we look for and what would have an effect on the country. We do not assume to say that Dr. Cutter and his company did not do the best and most prudent thing they could, nor do we impugn their courage, but the account of the affair does not satisfy our judgment nor make us "feel good inside." We hope we shall hear of no more unsuccessful attempts on the part of New England armed, emigrant companies to reach the territory of Kansas.

## The Atlas.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 8, 1856.

### MR. DOUGLAS'S BILL.

The report of the Kansas Committee, which has just been spread before the country, officially proves, by testimony which would be considered cumulative in any court of justice, that the reports of ruffianism and of outrage which have reached us from Kansas, have not been in the least exaggerated. The Committee give us dates, facts and figures, which are perfectly irresistible in their character. We understand now, if we did not before, how there has been a method in Missouri madness; how, from the beginning, it was determined that by every harassing expedient, by personal assault, by intimidation, by pillage and by arson, the Free State men should be driven from the territory. In addition to this, we have proved the still more important fact of direct frauds upon the ballot-box, so gigantic as to render the language of the Nebraska bill about "leaving the people of the Territory free to regulate their own domestic affairs in their own way," the gravest piece of irony which ever occurred in legislation. These schemes have been thus far partially successful. When the real people of Kansas, by a desperate effort, succeeded for a little time in having "their own way," they adopted a constitution which President Pierce and his followers, in Missouri and in Washington, instantly denounced as treasonable. Its supporters were committed to prison upon the most trifling pretext, and there guarded by Federal bayonets. The only Constitution which the Government would recognize was that which a neighboring State had imposed upon Kansas. The Free State men were driven out, until those of that mind were left in a minority; and now, with an impudence of insincerity truly astonishing, Douglas comes forward, with his measure of supposed conciliation, and, under a guise of fairness, proposes a bill which will, with the sureress of fate, if passed, make Kansas a Slave State forever.

For months, and while the worst excesses were going on, we had no proposal of any kind from Mr. Douglas. All his plan was one of terror and of subjugation. Not only must the sufferers of Kansas be put down, but those who sympathized with them in other parts of the country. The bitter and insolent threat of the Senator from Illinois yet rings in our ears, and yet stirs our indignation. It was met by the North in a determined spirit, before which even that bold, bad man quailed. He changed his tactics; he passed from bravado to cajolery; he compelled himself to a show of fairness, as if we could be made to forget, by any thing coming from his hands, the accumulated wrongs of years; as if the

importance of this contest had not rendered every Northern constituency sharp sighted; as if the death-bed repentance of Mr. Pierce could be pleaded, in law or in equity, in behalf of Mr. Buchanan.

The people will require some stronger guarantee. For four years the infernal policy of the pseudo-democracy has been persisted in. Let us give a more honorable policy a trial. What mockery is it now to pretend to allow the people of Kansas to hold a State Convention, when that people have been driven from the territory. There is no safety, either theoretical or practical, but in adherence to the Constitution already adopted by the people. Infidelity to that is treason to the whole principle. Let us hope that the House will stand by it.

For more than a week past, the telegraph has announced a series of outrages perpetrated by the ruffians of Missouri upon emigrants bound to Kansas, all showing that they have taken possession of the Missouri River, plundering, robbing, driving back, and even threatening to murder them. Does the General Government mean to disperse these gangs of land pirates? or has it become the settled policy of the Administration, that people from the free States have no rights? Will the Boston Post inform us? That journal pretends to believe that all the Kansas troubles are to be ended. Will it inform its readers what it thinks of the more recent developments? Large parties of emigrants, whose sole offence is their love of freedom, are waylaid on a navigable river, stopped, robbed and driven back, or detained and threatened with death, and the Post is silent upon these new outrages! It finds voice only to express its gratification at the progress of peace in Kansas! Peace in Kansas!! Such peace as the English invaders made in unhappy Ireland, when "They made a solitude and called it peace!"

CHICAGO.—The Executive Committee of the Kansas Settlers' Society, of Chicago, have called a meeting of the citizens, to deliberate and take such action as the exigency demands in relation to the recent outrage committed upon their fellow citizens emigrating to Kansas. They truly state in their call that a great national highway of the United States is in the hands of a lawless banditti. The Missouri river is no longer navigable for free State people. Peaceful settlers are robbed, disarmed, imprisoned and driven back by Missourians, while quietly travelling from one section of the Union to another, on their private business, charged with no crime known to the laws, unless preferring freedom to slavery be a crime. The people of Western Missouri have declared that no settlers from a free State shall be permitted to emigrate to Kansas!

## EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 8, 1856.

REV. MR. NUTE OF KANSAS. We take great pleasure in copying the annexed paragraph, relating to the Rev. Ephraim Nute of Lawrence, Kansas, from the annual report of the American Unitarian Association. From a long acquaintance with Mr. Nute, we feel confident that he is deserving of all the praise he has received. After speaking of the church of which he is pastor, the report adds:

The Association well knows, and all our churches well know, that for the success which has attended this mission in Kansas we are indebted, under the manifold leadings of Divine Providence, to the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage which relinquished a happy ministry in New England for a pioneer life in that distant Territory; to the frank, manly Christian who makes friends to his cause by his manners during the week, as well as by his able defences on Sunday; to the prudence and discretion which have happily guided an ardent temperament through times of unusual peril and trial; to the love of freedom which stood unflinching in the post of danger, and counted life not dear, if with a loss of ends which would make life mean and servile for ever; to the fortitude which bore, amid no suitable provisions, the sufferings of a winter of before unknown severity without a word of murmur or complaint; and to the perseverance which goes back to his hard and tedious work, to renew his toils in his Master's service. It will not be for us to let him return uncheered by our

sympathies, unaided by our prayers, or unassured that we are debtors to him for a profounder sense of the worth of that faith which can now raise up servants and confessors not worthy to be enrolled with names which the world has long honored.

# Eveing Telegraph.

BOSTON, TUESDAY, JULY 8, 1856.

## THIRD EDITION.

### Boston Journal.

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 8, 1856.

#### Illegal Voting in Kansas.

NORTH CHESTER, (Vt.) July 7, 1856.

Hon. J. COLLAMER, U. S. Senator, Washington, D. C.—Dear Sir: It appeared by the report of the Congressional Committee, Messrs. Sherman and Howard, which has just been submitted to the United States House of Representatives, that more than four thousand persons, who were actual residents of Missouri at the time, have invaded Kansas, and voted at their elections, and forcibly prevented the actual settlers from voting; that the names of these four thousand persons were taken from the check lists in Kansas by the committee. Not having all the laws of the United States at hand, allow me to ask whether there is any clause in the act organizing the Territory of Kansas, which makes such voting, or the forcible prevention of actual settlers from voting, illegal? and if so, what is the penalty therefor? If the organic act of Kansas (which was drawn by Judge Douglas) is silent on the subject, whether there is any penal statute of the United States applicable to such a case?

If, on examination, you shall find that there is no statute which will govern this case, permit me to inquire further whether, in your opinion, the United States Courts have any common law jurisdiction of such an outrage?

Your obt. servant,

LUTHER ADAMS.

The above letter was sent to us with the request that we should make a few comments on the subject matter. The questions propounded by Mr. Adams are often asked, but we have never heard any satisfactory reply. It is certain that the organic act establishing the Territory of Kansas makes no provision for the prevention or punishment of illegal voting, and we are not aware that any law covering this offense, and applicable to the territories generally, has been passed by Congress.—ED. JOURNAL.

#### CLERICAL APPEAL IN AID OF KANSAS.

The Atlas states that sixteen of the most deservedly distinguished clergymen of this city, representing seven denominations, have addressed a circular letter to the clergy of the State in behalf of those who have gone to Kansas from the Free States. They recommend a general contribution in all the churches, the funds thus collected to be transmitted to Dr. Samuel G. Howe, to be placed at the service of the Committee, of which Geo. R. Russell, Esq., is chairman. The following are the signatures attached:

- CHAS. LOWELL, Pastor of the West Church.
- EDWARD N. KIRK, Pastor of the Mt. Vernon Church.
- ALEX. H. WINTON, Rector of St. Paul's Church.
- ROLPH H. NEALE, Pastor of the 1st Baptist Church.
- A. A. MINNER, Pastor of the 2d Universalist Church.
- JAS. FREEMAN CLARKE, Pastor of Church of Disciples.
- WM. R. CLARK, Pastor of 2d Meth. Epis. Church.
- HENRY M. DEXTER, Pastor of Pine street Church.
- T. F. CALDICOTT, Pastor of 2d Baptist Church.
- BURTON STOW, Pastor of 1st Church.
- RUFUS ELLIS, Pastor of Rowe street Bap. Church.
- A. L. STONE, Pastor of Park street Church.
- E. EDMUNDS, Pastor of Tyler st. Christian Church.
- HOSEA BAILLOU, 2d, President of Tufts College.
- HENRY A. MILLS, Sec'y Am. Unitarian Association.
- JAMES PORTER, Presiding Elder of Boston District.

#### Daily Evening Transcript.

BOSTON: TUESDAY, JULY 8, 1856.

FROM KANSAS—We are furnished with a letter from a young Massachusetts emigrant to Kansas, recently a member of Williams college, dated at Leavenworth, June 27th. He writes:

"We are just on the eve of a fight. Two days ago a company of 68 men, actual settlers, (the Chicago company) came up the river. At Lexington, Mo., a band of the pirates took away their arms. They have prohibited them from landing here.

Atchison and Stringfellow led the pirates, and their gang garrisoning this town assisted. We were obliged to stand and see some of our citizens forced on board and taken down the river under threats of hanging. We have terrible odds against us, and our enemies are armed with United States muskets. We have pledged ourselves to make Kansas a free State—the time has come. Though we fall you may be able to sing the songs of victory and liberty over our graves. Last evening I narrowly escaped from a band of pirates who pressed me with their bayonets: to the crowd around me and to the darkness I

**Kansas and the Buchanmeers.**  
All accounts from Washington show that the border ruffian leaders are frightened at the popular demonstrations in the Free States against their villainous doings in Kansas. Douglas and his associates turn pale at the roar of that gathering tempest in the Northwest, which will sweep them from power. Therefore they are devising measures to cheat and betray the people, as they have done before, and carry another Presidential election on false pretenses. They begin to talk of the "pacification of Kansas," as a very desirable object; and they have directed their spokesmen throughout the North to maintain that this desirable object will be secured by sending into Kansas that curiously constructed infernal machine, the Kansas bill of Senator Toombs, which Douglas has accepted. Now it is well enough understood that Senator Toombs is about the last man in the Senate to consent to any measure which would give Kansas a chance to become a Free State, and no measure of his can mean anything but Slavery and the support of the Border Ruffians. The Bill in question is designed to complete the work of Border Ruffianism in Kansas, and bring that Territory into the Union as a Slave State before the people can have time to recover from the horrible outrages to which they have been subjected.

If Douglas and his associates really desired to secure the "pacification" of Kansas, they would support the bill which has passed the House. They would speak and vote for admitting Kansas into the Union with the constitution framed at Topeka. It is admitted on all hands that those who framed this constitution represented most of the actual inhabitants of Kansas. The Boston Post, and other organs of the administration, have been constrained to admit that at least "five-sixths" of the actual inhabitants of Kansas are free State men. There can be no honest doubt on this point. The Topeka Convention was elected by the people of Kansas, and truly represented the views and wishes of seven eighths of them. Why then do the Border Ruffian leaders in the Senate show such desperate opposition to the bill which has passed the House? They profess a willingness to admit Kansas into the Union immediately; why then do they refuse to do so? They cannot honestly deny that the Topeka Convention represented most of the actual settlers there; and as they now admit that Kansas may be admitted with its present population, nothing but their purpose to give the border ruffians a complete triumph, induces them to oppose the House bill.

The truth is, the bill which has passed the Senate is designed to complete the work in which the border ruffians have been engaged. By the direction and assistance of the Pierce administration, the people of Kansas have been invaded by ruffians, plundered, murdered, and imprisoned. Roving bands of lawless ruffians have been let loose upon them, to control their elections, destroy their towns, pillage and burn their houses, rob them of their horses, cattle and other property, and subject them to every species of outrage. Under these circumstances, many of the Free State settlers, finding themselves treated by the government as outlaws, have left the Territory. The Pierce administration has given up Kansas to a reign of terror; and to make it more complete, the Free State presses have been destroyed, and Robinson and the other Free State leaders, to whom the people have looked for counsel and guidance, have been indicted for high treason and held as prisoners under a guard of United States soldiers. After having reduced the people of Kansas to this condition, and introduced into the territory a great force of roving robbers and murderers from the South, the border ruffian leaders actually have the audacity to propose immediate measures for another constitutional convention there!

The brigands from Alabama, South Carolina, and other slave States, will leave before the winter sets in; but they can be kept there until November, so as to vote at the election which the bill of Toombs proposes. Hundreds, and perhaps thousands have been added to their number since they destroyed Lawrence. Great exertions have been made to introduce these fellows into Kansas, in anticipation of a meeting of the Free State Legislature on the Fourth of July; hence the bill of Toombs provides that all in the territory on that day shall be registered as voters. The plan has been to get them there by that time and keep them there until November; and now Toombs and Douglas are asking Congress to give them an opportunity to make Kansas a slave State before they go home. It is thought that they can do it easily enough by voting themselves while they drive the free State men from the polls, and keep the actual settlers under the influence of that reign of terror which is to be perpetuated as long as it may be deemed necessary.

The census and election proposed by Toombs' bill are to take place under the superintendence of five Commissioners, to be appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. It has been said that the bill requires these Commissioners to be taken from "all sections of the Union;" but this is not so, and if it were, everybody understands what sort of men Franklin Pierce would appoint. But the bill leaves him free to make up this Committee of such men as Atchison, Stringfellow, Buford, Judge Le Compte, and Senator Toombs. The bill in question is designed to cap the climax of ruffianism in Kansas, by making it a slave State at once, by means of the great force of ruffians temporarily there, and before the next Congress is elected, in which the House majority against pro-slavery ruffianism is certain to be more complete and earnest than in the present. And to give this villany a completer finish, it is represented at the North as something favorable to the free State cause, and as a nice thing to quiet agitation and secure the "pacification" of Kansas!

Meanwhile nothing is said of removing and punishing such government officials as that infamous "Judge" LeCompte; nothing is said of punishing the murderers of Barber, Dow, Brown and Coleman; nothing is said of proceedings against the destroyers of Lawrence or against any of the ruffians who have carried on the business of rapine and murder in Kansas; nothing is said of releasing Robinson and the other free State leaders who are so infamously held as prisoners on charges of "high treason." Nothing but villany is meant by the bill of Toombs; therefore nothing is said against any villany which may still be of use to the conspirators.

**THE IOWA ROUTE TO KANSAS,** (says the Cincinnati Gazette of the 7th), 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.

The company organized for the purpose of establishing the line, is said to be fully responsible, to have a heavy capital, and to be, in all respects, reliable. As the Missouri river route is completely closed to all Northern emigrants bound for Kansas, this Iowa railway and stage line will become exceedingly useful. The result of the movement will be to cause Northern emigration to shun the Missouri borders, and to settle further in the interior of Kansas. Already a 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 PANIC among the Border Ruffians at Washington is rapidly increasing.** Yesterday, as will be seen by the Congressional proceedings, the Senate passed, over the President's veto, the Bills for the improvement of the mouth of the Mississippi and the improvement of the St. Mary's river and the St. Clair flats. The President is now within eight months of the close of his term, and his views and wishes are of small importance to anybody. All of his previous vetoes have been slavishly sustained, but the importance of securing a new term of Ruffianism in the government is much greater than that of conciliating the President. The vote of the slave States being considered safe, on account of the determination to make Kansas a slave State, an attempt is to be made to humbug the North West by an apparent change of views on the River and Harbor question. Cass, Douglas, Bright, Jones and Weller are also approaching the end of their terms, and must look out a little for themselves. In order that they may be spared to do the work of Border Ruffianism a few years longer, their Southern masters permit them on this occasion to depart from the settled policy of the party.

The nomination of John C. Fremont, and the imminent prospect of his election has wrought so much good. It has also brought about a manifest change of *tone*, though no change of *purpose*, on the subject of Kansas. We now hear no threats from Douglas to "subdue" the people of the North; no speeches like that of Senator Pugh of Ohio, declaring that the territorial laws of Kansas were necessary wherever a state of slavery exists, and therefore necessary in Kansas; no proclamations from Pierce, threatening fire and slaughter against all who resist those laws. The work of subjugation having been accomplished, and means having been taken to prevent free State settlers from returning to the territory in season to vote, it is deemed unnecessary to preserve the former Ruffian tone. Kansas is now to be enslaved simply by keeping free State men out of it, with only the necessary violence, on the Missouri border to accomplish this purpose; while the emissaries of the party are to be sent through the North to proclaim that at last Border Ruffianism is to be put a stop to, and all is to be done fairly hereafter.

The number of people who are likely to be humbugged in this way, is, we think, very small. Antislavery men have been rejoiced to see that since the perfidious repeal of the Missouri Compromise, all attempts to cheat the people by compromises and smooth talk, or to frighten them with Union-saving clamor, have totally failed. They understand perfectly that that repeal and all subsequent acts have been parts of one vast CONSPIRACY, extending throughout the whole South, and controlling every branch of the Government and the Democratic party. That CONSPIRACY is not abandoned; it is on the contrary now in full vigor and activity, and Douglas's Kansas Bill, stealthy as it is, is the most dangerous measure yet brought forward. It is the final effort to enslave Kansas. Let not Free State men in Congress or in the Northern States 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.

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Those who have read the Toombs-Douglas Kansas bill carefully, must have had their attention drawn to one very singular and significant feature of it. It omits to provide for having the contemplated State Constitution submitted to a vote of the people. All it says concerning the work of the proposed Constitutional Convention is contained in the sixteenth section, as follows:

"SEC. 16. *And be it further enacted,* That the delegates thus elected shall assemble in Convention at the Capitol of said Territory on the first Monday in December next; and when so assembled, shall first determine by a majority of the whole number of members elected whether it be or be not expedient at that time to form a constitution and State Government; and if deemed expedient, shall proceed to form a Constitution and State Government, which shall be republican in its form, for admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, by the name of the State of Kansas, with the following boundaries," &c.

That is all. If the conspirators can get this bill through the House, their whole purpose will be accomplished. Congress will be pledged to accept the work of the proposed Convention, and the final Congressional vote on the subject, to be taken before the term of the present Congress expires, will be regarded as merely a matter of form. And to provide against the possibility of accident, the people of Kansas will not be allowed to vote on the question of accepting or rejecting the work of the proposed Convention. The reason for this is plain enough. The very large force of Southern brigands now in Kansas, under the lead of Buford and others, can not be kept there all winter. A vote of the people on a State Constitution formed according to this bill, could not take place probably until some time in January, and the banditti from the South, who are relied on to elect the Convention, can not stay until January. They must leave soon after the proposed election in November, and if the people in the absence of these fellows should be allowed to vote on the proposed Constitution, this nice scheme for making Kansas a Slave State immediately, might fail.

There are several other peculiarities of this bill which very clearly show the purpose of the conspirators. We have already remarked on that main provision of it which gives to President Pierce and the Senate the appointment of the Commissioners who are to take the census and make arrangements for the election. This is in reality neither more nor less than placing the whole matter in the hands of Atchison, Stringfellow, and the other border ruffian leaders. Franklin Pierce and the majority in the Senate have patronised and sustained border ruffianism too cordially and extensively to leave any room for doubt as to what sort of Commissioners they would select. They are no more fit to be trusted with this matter than Atchison and his crew who pillaged Lawrence, or Buford and his robbers from Alabama.

But there are several other significant provisions that will not escape attention:

1. The proposed Constitutional Convention is to meet and transact its business at Leecompton,—the head quarters of border ruffianism,—the place where Robinson and other free State leaders have been held prisoners under guard,—the place where Atchison and the ruffians from Missouri have sustained and constantly overawe every man preme control and constantly overawe every man who favors the free State cause. No body of men in favor of a free State Constitution could deliberate and act freely in that place, where they would be constantly surrounded by an army of ruffian from Missouri.

2. Any amount of ruffianism may take place at the polls, and there may be any amount of fraudulent voting, without fear of anything but the bare possibility of being complained of to Judge Leecompte. The bill provides fines for ruffianism and frauds at the polls; but "Judge" Leecompte and the border ruffian government are left in full force to take charge of the matter; and these provisions are merely contrivances by which ruffianism is made easy.

The more this bill is examined the more villainous it appears. It has been reported that Oliver Stringfellow and others of that ilk, oppose it; but this is only a part of the carefully arranged programme of knavery by which they hope to get it through the House; and on the other hand we

have the fact that Stringfellow and his associates were busily at work for the bill, during the night session of the Senate. We believe that this scheme of the conspirators will fail, for it seems hardly possible that the House can be influenced to adopt it.

**KANSAS MEETING IN CANTON.** Pursuant to a call signed by 114 citizens of Canton, a large and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Baptist Meeting House in that town on Tuesday evening. The house was densely packed by an enthusiastic audience of ladies and gentlemen. A number of people were present from Sharon and Stoughton. The meeting was organized by the choice of Ellis Ames, Esq., as President; Zebediah Hoyt, Nath'l French, William Tucker, Charles H. French, Edwin Wentworth, Ezra Abbott, William Mansfield, and Abel Farrington, as Vice Presidents; Samuel B. Noyes, and William Bense, Secretaries.

After prayer by Rev. Solomon Clark, General Pomeroy of Kansas addressed the meeting for an hour and a half, much to the satisfaction of the audience. Rev. Mr. Russell also made some remarks. Excellent resolutions were reported by a committee of which Ezekiel Chapen was chairman. A. M. Chase was appointed Chairman of the Finance Committee, and the sum of \$187 was raised, and preparations made for a further canvass of the town. S. B. Noyes, Esq., read a letter from a Kansas emigrant, formerly a resident of Canton, asking for aid in the shape of arms and money.

After the meeting, a large number of persons met General Pomeroy at an entertainment given by Ellis Ames, Esq., which passed off very pleasantly.

**FOR KANSAS.** The New Bedford Standard learns that a company of emigrants for Kansas will leave this city on the 21st inst. The party will be accompanied by a gentleman well acquainted with pioneer life, who will see all his companions safely through.

At a Kansas meeting in Fitchburg on the 4th, says the Revolve, over seven hundred dollars were pledged at once, in sums of \$20, downward, one gold watch, with the remark, 'such as I have give I thee,' was thrown in, a Finance Committee, consisting of Messrs. T. C. Caldwell, Wm. H. Yose and Hale W. Page, was appointed, also a canvassing committee of one from each school district to solicit aid, to which the Finance Committee was afterward added, and the meeting broke up with more hope than the cloud now appearing in Kansas and threatens to overspread the political horizon, may, ere another Fourth, so break away, and the sun of Liberty so warm the heart, that the reading of the Declaration of Independence would not be a farce, nor the inculcation of its truths treason.

The people of Northampton have collected and paid over the sum of \$1100 for Kansas.

Ludlow has raised \$125 as the first instalment of its contribution to the Kansas Aid Fund. At a picnic of the North parish in Greenfield, on the 4th, after an excellent address on Kansas affairs by Rev. Dr. Chandler, the pastor, \$23 were contributed to aid the suffering Free State emigrants in that territory.

**THE BOSTON COURIER** intimates that the Kansas Aid Committee, of which George R. Russell is Chairman, and Dr. S. G. Howe, Secretary, is untrustworthy, and that they will never make any returns to the subscribers with regard to the disposition of their funds. Such a dastardly libel as this will be received in the community where these gentlemen are known, with the contempt it deserves.

**A PAINTER TARRED AND FEATHERED.** J. F. Cummings writes from Topeka, Kansas, to the Chicago Tribune, that on his way to that territory in May last, he was forcibly dragged from the steamboat at Lexington by a mob, led into the woods, questioned as to his principles, and on avowing that he was in favor of making Kansas a free State, he was stripped and tarred and feathered. He was also severely beaten and left by the road side. He walked in the following night, 15 miles to a wood yard, where he took the first boat for St. Louis, and made a successful attempt, a few days after, to get to Kansas, where he arrived safe and still remains.

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Dear Friend:—I owe you a thousand apologies for having so long neglected to write. I have had but little leisure of late. Every mail brings such exciting news that I pore over the newspapers until I have no time left to write to my friends.

My feelings have been, and are still worked up to such a pitch that my anxiety is really painful. I have just received the news of Fremont and Dayton's nomination. So far as regards Fremont I am fully satisfied that he is the choice of the people. The masses all over this country have been calling for him for months. The Convention have selected the right man. Dayton I do not know so much about, but trust that the nomination is good. I shall be in deep suspense till the Nov. election. I would freely give all that I possess, excepting one suit of clothes if that would insure the election of Fremont and Dayton. I have proposed to give \$100 to help the Kansas sufferers at present, and \$100 a year hereafter to sustain the Free-State cause in that Territory. I will do it. We must open our purses, not to send lawless armies to Kansas, but to help permanent settlers there, and help them defend themselves after they get there.

When I first heard of the assaults on Mr. Sumner, I suppose I felt very much as you did, and probably I felt more like meeting such outrages by physical force at once. I have almost lost my self control; but I should remember that God presides over the destinies of nations. I believe that this nation is being punished for its wickedness, but I trust the prayers of true christians will be answered after we shall have been sufficiently humbled. I feel that we are two people, and a separation may take place. A Republican government cannot long exist if the masses are not intelligent, and educated morally and intellectually. But what is the condition of the masses at the South?"

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Ward 5—G. W. Shattuck, Jeremiah Clark, J. C. McLannan, I. Place, N. F. Crafts, W. H. Wiggins, Joshua Converse.

Ward 6—George Stevens, J. S. Pollard, Jonathan Kimball, S. C. Pratt, Jas. M. Moore, Erastus Boyden, Jacob Robbins, J. K. Chase.

On motion of B. C. Sargent the Committee were empowered to fill vacancies. They were requested to meet in the ante-room of the Hall on Wednesday evening.

Gen. Pomeroy was then introduced. After apologizing for not meeting his engagement to address the citizens of Lowell last February, he said he felt some like the boy, who being dressed in a new suit, was admonished by his mother to avoid the mud, but he being naturally a quick, active boy, and feeling more active now, went off to play and covered his clothes with mud. His mother upon seeing him exclaimed, "Why Johnny, what *hars* you done?" "Done," said he, "I should think it was time something was *did*." And so with regard to Kansas; he felt that it is time something was *did*; he thought affairs in Kansas, in Massachusetts, in New York, everywhere had reached a crisis, and it was time something was *did*. The gentleman, after speaking of the decision now pending in the Supreme Court, said that if *slavery could* be legally established temporarily in a territory, then it might as legally be established in Massachusetts, in New York, in any State. He then adverted to Douglas's bill, relating to a convention to be held in Kansas to form a constitution with which to come into the Union, and said if that bill passed the House as it had the Senate, after a twenty hours session, Kansas was admitted to the Union with a *pro-slavery constitution*. And this, said the gentleman, is the legislation of a party which up to last Wednesday has declared that the general government has no power over the territory—which has been the strongest supporter of squatter sovereignty. Alluding to the government now ruling Kansas, he said it had legislated free state men away from the ballot box, and from the jury box, by requiring every one before they could enjoy the *rights* of the elective franchise to take an oath to support the fugitive slave law, the Kansas-Nebraska act, never to *repudiate slavery*, in short to support it. He said that however willing he might be to support some of these laws, he would not take an oath to do it as a qualification to vote. He believed the Ten Commandments, but he would not *swear* to believe them to obtain his *right* to vote. The man who does not admit the *legality of slavery in Kansas can not vote, can not be a jurymen*. He said he had settled one thing in his mind—we must have a government for the United States before we can have a government in Kansas. Speaking of the Administration and the approaching Presidential election, he said the people of Kansas intended *to vote*.—Could they act with the Democratic party?—Let them restore peace to Kansas—let them rebuild her smoking ruins—let them bleach out the foot-prints of blood which track over our prairies—let them give the wife back her husband—let them restore the father to his family let them give back the dead to life—let them brush out the damnable records of the past.—They can not do it. And though "dressed in a little brief authority" they "play fantastic tricks," their end is soon. He closed with an eloquent figure, to which we yielded our ears but not our pencil.

H. P. Lowry, who was the private secretary of Gov. Reeder while in Kansas, was then introduced. He said that John C. Calhoun first enunciated the doctrine that the constitution carries slavery everywhere it goes itself; that doctrine was now being carried out by what was once the democratic party. He said he was a democrat, that he worked for the election of Mr. Pierce, and regretted to say he worked successfully. He could not go with them now—they had lost sight of true democracy. He said that Mr. Buchanan had a large number of personal friends in Pennsylvania, he was his personal friend and admirer, but Mr. B. had gone down so low to endorse the action of the democratic party, that he could not reach him—he (Mr. B.) must not blame his friends, he must not blame the twenty thousand democrats in Pennsylvania who will vote against him, for he is no longer James Buchanan, and they should vote for John C. Fremont. He said the question was not whether the niggers should be slaves, but whether the whites should be niggers. He closed by eulogizing, and asking all true democrats to vote for, John C. Fremont.

When Mr. L. was speaking of the Administration, some enthusiastic admirer of *franklin pierce* interrupted him with a "jargon" which we could not understand. The audience cried "put him out," and the last we saw of him he was taking a very hasty and unceremonious leave, leading several men.

Lieut. Gov. Roberts of Kansas followed Mr. L. He said he stood before them with an honorable title—a king without a kingdom. He had a plenty of kingdom come. He then reviewed Kansas affairs at some length—said the object of the administration was to establish slavery in Kansas—spoke of Douglas's bill, &c. In speaking of Sheriff Jones, he said that he was so mean that a Massachusetts dog would not bite him.

He was followed by Col. Fitz Henry Warren of Iowa, who spoke more particularly of the qualifications of John C. Fremont for president, comparing his present nomination to the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief of the American forces. We regret that we have not space to give a more comprehensive report of the speeches. The meeting gave three cheers for John C. Fremont, and adjourned at 10 o'clock.

## The Salem Gazette.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 8, 1856.

**MR. COLLAMER'S REPORT.** On our first page we have placed the Minority Report, made by Judge Collamer, last week, from the Committee on Territories, in the Senate, upon Douglas's latest Kansas bill. It discloses, at a glance, the fatal objections to that bill, which was forced through the Senate, after an all-night session, commencing on Wednesday.

This bill is an ingenious fraud, arranged as a cover under which to swindle Kansas of her dearest rights. It is impossible to get a fair expression of popular sentiment in Kansas, upon the slavery question, at the present time, under any law which depends for its execution upon the Pierce Administration and the local officers of the territory appointed by its bogus legislature. Besides, it is a well known fact that large numbers of the Free State men who went to Kansas to settle permanently, have abandoned the Territory for the present, because of the border ruffianism, or because the troubles of last spring rendered them utterly unable to get in their crops. While these causes have driven out the Free State men, the Missourians

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Ward 3—Ira L. Moore, Charles Cowley, A. P. Nute, Joshua Merrill, H. G. Blaisdell, B. C. Sargent, Perley Balch, H. H. Carroll.

Ward 4—S. P. Adams, Levi Bacon, Martin W. Ford, Hubbard Wilson, Josiah F. Eyles, A. B. Favor, Benj. Goddard, John F. Howe.

Ward 5—G. W. Shattuck, Jeremiah Clark, J. C. McLannan, I. Place, N. F. Crafts, W. H. Wiggin, Joshua Converse.

Ward 6—George Stevens, J. S. Pollard, Jonathan Kimball, S. C. Pratt, Jas. M. Moore, Erastus Boyden, Jacob Robbins, J. K. Chase.

On motion of B. C. Sargent the Committee were empowered to fill vacancies. They were requested to meet in the ante-room of the Hall on Wednesday evening.

Gen. Pomeroy was then introduced. After apologizing for not meeting his engagement to address the citizens of Lowell last February, he said he felt some like the boy, who being dressed in a new suit, was admonished by his mother to avoid the mud, but he being naturally a quick, active boy, and feeling more active now, went off to play and covered his clothes with mud. His mother upon seeing him exclaimed, "Why Johnny, what *hars* you done?" "Done," said he, "I should think it was time something was *did*." And so with regard to Kansas; he felt that it is time something was *did*; he thought affairs in Kansas, in Massachusetts, in New York, everywhere had reached a crisis, and it was time something was *did*. The gentleman, after speaking of the decision now pending in the Supreme Court, said that if *slavery could* be legally established temporarily in a territory, then it might as legally be established in Massachusetts, in New York, in any State. He then adverted to Douglas's bill, relating to a convention to be held in Kansas to form a constitution with which to come into the Union, and said if that bill passed the House as it had the Senate, after a twenty hours session, Kansas was admitted to the Union with a *pro-slavery constitution*. And this, said the gentleman, is the legislation of a party which up to last Wednesday has declared that the general government has no power over the territory—which has been the strongest supporter of squatter sovereignty. Alluding to the government now ruling Kansas, he said it had legislated free state men away from the ballot box, and from the jury box, by requiring every one before they could enjoy the *rights* of the elective franchise to take an oath to support the fugitive slave law, the Kansas-Nebraska act, never to *repudiate slavery*, in short to support it. He said that however willing he might be to support some of these laws, he would not take an oath to do it as a qualification to vote. He believed the Ten Commandments, but he would not *swear* to believe them to obtain his *right* to vote. The man who does not admit the *legality of slavery in Kansas can not vote, can not be a jurymen*. He said he had settled one thing in his mind—we must have a government for the United States before we can have a government in Kansas. Speaking of the Administration and the approaching Presidential election, he said the people of Kansas intended *to vote*.—Could they act with the Democratic party?—Let them restore peace to Kansas—let them rebuild her smoking ruins—let them bleach out the foot-prints of blood which track over our prairies—let them give the wife back her husband—let them restore the father to his family let them give back the dead to life—let them brush out the damnable records of the past.—They can not do it. And though "dressed in a little brief authority" they "play fantastic tricks," their end is soon. He closed with an eloquent figure, to which we yielded our ears but not our pencil.

H. P. Lowry, who was the private secretary of Gov. Reeder while in Kansas, was then introduced. He said that John C. Calhoun first enunciated the doctrine that the constitution carries slavery everywhere it goes itself; that doctrine was now being carried out by what was once the democratic party. He said he was a democrat, that he worked for the election of Mr. Pierce, and regretted to say he worked successfully. He could not go with them now—they had lost sight of true democracy. He said that Mr. Buchanan had a large number of personal friends in Pennsylvania, he was his personal friend and admirer, but Mr. B. had gone down so low to endorse the action of the democratic party, that he could not reach him—he (Mr. B.) must not blame his friends, he must not blame the twenty thousand democrats in Pennsylvania who will vote against him, for he is no longer James Buchanan, and they should vote for John C. Fremont. He said the question was not whether the niggers should be slaves, but whether the whites should be niggers. He closed by eulogizing, and asking all true democrats to vote for, John C. Fremont.

When Mr. L. was speaking of the Administration, some enthusiastic admirer of *franklin pierce* interrupted him with a "jargon" which we could not understand. The audience cried "put him out," and the last we saw of him he was taking a very hasty and unceremonious leave, leading several men.

Lieut. Gov. Roberts of Kansas followed Mr. L. He said he stood before them with an honorable title—a king without a kingdom. He had a plenty of kingdom come. He then reviewed Kansas affairs at some length—said the object of the administration was to establish slavery in Kansas—spoke of Douglas's bill, &c. In speaking of Sheriff Jones, he said that he was so mean that a Massachusetts dog would not bite him.

He was followed by Col. Fitz Henry Warren of Iowa, who spoke more particularly of the qualifications of John C. Fremont for president, comparing his present nomination to the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief of the American forces. We regret that we have not space to give a more comprehensive report of the speeches. The meeting gave three cheers for John C. Fremont, and adjourned at 10 o'clock.

## The Salem Gazette.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 8, 1856.

**MR. COLLAMER'S REPORT.** On our first page we have placed the Minority Report, made by Judge Collamer, last week, from the Committee on Territories, in the Senate, upon Douglas's latest Kansas bill. It discloses, at a glance, the fatal objections to that bill, which was forced through the Senate, after an all-night session, commencing on Wednesday.

This bill is an ingenious fraud, arranged as a cover under which to swindle Kansas of her dearest rights. It is impossible to get a fair expression of popular sentiment in Kansas, upon the slavery question, at the present time, under any law which depends for its execution upon the Pierce Administration and the local officers of the territory appointed by its bogus legislature. Besides, it is a well known fact that large numbers of the Free State men who went to Kansas to settle permanently, have abandoned the Territory for the present, because of the border ruffianism, or because the troubles of last spring rendered them utterly unable to get in their crops. While these causes have driven out the Free State men, the Missourians

guard the border, and care is taken that no reinforcements shall reach the Territory.— Thus within the last few days we have heard of hundreds of Free State settlers, on their way to Kansas, who were disarmed and turned back by armed and organized forces, at various Missouri towns on the Mississippi river.— With such auxiliaries as these, Douglas and the administration think it pretty sure that they can get slavery into Kansas by authorizing a new Constitutional Convention, if chosen promptly, and so they are now willing to permit such a Convention to be called, no matter how small the population of the Territory may be, although only a few weeks ago he deemed a population of 93,000 indispensable. And if it should turn out that the Free State men are the strongest after all it will be quite easy, as the Washington correspondent of the New York Times remarks, to turn in Missourians enough "to make all straight." On the face of the bill it is a complete abandonment of the whole doctrine of "popular sovereignty," and resumes the authority of Congress, so far as it can do so, in this case, without interposing any obstacle to the extension of slavery.

**Judge Collamer's Second Minority Report on Kansas.**  
 Senator Douglas called a meeting of the Committee on Territories last week and read to them the report which he was about to make to the Senate on the several propositions for quieting Kansas. Judge Collamer, not having been aware of the intent of the majority to submit a written report, asked leave of the Senate to submit one the next morning. Leave was granted, and the report which follows was submitted accordingly. It is very able and interesting.

**VIEWS OF THE MINORITY.**

In the Senate of the United States, July 1, 1856.

It is now proposed to pass the bill to enable the present inhabitants of Kansas to choose delegates to form a Senate Constitution. It is well understood that the only topic of difficulty there, is the subject of domestic Slavery. As there is not the number of inhabitants there to entitle them to a representative, according to the present apportionment, it is entirely a matter of Congressional discretion whether a State shall be formed at this time.

If the state of circumstances there be such as to furnish a well-founded expectation that a fair, just and impartial expression of the opinions and wishes of the actual bona fide inhabitants of the Territory cannot now be obtained, then this experiment should not be attempted at this juncture of their affairs. A succinct statement of recent events in relation to that Territory, its present unhappy and unsettled condition and the causes which have produced it, will fully show that no fair election of delegates, no just expression of opinion, no true decision, can, at present, be there obtained.

In 1854 when the bill establishing the Territorial Governments of Kansas and Nebraska was passed, it was enacted that they should, when admitted as States, be admitted "with or without Slavery, as their Constitutions should provide. This, however, was not satisfactory to the Slaveholding States, and therefore that provision of the Missouri Compromise which forbid Slavery forever north of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude, that bill of repose for which the Slaveholding States had received and secured forever their consideration, and which had been sanctioned by years of acquiescence, was repealed, and the novel experiment was professedly instituted of submitting the subject to the people who should come into the Territory. This was to admit slavery into the Territory, which that compromise forbade. This breach of faith was effected by making another plight of faith; that is, by providing that the settlers of Kansas "should be perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way.

Relying on this last National assurance, many people from the Free States, as well as from Slave States, settled in Kansas; and how has the assurance been kept? Neither the Executive nor Congress has redeemed that pledged faith nor executed that law. I state, from information which I regard as entirely reliable, and as facts which I believe capable of the most unquestionable proof, which can at any time be presented, that of the 6,331 votes cast in March, 1855, for the election of the Legislative Assembly of Kansas, 4,921 of them were cast by armed bands of the inhabitants of Missouri, who invaded Kansas for that purpose on that occasion; that only 1,410 legal votes were cast, and a majority of those were for the Free State candidates, though most of the Free State voters were driven from the polls. This invasion extended to all the Representative Districts but one, and elected and controlled a large majority of both Houses. The people of the Territory have not been left free, but have been invaded and subjugated, and they are, and their institutions have been, controlled by the people of Missouri, through and by the tyrannical laws enacted by that Assembly, and more tyrannically enforced by the officers by them appointed. These laws, so made by

usurpation, the Executive, and in Congress no relief has been granted. The complaints and representations of this usurpation and perversion of the organic act have been represented here as complaints of a mere irregularity, and been treated by the Senate with apparent indifference and neglect, as no measure even of inquiry into their truth has been instituted.

The people of Kansas, thus oppressed and subjugated, have complained and struggled in vain. They have done as they understood the people of other Territories had done before them; that is formed a State Constitution, inviting all to participate therein, and presented the same to Congress for admission. All such attempts have but brought down on them the reproach of being traitors and subverters of authority.

Handed to their oppressors, the Free State people of Kansas have been pursued by them in the same spirit which made the invasion. The acts of said Assembly have by their officers been made the cover for all forms of political persecution and oppression. Indictments for constructive treasons and pretended nuisances, deprive them of liberty and destroy their property Under the form of Sheriff's posses, armed bands of people from without the Territory prowl over it and take and destroy property and lives, and intimidate and drive off the Free-State people. These people have thus, for several months past, been harassed and scattered, and any attempt at self-defense has been repressed by the army of the United States, or been declared *constructive treason*, and treated accordingly. The settlers have thus in large numbers been driven from their settlements and from the Territory. This is but a brief and feeble statement of the facts. A full picture of the public atrocities and private violence which have been committed with impunity upon the Free-State people of Kansas, would excite and arouse the deepest sentiments of indignation.

It would seem to be demanded by a sense of common justice, and by what this nation owes as well to the cause of truth as to its own character and self-respect, that inquiry should be made, and usurpation be subdued, and the public faith be redeemed, by redressing all the wrongs produced by such means. This is not proposed, nor is the law of repose to be restored, or the Constitution already formed to be allowed.

But, instead of this, it is now proposed to consummate the whole by leaving usurpation in possession of its power, to provide no security for those they imprison, oppress, and disperse, but to provide that those now there, and this only, shall determine the future condition of that Territory, by now forming a State Constitution. This is but to encourage violence by rewarding it with success. That any result of such an experiment will produce definite national peace and satisfaction is to suppose the people of this country blind to the power of ordinary discernment, or lost to every sentiment of justice and humanity.

J. COLLAMER.

**THE KANSAS ADMISSION BILL.** We have the very great pleasure of recording the fact, that in Congress, on Thursday last, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 101 to 99, reconsidered their vote of Monday, rejecting the bill for the immediate admission of Kansas as a State with the Topeka Constitution; and the bill was then passed by a vote of 100 to 97. The only vote changed was that of Mr. Barclay of Pa., who moved the reconsideration. Mr. Herbert, of California, who voted against the bill a few days previously, had, in the meantime, been taken from his seat in Congress and confined in jail, on the charge of murder. The passage of this bill, by the body immediately representing the people, will have a great moral influence in Kansas, and throughout the country. If the Senate reject it, they will incur a fearful responsibility. The issue is now made whether Kansas shall be received as a free State or as a slave State, the Senate having passed the bill intended to make Kansas a slave State, and the House having voted immediately to admit Kansas with the Constitution its people have already adopted.

**DAILY FREE PRESS.**

**BURLINGTON:**

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 8, 1856.

**A GOOD VOTE.**—The bill for admitting Kansas as a free State was passed through the House by a majority of three votes. One of the three is thus accounted for by the Correspondent of the N. Y. Eve. Post.

"One instance of promptitude on the part of a Republican member is worth recording. Richard Mott, a venerable Ohio representative, was lying ill of typhus fever with some friends on Long Island, twenty-five miles from New York. Giddings, not aware of his illness, telegraphs to him at New York city, on Tuesday night, to come on and vote. The message fell into the hands of a gentleman who, till now, has been an old line democrat, but he carried out the command to the letter, chartering a steamboat at the expense to himself of one hundred dollars, proceeding that very night down Long Island Sound, and bringing Mott to the city in time to start for Washington the very next morning, and so the staunch veteran, ill as he was, was duly in his seat all day yesterday, voting on every motion till the cause of free Kansas had triumphed.



NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 8, 1856.

THE NEW KANSAS BILL which has passed the Senate of the United States, and been sent to the House of Representatives for concurrence, is eminently wise and just, inasmuch as it repeals so much of the legislation of the Territorial Legislature as sought to impair the rights of bona fide residents on the vote for Delegates to form a Constitution, or to apply unjust tests in the performance of civil duties. It also guards against a repetition of such legislation, by declaring that it shall not hereafter be exercised. The bill also prevents the incursion of Border Ruffians at the moment of any election, by requiring a residence of three months preparatory to any vote, and a complete registry of legal voters. The bill goes a step further

...and a step further than has been usual, by restricting the right to vote to citizens of the United States. It has been the policy of the new States in the West to encourage immigration, on the part of foreigners, by allowing them to vote after six months or a year's residence, whether citizens or not; and the power has been long exercised under organic provisions of their State Constitutions. This arrangement has been highly beneficial to the growth of new States, and has had the effect to thin the ranks of this species of population on the seaboard, where it would be hurtful, and to turn the new emigrant into a useful cultivator of the soil. Had the bill in question conformed to this policy, a few foreigners might have been induced, before their right of citizenship had become complete, to aid in subduing the wilderness—for such Kansas is and will long continue to be—to the uses of man. But the change which the bill makes in this respect in the policy which has prevailed at the West, is doubtless recommended by the certainty that in no other form could it obtain the votes of the American party in either branch of the Legislature. Under the circumstances, it was therefore wise and judicious. As the bill stands, all questions concerning the admission of Kansas as a State, preliminary and other, are to be decided, so far as they can be decided in the Territory, by citizens of the United States who are actual residents of the locality, known as such by a registry, and allowed to vote without any unjust or improper restrictions. This is carrying out the true principle of the original bill, the operation of which was impeded by the incursions of residents of Missouri. No man in his calm senses can fail to approve of the present bill; or doubt, if it become a law, that the preliminary steps in the Territory, by which Kansas will be prepared for admission, are to be regulated with entire fairness to all sections of the country. We have never had any doubt, and have not now, that Kansas will be admitted, whenever admitted, as a Free State; and such will be the conviction of all those who look at the state of the facts in a dispassionate manner. The State of Missouri, which lies between Kansas and a market for its productions, contains forty-one millions of acres of land, about a third of which remains unsold. To much of this large residue, the Graduation Act, passed in 1852, applies. That Act provides that land which has been in market for thirty years or thereabouts, may be sold at a shilling an acre; and the residue at prices between that and a dollar, according to the length of time it has been subject to entry. The inhabitants of Missouri enjoy this monopoly of the public lands, because it is a slave-holding State—a condition unfavorable to emigration from the Free States. In Iowa,—although so recently admitted as a State, and having a harsher climate,—land sells at higher prices than in Missouri. No inhabitant of Missouri, in his senses, would give up the immense monopoly in cheap lands which he enjoys, and remove his slaves into Kansas, which is yet unsurveyed, with the certainty that he can obtain in Kansas, under the Pre-emption Act, only a single quarter section of land, and that at a dollar and a quarter an acre, and with the possibility, when the survey is made, that other settlers may be found on the same quarter section, who will be entitled to the portion of it on which they are located. A slaveholder in Missouri is safe in the tenure by which he holds his negroes, which he would not be in Kansas. There is, therefore, no probability that Kansas will become a Slave State. Indeed, it would be utterly impossible in the present new condition of the State, to sustain slaves there in large bodies, except at a frightful expense. Able-bodied white men leave the Territory daily, because they find there no easy means of support. The only class of persons who at present find it easy to remain residents of the Territory, are those who keep always in advance of the movements of civilized men, killing bears, panthers, and Indians, and relying on their skill in obtaining good locations, to pay for their daring and sacrifices. Such men keep always a few hundred miles ahead of the great body of settlers, and prepare the way for the latter. They are hardy, enterprising, unscrupulous and brave, and generally obtain the best locations, which they sell at a small advance. Much of the difficulty experienced in Kansas, arose from the fact that the vocation of these men was disturbed by the action of Massachusetts, in sending out emigrants under a special Act of her Legislature, so that they might secure the locations to which the Borderers thought themselves entitled by virtue of their adventurous sufferings and sacrifices. "Border Ruffians," for their own interests, determined to give these contestants for town sites and good locations, a brush, and in too many instances, as the result has proved, adopted the same mode of warfare to which they had been accustomed in contending with bears, panthers and Indians. They insist in great part on the products of the chase,

and are equal to the Indian in powers of endurance, and his superior in most other respects. The settlers in Kansas, sent out by Emigrant Societies, had no means of support, and many of them quickly returned to civilized regions. A Commissary General, with subsistence to last for a year, would be necessary with each squad of inexperienced settlers, who with this advantage would scarcely be tempted to remain in Kansas after the supplies thus furnished had become exhausted. If, instead of Sharp's rifles, provisions had been procured and sent up the Missouri, something substantial might have been accomplished. The Borderers would have sold out, and gone still further into the wilderness, ready for other purchasers. The idea of carrying many slaves into this wild region, is utterly preposterous. Slaveholders love quiet and ease, and could not stand the rough life to which they would be exposed in Kansas.

We have always looked upon it, therefore, as certain that Kansas would be free. Missouri itself, which possesses only 87,000 slaves, was an offshoot from slavery in the wrong direction. It would be greatly to her advantage to abolish slavery;—for her lands would then rise high in value, and her population be greatly augmented. In the course of ten or twenty years, this result will be accomplished—unless Anti-Slavery agitation should prevent it, as it has already prevented a like change in some other States. The South, therefore gained nothing, and expected to gain nothing, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, except to remove a restriction from them which they considered unconstitutional and unjust. Even the State of Missouri does not sustain the Border Ruffians. On the contrary, in all quarters of the State except the extreme West, the conduct of those who went from Missouri to fight and vote, had been sternly reprobated. The bill which has passed the Senate on this subject, also reprobates this misconduct in the fullest manner. Its passage by the House of Representatives could not be doubtful if a Presidential canvass were not pending, with an interest on the part of the Black Republicans to keep up agitation, warfare and excitement, until the day of election. It will be for the people then to decide, whether those who seek to allay excitement shall be rewarded, or those who keep it up for the worst purposes of party. With Buchanan in the Presidential chair—which we regard as settled and certain—sectional agitation will be terminated, and the country put in a condition of complete safety and prosperity.

**New-York.**  
PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN.  
TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 8, 1856.

The Kansas bill passed by the Senate after the midnight session of Wednesday, was greatly improved in the course of the last sitting. The test oaths and the prohibition of free discussion are repealed, and so far as legal intendment goes, all illegal voting fraud and violence in the elections, are guarded against. But no confidence can or does exist anywhere that a perfectly just and impartial law will be justly and impartially enforced. In every appointee of the President for Kansas, the Free States will expect a SHANNON, a LECOMPTÉ, and a DONALDSON. How can they expect anything else, when they see those officials retained in face of the proof that they are the authors of most of the troubles which afflict the territory, and of many of the crimes which have deprived it of its best citizens? There has been quite a remarkable border irruption into this capital since the principal outrages in May and June, and it is believed that the Senate bill was prepared under the auspices of some of the worst of these incendiaries.

Gen. SMITH is a discreet and capable man, and were he, from situation, perfectly exempt from all influences adverse to the Free-State party, he might be trusted as a competent guardian of the peace. But he is not. A few years ago he was an earnest Democratic politician, with sentiments on the slavery question as extreme as those of Gen. QUITMAN. His old associations will cling around him, and it will require a very extraordinary effort to resist the affinity which will attract him to SHANNON and his faction. Any man who goes there to execute "the law," as understood by that class of persons, and indeed as understood by the President, cannot be trusted by the citizens from the Free States. Even "the law" which the Senate does not propose to repeal, is designed to humiliate and degrade that part of the population unfavorable to Slavery. The only safety is in the total, unqualified, abrogation of all the

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

I need not again refer to the open abandonment of popular sovereignty contained in the Senate bill. That disgraceful imposture had been repudiated by the whole practical course of its authors since its pretended incorporation in the act violating the Missouri Compromise. INSPECTOR.

[By Telegraph.]  
WASHINGTON, MONDAY NIGHT.

Four separate substitutes have been offered in the House, for the Senate Kansas bill. Mr. DUNK proposes to abrogate the offensive Territorial acts, and to restore the Missouri Compromise. Messrs. BENNETT and HAYEN, of New York, propose to recommit the Topeka State Constitution, with additional protection to the rights of voters. Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, proposes to raise a committee of thirteen to frame a general compromise.

The prospect of the defeat of the Senate Kansas bill in the House is good. INSPECTOR.

*Tribune* KANSAS July 8, 1856  
DRAGOONAGE.

From Our Special Correspondent.  
LAWRENCE, K. T., Friday, June 20, 1856.

How the Border Ruffians should have thought of invading Kansas at this time, and run the risk of fighting the dragoons, when the dragoons, if left alone, would do their work for them, it is difficult to comprehend. But the Ruffians are ever more revengeful than politic, and next to the desire to have the Free-State people driven from the Territory was the anxiety on their part to have the doing of it. The overwhelming invasion which recently threatened us is likely to blow over without accomplishing its purpose. The dragoons have not fought them, neither have they made any arrests among them; nor have they endeavored to bring the men whom they allowed to murder Cantrell to justice; nor have they rescued any of the plunder from these robbers; nor have they disarmed one of these Missouri parties, although they have disarmed Free-State men for defending themselves from invasion; nor have they succeeded in routing out the parties of Southern guerrillas who are preying on the vitals of the country. But though they have done none of these things, they have done something; that is, they, or three days of rainy weather, dispersed the Missourians as they came in, and prevented them from rallying a large army at any one point. In my last I mentioned that a large party had returned through the rain to Westport, looking like drowned rats. Since then the dragoons routed another party. They came on their camp below Turkey Creek, when the braves immediately hoisted their red flag and prepared for action. The party of dragoons was large and had the artillery with them. The officer in command having given directions to have his cannon pointed, rode forward and told them that he would give them two minutes to haul down their flag and prepare to leave. They, seeing the desperate nature of the case, and not being quite strong enough, hauled down their flag and evacuated, forthwith, retreating to Missouri with all their arms and stores. Why were these men not arrested for the crimes they have been committing, or disarmed? They had come declaring they were going to fight the United States troops, and made the first overt treasonable act, and would have overwhelmed the dragoons if the latter had not been too strong for them. The answer is here: the Territorial authorities and the Territorial Courts will not act against these Missourians and Southern braves, let them do what they will. As for the answer to the query why they were not disarmed, it may be found in a milder dragoonage of the Law-and-Order party.

For some time back the dragoons, with or without Sheriffs or Deputy-Sheriffs, have been arresting Free-State men. Yesterday one of the most flagrant notes on record was committed in Lawrence by a company of United States dragoons. Mr. LEBBET and Major D. HOYT were arrested without the shadow of authority. This infamous Haney, who is one of the most vile-looking scoundrels on earth, and who, there is no doubt, is a paid emissary and spy of the Pro-slavery party to watch Lawrence, rode at the head of the dragoons, and pointed out the men the dragoons were to arrest. They rode about the streets for some hours inquiring for and hunting others. They had no legal process, and

In answer to the demands of some of the most respectable citizens, admitted they had none. They refused to produce any papers, or show any pretext of legal authority when Mr. Hoyt demanded to see it, and ordered Hoyt to fall into line of the dragoons, with their carbines in their hands. I know of no legal pretext they can have against either of these men. Legget is a well-known, zealous, Free-State man, but belongs to no military company, and has taken no part in any of the proceedings, that I am aware of. The only thing I know of this: During the Committee of citizens of Lawrence to investigate the late shooting case, the bogus Justice who presided issued a subpoena for a Mr. J. Colburn, whom the dragoons, at the instance of Haney, had taken prisoner that morning. Mr. Legget was dispatched to serve the subpoena, issued by this Territorial Justice, acting as special bailiff. The dragoon officer, Lieut. Perkins, gave him up reluctantly, and wanted him returned. Mr. Legget asked the officer if he had any legal process or authority for detaining him; the officer said he had not, and knew of none.— Mr. Legget told him that he would not subject himself to civil process by returning a man to prison under such circumstances. This is the only pretext for assailing Mr. Legget. Against Mr. Hoyt I know of nothing, except that the people of Lexington robbed him of a lot of rifles last Spring. Oh, how infamous a persecution is this! It is base enough to use U. S. troops to enforce the vile usurping Territorial laws, but for a company of dragoons to go about behind a man who pretends to be a deputy sheriff, arresting all he points out, without legal process, even from such authorities, is monstrous. It is a system of persecution which is evidently to be persevered in, until the bold are all laid in prison and the fearful have fled the country.

From Our Special Correspondent.

LECOMPTON, K. T., Saturday, June 21, 1856.  
For the time being, Kansas is relieved from the immediate peril of having its towns laid waste by large Missouri armies; but it is not the home of peace and security. No Free-State bands, not even a guerrilla party, is in the field. Nothing could be a more striking indication of the character of the Free-State settlers than this. A large number are burning with anxiety to resume the course of victory over the Ruffians so gloriously commenced; but the decision had gone forth from the mature deliberation of the Free-State leaders, that it was better to leave the matter at present to the troops, and give them a fair chance to redeem their promises; and this has been acquiesced in with an unanimity which, in these stirring times, indicates the intelligent reflection that guides the Free-State men. But this course does not give peace; it does not give security; it does not give justice, it does not offer hope of success to the Free-State cause. The policy may be good, but all that the free settlers have to hope for must come from a different course. Roving bands of Southwesterns, broken up into small fragments, still carry on the work of murder, and pillage, and menaces. Business still suffers; comparatively few emigrants arrive, and the timid and the deeply wronged leave every day. Many young men who would like to stay, have left. "Ah," they would tell me when I remonstrated, "Ah, we would like to stay, but we cannot. We did not bring very much money with us, and board is so high, and every expense so great, that necessity drives us off; but we will return. We cannot go out and take claims, for there is no security, and we cannot find sufficient employment. We cannot defend ourselves without organizing for defence, and the Free-State leaders are opposed to that now. We cannot wait, or we would." And thus Free Kansas has lost much of its strength, and lost it close upon an impending crisis.

Leocompton is not so stirring as when the Southern regiment of Buford were posted here, but it has an excitable, and violent, and dangerous Pro-Slavery population yet. The only work of consequence going on in the place is the building of the capital, and as Uncle Sam pays for that it progresses. This disbursement gives the place some little appearance of business. The Governor is not very popular; he vacillates and trembles when the villainous he abets are on the eve of their accomplishment. No half measures will satisfy the Pro-Slavery men. Their tools must go forward blindly

in the work prescribed them; conscience must never breathe a word, or timid villany shrink from the issue.

It is stated positively here that Gov. Shannon has made up his mind to resign and is preparing to go East. I had scarcely thought he would do this. It is a bitter dose. He has ruined himself so effectually and thoroughly that I scarcely know where he could go for refuge. If he loses this office where in the world can he get another? He need not go to a Slave State with such a hope. The Pro-Slavery party have wrung him out like a sponge, and, despising him for his lack of manhood in being so subject a tool, they throw him contemptuously away. He dare not meet the storm of indignation in a Free State. The President, who is in the same predicament, should, in fellow feeling, give him a foreign mission, before the rod of empire departs. Send him, in the name of humanity, to Hawaii or Timbuctoo, where he could forget the American citizenship he has outraged, and get drunk in blessed obscurity. But will he resign? Will he shorten the only hours of office he may ever have? He is no Charles V., and if he reforms the scepter it is not from choice, but bitter necessity. Not even fears for the impending storm could make him resign, for he cannot realize it. He is said to have received a threatening letter from the Border Ruffians, demanding his resignation. Like Felix, he "trembles," but, unlike Felix, he cannot say, "Go thy way for this time." I believe he has made up his mind to resign, but will reconsider and stay if he thinks he dares.

More than two weeks ago I mentioned in a letter that one of the men who had accidentally fired on the dragoons under the impression they were attacked by Georgians, had surrendered himself to the dragoons, stating the mistake and his regrets. This man's name was Buckan. I mentioned that his companions did not surrender, but concluded they would wait to see the *modus operandi* of justice in his case. The experiment is certainly not encouraging. After being detained for a week by the dragoons, the case was found to be just as nobody knows unless it be Haney. He stated, and as the approach of the dragoons under the circumstances was hasty and calculated to alarm. Mr. Buckan was discharged. The troops who had him were then at Leocompton, and Law and Order people finding he was about to get off, seized him without process of law, and until yesterday he has thus been illegally detained in irons at Leocompton, subjected to a disagreeable confinement and gross indignity. Yesterday Mr. Christian, a conservative Pro-Slavery lawyer, lives in Lawrence, and who acts as the intermediate of the Lawrence folks with the Territorial Courts and officials, when interference of this kind will do any good, came up at the instance of Buckan's friends, and after trying to get to some investigation before Sheriff Jones, who is an all in all, pocket Judiciary, succeeded in curing his release, and drove down to Lawrence with him last night. Mr. Buckan is an intelligent and honorable man.

In my last, written from Lawrence, I mentioned the last monstrous outrage of the scoundrel Haney (Haine). He, with a company of United States dragoons, arrested Messrs. Legget and Hoyt, two peaceable citizens, without a warrant, in the streets of Lawrence on Thursday. This act aroused the indignation of every citizen of the town. Many of the influential citizens went to the offices of the dragoons and protested, but in vain. This officer, Lieut. Perkins, said he knew that Haney was a Deputy Sheriff, and his orders were to make some arrests as he wanted, and they should be made, write or no write, and the prisoners were sternly ordered "in line;" the dragoons with Lieut. McIntosh's camp, at the time he promised his hands on their carbines. Oh, it made me blood dance in the bosoms of the New-Englanders of Lawrence, to be crushed beneath such outrage. Many were for raising a company and driving off the dragoons and rescuing the prisoners; but a war on the United States authority, even thus villainously perverted, stood first by the Border Ruffians, and from ening, and their enemies were only hoping, (they never pray), that they might fall into such a snare. It was the most insulting stroke of a horrible dose,

potism. "We will subdue you," never looked grim. Haney took his prisoners to Leocompton, and ordered that they be put in irons. Sheriff Jones, with all his faults, has more manhood in him than either Leocompton or Shannon, and rather shocked at this treatment, he took a mild course, dismissed Haney sternly telling him the men were his prisoners, and then turning to Messrs. Hoyt and Legget, permitted them to be on parole in Leocompton, on their pledged word that they would appear to-day or trial. But mark what followed. Haney not only had no writ, but he had never been commissioned. He had been the tool of the Slavery extensionists, kind of spy in their pay, kept in Lawrence. He had a promise of being made Deputy Sheriff, but until the day after these arrests, (he had arrested several others before,) that is yesterday, he had not been commissioned. Yesterday Gov. Shannon undertook to rebuke Haney for his irregularities. (This was like Satan reproving sin.) He told him he had been carrying on business much too extensively on so small a capital, and informed him that he "had incurred heavy legal responsibility by arresting men without authority or writ." So much for this moral discourse; now for the "accompanying documents." Haney was commissioned by Jones and the Governor, immediately after "services," and is now a simon pure, Bogus Deputy Sheriff. Still more, the prisoners were not released. Whether writs have subsequently been drawn up I do not know. Haney was dispatched with a subpoena by a bogus Justice for a dozen witnesses. He contrived to get on it the names of several Free-State men whom he has been trying to take prisoners before. Whether he will succeed in catching them with the blandishments of a subpoena, to testify in the Hoyt and Legget case, remains to be seen. He went off yesterday, and is one of the most vulgar, illiterate and calculated to do a great deal, for they are all a pack of scoundrels. He is picked from the basest refuse of society. Many persons got passes during the last week to visit Gov. Robinson and his fellow prisoners, but before I could see them, orders were issued by Donaldson to Jones that visitors must be excluded. This is a stroke of Border-Ruffian policy. Mrs. Robinson is here with her husband, and Mr. Jenkins had got permission to stay in Lawrence, and who acts as the intermediate of the Lawrence folks with the Territorial Courts and officials, when interference of this kind will do any good, came up at the instance of Mr. Marshall Postscript Donaldson and Bogus Sheriff Jones, were in a milder humor than at present. Oh, it is galling for intelligent, high-minded people to be so much in the power of such men. It will be remembered that just before the sack of Lawrence, a company of 120 men came up at the same time of the dragoons and protested, but in vain. This from Osawattamie, under Capt. John Brown. They arrived in Lawrence the day after the sack, and they should be indicted for high treason, and these men have been indicted for that act, and the prisoners were eight of them are now prisoners. While I was in the camp, at the time he promised his hands on their carbines. Oh, it made me blood dance in the bosoms of the New-Englanders of Lawrence, to be crushed beneath such outrage. Many were for raising a company and driving off the dragoons and rescuing the prisoners; but a war on the United States authority, even thus villainously perverted, stood first by the Border Ruffians, and from ening, and their enemies were only hoping, (they never pray), that they might fall into such a snare. It was the most insulting stroke of a horrible dose,



concerned in the killing at Potawatamie Creek. I thought he was mistaken, and told him so; but he was positive, and said that was what they were kept for. There was no legal process against them then. Now they are indicted with the others for High Treason, and this is the only charge against them. That TREASON being flying to the help of Lawrence, but all too late to save it. It is certain that these two Browns were not engaged in the killing at the Potawatamie. Let that killing have been in what manner it may, they at least were in Lawrence at the time. This can be sworn to by fifty witnesses, and I suppose their persecutors know it; and yet these brave men have been subjected to a cruel imprisonment, and are now in peril of their lives, for an act which there is not a generous mind in the country but will admire. Nor is this their only suffering. Before they got back from Lawrence Captain Pate, *The Missouri Republican's* Ruffian correspondent, fresh from the sack of Lawrence with his company of "Shannon Sharp Shooters," plundered and burned the houses of these two Browns. Captain John Brown had a fine library that perished with his other property. So goes Dragoon Government in Kansas. Capt. Pate, taken prisoner in honorable battle, by a smaller number of men than he commanded, was liberated by the dragoons. His company got their arms and horses, and were turned loose to go down and plunder Osawattamie with Whitfield's men. Captain Brown and his brother Jason, taken while returning home alone, by a band of Missouri Ruffians, and by them transferred to the troops, ignominiously chained in the exposure of a soldier's camp, held without legal process, and then turned over to the Territorial Courts, where they were indicted for treason.

The aim of all this arresting is to take all the bold and fearless men they cannot drive off, and thus weaken, frighten and drive off the others.

The company of dragoons now posted at Lawrence is said to be the most worthless, in point of character, in the Territory. The evening they arrested Legget and Hoyt, the officers in command treated them all, at the only liquor shop in town. That night some of the dragoons offered insults to the citizens. Two of them, drunk, stopped at the house of Mr. Kimball, and showed a disposition to offer insults to some of the ladies, and would, doubtless, but for the presence of some gentlemen there. Other two, also drunk, entered the house of Mr. Crocker at midnight, armed with their carbines, sabers and revolvers; they said they had come after prisoners—they were drunk. Mr. Crocker, who was in bed, reached his hand to his rifle, and told them to leave. They commenced swearing, but would not go. He got out of bed, and after having a good deal of trouble with them, got them out. They cocked their carbines and pointed them at Mr. Crocker three times. I heard they had gone to another house, but did not get the particulars. The officer in command was complained to.

The Pro-Slavery men have appointed muster and review drills, to be held on the 4th of July at Leecompton, Tecumseh, and Atchison. All the "Law and Order" men are notified to assemble there on the same day the State Legislature is to meet at Topeka. These are significant finger-marks.

"The people of Westport, Kansas City, Independence, &c., are now suffering from the thefts and burglaries committed, it is supposed, by gangs of men who have been driven from the Reserve and sought refuge in Missouri. The citizens consequently are organizing vigilance committees for self-protection."

Here is even-handed justice, commending the ingredients of the poisoned chalice to the lips of those who mixed it. The correspondent of *The Herald* is known to be a person named G. D. Brewerton, who has been active among the Border Ruffians. He is telling the truth now of his friends. Worse than robberies and thefts, however, had happened to the piratical frontier towns of Missouri, as we learn from the same *Herald* correspondent. Witness the following extracts:

"Kansas City and Westport now begin to feel the bad effects upon their trade occasioned by the late disturbances. Missouri from her abundance, has heretofore supplied the California emigrants and Kansas settlers with wagons, horses, oxen, provisions, &c. The crops last season were abundant in Missouri, and pre-

parations were made by mechanics, merchants and others for a heavy and prosperous Spring business. Horses and cattle innumerable were collected for the Spring demands of emigration."

"The trade on the Missouri River is dull. Some of the boats have gone into trade elsewhere, as passengers for Kansas are very few and freights comparatively unknown. There being no emigration into the Territory at present, money is scarce. The Westport and other merchants along the frontier are doing nothing. The people of Kansas dare not go to the State to trade, and no one wants horses, cattle or wagons at present. River freights are low, and trains for Santa Fé and other places across the Plains have been started to take out freight at 25 per cent less than was demanded six weeks ago.

"Under these circumstances, it is evident that the 'solid men' and mechanical interests of the frontier of Missouri will soon cooperate with the acting Government of the Territory in restoring peace and establishing order and safety on the roads."

Now, if the authority of this correspondent of *The Herald* be doubted, here is an extract from a letter in *The St. Louis Republican*, dated St. Joseph, Mo., June 21, from a correspondent who is violent against the Free-State men:

"I was informed at Leavenworth City, by authority above suspicion, that within ten days, upward of fifty from Nebraska into Kansas, having come by the way of Iowa. A great deal of the emigration which might have gone to fill up Kansas has been attracted to the equally fertile and promising, but more beautiful fields of Nebraska. As a consequence, towns are springing up in the latter Territory all along the Missouri River, and industrious settlers are converting her blooming prairies into well tilled farms, where they may 'sit under their own vine and their own fig tree, and no man dare make them afraid.' Peace has brooded like a blessing over Nebraska, and plenty promises to reward her citizens."

As regards the truth of the reports of outrages continually received from Kansas a proof has just turned up. It is the presentment of the Grand Jury of Shawnee County, Kansas, to the United States Court, held by Judge Cato, at Tecumseh, June 16. This Grand Jury was composed of twelve Pro-Slavery and six Anti-Slavery men. This presentment says:

"From the facts before us, we are compelled to believe and present that organized systems of murder and highway robbery now exist in our Territory. The lives, liberty and property of those who may pass along the public highways are endangered; the progress and prosperity of Kansas are retarded; the public peace almost destroyed, and an embittered and estranged state of feeling instigated among citizens."

## FROM KANSAS

*Tribune* July 8 1856

from our Special Correspondent

LAWRENCE, K. T., June 23, 1856.

A crisis is approaching for Kansas. The great quarrel on which the destinies of the Territory rests, indicates its ferment sullenly and more secretly, but I think the issue approaches and must be met. Let no one deceive himself in regard to the importance of the State movement under the Topeka Constitution. Every step in the process of that movement has been taken wisely. It was neither uncalculated, inappropriate, nor ill-timed. It was a great necessity arising out of the nature of the case, and the only legitimate means of remedy. It encountered difficulties, but only those which a movement for the formation of a Free State in this Territory must inevitably encounter. It meets the issue on which the whole quarrel rests, and meeting it is thrown against the whole opposition of the Slavery Extensionists. Two conflicting interests have been invited to this battle ground by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. They are here, and as they are irreconcilable, one of them must succumb: and as matters have drawn to a point when receding or dallying would be fatal to either interest, both of necessity must strike.

The question is simply this: Must the people of the Territory alone fight Missouri and the armies sent from the South? Between the Free-State people of the Territory and the Pro-Slavery residents it would be a simple matter. No appeal would have to be made to either the people or to Congress. The question would be left to its simple and natural solution, and simply and easily it would be solved. But Missouri battles, and will battle, with every man or policy which threatens to rescue Kansas for Freedom. The money, and talent, and strength of the South has also gone up to battle. The General Government has prostituted its powers to the Slavery-extension interests. Against this fearful array of strength the squatters of Kansas are set. Impoverished by plunderers and legal persecution, weakened by the blows that the outrages and want of security have inflicted on business, the industrial interests have had a paralyzing stroke. Distracted by the loss of lead-

ers, who have either been driven from the Territory or are languishing in State prisons in it, harassed by a systematic and remorseless legal persecution, overawed by the United States troops, who stand behind the Territorial crushing laws and officials imposed on us by Missouri—in this situation the squatters of Kansas stand upon the verge of a civil convulsion. Inadequately prepared, but not yet overawed, they contemplate the fearful issue. They know that if they do not maintain the rights dear to every American citizen, and maintain them now, they must fall and be crushed out in the contest.

In every step the Pro-Slavery party have taken, up to this time, they have been successful. The Territorial courts and governments are in their hands; the national troops enforce the laws imposed upon us by Missouri. The Republican party both in the Territory and in Congress, are too impartially honorable and high minded for those with whom they have to deal. In their anxiety to be and appear in a correct position, they give their enemies all the advantage, for a war of violence against conscience must always be an unequal one. Many of the people here look to Congress, hoping that their action will secure a peaceable adjustment; but has Congress not already demonstrated its weakness, and the inadequacy of its power to remedy the monstrous evils now in Kansas, or to settle the matter peacefully. Congress may take the position, "no more Slave States," and while the matter can be managed as an abstract proposition, they may thus prevent all future cause of collision. This, indeed, is the only Union-preserving doctrine. In nipping Slavery extension in the bud, and thus preventing the spread of this Anti-Republican power, lies our only national security. Let the two hostile elements be sent forth under Congressional sanction, into a new Territory, as they have in Kansas; let them proceed to demonstrate "settling this question for themselves," and no power in Congress or out of it can prevent collision or avert the hazard of civil war. The interests of the Slave power cannot be hazarded to a peaceful, moral adjustment. Let no one wonder at the violence perpetrated by the Slavery extensionists in Kansas. It was the natural cause,—it was inevitable. Like all despotisms, violence and fraud alone can sustain it. Slavery can no more "have a fair chance with freedom in the Territo-

ries" by leaving it to peaceful, intelligent, moral appeal, than Russian autocracy could. In the struggle, once permitted, it flies to its legitimate weapons instinctively and of necessity. These weapons are here in all their fearful power: so far they have borne themselves successfully in the conflict; and they must be met, as they can alone be met, or the cause of freedom is lost. Congress might annul the monstrous and usurping tyranny of the bogus Legislature. It might leave the question to a peaceful solution. The national Executive might remove such Pro-Slavery tools as Leecompte, and Cato, and Donaldson, and all of that fraternity, from the federal offices they disgrace. What then?—would that secure peace? Would the military power congregated in and around Kansas by the Slavery extensionists yield to this? Would they thus consent to testing the question fairly, as a social and moral one, when that policy would subject them to irremediable ruin? They will not; until they abandon hope they dare not. Congress has not shown itself sufficiently alive to the fearful responsibility of the Kansas struggle. These acts of justice have either been denied by the power that could bestow them, or they languish tardily in an uncertain debate, while the question itself is making fearful strides every day in Kansas to a more violent settlement. Can the United States troops peacefully settle the Kansas question? Can the whole military power of the nation do that which legislation, by using such powers, would confess it could not do? When the Federal wisdom and patriotism are inadequate to meet the emergency, must the Federal sword stoop over to cut the Gordian knot? Ah! this is a fatal delusion, and if trusted it will demonstrate its fallacy. A popular government can no more flourish and be developed under such military guidance and rule, than could exotics flourish at either pole. This is the first step toward applying our increasing military power, to the thus confessed weakness of our civil institutions; and mark my words, the precedent is a most dangerous one.

In Kansas, and with the people here, the question must be settled. The Free-State settlers are sufficiently strong to meet and settle the issue here, but we want to be placed in a position where we will not have to fight the General Government allied to the State of Missouri. Withdraw the despotism of the former, and let men from the Free-States, in equal numbers, meet the crusaders from the latter, and I pledge you a speedy solution. If Congress would accept the State of Kansas under the Topeka Constitution, the squatters of Kansas would see the matter settled themselves. I am not sure but we could fight all the powers that Missouri could send if you place us in such a position.

The Fourth of July approaches, and daily arrests of the Free-State leaders are being made. The Pro-Slavery men declare that "that Legislature must not and shall not meet." They consider this as the last hope of the Free-State party, and I am not sure but they are right. Military musters of the Pro-Slavery party are appointed for the Fourth; military stores are being concentrated. Every border county is making preparation as if for an expected war. The Free-State men have little or no money, as yet they have no recognized head, but there will be something of the kind formed by the assemblage at Topeka. Provisions are not very abundant; arms are scarce and gunpowder not very plenty. Two or three days fighting may leave us without a cartridge, and the hostile Missouri between us and supplies. I have had had fifty persons solicit me for arms within a week—young men, who see a bloody struggle approaching, in which their enemies have declared they "will wipe them out;" but of course I could give them no information even, on such a subject. I had even lost my own rifle and revolver in the recent campaign, they being stolen.

It is well enough to hope for peace. An intelligent humanity will strive to avert the calamities of civil war. The interests of freedom, even, may be sacrificed at the approaching Fourth, and peace purchased at the expense of honor and success, but I do not think they will. The great masses here have declared that they will stand by their rights, be the issue what it may, and I am not sure that a peace could be purchased now, even by submission, for much of the population of Kansas must be weeded out before Slavery can flourish on its soil.

Are the Free-State men of the North coming? Is the question in every mouth? Are we to be sustained? Are we going to have help? Will Congress, with the evidence of our wrongs now submitted by the Committee, right these wrongs? and do it now when it can be done? Can the struggle be averted in July, if matters be permitted to go on as they are? Possibly it may, but I doubt it. These are the questions hourly asked by the anxious and suffering settlers of Kansas.

#### MORE ARRESTS.

From Our Special Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Tuesday, June 24, 1856.

I have a suggestion to make, which I hope Congress will consider immediately. It is that \$20,000 be at once voted for the purpose of constructing a State Prison at Leecompton—a Bastille or Spielberg, for this year of grace 1856. Douglas, in the hurry and opposition of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, overlooked it, but it is indispensable and must be supplied. Humanity calls for it. Prisoners have to be confined in military tents, exposed to the weather, or chained to stumps. I hope that, although the Democratic party are false to Freedom, they will not be lost to humanity. A large number of prisoners are now in durance, and there are indictments for treason and Territorial writs for political offenses, issued against a hundred or two persons more. Besides, the Deputy Marshals and Sheriffs, whenever they come across a prominent or objectionable man, take him without a process, and the troops back him up in it. I am not sure that \$20,000 will be sufficient, but let that sum be at once appropriated for immediate exigencies.

Yesterday evening (arrests are an invariable part of the Sunday exercises) the troops, with a new Deputy Sheriff and an old Deputy Marshal, went down toward the Wakerusa to take Captain Abbot and several others, but, luckily, did not find them. The design is to strip the Free State men of leaders before the approaching Fourth. In other parts of the Territory the Federal Courts and the officers of the bogus legislature are busy with their persecution.

For two days Major Buford has been storing up provender and ammunition at Leecompton. The Pro-Slavery men are exultant, and confident of success.

We have just heard that Gen. Quitman of Mississippi has been appointed Governor of Kansas. This comes through the Pro-Slavery men and some officers of the dragoons, who positively give it for a fact. If true, it proves that this resignation of Shannon has been on the tapis for some time back. Beside the threatening letters from the Border Ruffians, it is current, and I believe true, that Pierce got a friend of Shannon's who lives in Ohio to induce him to resign. When we first heard of this presidential maneuver we thought the removal indicated something better for Kansas, but the intimation that we are to be delivered over to the tender mercies of the filibuster hero has fallen upon us like a declaration of war.

The military force on the Kaw is constantly receiving reinforcements. A considerable part of it is scattered along the Missouri frontier from Westport to Fort Scott. The remainder are employed to guard State prisoners and make arrests, trotting

round the country at the heels of some rascally tool of Missouri calling himself a Deputy-Sheriff. It is reported that Col. Sumner has said that the Topeka Legislature ought not to meet, and that he will remove the troops if it does. I wish he would. All that is to be feared will arise from the attempt of the combined forces of dragoons and Deputy-Sheriffs in arresting the members and officers of the Legislature, and all who dare to breathe a "treasonable" word for Freedom on the "Day of Days." I do wish Sumner would go back to the Fort with his dragoons at that time; but I don't expect it. What have the troops to do with the right the people have to assemble and attend to their political rights?

The eight prisoners taken near Osawattamie by the Border Ruffians, and by them transferred to the troops, were kept chained in camp for some two weeks, some of them sick. They were marched by the dragoons under Lieut. Iverson (South Carolinian), for 25 miles on foot, under a heavy sun, heavily manacled, and were not allowed to get water to drink. They were hurried by the dragoons. Their crime—three of them were members of the State Legislature, and all were taken on the charge of High Treason, for starting to save Lawrence from the recent sack. And this, of course. Was not Lawrence destroyed by regular process of law? and why should these "rebels" dare resist the laws of Kansas?

#### LATE OUTRAGES ON THE MISSOURI.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

St. Louis, Wednesday, July 2, 1856.

I write, thinking it important that you should have as direct intelligence as possible in regard to the recent outrages on the Missouri River.

A party of Kansas emigrants left Worcester, Mass., under Dr. Cutter of Warren, Mass., on June 17, and another under Martin Stowell of Worcester on June 25. On June 27 the newspapers contained the telegraphic news that a party had been disarmed at Lexington, and on the same day I left Worcester in consequence for Chicago and St. Louis.

It appeared next day that the disarmed party was not Cutter's party, but a Chicago company. As, however, we knew that Cutter was just behind them, it seemed likely that his men had got into difficulty also. We had directed him to go through Iowa; but, by the advice of our friends in Chicago, he had changed his route.

At Chicago I received telegraphic news that Cutter also was disarmed at Waverley, near Lexington, which is the latest intelligence I have concerning him. I am here waiting for more.

At Alton I saw the leaders of the returned Chicago company, on their way west by another route, and took down from their lips a pretty clear account of their adventure, which I give you, because most of the published descriptions are more or less incorrect, or wanting important features.

Sixty-eight men, two women and three children, mostly from Chicago, left this city in the "Star of the West," Capt. Dix, June 19. They were a peaceful organization, though, as is usual with pioneers, they carried their arms. Their chief officers were not military men, and they went to become actual settlers. Nothing suspicious occurred below Jefferson City, where Missourians began to come on board in small parties, amounting gradually to some 50. At several points men left, with an appearance of concerted action. They reached Lexington at 10½ o'clock, and found a crowd on the wharf. The boat was made fast by the Captain, with two hawsers and a chain cable, a thing almost unheard of on the river, and proving that the Captain was, from the beginning, in league with the Missourians. This everybody whom I have seen here admits.

A Committee of seven or eight came on board and requested to see the officers of the Company, and told them they must have their arms. There was no pretense used of the arms having come from a State arsenal (as some accounts say); it was simply the law of the strongest. The Chicago men appear to me to have behaved well, and to have unwillingly acquiesced in the decision of their officers. They debated the matter an hour, in the midst of occasional yells of impatience from the crowd of 300 (mostly armed) on the wharf. They saw three pieces of cannon, beside several on a steamboat across the river, which, they were told, would pursue them, even if they escaped the mob. There were also 100 Missourians actually on board the vessel. Finally they agreed to surrender their arms, on promise of permission to continue their journey.

They were given to Mr. McGrew, the leading merchant of Lexington, who gave a receipt for 58 carbines. This man was one of the party who came on board, which gives an interesting idea of the mercantile community of Lexington.

They continued on to Kansas City. There, about fifty South Carolina and Georgia men came on board, armed at first with side-arms only; but, after drinking awhile, they unpacked some rifles and bayonets, and took their station on the bollard-deck, as if to prevent egress.

Near Leavenworth they were boarded by Atchison, Stringfellow, Jones of Weston, and others, who asked to see the officers of the company. The little Chicago band were then informed that this armed party had been placed on board to prevent them from landing in the Territory, and that there would be armed men on shore for the same purpose. If they returned to Alton no insult or injury would be offered them; otherwise there would be useless bloodshed, for which they would be responsible, &c. After some indignant argument, the Chicago company had no choice but to yield.

The next step was to require them to give up their side-arms to the care of the captain, who pledged himself for their safety. How he kept the pledge will presently appear. At Leavenworth there was an armed crowd, beside an organized military company, which came on board, replacing the previous one. Their professed object was to save the Chicago men from insult—a protection like that afforded by the grandmotherly wolf to Little Red Riding Hood.

"At Weston some amiable person suggested that perhaps all the small arms had not been surrendered. To work they went, therefore, Atchison, Stringfellow, captain, clerk, and crew, exploring gentlemen's trunks and ladies' carpet-bags, for revolvers and knives. When Mr. Atchison had collected these and pledged his "word and honor" for their restoration, and the captain likewise—"Come, boys," said the commander of the Missouri guard to his men, "there are some good revolvers, now help yourselves." Which they did, so liberally, that the poor Chicago boys had, to my knowledge, scarcely anything left at their return to Alton.

The regular trip of the "Star of the West" was to St. Joseph's, but the captain put about at Weston and descended the river with the Chicago company. It is a known fact that he was paid \$500 for this by the Missourians. And this is a public conveyance on a public thoroughfare!

After putting about they began to hear rumors of a Massachusetts company coming up from below. Armed bodies were collecting at Lexington, Waverley, &c., to receive them. I am told here, however, that these were probably almost all Lexington men, as they are very desirous to induce other towns to share their villainy. Alas, for the degradation of the name of Lexington!

Coming back, the Leavenworth company left them at the city, having kept them confined in the cabin while there. Another set came on board, headed by the notorious Col. Buford. Presently they met the "Sultan" going up with Dr. Cutter's party. The "Star of the West" rounded to, at request of the Chicago men, and they hastily explained to Cutter the circumstances, asking him if he was "strong enough to fight all Missouri!" He hesitated, and sent two of his men on board the "Star of the West" to consult and make arrangements for transferring his party. Meanwhile, Buford's men remonstrated, telling the captain their lives were in danger if he took these armed Yankees on board; and one of them snapped a pistol at a Chicago man. For this or some other reason, the boats separated, and Cutter was heard to call his two men back, saying that he was going on, up the river. It was, however, too late for them to get back, and they (Messrs. Perry, Thayer, and Col. Holway) returned to Alton with the Chicago company.

Not quite to Alton; however; for the mean and cowardly captain, afraid to encounter the people there (and justly, for there were four hundred on the wharf to receive him), put them on shore five miles below, in a rain, taking their baggage back to St. Louis, to be forwarded afterward. All this property (by the way) was taken on shore at Leavenworth, and deposited till their return down river, when it was restored, except some tents and other valuable articles.

There is great excitement at Alton respecting the conduct of this captain, and there is to be an indignation meeting to-night, at which I am engaged to speak, if I can arrange to go up to-night as a return.

As for Cutter's party, the steamer New Snag arrived yesterday, bringing accounts of great excitement up the river, at Kansas City, Wayne City, Liberty, &c.—many hundred men in arms, with cannon. She also reports meeting the Sultan at Sibley, "with the expected party on board, but "relieved of their arms and ammunition at Warren." The same authority quietly adds: "Met by William Campbell with a large force of the 'bersers bound for Kansas.'" Thus it goes: "Some hours its multitudes in, while a single the South party is got up with great labor, amid Free-State of "cautious" men, and gets disarmed on the way. When will the North wake

11 Cup? A question many years old, and not yet answered. One thing is clear—Missouri is desperately in earnest, and unless she is met by an earnestness as determined Kansas is doomed. Do you see the signs of this answering determination, when all the Eastern States are ready to do to "relieve the starvation of Kansas"—a starvation which will not exist till next Winter—while Kansas is perishing now, for want of men, arms and money?

The pledges of the North to Kansas have been broken. I could tell some things on this point which would mortify and astonish you, but it is better not to say them.

To return to Cutler's party, it is impossible to say whether they will be allowed to go through into Kansas, disarmed, or sent back like the Chicago men. The steamboat has a better captain than Dix; but, on the other hand, the Missourians have vowed special vengeance on Massachusetts settlers. We shall probably hear from them to-day, or to-morrow. I almost hope to hear that some of their lives have been sacrificed, for it seems as if nothing but that would arouse the Eastern States to act. This seems a terrible thing to say, but these are terrible times; times which ought not to excite a man, but to make him calm and resolute.

It has had this effect on our second Worcester party (Stowell's), a noble set of fellows, steady, temperate, united and determined, with a leader of no common ability. Do you know that they came and absolutely begged of me to let them go up the Missouri river, in the track of Cutler, pledging themselves to die, if need be; but to redeem the honor of Massachusetts. From the bottom of my heart I felt with them; one word from me would have done it, but I did not feel authorized to speak that word, and therefore sent them on by the other route. Had they gone by the river I should certainly have gone with them, for I never found anything harder than it will be to quit this river, believing, as I do, that there are plans practicable by which the passage might yet be opened to Free emigrants. But there must be some outrage yet before even the North-West is ready for those measures, much less the East.

But mark this; whenever it is done it will be with the full consent of St. Louis. So strong is the feeling here of the injury to this State and city by this condition of things, that I believe if Lexington were battered down to-morrow, St. Louis would hear it with joy. I should judge that nine out of ten of the active business men here sympathize with the position of *The Democrat*, and, indeed, how can they help it, as business men? At a private supper party of these men, the other day, the prime toast was "Peace to Kansas;" which elicited, I am told, much expression of feeling against the "Border Ruffians." This will not be likely to lead to any positive action, perhaps; but I find an atmosphere of sympathy among some persons here, which surprises me.

There was a report here yesterday that Gen. P. F. Smith was to arrive to-day en route for Kansas with 1,000 United States troops, but there seems to be no foundation for it.

Gov. Shannon is here, on his way to Washington. I have it on good authority that he had written a letter of resignation and was persuaded by Col. Sumner, at the last moment, not to send it, until his successor was fixed upon, so as to leave no interregnum. It is, with this view, it is understood, that the valiant Governor is on his way to Washington; and I think you will find that one or two of Atchison's best agents will be at the seat of Government as soon as his Excellency will, so that Kansas and Sumner will have nothing to hope from his resignation.

While I was at Chicago Shannon caused a dispatch to be forwarded to the Kansas Committee there, offering to explain to them his position and intentions, if he could have a personal interview. They declined the honor, in a manner more brief than reverential. I think they were right. What is the use of negotiating with one who is a non-entity every morning and a beast almost every afternoon?

T. W. HIGGINSON.

### Squatter Sovereignty.

The Richmond *Enquirer* scornfully repels the notion that Squatter Sovereignty has been indorsed by the Democratic platform, or nominee. After speaking of Mr. BUCHANAN's antecedents, it says:

"These considerations (in which men of all parties in the general will concur) afford a clue to ascertain and determine his meaning and opinions as to Squatter Sovereignty. The Nebraska bill has been charged with ambiguity, yet it is hard to suspect the majority in Congress who enacted it with fraudulent intention. The changed phraseology employed on the same subject in the Cincinnati Platform, was adopted in order more explicitly and fully to repudiate the idea of Squatter Sovereignty. The subject had been fully discussed before the sitting of the Convention, and the entire South went into Convention, resolved that no room for doubt or cavil should be left, even to our enemies. To place other construction on the Platform is to assert that a few knaves in Convention duped the whole South and most of the North.

But although the Convention, satisfied its friends by resolutions on this subject, unanimously adopted in Convention, it did not stop the cavillings and affected doubts of its adversaries. No wonder Mr. BUCHANAN cannot satisfy men who are predetermined not to be satisfied. But it would be strange, wonderful, incredible, that Mr. BUCHANAN, knowing that Squatter Sovereignty had but one conspicuous advocate in the Union, knowing that the resolutions of the Cincinnati Convention were carefully framed, so as expressly to exclude such doctrine, and had, therefore, met to a unanimous approbation of Southern as well as Northern members, should studiously accept the 'ipsissima verba' of that platform and resolutions, as coincident with his own opinions, and as the guide of his policy if elected. We say it would be strange, wonderful, incredible, that he should suddenly turn short round, eat his own words, clasp Squatter Sovereignty to his bosom—and for what? To destroy his reputation for truth, honesty, common sense and consistency, to offend a nation and lose an empire."

### The Consummation!

The Conspirators are approaching the consummation of their work. They started two years ago to erect a new Slave State upon free soil belonging to the United States. Desperate as the undertaking seemed, it is upon the verge of success. Formidable as were the barriers which had been erected between Slavery and Kansas, they have all been prostrated. The solemn compact which the North and South had made, which all parties and all sections had respected, which thirty years had sanctified, was first repudiated. Outrage, murder, civil war have all been invoked to crush the will of the people of Kansas, and force Slavery upon that Territory against their wishes. They have done their work. Four-fifths of the Free-State settlers of that beautiful region have been murdered, imprisoned or driven into exile. Their leaders—the men to whom they looked for guidance and support in their efforts to erect a Government upon the basis of Freedom—have been indicted for treason, and are tenants of the dungeons of Federal power. Their houses have been burned,—their cattle stolen,—their crops destroyed. Free speech,—the right of assembling and petitioning for a redress of grievances,—have been denied them. Hunted like wild beasts by the ruffian horde who have invaded the Territory, they have been driven to seek shelter elsewhere, and are now fugitives throughout the length and breadth of the Northern States.

All this has been accomplished by the direct aid and countenance of the PRESIDENT of the United States. And now TOOMBS and DOUGLAS, the ringleaders in this great conspiracy, step in to place in his hands the power to finish the work he has so well begun. Their bill, crowded with indecent haste through the Senate on Thursday morning last, empowers the President to name FIVE COMMISSIONERS who are to have absolute and irresponsible power in the affairs of this doomed Territory:—and one of the acts they are required to perform is to record the names of those in the Territory at the present time, and to confer upon

them, and upon them alone, the right to vote for delegates to form a State Constitution. Just at the precise moment when the Free-State settlers have been driven out,—when not one in five of them is there to claim his right,—when those who remain are without leaders, without organization, without food,—and when the Territory lies unresisting in the hands of its Missouri conquerors, the occasion is seized to confer upon its inhabitants the right of saying whether Slavery shall exist within its borders!

The whole scope and purpose of this new bill is to fasten Slavery upon Kansas. DOUGLAS, TOOMBS and their abettors have this in view. They know that their bill will accomplish this object; and that knowledge—the certainty of producing that result—has been their motive for pushing it through. It puts the Government and the fate of Kansas into the hands of President PIERCE and the SENATE of the United States:—and no man of common sense can doubt their determination to carry Slavery into Kansas, at any cost and at all hazards.

This bill has passed the Senate. Its fate now rests with the House of Representatives. Every Democrat in that body will vote for it, under fear of the Executive displeasure. The Fillmore cohort, with HAVEN and WHITNEY at its head and tail, will vote for it, to gratify their innate and malignant hatred of Free-Soil principles. Official patronage will be lavishly promised; bribes will be freely offered; threats, enticements, every possible appliance by which Power knows so well how to crush the Right, will be brought to bear in favor of its enactment. The probabilities are that enough of the venal and the weak will be found in that body, to strengthen the Pro-Slavery party so as to secure the passage of the bill. The President and Senate will thus be clothed with absolute power over the Territory. A Pro-Slavery Commission will be sent out, to carry into execution the decrees of its master. A registry of voters will be opened and filled by the ruffian marauders, whom Slavery has planted there for the enforcement of its behests. The mockery of an election will be gone through with. And then it will be proclaimed that, by the acts of the people, Slavery has been established in Kansas; and although there is not one man in a hundred so blind as not to know that all this is a foul and base conspiracy, the power of the Union will be pledged to its maintenance.

This result will change, but not end, the contest. A new Congress is to be chosen this Fall:—and in every district of the Northern States, the issue will be distinctly made,—shall the conspiracy be ratified and confirmed? Shall Kansas, thus made a Slave State, be admitted as such into the Union? It will render tenfold more intense the agitation which now burns throughout the land. It will create an issue before which no dough-face can stand an hour, and will render impossible the admission into the Union of any Slave State, through all time to come. The Conspirators have hitherto faced every danger, and dared all extremities, in pursuit of their end. If they can look calmly upon the public perils they now court,—if the slaveholders of the Southern States think they can afford thus to brave results which threaten them with ruin,—they cannot be far from that insanity which is said to be the divine premonition of sure destruction.

### "High Treason" in Kansas.

We publish this morning, together with some interesting Kansas letters, a faithful report of the examination of the Free-State prisoners at Tecumseh, charged with the crime of treason against the United States. The proceedings in

## The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 8, 1856.

The true way to convert hard-headed and obstinate Buchaners to genuine democracy, is to send them up the Missouri river to Kansas. What they see and experience of border ruffianism will convert them, if they have a single latent spark of manliness left.

a case so novel—carried on in the name of justice and under the solemn formulae of law—will be read with some curiosity and no little surprise. At first sight the reader may imagine that the whole story is an absurd farce; but a farce it is not. The report of this examination, it will be observed, is authenticated and verified from beginning to end by the Clerk of the Court. All that is here recorded actually occurred. The indictment was originally laid against seven individuals conspicuous among those who have endeavored to make Kansas a Free State. For this crime they were arrested near Ossawatimie, and, like a gang of galley slaves, they were chained two and two together and driven from thence to Tecumseh—a distance of sixty-five miles—where they have undergone a barbarous imprisonment and still more barbarous semblance of trial for treason. One of the prisoners, JOHN BROWN—unable to bear up against this misfortune—was driven mad by the treatment he received. The reader will perceive that the evidence adduced on this curious trial is precisely the same against all the prisoners; and yet, strange to say, three have been convicted while five have been unconditionally released. What further proceedings will be taken in regard to those who have been sent back to prison remains to be seen, but the fact that this mock trial has actually taken place is of itself an outrage, under color of law, which, in the absence of the positive proof we now produce, few would believe.

**The Senate's Adjournment Resolution—The Senate's Kansas Bill—Tariff Projects on Foot, &c.**

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.  
WASHINGTON, Sunday, July 6, 1856.  
ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS.

The Senate resolution, fixing upon the 28th July for the *sine-die* adjournment of Congress, finds much favor in the House, now that the bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union has passed the latter body, and the Report of the Kansas Investigation Committee has been received and read. It is quite evident that little or no legislation of any real value to the country will be accomplished, no matter how long the session may continue; for most of the time will be expended in making speeches, which had better be adjourned to the stump. The appropriation bills can all be passed during the next three weeks, if Congress will but go at them with a will; and, when they are disposed of, the sooner the members disperse the better.

**DOUGLAS' LAST DODGE.**

The Senate's Revised bill for the future formation of a Constitution and State Government for Kansas can, under no circumstances, pass the House without material amendment. As already shown, it is designed and calculated to make Kansas a Slave State; and, in order to guard against this disastrous result of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, an amendment will be moved restoring the Missouri restriction. Such an amendment will be entirely germane to the bill, and must necessarily be sustained by several Northern men who have been dodging about here and there on the Kansas question, and who endeavored to kill the House Kansas bill by moving a similar provision at an amendment to STEPHENS' substitute. At any rate, if they vote against it under such circumstances, another and an unmistakable evidence of their real position in this question will be furnished. Again, there are several

**SOUTH AMERICAN OBJECTIONS.**

South Americans who declare that they will never consent to place the power in the hands of the President to appoint the Commissioners provided for in DOUGLAS' bill, into whose hands the contemplated election in the Territory is proposed to be committed. It is to be feared, however, that before the vote is taken they will find some plausible reason for striking hands with the Administration man in the work of imposing slavery upon Kansas. How better can the Fillmore men prove to the South their reliability in the cause of human bondage and chains? I don't believe they can resist the temptation.

THE TROUBLE-SOME PIG in Kansas Every-body has heard of John Leland, a Baptist minister of great celebrity, some years since in Eastern New York and Massachusetts. The course of Douglas, Toombs & Co., in their efforts to pacify Kansas and the country, remind us of a good story that is told of the eccentric old man.

He was at one time, called to attend a council in a troublesome case, in which the offender professed extreme anxiety to do what was right, if he could only be made to see what he ought to do. After a long time spent by different members of the council in vain efforts to enlighten him, John Leland arose to speak, and all were intent to hear his words:

"This case," said he, "reminds me of a circumstance that occurred just as I had mounted my

horse to come to this meeting. In looking around I noticed that a pig had broken into one of my lots, and threatened to do much damage there. I got off my horse at once, and hastened to the place. I first found the hole where he had broken in, and then drove him very carefully towards it. He snuffed and grunted, and seemed to be anxious as a pig could possibly be to get out, and made many desperate efforts where to get out was impossible. But, when he reached the hole, he bolted by it with all possible speed, and began again his furious efforts beyond. I drove him several times to and fro; but every time he shot past the hole in great haste and began with most remarkable pertinacity his efforts to get out where egress was impossible. At last I became tired of this sport, and gathering some good sized stones, I sent them flying at him. This had the desired effect. The first that hit him enlightened his mind at once. He squealed as though he had been nearly killed, and making one straight run for the hole, was grunting outside before I had time to hit him again."

The story says that the offender, who had listened attentively during the discourse, rose at once, saying that he now saw the hole; and went out, by a hearty confession, without the application of another stone. It is devoutly to be wished that Douglas, Toombs & Co. should suspend their efforts and look for the hole by which the troublesome pig got into Kansas. Then let them hit it with a stone that will make it equal and honest straightway out by the same opening. Admit Kansas with her free constitution, formed by her real settlers, and the pig will not wait for another stone.

**Up the Missouri.**

The dangers encountered by Capt. WATER-TON in his voyages up the Orinoco, by the Landers upon the Niger, or the flat-beatmen in other days upon Western waters when the Murrill gang threw and batted upon the redundant cargoes, were as nothing compared with the perils of the ascent of the Missouri at the present time. Not when the wild Indian frequented the banks of the turbid river were the odds so hugely against the pale-faced traveler. Banditti as merciless as ever said "stand to a true man" lurk at all points. If he go armed, the arms are the first object of seizure. His property of other descriptions, if permitted at all to pass, obtains such immunity only upon the argument that it may be as easily secured in the gross at some subsequent period by the capture and sack of a fresh settlement, the weapons to defend which the robbers have thus providentially taken possession of. Whole companies of emigrants, going into a region of turbulence and disorder, where life is only safe under the guardianship of gunpowder, and unprepared to wage civil war with a commonwealth through which they are obliged to pass, are stripped of their means of defence, and of course driven back to the places whence they came as the only course left to prudence and self-preservation.

To ask a traveler to enter Kansas unarmed is to ask him to rush upon certain fate. Hence the importance of this disarming quarantine, and the rigidity with which the rascals enforce it. Hundreds have been stripped of the means of self-defence to which constitution and law entitle them; and thousands have been deterred from under taking the enterprise of migration by the certainty of losing by the way the means of self-protection, without which to enter the Territory would be as wild an adventure as to go hand-cuffed into a cage of tigers. On the same waters how many straggling travelers have been shot, lynched, tarred and feathered; how many printing presses have been buried in the current; how many lawless and unjustifiable seizures and detentions of the persons of free men, uncharged with any offence against the laws of Missouri, have been made, are problems readily solved by turning over the columns of any wide-awake journal. The truth is, there is no more security for life or property on that great national thoroughfare than among the Malays of the Straits of Sunda. The only passport is the possession of one or more negroes; if pinioned and hopped, so much the better.

It is a significant commentary upon all the Southern schemes for Kansas pacification that in no one of them appears any remedy for this specific evil. In neither of the plans of DOUGLAS, TOOMBS, CLAYTON, or CARTTENDEN is there any recognition of the fact, and of course there is no proposition pointing to amendment. The House bill, admitting the State into the union under the Topeka Constitution, necessarily contains no reference to it, because its purpose is single and independent of any pacificatory object. The Senate bill now before the House alludes to it not at all. Whatever therefore be done in Congress, for the Territory, will leave this crying nuisance unabated, and the voyager, though a citizen of the free and sovereign State of Kansas will be always subject and serf to these pestilent highwaymen, these water rats of the river. Freedom of egress and regress is indispensable to all other Freedom.

As there is no disposition, possibly no power, in Congress, to meet the exigency, and since considerations of self-interest and self-respect equally fail to obtain any vindication of law and order from the Government of Missouri, it is a matter of vital importance that other avenues to Kansas be forthwith opened. It must be remembered that the Douglas bill contains a provision forced into it against the will and vote of its author, permitting settlers whom the civil war had driven away, to return and vote in November. Should the bill become a law, these men will nearly all go back, if they can go armed. Their experience has taught them the folly of going otherwise. With arms they will not, it seems, be allowed to pass up the Missouri. The whole efficacy of this provision will therefore be lost, unless channels be at once surveyed for forwarding the returning emigrant through Iowa, or the upper counties of Missouri. Should this bill not pass, then again the question of free or enslaved Kansas will be thrown back upon and decided by the comparative volume of Free and Slave State emigration, and upon the facilities of transit thither from the North will depend the influence of freemen. There is no contingency in which this subject will lose its momentous import. We commend it to the notice of Kansas Committeemen, and agents generally, with the suggestion that the instant establishment of a trail through the Southern counties of Iowa, with abundant teams, frequent places of shelter and depôts of provisions, will meet the whole difficulty, and enable the flood of free emigration to resume, its normal flow. What with the ready-made and portable houses to be had in the Western cities, and the supply of horse-flesh and provender so readily procurable on the banks of the Mississippi, such a route and facilities might be in full operation before September.

**Horrible Treatment of Free-State Prisoners at Tecumseh.**

**THEIR TRIAL FOR TREASON.**

THREE REMANDED AND FIVE ACQUITTED.

**OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE TRIAL.**

ANOTHER BOGUS SHERIFF AT WORK.

**More Illegal Arrests at Lawrence.**

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, June 23, 1856.  
I have already told you that eight prisoners (Free-State men) who were arrested near Ossawatimie had been taken to Tecumseh for trial. The trial came off last week, and five of them were released, and are now in town on their way home. I





From the sworn evidence received in this case, it appears that the said HOPKINS, in company, at different times, with from three to twelve of his comrades, began traveling about the country, in the vicinity of this place, during the day and evening, and at frequent intervals, had drunk intoxicating liquors. That they visited the wagons of a Mr. GAUG and others who were encamped in the vicinity of the town, late in the afternoon, and there drank liquor from a bottle, which they carried with them, and treated Mr. GAUG and his party. That the said HOPKINS, at 9 o'clock, announced that they were going that night to drive Mr. HANEY out of town, for the reason that he was a spy, being a Pro-Slavery man while pretending to be a Free-State man, but that they did not intend to hurt him. That he (HOPKINS) was called upon about that time by three others, and left with them. That about that hour he, with some others, was at the grocery of Mr. FULLER, and drank liquor, and that about the same time he, with some dozen others, visited, the second time, the wagons of Mr. GAUG and others, and forcibly, and without any pretended authority, searched the wagons for firearms, and took all they could find, except one revolver pistol. That on the testimony of Mr. J. W. MARK, two men—who, in the opinion of the Committee, were of the number of those who subsequently attacked Mr. HANEY's house—said to the said CLARK that said HOPKINS drank liquor at FULLER'S grocery, between 11 and 12 o'clock that night, and was "pretty tight," and proceeded immediately thereon across the street to Mr. HANEY'S house, where he and was shot; that said HOPKINS came with two or more others; that said HANEY'S house at the time indicated, broke open the door, rushed in and commanded "fire," that either before or after the assaulting party commenced firing, (for the testimony of Mr. and Mrs. HANEY conflict in this particular), Mr. HANEY with a horse pistol fired and the shot took effect upon said HOPKINS, striking him in the region of the heart and killing him instantly; that those who were with said HOPKINS in the assault immediately fled; that two men in company, and one somewhat detached were seen immediately after the firing ceased, and fled towards the north-west part of the town; that soon after, two men with their saddles came to a stable in the north-west part of the town, and said that they had separated from said HOPKINS a short time previous; and remained there until they began to break, when one of them came to town and returned, and informed the other that HOPKINS had been shot upon which both of them mounted their horses and started across the river; that soon after this time two men who from the description are believed by the Committee to be the same last named, came to the house of Mr. CLARK before named, for the two saddles which they had previously left there, saying that their horses were left in the stable, and upon seeing a company of United States troops approaching at the time, they ran precipitately from the house, saying they had writs for them; after having told Mr. CLARK, as aforesaid, they said HOPKINS had gone over from FULLER'S grocery; after drinking there, broke into said HANEY'S house and got shot; that said two men were identified from their description as members, or as having been members, of a guerrilla band under the command of one LEINBART, and that said HOPKINS had also belonged to said band; that said band had been disapproved, and denounced, and condemned by the people of Lawrence, and that LEINBART and another have been expelled from the military company named the Kansas Rifle, No. 1, in said town, and the members of their accoutrements, for having connected themselves with said guerrilla band.

It does not appear from the testimony of the witnesses or from the appearance of shot marks within the house, that the effort was made to shoot Mr. HANEY, as no shot marks appear in the portion of the room occupied by him, but your Committee are satisfied, that from the apparent intentions of the assaulting party, whether real or not, Mr. HOPKINS was shot by Mr. HANEY in self-defence, and that the act would be legally construed as justifiable homicide. Mr. HANEY left the house immediately after the shooting, and the man who arrived thereafter recognized the man who was shot as Mr. HOPKINS.

The entire responsibility of this lamented event seems to rest upon the party who thus entered the house of Mr. HANEY at midnight, and it seems to your Committee also, incredible that any party would have been guilty of such rash intemperance, and so cowardly an assault, unless exasperated by drinking to excess.

All of which is respectfully submitted:  
(SIGNED)  
N. S. Storrs, R. W. Chapin, W. H. Dinnoan,  
E. Southernland, B. Johnson, E. D. Ladd,  
C. Thornsbush, J. A. Finley, Wm. Hutchinson,  
J. D. Farran, A. A. Faxon.

On Thursday last that same pretended Sheriff, by the aid of some fifteen dragoons to serve as a posse, arrested two of our citizens without a warrant, or any show of authority whatever. He took them before the Governor, but he would not approve his course, and told the prisoners they were free for all he knew, for he did not recognize HANEY as Sheriff; but before they could get away, they hurried HANEY through all the degrees of Sheriff's initiation, and by lying most outrageously, he was able to get them arrested upon a legal warrant. They are in town again to-day, having been admitted to bail to appear next Wednesday. So you see that renegade HANEY is becoming the Kansas Haynal.

The soldiers are now swearing about him quite as bad as anybody, and the dignitaries of Pro-Slavery Leecompton have driven him from their midst, and still more, Sheriff JONES had deposed him from office, and he now stands before the world again, as before—a guilty, hunted reprobate. We continue to learn of more Free-State men, whose bodies have been found in different parts of the country, who have fallen by the hands of the Southern army. It will probably be a long time before all the victims can be traced out, as many have left for the States who have not since been heard from.

I must give a word of caution to you of the Empire City, who are usually of conservative mood and sagacious in judgment, but for once you are too

willingly deceived, and sent my reputation as a journalist shall be implicated, I will whisper in your ears the times when you were humbugged.

I notice that some Jonathan has appeared among you who claims to have the honor of holding the gun that shot Sheriff JONES, and astonishes the million by the revelation that JONES was never shot with anything but a paper ball. This is all a base lie: JONES was very dangerously shot with a small ball from a pistol. I helped to carry him to his room—saw the hole where the ball entered immediately after he was placed upon a bed, and saw it probed over three inches without striking the ball. It was a dangerous wound; and, although he has been styled the "Risen Jones," because he appeared in our streets on the 26th of May, which was about four weeks after he was shot, I can tell you that he was not able to be out on that day, and has been worse ever since. I saw him at his room in Leecompton last week, and he still wears that lean and haggard look. His lower limbs are yet partially paralyzed, and it is with much difficulty that he can walk his room. I have no doubt that his health and ability to labor are lost for life; and whatever his conduct may have been toward us, should do him injustice not to place him right in this particular with your readers.

Again, at your great Kansas meeting in the Tabernacle, according to your report, your glasses must have been well extended to take in such "a whapper" as the veritable Mr. and Mrs. B——, especially if your quizzing-glasses were used. Without repeating what they did claim and say for themselves at that time, I will say, by way of correction, that Mr. B. was not in the party that saved LAWRENCE, and never had any identity with him whatever; that he was not driven from his claim by the interference of Missourians, but left it because he had no claim there after the Government surveys were made; and instead of living on it before this fact was known, he spent the most of his time at Lawrence, and not in a very creditable or useful manner. In the Spring they left.

Mrs. B was not one of the women who saved Lawrence last Winter by conveying powder clandestinely to our men. I think she did not snap a pistol at Sheriff JONES, but am not certain, but know that she fired several times at the FISHMACKER, who has since been fatally shot at Franklin. Such were the elite who figured at the Tabernacle meeting, and were lionized as the heroes of Kansas wars.

You will find that scores who believe that the smell of gunpowder is offensive, have suddenly had a call to preach in some of the States. There are but few, excepting those who bear certified credentials from our Committee, that should be trusted fully at this important crisis. The old adage, that every good cause will be abused, I regret to see verified in this particular. RANDOLPH.

**NEWARK DAILY ADVERTISER**  
TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 8, 1856.

(Kansas and Congress, Douglas and Toombs.

The ebullitions of Mr. Toombs in the Senate about appealing to the Cartridge Box are perfectly contemptible. Though we do not recollect that he wears any military title, he seems excessively fond of talking in grand military phrase. He is the man who once spoke of the calling the roll of his black troops upon Bunker Hill! Why, he never could get there himself, unless by the forbearance of the Bostonians, to whom he last winter owed the favor of beholding that noble structure, which lifts its head to heaven, and tells of the gallantry and patriotism of the ancestors of the man who reared it, and live in its daily sight and inspiration. And now this bombastic person, in the debate on the Kansas bill, the other day, dared to appeal to the cartridge box—the representative of the South talks thus, of that South, which J. Q. Adams and many others think have reason to look upon that clause in the Constitution as of most value to them, which stipulates for the protection of the South and its institutions by the freemen of the North.

This Mr. Toombs is the author of the cunning and iniquitous bill, which Douglas adopted as his own brag, and succeeded in pushing, with the help of our Mr. Wright, through a subservient Senate. He has given up his own bantling, requiring delay and a population of sixty-three thousand inhabitants before the Territory should be permitted to become a State. And why did he do it? Because he had learnt that a series of unparalleled outrages and cruelties, robberies, menaces and murders, had driven away the settlers there, and prevented those who intended to become so from emigrating to the Territory. He saw that the Border Ruffians were carrying it, all over Kansas, with a high hand; that Georgia and South Carolina had marched their legions thither to trample down the free settlers; that by such means the latter were weakened in number and spirit, and their enemies every where triumphant and augmenting.

These facts Stringfellow and Whitfield came to Washington to communicate to Douglas and Toombs, with whom they have been consulting for days past.—Now's the time, exclaim Stringfellow and Whitfield, now's the hour for a Kansas bill of strong and artful provisions, and prompt in action. Now's the time

for Douglas and Toombs, and their creatures in the Senate, to strike liberty in Kansas a home blow. Pass the bill concocted by our best heads, giving power to our tool Pierce to appoint five Commissioners, a majority of whom shall be dictators, to take a census under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, of the legal voters resident in each county, and in fact prepare a list of voters for an election of members of a Convention to form a State Constitution, to be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November next, in such place, and conducted in such manner, both as to the person to superintend such election and the returns thereof, as the Board of Commissioners shall appoint and direct, and no person shall be permitted to vote unless his name shall appear upon such list.

No other persons shall be entitled to vote but white male citizens of the United States, including such as have filed their intentions to become so, over twenty-one years of age, who may be a bona fide inhabitant of said territory on the 4th of July, 1856, and who shall have resided three months next before said election in the county in which he offers to vote. The persons thus elected shall proceed to decide whether it is expedient to form a constitution: if so, to make one.

It is observable that the abominable legislation of the Missouri faction is not annulled by this new act; no wrong perpetrated in that territory is righted; no villain punished; nothing done to make it safe for Free State men to make their appearance among these wolves to vote or exercise any rights. Some of their leaders are in prison under sham charges of treason; others are in exile, and hunted even where they are. On the contrary, the Free State party in Kansas has been struck down, like SUMNER, and while prostrate this artful bill is meant to strike a fatal blow against the disabled victim. That such must be the condition of the Free State settlers in the territory, no one who reads the voluminous Report of Messrs. HOWARD and STRERMAN, a majority of the Committee appointed by the House of Representatives, can for a moment doubt.

This appears to be the policy of this bill, and such will be its effect, should it go into operation. We trust, however, it never will: for immediately after its passage in the Senate, a very different measure was adopted by the House, yeas 100, nays 97. This measure was the bill for admitting Kansas into the Union with the Topeka Constitution. This is an act of the greatest importance, and will encourage the hearts of the Free State citizens of Kansas, and strengthen their cause everywhere. For our own part, we would not consent to the bill adopted by the Senate, with its antecedent enormities unatoned for, and uncorrected. We would not receive any bill whatever emanating from the impure, suspicious source, whence the late measures against liberty and justice have flowed. These men, who have been implicated in these proceedings from the first, have forfeited the confidence of the country, which ought not to take anything at their hands. They are totally unworthy of trust, and ought never to be permitted to defraud the American public any more. This they would do if their deceptive bill for allowing Kansas to form a Free State Constitution as proposed; should be suffered to pass into a law.

We have said that the bill of Toombs and Douglas makes no amends for the flagrant outrages of the most aggravated description that have been perpetrated in Kansas. And yet they have been proved before the House Committee by the testimony of credible witnesses. We have alluded to some of them in this article; they are infamously notorious throughout the country, and the Report of the Committee affirms, on competent evidence before them, that these shameful transactions are founded in truth.

By the same Report it also appears that numerous witnesses and documents substantiate the following facts, which have been frequently stated in our columns, and have now been proved before the Committee:

That every election in the Territory has been carried by organized invasions from Missouri. The Territorial Legislature, so called, was an illegally constituted body, having no power to pass valid laws; and their enactments are therefore null and void.

These alleged laws have not been used, as a general thing, for the protection of persons or property, or to punish wrong, but for unlawful purposes.

Whitfield's seat is not held by virtue of any valid law any more than Reeder's, but the latter received a greater number of resident votes than Whitfield for delegate to Congress.

At present, a new election cannot be held without a new census, a stringent election law, impartial judges

of election, and the presence of U. S. troops at every place of election.

The election of members of the Constitutional Convention was as regular as the disturbed state of the Territory would allow; and the Constitution adopted by it embodies the will of a majority of the people of Kansas.

THE KANSAS PACIFICATION BILL.—We are receiving the most gratifying intelligence as to the satisfaction with which the people are hailing the passage by the Senate of the measure of pacification in regard to Kansas introduced by Mr. Toombs. Its justice is so apparent, that it is a matter of surprise that the Black Republican Senators themselves could have the hardihood to prefer the Topeka scheme. Men who are not infatuated, or struck with fanatical blindness, cannot comprehend the patriotism which thus rejects a fair, just, and liberal proposition, and adheres to one which no ingenuity of reasoning can rescue from the charge of injustice and unfairness, to say nothing of its more revolting features. We learn that the opposition of the Black Republican Senators has made the impression which is natural under the circumstances, that they do not desire the pacification of Kansas, and the restoration of fraternal harmony in the country. Every objection that had even plausibility in it was removed by amendments proposed by the friends of the measure, until some of the opposition Senators, finding themselves driven to the wall, openly declared that if the people of Kansas, in the clearest and most unexceptionable manner, should adopt a Constitution recognizing the legality of slavery, they would vote against her admission as a State at any and at all times. This is effect falling back upon the issue of "no more slave States," and in that issue is necessarily involved the question of Union or disunion. The development of each day makes it clearer and clearer that the preservation of the Union depends on the triumph of the Democratic party in the pending contest. The refusal of the Fremont Senators to accept the bill which provides effectually for the settlement of the Kansas troubles is already producing a reaction in the public mind which points unerringly to the overthrow of the Black Republican party.—Wash. Union, July 8.

# Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.....JULY 8

### Kansas by an Eye-Witness.

We take the following interesting article from the Albany Atlas and Argus. Beholds that the Black-Republicans are sympathizing with the real border ruffians in Kansas—those who have committed the most atrocious. The Atlas and Argus says

Dr. Geoghan, who resided two years ago in this city, and who left for Kansas in March, 1855, has returned from there and brings favorable accounts of the state of affairs. He was driven from Topeka by the Free-State party, who had organized 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. Colonel Sumner is driving before him, with great vigor, all armed bands. Buford's men, compelled 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 the 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 he was shot, and three Doyles, a father and two sons, torn away from wife and daughters, tortured and killed, were victims of this 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 sequence of this bad beginning.

These marauding parties generally go out 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 center of the room.

This time they discharged their pistols and guns so close that the bed was 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 Colonel Sumner.

They had in their possession a large drove of stolen (or "pressed") horses, which they had arranged with the ferry-man to take across the river.

This Hopkins was captain of one of the Lawrence companies.

Dr. G. says that the reason why the Lawrence Hotel was destroyed, was because it was an armed fortress. It was a concrete building, the walls some two feet thick, with a strong roof sufficient to bear the weight of several six-pounders, a parapet three feet high, pierced for cannon, the loop-holes concealed by a thin coating of mortar. It was a regular fortress and a depot of arms, and was only destroyed after it had been so pronounced by the grand jury and declared a nuisance.

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 on 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 emigrants 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.

## DAILY GAZETTE.

W. H. F. CO. Proprietors. Office—N. E. Corner Fourth and Vine Sts.

### Two Great Facts of Kansas History Established.

The pro-slavery party of PIERCE, DOUGLASS and BUCHANAN, now stand utterly defeated on the two great facts upon which they relied to make out their case. They have told the people every where that the Kansas outrages were provoked, or made excusable by the acts of the New-England Emigrant Aid Societies; and they have told them that the great object of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was to give self-government to the people. Both these are now effectually overturned, and there is no longer a shadow of justification for the acts or policy of the party who have been attempting to enslave Kansas.

The first fact, or assertion, is overturned by the report of the Congressional Committee, who report, on abundant proof, that the parties sent out by the Emigrant Aid Society were small in number, peaceable, and came as actual bona fide settlers. In truth, the great object and end of that society was speculation, to make money, by the early settlement of a new and rich territory. It was the property of this society chiefly which was destroyed at Lawrence; destroyed without a shadow of provocation, destroyed amidst circumstances of barbarity disgraceful to the country and the age. Under pretence of resisting this peaceful society, Kansas was invaded by five thousand Missourians, led on by ARCHISON, STRIFFELLOW & Co. They took possession of the polls, beat and drove away legal voters, violated every law, right, usage or decency which was in their way; and in fine as completely CONQUERED the Territory as if it had been overrun by Goths and Vandals! Since the

days of CHARLES STUART, (and not even then,) no such crimes, wrongs and indecencies, have been committed in any country pretending to be civilized. The Pottowatomies and Kickapoo, amongst Indians, were notorious for their cruelty in war; but they would have been ashamed of such conduct as the Missouri army under ARCHISON, committed in Kansas towards peaceful, unoffending citizens. Savage nature is cruel, but revolts at meanness. Having conquered the Territory, these robbers proceeded to enact what they called a code of laws—it was the Missouri Code entire. They had not even time to read it. In this republic, this boasted land of liberty, they prohibited free discussion and free publication! Now let us remember that this government, this code, these men, were the government, the code and the men defended by PIERCE and his Administration, and adopted by JAMES BUCHANAN! This fraud and conquest is the law and order of PIERCE and the platform of BUCHANAN. This great historical fact, that a gigantic fraud, a great public crime was committed, to carry slavery into Kansas, has been established upon indisputable evidence in the report of the Committee made to the House of Representatives. That report we hope will be read by every reading citizen.

The second great fact established is, that the operation of popular, or squatter sovereignty in Kansas, as the end of that act; is also a fraud. This we have in the new Territorial Bill of DOUGLASS, which passed the Senate on the 3d of July. This act does what was formerly done in regard to Territories. It marks out the whole outlining of organization, and determines the right of suffrage. In other words, it abandons that most silly idea of squatter sovereignty, an idea which could never enter the brain of a man politically sane; a sovereignty precisely like that of a child set loose by its parents in the public streets. Squatter sovereignty in Kansas is at last overthrown by its authors. DOUGLASS has committed infanticide, and his miserable bantling is thrown to the dogs. The Territorial act enacted by the Senate is almost an exact copy of the old Territorial Act, and except in one particular, is unobjectionable. This particular is one which shows the hand of duplicity to be still at work, although appearing to be very fair. This is that almost all the initial proceedings in the organization of the new State are to be taken by a Commission appointed by PIERCE! Who can trust an officer of PIERCE's in Kansas, after the conduct of SHANNON and LECOMPTÉ? We cannot help congratulating the friends of Freedom upon the utter overthrow of long pretence, declaration, or platform, upon which the pro-slavery party have conducted the Kansas controversy. The great fraud is proved in all its naked deformity. The Administration is proved to have upheld that fraud under the name of law and order. Squatter sovereignty is abandoned by its friends. And now there stands out nothing on the pro-slavery side but one dark picture of fraud, outrage and crime, perpetrated without an excuse, and defended without a reason, except only to make the once free soil of Kansas an eternal slave State.

### The Feeling in South Carolina—Kansas Subscriptions—Black Mail.

In Charleston, South Carolina, the greatest efforts are being made to establish slavery in Kansas. The entire population are taxed, and such as refuse to respond favorably, are published as enemies to the South and suspicious characters.—The Charleston Mercury proposed that the names of subscribers to the Kansas fund should be published, and also the names of those who refuse to subscribe. This suggestion was seconded by a correspondent of the same paper, in the following communication. Read and reflect:

The article in the Mercury of Saturday, which makes a suggestion to the Kansas Committee, is entitled to much consideration. It proposes, as we understand, that the names of the individuals from whom the committee solicit contributions, with the result of their application, should be daily published, in order that those who are liberal to this



great movement may be known, and we hope fully rewarded; whilst those who do not give enough, or who do not give at all, may also be known, and held up to the public scorn and suspicion, which they surely deserve. The scheme is a very valuable one, and we hope to see its merits fully recognized. This community is extremely tolerant of opposing opinions, especially upon the subject of slavery. But it must be remembered that there are limits when toleration becomes weakness. Now, upon the proposition that the safety of the institution of slavery in South Carolina is dependent upon its establishment in Kansas, there can be no rational doubt. He, therefore, who does not contribute largely in money now, and largely in his efforts in the October election, proves himself criminally indifferent, if not hostile, to the institution upon which the prosperity of the South and of the State depends. Let the names, therefore, be published daily, that we may see who are lukewarm in this vital issue—then we may see who are the people in this community who require to be watched. To secure his end, we will add, as a suggestion, that the Finance Committee of the Kansas Association be also a Committee of Assessment, and that each individual be informed of this amount before his subscription is taken. We also suggest that the Kansas Association appoint a large Vigilance Committee, whose consultations shall be secret, and who shall take in charge the conduct of the delinquents and adopt such secret measures in reference to them as the interests of the community demand. In this way the contributions will doubtless be adequate, and the cause of Kansas will prosper.

HAMPDEN.

[From the Columbia South Carolinian.]  
Kansas.

We are indebted to the Hon. W. F. DeSaussure, Chairman of the first Kansas committee, for the following letter from a friend in Kansas. It renders it extremely important that our second committee should make a strong effort to aid in the important work of settling Kansas with Southern hands and hearts.

KANSAS, JUNE 18th, 1850.

Hon. W. F. DeSaussure:

Dear Sir: I received your letter with the draft annexed for seventy-seven dollars eighty cents, payable to the order of David G. Fleming, of which he shall be informed forthwith; he has received the drafts first sent. The South Carolina boys at Atchison are well pleased, and will nearly all of them see the thing through, many of them will settle for life in the country. The border ruffians will furnish them, without cost, meat and bread, and also assist to furnish them with the means of commencing farming. They will give them cows and calves, and sows and pigs, and lend them horses, mules and oxen, indeed do all that we can for them; yet I hope that South Carolina will not relax her exertions in this cause, but send more men and more money to be used for the benefit of her own children. I have consented to act with them on their committee, and I endorse them in all things; my house is open to them; so indeed do many of our people—so much so, that they are better pleased with Missouri than Kansas, yet duty compels them to remain in Kansas.

You will see from the Charleston Mercury their address and their plans; your State must and will sustain them. Remember the stakes we are playing for.

The Abolitionists are mustering all their forces for an incursion this fall, perhaps sooner. We will be, I trust, prepared to give them a hearty reception. The poor devils have paid dearly for their murders and assassinations; they are humiliated, and hundreds are leaving the Territory now. How many of them will return is doubtful, but that others will come with arms in their hands, there can be no doubt.

The United States troops are in our way. The matter would have been ere this settled by the expulsion or extermination of the accursed brood, but for the interposition of the Federal Government. We are compelled to ride our time, but the time will come. We have thus far, I think, managed our case well; I trust that we will continue to do so. The balance is altogether on our side; we have the advantage, and must keep it.

P. S.—Write to me freely. I will do anything in my power to aid the men from your State. Impose any duty without scruple on me, and I will discharge it as well as I can.

## The Daily Phoenix.

LUMSDEN, KENDALL &amp; CO.

F. A. LUMSDEN, GEO. WILKINS KENDALL, J. M. HOLBROOK,  
A. C. ELLIOTT AND S. F. WILSON.  
EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

OFFICE—66 CAMP STREET.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 8, 1850.

### THE NEW KANSAS BILL.

Our telegraph last evening announced the passage through the Senate of the new Kansas bill of pacification, introduced into the Senate from the Committee on Territories; and the final passage through the House of the bill to admit Kansas into the Union under the Topeka constitution. The Senate bill

was reported on Monday last, from the committee to whom had been referred all the projects in relation to Kansas heretofore introduced into the Senate; including the original committee bill, commonly called Douglas's bill, for the prospective formation of a constitution for Kansas, with a right to admission into the Union as a State whenever it shall contain the number of inhabitants required by the existing apportionment bill for a representation in Congress; the bills supplemental thereto; the proposition of Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, to abolish the Territorial Government and annex Kansas to the Territory of Nebraska; Mr. Seward's plan, which is the House plan of the Black Republicans, for the immediate admission of Kansas as a State with the Topeka constitution; and the bill of Mr. Toombs, for the calling of a new convention to form a State constitution, with the right to immediate admission into the Union without regard to the amount of the present population.

The new bill, which has just passed the Senate by so large a majority, is based upon the general principle of the proposition of Mr. Toombs, and is carefully drawn up to carry out that principle with the utmost distinctness, fairness and impartiality.

The contest is plainly now between the two Houses of Congress, on the bills to which each has committed itself by its vote as announced.

The House, by a small and vacillating majority, has passed the bill for sanctioning all the illegal acts of the insurgents, who, in contempt of the existing authorities of Kansas, got up an irregular partisan convention of anti-slavery men, who created themselves into a State, put the territorial authorities at defiance, and came to Congress to have their extraordinary proceedings ratified by their political associates, in the act of admission into the Union. With a considerable anti-slavery majority in Congress, this bill was first defeated by a majority of one vote; but, under the pressure of partisan importunity, has been reconsidered and passed by two or three majority.

The Senate, on the contrary, by a large majority of members present, nearly three to one, and a clear majority of the members elected, voted for its own measure, which is one clearly just, liberal and moderate.

The hope of any pacification at all, now, is that the bill matured in the Senate—so as to dispose of all contested questions of the past, by a fair and free election, with a rigid registration of the qualified voters, and ample provision for the expression of the true public opinion of the Territory—may make such an impression upon the small majority which controls the present action of the House of Representatives, as to make them give way from their extreme and fanatic position. It is, to all present appearances, the last and only chance for a settlement of difficulties which are distracting the whole country, and imperiling its peace, and the existence of the Union itself. Great will be the responsibility of that man or party who shall deliberately thwart it, or purposely act against it, to keep open the distressing conflict, in order to promote thereby the objects of personal, partisan, or sectional aggrandizement.

The bill proposes an immediate census of the inhabitants of Kansas, to be taken under the authority of Congress; fixes the number of members to be elected to a convention for the formation of a State constitution at fifty-two, and directs the mode of apportioning the districts in which the elections are to be held. A Board of Commissioners, with full powers, is provided to revise the census before the 20th of October next, and it is ordered that authentic lists shall be published and distributed, filed in every court, and posted at every election place. The election of members of the convention is to be held on the fourth Monday of November next; only registered electors shall vote, and the rules and regulations for holding the election are to be prescribed by the Board of Commissioners. This Board is to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice of the Senate. They are to decide upon the election of members, and issue the certificates.

The qualification for a voter is that he shall be "a free white male citizen of the United States, (including all persons who shall have filed their declaration of intention to become such, in compliance with the naturalization laws of the United States,) of twenty-one

years of age, who may be a bona fide inhabitant of said Territory on the fourth day of July, 1850, and who shall have resided three months next before said election in the county in which he offers to vote," and no other persons whatever shall be entitled to vote at said election.

It is made a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, to obstruct by force or intimidation the exercise of the free right of suffrage at the election. To vote illegally or fraudulently is punishable by a fine of two hundred and fifty dollars, or imprisonment for six months, or both. Any person charged with holding an election, who shall knowingly commit or permit fraud or irregularity, is punishable by a fine of one thousand dollars, or imprisonment for two years, or both.

The members chosen to the convention shall assemble at the capital of the Territory on the first Monday of December next, and shall decide by a majority of votes whether it is expedient to frame a constitution and State Government; and if decided to be expedient, shall proceed to form one, with the following boundaries for the new State:

Beginning on the western boundary of the State of Missouri, where the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude crosses the same, then west on said parallel to the one hundred and third meridian of longitude, then north on said meridian to the fortieth parallel of latitude, then east on said parallel of latitude to the western boundary of the State of Missouri, then southward with said boundary to the beginning.

This bill makes the five usual stipulations, offered on the admission of all the new States, to be operative as a compact with the United States; in relation to reserved lands for public schools, for a State university, and for public buildings, the reservation of salt springs to the United States, and the five per cent. for roads; accompanied by the compact on the part of the State, not to interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States, or with the land system of Congress, nor to tax the lands belonging to the United States, nor to tax non-residents higher than resident landowners. Besides these, the following fundamental considerations are laid down, to be incorporated with the new constitution, to make it conform to the constitution of the United States:

Sec. 18. And be it further enacted, That inasmuch as the constitution of the United States and the organic act of said Territory has secured to the inhabitants thereof certain inalienable rights, of which they cannot be deprived by any legislative enactment, therefore no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust; no law shall be in force or enforced in said Territory respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and petition for the redress of grievances; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized; nor shall the rights of the people to keep and bear arms be infringed; no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process of obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence. The privilege of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless, when in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

This is the bill which goes now to the House of Representatives. If it should pass there there would be peace in Kansas, and peace all over the country almost immediately. If it fails, we have nothing to look for but increased disasters, wider and more unhappy agitations, probably bloodshed, perhaps even worse calamities, in the further embittering of sectional passions, and the risks of more deadly political discords.

# Daily Democrat.

July 9, 1856.

## The Territorial Laws.

The Missouri Democrat has been so much abused and traduced by the nullifiers and Pierce office-holders in this State, for denouncing those Kansas territorial laws violative of free speech and imposing test oaths and tax qualifications, as well as other odious restrictions upon the right of suffrage, that we feel inclined to give these gentry the benefit of steel of their own forging. Here are the proceedings in brief of the Senate upon the passage of Douglas' new bill. Mr. Geyer, it will be seen, asserts, by his amendment, the "power of Congress" to annul those laws, and legislate for the territory, while Douglas himself is forced to kneel under and support the motion. Gen. Cass pronounces them "disgraceful to any age," and the whole democratic party follow in his wake and repudiate the "black acts" with scorn and hissing. We present the challenge, on bended knee to the Kansas invaders, with Atchison at their head, and commend it to their taste:

WASHINGTON, July 3.

SENATE.—Several amendments, of comparatively unimportant character, were adopted, and others rejected. Geyer offered an amendment that no law shall be made or have force or effect which shall require a test oath or oaths to qualify any act of congress, or other legislative act, as a qualification for any civil office or public trust, or for any employment, or progression, or to serve as a juror, or to vote at elections, or which shall impose any tax upon, or condition to exercise the right of suffrage by any qualified voter, or which shall restrain or prohibit free discussion of any law or subject of discussion in the territory, or free expression of opinion thereon by the people of the territory. This gave rise to a debate, involving the question of equal sovereignty, and whether congress ought to interfere, as proposed, having left the people to settle their own affairs. Cass said that some acts had passed the legislative assembly of Kansas, which were disgraceful to the age. How could people properly pass laws unless they had a right to free discussion? Amendment adopted. Yeas—Alto, Bayard, Bell, Tenn., Benjamin, Briggs, Bigler, Bright, Broadhead, Cass, Clayton, Co. Janes, Crittenden, Dodge, Douglas, Durkee, Evans, Fessenden, Foote, Foster, Geyer, Hais, Iverson, Johnson, Jones, of Iowa, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Seward, Ellsidi, Stewart, Thompson, of Ky., Toombs, Toney, Trumbull, Wade, Neller, Wilson, Wright.

NAYS—Brown, Fitzpatrick, Mason.

[From the Leavenworth Journal.]

## Indian Troubles in Kansas.

LECOMPTON, June 24.

On the 23d of June, John Montgomery, Indian agent for the Kaw nation, with a posse of soldiers under the command of Lieut. Redick, crossed to the north side of Kansas river, and commenced burning the houses, cribs and other property of the settlers on the half-breed Kaw reserve, and continued in their burning until the night of the 24th—destroying in all some twenty houses. Capt. Walker, hearing of their outrages, sent an order through Capt. Hampton directing Lieut. Redick to withdraw his aid and force from Montgomery, unless he (Montgomery) could show his authority for his actions. When asked for his authority, he answered he had none, but acted from his own discretion. Lieut. Redick withdrew his forces at once, thereby saving much property and many families from being turned out of doors and having their property destroyed. Proper proceedings have been taken before the Hon. Judge Lecompte to bring the outlaws to justice, which are now in the hands of deputy marshal Hays.

July 9, 1856.

## Effect of the Governor's Election on the Interests of Missouri.

St. Louis, July 8th, 1856.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

Sir—I read with much interest a communication published some days ago in your paper, from a "whig merchant," in which, with great impartiality and largeness of sentiment, and patriotic devotion to the interests of Missouri, he set forth in forcible language the advantages about to accrue to our State, commercially and financially, from the election of Col. Benton to the gubernatorial chair. There is no doubt in the mind of any intelligent and well-informed commercial man in our community, whatever may be his political proclivities, that the agitations which have convulsed our State and a

neighboring Territory during the past year, have operated to produce a financial disaster and prostration in many of the up river towns, and that if continued, they will result in a stagnation of commercial life, unparalleled in our history as a State. Confidence in us has been greatly shaken among foreign as well as domestic capitalists, to a degree which would be scarcely credited by such as have not found it their interest to pay particular attention to the subject. Our bonds have gone down to 86½, with the prospect of a still further depreciation should the causes now operating to sink them continue to exert their bad influence. The fatal effect of such a depreciation upon the cause of internal improvements in our State, is so apparent that I need only allude to it. The same law which influences the state of the funds through the world at large, on the announcement of war in any quarter of the globe, extends to all instances of civil commotion, such as have rendered Kansas, and the adjoining counties of Missouri, the theater of disgraceful commotion during the year past.

I believe, however, that with the advent of Col. Benton to the gubernatorial chair of Missouri, there would succeed such a restoration of confidence in us among capitalists abroad, that our bonds would, in a short time, go up to par. His influence would be to allay all existing causes of domestic excitement; and it would be successfully exerted to restore a profound and untroubled peace. Such a rebuke to disorder given by the people of the State, would give a buoyancy to the whole commercial interest among us, and utterly obliterate the evil name which in the minds of capitalists abroad, has, through the wrongful action of some of our citizens, attached to our whole State.

These are hints, rudely enough jotted down, and perhaps imperfectly conceived, but at any rate correspondent with the convictions of large numbers of our bankers, merchants and business men, as I myself know. My communication, hastily written, will have effected its end, if it directs the interest of our mercantile community to the subject, and elicits a still further expression of those opinions and convictions which prevail, very generally I believe, among our business men. EXCHANGE.

# THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 9, 1856.

From the Jefferson Examiner.

## Gov. Price and the Hiring Scribbler of the Democrat.

The New York Daily News said not long since, that an Irish Abolitionist would be an anomaly. The News had certainly not heard of P. L. Foy, the hiring scribbler of the Black Republican St. Louis Democrat, and, we regret to say it, "a son of Erin." He is a fit hiring for the Black Republican press; being a most accomplished falsifier, and thorough going negro-worshipping Abolitionist. He first obtained notice as reporter in the Legislature for the Inquirer, during the last session, by garbling and falsifying the speeches of Democrats. So well did he succeed, that the Democrat gave him the berth of Washington falsifier for that paper. In this latter capacity he garbled and falsified under the eye of Benton, becoming so perfect that when Benton came on to Missouri to canvass the State, and give it to the Know-Nothings, if possible, he was selected to accompany him on his tour, and concoct falsehoods for dissemination through the Democrat. In fulfillment of this duty he came with Col. Benton to this city, and in his letter from this place among the many bare-faced lies he told, got off the following about the Governor:

There is 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 Kansas—Territory of the United States. This fact requires no comment, but calls for impeachment. Many a man for a lesser crime had to stretch his neck over the block. Will the conservative masses of Missouri be dormant under this outrage?

Gov. Price has never permitted a single musket or cannon belonging to the State to be taken from the Arsenal in this city, except by military companies en-

used to them by law, and a law enacted ten years ago. Volunteer military companies, organized under that law, and demanding the arms to which they were entitled under that law, have received all the cannon and muskets belonging to the State that have been taken from this city. In no case has Gov. Price acted otherwise than he was obliged to act, under the law. He has given out no cannon or muskets which he was not obliged to give out by the law, nor to any persons who were not entitled to receive them under the law. And of these cannon and muskets, so disposed of by the city of St. Louis, where the paper is published through which the charge is made, than to all the rest of the State.

So much for this hiring Abolition scribbler's lies about Gov. Price. It was not to be expected that he would escape not faithfully serve the sheet he serves for a price, by abusing the Governor. It was what he was hired to do, and faithfully does, he perform the task. Nor was it to be expected that anything but falsehoods about the Governor would be admitted into the Democrat. It seems to be the mission of that sheet to abuse and traduce good men only. This is so generally understood that abuse by it is rather esteemed a credit, and hence we usually take no notice of its slanders. But just now the Know Nothing press are giving circulation to all the slanders of the Democratic party, and prominent Democrats by the Democrat, and we therefore deem it a duty to set the public right.

Since writing the above, we have received the following from the Quarter-Master-General of the State, which explains itself. Our readers will see by it what wholesale lies this hiring scribbler of the Democrat has been concocting about the Governor.

OFFICE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL,  
JEFFERSON CITY, July 1, 1856.

C. J. CORWIN, Esq., Editor of the Examiner:

DEAR SIR: I have just noticed a communication in the Democrat of the 30th ult., written by a correspondent from this city, in which that correspondent not only does Gov. Price great injustice, but asserts some positive and malicious falsehoods. He says that two spiked cannons in Jefferson City, but two spiked unmounted ones in the basement of the Capitol." In this he was very much mistaken, for there were six pieces of cannon (besides the two spiked ones) in the Arsenal. He also says that "Sterling Price, Governor of the State 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 Kansas." This is also false in regard to the number sent, as well as sending them to Atchison and Stringfellow. Gov. Price has never, to my knowledge, sent a single gun or musket to either Atchison or Stringfellow, and has only sent six pieces in all to the captains of the following artillery companies: Two pieces to a company at Weston, (sent to last Fall); two pieces to a company at Liberty, and two to a company at Independence. These companies have regularly organized according to the militia law of the State, and have filed their bonds for the return of the cannon.

As to the small arms, the Governor has only furnished the following companies. (I mean in those counties near Kansas) viz: Two companies at Weston, one at Ft. Platte, one at Westport, one at Independence, and one at Liberty, making an average of about eighty guns to each company; and not in a single instance has the Governor permitted a company to have a gun until all the requirements of the law had been complied with, and the proper vouchers filed in this office. I would also state that there have been repeated applications to Gov. Price for arms, but they have all been positively refused, until all and every requirement of the law had been faithfully complied with.

He has furnished more arms to military companies in St. Louis county alone, than to all the balance of the State together; and if it is "filibustering" to furnish arms to companies up the river, it is likewise "filibustering" to furnish them to companies in St. Louis, for they are both required to comply with the same law.

I have felt it due to Gov. Price to make the above statement, and to contradict the assertions made by the scribbler of the Democrat, who certainly knew very little of the matter he was writing about, and cared less for the truth of those assertions. Very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,

JAMES S. HAUCKNEY, Quarter-Master-General.

From the St. Clair (Ill.) Tribune.

THE FALSE BASIS OF ANTI-NEBRASKAISM.—It is the more demagogic in an anti-Nebraska function to affect being insulted by being called an Abolitionist, since it is essentially true that "Abolitionism" is the only consistent opposing principle to the institution of negro slavery. Hence it is, that those spouters for "free Kansas," who deny being Abolitionists (in favor of giving free labor to the negroes) scarcely have anything to say and generally protest against having anything to do with this species of slavery as it exists in some of the States. In place of this, they substitute a FALSE ISSUE, at least in argument—and appeal to the people in behalf of the fusion candidates, in the words and with all the alleged enthusiasm they can muster, as though it was true that a portion of the American people held another portion of their countrymen in political slavery, in some of the States, and that it was now proposed by these "Slaveocrats" to proceed to Kansas and there make a further political enslavement of another portion of their countrymen! On this assumption—this theme for their logic, they proceed to dilate upon the " enormity of the Nebraska bill"—chime forth their "shrieks of freedom" in opposition to this great "outrage upon their rights," &c., and in the words of one of their champions in our own city, "THEIR OWN oppression has become too great for further endurance, and hence, according to a popular American saying, it has reached a point when "EVERY MAN MUST HELP HIMSELF!"

They appeal—not to the sympathy and scarcely to the prejudice of the people against negroes being held in slavery anywhere—but they appeal to the innate feeling of the people of Illinois against being themselves subjected to political slavery if any of them should remove to Kansas. And in doing this, they touch a

"prejudice" which when it knows no bounds in resistance and regards neither "rhyme or reason" in discussion or in any of its actions. The ferocious which is thus engendered upon a false basis can only be overcome by that "sober second thought" which enables men to see things plainly as they are. That "sobriety" in regard to the Kansas "fury" is now fast doing the work of restoration.

# IOWA CITY, IOWA

## THE REPUBLICAN.

### Charging them with Stealing.

To crown its abuse of the Kansas Emigrants, passing through our city from the various States of the North, the Reporter charges them with stealing oats from a widow lady six miles from this city. As the teams engaged to carry the emigrants, are all from this city and vicinity, and those who own them are our own citizens, the charge of theft is against them, not against the emigrants. The teamsters find their own feed, and are paid by the day. The charge is in keeping with that previously made against the "polluted capitol," and the imputation of "meanness" against Johnson County. The men who are thus grossly and shamelessly assailed have most of them always voted with the Democratic party. They will defend themselves if defamed against imputations from such a source. But, we repeat, it is disgraceful, base, to attack men who have no other design than to seek homes in Kansas, and save the broad Territory from slavery and the pirate crew of Border Ruffians. We know many of the men who are in the company which left here a few days since. We know them to be worthy, industrious, honest mechanics, who have borne irreproachable characters. No less than 14 printers are among them. Not an intemperate man among them.

The Committees who have disbursed the funds to aid in settling Kansas, have refused to aid any who were not going to Kansas to make their homes, and have encouraged those only to go, who would maintain the character established by the first settlers of Kansas from the Free States. Such are the men against whom the abuse of the Reporter and its pro-slavery allies, has been poured out without stint. Yet this Editor of the Reporter would have men believe that he is a friend of freedom, and desires the freedom of Kansas! Is he not contributing nobly to this result? Not a border-ruffian journal can be found in Missouri, that has been more reckless in its assaults upon the Free State men than this Reporter of the Free State State of Iowa.

ONE OF THE KANSAS EMIGRANTS speaks for himself, in the following communication, to which we give place with pleasure. The writer is one of the youngest men among those who have passed through our city, on his way to Kansas. He is a printer, and a young man of correct habits. The temper in which he writes, in view of the abuse heaped upon those who are guilty of the crime of seeking to make Kansas a Free State,—is worthy of the highest commendation, and contrasts admirably with the spirit of his assailants.

For the Daily Republican.  
MR. EDITOR, SIR—My attention has been called to a letter in the "Reporter," of this date, (July 2nd,) signed "Exit," (a fitting name, if by it the writer means that he has left all decent society,) and animadverting upon the conduct and character of the men who have been passing through your city to the State of Kansas.

It is hardly necessary for me to vindicate the characters of the men who, animated by the highest feelings that can live in the breast of

Freemen, have determined to aid by all legal, moral and just means in their power, in rescuing a land, once solemnly dedicated to Freedom, from the hands of those who carrying slavery there by force, have desolated the homes and murdered many of our friends who have gone there in the exercise of their constitutional rights as American citizens, which these Ruffians have deprived them of.

The writer in the "Reporter," who in such coarse and vulgar language would thus endeavor to malign the Kansas Emigrants, by the very terms he has used and the petty slurs he vainly and foolishly endeavors to cast upon them, has destroyed all the effect he intended to produce and fully exposed the blackness that shrouds his heart and the meanness that festers deep within his soul.

I dare to make the assertion, in despite of red shirts and leather belts, and, even bludgeons, that there are but few, very few, of the emigrants who pass through this city, but what are "Exit's" superior in most respects, certainly infinitely above him in comprehending and understanding the rights and duties of Free men and citizens.

The old proverb, "that birds of a feather will flock together," was never better exemplified than in the case of this member of the moderate and order-loving party, whose chief delight is to steal and plunder, murder and outrage unoffending men and women, burn unprotected towns and dwellings, and stop peaceable emigrants, when travelling on a highway free to all the country.

I leave "Exit" to the affiliation he seems to covet so much with the assurance that he has not injured one Kansas Emigrant the least in the estimation of all pure and honorable minded people, and that next fall he will find himself in a minority, growing "smaller by degrees and beautifully less."

Respectfully, A KANSAS EMIGRANT,  
From New England.

### A Pimp and Spy of Slavery.

What must honorable men think of the man who, residing in a Free State, in the midst of free institutions, at a time when the Slave Power is making a deadly struggle to blast a vast territory with the curse of slavery, sits down calmly to write to a pro-slavery paper in the South, gross exaggerations and misrepresentations of movements making among Free State men around him, in order to forwarn and excapitate the former, and induce the violent expulsion of the latter? The spy who sneaks into the camp of his enemies to betray their secrets, is counted worthy of ignominious death. How much more degraded and despicable is the man who sneaks around upon his friends to betray them. We have in this city, it seems, a man thus engaged: who glories in the office of pimp for Atchinson, the fellow, Jones & Co., of the border-ruffian camp. He haunts around the camp of the emigrants gathered in this city, burns blue lights, and raises signals for the benefit of the Ruffians who are encamped on the plains of Kansas, to drive back all from the Free State who dare to seek a home there. Such is the degenerate spirit of the democracy of the present day. Such the degraded service it is called to perform. Not content with the post of spy and pimp, it plays the part of common fabrier. The motives and characters of the emigrants are falsified. Although every man of them has gone to seek a home in Kansas, with no intention to assail the rights of others, they are represented as bandits and traitors who go to disturb instead of maintaining peace and justice. Shame on such cowardice and meanness. The Tories and cow-boys of the Revolution were mean enough, but they stand out like heroes, compared with such lick-spittles of the slave power.

roes, compared with such lick-spittles of the slave power.

That our readers may see and appreciate the character of the foe that free Iowa has to contend with in the Free States, we copy the following communication:

Correspondence of the St. Louis Gazette.  
IOWA CITY, June 16th, 1856.

FORAY UPON KANSAS—500 BLACK REPUBLICANS AT IOWA CITY, COLLECTED FROM OTHER STATES—THREATS OF MURDER, ASSASSINATION, &c.—This beautiful city, the old capital of the State, at this time, presents a most singular state of political excitement. It has become the central focus and hot bed of Kansas filibustering. Col. Lane, the fugitive traitor, has addressed the people here on two occasions. He avows his determination to return to Kansas and resist to the death, the execution of the laws. He proclaims that there are no laws there, that the people are without law, and that any effort to enforce those that are claimed to be laws is but usurpation. He is wild with excitement, and exhibits a fury that strongly indicates insanity.

The filibusters are gathering preparatory to a descent upon Kansas. Quite a number are encamped in the grove east of the city, and to-morrow, it is said, the arrivals will make the number 500 strong. They take cannon and arms, with munitions of war, and are, in fact, organized into regular military squads or companies. They are under pay, or in other words, they are aided by contributions from Chicago and other places. I have seen many of these deluded men. They are mostly young men or boys. They are going for a frolic, and are evidently the types of wiser heads.

This treason is openly avowed by many of the Black Republicans, but preachers of the gospel are most loud in their encouragement of his murderous and treasonable enterprise,—some of them advocate assassination, and proclaim murder as a duty.

The apparent strength and encouragement which recent events has given to these fanatics, has caused them to throw off the miserable disguise and false coloring which has heretofore partially concealed their true sentiments.

For the Republican.  
Fremont.

While Histop's Muse the memorial was keeping,  
Of all that the dark hand of destiny weaves,  
Beside her the Genius of Kansas stood weeping,  
For hers was the token that bloated the leaves;  
But oh! how the tear in her eyelids grew bright,  
When, after whole gazes of outrage and shame,  
She saw History write,  
With a pencil of light,

That illumed the whole volume, our FREMONT's proud name.

"Hail Star of the West!" said the Spirit all sparkling,  
With beams such as break from her own dewy skies—  
"Through years of Invasion, oppression and darking,  
I have watched for some glory like thine to arise,  
For though heroes I've numbered, unluck was their lot,  
Imprisoned by ruffians in the midst of their fame,

But oh! there is not  
One dishonoring blot

On the wreath that encircles our Fremont's proud name.

Yet, still the last crown of thy toll is remaining,  
The grandest, the purest that ever possessed;  
Though proud was thy task all the great west exploring,  
Far prouder with freedom and safety to bless (again,  
From the great choir of State, which so soon thou wilt  
Carry peace to the land that just cradled thy fame.

And I bright o'er the flood  
Of her tears and her blood,  
Let the rainbow of hope be her Fremont's proud name.  
TOM MOORE REVISED.

# THE DAILY SENTINEL.

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

MILWAUKEE:

Wednesday Morning, July 9.  
Kansas Meeting at Palmyra.  
PALMYRA, June 28th, 1856.

Messrs. Editors—At an adjourned meeting held at the Baptist House, in Palmyra, on Monday evening, June 23rd, the report of Messrs.

Bingham, Adams, and Foster (the appointed Committee on resolutions), was read and ordered to lay on the table until after the address of the Rev. Mr. Adams.

On motion that the thanks of this meeting be tendered to the Rev. Mr. Adams for his interesting and eloquent address on the question of Slavery,

The report of the Committee was then taken up, and after an animated discussion, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, we have witnessed with feelings of pain and regret, the persistent aggressive tendency of the institutions of Slavery for the past 20 years upon the rights and privileges guaranteed us by the Constitution; and its late treacherous attempts at the forcible possession of domains long consecrated to freedom; and for the purpose of manifesting our disapproval of the course pursued by our national administration, and in vindication of our right to the heirship of the Revolution;—Therefore

Resolved, That we warmly sympathize with the Free State Men of Kansas in their efforts for the preservation of their individual and national liberties; and pledge ourselves to give our due countenance and support in their endeavor at making Kansas a Free State.

Resolved, That in taking up arms in self-defence our brethren in Kansas are fully justified under the circumstances; and are further justified in making such reprisals from the Missouri invaders as would be authorized under the law of nations between different nations at war.

On motion there was added—"That it is not intended by reprisals to urge our brethren to violate any moral obligation."

The other resolutions were laid over until next Monday evening.

On motion—that A. J. Craig, Esq., be requested to deliver an address at Ray's Corners on the affairs of Kansas.

It was unanimously agreed that the Secretary be directed to furnish the Milwaukee Sentinel with the proceedings of this meeting.

O. F. WEED, President.

T. P. TURNER, Secretary.

### The Ann Arbor Journal.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1856.

(We insert the following letters to a gentleman of this City, from his nephew in Kansas.)

COLE CREEK, Kansas, }  
June, 16, 1856. }

DEAR UNCLE:—You no doubt have heard of the sacking of Lawrence. I went over to Lawrence at the time, but we decided not to oppose the United States troops. I returned, and Lawrence was destroyed; but the destruction of Lawrence is nothing compared with the suffering and wrong done to the Free Soil party at the present time. Armed Missourians poured into the Territory, destroying property and murdering Free Soil men wherever they went.

Palmira was destroyed, and they then went to Black Jack to destroy that place; but Capt. Brown, with his company, met them. About three-quarters of an hour after the battle commenced, I arrived with my company to his assistance, and 26 ruffians were taken prisoners.

On the 7th of this month 306 mounted Missourians came up near Hickory Grove. At Hickory Grove there is a large hill

which overlooks the prairie, and here the Missourians were encamped. Capt. Brown and myself, with our companies, marched to attack them at different points. The U. S. Dragoons met Capt. Brown and his company, and took from him the prisoners he had previously taken, and disarmed his company, and sent the Missourians home; but they went to Potawatopia and plundered the place. They are now on the Prianes and lining the Creeks, and as the Free Soil teams come into the Territory they take the teams and loads from them, and frequently murder the men.

While I write, four men are hanging by their necks on Cedar creek, on trees. In the woods near Coplain Creek, the U. S. Dragoons buried eight men.

I saw yesterday, Mr. Henry, who had escaped from the Missourians. He went in pursuit of his cattle, but was drawn into their camp by the ringing of cow bells, supposing his cows were in that direction. They immediately arrested him; he confessed to them that he was a Free State man. The leader ordered three men to take him out and shoot him. They then took him some ten rods from the camp, and shot him with a shot gun. He fell to the ground. Two of them returned to the camp—the other went up to him, and finding he was not dead, commenced pounding him with his gun; he succeeded in wresting his gun from him, and secreted himself that day in the bush. While there, he heard many beg for their lives, and the report of their rifles. He succeeded in reaching my neighbor's house yesterday, his bowels hanging from his side.

COLE CREEK, June 18.

We have not been able to plant our crops this spring, for our time has been employed in protecting our lives and property from destruction by the Border ruffians. I have been indicted for high treason, and the pro-slavery party no doubt would like to get hold of me; if they were to take me I should be hung, and I have deliberately resolved that rather than be taken by the slave power, I shall resist to the last in defence of Freedom, and if eventually overcome, they will take but the lifeless corpse, and leave my bones to whiten upon the soil of Kansas.

I was much pleased with a party that arrived here today from Michigan, with Mr. St. Clair as their agent. He showed me letters from you, which were addressed to Governor Robinson, but he could not communicate with him, as he was confined in prison. Forty three of St. Clair's company are with me, and they can be relied upon as Free State men. Mr. Burges, of Detroit, I highly prize. They were with me at the battle of Black Jack, and behaved nobly. St. Clair has returned to Michigan for more men and funds. We would like to have you send some of Colt's revolvers, we cannot buy them at any price; we have only ten or twelve, those we took from the Border Ruffians. Money we

need very much.

Mr. Burges, of Detroit, has just received a letter which informs him that Detroit citizens have raised \$25,000 for Kansas. I see that the Legislature of Massachusetts has decided to send us money and an agent to disburse it when it is needed here. The money sent before from Massachusetts by the Lawrence Committee, was all used at Lawrence, and the Farmers in the country who had left their farms for the defence of Lawrence, received none, and Lawrence is but a small part of Kansas. At the defence of Lawrence my company outnumbered by 15 men all the force of Lawrence.

### The Louisiana Courier.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 3, 1856.

#### MR. BUCHANAN ON "SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY."

To those who have carefully followed the history of the slavery discussion in Congress, and who are acquainted, not only with all its varying phases, but also with the antecedents in respect to it of all the prominent men of the nation for the last twenty-five years, the attempt to defend Mr. Buchanan against the united attacks of the K. N. and several *so-disant* "independent" presses in the South, would, we are aware, be regarded as a work of supererogation—nay, almost as an insult. But, notwithstanding the vaunted intelligence of our land, there is yet to be found here and elsewhere a class of men who either do not read the political history of the country at all, or who so readily forget it, that they fall often a ready prey to the insidious efforts of tricksters or demagogues, and unless warned in time, are apt to stray off into the mazes of error.

Ever since Mr. Buchanan's nomination at Cincinnati, a persistent effort has been made by the combination to which we have above referred, to create the belief that he was not reliable on the question of popular sovereignty, or, as it is usually called, "squatter sovereignty" in the Territories, in its bearing upon the slavery issues.

A charge or insinuation more unjust, more unfounded—and in the eyes of well informed people—more unworthy and calumnious, could not be propounded. These hypercritical gentry, who arrogate to themselves so superior a share of zeal for the interests, and jealous watchfulness over the rights of the slave States in the common territories, know, we dare say, the entire falsity of their charges as to Mr. Buchanan's unsoundness; but be that as it may, we shall proceed to convict them of misrepresentation in the grossest degree.

It is now eighteen years since Mr. Buchanan in the Senate, brought forward as an amendment to a resolution on the subject by Mr. Clay, a proposition which, on examination and comparison with subsequent enactments on the subject of slavery in the Territories, will be acknowledged to contain substantially the principles of the Kansas and Nebraska bill.

Here is his language:

And Resolved, That any attempt of Congress to abolish slavery in any Territory of the United States in which it exists would create serious alarm and just apprehension in the States sustaining that domestic institution; would be a violation of good faith towards the inhabitants of any such Territory, who have been permitted to settle with, and hold slaves therein; because the people of any such Territory have not asked for the abolition of slavery therein, and because when any such Territory shall be admitted into the Union as a State, the people thereof will be entitled to decide that question exclusively for themselves.

And now the reader can compare this proposition with the provisions on that point of the Kansas bill, which are found in the sections one and fourteen:

Sec. 1. Be it enacted, &c. That all that part of the Territory of the United States, included within the following limits, &c., &c., be and the

same is hereby created into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Nebraska; and when admitted as a State or States, the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of admission.

Sec. 14. That the Constitution and all laws of the United States which are not local, inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory of Nebraska as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of eighteen hundred and fifty, commonly called the Compromise Measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

The Convention at Cincinnati, it is well-known, emphatically endorsed, as the true Democratic doctrine on this vexed subject, the principles of the Kansas and Nebraska act, for it declared that "the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union. Non-interference by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories." And also, that it recognized:

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

In accepting his nomination for the Presidency, Mr. Buchanan, in verbal response to the Committee by whom it was communicated to him, said: "I have been placed upon a platform which I most heartily approve, and that can speak for me;" and, in his subsequent letter of acceptance, he uses this clear and unexceptionable language:

The recent legislation of Congress respecting domestic slavery, derived, as it has been, from the original and pure fountain of legitimate political power, the will of the majority, promises ere long to allay the dangerous excitement. This legislation is founded upon principles as ancient as free government itself, and in accordance with them has simply declared that the people of a Territory, like those of a State, shall decide for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits.

The Nebraska Kansas act does no more than give the force of law to this elementary principle of self-government; declaring it to be "the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." This principle will surely not be controverted by any individual of any party professing devotion to popular government. Besides, how vain and illusory would any other principle prove in practice in regard to the Territories! This is apparent from the fact admitted by all, that after a Territory shall have entered the Union and become a State, no constitutional power would then exist which could prevent it from either abolishing or establishing slavery, as the case may be, according to its sovereign will and pleasure.

There are people who pretend that there is ambiguity about what the phrase, "the people," means when used by Mr. Buchanan. This however, is only a pretence, and a very shallow one at that.

In the year 1848, when Secretary of State under Mr. Polk, and in the course of a public speech at Washington, Mr. Buchanan said, in reference to slavery in California:

In California, it must be finally decided, in a brief period, by the authority from which, under our Constitution, there can be no appeal. All admit that the people of that Territory, when assembled in convention to form a State Constitution, possesses the sole, the exclusive power to determine whether slavery shall or shall not exist within its limits.

He clearly defined also his meaning of the term, "the people," in a letter written the

same year to Mr. Sandford, by saying that they could only act when they had reached a sufficient number, and were duly assembled in convention, to form a State Constitution, and not when assembled in public meetings.

Every one who reflects but a few moments on this point, must, we think, conclude that as, by the Kansas bill, Congress cannot interfere with the subject, and as the Territorial Legislature, its creature, can no more do so, it must rest with the people—the actual and legal residents—under the restrictions indicated by the Constitution, the Kansas bill, and Mr. Buchanan—when they apply for admission as a State to determine the question. The power to decide must necessarily rest somewhere. No Southern or States Rights-man could for a single instant think of conceding it to Congress; and indeed, in the propositions which have been brought forward in the Senate by Mr. Toombs, and the majority of the Committee on Territories through Mr. Douglas, within the past few weeks for the prospective admission of Kansas as a State, the power is distinctly given to the people, when, by a census to be taken for that purpose, there shall be found a sufficient number of actual, bona fide residents to entitle them to a representative in Congress under the existing apportionment, and when assembled in convention to form a State Constitution, to decide whether slavery shall or shall not exist therein.

This, we believe to be the proper view of this difficult question, and the only just and practical method of solving it. If Mr. Buchanan's actual opponents or "enforced" supporters can find aught in his past history and conduct as a public man—any vote, speech or letter, inconsistent with the Kansas bill or the Cincinnati platform, they will accomplish more than our researches have enabled us to do.

# Iowa City Republican.

J. TEBSDALE, EDITOR.  
WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1856.

## A NEW KANSAS BILL.

It will be seen by the proceedings in another column, that the Senate has adopted a new measure for the pacification of Kansas. Such, at least, is the ostensible character of the bill. Yet, who does not see, that if it is the honest purpose of the pro-slavery majority in the Senate to attend the troubles in Kansas, establish popular sovereignty in a true sense, and recognize its indubitable right to freedom, the plainest, simplest, most direct course to grant the request for admission as a state, into the Union. The testimony before the investigating committee removes every shadow of doubt,—if any ever existed,—as to the fraudulent character of all the elections held, except that at which the delegates to the Topeka Convention were chosen. That election, it is admitted, was irregular; but it is not contended, in any quarter, that there was the least obstruction to the exercise of his rights by any bona fide citizen of the Territory. The qualification of voters, as established by the Kansas bill, were rigidly respected. That there was an overwhelming majority of Free State voters in the Territory is established, conclusively, by the fact that it was deemed absolutely necessary to introduce illegal votes by the thousands from Missouri in order to defeat the Free State men. This testimony the ruffians have unwittlingly furnished against themselves. Yet the bill of the Senate, regardless of this fact, and of the interests and peace of the Territory, sets aside the honest and the fraudulent election, and exposes the Territory to a new contest, which deprives the guarantees of the new bill, will—part experience being the witness—be characterized by violence, fraud, and the subversion of rights of American citizens. Of the recklessness and desperation of "border ruffians" the country has evidence which permits no doubt that they

will resort to whatever means, right or wrong, are necessary to accomplish their ends. They are desperadoes. Such men alone could be used for the base purposes to be subserved. False swearing is to men, with whom blasphemy is the household god, but child's play.—They are posted all along the line of Kansas, and can as well be supported on one side of it as the other; while the settlers from the free States, men of limited means, having to undergo much of privation before reaching the Territory, cannot be collected together in numbers sufficient to counteract the organized schemes and movements of their enemies.

What will be the fate of the Senate bill in the House, cannot be stated with certainty. It has been forced through the Senate without discussion, under a full pressure. We may, at least, indulge the hope that it will be fully discussed by the House; but in view of the recent vote in that body, those who would save Kansas from Slavery, have but little to hope from it. The concessions made in the new bill, are due to the pressure of an unmistakable public sentiment. If there was any guarantee that the hopes it seems to hold out, would be realized, we could better endure the rejection of the Free State Constitution.

## Wilson Shannon Resigned.

We have, at length, over his own signature, the assurance of Wilson Shannon, that he has resigned the office of Governor of Kansas, and that Secretary Wombton will be Governor for the time being. No reason is given. In the letter making this announcement, addressed to Buford, who assisted in turning back the Chicago and Massachusetts emigrants, he assures that hardi leader that he may recruit new companies in South Carolina, with the assurance that they will be admitted to Kansas without molestation. This is Freedom and Equality as proclaimed by this administration. Has manhood left the American heart, that there is no consuming flame to blast the destroyers of sacred right?

Gen. Persifer Smith has been ordered to Kansas, to take the military command.

# The Chronotype.

CITY OF COUNCIL BLUFFS:  
WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1856.

## The People Aroused.

Our exchanges from the East, bring us the most cheering intelligence of the progress of the great political revolution that is sweeping over the country, and which is destined to sweep into deserved obscurity, the men who control the present administration, who guide its policy and who seek to perpetuate its measures by the election of the Cincinnati nominees. The names of Fremont and Dayton are received with a general burst of enthusiasm, in all parts of the Free States. The gallant pathfinder of the Rocky Mountains, the conqueror of California, the bold and fearless advocate of Freedom for Kansas, is hailed as the leader in this contest with the cohorts of slavery, by the approving voice, of millions. The people are sure to open for him, the path to the White House, with an unanimity never before known in this country, Fremont and Freedom, are their watchwords and the vote of

every Free State may be counted upon as certain for the Republican candidates. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the invasion of Kansas, by the Border Ruffians, the violation, of the Ballot Boxes, the long series of outrages, robberies and murders, which have taken place on its soil, the overthrow of Free Speech in Congress, and the avowed intentions of the Slave Oligarchy to bring the whole government into subjection, have aroused a feeling at the North that cannot be put down, cannot be subdued, cannot be crushed out. This feeling it is, which will now make itself felt at the Ballot Box which will now rebuke the encroachments of slavery, vindicate the outraged people of Kansas, proclaim Freedom to all the Territories of the United States, as the boon to which they are entitled under the Constitution, and place JOHN C. FREMONT in the Presidential Chair.

## The Valley Whig.

KEOKUK:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 9, 1856.

Gen. Persifer F. Smith.

This gentleman, one of the most prompt and efficient commanders in our army, has gone to Kansas, with orders to prevent all Free State men entering the Territory with arms. BY WHAT AUTHORITY does the President instruct him to take arms from the hands of the people, or to prevent them entering the Territory? By no other authority than such as a DESPOT assumes. He is liable to impeachment for it, for the constitution says that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed;" and he who makes or executes such an order is liable to the pains and penalties of a constitution violated and trampled under foot. It is such an edict as the autocrat of Russia issues, whose only authority is in the sovereign law-giver. Is the Constitution utterly a sham? Are its guaranties of no force and value to the free citizen? Is the demand of the slave-power and the will of the President the supreme law of land? If not, why in the name of Heaven are such things done? Citizens, it cannot be disguised, it is as certain as that the sun shines, either the solemn guaranties of the Constitution, the paramount law of the land, are cheats and shams, or the President is a usurper and a tyrant, as utterly and undeniably so as Louis Napoleon. Can you deny it? Is it not clear as the daylight? And do you not know that the Constitution and laws are thus monstrously mocked at and your sovereign authority employed solely for the purpose of strangling Civil Liberty and extending and fortifying Chattel Slavery? And do you say Amen! to that?

## The Daily Journal.

Indianapolis

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 9, 1856

The Free Kansas Bill.

We copy from our exchanges the following report of the vote and proceedings in the House of Representatives on the 3d of July, upon the motion of Mr. Barclay of Pennsylvania, to re-

consider the vote rejecting the Bill admitting Kansas into the Union with a Constitution prohibiting slavery. The members from Indiana are marked by italics. Brooks, the coward, and the whole class of slaveholders and slavery propagandists voted against the Bill, in company with Messrs. English and Miller, "old line" members from this State. There is not a Republican to be found in the whole list of the "noes," and every Buchanan man present voted steadily on that side. The people can see from this vote, just how much the professions of the Buchanan party are worth. While claiming to be advocates of Freedom and anxious to see free institutions in Kansas, they countenance and approve the efforts of the Missourians to establish slavery by force, and the efforts of the President to support it by bayonets and fire, and the moment the free men of Kansas apply to come in as a Free State, every Buchanan man votes "no." Let those who want a fact to beat down the impudent falsehoods of "old line" speakers about their opposition to slavery, use this one. It is a crushing fact, against which no amount of subterfuge or special pleading can avail. It tells the story in that most unmistakable of all modes, by a vote. Men vote as they feel, and those who voted against admitting Kansas as a Free State, wanted it to be a Slave State. That is the sum of the matter, and no dodging can get round it.

### Unparalleled Oppression—Tyranny and Villainy.

MR. EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL:—Since the Congress Kansas Committee have presented to Congress and the world the great mass of indisputable facts, proven by hundreds of witnesses, that the reports of the wrongs, oppressions and sufferings of the people of Kansas, were but too true—I say since the truths of these reports have been more than confirmed by this committee. The Administration, and its friends in Congress, are pretending to devise measures to correct the evils in Kansas. But how do these villains propose to do it? I say villains, because they have for the last two years been just as well acquainted with the usurpation in Kansas and the terrible suffering of the Free State men there, as they are since the Committee's report! And now the positive proof is before the world, that the Border-Ruffian villains carried on their frauds and usurpations in Kansas, not only with the consent of Pierce and the friends of his administration, but with their absolute aid and connivance! And now Douglas's Bill, which is so spacious about protecting the ballot box from fraud, and which pretends to be so fair and impartial to the people of Kansas, is one of the most impudent frauds of the age! Why? A man is a stolid fool who can't see why! Does Douglas's Bill establish any right of the Free State men? No. Does it take them out of prison, where they have been placed without a crime? No. What, then, does it do? Why, it places the whole matter in the hands of Pierce and his infamous tools, just where it has been all the time! If Douglas was in earnest about giving the people of Kansas their rights, and removing from them their unparalleled suffering, why does he not introduce a bill, or support the bill already before the Senate, admitting Kansas into the Union with her Free State Constitution? Kansas has already formed a Free State Constitution which was adopted by a majority of her voters, as proven by the Kansas Committee. Now, why not admit her at once. This would turn out of office those execrable villains whom narrow-minded Pierce placed in office in that Territory, and who have done nothing but harass and oppress the free State men until they place a large number of free State men either in prison or have driven them out of the Territory! O, yes, Douglas thinks now is the auspicious time for Kansas to make a constitution preparatory to her coming into the Union. Because now there are but few Free State men in Kansas it vote. The infamous tools of Pierce have put them either in prison, or driven them out of the Territory. There never was exhibited before,

on the face of the earth, a worse spectacle of fraud and cruel oppression than that which Pierce and his administration is now perpetrating toward the Free State men of Kansas! No wonder the people are rising in their might to put down one of the most rotten and corrupt administrations that ever disgraced the earth. The only wonder is, that they remained quiet so long under an administration reeking with villainy and corruption. JUSTICE.

## DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 9, 1856.

Mr. Pierce, Mr. Douglas, the Nebraska Bill and the South—A Short-Sighted Calculation.

The idea of Mr. Pierce, Mr. Douglas, and other democratic speculators, when they took up the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was that it would forever settle the slavery question, and that they would be the first to profit from the happy experiment. What a delusion! Instead of settling the slavery agitation, the Nebraska bill has only re-opened it, and in its most virulent form. Instead of resulting in the exaltation of its Northern Authors, this bill has recoiled upon them, and we need only to refer to the Cincinnati Convention. Instead of giving the democracy an indefinite tenure of power, the bill has raised up a revolutionary movement which has been pulverizing, and is destined utterly to destroy, this once proud democratic party. Mr. Buchanan was nominated at Cincinnati, because he could prove a satisfactory *alibi*. The South itself recoiled from Messrs. Pierce and Douglas. But Mr. Buchanan was out of the country—he had protested from the other side of the Atlantic against this Kansas-Nebraska bill—he had no hand in its passage—he was innocent; but he accepts the Cincinnati platform, the Nebraska bill, border ruffians, filibusters, and all, and must sink or swim with the sectionalized nigger-driving democracy. The choice of a candidate upon an *alibi*, was a killing rebuke to Messrs. Pierce and Douglas; but the *alibi*, as far as Mr. Buchanan is concerned, is wholly neutralized by his Cincinnati platform.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill was a sad mistake to the South. Heretofore that section has contrived to manage our national politics, our national elections, and our national government by a silent concentration of its strength upon one common point and in one common direction. In this manner, from the time of Jefferson, the South has quietly had its own way, securing from time to time new States and new Territories to its cause, of imperial dimensions and of fabulous riches. But by this Nebraska bill they have killed the goose which laid their golden eggs. The anti-slavery sentiment, which was the controlling idea in politics of but an insignificant Northern faction, has become the Shibboleth of a great Northern party. Nor is this the worst of it. It is only the beginning. This anti-slavery reaction in the North will henceforth continue the vexed question between the two sections for generations yet to come. Settle the immediate quarrel now, in the admission of Kansas, and it will be revived again with Nebraska, and so on to the end of the chapter. "Men may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace," and there can be no peace henceforth upon this subject. The South has lost its prestige and its power by betraying the secret of its strength. That secret was the silent embodiment of its vote, its influence, and its counsels in behalf of its "peculiar institution," and thus, instead of frightening the North, the effective support of the North was secured. Now this is all gone, and gone, perhaps, forever.

Such short sighted political gamblers as Pierce and Douglas—whose scope of vision extended only to the horizon at Cincinnati—it was not to be expected could see this comprehensive solution to their desperate game. But we foresaw it. Reasoning coolly from experience, and from cause to effect, it was easy to foresee it. Yet we approve the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, first as the repeal of an extra constitutional act; and secondly, because this repeal was the very thing to break to pieces this old rotten Democratic party, and its complicated machinery of corruption, demoralization, vice and crime. Mr. Dixon, of Kentucky, was right. It was the box of Pandora which he gave to Mr. Douglas, in that suggestion that he had better rub out that Missouri line.

And what are these old political hacks doing now at Washington? Busy with their patch-work and plastering schemes for the purpose of an amnistie on this Kansas difficulty. But the ball which they have set in motion has received a momentum which our peddling politicians cannot understand; and Seward and Chase are as much beggared by this revolutionary commotion as Pierce and Douglas. No matter whether Fremont be elected or defeated, this popular movement for a political revolution will go on—a broad and general revolution and a general sweeping out of all the old political party eff of the country. If Col. Fremont does not conduct his case better than did Gen. Scott, we

shall soon ship him off. Let him shut the door against all officious busybodies and Jeremy Diddlers, and keep quiet, and his speed and bottom over the Presidential track may astonish even Mr. Fillmore.

Mr. Buchanan, surrounded by the peaceable and substantial yeomanry of old Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, consoles himself as he serenely smokes his afternoon segar in his bachelor's hall at Wheatland, that all his trouble about Kansas and the slavery question will be settled in six weeks. Short-sighted philosopher! This present agitation is good for sixty, nay, six hundred years if Southern slavery and this Federal Union shall endure so long. We have at length touched upon the direct issue—shall this Southern institution of slavery be further extended or stopped? In stopping it we may endanger the whole system; and we can only extend it now at the hazard of the most violent sectional animosities. This slavery question, in fact, has entered into the very vitals of our political system, and the duration of this agitation, therefore, can only be conjectured from the probable life of a young, sturdy and vigorous nation—say a thousand years. It may be cut short; it may last even longer; but there is one thing of which we may rest assured, that henceforward, between the North and the South, this slavery agitation will continue; there is no finality to it at all events, in the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

The South, in listening to the syren voice of a new slave State in Kansas, have ruined their own cause. There was no earthly occasion for their thus carrying the war into Africa. But, worst of all, the ungrateful and remorseless treatment of Messrs. Pierce and Douglas at Cincinnati, has only served to recall to the Northern mind the treachery, through a quarter of a century, of Southern politicians to their Northern allies and supporters, including statesmen, politicians and newspaper presses. When men or communities thus betray or forget their friends, they deserve to be left to the mercy of their enemies.

It is true that our party politics have assumed a sectional shape, but in all this sectional commotion recognizing, as we do, a popular revolution at work, destined to sweep off all the old parties, old fogies, and old party rubbish of the country, and destined to institute a new order of things, we say let the revolution go on—slavery or no slavery—as the people may decide. There is something positively sublime, after all, in this doctrine of popular sovereignty. Let the revolution go on.—V. Y. Herald.

**Further Outrages upon Citizens of Illinois.**  
As was anticipated, the second company of Illinoisans for Kansas have been sent back in charge of the Ruffians. The Alton Courier of Monday thus announces their arrival:

Another company of Illinoisans were brought back from Leavenworth on Saturday, and were landed below the mouth of the Missouri River at a wood yard. They were from Ottawa, and numbered sixteen when they started. They complain of very rough treatment, and four of their number were left behind in the confusion of their forcible re-embarkation. Among the missing is William Strawn, son of Jacob Strawn, the prince of Illinois farmers. This company succeeded in making a landing at Leavenworth, and in landing a part of their goods at Leavenworth. They appealed for protection from Ruffian violence to the United States troops at Fort Leavenworth. The troops reached the landing just as the boat was forced out by order of the Ruffians. These emigrants had with them the implements of husbandry, and their object was peaceable settlement.

A full statement will be published hereafter. Some of our citizens became responsible for the necessities of the company, as they were destitute. Our readers can draw their own conclusions. The above are facts.

These outrages upon the peaceable and quiet citizens of our own State are no more flagrant than hundreds from other States have suffered at the hands of the Missouri Ruffians, but they naturally touch us more nearly, and arouse a feeling of indignation akin to that which would be excited if our immediate neighborhood or homes were invaded. We again ask if Illinois is to be thus insulted and deprived of her rights in the persons of her citizens without at once taking steps to secure redress? While one of our Senators has set himself up as the special exponent and defender of the "equality of the States," will Governor Matteson allow its rights to be thus trampled down? Shall we be barred out of Kansas by the mob power of Missouri obstructing a great highway of the nation, laying violent hands upon our citizens when traveling upon that highway, robbing them of their property, and then, under the guard of Ruffians, acting in defiance of all law, sending them ignominiously back to our own shores?

Here is a case that requires no appeal to Congress, but which is to be settled, if settled at

all, by the sovereign States of Illinois and Missouri. With the invasion of Kansas by Border Ruffians, Gov. Matteson has nothing to do in his official capacity, but he has something to do with the unparalleled outrages which our citizens have suffered within the bounds of Missouri, at the hands of citizens of Missouri, by the tacit consent if not by the direct connivance of the State authorities. Indeed, we are left in no doubt as to their responsibility now that the fact of Gov. Price having permitted the arms of the State to the Ruffians is well established; and this bold defiance of both State and Federal law on his part, ought all the more to inspire the Governor of our own State with a determination to demand reparation of Missouri for the foul injuries which our citizens, legally under his protection, have suffered.

An authentic statement of the wrongs and indignities inflicted upon the Chicago company, has probably by this time been placed in the hands of Gov. Matteson, and we shall soon know what course he is disposed to take in the matter. If he fulfill his constitutional obligations by promptly demanding of the Governor of Missouri ample reparation for those wrongs and indignities, he will be entitled to the thanks of the people of the entire State; but if he fail to perform this manifest duty, he must be ranked with Douglas and the other slavery propagandists, who stick at nothing that favors the accomplishment of their nefarious purpose.

**Reiterated Falsehoods.**

We have given Senator Douglas all the credit the most mendacious politician could ask for the brazen effrontery with which he will continue to reiterate, in every way by which he has access to the public ear, misrepresentations and falsifications of facts that have been a hundred times refuted, but we think, after a perusal of his recent Kansas report *in extenso*, that we shall have to enlarge the credit margin. As an illustration of our meaning, take the following paragraph from his report:

"In Nebraska the inhabitants have enjoyed all the blessings which it is possible for a law-abiding people to derive from the faithful administration of a wise and just government. Life, liberty and property have been held sacred, the elective franchise has been preserved inviolate, and all the rights of the citizen have been protected against fraud or violence by laws of his own making. These are the legitimate fruits of the principle of the Nebraska organic art. There was no foreign interference with their domestic affairs, no fraudulent attempt to control the elections by non-resident voters. Emigrant aid societies, with their affiliated associations and enormous capital, did not extend their operations to Nebraska, and hence there were no counter-schemes formed to control the elections and force institutions upon the Territory, regardless of the rights and wishes of the bona fide inhabitants. The principle of the organic law—the right of the people to manage their internal affairs and control their domestic concerns in obedience to the federal Constitution—was permitted to have fair play, and work out its natural and legitimate results. Hence, peace, security, and progress in all the elements of prosperity in this Territory, have vindicated the wisdom and policy of the Nebraska act."

This comparison between Kansas and Nebraska has figured largely in the speeches of Mr. Douglas upon the stump in this State, in his special pleadings in the Senate, and especially in his first report upon the affairs of Kansas, but any man can see that there is no parity of condition between them on which to found a comparison. The question to be asked is, Why are not the people of Kansas "allowed to control their domestic concerns in obedience to the Federal Constitution" as well as those of Nebraska? In order to answer it we must go back of the organization of Emigrant Aid Societies, for no such movement was contemplated until it became apparent to everybody that the design of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was to give up Kansas to slavery. Throughout the South this purpose was openly proclaimed, and as if looking to the very contingency which has now occurred, the line between Kansas and Nebraska was so artfully drawn as to leave the former completely shut off from free territory on the east, the northwestern corner of Missouri projecting between forty and fifty miles north of the east and west line of Kansas. Think you that awkward geographical division was merely accidental?

Think you that in Mr. Douglas' consultations with Atchison, when the latter, as he avers, suggested to the former the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, it was not contemplated that Missouri would stand as a bulwark against freedom in Kansas as she stands to-day? In the light of the last year's history, these questions answer themselves. It was not intended that the Kansas-Nebraska act should be carried out in good faith with respect to the former, and Mr. Douglas now finds it convenient to charge the whole burden of the difficulties in Kansas upon the Emigrant Aid Societies, with their fabulously "enormous capital," when he knows very well that the voluntary settlers in Kansas from his own State outnumber those helped there from other States by Emigrant Aid Societies three or four to one, and that those Societies were equally ready to convey them to Nebraska, if they had been disposed to go there.

But enough of this. Mr. Douglas will continue to reiterate his unfounded charges and statements to the end of the chapter, and we should not notice them now had he not chosen to incorporate them into a second time into a grave Senatorial document.

**Mr. Trumbull's Amendments to the Kansas Bill in the Senate.**

The following is a portion of the proceedings in the Senate on the 2d inst.:

Mr. Trumbull moved to amend the bill by adding the following as an additional section:

"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."

The amendment was not agreed to—yeas 9, nays 24—as follows.

YEAS—Messrs. Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Seward, Trumbull, Wade and Wilson—9.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Allen, Bayard, Bell of Tenn., Benjamin, Biggs, Bigler, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Dodge, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Thompson of Ky., Toombs, Toucey, Weller, Wright and Yulee—24.

Mr. T. offered another amendment to the effect that the people of Kansas have full power at any time through their territorial legislature to exclude slavery from said Territory, or to recognize and regulate it therein.

Mr. Benjamin moved to amend the amendment by adding thereto the words: "Subject only to the constitution of the United States," which was agreed to.

The question being taken on the amendment as amended, it was rejected—yeas 11, nays 24—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Bell of New Hampshire, Colamer, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Seward, Trumbull and Wade—11.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Adams, Bayard, Benjamin, Biggs, Bigler, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Dodge, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Mason, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, Wright, and Yulee—24.

Mr. Trumbull then moved to amend the bill by adding a section declaring all the acts and proceedings of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas utterly null and void, and that no person shall hold any office or exercise any authority or jurisdiction in said Territory, under or by virtue of any power or authority derived from that legislative assembly, nor shall the members thereof hereafter exercise any power or authority as such.

The amendment was rejected—yeas, 11; nays, 26—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Colamer, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Seward, Trumbull, Wade and Wilson—11.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Adams, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Bigler, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Dodge, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Mason, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, Wright and Yulee—26.

The above votes are significant. The mea quo

professed to be willing to leave the people of Kansas perfectly free to regulate their own affairs, have not only declared void numerous local laws of the Territorial Legislature, but have utterly repudiated the right of that body to exclude slavery. They have voted that in the absence of any Territorial legislation, slavery may go into the Territory, or rather against a resolution deciding that it could not go in under such circumstances, which is the same thing. Thus has the Senate recognized slavery as a national institution and declared by implication that it needs no local law to authorize its existence in any Territory of the Union into which slaves may be carried.

Gen. Lane to be Headed Off—Examination of Prisoners Charged with Treason.

A Lawrence correspondent of the Alton Courier, under date of the 24th ult., writes as follows:

Col. Sumner is making arrangements to head off Gen. Lane's pioneers to Kansas, who are now understood to be coming here overland. Our people have sent Gen. Lane an express to put him on his guard. It is strange that a Government desirous of doing justice to all parties should welcome armed bodies of men from South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama to the Territory with the greatest apparent delight; enlist them into its service, and supply them with additional arms, provisions, and pay them for their time, whilst emigrants from the North, coming to pursue the arts of peace, must be driven out with violence or prevented from entering the Territory. Such, however, seems to be the policy of the present Administration.

Eight prisoners were taken to Tecumseh a few weeks ago, from the region of Ossawatimie, charged with high treason. They remained under arrest until Saturday last, when they had a preliminary examination before a United States Commissioner, and six of them were discharged. John Brown, Jr., the Captain of the late Free State Military Company from Ossawatimie, and Mr. Williams, both members of our State Legislature, were held in custody. They have been brought down to Leocompton and placed under the same guard with Robinson, Brown, Smith, Deitzler and Jenkins.

Correspondence of the Democratic Press. A Crisis in Kansas Affairs.

LICOMPTON, June 30, 1856.

ANOTHER DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

For a week things have been tolerably quiet. Not but what there have been outrages enough, as scarcely a day passes without something of the kind, but there has been no fighting, no strikingly remarkable event. The progress of civil war has been arrested. Yet this comparative quiet is merely temporary. No one here supposes for an instant that it is either an indication of peace or a prelude to it. It is merely the calm before the storm. The Pro-Slavery men, both in Missouri and in the Territory, are busily augmenting their strength. They are accumulating stores, and getting ready for the bloody campaign which the ensuing month is expected to usher in. As nearly all of Buford's men are on the Missouri frontier, and as there is no very large band of armed Missourians in the Territory, it is not difficult to account for the quiet which prevails. What few accounts of murders and outrages have reached us during the past week, have come from the borders of Missouri. Outrages against Free State settlers, who were attempting to get into or out of the Territory, piracy on the river at Border Ruffian towns, wagons with emigrants and their families, turned back—such has been the programme of the past week, and the events have nearly all transpired in Missouri. The Free State men look anxiously forward to the coming Fourth. On that day the Legislature are to assemble at Topeka. On that day Kansas is determined to take her stand as a sovereign State, a member of the great national confederacy if she can be; an independent State if she must.

This conclusion is neither hurried nor lightly thought of. Those who propose thus to vindicate their rights, weigh the matter with the knowledge that life, happiness and property are in the scale, and in taking the issue not only vindicate their rights and honor, but build up a government for the protection of the people—Something that will guarantee justice and security, and dignify the opposition to bogus laws

above mere resistance to civil authority, or monocracy. If ever there was a time when this exercise of inherent right was justifiable, it is the present. The prompt action of Congress would avoid the necessity, but if that action has not been taken ere this reaches you, another remedy will have been applied.

THE GOVERNOR.

The Governor has gone, and in his absence Secretary Woodson has done nothing remarkable. A great many rumors prevail as to the course Shannon may pursue, but it is a general conviction with all parties that he will never more curse the soil of Kansas. He first resigned and then hesitated. At the request of Col. Sumner, who is, or pretends to be, afraid of the coming Fourth, he promised to stay until something should be decided on by the General Government. Then he started East, promising only to go to St. Louis, and be back before the Fourth; but no one looks for him at that time. I might add that nobody wants him. Some say that Scott is to be Military Governor, and we are to have military law. Others say Harney. The Pro-Slavery men confidently expect Gen. Quitman as civil Governor, and with him a settlement of the question in their favor. As it is, Kansas approaches her greatest struggle without a head.

THE MILITARY.

Kansas has now a sort of military government, which is just about as good as no government at all. The soldiery have prevented the belligerent parties from fighting, but they have neither smoothed over the difficulties, secured justice against murderers and robbers, nor brought matters a single step nearer a harmonious conclusion. The military have been coming this way for two days. Two companies came up from the Missouri line yesterday, and have gone towards Topeka. I have heard it stated that Col. Sumner has orders to have all his military forces at Topeka before the Fourth, and to prevent any assemblage of the people there, or sitting of the Legislature. We know of no authority that either the troops or the General Government can have for this infraction of the rights of citizens, and if it has been determined on you may expect to hear of something very startling from this quarter.

PREPARATIONS.

Great preparations are being made here for an assemblage on the Fourth. The pro-slavery men have invited all the officers of dragoons to their assemblage, and they regard this as a master stroke of policy. Provisions and stores have been coming this way very freely for more than a week. The brass howitzer which was taken from Lawrence during the sacking of that place, and which has stood in the street close to the Governor's office, has lately been removed to a more secure place. Groups of warlike pro-slavery men carefully examine the ground about Leocompton every day, in order to test its capacity for a siege. The basement of the Capitol, which is of solid masonry, is spoken of as a good fort, and has, I believe, been constructed with that view. The people of Leocompton intend to carry the war to Topeka, but appear to have some few apprehensions of an attack.

DEATH OF MR. GAY, THE INDIAN AGENT.

The most startling case of outrageous villainy recently, was the murder of Mr. Gay, the Indian Agent. As it happened near Westport, I suppose you heard the particulars almost as soon as they penetrated to this part of the Territory. From all I can learn it was a most atrocious case. Mr. Gay was a peaceable and inoffensive man. His only offence was having complained to Col. Sumner of Buford's men, who, while camped on the Shawnee Reserve, plundered the Indians. To attend to the matter was Mr. Gay's duty, but as doing so did not show sufficient slavishness to Border Ruffianism in a United States official, he was met by three of the banditi who shot him twice through the head, through the breast and through the hand. His son was also fired at many times and escaped with his life. He was a Douglas Democrat in Michigan—a firm but quiet Free State man after he got here and saw how matters were. Now he is a victim to the Border Ruffianism he would not serve.

PIRACY ON THE RIVER.

I suppose that before this reaches you the unfortunate Chicago company, who were plundered by the citizens of Lexington, insulted, taken prisoners and sent back, have returned to tell the story of their own wrongs, and the specimen of Border Ruffianism they encountered even before they had stood upon the threshold of the promised land. It is a great pity but there had been enough of them, and that they had taken sufficient artillery to bombard that rascally piratical town. It will be done yet if this villainy continues, although I fear that the company, which, I learn, was just coming up behind them, will have shared the same fate. Wagons and teams attempting to come into Kansas through Missouri, are turned back daily. The Border Ruffian fleet has gone forth. "No more Free State people must enter Kansas."

A COLD-BLOODED MURDER.

I had an instance of the most ruthless and unfeeling cruelty detailed to me a few days ago, by a respectable pro-slavery man. It happened down on the Santa Fe Road, about ten days ago, and before the Buford companies had left that part of the Territory. A poor man and his family were coming up into the Territory. He had come from Illinois, with his family and household effects in a two horse wagon. He had succeeded in getting into Kansas, but the first day he touched its soil he was taken prisoner by the ruffians. In spite of the presence of his helpless family they plundered him of all he had, and as he had endeavored to resent this treatment and to get his team away, and admitted that he was a Free State man, they deliberately hanged him before the eyes of his wife and children. These latter fled back to Kansas City, and with the charity of a few sympathizing persons, got off down the river.

"HELP ME, CASSIUS, OR I SINK."

Before this reaches the readers of the Press, clouds will be gathering thick over Kansas. The Free State people are determined to meet the issue, for not only do all their dearest rights depend upon it, but theirs safety also. And yet there is no disguising the fact that we have Missouri to fight, and the Carolina, and Georgia and Alabama regiments to fight, and perhaps, too, the United States dragoons. These latter we squatters won't fight unless we are driven to it, but if they rank side by side with the oppressors of Kansas, there may be no alternative. Is Lane coming? Are the Northern emigrants coming? are the anxious inquiries. We go down to the struggle resolutely, but with all the fearful disproportion of force before us. If Missouri could only be kept out, we could defend ourselves against all the Southerners here.

WEST.

LATEST FROM KANSAS.

FREE STATE LEGISLATURE BROKEN UP BY UNITED STATES DRAGOONS.

July 1, 1856. From the Chicago Tribune. A citizen of Kansas who left Topeka on the 3d inst., and Leavenworth on the 4th called on us yesterday. He says that the Free State Legislature was prevented from assembling on the 4th inst. pursuant to adjournment, by United States troops under Col. Sumner. He told the people that he had positive orders from President Pierce to arrest and break up the Legislature if the members attempted to convene, and that his orders must be enforced. He was also under orders from the Executive to disperse, disarm and arrest any gathering of Free State people that might assemble to celebrate the 4th of July! He was at the head of 400 U. S. dragoons, and an equal number of infantry and artilleryists. The result was that the members of the Free State Legislature were unable to meet. It was deemed best to succumb to the United States Army, postpone the assembling, and await the verdict of the American people at the polls next November. Had the U. S. dragoons not interfered, the Free State men were resolved to hold their legislative meeting in spite of the Border Ruffians, and were prepared to give the villains a warm reception. Our informant says that murders are still very frequent in the territory; that an officer under Sumner told him that the dragoons had picked up and buried a great number within a few weeks. The bodies of thirty-five murdered men were found on the roads, several of whom were par-



tially devoured by the wolves. It is some-  
faction to learn, however, that they were not all  
Free State men who had thus fallen; but that  
many plundering ruffians had been made to bite  
the dust for their crimes.

He tells us that the wheat harvest is excellent,  
though not very large in quantity, in consequence  
of the disturbed state of the territory; that the corn  
crop looks luxuriant, and will be abundant in  
some districts, if the people are permitted by the  
Ruffians to gather it.

We further learn from him that the news of the  
nomination of Col. Fremont and a general of the  
Republican platform set the whole Free State peo-  
ple wild with delight, and inspired every man with  
new courage and hope that the day of deliverance  
from the reign of terror, and the grip of the op-  
pressor was drawing nigh. Prayers go up nightly  
to heaven from thousands of women and children,  
on the plains of Kansas, for the election of Fre-  
mont. A strong faith inspires them that he will  
be the next President; and that the black cloud of  
Slavery will be succeeded by the bright sun of  
Freedom, Peace and Prosperity.

**ENTERING LAND IN KANSAS—SCHEME TO EJECT  
FREE STATE SETTLERS.**—We learn from a private  
source that the office of the Register of Lands in  
Kansas will, probably, be opened on the 1st of  
August to give settlers a chance of proving up  
their claims in ninety days and paying for them at  
the rate of \$1 25 per acre, before the opening of  
the Land Office.

The matter has been kept exceedingly quiet, for  
the purpose of taking the settlers unawares, and to  
give the members of the Blue Lodge in Missouri  
an opportunity to buy up the claims of Free State  
men, and send them adrift over or out of the Ter-  
ritory.

This would be a most effectual way of getting  
rid of them, and would be attended with far less  
expense and trouble than to murder or hang them  
for treason. Many of the settlers hold valuable  
claims, but are destitute of moneys and the plan is  
to take a snap judgement on them, and sell their  
farms to some Ruffian who has the ready money to  
offer. For this purpose, we are informed, that  
the Blue Lodge of Missouri have raised a fund of  
several hundred thousand dollars with which to  
buy up those improved claims. The money is to  
be loaned at a large interest, and a mortgage to be  
taken on the Free settler's farm for security. Hav-  
ing made public this new scheme of outrage and  
robbery, we hope steps will be taken to defeat it  
without delay.

**Defeat and Victory.**

The last day of June was a gloomy  
day for Free Kansas in Washington, and  
the friends of freedom over the country.  
Defeat came when victory was considered  
certain, and it left the members of the  
House opposed to slavery disconcerted,  
and their constituents uneasy and alarmed.

On Saturday, the 30th of June, the  
Free State men at Washington carried  
all before them, and, though the slave  
foe was muttering, they marched on step  
by step triumphantly. All knew the  
contest to be close. The Fillmoreites  
had united with the slave power, and  
this left the vote one hundred and six  
on each side with the Speaker certain.  
But the Free State members were confi-  
dent up to the moment of voting, when  
it seemed as if they were hopelessly routed.  
The House bill admitting Kansas as a Free  
State was defeated by one, (yeas, 107;  
nays, 106;) and our friends were dis-  
heartened, disconcerted, and crest-fallen.

Tuesday, July 1st, Mr. Barclay, of  
Pa., moved a reconsideration. He was  
bullied by the slave power and its tools,  
but stood firm. Houston, of Alabama,  
denounced him bitterly; but he defied  
the lash of party and of slavery. He  
declared his purpose not only to vote for  
a reconsideration, but for the passage of  
the bill admitting Kansas as a Free  
State.

Thus matters stood, when Howard, of  
Michigan offered the report of the Inves-  
tigating Committee sent to Kansas—  
with its mass of documents—as a privi-  
leged motion. This roused the Buchanan  
men and stirred the slave power to a  
high state of excitement. A stirring

scene ensued. Objections, motions,  
points of order, and calls followed each  
other in quick succession, and for three  
hours the House was lashed with heated  
and angry feeling. The Speaker was  
cool, collected, prompt. He ruled rightly,  
and ruled in every instance against the  
slave power, no minion of it daring to  
press an appeal to a vote. It offered at  
last a compromise, viz.: that the report  
should be received; laid on the table  
and ordered printed. The offer was  
promptly rejected. Then came the pre-  
vious question, by which the House was  
brought to a vote, on referring the report  
to the Committee on Elections and order-  
ing it printed, and the call for its read-  
ing by Hickman, of Pa. Another fierce  
storm raged. But the Speaker ruled  
that any member might call for its read-  
ing, and at 4 P. M., Sherman commenced.  
He read for half an hour; a clerk relieved  
him; there were slight interruptions—  
two or three motions from the Buchanan  
men; but generally the house was silent  
and attentive. The slave power appealed  
for an adjournment; the developments  
were too astounding to be heard; the  
Free State men assented, on the ground  
that the reading of the report should be  
continued on the next day. Thus the  
defeat of Monday, June 30th, was soft-  
ened, and our friends filled again with  
hope and courage.

On July the 2d, the House completed  
the reading of the Kansas report, omit-  
ting the documents, when the whole was  
referred to the committee on elections  
and ordered to be printed.

The main battle came up again on  
July 3d. As usual, the slave power  
fought again for the decision of Monday.  
But Mr. Barclay's motion was put and  
carried by a vote of 101 to 97, and thus  
the House resolved THAT KANSAS  
SHOULD BE ADMITTED AS A FREE STATE!  
Joy filled the bosom of the members of  
the North. It was erect, elated. Toombs,  
Douglas, &c., were dejected; but joy  
filled and fills the North over the great  
triumph.

Let it stand firm! Let this great  
decision be maintained!—[*Chi. Trib.*

**Kansas Meeting.**

An earnest body of the freemen of  
Chicago met in the Park, Saturday even-  
ing, and organized by appointing J. Y.  
Scammon, Esq., as President, and J. W.  
Vaughan, Esq., Secretary.

Peter Page rose and gave a brief, but  
clear account of the action of the Chicago  
Executive Committee—of the move-  
ments of the first settler's company up  
the Missouri—of their expulsion—and  
return; and of their migration to Kan-  
sas through Iowa.

I. N. Arnold, Esq., followed in a  
strong and manly appeal, and concluded  
by offering the following resolutions,  
which were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the citizens of Chicago,  
desirous of making Kansas a Free State,  
started a colony of actual, bona-fide settlers  
to that Territory; but, because they were  
from a Free State and desirous that the  
blessings of freedom should be extended, they  
were, while peaceably pursuing their journey,  
lawlessly assailed, robbed of their private  
property, and turned back by violence and  
overwhelming force from entering that Ter-  
ritory.

*Resolved*, That we are compelled, with pain  
and indignation, to proclaim the humiliating  
fact, that there is no security for property,  
person or life for a Free State man, on the  
Missouri river; that this great national high-  
way is closed against all but Pro-Slavery  
men; that the authorities of Missouri, so far

from protecting the citizens of the free states  
in passing through her Territory, are furnish-  
ing arms and ammunition to a secret organi-  
zation, which has invaded Kansas, driven out  
the bona-fide settlers, and is openly in arms,  
with the avowed purpose of excluding by  
force all settlers who are in favor of making  
Kansas a Free State.

*Resolved*, That these outrages upon peace-  
ful citizens of Illinois, repeated by others on  
citizens of Massachusetts and Wisconsin, fol-  
lowing the repeal of the Missouri Compro-  
mise; the forcible invasion of Kansas; the  
desecration of the ballot-box; the suppres-  
sion of the freedom of the press and liberty  
of speech; the imposition, by force, of a non-  
resident, Border-Ruffian Legislature; the  
passage of a border-ruffian code of laws; the  
persecutions, robberies, larcenies, burnings  
and murders perpetrated on the bona-fide  
settlers of Kansas, for no crime but love of  
liberty—constitute a series of outrages unpar-  
alleled in history.

*Resolved*, That the check on the part of  
free state settlers sent from Chicago to Ken-  
sas, so far from discouraging us, or causing  
us to relax our efforts, ought and will stimu-  
late us to increased exertions. Kansas never  
shall be surrendered to slavery. We will  
fight on, and fight ever, until her soil, sol-  
emnly dedicated to freedom, shall be redeemed  
and made the home of free men, free speech  
and a free press.

*Resolved*, That we concur in the call for a  
Kansas Convention, to meet at Buffalo next  
week, and we invite the free North to rally  
for freedom, and, by a united effort, send  
settlers enough to overwhelm the despotism  
now reigning there, and reclaim Kansas to  
freedom, to peace and to civilization.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions,  
so far as they relate to the outrages on citi-  
zens of Illinois, be forwarded to Gov. Mat-  
terson, and that he be requested to take such  
steps as may be necessary and proper to  
cause the property of our citizens to be  
restored to them, and to protect them from  
robbery and outrage hereafter, and that a  
copy of the same be forwarded to Congress,  
with the prayer that Congress will, without  
delay, pass laws effectually to protect the  
lives and property of the citizens of Illinois  
and other States, on the great National High-  
ways of the Union.

*Resolved*, That we regard the Kansas bill  
of Douglas, which passed the Senate on  
Thursday, as specious, deceptive and fraudu-  
lent. As designed as an electioneering docu-  
ment, leaving the real bona-fide settlers of  
that Territory, crushed to the earth under  
border ruffian rulers, with liberty crushed  
out; the free state settlers scattered and sub-  
dued, their leaders imprisoned or murdered;  
an armed banditti guarding the soil against  
all free state emigration, we regard this bill  
as devoting the free state men who still  
remain, to the ruthless and bloody hand of  
Atchison, Stringfellow, Jones, Leecompton,  
Shannon, and Pierce.

Gen. Bruce, of New-York, then deliv-  
ered an address full of fine points and  
clear statements, showing the position of  
the sham-democracy, and its real pro-  
slavery aims, and contrasting the conduct  
and objects of the Anti-Nebraska free-  
men, proving their principles and aims  
to be just, and constitutional. He was  
vehemently cheered. When a true  
thought was uttered—when Fremont's  
name was mentioned—when the duty of  
the free states was pressed—the gath-  
ered throng answered with stirring shouts,  
and a bold out-spoken assent. All was  
enthusiasm. Three cheers were given  
for the orator! Three times three for  
Fremont!

J. C. Vaughan, of the *Tribune* followed,  
in an interesting speech, and when he  
closed, delegates were appointed to attend  
the Buffalo Convention on the 9th.—  
[*Chi. Tribune.*

No Power over Territories.

THE TWO KANSAS BILLS.

The fact that Douglas is about to substitute chicanery for subjugation, is apparent in the late measures of the slavery party in the Senate. "We will subdue God" has melted into "we will cheat God."

The two bills to make Kansas a State, the one originating in the House and the other in the Senate, are the direct antipodes. The House bill goes for free Kansas. The Senate bill is a virtual sanction of slavery.

Will you accept the extorted tribute, extended towards you by the putrid hand of extreme fear for the voluntary offering of faith, pledged to support the constitution and laws?

POPULAR ACTION.—PEACE FOR KANSAS.—We have received a handbill call of a meeting at Lansing of all freemen of that vicinity in favor of the restoration of peace to Kansas.

Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Wednesday Evening, July 9, 1856.

AMERICAN NATIONAL NOMINATIONS.

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

Wanted—More Kansas Outrages.

The Fremont papers and politicians, aware that the entire capital of the party consists in the excitement of the popular mind on "outrages" of the Kansas and Sumner order, are fearful that peace and order may be restored, and then their "occupation" gone.

"I almost hope to hear that some of their lives have been sacrificed, for it seems as if nothing but that would arouse the Eastern States to act. This seems a terrible thing to say, but these are terrible times; times which ought not to excite a man, but to make him calm and resolute."



WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 9, 1856.

The BUCHANAN party are getting alarmed. The sympathy with Kansas is greater than they estimated. The popularity of FREMONT is vastly beyond what they had counted upon.

Senator DOUGLAS backs out of his Bill, and offers another, in which the design to introduce Slavery into the Territory is better covered up. Senator TOOMBS backs out of his Bill, and comes down to DOUGLAS's.

Of course all this is done not to benefit Kansas, but BUCHANAN. Finding it doubtful whether they can openly thrust Slavery upon Kansas by force of arms, without drawing down ruin upon themselves, they consent to defer to public sentiment so far as to smuggle it in by a side door.

The plan now is to rush through Congress some plausibly worded Bill, "to preserve order in Kansas," which shall allow the Border Ruffians now in control there, to make a Slave State of it, and shall disfranchise the Free State men who have been driven from their homes.

George Law on the Present Crisis.

New York, July 3, 1856.

DEAR SIR—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ult. I have carefully reflected upon its contents. In reply, I beg to state to you that I deeply regret no more perfect union has been effected by those whose duty it was to have accomplished that object—to unite the whole elements of opposition to the present corrupt administration, welded as it is by the extreme slave oligarchy of the South.

All good men who have the love of their country at heart, both in the North and in the South should unite cordially in a common effort to destroy the viper that has coiled around the freedom and independence of the American people. Freedom of speech is prohibited in the halls of Congress; bowie knives and revolvers are worn as daily appendage at the Capital as a means of assault and defence.

Such is the scheme of government inaugurated under the Pierce dynasty, and fostered by the

Southern sectional power that supports it. Upon this basis, and into the arms of this power, the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention surrenders himself before the country, without the slightest reservation or individual independence of his own. What has the country to expect if Mr. Buchanan succeeds? Nothing better than what it has experienced under Mr. Pierce, and perhaps something worse. One is an old man without independence of mind or energy of character, which the country is forwarned of by his declaration, that he is no longer James Buchanan, and has no views or opinions of his own, and is therefore the pliant instrument of the slave power that nominated him at Cincinnati, and must reflect their views only. It will be well for the American people to remember this when they cast their votes for chief magistrate in November next.

The other came into office, a man in the prime of life, without any such submission or pledges, backed up by almost the unanimous vote of the country in his election, and yet he was not three weeks in office before he surrendered himself to the same oligarchy that has wielded his power during his administration, as absolutely as if he had no will or mind of his own, and had no responsibility or any section of the Union except to the 350,000 slaveholders of the South, who now control the executive, the judiciary of the Senate. The only voice the Free States have in federal government is the House of Representatives.

Is it not fair to expect that if Mr. Buchanan should be elected, the evils that the country has experienced for the last three years will go on increasing during his administration until the Northern mind will submit no longer to be cheated, bullied, defied and deprived of its just rights and fair representation in the federal government.

As one of the leading features of the coming administration, slavery is to be forced into Kansas. The rivers, the great highway of the nation through Missouri, a slave State, are to be closed, as they are at present, to the freemen of the North who desire to emigrate to that Territory. Those great thoroughfares which have heretofore been looked upon as the pride of the nation, and that steam has rendered so valuable for transportation of persons or property, must be closed to the freemen of the North, or they must be subjected to examination, insult, loss of property, and turned back, unless they proclaim themselves in favor of the institutions of slavery in this Territory. Such means as these are made use of to force slavery into Kansas. When free emigrants arrive there, after all these difficulties and delays have been surmounted, they must undergo another examination, and swear allegiance to the government of the slave power organized in Kansas by the Missouri mob, or be deprived of the right of franchise ann of holding office. This is the operation of squatter sovereignty, which deprives a man of his citizenship unless he swears fidelity to slavery; and all this is to be carried out and put in execution by an armed force furnished from Missouri—the adjoining slave States; and the federal government, with federal troops in the Territory, will look on calmly, without interfering, so long as the Missouri mob succeeds to enforce slavery upon Kansas; but if the men from the free States, who believe in free speech, free territory, free labor, free press and free men, should be too numerous for the slave labor, then the federal troops organized for this special purpose under the command of a Southern favorite of a Southern secessionist Secretary of War, are to interfere and decide the contest in favor of slavery in Kansas. So much for the chances of Northern principles and Northern men in Kansas, and all that vast territory north of 36 30 secured to freedom by solemn compact, in which the great minds of the country united to build up and preserve to freedom, and which the pigmies and traitors, aided by the corrupt administration, have attempted to pull down and destroy. Here is where Gen. Pierce stands, and here is where James Buchanan stands, while asking for the support of the freemen of the North.

A few words about Mr. Fillmore. Let us examine with what consistency we, as Americans or Northern freemen, can support him. What are his antecedents? When President of the United States, was he not entirely subservient to the slave power? Did he resist the overtures of the slave oligarchy of the South, or did he become a willing instrument in their hands? I ask you to look at his acts while President, and let them be the answers to these questions. I will refer you to the Fugitive Slave Law, that makes the freemen of the North slave catchers—that prizes men of less value than the beasts—that refuses them the right of trial by jury—that centres the freedom of the man in one Judge, and pay him a double fee if he declares him a slave, and only half the fee if he finds him a freeman.

This is the only power that the slave oligarchy of the South exercise at the North, where we have prohibited property in men to our own citizens; and this act bears the signature of Millard Fillmore as President of the United States. I ask you how he can expect the vote of the free North. Can you give him your vote? Can I give him mine? Are these the views that you and I entertain in relation to the rights and the duty of the people of the North or mankind?—Now, sir, upon this question alone, without going into all his other acts of subserviency to the South and the slave power, let him stand for the suffrages of the freemen of the North.

As to the Americanism of Mr. Fillmore, you and I have some knowledge of how much he has done to sustain that party. Has he ever been identified with it either in principle or in feeling? If so, where are his acts—on what occasion heretofore has he proclaimed it? What assistance has he ever rendered us in all our contests? What were his antecedents as to Americanism when President of the United States? Did he then protect American interests or American men? I well recollect that he did not, and the country will recollect it, too.

When the Captain General of Cuba issued his decree prohibiting the steamship Crescent City from touching at Havana so long as Mr. Smith, an American citizen, was on board of her as Purser, because as they alleged, the Herald and other papers in New York had published some information from Havana that was distasteful to the Cuban government, and which they charged to have been furnished by Purser Smith, and therefore, neither the Crescent City, nor any other American ship should be allowed to touch at Havana having Mr. Smith on board or any other person who would dare to furnish to the American press information disagreeable to the Captain General of Cuba. Mr. Fillmore was apprized of this order by the owners of the Crescent City, and he was desired to take some action in relation to it for the protection of American property and American citizens; he miserably skulked the responsibility of his position, and used his interest with the owners to have Mr. Smith dismissed as purser, and to be replaced by some one who was satisfactory to the Captain General of Cuba. This the owners refused to do, and sent Mr. Smith back in the ship. Mr. Fillmore ordered the United States mails to be taken from the vessel, and notified the owners that if the ship was fired upon by the Cuban authorities, and damaged or destroyed that they would have no claim upon this government for remuneration.

The commander of the Crescent City was removed by his order, he being an officer of the United States navy, and under the President's control. Another commander was appointed by the owners. He, too, was removed by Mr. Fillmore's orders. The ship was fined \$4,000 for not carrying the United mails, when the United States government or Mr. Fillmore withheld them. The insurance offices in New York, were either frightened by the course of Mr. Fillmore, or influenced by him to withhold their insurance from property shipped by the steamer that Purser Smith was on board of. The owners of the Crescent City had to insure the property of the shippers. The passengers on board of her were not allowed to be landed in Cuba. The owners persevered in what they considered their proper rights, and the rights of an American citizen, and refused to dismiss Purser Smith, until the Captain General of Cuba was obliged to rescind the mandate against Purser Smith. This is the mode in which the rights of an American citizen had to be vindicated while Mr. Fillmore was President. This is the same Mr. Fillmore that you recommend me to support as an American? Can the American party support him as an American? Is he the proper representative of the American people? These are facts for the American party to look at before they vote. For my part, Mr. Fillmore would be the last man I would support in the whole country as the standard bearer of the great American party.

What has Mr. Fillmore ever done for this country or the American party? Where are his acts that are to be remembered or treasured up in the hearts of the people? What great interests has he ever advanced? Or has he been a mere office holder, without merit, except the merit of doing nothing?

You are aware of the manner in which he was forced upon the American party by the slave oligarchy at Philadelphia, when he apparently received the nomination of the Convention.

In the letter to me you appear to lay great stress upon the course that the Republican party has seen fit to pursue, and that it has not met the American navy half way in the great work of

uniting the whole North against the corrupt policy of the present administration and the power that controls the Cincinnati nominee. We will suppose that all this is true in relation to the Republican party. I myself do not think the Republican Convention acted as wisely as it might have done, when the object was harmony of action to accomplish a great good for the whole country; but is this any reason why I should be diverted from the great purpose I have at heart, which is to unite all parties that think as I do in relation to the corrupt policy of the present administration, and the continuation of that policy if Mr. Buchanan should be elected? No man, or set of men, whatever their conduct may be, shall divert me for one moment from the course I have marked out in the coming Presidential campaign.

I intend to go for the man who most nearly represents the American sentiment, and the sentiment in relation to slavery of the freemen of the North, which declares that slavery is sectional and that freedom is national. At the same time I desire to have the best representative of the progress of the age in which we live. I want a man who has done something for the great material interests of the country. I want to see his footprints, not promised, but already made in the direction that has led to the development of the resources of our country—who has enlarged the field upon which the labor and intelligence of our country is to be applied—one who has done something for American interests and American rights—one who has done something for the area of freedom—something for material progress and benefit to his fellow men. I want no old politician, with his host of dependants as seedy as himself. Let us have a man in the prime of life, full of energy, and yet sufficiently familiar with the vicissitudes of life to judge men correctly—to appreciate the wants of the whole country—to avoid the intrigues and traps of politicians—to devote himself honestly and fearlessly to the interests of the country—to apply the resources of the government to the accomplishment of such improvements as are national in their character and that will result in the greatest benefit to the whole country—one who has no political friends to reward, and no old political enemies to punish—one who will feel that he is elevated by the people and not by intrigue. Now, sir, of the candidates who are before the people for the exalted position of chief magistrate, I prefer John C. Fremont. I prefer him because he is not an old hackneyed politician, and all sold out. He has been brought into notice by the energy and exertion that he has evinced as a great explorer of the route to the Pacific Ocean. He first opened up the pathway through the wilderness that others had followed to the golden fields of California, and gave the most accurate and extended view to the American people of all that vast region of country between the borders of civilization on the the Atlantic slope and the Pacific Ocean. He took an active part and was foremost in raising and sustaining the American flag in California.

He commenced first and went through that campaign with signal success, that ended in the acquisition of all that vast territory and wealth—that opened up to American enterprise and American energy such a field as has no parallel in history—which has advanced this country at least twenty-five years at a single bound. It gave us the facilities for increasing our commerce. It enabled us to extend our railways and other internal improvements, and thus greatly increased our manufacturing and agricultural interests by enlarging the field of produce and consumption. It has added hundreds of millions to the capital of the nation. By his explorations he has opened up the most central and convenient railroad route to California. He aided in the organization of California as a State, and devoted her institutions to freedom, and she acknowledged her indebtedness to Fremont by sending him as her first Senator to Congress. He protected American interests in California. He protected and advocated American interests in the Senate of the United States. His antecedents are American. He rose by his own energy, his own industry and his own merit. These are antecedents that will be appreciated by the American people. They are not the promises of to-day of American principles under the expectation of the suffrages of the American party, but they are a history of his life from his youth upward, when actuated by no other motives than a true American heart thoroughly devoted to the interests of his country.

With this view of the subject, who are we to support? I have fairly canvassed the different candidates. So far as Americanism is concerned we may as well support Mr. Buchanan as Mr.

Fillmore. He has a fairer American record than Mr. Fillmore; and, as for the promises of old politicians, we all know what they are worth on the eve of an election. I do not mean to be cheated, nor do I wish to see the American people, by pretensions that have no value, but that are entirely worthless.

In relation to the subject of the extension of slavery, we may as well support Mr. Buchanan as Mr. Fillmore. Mr. Buchanan promises that he will be governed by the Southern slaveholders, and Mr. Fillmore we know has already been governed by them.

As to advancing the interests of the country, we may as well support Mr. Buchanan as Mr. Fillmore. Neither of them has ever advanced, by any act of his own, the great industrial interests of the country. They have both been drones, living on office. The only difference that I see is, that Mr. Fillmore is about five years younger than Mr. Buchanan, and has that many chances less to die.

You would laugh and ridicule the idea if I were to ask you to vote for Mr. Buchanan as a proper representative of the American Party; it seems to me equally ridiculous that you should ask me to vote for Mr. Fillmore as the American candidate.

I shall give my support to John C. Fremont, as the best representative, in my estimation, of the American people and the American Party.

I am, with much respect, yours, truly,  
 GEORGE LAW.  
 To G. A. Scrogges, Esq., Buffalo, N. Y.

## The Courant.

HARTFORD:  
 WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 9, 1856.

### The Senate Kansas Bill.

Notwithstanding the seeming fairness of this bill, it ought not to pass the House, and will not pass it, if the friends of freedom are true to their cause.—It ought to be called a "Bill for making Kansas a Slave State," not a "Bill for the Pacification of Kansas." It "settles" the affairs in Kansas, by giving all the power to the voters in the Territory on the day in which the bill passed the Senate—July 3d. The framers of the bill knew perfectly well that, on that day, *bona fide* settlers in great numbers, had been expelled from the Territory by the slave power, or prevented from entering it by organized bands of Missourians—organized, we have no doubt, with special reference to this very bill. Such things are easily arranged by the leaders of the Slave power, in Congress and out.

This bill is a snare to the free State side. It is intended to make Kansas a slave State. Can any one suppose that Toombs could have concocted, or Douglas accepted, any measure that would throw the possibility of success into the hands of freedom? *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* There is treachery under all this appearance of fairness.—The pro-slavery leaders of the House understand his treachery, and Oliver and some others pretend to oppose the bill, in order to throw dirt in the eyes of the timid and vacillating among the ranks of the Opposition.

One of the great dangers of the bill results from the mode in which the Commissioners are to be appointed. Can any one believe that Franklin Pierce will nominate, or that the Senate will confirm, just, honest and impartial men to settle the Kansas affairs? No: some such tools as Wilson Shannon will be selected from the Free States—some most eminent doughface, known to be committed, body and soul, to southern interests, like Isaac Toucey, will be the physician employed to heal the wounds of bleeding Kansas. They have been fed beforehand, to shorten the life of freedom there, now at her last gasp. The Free State interest of Kansas cannot be promoted by this bill. With a prowling band of lawless pirates on the Missouri River, plundering every free State immigrant and compelling them to return, and with a body of doughface Commissioners in the Territory itself, there is no hope for freedom in Kansas.

It is curious to see how the varying and pressing circumstances of the times have changed the views of the pro-slavery party in the Senate. Their bill ignores "popular sovereignty," about which such a pother was made, two years ago. That doctrine, the panacea of all evils in the territories, is killed by this bill. There is not even an attempt for a decent burial. It is abandoned by its very authors to die an ignoble death. The demand of Douglas that there should be ninety-three thousand inhabitants before Kansas should be admitted as a State, is given up—forgotten—forsaken. She may come in now with ninety-three hundred, or any number she may have. The great Southern doctrine of the Cincinnati Convention, that Congress has no power to legislate upon slavery in the Territories is practically contradicted by this bill and made a nullity. What accommodating men, the pro-slavery leaders! Resolutions at conventions with them are so much waste paper.

If this bill should pass the House—if there are to be found in that body Northern traitors to their constituents, in sufficient numbers to place freedom in Kansas in the hands of Franklin Pierce's Commissioners—it will not end the matter. There must be another vote—the admission of Kansas into the Union. If she comes with a slave constitution, manufactured to order by Robert Toombs and Stephen A. Douglas, there will be another struggle, more severe than ever before agitated this nation.—It will be the rallying cry for the coming Presidential campaign—it will be the rallying cry of a still darker and more gloomy and bloody campaign.—It may be the death cry of the Union.

Let the House stand firm for the principles of Freedom and all this doom will be averted.

### Later from Kansas.

WEST AVON, July 8.

Mr. Editor:—The recent accounts from Kansas which we have received through the papers seem to indicate a better state of affairs, resulting chiefly from Col. Sumner's movements in dispersing the armed pro-slavery bands, thus giving hope to the actual settlers that they are to be allowed to pursue their avocations in peace and quiet. But the following extracts from another letter from Mr. Parker dated Wauabonsa, June 16th, show that there is still great excitement in the territory, and that our glorious 4th of July, instead of being spent as was anticipated by "Our Coun. Colony," may have been the scene of more outrage and bloodshed.

Mr. Parker says: "I do not wonder that you give yourself some uneasiness. There are terrible times now in Kansas. I do not think you can get (through the papers) an idea of more than half the trouble. But it is thought that trouble has but just commenced. Gen. Whitfield, it seems, has set out in good earnest to see what he can do. He has a large force of Ruffians murdering and plundering, stealing and robbing. There is no passing now from Lawrence to Kansas City. He (Whitfield) and company have murdered a good many of late; six innocent men, making their way into the territory last week, were murdered by him. Seventeen U. S. troops were also shot. Col. Sumner has called all his troops from Leavenworth and 150 from Fort Riley went down to Lawrence last week.

There are large forces coming in from Missouri almost every day to join Whitfield.

Mr. Lines went down last week to get the steam engine, but cannot get further than Lawrence, only by the way of Leavenworth, and then down on the boat to Kansas City, and have it (the engine) re-shipped to Leavenworth. We heard from him yesterday, and two of our men who started two days ahead of him, to help get up the engine, have not been heard from since, and we have reason to fear that they have been taken by Whitfield and perhaps murdered, as Whitfield shows no mercy to a free state man, but hangs or shoots them without judge or jury.

Dr. Root came from Lawrence yesterday, and said that a woman passed them with the dead body of her husband whom Whitfield had shot, and said that three men were hanging up in a tree dead,

down on Cedar Creek, that he had hung. So the thing goes on—but the worst is not yet. I could not write one half if I should write all night.

The adjourned session of the Free State Legislature is to meet in Topeka on the 4th of July, and it is expected that Whitfield will make his way up there if possible to break up the session. If that is the case no doubt there will be a warm time. Whitfield swears vengeance on every free state man he can find, and is determined to resist the U. S. troops to that effect.

We are earnestly invited to go down to Topeka on the 4th. We were expecting to celebrate the 4th in Wauabonsa, but it is thought best by the majority to go down.

I have not put my rifle together yet, but shall have to, to go down to Topeka on the 4th.

Yours respectfully,  
 E. M. W.

## The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:  
 WEDNESDAY, JULY 9.

### Kansas Affairs.

On the 2d inst., the last bill reported by DOUGLAS for the admission of Kansas, was before the Senate. This bill does not require a population of 93,000, which was declared to be indispensable six months since, not only by DOUGLAS, but by all the centralists. One of the effects of this declaration that there should be so large a population, was to deter many free laboring men from going into the territory in its unsettled condition, and to cause others of limited means who were harassed in their avocations, to leave the territory where they were plundered and deprived of their earnings. On the other hand, it was a state of things suited to the idle and dissipated habits of the vagabond regiment of BUFFORD from South Carolina and Alabama. They despise labor, and have delighted in annoying those who till their own lands,—robbing them of their houses, stealing their cattle, burning their fences, plundering their dwellings, and rambling over the country without any fixed locality. It is not pretended that these South Carolina Buccaneers have commenced any settlement, or that they are engaged in any employment other than that of roving bands of marauders. They are not cultivating the soil, but are disturbing and molesting those who do. They are engaged in no useful occupation themselves, and are determined to prevent others. But under SHANNON'S authority, the arms of the United States have been placed in their hands, and they have subsisted and been paid for their robber work at the public expense. In the mean time the ruffians along the Missouri river have been stopping free emigrants on their way to the territory, robbing them, and compelling them to return by boat loads.

Now that so large a number of the Free State men have been expelled or prevented from going thither, while so many vicious men of the South have been invited in and paid for staying, Mr. DOUGLAS proposes that the people may form a constitution without regard to numbers, that being no longer any obstacle. Still, he and his friends object to the Topeka constitution formed last October, although an instrument that is not only unobjectionable, but every way acceptable, save that it excludes Slavery from the new State.

While DOUGLAS'S bill was before the Senate, on the 2d inst., Mr. GEYER of Missouri moved to amend it in the following words:

"That no law shall be made or have force or effect which shall require a test oath or an oath 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 vote at an election, or which shall impose any tax upon or condition to exercise the right of suffrage by any qualified voter, or which shall restrain or prohibit free discussion of any law or subject of legislation in the Territory, or free expression of opinion thereon by the people of the Territory."

A long discussion followed. Mr. Cass, among others, said that "some of the acts passed by the legislative assembly of Kansas were disgraceful to the age in which we live. How [said he] can the people pass laws in a proper manner unless they have the right of free discussion?"

GEYER'S amendment, annulling some of the most outrageous laws of the ruffian legislature, was adopted almost unanimously—only three voting in the negative: BROWN, FITZPATRICK and MASON.

What a commentary is this vote on the absurd doctrine of Territorial sovereignty!—on the flagrant conduct and principles enunciated in 1854, and persistently adhered to until July 2d, 1856!—on the tyrannical acts of the usurping ruffian legislature!—on the Administration and the President who declared he would enforce those laws with all power with which the executive was invested. For months past the armed soldiers of the United States have been called in to sustain the tools of the executive and the usurping ruffian officials in enforcing these laws, which the Senate now—after a long series of grinding oppression, arbitrarily and wickedly executed—have, by an almost unanimous vote, abrogated as "disgraceful to the age in which we live."

The Administration presses in this State and throughout the country, have endeavored to deceive their readers in regard to these abominable laws,—have defended the ruffians,—have denounced and belied the Free State men for resisting them, and approved and sustained the imperious and arbitrary conduct of the executive. These violent partisans have been ready to subvert the principles on which our government is founded, to aid a corrupt organization. They would "give up to party what was meant for mankind." But "truth is mighty and public justice certain." The wrongs and enormities inflicted on Kansas could not, with all the power of the Administration and the intrigues and deceptions of its adherents, be maintained without destroying the principles of liberty and right on which our institutions are founded. At Cincinnati, PIERCE, who had lent himself as an instrument to the oppressions and outrages, was thrust aside by his own friends. They could not support him without annihilation to themselves. For the first time in the history of the country, a President in office failed of obtaining the support of a majority even of his own party. And now the Senate, rebuked by public opinion, and conscious of the errors and wickedness of those whom it has attempted to sustain, has finally disavowed their acts. It indicates a sense of returning justice in that body which originated the wrong, and shows that it feels the responsibility of a rightful and healthy public opinion. The people must in their primary capacity correct the errors of those whom they intrust with power. They must not permit men in place to arrogate authority and "subdue" their convictions of right and their determination to assert it.

What a demoralizing spectacle has the country witnessed since 1854, in the excesses and intrigues and misrepresentation respecting the great issues before the people! Men have been urged to sacrifice their honest convictions to uphold a decayed administration, and a rotten and debauched organization. The truth has been suppressed in their journals, and oppression and outrage excused and defended in order to screen the effects upon party. Those who have had the courage and independence to refuse to lend themselves to the schemes of the intriguers, have been denounced and stigmatized for manfully discharging their duty.

The Senate, in retracing its steps does so reluctantly, and in the bill of DOUGLAS have ready another intrigue to fasten Slavery upon Kansas. After expelling the Free State men as far as possible, from Kansas, and inviting the advocates of Slavery into the territory, they propose a commission of five persons, with full powers to say and determine who shall be voters. These five persons, whose decisions over the rights of the people, are to be final, are to be appointed by the President and the Senate. No one can doubt the description of persons that would be selected. SHANNON, LE-

COMPTON, DONALDSON, all enemies of freedom and Free State men—the veriest tools of the border ruffians and the slavery propaganda—have no doubt what material would constitute that board. It would be hostile to freedom and devoted to the fraud of extending and nationalizing slavery. Under its decrees, the people would be robbed of their rights as they have been heretofore.

The true course is for the Senate, like the House, to admit Kansas with the constitution already formed. This obviates all difficulty and places the infant State in an independent attitude. To the constitution itself no objections are made, except that it establishes freedom. This, it is admitted, is the wish of four-fifths of the people of Kansas, and would give general satisfaction to a large portion of the whole country.



NEW HAVEN:  
WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1856.

Noteworthy Extracts.

"Senator Jones of Tennessee," says the Louisville, Ky. Journal, "calls himself a Heaven-descended Whig." The Devil was Heaven-descended. He was kicked out of that place, and his descent was a tremendous one."

The Leavenworth, K. T. Journal "walks into" the Democratic organ at Indianapolis, in the following style:

The State Sentinel in the organ of the Pro Slavery Democracy in that State. It relieves the Government printing, and plays no tunes except those found in the Government music books. Every tune is written in a flat key or on a minor or small scale. Its favorite ones just now are Southern plantation melodies gotten up exclusively for Northern audiences. The man who turns the crank is not exactly the Reverend Captain of a flat-boat who "played upon the harp of a thousand strings," at Brandon, Miss., but the Reverend W. C. Larrabee, who played upon a Harp(er) at New York, and cheated the people of this State out of \$10,000 in purchasing Township Libraries—in consideration of which, and his wondrous piety, he should have at the head of his paper, for his motto—Let us prey.

A committee in Charleston, South Carolina, to raise money and emigrants to Kansas, reported, recently, to a public meeting in that city, that they had received \$9,511, spent \$9,338, and armed and shipped seventy-three men to Kansas. This is an average of \$122 for each man.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.  
WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 9, 1856.

Stand Square up to Them.

The nomination of Col Fremont and the universal welcome by which his name is received all through the North and West, have had a surprising effect in bringing the democratic leaders to their senses. From Douglas down, they are now ready to make any concession to avert the storm of popular indignation which they see is likely to sweep them to destruction. They hope to do it by a change of policy towards Kansas, which while it will not defeat their bad bargain to give Kansas to slavery in exchange for the political support of the slavery propagandists, may quiet and beguile the people. They still mean to make Kansas a slave state, but they would like to make the people think that it will be done fairly. This is the meaning of the Toombs and Douglas bill that has passed the Senate. The bill really concedes a great deal; it sets aside the sham of 'squatter sovereignty' and places safeguards around the ballot-box such as ought to have been

raised at first—but it places the execution of its provisions in the hands of the administration, whose bad faith towards the people of Kansas heretofore will allow nobody to trust in it for the future. Besides the bill proposes to give success to the ruffians and reward them for expelling and subduing the people of Kansas, as is most clearly shown in the admirably conclusive report of Judge Collamer. This concession cannot therefore be accepted by those who demand justice to Kansas. Our demand goes deeper. Kansas belongs to freedom by solemn compact. It must be free—a free territory, and a free state, and by no hocus-pocus under the name of compromise, must we allow it to become slave soil. It is with this demand the people are arousing themselves, and they ought to be satisfied with nothing less. They will not be. The democratic leaders do but half read the hand-writing on the wall if they think otherwise.

It is no time now to falter or hesitate or accept half-way measures for the sake of a temporary peace. That would only defer the contest and give into the hands of the enemies of liberty the advantage we now hold. Let the people stand boldly for the freedom of Kansas, without qualification and without concession, and that glorious triumph is within our reach. Kansas must be a free state. If the party of slavery and ruffianism persist in rejecting her with her present noble free state constitution, and thus reject the only direct, just and honorable mode of restoring peace to Kansas and the country, then the battle must be fought out to the bitter end, and we must take back our plundered birthright and make Kansas free at all hazards. Again we say—yield nothing to the pretended and mischievous concessions of the enemies of freedom. Stand square up to them! Justice and right is on our side, and with a firm hand and an unflinching onward movement we are sure of a whole triumph and a most glorious one.

Campaign Notes.

The Argus of Tuesday morning publishes under the lying head of "A fair statement of the case" the following sentence, so loaded with falsehood that upright type naturally were crushed down into italics:

*"There is now no danger to the people of Kansas, there is no war here, there is no interference there, with the rights of citizenship."*

This in the face of the perfectly notorious fact that free state emigrants are not allowed to land in the territory! Is the Argus knavish or foolish?

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

The Louisville Journal has too much manliness and independence to participate in the lies that pervade the southern and northern democratic press, touching affairs in Kansas, and, in an article appropriately severe upon the administration, as the author or abettor of the outrages in that territory, says:

We feel that we have already too long delayed lending our aid toward informing the nation of the atrocious outrages which have been committed, and are still continuing to be perpetrated in that unfortunate territory in the name of the law, and under the sanction of government officials. No man with any American feeling in his bosom can read the details without loathing and disgust, and with an indignation aroused against every official, from the highest to the lowest, who has directly or indirectly influenced or connived at results which have cast such a degrading shade on our national character. 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 officials. We care not. Thank God we have independence enough to denounce atrocious, no matter where or by whom committed.

The people of Dracut, at a miscellaneous gathering at a pic-nic, on the 5th inst., on being canvassed on the presidential question, gave a unanimous vote for Fremont. Not a vote for Buchanan could be found.

James Buchanan ought to be above the contemptible cant contained in the following extract from his letter declining the invitation to attend the celebration of the 4th, extended to him by the "Tammany Society, or Columbian Order," of New York:—

At a period when the national democratic party of the country are every where rallying to defend the constitution and the Union against the sectional party who would outlaw fifteen of our sister States from the confeder-

cracy, it must cheer the heart of every patriot to know that the democracy of the Empire State, in solid and united column, are rushing to the rescue.

Hon Adam Beatty, formerly member of Congress from Kentucky, and a slaveholder, has written a letter to the New York Tribune, from which we extract the following:

The fruits of the iniquitous bid introduced by Mr Douglas (which may be hereafter foreseen) have for a long time been presented in a shameful attempt, countenanced by Mr Pierce's administration, to turn a slave state by force out of the territory of Kansas. Mr Sumner is entitled to the thanks of all discreet men, all men who are influenced by the principles of justice and honor, for exposing the abominable fraud, both in the passage of the Nebraska bill and the means resorted to for carrying out its design of forcing slavery into the territory of Kansas. In my judgment the best means of securing the peace of the country and quieting agitation on the subject of slavery will be to admit Kansas as a free state, according to the spirit of the Missouri compromise, and reinstating that compromise, extending the line 36:30 to the Pacific Ocean. I heartily condemn the brutal attack of Brooks upon senator Sumner, for which he ought to be expelled from his seat in Congress.

Col Fremont's fitness for high civil position is by no means a fresh discovery, but was recognized when he was many years younger than now, as the following extract from a speech made in the U. S. Senate in 1848, by Hon John A. Dix, very fully shows:

"In the execution of three objects, the young and accomplished officer at the head of our troops, Col Fremont, exhibited a combination of energy, promptitude, sagacity and prudence, which indicated the highest capacity for civil and military command; and in connection with what he has done for the cause of science, it has given him a reputation at home and abroad of which men much older and more experienced than himself might well be proud. That the country will do justice to his valuable and distinguished services, I entertain not the slightest doubt. The objects accomplished by Col Fremont, as subsequent developments have shown, were far more important than those I have referred to. There is no doubt that his rapid and decisive movements kept California out of the hands of British subjects, and perhaps out of the hands of the British government, and it is in this point of view that I desire to present the subject to the Senate. \* \* \* It is in this point of view that the transactions possess the greatest interest and importance, and that the sagacity, promptitude and decision of our youthful commander in California, at the time the disturbances broke out, have given him the strongest claims on his countrymen. Any faltering on his part; any hesitation in acting, and in acting promptly, might have cost us millions of dollars and thousands of lives; and it might also have set us a contest of which the end is not readily foreseen."

George Law and Martin Van Buren have written political letters which have found their way to the public eye. Law goes against slavery and Buchanan and against Fillmore as being no better than Buchanan; and so, in a manly way, says he shall support Fremont. Van Buren purrs through two long columns of meaningless stuff, and endorses Buchanan. This is the old hack that once stood on the Buffalo platform, but as we gave him the same credit for truth to freedom then that we do now, it is only necessary to pity him, and let him pass.

While the train of Monday morning was detained by an accident between Warren and Palmer, a vote was taken on the presidency with the following result: Fremont 25, Buchanan 0, Fillmore 0.

At a republican meeting in Detroit, C. J. Dickinson, lately a prominent old line democrat of Hillsdale county, but just returned from Kansas, and who has purified himself of slave-driving democracy, made a very happy speech. He reports the greatest enthusiasm for the nominations in the interior, and pledged Hillsdale—that county which in 1852, gave Pierce 79 majority over Scott, and in 1854 gave a republican majority of over a thousand—to give Fremont and Dayton two thousand majority; and that southern Michigan will give from 5000 to 10,000 majority for our ticket.

The true way to convert hard-headed and obstinate Buchaneers to genuine democracy, is to send them up the Missouri river to Kansas. What they see, and experience of border ruffianism will convert them, if they have a single latent spark of manliness left.

While Hallett was lecturing to his empty benches, at Keene, on the 4th, the republicans were having a tremendous demonstration for Fremont and Dayton, in the other section of the village. Thousands on thousands of the hardy yeomanry of the Granite State assembled to ratify the nominations of the Philadelphia convention, which they did, with a spirit and enthusiasm that has never been witnessed since the memorable campaign of 1840. Eloquent and stirring addresses were made by several persons, among them A. H. Stearns, representative to the legislature from Nashua, who, heretofore, went for keeping slavery out of politics, but now goes it strong for Fremont and victory.

Kenneth Raynor has declined the nomination for the vice presidency, tendered him by the bolters from the New York convention. He says he shall support Mr Fillmore.

Senator Hannibal Hamlin positively declines to be the candidate of the republicans of Maine for governor, at the September election. He will, however, stump the state in favor of the nominee of the party.

Henry Clay said, in the Senate, "I repeat that I never can and never will vote, and no earthly power will ever make me vote, to spread slavery over territory where it does not exist."

(From the Springfield Argus.)

The New York Independent, a sort of infidel paper which pretends to be religious, has openly come out for the black republican presidential nominees. It is also the advocate of murder and various other pleasing Christian virtues.

**Aid for Kansas.**

Ludlow has raised \$125, as the first instalment of its contribution to the Kansas aid fund.—At a picnic of the North parish in Greenfield, on the 4th, after an excellent address on Kansas affairs by Rev Dr Chandler, the pastor, \$23 were contributed to aid the suffering free state emigrants in that territory.

The subscriptions in Northampton for aid to Kansas amount thus far to \$1,100.—The ladies of Burlington, Vt., held a Kansas aid levee on the fourth of July, and obtained between five and six hundred dollars.—A Boston boy in Minnesota writes home that he has given \$100 to Kansas, and shall give \$100 a year to sustain the free state cause in that territory, until the question is settled.

An appeal to the clergymen of all denominations in behalf of the suffering emigrants in Kansas, and recommending a general contribution in all the churches of the state, is signed by the following distinguished clergymen of Boston: Charles Lowell, Unitarian; Edward N. Kirk, Congregational; Alex. H. Vinton, Episcopal; Rollin H. Neale, Baptist; A. A. Miner, Universalist; Jas. Freeman Clarke, Unitarian; William R. Clark, Methodist; Henry M. Dexter, Congregational; T. F. Caldwell, Baptist; Rufus Ellis, Unitarian; Baron Stow, Baptist; A. L. Stone, Congregational; E. Edmunds, Christian; Hosea Ballou 2d, Universalist; Henry A. Miles, Unitarian; James Porter, Methodist.

**THE TOOMBS BILL.**—The administration papers make a great show of indignation over the fact that the advocates of free Kansas do not come square up to the mark, and accept the bill of Mr Toombs for the pacification and organization of Kansas. Do these papers suppose that a Senate which supports this administration in all its ruffianism—that such men as Butler and Toombs and Douglas—have voted for a bill that they had the slightest idea would make Kansas a free state? Their whole history, and the notorious pro-slavery policy of the Senate, make such a supposition preposterous. Suppose the bill to be all fair in terms: does it follow that a free state man should vote for it? Did they not establish quarter sovereignty, and now, when quarter sovereignty gives them the Topeka constitution, do they not repudiate it? They are not to be trusted. We would not trust one of the whole black batch with the interests of freedom in Kansas so far as we would trust a starving dog with a mutton chop. The real policy of the upholders of the bill is well exhibited in the following extract from the New York Tribune's Washington correspondence:

I am more than ever confident that the talk of the border ruffians against Toombs's bill is a ruse to catch free state voters for it in the House. I heard one of these precious "law and order" men, fresh from Missouri, arguing the matter to-day to a companion thus: "We can't pass the bill in the House unless we can get some few of the free state men to vote for it; and the only way to accomplish that is to argue the fairness of Douglas's and Geyer's amendments, abolishing all test oaths, and allowing free state men who vote as late as October, and declare that Oliver and Whiffled and Stringfellow oppose it! If we can get the bill through in that way, Pierce will appoint the right kind of men for commissioners, and we will take care of the rest as we did before."

Now in all candor, let us ask of our republican friends, what more they want or desire,—what more have they asked than is contained in this bill. Does it not provide for a fair registration of the votes, for a residence which precludes foreign voting, for the return of all who have been driven out of the territory, or have left on account of the troubles there, for a publication of the names of voters in advance, and their submission to the most rigid public scrutiny through the press, on the public records, and at the place of voting for a repeal of the obnoxious laws abridging freedom of speech on the slavery question?—Argus.

Really, now! Have any been "driven out of the territory?" We have been led to suppose, by the Argus, that that was all humbug. The republicans lie so terribly that we had about concluded there was not any such place as Kansas. Have there really been "troubles" there? Are there any "obnoxious laws abridging freedom of speech on the slavery question?" Has there really been any oppression there? We supposed everything was going on swimmingly there, and had been for some time. After all, does the Argus see the tendency of its large charity? What! let all those squatter rebels back into the territory, and condemn the laws it has been upholding? Can it be possible that the editor is out of town?

**NOTHING MORE LIKELY.**—The editor of the Boston Chronicle is informed by a gentleman of high respectability and intelligence who has resided for several years in Missouri, that when Thompson delivered to the border ruffians 300 muskets and two brass cannon from the U. S. arsenal at Liberty, Mo., he was asked if he was not afraid he would get into difficulty with the government at Washington. He replied, *no*, he had telegraphed to Pierce, and it was all right.

**The Atlas.**

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 9, 1856.

**Washington Correspondence of the Atlas.**

WASHINGTON, June 5, 1856.

Mr. Gay of Westport, agent of the Shawnee Indians, was a pro-slavery Democrat, from Michigan, a protege of Gen. Cass, to whom he was indebted for the lucrative office he held. If Gen. C. had any sensibilities left, the circumstances of this murder would arouse them. Mr. Gay was met by a prowling party of Southern ruffians, and having stated that he was from Michigan, was pronounced a "d—d abolitionist" and shot dead, his son receiving also serious wounds. The facts are well established, and the murderers are said to be known. They will be brought to justice, if they are caught. If their victim had been a free State man, nothing would have been said about it; but having killed one of their own friends, by mistake, they may be made to suffer for it.

The murder of Mr. Gay, and the circumstances and manner of it, exhibit the condition of things in Kansas, quite as forcibly as any event which has occurred there. That territory is overrun by ruffians and murderers, sent there and supported and paid for the express purpose of killing, hunting down and driving out all the free State settlers. They are ready to shoot at sight any "d—d abolitionist" they met, and they presume everybody to be an abolitionist who comes from a free State.

The greatest difficulty in arousing the country to the state of things in Kansas, grows out of the nature of the events which are transpiring there. They are so monstrous as to be incredible.

It is known here that this Mr. Gay, who was an active pro-slavery Democrat, because bound to that party by the strong tie of office, has been writing letters to Michigan, during the spring, asserting that the troubles in Kansas were greatly exaggerated by the Abolitionists, and that the Territory was after all tolerably quiet. Mr. Gay was willing to look on and see other people murdered, and to do all he could to smother up any facts which might injure his party. A retributive Providence has presented the poisoned chalice to his own lips, and he has himself fallen a victim to a spirit which he had been doing his utmost to screen from popular indignation. Of a verity, God is just.

The friends of Mr. Toombs's Kansas bill, which has passed the Senate, profess to believe that it can be put through the House. The friends of free Kansas have no apprehension of any such disastrous result.

The question of an adjournment of Congress is agitated. Members on both sides are personally anxious to get home. The weather is hot, and the session is old. Still, the men in Congress who wish to see the wrongs of Kansas righted, will stay here till December, if any good can be thereby accomplished. The House has already passed the bill admitting Kansas as a Free State. When the Civil and Army Appropriation bills come up, attempts will be made to amend them, so that the Army of the United States shall not be used to enforce the bogus Territorial laws of Kansas, and so that such *posse* as sacked Lawrence shall no longer be paid out of the public treasury. When these amendments shall have been attempted, and the event will show with what success,

It is not obvious that anything further can be done. There is not a working majority in the House in favor of free Kansas. The truth is so, and must be admitted. Unless, then, some new events shall occur, which change the complexion of the House, it is probable that Congress may adjourn by the 20th of August.

The action of the House has certainly not come up to the hopes of the people. The responsibility is upon some dozen Northern Representatives, led by Dunn and Haven, who were elected as Anti-Nebraska men, but who have sold themselves to the South for a mess of pottage.

**THE KANSAS REPORT.**—The report of the Kansas investigating committee, which was made in the House at Washington, last week, has well been called, by the organs of the Administration and apologists for outrage and cruel oppression, "an electioneering document." Though not designed in a commendatory sense, nothing could well be more true. It is, indeed, an electioneering document, and one that cannot fail to exert a tremendous influence throughout the country, if properly distributed. Every American citizen who values the principles of civil liberty and the institutions of our Republican Government, and will read this document, we care not what may have been his past political affiliations, cannot fail to rise from its perusal, determined to put an end to such outrages by displacing from power the party who are responsible for the crying wrongs it exposes. The plain and simple narrative discloses a system of persecution and outrage, practised upon our fellow citizens from the free States, who have emigrated to Kansas, that can hardly find a parallel in the worst governed and most oppressed nation of the earth. Let the name which the Washington Union has given to the report be realized in the reality. Let this report be the electioneering document of the campaign. Let a copy be put in the hands of every voter in the free States, and we cannot fear for the result of the approaching Presidential election. It more than substantiates, by overwhelming testimony, all and more than all, that has been charged upon the ruffians from the borders. It has been written in an admirably calm, plain and simple manner, arraying facts, with all the irresistible force of terrible truths. We hope the report will be printed in pamphlet form and circulated everywhere. A copy should be placed in the hands of every American citizen.

#### Vermont Correspondence of the Atlas.

BURLINGTON, Vt., July 6, 1856.

The never-to-be-forgotten Fourth was a lively day in our village yesterday. The people flocked in from the adjacent towns in great numbers, and all seemed to be in high spirits. There was what is called a Union celebration, and the orator was Mr. Roberts, who gave us a very fine oration, but his proclivities were such that he could not very well steer clear of the great issues of the day. True, he did not speak the word *Kansas*, but still he argued strongly from the Declaration of Independence, and the preamble of the United States Constitution, that slavery is a great wrong. And how could an orator on such an occasion avoid speaking of liberty, and contrasting it with slavery, even if he endangered the Union in the estimation of a few office holders and office seekers? The idea is preposterous. No true hearted man could do otherwise. A union celebration of the Fourth at such a crisis as this! Well, let that pass. Mr. Roberts did his duty, but some of the doughfaces may grumble. The great feature of the day, however, was the work of the Ladies of Burlington, God bless them! They filled Union Hall with ice creams, strawberries, and more substantial viands, and invited the citizens to partake for the benefit of the Kansas sufferers. Our citizens responded to the call, repaired to the Hall, ate, and left between five and six hundred dollars for the benefit of Freedom in Kansas. Such are the impulses in Vermont. It was a good day's work.

**BLOCKADE OF THE MISSOURI RIVER.**—We print the following letters lately received in this city, for the purpose of throwing some additional light on the operations of the Missouri river pirates. It will be seen that the Governor of Missouri has sent twelve cannon to Stringfellow, Acheson & Co., to aid in sustaining the blockade of the river:

St. Louis, July 1, 1856.

Before this reaches you, the telegraph will have announced the fate of our Massachusetts friends un-

der charge of Dr. Cutter. As particulars may not have reached you, I take this early opportunity to give them to you. Before the departure of the Chicago party, I met their committee, and gave them my views of the practicability of sending up the Missouri river. I advised them to charter a steamer, and take no other passengers, but to proceed to Alton, and there take on board at least 150 men. This proposition was adopted. I accordingly proceeded immediately to St. Louis, and chartered the steamer Star of the West, to take from 125 to 200 passengers, at \$10 each, to be landed at Leavenworth. I immediately proceeded to Alton to receive them on their arrival, while the steamer was to come up that evening. On my arrival in Alton, I received a telegraph message from the agent who went to Iowa, city to bring Col. Lane's party down, that they were determined to go through Iowa. Consequently we had only the Chicago party of seventy-five men to send forward. I immediately telegraphed the steamer at St. Louis to take on all the passengers she could get in St. Louis, and to come up at the hour appointed. She arrived at the levee, in Alton, on Thursday night, about eleven o'clock, and our men went immediately on board. There were some thirty pro-slavery men on board, who were attentive spectators of our movements. Our men went on board quietly, and having settled with the captain satisfactorily, I bid them good bye, and in a few minutes they were far away on the broad Missouri. I herewith enclose you a memorandum of the outrages this party received, written by one of the leaders of the party. You can rely upon the correctness of it.

Having learned the fate of this band of emigrants, I was confident they would be returned to Alton by the same boat, under guard of the ruffians. I immediately proceeded there on Saturday to receive our friends, and also invite the ruffians ashore. In this we were foiled, as the steamer landed them on an unsettled shore about five miles below Alton. I at once met the men, who were without arms or money. Although they had surrendered, they were not disheartened, but expressed their desire to go to Kansas. I at once procured a steamer to take them up the Mississippi river to Davenport, where they will join Col. Lane's party, and proceed to Nebraska City across Iowa.

Our Massachusetts emigrants, under charge of Dr. Cutter and Mr. Thayer, were met by the ruffians at Waverly, a small town a few miles this side of Lexington, and were there overpowered and forced to surrender their arms. An armed guard was placed on board. They were to be taken up the river, and disposed of as Stringfellow and Acheson saw proper. But stern threats were made of hanging Dr. Cutter, and in fact the whole company. I am somewhat rehensive of the safety of Cutter. His men will be returned to Alton, or kept as prisoners in either Missouri. Another company from Ottawa, Ill., which started from here two days after Cutter's party, shared the same fate. So it has been shown that the Missouri river, the public highway into the Territory, is no longer navigable for free State men. Is this not a direct insult from Missouri to all the free States? Is it not a most glaring insult directly to Illinois and Massachusetts? Will they stand still, and see their fellow citizens thus treated? God forbid. Illinois, I learn, is about seeking redress through its Governor from the Governor of Missouri. I think it will avail nothing, as I hear it currently reported that the Governor of Missouri has just sent the ruffians twelve cannon to use against us. Sound arguments and reason are of no avail. The law is of no avail. The rifle and revolver have got to settle the question. As they have cut off our ingress via the Missouri river, they will now turn their forces towards Nebraska, and we may daily look for a battle on the prairies of Nebraska. The last party from Massachusetts have gone on by Iowa City and Nebraska, to join a large body from other States. Massachusetts has done well, but the work has but just commenced. The great question of the white man's liberty has now got to be settled. Shall the South rule and make us all slaves? Shall the freedom of speech and a free press be longer tolerated in these United States? These are the questions that the Freemen of the North have to decide. If there is a North, it must now stand forth, and with a powerful arm strike terror into the ranks of Border ruffians and Southern chivalry. Five thousand good substantial free State men must be sent forward at once, prepared to settle peaceably, if they can, in Kansas, or to take up arms in defence of civil liberty and of the institution left us by our revolutionary fathers. Massachusetts should send one thousand men; New York, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin and Michigan will do their part, and are this moment actively engaged. Where are the other free States? We hear but little of them here, and see but few of their men. Set the ball of freedom rolling, from the extreme corner of Maine, let it roll powerfully and rapidly over every foot of free soil. Send it on to the banks of the Mississippi, we will stand ready to give it a new impetus across the prairies of Iowa, and send it bounding into Kansas. We want action, and that immediately. Send

out your best men to let the people know the true state of affairs; let them not think, that Kansas being so far away, it will be impossible to affect them, whichever way the scales turn; let her become a slave State, and the vast territory beyond become slave territory. The power of the Union is then vested in the South, and away will vanish our glorious Union, or we must submit to a code of laws that shall make us all worse than slaves. The laws already established in Kansas by the bogus Legislature, are but a forerunner of what the free States must submit to, if once the South get the power in their hands. I will advise you on receipt of further news.

Truly yours, F. A. HUNT.

ALTON, June 30, 1856.

F. A. HUNT, Esq.—Dear Sir:—Your request for a full and correct statement of our expedition to Kansas has just been received. Griffin is not here, but in his absence I will comply. We got aboard the steamer Star of the West at Alton, on Wednesday or Thursday, the 19th or 20th of June, 1856. We discovered soon after getting on board, that there were a large number of pro-slavery men on with us, and that they were intent in finding out our purposes. Telegraphic despatches were frequently sent in advance of the boat, telling of our approach, and at Lexington we were informed that we should be disturbed. Twenty-five miles this side of that place a messenger was dispatched to make announcement of our coming, that they might be fully prepared to assault us. We reached Lexington on Sunday evening at 11 o'clock. We had prepared for a defence, if we thought there would be any probability of success, and we intended to fight at all events, rather than make a disgraceful surrender. We discovered at the landing full three hundred armed men, and across the river off opposite upon a ferry boat, about 100 men, with three cannon. The men on shore also had several pieces of cannon. A deputation of several of their chief men came aboard of the boat, threatening and defiant, saying that we should give up our arms, or that our lives should pay the forfeit. They discovered that our preparations were complete, whereupon they demanded to see our leader. Mr. Andrews, President of the company, with two or three others of our men, withdrew to the Captain's room, where they made the following proposal, which it was thought best to adopt: That the rifles should be given up, (i. e. except the common rifles, about 15 in number,) with the ammunition, &c., and a receipt given by a responsible man for their safe keeping and subsequent return to the company. That each man should retain his private arms and all other property of any kind whatsoever. This was chiefly what occurred in Lexington. Not a man of the company but what supposed when we first landed he was to fight to the death, and not a few were displeased with the conditions of settlement. There might be many comments made at this point, and much to say in excuse for our surrender; but we have no fears of being censured, when any who is so disposed looks soberly at the facts as they existed. Nothing of note occurred after leaving this place until Tuesday morning, when there came on board a party of fifty Carolinians at Kansas, headed by Stringfellow and Acheson. A few miles further up, we met the steamer Polar Star, which stopped alongside, and there came on board another large party of Border Ruffians, swelling their number to nearly a hundred. We supposed from the terrible threats which were made by them, that we should in a little time be sacrificed, but we soon learned that their words were their greatest bravery. A large number of them were drunk. Acheson very soon relieved us of our suspense by informing us that we had at last to leave the Territory upon the first return boat, unless we delivered up our arms into their safe keeping, he would not guarantee us any protection whatever; that if we would deposit our revolvers, &c., in the Captain's office, until we left the boat, he would pledge his word and honor that they should be returned to us, and that none of our property should be molested or disturbed. To these proposals, after due consideration, we consented. We made arrangements with the same Captain that brought us up, to remain on his boat until his return, and take a passage back with him. This was the first boat down. We were to remain over till Thursday. A guard of 30 men was placed over us for our protection, and to prevent our escape into the Territory. Some of our men were rather unguarded in speaking their sentiments, and pretty serious debates were held by the Ruffians in relation to hanging. In fact, the whole party at one time, regretted that their lives had not been insured. Mr. Grover, of our party, was taken off at Leavenworth City and held under guard until our return, when he was brought in the same way on the boat, as far back as Kansas City. He was escorted to the hotel in this place, by four men with bayonets—this is the last we heard of him. We were unable to conjecture what their excuse was for detaining him, or what was to be his fate. We saw nothing of note on our return until we got 50 miles below Lexington, when we met the Massachusetts Company of 40 men, on board the Sultan. We tried

to have them come back with us, and would have effected our purpose if the Captain of their boat had not been treacherous to them. We arrived at the mouth of the Missouri on Sunday morning at 8 o'clock. From here we had to foot it into Alton, where we arrived about 10 past 10 o'clock. I ought to have mentioned that the baggage, with men to take charge of it, passed along on the boat to St. Louis. Our revolvers and tents were not returned to us.—Most of our company are desirous to return to Kansas by the overland route. This is merely an outline of our expedition.

**BOSTON DAILY TIMES**

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1856.

**Another Appeal on Behalf of the Kansas "Bleeding" Fund.**

The *Atlas* yesterday published an article from which the following is an extract:—  
 For more than a week past, the telegraph has announced a series of outrages perpetrated by the ruffians of Missouri upon emigrants bound to Kansas, all showing that they have taken possession of the Missouri river, plundering, robbing, driving back, and even threatening to murder them. Does the general government mean to disperse these gangs of land pirates? or has it become the settled policy of the administration, that people from the free States have no rights?

In another column, the *Atlas* contains a Clerical Appeal from sixteen of the "most deservedly distinguished" clergymen of this city, to the balance of the priesthood, beseeching still further aid in behalf of the Kansas bleeding fund, a fund for which our citizens have already bled so copiously. This appeal comes in the shape of a circular letter to the clergy of the State, and is probably based upon the capital that might be invested in such paragraphs as we have above quoted. Now, let us look into the merits of this new lien upon Kansas sympathisers—taking meanwhile into consideration what ex-Mayor Smith intimates about the mal-appropriation of the sums already subscribed in aid of the sufferers in Kansas.

Some weeks ago, the people of Missouri were informed by the newspapers that military companies were being formed in Chicago and other Northern cities, for the purpose of invading Kansas. They started with threats, as we have it stated in print, "to lay open the heart of Missouri." These filibustering companies proceeded on their way without interruption until they reached Lexington, Mo. At this point they expected objection would be made to their further progress, and they were not disappointed. The facts are stated in the *Lexington Express* as follows:—

A company of eighty men, under the command of Capt. Andrews, from Chicago, armed with rifles and bayonets, were passengers on the steamer *Star* of the West, bound for Kansas. They were not travelling like private citizens, but as soldiers, and their avowed purpose was to enter Kansas as soldiers, to aid the abolitionists there in resisting the laws of the territory, and fighting the pro-slavery party in that Territory. Being so informed, and the President having issued his proclamation forbidding any armed invasion of Kansas, our citizens quietly and soberly resolved that it was their duty, as loyal citizens, to interfere and prevent this warlike foray into a neighboring Territory. They accordingly appointed a committee to wait on Capt. Andrews, and inform him of the determination of our people. When the boat arrived, which was late on the night of the 22d, the committee proceeded to discharge its duty. The abolitionists raved and swore considerably, but after a few minutes of parleying the whole thing was satisfactorily arranged. It was agreed that the soldiers should be allowed to retain all small arms, and arms that were private property, but the public arms—the rifles and bayonets—were to be left at Lexington, subject to the order of the Governor of Kansas Territory. The men were allowed to pass on without further interruption.

It was expected that this would end the whole matter, and that these poor, deluded fanatics would be allowed to enter Kansas without further interruption. This, however, was not the case; under the President's proclamation no organized bodies of men were to be allowed to enter Kansas, and these filibusters were accordingly met at Leavenworth city by the people of Kansas, who required of them that they should im-

mediately return peaceably to their homes. This order was rigidly enforced, and they returned to St. Louis on the same boat which had brought them out.

In the whole of these proceedings on the part of the Missourians, there is nothing which the soundest wisdom and patriotism might not justify. Who were the invaders, the land pirates, the free-booters in these cases? They were Northern so-called Free State men, going, contrary to law and in defiance of the proclamations of both the President of the United States and the Governor of the Territory, with hostile and rebellious intent into a portion of the Confederacy the common heritage and property of every State in the Union. These filibusters were properly treated, as we hope all armed bands of marauders will be who attempt by the sword and Sharps' rifles to mould the destinies of any portion of our broad and luxuriant National Domain. The bleeding committee of clergymen, who have forsaken their calling to invoke the spirit of civil war among the American people, are welcome to all the capital they can make out of this justifiable exercise of the paramount duty of the government and the people of a sovereign State in disarming and sending back, with their heads on their shoulders, of this band of Chicago adventurers.

**A KANSAS WANT.**—A correspondent of the *Hillsdale Gazette*, after mentioning rifles and some other things, which he says they do not want in Kansas, states a real necessity, as follows:—

"A young Missourian came to my office yesterday on business, having left his claim about one hundred miles west, a few days since, where he had been living about four months. He said among other things, 'there are plenty of men up there, but I have not seen a woman for about four months. There is an Illinois man up there, who has got a woman's dress, and carries it around for a show, charging one dollar a sight, and is getting rich at it.'"

**Boston Journal**

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 9.

**MATTERS AT WASHINGTON.** There are some important matters which have recently transpired at Washington that seem to require more than a mere passing notice. The trial of Brooks for the dastardly assault upon Senator Sumner has resulted, as we fully expected it would, in the mere mockery of justice being meted out to the offender. A paltry fine of \$300 was imposed for an assault of the most aggravated character! It is idle to speak of this sentence as a punishment. Mr. Brooks is a wealthy man and would throw away double the amount of his fine upon a champagne supper without feeling the expenditure. If the fine had been \$3000 instead of \$300, his admiring constituents would have raised the amount and presented it to him as a token of their approval of his chivalry. Nothing short of imprisonment would have been a punishment at all commensurate with the magnitude of the offence, but this the court had not the courage or independence to inflict. It is thus that the courts at Washington partake of the prevailing demoralization. Great offenders go "unwhipped of justice." Crimes are committed in high places with impunity, and these scenes are tolerated if not encouraged, which have made our national Legislature a reproach at home and abroad, and a disgrace to the nation.

The action of the two branches of Congress upon the river improvement bills will serve to illustrate the little respect that is entertained by the Democracy for the opinions of President Pierce, and the small influence that he possesses with his party now that his star will soon set in darkness. The bills for deepening the channel over the St. Clair flats, and over the flats in St. Mary's river, and for the improvement of the mouth of the Mississippi, were passed by the Senate and House over the veto of the President by more than the necessary two-thirds vote. In the former branch, which contains thirty-two Pierce and Douglas Democrats, only ten could be found to sustain the President in his veto. The passage of these bills was regarded by the Democratic leaders as a political necessity. President Pierce would not concede this desperate attempt to make political cap-

ital for his successful rival, and his opinions have been overruled and even treated with contempt, the House, on motion of an administration Democrat, refusing even to hear the reasons of the President read before stamping them with its disapproval! The moral of the whole matter is that the opinions of a man who is about to vacate the Presidential chair are very apt to go for just what they are worth and no more, and that the Democratic party is opposed to river and harbor improvement, except on the eve of a Presidential election, when it is ready to sacrifice principle, consistency, and everything else, "to quiet the West!"

The Senate has rejected the House bill for the admission of Kansas, substituting therefor Douglas's bill, which holds out a delusive hope of quieting the troubles in that territory. The passage of this bill is another political necessity with the Democratic leaders. It was introduced as an offset to the Howe bill, and failing to secure its passage, they will claim the virtue of having attempted to establish peace in Kansas. The stern fact cannot be kept out of sight that the evils which the Buchananians now profess so earnest a desire to remedy, were brought upon the territory by their own pernicious actions, which they now propose to undo in part only. But instead of adopting the quickest, the best, and in short the only really feasible means of remedying these evils, they postpone until a future day what they term "the pacification of Kansas." Kansas should come into the Union as a free State in accordance with the spirit of a solemn compact, now broken by one party, but which is none the less valid. It should be admitted under the Topeka constitution, in compliance with the unmistakable wishes of the majority of her inhabitants. To defer this result, and make it contingent upon the possibility that the free State men may be able to resist the inroads of the border ruffians, is practically to deny justice to Kansas, to give the slave power a lien upon the territory, and to perpetuate the existing anarchy.

All the facts which we have seen with regard to the disarming of emigrants, and forcing them to return, lead us to this conclusion: No company from the North can reasonably expect to reach Kansas by the Missouri route without fighting their way through. Those who desire to go to that territory should first count the cost. If they conclude to take the risk and go with arms in their hands, but surrender those arms at the first demand by the border highwaymen, without "fighting a little," they are better fitted for salesmen in tinners' stores than for pioneers. We more than half suspect that the members of the Illinois and Worcester companies mistook their vocation.

**KANSAS MEETING IN FITCHBURG.** 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."

**Journal and Courier.**

Lowell, Wednesday, July 9, 1856.

**The Present State of Affairs in Kansas—Blockade of the Missouri River.**

The Border Ruffians having driven out the Free State settlers from Kansas and got entire and complete possession of the debatable ground, have concluded to make assurance doubly sure, that it is best to admit no more immigrants from the Free States. To that end a blockade has been established on the Missouri river. All boats conveying bodies of Free State immigrants are stopped, and searched and plundered. At the borders of Kansas Free State companies are met by Jones, Buford and Atchison, and told that they must turn back. Armed immigrants from South Carolina are admitted in any numbers, but Illinois and Massachusetts people must give up their weapons of defence and turn back. This is piling Pelion upon Ossa with a vengeance. Meantime if Douglas's nice scheme of pacification should be accepted by the House of Representatives, the Ruffians will have things all their own way in Kansas, as that territory is now hermetically sealed against the ingress of Free-men.



# Essex County Mercury

Independent in Politics and Religion.

Salem, Wednesday, July 9, 1856.

**THE FIRST STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.**—In the Senate, on Wednesday night, Mr. Wilson made a motion, which we have been surprised not to see before; namely, that "All acts passed by the Legislature of Kansas, or any assembly acting as such, be and the same are hereby abrogated, and declared void and of no effect."

The true remedy for the immediate perils of Kansas, is a simple declaration of Congress that the so called Legislature of Kansas was a body of usurpers, and all its acts are void; and then so to extend the details of the organic act as to provide a complete system of Provisional Government to endure until the people shall establish and set in operation one of their own.

It is idle to talk of any popular elections being held in Kansas while the whole Missouri frontier is gleaming and bristling with bowie knives and fire arms, in the hands of men bent upon a foray as often as any question comes up vitally affecting the interests of slavery.

The manly course of some of the Southern Senators, in reference to Kansas outrages, contrasts very honorably with that of our Northern doughfaces. The special correspondent of the Boston Daily Advertiser states that during the debate, on Wednesday night, Mr. Clayton boldly denounced the Territorial laws as infamous, tyrannical, and worthy of revolutionary resistance. He gave notice that he should move a proposition ordering *not pros.* to be entered on the Kansas indictments for treason.

**THE BORDER OUTRAGES.** The New Bedford Mercury has the following just comments upon the organized robbery of Free-State passengers, at the Missouri landing places on the Mississippi River, of which several cases are stated on our first page.

Let not the people of the land deceive themselves, let no Massachusetts citizen deceive himself,—unless the administration of this country be changed, similar outrages will occur in all that portion of the United States territory occupied by slavery, and the remedy is simple; it is in a change of the government by means of the ballot box, an overthrow of that ruling power which permits these despotic and subversive acts to be carried out on the American soil,—by a return to those fundamental principles of republican freedom entertained and set forth, by the fathers of the republic.—This the remedy,—there is there can be no other.

We believe that if John C. Fremont is chosen to the office of President, it will be utterly impossible for the present condition of things in the American government to continue in force. Not only is he pledged against it, but his whole life leads to the irresistible conclusion, that he will prove true to free principles, will do what he has undertaken to do, that is administer the government impartially for the benefit of the whole country, not for a section, not for this party interest or for that, but as a true patriot observe faithfully the real truths, the just and recognized realities of the American constitution, and that life, personal liberty and property will then be as secure in Lexington Mo., as in any other spot on the broad face of the United States.

**MR. COLLAMER'S REPORT.** In another column we have placed the Minority Report, made by Judge Collamer, last week, from the Committee on Territories, in the Senate, upon Douglas's latest Kansas bill. It discloses, at a glance, the fatal objections to that bill, which was forced through the Senate, after an all-night session, commencing on Wednesday.

This bill is an ingenious fraud, arranged as a cover under which to swindle Kansas of her dearest rights. It is impossible to get a fair expression of popular sentiment in Kansas, upon the slavery question, at the present time, under any law which depends for its execution upon the Pierce Administration and the local officers of the territory appointed by its bogus legislature. Besides, it is a well known fact that large numbers of the Free State men who went to Kansas to settle permanently, have abandoned the Territory for the present, because of the border ruffianism, or because the troubles of last spring rendered them utterly unable to get in their crops. While these causes have driven out the Free State men, the Missourians guard the border, and care is taken that no reinforcements shall reach the Territory.—Thus within the last few days we have heard of hundreds of Free State settlers, on their way to Kansas, who were disarmed and turned back by armed and organized forces, at various Missouri towns on the Mississippi river.—

With such auxiliaries as these, Douglas and the administration think it pretty sure that they can get slavery into Kansas by authorizing a new Constitutional Convention, if chosen promptly, and so they are now willing to permit such a Convention to be called, no matter how small the population of the Territory may be, although only a few weeks ago he deemed a population of 93,000 indispensable. And if it should turn out that the Free State men are the strongest after all it will be quite easy, as the Washington correspondent of the New York Times remarks, to turn in Missourians enough "to make all straight." On the face of the bill it is a complete abandonment of the whole doctrine of "popular sovereignty," and resumes the authority of Congress, so far as it can do so, in this case, without interposing any obstacle to the extension of slavery.

## The Daily Patriot.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1856.

**END OF THE TOPEKA SHAM.**—The proposition to admit Kansas with the Topeka constitution, received but eleven votes in the Senate. A majority of the Northern senators refused to vote for it. This is sufficient to show that this miserable sham cannot receive the countenance of Congress. The people of Kansas are thus safe from having imposed upon them a constitution and a government in the formation of which but a mere fraction of them took part. The miserable partizan trick has thus received a merited rebuke which will prove its death-blow. The Albany Argus well says:—

The Topeka constitution movement has served so evil an end, that one is inclined to believe that the evil was designed from the beginning. By setting aside all legal government, it confounded the Free State cause with that of treason and insurrection. It drove from the ranks of the North all who were inclined to stand by the law and maintain order. But for it Kansas would be free beyond doubt. But for it the supremacy of the laws would, by this time, be asserted, and order reign in the Territory.

But peace and freedom in Kansas would

have been death to the demagogues who lived upon the agitation of the question. The Topeka movement was an ingenious contrivance to render collision inevitable, and to make peace (except after an armed conflict) impossible.

It was an impudent and, except in its mischievous aspect, an impotent trick! There was no convention emanating from her people to prepare a constitution—no vote of the people in acceptance of it. It was as dead in Kansas, the day of its birth, as it now is in the United States Senate. But the men who devised it will yet be made to account for the evil they have done through it.

**SHERIFF JONES.**—The Lawrence (Kansas) correspondent of the New York Times says that Sheriff Jones was really shot, and dangerously wounded. His lower limbs are partially paralyzed, and it is with difficulty that he even walks his room. He has been worse ever since he appeared in the streets of Lawrence during the recent disturbance, and his health and ability to labor, are lost for life.—*Boston Journal.*

It was at first asserted by the black republican papers and letter writers that Jones was shot by one of his own friends; then that he was shot by a woman, and afterwards that he was not shot at all. And now after lying about the matter for months, they admit that he was shot and dangerously wounded, and that his health is lost for life. This case illustrates the truthfulness of the black press, and the amount of confidence to be reposed in their statements about Kansas affairs. And in connection with this, it should be borne in mind that Sheriff Jones was deliberately shot, undoubtedly with the knowledge if not by the direct procurement of the free state leaders—that it was a deliberate attempt to murder him while in the discharge of his official duty—that this was done to prevent the arrest of men for crimes which are punished in every civilized community, and not in resistance of any of the laws which these men complain of, and that this crime, thus committed, has been justified and glorified over by the papers and orators who have made such a great noise over the caning of Sumner. Bearing this in mind, let all judge of the honesty of these men.

## Evening Standard.

NEW BEDFORD:

Wednesday Evening, July 9, 1856.

[For the Standard.]

### THE KANSAS EMIGRANT'S SONG.

The flag of Freedom's streaming  
Above our marshalled hosts,  
We march, for the land's redeeming,  
We scorn the Southron's boasts,  
Our motto proudly bearing,  
"No slave on Kansas soil,"  
For the right, the North is daring,  
We fight! but not for spoil.

Where the Western sun is beaming  
By Missouri's rushing tide,  
The naked steel is gleaming,  
There's blood by Lawrence side;  
Brave hearts are quiet sleeping  
Beneath the prairie swell—  
No crime was theirs—but keeping  
A freeman's vow—too well!

New England blood is waking  
Along our hills at last,  
The spell of slavery's breaking,  
The freemen gather fast,  
And trumpet-tones are flinging  
Their stern defiance forth,  
To struggling Kansas bringing  
The God speed of the North.

Take courage men, we're marching  
To make your conflict ours,  
Justice is overraching  
Our cause with all its powers;  
With light of freedom glancing  
From bayonet and spear,  
The outraged North's advancing,  
Let slavery's minions fear.

## AID FOR KANSAS.

Citizens disposed to subscribe in aid of the Kansas fund will confer a great favor upon the Collecting Committee by leaving their subscription at the places of business of the subscribers.

GEORGE TAPPAN, No. 113 Union street.  
JOHN A. P. ALLEN, 121 Union street.  
A. B. CORY, No. 25 Union street.  
Dr. C. G. DAVIS, No. 165 Union street.  
EDMUND TABER, No. 21 N. Water st.  
H. VAN CAMPEN, No. 17 N. Water st.  
Z. S. DURFEE, Hamilton street.  
A. P. HAMLIN, Centre street.  
WILLIAM F. DURFEE, Water street.  
NATHAN B. GIFFORD, William street.

## PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

The Democratic papers are praising the Kansas bill that has passed the Senate. Mr. Cass said that he was authorized to say that the Commissioners should be selected impartially, and that they should be the best men that could be got. What a comment upon the character of the Executive, when a Senator is obliged to pledge himself that the President will discharge an important duty impartially and conscientiously! But who makes the pledge? The man who, before his election, pledged himself that he was against the further agitation of the slavery question, and then reopened it in the most dangerous form in which it has ever been presented; the man who declared that he would know no North, no South, no East, no West, but only the whole country, and then devoted himself to the sectional interests of the South, with a subserviency that disgusted even the men who used him. He is the man to whom this bill entrusts the whole fate of Kansas. He will pledge himself to appoint the best men that can be got. Does he not say that he has appointed the best men that could be got? Did he not consider, does he not still consider Lecompte the best man that could be got for Judge, Shannon the best man that could be got for Governor, and Donaldson the best man that could be got for Marshal. If not, why did he appoint them, why has he continued them? And suppose the President should appoint two perfectly fair and reliable men on the commission, would he not swamp them under these others of his own kind? and a majority of the Commissioners decide every question that comes before the commission.

The fairness of this bill depends altogether on the character of the Commissioners; and if the pro-slavery men are in earnest, let them name the Commissioners in the bill, and then the country can judge of its real danger and operation. The omission to do this cannot be explained consistently with the profession which the friends of the bill make of a sincere desire to pacify Kansas, and to give the people an opportunity to choose their own institutions, and to decide for themselves whether they will have freedom or slavery.

**INFALLIBILITY.**—The only two institutions on the earth that put forth claims to infallibility are the Papal church and the Democratic party. The pretensions, in each case, are almost equal, loudly professed by those who adhere to them, but not credited by any sensible people. Rome, however, has one advantage over Cincinnati. The platform of the Romish church, however much and often it changes, is uniform while it remains; it is pretty much the same wherever the faith is professed.—The bulls of the Pope are intelligible, even though we Protestants think them absurd; and they are interpreted uniformly. The same bull reads the same way in Rome, in Paris, in New York. It does not, like a Democratic resolution, vary with the temperature, soften to slavery in South Carolina and harden to freedom in Vermont. It does not declare squatter sovereignty in the North and repudiate it in the South. They don't say in the same breath that the same bill will make Kansas a free State and a slave State. There is a good deal of humbug in Rome, but they are not up to this dodge. They cheat, but they cheat all the same way, on the same day; and if they eat their words, they eat the whole of them.

Washington, July 6.—If sectionalism had never had a moment's existence, or the least foothold in this country, prior to the election of Franklin Pierce and the assembling of the 33d Congress, this administration and the two Congresses which have been cotemporary with it would have established it in the most virulent and irreconcilable degree. The measures of the administration and its leaders in Congress have been unsuccessfully directed to one object—the aberration of the South from the North.

Probably this policy arose, in the first place, from the consideration that the North could never be united in opposition to a party which the South should in a body be brought to support. Therefore it was determined to operate for individual and party advantage upon the prejudices and hopes of the South. The scheme succeeded to a great extent.

The Whig party, as a national party, was broken up by it, as Pierce and Douglas knew that it would be; and now the object of uniting the South politically is gained, while the North, as is believed, is still distracted.

But the project could not be consummated without producing, on the part both of the North and the South, an intense, violent, stern and unalterable hatred and hostility, which nothing, according to the article in to-day's Union, but blood could appease, and to which blood has already been sacrificed.

The extent of the present sectional animosity is not overstated by the Union, and while we have some hundreds of partisan presses and orators of like character and tone, on both sides, it is not likely that any abatement of this feeling will be permitted to occur.

The temper of the debates on the Kansas question is now becoming more moderate, as the session grows older and the weather hotter, as may be gathered by the brief reports hitherto published of the Senate debate on Wednesday. What they can do in the House (this week to equal its former efforts, in this line, or to surpass the Senate, I am at a loss to conceive, but hard words, if not hard blows, are menaced on both sides.

It is of the less consequence what this Administration or what Congress may do during the remainder of their term of existence, for the reason that, do what they please, or what they can, they can hardly mend the mischief they have already made or do any thing to render matters much worse. They have created between the North and the South a burning, blazing gulf, which may alienate and separate them forever; and, render them implacable, hereditary and perpetual foes.

The errors of the Kansas act, and particularly of the President's administration of that act, are so far acknowledged by the new Senate Kansas bill, that it undertakes to provide, not a remedy for them, but something like a palliative for the evils which are their natural and inevitable consequences.

The passage of the bill is desired by the Democratic party and the Administration, because it will throw a little ashes over the fiery flames they have kindled, and stay the conflagration till they can get shelter from popular indignation, under a Democratic triumph at the Presidential election.—*Correspondence of Commercial Advertiser.*

## Late Outrages on the Missourians.

The following letter from the Rev. T. W. Higginson, to the New York Tribune, gives a more detailed and correct account than we have heretofore read of the late outrages on the Missouri. The South is pouring in her men to make Kansas a Slave State. Northern men are turned back on the pretext that they are armed, while no such objection is made to the Southern immigration. And under these circumstances, with the Free State men driven out and kept out, and with the Slave State men pouring in, the administration calls for a vote, under the direction of Commissioners appointed by the President to settle, for all future time, the question of slavery and freedom in Kansas; and because the friends of freedom refuse the proposition, they are charged with desiring agitation for political purposes.

**NOT SO BAD AS THAT.**—The correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce says that the Republicans—Black Republicans in the courteous and dignified nomenclature of that paper—apprehend that the President will appoint five Gov. Shannons under the Kansas bill as Commissioner. The President cannot do it; he will doubtless do as bad as he can, but there are not five such men in the country. It cannot be done.

## Rhode Island Telegraph.

WARREN, WEDNESDAY, JULY 9.

## Letter from a Disarmed Emigrant.

Just as we were going to press, we received the following interesting letter from Mr. T. W. Bicknell, formerly a citizen of this vicinity, and a gentleman of good reputation. He was Secretary of the Chicago Society of Kansas settlers, lately disarmed at Lexington Mo., and sent back to Illinois. We give place to his statement, (though at much inconvenience, owing to the late hour of its receipt,) as more reliable than the thousand and one stories set afloat by hired newspaper correspondents, paid for maintaining political excitement.

While we have little sympathy with many who resort to the sedes of strife for the direct purpose of engaging in it, we must express our approbation of the outrage committed by the Missourians in interfering with the free transit of any persons bound to Kansas through the most natural and convenient route. Surely this is not carrying out the doctrine of "non-interference," which they profess to uphold, and the support of which elsewhere is their only hope for such success in regard to the questions at issue, as the Constitution gives them a right to expect.

ELGIN, Kane Co., Ill., July 4, 1856.

## Editor Warren Telegraph:

Herewith I send an abridged account of the expedition of the Chicago Kansas settlers to Kansas and back, via Alton and the Missouri river, and who are now en route via Iowa City, overland. The Massachusetts company, under Dr. Cutler, have also been disarmed at Waverly, Mo. and sent on up the river, to be sent back by Melison & Co., or hung, or tarred and feathered by an infamous and excited gang of ruffians, reckless of their own and the lives of others.

Yours, &c.

T. W. BICKNELL,

## Secretary Chicago Kansas Settlers Society.

The 1st Division of Chicago Kansas settlers, composed of 6 men, 2 women, and 2 children, left Chicago, en route for Kansas, via Alton and the Missouri river, Tuesday, June 17th, and were joined at Bloomington, on the 19th, by the "Elgin Delegation," then awaiting arrangements for our passage up the river. As this was the first company of settlers which had attempted to reach Kansas by this route since the recent outrages, it was an experiment only, and, as results have shown, an unsuccessful one; but not without its lesson to the Free State party. Arrangements having been made by our agent at St. Louis, we left Bloomington at 4 P. M. on Thursday, the 19th, arriving at Alton at 11 P. M., receiving our arms from the warehouse, and immediately embarking on the "Star of the West, Capt. Dix." We consulted with the captain of the boat on the probabilities of an attack, when he assured us that there were no grounds of alarm, and that he would land us in safety. On the second day he requested us to discharge our rifles, which was done reluctantly, but they were soon reloaded, lest we should be taken off our guard. From the first, we were aware that our movements were watched closely; especially by a young man, a lawyer, as we afterwards learned, from Lexington, by the name of Boyce.

Our leading men saw no decided cause of apprehension until we arrived at Waverly, about twenty miles below Lexington, when Boyce left the boat on horseback, and did not return, leaving his baggage on board. We then felt certain of his errand—that he had gone to L. to apprise the people of our approach, and prepare themselves for an attack if necessary, as the facts proved.

We landed at L. at 11 P. M. Sunday, and were immediately boarded by large numbers of those lawless ruffians, and a self-constituted committee, in behalf of the crowd around on the levee, with rifles, revolvers, bowie knives, and three cannon on

the shore, with men, and cannon, and whariboat near, demanded the surrender of our arms. Our officers at first refused, but after a long parley, wherein threats of burning the boat and overpowering us by a force of ten times our number, which could be called out at a moment's warning, were sufficient reasons for such a course, rather than a sacrifice of property and life at all hazards.

Pledges and security were given that our arms should be returned when "the existing difficulties in Kansas were over." Under such circumstances, we were compelled, not by reason or argument, but by brute force, to give up the property entrusted to our care. 58 Hall's muskets were given up and received for by Megree & Co. to be stored in their warehouse. We then proceeded on our way, and arrived at Kansas City on Tuesday, at 5 A. M., and were boarded by about 50 of Buford's Company, with "Border Ruffians" who have been recently driven from the Territory. Atchison, Stringfellow, and General Jones, considered the mission so important as to favor us with their presence and personal advice.

All were armed with bowie-knives, two revolvers, and muskets with bayonets. They demanded of us to surrender as prisoners of war, and return to Alton or St. Louis, or risk and sacrifice our lives, unprotected and unarmed as we were, to the reckless, lawless ruffians, with whom insults and threats are no "idle words." Ruffianly power here forced us to comply, and with pledges from Atchison that our lives and private property should be secure, we were placed under guard at Leavenworth City, and passed on to Weston, where we remained two days under guard on the boat, not being allowed to set foot on "Free Kansas."

Here our private arms and side arms were taken from us, and contrary to the pledges of Atchison have not been returned. Our baggage was also subjected to search under the notorious Stringfellow, who found no "contraband articles," save "Bibles" and a few of "Greeley's papers." As we left Leavenworth City, our guard was removed, and we then enjoyed the company of Col. Buford and escort, bound for S. C., to raise another company to enslave Kansas.

On our passage down the river, we met the Sultana with 40 Massachusetts men under Dr. Cutter. We advised them of our fate and their own danger, but neither of the boats would wait for arrangements for their return. This Co. have been disarmed at Parkville, but sent on. About 40 of our company were landed at the mouth of the Missouri, five miles from Alton, the captain, as he told me, being afraid to risk his life and boat to run in at that place, thus betraying the cowardly part he had acted.

Yours, &c. T. W. B.

### The Kansas Report.

The majority Report of the Kansas Contested Election Committee has been made to the House of Representatives. It is very voluminous and confirms the general belief in fraudulent voting on a large scale at the Kansas elections, by "Border Ruffians" and others. The Report, however, shows a strong political bias on the part of the Committee, who go beyond the specific objects of their mission to give a greater political effect to their proceedings. Neither Reeder nor Whitfield, according to the Report, is entitled to the seat of Delegate. Mr. Oliver, the minority of the Committee, makes a Report differing widely from that of the majority, and probably as highly colored in favor of his party.



NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1856.

**PACIFICATION OF KANSAS.**—The U. S. Senate yesterday, by a vote of 32 to 13, struck out the preamble and all after the enacting clause from the House bill to admit Kansas into the Union with the Topeka Convention Constitution, and in lieu of what was thus stricken out, inserted the bill passed by the Senate a few days ago. Thus amended, it will go back to the House, and we hope will be concurred in, though it will be strenuously opposed by those who wish to keep the pot boiling until after the Presidential election. The two leading objections originally made by the Republicans, were, that by the laws of Kansas free discussion was criminal, and that many of the free State inhabitants have left the Territory on account of the disturbances there. These objections were removed by amendments, annulling the laws against free discussion, and allowing the absentees to return and vote. The measure, as it finally passed, and as it now goes back to the House, guards with scrupulous care the rights of the inhabitants of Kansas, and secures to a 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.

The House bill, stricken out by the Senate, would, if enacted into a law, bring Kansas into the Union immediately, with a constitution adopted by only a portion of a party in Kansas, and against the probable wishes of a large majority of the inhabitants—adopted without the sanction of law, with no regard to the forms of law, in direct opposition to law, and in open defiance of the constitutional authorities of the Territory. It would disfranchise at least one-half of the people of the Territory, and refuses to them any voice in the formation of the fundamental law.

**THE BROOKS OUTRAGE.**—It will be seen by our telegraphic advices on next page, that Judge Crawford, of the Central Criminal Court, Washington City, has sentenced Preston S. Brooks, member of the House of Representatives, to pay a fine of \$300 for his assault on Senator Sumner. The punishment seems very inadequate to the offence. The case is yet to be acted on in the House of Representatives.

## American and Gazette.

PHILADELPHIA:

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1856.

### Interesting Letter from a Kentuckian.

The New York Tribune of yesterday contained the following remarkable letter from the Hon. Adam Beatty, formerly member of Congress from Kentucky, and a warm personal friend of Henry Clay.

Sir—I have read the speech of the Hon. Charles Sumner on Kansas affairs, in newspaper form, but desire to have it in a form better suited for preservation; and therefore ask the favor of you to send me the worth of the inclosed, (\$1) postage paid, including one of the speeches of Gov. Seward.

I have all my life been a resident of a slaveholding State or States, and am the owner of a few slaves, but I feel conscious that I have at all times been able to read the discussions on the slave question with calmness, and without such a degree of excitement as to unfit a person to form a cool and deliberate judgment.

I was long enough at the date of the Missouri Compromise to understand and to take a deep interest in that measure, and was exceedingly gratified when Missouri was admitted as a Slave State, with an accompanying legal provision forever prohibiting slavery in any of the then national territory lying north of 36 deg. 30 min. This measure was adopted by the unanimous vote of all the Slave States, and was opposed by part of the Northern representation—only on the ground that Missouri, lying north of the above parallel, was admitted by the provisions of the Compromise bill, as a slave State.

But Missouri having been admitted, all opposition (or nearly so) to the compromise ceased; and it was quietly permitted to remain undisturbed for more than thirty years, until, in an evil hour, the Nebraska bill (as it is usually termed) was introduced by a Senator from a free State; and the South, in violation of a sacred and honorable

pledge, caught at the bait, and assisted in overthrowing the wisest measure that was ever adopted to quiet agitation on the slavery question.

The fruits of the iniquitous bill introduced by Mr. Douglas, which might have been foreseen, have, for a long time, been presented in a shameful attempt, countenanced by Mr. Pierce's administration, to form a slave State by force out of the Territory of Kansas.

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Washington, Mason County, Ky., June 30, 1856.

## Daily Pennsylvanian

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the shore, with men, and cannon, and whariboat near, demanded the surrender of our arms. Our officers at first refused, but after a long parley, wherein threats of burning the boat and overpowering us by a force of ten times our number, which could be called out at a moment's warning, were sufficient reasons for such a course, rather than a sacrifice of property and life at all hazards.

Pledges and security were given that our arms should be returned when "the existing difficulties in Kansas were over." Under such circumstances, we were compelled, not by reason or argument, but by brute force, to give up the property entrusted to our care. 58 Hall's muskets were given up and received for by Megree & Co. to be stored in their warehouse. We then proceeded on our way, and arrived at Kansas City on Tuesday, at 5 A. M., and were boarded by about 50 of Buford's Company, with "Border Ruffians" who have been recently driven from the Territory. Atchison, Stringfellow, and General Jones, considered the mission so important as to favor us with their presence and personal advice.

All were armed with bowie-knives, two revolvers, and muskets with bayonets. They demanded of us to surrender as prisoners of war, and return to Alton or St. Louis, or risk and sacrifice our lives, unprotected and unarmed as we were, to the reckless, lawless ruffians, with whom insults and threats are no "idle words." Ruffianly power here forced us to comply, and with pledges from Atchison that our lives and private property should be secure, we were placed under guard at Leavenworth City, and passed on to Weston, where we remained two days under guard on the boat, not being allowed to set foot on "Free Kansas."

Here our private arms and side arms were taken from us, and contrary to the pledges of Atchison have not been returned. Our baggage was also subjected to search under the notorious Stringfellow, who found no "contraband articles," save "Bibles" and a few of "Greeley's papers." As we left Leavenworth City, our guard was removed, and we then enjoyed the company of Col. Buford and escort, bound for S. C., to raise another company to enslave Kansas.

On our passage down the river, we met the Sultana with 40 Massachusetts men under Dr. Cutter. We advised them of our fate and their own danger, but neither of the boats would wait for arrangements for their return. This Co. have been disarmed at Parkville, but sent on. About 40 of our company were landed at the mouth of the Missouri, five miles from Alton, the captain, as he told me, being afraid to risk his life and boat to run in at that place, thus betraying the cowardly part he had acted.

Yours, &c., T. W. B.

### The Kansas Report.

The majority Report of the Kansas Contested Election Committee has been made to the House of Representatives. It is very voluminous and confirms the general belief in fraudulent voting on a large scale at the Kansas elections, by "Border Ruffians" and others. The Report, however, shows a strong political bias on the part of the Committee, who go beyond the specific objects of their mission to give a greater political effect to their proceedings. Neither Reeder nor Whitfield, according to the Report, is entitled to the seat of Delegate. Mr. Oliver, the minority of the Committee, makes a Report differing widely from that of the majority, and probably as highly colored in favor of his party.



NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1856.

**PACIFICATION OF KANSAS.**—The U. S. Senate yesterday, by a vote of 32 to 13, struck out the preamble and all after the enacting clause from the House bill to admit Kansas into the Union with the Topeka Convention Constitution, and in lieu of what was thus stricken out, inserted the bill passed by the Senate a few days ago. Thus amended, it will go back to the House, and we hope will be concurred in, though it will be strenuously opposed by those who wish to keep the pot boiling until after the Presidential election. The two leading objections originally made by the Republicans, were, that by the laws of Kansas free discussion was criminal, and that many of the free State inhabitants have left the Territory on account of the disturbances there. These objections were removed by amendments, annulling the laws against free discussion, and allowing the absentees to return and vote. The measure, as it finally passed, and as it now goes back to the House, guards with scrupulous care the rights of the inhabitants of Kansas, and secures to a 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.

The House bill, stricken out by the Senate, would, if enacted into a law, bring Kansas into the Union immediately, with a constitution adopted by only a portion of a party in Kansas, and against the probable wishes of a large majority of the inhabitants—adopted without the sanction of law, with no regard to the forms of law, in direct opposition to law, and in open defiance of the constitutional authorities of the Territory. It would disfranchise at least one-half of the people of the Territory, and refuses to them any voice in the formation of the fundamental law.

**THE BROOKS OUTRAGE.**—It will be seen by our telegraphic advices on next page, that Judge Crawford, of the Central Criminal Court, Washington City, has sentenced Preston S. Brooks, member of the House of Representatives, to pay a fine of \$300 for his assault on Senator Sumner. The punishment seems very inadequate to the offence. The case is yet to be acted on in the House of Representatives.

## American and Gazette.

PHILADELPHIA:

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1856.

### Interesting Letter from a Kentuckian.

The New York Tribune of yesterday contained the following remarkable letter from the Hon. Adam Beatty, formerly member of Congress from Kentucky, and a warm personal friend of Henry Clay.

Sir—I have read the speech of the Hon. Charles Sumner on Kansas affairs, in newspaper form, but desire to have it in a form better suited for preservation; and therefore ask the favor of you to send me the worth of the inclosed, (\$1) postage paid, including one of the speeches of Gov. Seward.

I have all my life been a resident of a slaveholding State or States, and am the owner of a few slaves, but I feel conscious that I have at all times been able to read the discussions on the slave question with calmness, and without such a degree of excitement as to unfit a person to form a cool and deliberate judgment.

I was long enough at the date of the Missouri Compromise to understand and to take a deep interest in that measure, and was exceedingly gratified when Missouri was admitted as a Slave State, with an accompanying legal provision forever prohibiting slavery in any of the then national territory lying north of 36 deg. 30 min. This measure was adopted by the unanimous vote of all the Slave States, and was opposed by part of the Northern representation—only on the ground that Missouri, lying north of the above parallel, was admitted by the provisions of the Compromise bill, as a slave State.

But Missouri having been admitted, all opposition (or nearly so) to the compromise ceased; and it was quietly permitted to remain undisturbed for more than thirty years, until, in an evil hour, the Nebraska bill (as it is usually termed) was introduced by a Senator from a free State; and the South, in violation of a sacred and honorable

pledge, caught at the bait, and assisted in overthrowing the wisest measure that was ever adopted to quiet agitation on the slavery question.

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Government. It was the only remedy for her evils; the only mode of quieting the public mind and averting civil war in the Territory.

Well, gentlemen, it had become apparent to all, that some effective and final measure of pacification was demanded by the best interests not only of Kansas, but of the whole nation; that whilst the laws of the Territory were technically legal, the right of suffrage had been abused in electing the members, and that many of the Statutes were oppressive and unjust, and in conflict with the Constitution, and the original Kansas Nebraska act.

With a view to meet these difficulties, Mr. Toombs, a Southern Senator, about ten days since, introduced a bill providing for the prompt admission of Kansas as a State. His proposition was referred to the Territorial Committee, and reported to the Senate on Monday last, by Mr. Douglas, and Wednesday fixed for a final vote.

That bill provides that the present inhabitants may elect delegates to a Convention to meet in November next, to form a constitution, preparatory to admission as a State; that a board of five commissioners should be appointed by the President, to repair to the Territory, to superintend the election of delegates; to make an enumeration of the legal voters; and put up a list of voters at every District; and that those who are now in the Territory, and those who may have left on business or because of the bad state of the society, shall vote. The law throws ample guards about the ballot box, by heavy penalties against illegal voting or violent efforts to interfere with the right of suffrage; it also annuls all the Territorial statutes, subversive of the liberty of speech and of the press, and the provisions requiring an oath of fidelity to the Fugitive Slave Law, as a qualification for a voter and other absurd provisions. These statutes being inconsistent with the Constitution and the organic law, are clearly within the scope of the Congressional correction, without interfering with the doctrine of non-interference, for the Kansas law provides that the action of the territorial legislature shall be confined "to rightful subjects of legislation." Here, then, was a measure of peace and law, the prompt admission of Kansas as a State, irrespective of her decision on the slavery question. Its vital objects being to terminate at once all strife on the part of outsiders to force territory population into a quarrel, with a view to control its policy on the slavery question.

What followed? Did the Republican Senators support this measure? Did they accede to this proposition to bring Kansas in as a State? By no means; to my amazement they met their violent resistance. The first demonstration came from the Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Wilson, who proposed to strike out the entire bill and insert a section, simply repealing all the laws of Kansas; substituting another for the admission of this Territory as a State. The Senator from New York, Mr. Seward, the leader, and the intellect of that party, still insisted upon the Topeka Constitution. In the face of all his anathemas against the lawless authorities in Kansas, he voted to sanction a measure wanting in the slightest coloring of authority, and which had been brought forth in defiance of the law and its officers; and that is surprising, in addition, his name seems to be mentioned by the entire Republican press, headed by that common fountain of fanaticisms, falsehoods and vagaries, the New York Tribune. The Senator from New Hampshire, Mr. Hale, proposed to strike out the fourth of July, 1856, as the time that the law should take effect, and insert July, 1857, so that the strife in Kansas might last a longer time; but this, besides Kansas, for whose people so many little tears have been shed, might bleed on. They first objected that the law was void and punished free discussion, and thus the slavery men had the advantage; then the bill was amended, as had been agreed upon by the committee, so as to annul all such laws. The next objection was that the Free State men had been in the Territory, and the friends of slavery would have things all their own way; then the bill was so amended as to give all former citizens an opportunity to return and participate in the election. The next plea was that the intention and effect was to bring Kansas in as a Slave State. The answer was: we are not to be restrained by the will of the bona fide citizens shall settle that question, and that the objection could not properly come from the Republican side, because they had uniformly claimed that a very large majority of the real settlers are against slavery, and that all they sought was a fair expression of popular will. But reason was powerless. They resisted to the end, and finally the bill passed by the record of a session of twenty-one hours, by a vote of 33 to 0.

Within a few hours after the House passed a bill admitting Kansas under the Topeka Constitution, and thus the issue is fairly made up. The Democrats are for bringing in Kansas by the straight way and under the auspices of the law; the Republicans insist upon her admission by the back door, and that the objectionable and inevitable consequences of the undisciplined and unscrupulous fanatical Abolitionists on the one hand, and fire-eating Southerners on the other. The press and the pulpit have pointed to Kansas as a kind of battle-field for the slavery and anti-slavery feeling of the whole country, and invited people to go there and fight it out. Men unsettled in their minds and without fixed principles have been sent into the Territory, stimulated with prejudice and armed with deadly weapons, to determine a question of local policy. What could we expect short of lawless violence. The agency the pulpit has had in this work meets my unqualified condemnation. I cannot see why the temples that were cleared of the money-changers, should be polluted with a question of sister participation and of populating the Territories. To expand the Gospel is what populating the Territories is finally. Whether the dissemination of its truths is just the best way possible to constrain statesmen as well as the people, to do what is right in the Territories as well as in the States.

But these conflicts are not fatal to the theory of the law—the doctrine of self-government. It is a principle indicated by our experience. It is suited to all territories and all ages; as broad as the universe and as imperishable as the mountains. Its application to the question of slavery in the Territories was intended as finally. Whether the powers of Congress may be, it was politic and wise to forego its use and trust the question with the people. For one regard the policy as settled for ever, and that hereafter

the people of the territories through their local legislature are to control the question of Slavery in their own way; and why should they not be permitted to do this? Many of my former neighbors are now in the territories, and it would seem a reasonable and a just claim the right to legislate for them. Certainly I am not so conscientious a judge as they. There is not only beauty in this theory, but there is practical justice in it. A man loses none of his natural or inherent rights by changing his residence from a State to a Territory. The sovereignty not delegated to the General Government accompanies him, in full force and virtue. I can see but two sources of power to legislate for the territories, and that is one and the people the other; and I hold that what Congress expressly confers upon the people all its powers, as in the case of the Kansas law, that the law making power of the people is complete—equal to any subject of local legislation. The practical workings being to the effect, that as the people when they become a State have perfect control over the subject of slavery, they should have it as a Territory. For the purposes of excitement, however, the impression has been strengthened, that the policy of the Territory on the question, is to be permanently settled by an implicit step. Such is not a correct view. The question like any other, will at all times be within the control of the people. Should Kansas come into the Union as a Free State, the people could afterwards establish Slavery, and vice versa.

On the general subject of Slavery I have often given my views. I do not know why Providence in his wisdom permitted the African to find his way to this Continent nor why England was induced to fasten the institution of Slavery upon the Colonies. I cannot tell what God may intend to bring out of the relations now existing between the races in our country; but this I do know, that when the Constitution was agreed upon between the States, each being sovereign and independent, Slavery was recognized in the 2d section of the first article as to the ratio of Representation in Congress, and in the 2d section of the fourth article, as to the rendition of fugitives from labor. That after the fullest deliberation, the Convention, with Washington at its head, agreed to tolerate and protect the institution. I know too, that when a compact is made between sovereign and independent parties, it is good morals and good faith to carry it out. And still the institution so established is a constant source of agitation. The most fanatical abolitionists dare not deny that it is the right of a State to have it or not, and that no outside power can rightfully interfere; still a war of motives of the Southern people in retaining it, have been turned, assaults of equal violence in criticisms, whilst in Northern men and their motives, all tending to an alienation of the people from each other, and to prepare them for a violent separation. From my boyhood, and in my very cause they do no possible good to either white or colored race; their tendencies are to evil and to evil only. And best interests of twenty-five millions, the peace of citizens, without the possibility of improving the condition of the three millions of the colored race, it is astonishing that even fanaticism—invererate efforts so directly in controversy of the Constitution, and so wasteful of the heritage which it bequeathes to us. The abolition press teem with the most vile exhortations to fanaticism—should sanction—invererate efforts so directly in controversy of the Constitution, and so wasteful of the heritage which it bequeathes to us. The abolition press teem with the most vile exhortations to fanaticism—should sanction—invererate efforts so directly in controversy of the Constitution, and so wasteful of the heritage which it bequeathes to us.

Mr. Seward, in a speech to the people of Ohio, in August 1855, denounced the slaveholders as a "band of aristocrats" and the system as one of outrage, aggression and wrong; that its very life is being, is an outrage, and that the infamous speech made at Buffalo, in October last, speaking of society in the Slave States is allowed no independence, no neutrality; whilst pistols and knives enforce not merely their will, but their actual partnership for slavery.

Mr. Seward, in the Senate, on last Wednesday, declared promises had gone by. Mr. Sumner, of Massachusetts, declared beyond precedent; heartless, gratuitous, and careless of humanity, right or the Constitution, and that it is only by a confederacy of politicians. The Boston Liberator, of the 27th ult., says: "The United States with hell; and again, that the only issue is the dissolution of the Union." The New York Tribune is not less fanatical, and the Tribune is vigilant in its work of our feeling that we have fallen upon evil times.

Read our duty on these disgusting incendiarisms, as presented by Washington, in his last address. He says: "It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the value of your National Union, to you, individually and habitually, and immovable attachment to it—accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as a palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with zealous and anxious attention; maintaining whatever may be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon any event being of any attempt to alienate any portion of our country, link together the various parts."

And yet, these fanatics have no remedy. Sampson-like, they are bent on tearing down the temple though they a practical or legal remedy for the evils of which they complain. So far, their efforts have harmed the slave; they think the opportunities and tightened his chains. If they why do they not aid the Colonization Society? When the Abolitionists turned their backs on it. But suppose no constitutional obstacles to intervene, or that the Southern people should agree to emancipate their slaves, at a stated period, provided they were taken

away and properly maintained—what then could be done? Could a scheme be devised to better their condition? Who would employ, feed, and clothe these helpless beings?—Where could a home be found for them? Would they be permitted to come North? I think not. But, suppose they were; would the change improve their condition? Would they live easier or happier? Would they be elevated in the scale of moral being, and would their ideas of civility and christianity be more expanded? Let any man who seeks an answer to these questions study the condition of the free blacks of the North. Freedom to them, without political and social equality with the whites, for which they are unfit, is mockery; "The word of promise to the ear to be broken to the hope." It may be, fellow-citizens, that there are those amongst you who would be willing to assign equality to the colored race. If there be any such, I would advise them to compare the sin of degrading our race, with that of slavery in its present form, and then, if perfectly satisfied with the policy, to commence the practice themselves. I do not pretend to find a remedy for the sad condition of the colored race, though I feel as much sympathy for them as most men. I only insist that those who are emptying the fountains of inter-course, and poisoning the channels of inter-course between sister States, should tell us what to do, or cease their unwise clamors. Now, do not misunderstand me, I am no advocate of African slavery—I simply look at the question as I find it, under the Constitutions, and the alternatives presented.

Then, again, I should be glad if those who are constantly attempting to tarnish the fame of our country by overdrawn pictures of what they term the national sin of African servitude, would point us to the spot on the face of the earth, or name the period of its history, in which the condition of the African is, or was, better than at present in the United States. When and where did he enjoy greater political rights or a higher degree of what we call civilization? When more of a freeman? When and where has he stood higher in the scale of civilization? Mr. Evans, of the Senate, who has examined the subject thoroughly, says that there is no spot where an equal number, live as well as the slaves of the South. In what instance has a large community given evidence of a capacity for government? They were not freemen hereof of the white world brought to our shores; but slaves of the lowest grade—slaves to their own countrymen. History tells us that Africa has been a "country of slaves and masters." Park and Denham, and other travellers, describe society as in the lowest stage of barbarism. If it were possible, then, to return these people to the country and condition of their ancestors, the act would be an outrage upon humanity and civilization. And yet there are those who would hazard our happy Union in this vain effort—who would bring ruin upon the white, because they cannot elevate the colored race. They are mad men.

BY TELEGRAPH TO THE DAILY PENNSYLVANIAN.

From Washington.

[Special Correspondence of the Daily Pennsylvanian.]  
WASHINGTON, July 8, 1856.  
Judge Douglas reported back the Topeka bill, which was yesterday referred to his committee, substituting therefor his bill, which passed that body. The Black Republican are intent to fight this and every other bill that will restore the Kansas difficulties, or give peace and quiet and restore harmony to that distracted Territory. They hope by this course to make capital for the Presidential Campaign, and they are flooding the country with documents, the purport of which is that the Democratic party are for planting slavery in Kansas, and that they, on the other hand, are merely using their efforts to make Kansas a free State.

Now this is the meanest and shallowest of humbug; nay, more, it is a bold, deliberate, unmitigated Black Republican lie, and they and their leaders know it. It is on a par with others that are now being circulated throughout the North; and I will here mention one of them. I mean the scandalous fabrications in reference to Sumner's condition. Now perhaps it is not generally known, but such is the fact, and I have seen the documents that Sumner, two or three times during each week, since he has been stopping with that prince of Black Republicans, Blair, has addressed private notes to certain of his friends, asking them to inform the Black Republican press, and request them to notice his condition, in order that his case might be kept prominently before the people of the North, and not allowed to slumber. Now this is one of the tricks or subterfuges resorted to by this infamous, degraded and "shameless party. The story of Horace Greeley, about the softening of Sumner's brain, originated in that quack doctor's senseless and nasty brain. No one here, not even his own Black Republican physician, ever thought of such a thing, and I do not speak from mere hearsay, but from personal knowledge. The reason why he has not taken his seat long ago, is, because he is ashamed to show his face in that dignified body—the United States Senate; and I do not believe he will make his appearance there during the present session. Such a canting hypocrite ought not to be allowed to take his seat after what has occurred.

The case of Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina, for thrashing Sumner was decided this morning in the Criminal Court. He was fined by Judge Crawford for the assault, to which he pleaded guilty, three hundred dollars.

The Brooks and Sumner case was to have been disposed of today in the House, but the unfinished business of yesterday took precedence, and of course it was put aside. The House took up the bills passed by the Senate yesterday over the President's veto, by a two-thirds vote, and passed them by a vote of 143 to 55. ANTELOPE.



# The Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH:

WEDNESDAY - - - JULY 9, 1856.

**The Kansas Pacification Bill.**  
 We publish elsewhere the admirable Bill recently passed by the United States Senate for the pacification of Kansas. Let it be carefully read and preserved by all, as it will form an important feature of the present canvass. The more closely its provisions are examined, the more fully will it commend itself to the favor of the American people. It provides for the appointment of five commissioners to ascertain who are the true legal voters of the territory, and to make a registry of them. Every resident in Kansas on July 4th, is to be a voter, and all who absented themselves from it, in consequence of disturbances which have occurred there, are also to be registered as voters, provided they return before October. No persons except those who are thus registered are to be allowed to vote in the territory, and all frauds or interference with the rights of voters are to be punished severely. All the test acts of Kansas are nullified and freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the right to bear arms guaranteed. Still further, if possible, to guard against all frauds, the day of election in Kansas is the same as that fixed for the Presidential election throughout the Union, and if necessary the U. S. Army is to be called out to enforce order and justice at the polls. At the election to be thus held, delegates are chosen to form a State Constitution, preparatory to the admission of Kansas into the Union.

The bill is admirably framed throughout. The most important objection made to it, as first presented in the Senate, was that many of the Free State men had been driven from the Territory—when Douglas at once offered an amendment, which was unanimously adopted, allowing all former citizens who had left the Territory in consequence of the disturbances to vote at the coming election if they returned by October. Another objection now is, that the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, is allowed to appoint the Commissioners who are to register the votes, in answer to which, it is only necessary to state, that all Federal Appointments are thus given by the Constitution, or by all the precedents under the Constitution. Some object that the bill was not offered at an earlier day; but this is no reason for the Black Republicans to resist it now. If the Democrats were wrong in not passing such a bill previous to this time, the opposition is still more to be blamed for now opposing it.

There is much ingenuity displayed by the Black Republicans in trumping up objections to this bill, but they have signally failed in their artful misrepresentations. The bill itself is a complete answer to all their special pleas. The awkward, untenable and ignominious position they occupy before the country is becoming thoroughly understood. The active sentiments which give to Black Republicanism all the vitality it possesses, are Abolitionism and hostility to the Constitution and the Union; but these ideas its leaders have sought in some measure to conceal by making the affairs of Kansas the pretext for all their agitation. They have shed oceans of crocodile tears over alleged outrages of the ballot-box in Kansas, and over certain acts of the Kansas Legislature. Yet when the Democrats and National Whigs unite to protect the ballot-box from fraud, and to repeal the obnoxious laws complained of, by the passage of the Kansas Bill, they bitterly resist this wise and just measure! Now, let all mark the true issue. We are for, and they are against, law and order in Kansas. We are for restoring peace and quiet to that Territory by throwing all the legal safeguards that can be devised around the Kansas ballot box, by guaranteeing to its bona fide inhabitants all their rights, and promoting tranquility by establishing justice; but in the prosecution of this purpose we are met by the bitter opposition of those who profess to be the exclusive friends of the people of that Territory. These circumstances plainly show that the Black Republicans, so far as Kansas is concerned, are more anxious for a free fight in that Territory, than to secure free speech, or free men, and that all their infamous falsehoods in reference to, and protracted agitation of, the Kansas question, are only designed to improve the desperate prospects of FRANKFORT, and by thus securing a sectional triumph, to pave the way for the destruction of the Constitution and the Union.

Now that the indignation of the people has reached a dangerous point on this Kansas affair, even the puerile *Post* declares that the Missouri men "overdid their work," and Senator Bigler in his speech in Philadelphia on the 4th, admitted things in regard to Kansas, which, if Mr. Seward or anybody out of the pack who call themselves democrats had declared two months ago were, as Bigler now admits, he would have been denounced by every sheet which pipes the praise of Pierce and supports the Cincinnati platform. And more than that: driven to the wall and nothing but a fearful looking for of judgment at the hands of the people in prospect, the little Senator from Illinois and the "doleful Toombs," frame a bill which takes from the people of Kansas, rights which are conceded them by the Constitution. They have opened the territory to the savage, they have trampled the people under foot, they have mounted a pack of hounds upon the principal avenues to Kansas, they have burned towns, driven out and plundered the people and now they can afford to be generous—oh yes—for they will make great use of that move in the campaign. Most wise heads! hear them clamor now for conciliation who were shouting upon the Senate floor two months ago—"We will subdue you." They are frightened into this course and will give way if haply they may by so doing succeed in binding upon us another Southern tool, and then ride us with whip and spur yet another four years and God knows how much longer. Put not your trust in Toombs. He is but a whitened sepulchre.

## DAILY GAZETTE.

### Kansas.

Feeling that every person, that possibly can do anything, should be ready and willing to do all in their power at a time like this, I have no disposition to evade responsibility, nor do I wish in the least to be influenced by blind presumption. Believing the time has now come to test the filiality of good men, good men must be careful to meet duty in the right spirit.

Men at the distance can talk much, advise readily, and make strong declarations; but I am frank to confess before my Maker, being here where I must see, hear and feel something that harrows afresh my feelings every day—if it is not for others, it is hard for me just to keep, feel, speak and do right. I form plans, make resolves, and secretly vow that I will do right; but, O, how hard to reduce to proper practice.

Kansas and Kansas troubles no doubt now occupies the highest place in many hearts, and hearts too, that were once under the influence of grace. I would not be understood, however, saying they are not yet under that influence. But is there not great danger, amid continued excitement, as we have it here, of losing those warm feelings we have possessed for Christ and his cause? I leave the reader to apply and reply. It is a very common remark, "I reckon both parties are to blame." "It is hard to tell which is most to blame," &c. In these remarks there is truth, and many of the limit-ily-informed are no doubt honest in thus remarking. I would say, then, set the facts before the world, and let the candid determine for themselves.

Can any one present an instance in which the Free State men, or any portion of them, ever went to Missouri, and interfered with any of their rights

or privileges? I mean the citizens of Kansas, I refer to Free State men. I think I can answer unhesitatingly that an instance of the kind has never occurred. But I am sorry to say that Missourians have again and again interfered with our affairs in Kansas. Outrages, aggressions and invasions have been repeated from that direction; and unfortunately the "law and order party" seem to have nothing to do with but one side.

Were they as willing to forego the wrong on the one side as the other, I dare assert in confident terms, there would have been none of the resistance of which we have heard so much. But a Dow, a Barber and Brown can be brutally ordered and not an inquiry made about it from a legal source. Again: a Jones and a Stewart are recently shot down, and still no prosecution, no examination, in fact there is hardly a word said, or if said at all it is in words of approval to the deprecators. But as soon as news goes abroad that "Sheriff Jones" is shot, though not killed, his honor, Judge Lecompte, immediately charges the grand jury to take immediate action upon the attempted assassination of said Jones and is very particular to instruct them relative to their duty towards free-state officers, enlarging upon the treasonable conduct of such persons as C. Robinson, G. W. Brown, G. W. Deitzler, G. W. Smith and C. Jenkins. Bils are found against these men, they are confined, and like the fillet of criminals they are refused bail. It so happens I have a personal acquaintance with each of these gentlemen. As I cannot particularize, I would say I would be glad if we had a thousand where we have one such man as the above; and I think I am as far from any reasonable principles as the Judge himself. I would ask, is there no legal power that can or will deliver these wretched men from their present bondage? Must they suffer without any one interfering? If they are guilty, in the name of all that is sacred, I say let them suffer; but if innocent must they await the tardy movements of interested men!

I have said that outrages have been committed, and that assertion must be made good. If anyone will just accompany me to Lawrence, I will show them enough to make them feel there is wrong somewhere. My feelings were most peculiar when I took my first look at the mass of broken stone, lime, and ashes of our "free-state hotel." I could but inquire of myself, "What crime had this building been guilty of?" It could neither talk, publish, nor heal, and yet it must suffer from those men of "law and order." Then you must look at the offices of the *Herald of Freedom and Kansas Free State*. Their types you can find in and near the river. Yes, these instruments that were calculated to bear such glorious news, and could be made such blessings to so many, must be destroyed, the river must be their receptacle! This is not all.—The place where Governor Robinson's house stood is a pile of ashes, coals, broken pots, stoves, dishes, &c.; but even this is not all. Our houses, shops, stores, and trunks were entered and pilfered of every and any article wanted by these ungodly ruffians. I said our houses; I can say that in the fullest sense of that term, as my own house, trunks, &c., were entered. However, we did not suffer to the extent that many others did. But that is easily accounted for, when we remember that Methodist preachers are not apt to have much that such men want. My son suffered the most as his apparel probably suited them best. Most gladly would we lose all, if the troubles were only over; but to lose and suffer both is a little hard! I have not visited Ossawatimie in person, but an eyewitness informed me their loss was much worse than Lawrence in proportion to their property—their insults to women much worse, even to taking their jewels in some instances!

I will now refer to a few cases of personal unprovoked violence. The first is a local preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by the name of William Moore, late of Indiana, but now of Ossawatimie Circuit, South Kansas district, Kansas and Nebraska Conference. On his way to Kansas City, Mo., some two weeks since, he was arrested by a company of these "law and order" men, and conveyed to Westport, Mo. Among their first actions after reaching that point was to put it to a vote what they should do with him. There being eleven in the company, five voted to shoot him, and six to save him; thus he was spared. They then proposed to give him some thing to drink—I mean alcoholic—but he being a devoted temperance man, refused. They then took a tunnel, placed it in his mouth, some holding him, while others poured the liquor in, very nearly strangling him. This freak finished, they proposed to convey him to Lecompton, and were soon on their way. They had proceeded but a few miles, when they were met by a small company of Free-State men. A severe conflict ensued, but the friends of freedom soon proved victorious, and brother Moore and two or three other prisoners were soon liberated, and several pro-slavery men were taken prisoners. One fact worthy of observation was, that two of brother Moore's sons were among the Free-State men, and knew not that their father was among the opposite party a prisoner. During the engagement the prisoners among the "law and order" men were placed in front as a defense or breastwork; but an overruling Providence protected, and they were not harmed. I leave the reader to imagine the feelings of brother Moore's sons at his deliverance.

Another shameful outrage was committed on Rev. A. Webster, of the Vermont Conference, a





**EXTRAORDINARY POLITICAL EVENT.**—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 practical 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 the 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, legislates 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 huge crab making back-tracks as never mortal crab did before. The spectacle is a monstrous one.

We shall get the details of the new Kansas bill in two or three days, and then we shall have more to say about it.

South and the country by Mr. Forney, should leader any denial of the charges I bring now against him and his patron (Mr. Buchanan,) unworthy of anything but an honest man's scorn. What are those charges? As stated above, they are Mr. Buchanan's appeal to men having influence over the President, for giving the Abolition party in Kansas full and unrestricted sway there—appeals made, doubtless, in obedience to Reeder's suggestion, when he spent those two hours with Mr. Buchanan, and when the two then resolved themselves into a "political society." If these things are not so, why has there been a change in the tactics of Col. Sumner? Why have the arms of the United States been turned against the Missourians in Kansas, who are struggling as it were for the very existence of the South as a portion of the Union entitled to equal rights and privileges with the North? Read the news, that is in the newspapers of this date, and see if a most foul game is not being played through the influence of Mr. Buchanan, in order to secure the votes of Northern Freesoilers. It is an intelligence of a different character shall reach you and me before this goes in print, then you can give Mr. Buchanan and the treacherous party, of which he is the candidate, the benefit of it.

I would ask all conservative men in the South to look at New York, and there see the "Hards" striking their flag bearing the motto of "no compromise with the traitor," and entering into a union with the Freesoilers of the Foreign party who gave the country so much trouble some years ago. If the Foreign party can do this thing in the North without being cried down by their friends at the South, you will please ask them to keep very quiet, if, in any Northern State, the Americans and Republicans may hereafter be found voting together. There is some consolation for honest men in the fact, that, with a few exceptions, all the true national men of the Hards are zealous advocates of the American cause, and most of the Abolitionized Softs swallowed up by the Black Republicans, and that, consequently, there is but a slim force left of either of those divisions of the New York "democracy" to unite on Mr. Buchanan or any one else.

points, the Nebraska-Kansas bill, so far as Kansas is concerned, has proved a failure—a failure in all that could give it practical value. The question of slavery in the Territories is as far from solution in theory now as it was ten years ago, while practically it is complicated by the intensest excitement on both sides, and by violence and blood. We have before us the startling anomaly of a party actually rejecting all overtures of peace, and staking its success in the Presidential election upon the continuance of the civil war in Kansas.

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

We do not find fault with Mr. DOUGLAS's course. We credit him with every desire to have this question settled fairly and equally. But he has had to deal with elements stronger than any principle of Congressional legislation—elements which defy law, the Constitution, and the calculations of parties, and which, while he is shouting hosannas to the Union, are sapping its foundations. A Northern man, he little knew what fierce fires slumbered in his own section, and around his own home, and with what implacable fury anti-slavery would visit those who dared to speak of justice to the South. Still less did he imagine that a measure which afforded every facility to freesoil emigration, and which was urged, if not by himself, by other leaders of the Northern Democracy, as "the best Abolition measure ever passed," would be repudiated from one end of the North to the other as an outrage and an insult.

The session is a memorable one. Will it be lost upon the South? Will her people still delude themselves with the dream, that any party or legislation—that "squatter sovereignty," or Congressional intervention—can put an end to the war upon their institutions and honor? The compromise of 1850 was a failure—the Fugitive Slave Law was a failure; and now the Kansas-Nebraska bill is a failure, by the virtual admission of its framers and advocates. Again Congress is the scene of the struggle, and slavery in the Territories depends upon a Congressional majority. Such is the end of compromises.

**THE RALEIGH REGISTER.**  
 "Ours are the plans of fair, delightful peats,  
 Uncarped by party rage to live like brothers."  
 RALEIGH, N. C.  
 WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 9, 1856.

[Correspondence of the "Register."]  
 BALTIMORE, July 3rd, 1856.  
 EDITOR OF THE REGISTER:—The last news from Kansas looks very suspicious. The movements of Col. Sumner, taken in connection with Gov. Reeder's very quiet course for some two or three weeks, bear evidence that there was truth in the rumor circulating some time since, that he (Reeder) had visited and spent some hours with Mr. Buchanan, at Wheatland, and there received assurances that his (Mr. B.'s) sympathies were with the abolition invaders of Kansas. The rumor of Gov. Reeder's visit was immediately followed by another, that Mr. Buchanan had made strong appeals to President Pierce to let the Northern Immigrant and Aid Societies take possession of Kansas, "and thus save the democracy from certain defeat."  
 The very close intimacy existing between Gov. Reeder, and Mr. Buchanan's confidential friend, Jno. W. Forney, is enough to confirm the truth of the above rumors. It was Mr. Forney who made Reeder Governor of Kansas, and it was he who, after it was plain that Reeder was leaving nothing undone to have that Territory overrun with Northern Abolitionists, assured the South and the entire nation, that Reeder had always stood on a sound national platform, and would take no steps calculated to bring about an abolition conquest of Kansas. The very great fraud which subsequent events have proved were then perpetrated upon the

**THE MERCURY.**  
 BY HEART & TARKER.  
 CHARLESTON  
 Wednesday Morning, July 9, 1856.

**The Bill of Pacification.**  
 After a long and excited discussion, the Senate passed, last Thursday morning, a "Bill for the Pacification of Kansas." At the same time the House passed the bill for the admission of Kansas with the Topeka or anti-slavery constitution. The Senate and the House are, therefore, at direct issue—the former attempting to stave off, the latter to precipitate the battle upon slavery. It is not likely that either measure will pass Congress. The Democratic party in Washington see clearly enough that, to keep up the contest in Kansas, is to peril all their chances in the next election at the North. They want peace—for peace disarms anti-slavery agitation. They bear in bitter memory the recollection of the storm which, two years ago, swept the Democratic party from power and office in every State at the North, and they have little inclination to face again the returning tide of abolitionism.  
 The Freesoilers, on the contrary, desire agitation. It is their breath and life. They can succeed only by incessantly stirring the elements of hostility to the South. With these cross purposes in view, and with the Freesoilers having a majority in the House, there is, we repeat, little chance for Mr. DOUGLAS's "Bill of Pacification."  
 Senator DOUGLAS has added much to his previous reputation, by his reports and speeches, this session, on Kansas affairs. He has been bold, able, and consistent, in his vindication of the principles of the Nebraska-Kansas bill, and in his efforts to carry them out in Kansas. But the Fates have been against him. His great measure, which was to settle forever the question of slavery in the Territories, remove agitation from the floors of Congress, and give peace to the whole country, has disappointed the expectations of its friends. Upon all these

**THE COURIER.**  
 BY A. S. WILLINGTON & CO.  
 JULY 9, 1856.  
 (From the Columbia South Carolinian.)  
 For Kansas.

DR. GIBBS—Dear Sir: I desire to announce through your paper that I will set out for Kansas on the first Monday in August. All persons who design going with me should meet me in Columbia on that day, at Hunt's Hotel, so that we may take the railroad the next day. All monies from the different districts to be sent by me to their emigrants, should be forwarded to you or deposited in bank to my order by that time.  
 Col. Payne, a pro-slavery member of our Kansas Legislature, writes me that homes and provisions are provided for Southern emigrants to Kansas for a time, by the people of Missouri and of the Territory. All who desire to emigrate and become actual settlers, may do so under the assurance that some provision will be made for them. I will pay the necessary expenses of all bona fide emigrants to the Territory, upon their depositing in my hands \$75 each. For this sum I will give them a receipt, and pay them the amount due, after defraying their expenses to Kansas, so soon as we land.  
 There are hundreds of young men in this State who can go to Kansas, and were they to consult their own interest would do it. When the present difficulties are settled, it will present a fine field for men of talent, energy and enterprise.  
 Respectfully,  
 WARREN D. WILKES.  
 ANDERSON C. H., July 7, 1856.

BY LANGDON & GILES.

C. C. LANGDON.....EDITOR.

MOBILE:

WEDNESDAY EVENING... July 9

THE SENATE UNDOING THE KANSAS NEBRASKA BILL IS AGAIN RESUMING THE POWER OF CONGRESS OVER THE TERRITORY!

The American Principle at Last Triumphant in Kansas!

THE OLD CLAYTON AMENDMENT FOR NATURALIZED CITIZENS ONLY TO VOTE PREVAILING.

Repeal of the Bad Laws in Kansas!

Such is the appropriate caption with which the New York Express introduces to its readers the proceedings of the United States Senate (which we copy in another column) on the passage of the "Kansas Pacification Bill." We have seen nothing from Washington during the present session of Congress, so important and so full of significance as are contained in these proceedings. The bill, as passed, knocks the Democratic platform adopted at Cincinnati into pi, and takes all the wind out of the sails of "Old Buck." By the adoption of the American amendment of Mr. Adams, of Miss., the repeal of the Squatter Sovereignty feature, restricting the right of suffrage to native Americans and naturalized foreigners, the resumption on the part of Congress of its legitimate sovereignty over the Territory, the repeal of all test oaths and other odious features of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, "Buck" Democracy has nothing tangible to stand upon. The Kansas Act, in the very form in which it passed the last Congress, was fully endorsed, in all its features, by the Cincinnati Convention--indeed, it was the main plank of its platform. It was perfect in all its parts; no objection was urged to any of its features; it was cordially embraced in all of its details, and upon the principles therein contained, the party solemnly resolved to stand or fall. And worse than all their candidate for the Presidency, jumped upon it with wonderful alacrity, approved it ALL with his whole heart as just the things that was wanted to quiet the country and subserve the interests of the democracy. And now, by a single blow, this beautiful fabric this immaculate platform, on which Mr. Buchanan planted himself so boldly and so firmly, is smashed into atoms! The plank on which he stood in such happy consciousness of security, is suddenly knocked from under him, and he and his platform are tumbled together--a hopeless mass of rubbish and ruin! Mr. Buchanan and his party were pledged to all the principles of the Kansas Nebraska act. Mutilated as it now is by the bill of the Senate, shorn of many of its leading features and made acceptable to the American party of the country against which they are fighting, what will be the course of Mr. Buchanan and the democracy? Will they leap at once on the new platform of the Senate bill? One month ago, Mr. Buchanan was in favor of Squatter Sovereignty. Will he now eat his own words and give in his adhesion to the Senate bill which kills off that odious principle? We shall not be surprised at any thing he may do. But we shall see.

The important amendment proposed by Mr. Adams, to restore to American citizens the control of the Government in Kansas, caused a most interesting showing of hands. That gentlemen introduced his amendment with the following remarks:

"I rise to move an amendment to the bill, in the eleventh section, by striking out the words--

"Including all persons who shall have filed their declaration of intention to become such in compliance with the naturalization laws of the United States."

This will confine the right of suffrage to 'free white male citizens of the United States.' This amendment was known, in the original Kansas-Nebraska bill, as the Clayton amendment. It is not my purpose to originate a discussion on this question; I only wish a vote of the Senate on it. I may be permitted, however, to remark that we are now differently circumstanced from the condition in which we were placed at the time when the vote was taken on the amendment of the Senator from Delaware to the Kansas Nebraska bill. The House of Representatives is a different body, and, so far as we can judge of the sympathies of that House, we have every reason to believe that they are disposed to concur with the people of Kansas in confining the elective franchise to citizens of the United States, being inhabitants of the Territory.

It occurs to me--and this is one of the greatest doubts and difficulties I have in reference to this bill--that we are taking into our hands the whole matter which we had previously devolved upon the Territory. If I understand correctly the action of the people of Kansas, they have, through their Legislature, passed a law requiring all voters to be citizens of the United States and inhabitants of the Territory. The provision which I have moved to strike out is an innovation on what they provided for themselves.

I think that if we limit the elective franchise in the Territory to citizens of the United States, and those entitled to vote in the States from whence they come, all the objections which have been urged with force and propriety against the doctrine of squatter sovereignty are obviated. If a man is capable of self-government, and is entitled to all the rights of a freeman in a State, he should lose none of those rights by going into a Territory; but if you confer on persons residing in the Territories the privilege of the elective franchise who are excluded from it by the laws of the different States, every Senator living in the twenty four States which requires citizenship, who gives such a vote, reflects on the propriety of the legislation of his own State.

The amendment of Mr. Adams was adopted by the following vote:

- AYES 23. Adams, of Miss. Bayard, of Del. Bell, of Tenn. Briggs, of N. C. Broadhead, of Penn. Brown, of Miss. Clay, Jr., of Ala. Clayton, of Del. Colman, of N. Y. Crandall, of Ky. Fessenden, of Me. Fitzpatrick, of Ala. Foot, of Vt. Foster, of Conn. Geyer, of Mo. Hamner, of Va. Johnson, of Ark. Mallory, of Fla. Mason, of Va. Reid of N. C. Thompson of Ky. Yulee, of Fla. NAYS 16. Allen, of E. I. Bigler, of Penn. Bright, of Ind. Cass, of Mich. Dodge, of Wis. Douglas, of Ill. Evans, of S. C. Jones, of Tenn. Pugh, of Ohio. Saward, of N. Y. Silldell, of La. Toombs, of Ga. Weller, of Cal. Wilson, of Mass. Wright, of N. J. Butler, S. C.

That right hand column presents a spectacle worth looking at. We find Douglass the "Little Giant," Bigler the special friend and authorized mouthpiece of Buchanan, Slidell another Buchanan echo, the two South Carolina Senators, Toombs of Georgia and Jones of Tennessee, side by side with Seward and Wilson, voting that foreigners shall be permitted to vote before they are naturalized in the United State!

Look at that record! Look at it Americans--every body, look at it, and ponder it well. Mark the names of those Senators who would commit your dearest and most sacred rights--the rights of the South and the rights of American citizens throughout the Union--to the control of foreign paupers and criminals. Douglass, and Mr. Buchanan's mouthpieces, Bigler and Slidell have thus voted!

New Orleans Daily Delta.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 9.

We have a record of the following sums having been subscribed to aid the free State men in Kansas to carry out their designs: Gerrit Smith, \$10,000; Chicago, \$3000; Milwaukee, Wis., \$2500; Rockford, Ill., \$2000; Taunton Mass., \$2000; Janesville, \$2500; Providence \$100; Detroit, \$23,000; Boston, \$7,000; Raynham, \$300; Chicago women, \$500; New Bedford, \$500; Dalton, \$500. Total, \$53,900.

King Force and his Servant Party.

There are some among us who are so simple-minded as to suppose that our country is really the land of liberty which it is said to be. As we have a well-digested constitution, wise laws and frequent elections, they naturally think that our Republican system is not all a sham. But bless you, my good friends, you are sadly mistaken. We have a King, who rules us most despotically. He has a servant--one of the shrewdest, smartest and most active fellows (to say nothing of his ability to tell a lie or two when necessary) to be found in the whole country round. This King's name is FORCE; his servant is called PARTY.

This worthy and puissant sovereign is now engaged in two extensive transactions, which have attracted considerable attention, and by which he has unwittingly stirred up the opposition of certain low minded fellows, who know not the hand that feeds them, and are indisposed to take his favors kindly. But they are an ungrateful set, deserving the frowns of all loyal and obedient subjects who (as they should) sustain their master in his good work.

A part of our King's people are a poor miserable set of folks, dark in color and darker in intellect, whom he keeps to run on errands for him, to bring him his shaving water, to brush his boots and to do other little jobs of a like character. Poor devils! they are fit for nothing else, and they are so ignorant that he thinks it useless to enlighten them; so he makes them work for him from morning till night, and in return gives them their living, for which they ought to be very grateful.

King Force thinks this arrangement such a fine one that he wishes to extend it to a territory called Kansas, adjoining his State of Missouri: To accomplish this object, he has persuaded a good many Missouri folks to carry the institution over into the territory, and has sent his soldiers to help them. But some of those low minded fellows, of whom I have before spoken, have got into Kansas somehow or other, and want the people of Missouri to be kept out. They are so foolish as to think that they can manage their own affairs without any help from Missouri, and they say that none of their neighbors shall make them hold their tongue, and that they will hollow just as loud as they have a mind to. They talk about their constitutional rights being violated, as if anybody now-a-days paid any regard to that antediluvian affair of a constitution. They quote some miserable old fellows who lived over seventy years ago, among whom was one Thomas Jefferson and one George Washington, as their authority for disregarding the laws which the Missourians have been so kind as to make for them, and which they ought to receive most gratefully. But the rascals really don't know their own interests, and talk about governments being instituted for the good of the people, and the people's having a right to throw off their allegiance when such good is lost sight of--and all such republican trash. King Force's people, however, have burned some of their houses and newspaper offices, and have put some of their leading men to death and imprisoned others, so that they have pretty effectually got the better of them. In this work of love they derive material aid from the King's soldiers, who allow them to do as they please,

and keep the other side off. All this time Party goes around the country, saying that it is all right, and that the Kansas folks manage their own affairs in their own way; a story which some with singular obstinacy refuse to believe.

The other transaction in which King Force is engaged is an attempt to prevent the members of a body called Congress, in his capital city of Washington, freely giving utterance to their sentiments and feelings. It is not many weeks since he sent one of his emissaries to punish an enemy who had spoken evil words against his people. He accomplished his task in a most satisfactory and honorable manner, and covered himself with glory by caning a man who was unarmed, and was altogether unprepared for his attack. Some of the friends of this enemy of the King's wished to punish this faithful servant, but Party interfered, and will doubtless keep him from all harm. Party is a glorious fellow, and defends all the King's followers when they are threatened with injury on account of their obedience to their sovereign commander—whether they break the head of an abolitionist or pistol poor Irishmen. It is true that all this is in direct opposition to the constitution, but King Force regards that as a humbug from beginning to end, got up for popular effect; and he intends to destroy it as soon as he can, so that it may not furnish pleas for resistance to his despotism. Party cries AMEN to all his efforts, and then goes through the land, calling meetings of the King's people, and they all cry amen; all the King's newspapers cry amen; all whom Party can buy, persuade or intimidate cry amen. If any of Party's friends don't wish to say the word, he threatens to cut their acquaintance and denounce them; and forthwith they cry amen. They swallow his pills, do his bidding and try which can loudest cry amen.

People of Michigan! Will you cry amen to the effort which is now being made to extend the kingdom of Force over the plains of Kansas in defiance of pledges, and in opposition to the wishes of the people? Will you cry amen to the attempts made to suppress the right of free speech—a right which is the corner stone of our republican institutions?—Will you cry amen to all the commands of that party which countenances murder, violence and political dishonesty, and which aims now, by the power of party discipline and the fear of party vengeance, to carry out measures repulsive to the feelings of the country, and which would make you forever the slaves of caucuses and demagogues? If you raise not your voice against wrong, but give your consent to these things, then you must be willing to bid farewell to all our freedom, all our greatness and all our civilization; and to see constitutional liberty overwhelmed by the might of despotism. X.

# Daily Democrat.

## The Cannon Sent to Kansas.

The Republican copies with evident unction an article from the Jefferson Examiner in regard to the sending of cannon from Missouri, to be used in subduing Kansas, and proclaims it "another whopper nailed."

If the Republican had read a little closer it would have found that there is evidence disproving the facts stated by our correspondent, but that the Governor and the Governor's organ seeks shelter under the State law, authorizing the formation of military companies. Those persons in St. Louis, however, who know how tedious and how difficult has been the business of getting State arms for companies here from the Governor, need not be told that he must have had other than legal incentives to induce him to furnish so speedily such a number of cannon to Platte county and Jackson county. The very certificate which the Examiner produces establishes the fact we have charged. It shows that more cannon have recently been sent to those two counties than to all the rest of the State besides. That those cannon were designed for the invasion of Kansas the Governor well knew, and that they were so used is established by ample concurrent testimony. The truth is that Sterling Price has been in close correspondence with the Atchison gang all along, and has never scrupled to furnish them the means to carry on their outrages against a neighboring territory.

In regard to there being other cannon still in the State arsenal, we, of course, know nothing and give the Examiner and Gen. Hackney credit, for their more accurate information. But, what we do know is, that those which not twelve months since graced the capitol, at Jefferson, were last seen in the Territory of Kansas.

If the Governor has any bonds for their return let him try to enforce them, and we venture the assertion that Missouri will never again see either a piece of artillery or the liquidation of a bond. Our correspondent is right; Sterling Price is not fit to be Governor of Missouri, and it is a God-send that his time is so near out.

THE MISSOURI REPUBLICAN:  
PUBLISHED DAILY, TWO-WEEKLY AND WEEKLY.  
July 10, 1856.

## ALTON CORRESPONDENCE.

Alton, July 8, 1856.

No rain has visited this city or vicinity, as yet, since the hot weather set in, except the light sprinkle on the morning of the 4th, and a very slight shower about a week previous. The gardens are as good as done for. We have had black clouds over land in every direction, and distant rumbling thunder and driers streaks of red lightning, and one or two entire cloudy days, but alas! the bung hole of the celestial water tank remains closed, and the prayers of the righteous (and wicked) ascend unto the heavens without avail. Still, we are rejoiced to know that other sections get refreshing showers, if we do not.

The return of the Chicago "Border Ruffians" to Alton, after a speedy and prosperous voyage of ten days or more, up the dancing waters of the Missouri, created some little stir among the excitable of this goodly city. As they loitered into and about our city on Sabbath morning, the fanatics flew around and made up sums of money, giving quite largely. The money helped out very happily, in the cause of whiskey cocktails, and in the raw, tobacco, cigars, &c. These young men were glad to get back, some of them counting themselves lucky in getting off with a whole hide. No two of them seemed to think alike, at least to talk with them apart, each told his own story, and it was impossible for me to arrive at any correct conclusion in the premises. They agreed, however, in admitting that it was impossible for any emigrant company to get up the Missouri river; that all was trouble and confusion; that any one who goes to the Territory now, will have to fight, be he on what side of the question he may. Some of these men censured

their Captain, calling him a coward, &c.; others said he was brave, and did the best he could under the circumstances. Some complained of the Captain of the boat, others that he acted impartially in the matter, so far as he could, to all. The company disbanded here, and its members have scattered to the four winds. While some—many of their numbers were respectable appearing young men—the majority appeared to our citizens to be unsteady, unreliable, loud boasting and foul-mouthed persons, who, as a band of "reformers," "free State settlers," and the like, were a disgrace to the city from whence they were scraped together, and clothed and armed.

The effect of this transaction upon our people, generally, has been marked. Disgusted, they turn their faces from all this sickening Kansas rant, and pray that the strong arm of the law be kept outstretched over the new Territories, preserving them from marauders and desperadoes of all parties and sections of the country.

Of late, the clergy, in various parts of the country, have shown an unusual amount of anti-Nebraska zeal, and pitch into the political arena without circumspection or gloves. The Congregational clergy of Connecticut have just been admonished so to do, by recent action of their State Synod or Conference. Dr. TRUMBULL's course in New York city is attracting the deepest solicitude of the Episcopal Church, throughout the country, and it is believed that he will be dealt with by the high assemblage of his denomination. The WYCHER and DUTTON movements are blown world wide upon every breeze.

Have I not written, time and again, that Alton will keep her head above water, let the agitation come when it will? Alton must have its share of clerical interference with politics. The groans of the anointed priesthood must ascend—let it be my province to describe the event of their heavenly flight.

On the evening of the 4th of July a public meeting was called, to be held at the Chicago Railroad depot, where Dr. CALVIN CUTLER, the agent or captain of a party of returned Kansas emigrants, who had been stopped and turned back on the Missouri river, was to deliver an address.

A crowd of perhaps one hundred people assembled. The Doctor made his speech, detailing the incidents of their trip—the taking of their arms; the insults and their stoppage by the "border ruffians." I do not attempt a report of his speech—it was after the usual order of Kansas harangues. When he concluded he asked "what is to be done?" "Elect FREEMAN," uttered some one in the crowd. The Doctor was silent a moment, shook his head, and then exclaimed, "I fear, friend, that that remedy is quite too far distant." That event was altogether too remote! Dr. CUTLER distinctly asserted in this speech, that it was proposed to him and his company by the Missouri people who stopped them, that if they would sign a paper agreeing to obey the laws of the Territory, they would be permitted to go into Kansas. But no; the Doctor said he told them that "he would rather be gibbeted than to obey such laws!" There is the truth in a nutshell. His party were going to Kansas to resist the laws; all candid men will rejoice that they were turned back.

When Dr. CUTLER was through, having proposed or intimated that Alton men should go to work in some visible way, for "free Kansas," several persons called upon Rev. W. D. HALEY, Unitarian preacher, of this city, for a speech. He came forward promptly, as the following from the Alton Courier testifies:

Rev. W. D. Haley was called for by loud and repeated cries. He came forward and made a manly and straight forward declaration of his determination to resist all such outrages. His address was very earnest, and was frequently applauded.

His reverence made a regular built political stump speech, full of the usual Abolition cant and rant of the day. I will not attempt a revision of it. Words are cheap—this meeting passed a string of resolutions, of which the following is one:

Resolved, That all persons in the Free States, who sanction, apologize, or tamely acquiesce in the outrages committed on the Free State men in Kansas, and on the Missouri river, are unworthy of the great boon of freedom conferred upon them by the Fathers of '76, and were it not that they are so entirely destitute of every attribute that is requisite to constitute true manhood, as to excite pity and compassion, should receive the contempt of every lover of liberty in the land.

The vote being taken upon the resolutions one voice was heard "no." The Rev. Mr. HALEY arises and exclaims that if there is one man in the city who will not join in denouncing the border ruffian outrages, he was "mean enough to steal the sour milk away from a sore-eyed kitten," and again he advised any such per-

on to go home and pray humbly to his God to give him a soul, for he was now destitute of one. Sir Rant closed with asserting that were he en route for Kansas not all the Missouri minions in existence should take away his weapons over his live body.

Thus exercised the synod of people adjourned over their meeting until Monday night. The meeting was a slim one and composed of the small faction of excitable hereabout. The staunch, business men of Alton, as a class, were not there, and our city is by no means compromised by the action taken.

On that night, it was proclaimed that the Rev-rant HALY, would preach a political speech on Kansas at his church on the following Sabbath evening. The public were on tip-toe with curiosity, and the Unitarian church contained a fair audience—by no means a jam, however, but a good number of strangers as well as regulars. Piety is not a myth—it is the practical result of the workings of a truthful and well-balanced Christian mind. Persons aiming at the same thing, often pursue different roads and arrive at very opposite ends. Therefore, while we can admit that Sir Rant aims to do right, we may be allowed our opinion as to the probable results of his practices.—But the manner of men closely studied, is generally a true index to their character. When the preacher puts on an excess of outward expression, we are prone to conclude that he is more devoted to the outer than the inner man. And when we see him constantly drifting off after the new things of life, making a hobby of each in their turn, we question, whether our pulpit striker aims to expound the Bible truths supposed to have existed during centuries of time, or whether he is more intent upon chasing up that green golden-winged butterfly, popular opinion. And since I am in the speculative vein, allow me to move you again Mr. Republican, whether it is not too much the case, that the bigot has the most zeal—that the swearing rowdy Know N-thing, is the most severe against the Pope—and that the religionist preacher who discards all the creeds and corner stones of the old denominations, and squares himself upon a platform of pompous, high-sounding morality, is not the most given to a sanctimonious exterior, a holy uplifting of eyes, and wagging of the head. For merchants are not alone in doing business occasionally upon an assumed capital.

Well, sir, we would hear the speech upon Kansas. I have not as yet described the new Alton Unitarian edifice; nor can I now devote the space to do so. Suffice it that the edifice is a very neat gothic affair, of heavy stone walls, the wood work finished in imitation of oak, and it presents a very neat and tasty appearance inside, with its carpets, circular seats, fine organ, and handsome pulpit. The "god of this world" has done his best, in fitting up the sanctuary to the fashionable point of style and luxury. By some hocus pocus operation of the mind, we were at once divested of any idea of religious worship, or any appearance or smell of sanctity about the preacher or his church, as soon as the reverent began his harangue. We even detected ourself wondering very strangely that so much paint, stained glass, and carpeting should surround these political hustings. The head of a beer barrel, or the big end of a dry goods box, or the smooth end of a white oak stump, would have answered just as good a purpose. But this is all a matter of taste, you know.

A hymn was read off with strong emphasis, each line ending with a tone of voice suggestive of a sepulchral moan. It was well sung by the choir. The speech was commenced, something as follows:

"My dear hear-ers, by turning to the Gospel of St. Matthew, sixteenth chapter, and the last part of the third verse, you will find these words: "But can ye not discern the signs of the times?"

I am at this pains to describe, because I wish all the border ruffian fraternity to be posted as to what is going on in the kingdom of this world, Alton precinct. The speaker then proceeded to say that he had preached to this people three years, commencing the 17th of October next; that during all that time he had not preached about American slavery; that the time was now come for him and every true man to take position in that behalf; that he had spent a week of great anxiety and prayer, and that he had fully determined to do his duty to himself and his God, let the consequences fall as they might. He then stated that there were phases in the present state of Kansas. 1st. The "iniquitous" repeal of the Missouri Compromise, by arch traitors and doughfaces of the North. 2d. The invasion of Kansas by border ruffians. 3d. The assault upon Sumner, by "Bully Brooks," as he called him. 4th. The outrages com-

mitted upon the Missouri river. This last injury capped the climax, and in his opinion should move every true American to join in the movement to crush out slavery. I must hasten, however, and can not report this speech as fully as it deserves. The speaker denounced the Administration, and all its pimps, apologists, and supporters, as men abandoned to all the nobler impulses of the human heart. He said, in speaking of ideas of liberty, that the German and Irish idea of it was, to get drunk and fight upon public occasions. This remark was in reference to the recent 4th of July celebration, where a party of young boys, (American born) went among the Germans at the Cave Spring, and caused a disturbance of a few moments. The reverent speaker alluded to gigantic efforts being made in this community to keep down this Kansas feeling by using Custom House and Post Office money and influence. This was an attack upon the Collector of the port, who was present. That official would have wilted downright, probably, by such an attack, but he was kept up by a remarkably stiff shirt collar, which supported him by the two ears. The speaker further asserted, that he had no doubt but he would be again assailed and mangled by hired scribblers for the odious St. Louis Republican, but he did not fear it. I can not enumerate one-half of these violent utterings of the speaker. It is sufficient to add, that he descended to use many of the slang words and cant phrases of the day, spoke of "sacking of Lawrence," and retailed to his auditory much of the substance of the letter writers of the REDPATH stripe.

I doubt not that nothing would please this preacher more than to be well scored in the Republican. But I am not generous enough to give him the notoriety. I only mention so much to show the course that has been deforinated on by certain of the clerical fraternity, during the pending political campaign. This course is to be regretted by every lover of Christianity. It will more array the hostility of the masses against the churches than any cause now operating that way. I may be allowed to add, that several members of the Unitarian congregation of Alton feel greatly outraged by the transaction, and the public expression is decidedly and severely against it. It has killed the influence of the speaker in this community, and his connection with this church may not be regarded as permanent.

Upon Monday evening the adjourned Kansas meeting was held. About the same crowd were in attendance, and speeches were made at the depot, by this same reverent orator and by another defunct preacher, who ceased preaching because it did not afford him a living—and which, all will say, was a good and sufficient reason. The reverent holy in this speech again made individual attacks, and defied the emissaries of the pro-slavery press, and especially of the Missouri Republican. I ought to add, that in his Sunday night's speech, he advised the Illinois business men to make the St. Louis business men meet unmistakably aware of these river outrages.

Thus was he repaying back St. Louis for her donation of several thousand dollars to aid in building the Alton Unitarian church. And it evinced his ignorance of the real, practical bearings of the question—for who already feels more injured and cramped by these Kansas troubles, which this reverent disciple is doing his utmost to keep alive, than the business men of St. Louis, who have lost thousands of dollars by the almost total suspension of trade and commerce in Kansas. The speaker further stated that \$5,000 worth of necessaries would be needed by the suffering freedmen in Kansas, this month, and he could assure his people, as the servant of God, that it was their solemn duty, and they must contribute largely, to help their destitute brethren in freedom's cause. The meeting broke up, having done nothing but to appoint a committee of five to report resolutions at a future day, calling upon the President of the United States and the Governor of this State to move officially respecting the interference of border ruffians in Kansas and along the Missouri. This is the last we will see or hear of this—another humbug.

Let matters work. Every movement of this character is worth more to the national party, than any effort they could possibly make. How often are we compelled to witness the stern truth of the memorable exclamation, "whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." The present instance is not the only one. At divers places in this region I know of mistaken clergymen, (as I think), who are now desecrating their pulpits by dragging party politics therein.

If this is to be continued—if it is to be understood that ministers of the gospel are to take upon themselves to denounce the high affairs of the Government, and the greatest and best men in the Union; if they are to attempt to sit in judgment and declare that a great political party in this country, the national Democratic party of the Union, has no soul, then the sooner we know it, the better. A few of the clergy, in olden times, prayed for the success of the Hartford Convention, and the burning of the blue-lights. Others of them conducted the orgies attending the times of Salem witchcraft. Others waited over the Mexican war. But let us remember, and let them remember, that in every such instance of clerical interference with politics, the people, the masses of this country, have triumphed, and the politico-religionists have been overwhelmed. As it has ever been, so may it continue to be in this great and happy country, that politics and preaching, State and church, shall be widely separated.

WIDE AWAKE  
**THE EVENING NEWS**  
ST. LOUIS.  
THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 10, 1856.

**Squatter Sovereignty.**  
The Richmond Enquirer scornfully repels the notion that Squatter Sovereignty has been indorsed by the Democratic platform or nominee. After speaking of Mr. Buchanan's antecedents, it says:

"These considerations (in which men of all parties in the general will concur) afford a clue to ascertain and determine his meaning and opinions as to Squatter Sovereignty. The Nebraska Bill has been charged with ambiguity, yet it is hard to suspect the majority in Congress who enacted it with fraudulent intention. The changed phraseology employed on the same subject in the Cincinnati Platform, was adopted in order more explicitly and fully to repudiate the idea of Squatter Sovereignty. The subject had been fully discussed before the sitting of the Convention, and the entire South went into Convention, resolved that no room for doubt or cavil should be left, even to our enemies. To place other construction on the platform is to assert that a few knaves in Convention duped the whole South and most of the North.

But although the Convention satisfied its friends by resolutions on this subject, unanimously adopted in Convention, it did not stop the cavillings and affected doubts of its adversaries. No wonder Mr. Buchanan cannot satisfy men who are predetermined not to be satisfied. But it would be strange, wonderful, incredible, that Mr. Buchanan, knowing that Squatter Sovereignty had but one conspicuous advocate in the Union, knowing that the resolutions of the Cincinnati Convention were carefully framed, so as expressly to exclude such doctrine, and had, therefore, met the unanimous approbation of Southern as well as Northern members, should studiously accept the 'ipsissima verba' of that platform and resolutions, as coincident with his own opinions, and as the guide of his policy if elected. We say it would be strange, wonderful, incredible, that he should suddenly turn short round, eat his own words, clasp Squatter Sovereignty to his bosom—and for what? To destroy his reputation for truth, honesty, common sense and consistency, to offend a nation and lose an empire."

So it seems that this promising bantling which Gen. Cass begot, and the Democratic party adopted, and over whose birth the Anti-Bentonites of this State shouted so lustily and loudly, is to be driven out of the family after all. The very ones who were so immoderate in their praises of the impracticable doctrine awhile ago, are now turning on it the cold shoulder, and declaring they never knew it.

**THE DAILY SENTINEL.**  
RUFUS KING & WM. H. WATSON,  
PROPRIETORS.  
Under the Name and Firm of Rufus King & Co.  
MILWAUKEE  
Thursday Morning, July 10.  
The Last Murder in Kansas.  
We copy from the Detroit Daily Advertiser, a brief account of the murder of WILLIAM GAY, late of Michigan, by a party of Border Ruffians in Kansas, as well as an editorial article on the

same subject, and commend them to the attentive consideration of our readers. Gay was an old man, a democrat in politics, and an office-holder under the Pierce Administration. Friends and neighbors testify to his good character, peaceful disposition and official fidelity. He was shot down, in cold blood, on the public highway, by three miscreants, for the crime of declaring, in answer to their insolent challenge, that he was in favor of making Kansas a Free State! The simple recital of this atrocity is enough to rouse the blood of the North to fever heat. How long are such brutal outrages to go unpunished and unchecked?

**THE MURDER OF GAY.**—The blood of Michigan cries out to us from the soil of Kansas. His death will arouse a feeling throughout the State, which among all good men and true, will bow to no political authority, will acknowledge no party lines, and which will not down at the bidding of Pharisees who cry peace, peace, when there is no peace. His death presents the very germ of the principle of free speech, for which we contend, and for which Gay yielded up his life. With the cocked pistol of a ruffian in Slavery at his temple, he looked steadily into the eye of the Charleston assassin, and steadily answered to his question,—"I am from Michigan—I am from a free State,"—the hammer fell, the bullet sped, and Gay fell, before the face of his son. That immortal soul went before its God to testify to freedom, the choicest earthly gift of that God.

It has been said of us here in Michigan, that we make loud talk of freedom at a safe distance,—here was one Michigan man, an office-holder under Franklin Pierce, a Democrat from his cradle, and one who had every base motive in life to be as base as his master, who preferred a bullet in his brain, to a lie in his mouth. He was an honor to his race, to the mother who bore him, to the State which nurtured him, and to the principle for which he fell. How easy had it been for him to have answered, "I am a U. S. Government officer, and a National man." Those words would have been true, and they would have saved him. He told the whole truth, and he knew it would cost him his life.

We invite the attention of our readers to a circumstantial account of his death, in another column, for which we are indebted to one of his neighbors, who knew him well, and who has satisfied himself by giving the details, in the plainest and most narrative form, without resorting to embellishment, or declamation. Such acts speak loudest in the plainest terms. They impress themselves upon the hearts of men, by their own gravity and solemnity, and are indebted for their influence to no verbiage—to no argument—no adornment. By such deeds—by sufferings—for such cases—men are impressed, or not at all.—*Detroit Daily Advertiser.*

From the Detroit Advertiser  
**Death of Wm. Gay**  
 Hillsdale, July 2, 1856.

DEAR SIR:—Presuming you are anxious to publish authentic intelligence, in regard to the assassination of Wm. Gay, Esq., late Indian Agent in Kansas, I propose to send you a statement for publication.

Mr. James Gay, a son of the late Indian Agent, has just returned to Hillsdale with his family and widowed mother, and from him I have the particulars of his father's death.

The father and son, on the 14th of June, were returning home after a few days' absence on official business. They left Westport at 5 o'clock P. M., and had proceeded homeward about one and a half miles, when three men mounted on horses passed them. They proceeded a short distance when they halted, and invited the father and son to drink with them. The son declined but the father drank. Two of the riders were of Buford's company of South Carolinians, the other was a fiendish looking person from Westport.—They were armed to teeth. Neither of the Gays were armed. One of the ruffians then asked the elder Gay where he was from. He replied, I am from Michigan. He then placed a pistol at Gay's breast, and inquired, are you in favor of making Kansas a free State? Gay replied, I am. He then discharged the pistol and a severe scuffle ensued. The three ruffians discharged their pistols several times at Gay—finally a ball took effect in the back part of his head, which killed him instantly. The young man was shot at about fifteen times; one ball took effect in his right thigh, from the effects of which he is now suffering severely. He was pursued with terrible pertinacity, and that he escaped with his life is mi-

The report that was first published, that Gay was killed by the Indians, is utterly false. His deportment as agent was very acceptable to the Indians. Perfect harmony existed between him and them. He was murdered solely because he was opposed to slavery, and fearlessly and honestly expressed his opinion.

**STIRRING NEWS FROM KANSAS!  
 Pierce Rivalling Cromwell!**

The Telegraph and Mails bring us stirring news from Kansas. It will be seen that Col. SUMNER, at the head of several hundred U. S. troops, and in obedience to orders from President PIERCE, dispersed by force the Free State Legislature which met at Topeka on the Fourth of July, and prevented the people from assembling to celebrate the National Anniversary! If we could be surprised at any extreme of outrage, or tyranny, from the present Border Ruffian Administration, this last high-handed act might well astound us. But it is, in truth, only following out the programme marked out at the first inception of the Kansas-Nebraska iniquity. It is but part and parcel of the game to force Slavery into Kansas at all hazards and in violation of every law, human or divine. The President of the United States lends himself to this infamy, and employs the army of the Republic to drive out the Legislature fairly elected by the people of Kansas, and to sustain the pretenders fraudulently chosen by the Border Ruffians of Missouri! How long, men of the North! how long, Freemen of America, shall these intolerable and inexcusable wrongs be tamely borne!

**Minnesota Times.**

THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1856.

**CONGRESS AND KANSAS!**

As the present session of Congress draws to a close, the members are quite anxious to dispose of Kansas in as summary a manner as possible. We have already announced the loss of the bill, by one vote, of admitting Kansas into the Union with her free Constitution, and the efforts of Douglas to push a bill through the Senate in support of his views. As soon as the fact became known that the bill for the admission of Kansas had been rejected, the Slave Democracy of Washington fired cannon, paraded the streets, and expressed their exultation in various other ways. In the meantime Douglas was working in the Senate to get his bill through, and finally succeeded.

On the first of July, the question came up for a reconsideration of the Kansas bill, when great disorder followed. Mr. Florence, of Pennsylvania, persisting in talking out of order in hopes to prevent the reception of the report of the Kansas Investigating Committee; which report, however, was at last received amid the imprecations of the pro-slavery members. Some twenty appeals were taken from the Speaker, but only one pressed to a vote. The reading of the report, which is very voluminous, was going on when the House adjourned. It is thought, that when the question comes up again, the reconsideration will be carried, and that Kansas with her free Constitution will yet take her place with the other States of the Union; but in this we have no faith. The only remedy is a complete revolution, effected by the vote of the people—the ejecting from the Presidential chair of the present miserable doughface, and the placing therein an honest man.

We have already said that Douglas succeeded in getting his bill through the Senate. The provisions of the bill are much more liberal than they doubtless would have been, had it not been

on the eve of a Presidential election. It first provides for the appointment of five Commissioners, and then stipulates their duties in the following manner: *Vide p.*

So it will be seen that the Bill proposes to give to the Free State men everything they wish,—everything they have asked for. Public opinion has forced Douglas into this movement, and now he lifts up his hands and cries—"Liberty of speech and of the press, and of the right of the people to bear arms." He ignores the idea of taking "an oath to support the Fugitive Slave Law," and just at this time is as good an Abolitionist as there is in the country. He is only shuffling the cards for another deal, and like all his previous efforts this scheme will but send him still lower, if possible, into the depths of infamy. While on its surface, the water appears smooth and glossy, beneath it rolls a tremendous flood of iniquity. The treaty is fed by Slaveholders and Northern doughfaces, whose only aim is to perpetuate and spread the cursed system of Slavery. Mark our prediction and watch the result. Should there be no reconsideration of the vote admitting Kansas as a Free State, the people of that unfortunate Territory will be doomed to endure for some time to come, the aggressions of "Border Ruffians," who delight in murdering and pillaging innocent citizens. Poor doomed Kansas! Thy day of retribution will surely come, and the enemies shall drink of the bitter cup of public indignation.

The Pioneer insists that it is not a supporter of the "Border Ruffian" cause, and yet it glorifies over the defeat of the bill admitting Kansas with her Free Constitution. The Pioneer is "spreading itself." It says:—[the bill.] "The Republicans will defeat it, if possible, because the enforcement of the law would rob them of their stock of political capital during the coming canvass, by a fair and equitable adjustment of the difficulties in Kansas." Is it possible! The bill of Mr. Douglas gives to the Free State men all they have asked for, how then can the law (of the bogus Legislature) be enforced? It ignores the bogus laws, and propose that the people shall make new ones. Oh! Mr. Pioneer.

**Grand Rapids Eagle.**

**LOCAL & MISCELLANEOUS.**

For the Eagle.  
**HURRAH SONG.**  
 O what is this makes such a noise?  
 Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!  
 'Tis the shouting of the Fremont boys,  
 Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!  
 Success is seen in every eye,  
 Freedom's redemption's drawing nigh;  
 O'er hill and dale the sound shall fly—  
 Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!  
 Now Pierce and Jimmy, down they go,  
 Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!  
 The People have decided so,  
 Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!  
 They love oppression, blood and power,  
 They would our liberties devour;  
 But o'er them now the Heav'n's lower,  
 Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!  
 For liberty then shout again,  
 Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!  
 Bright, bright shall be its glorious reign,  
 Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!  
 Our Fremont we will give the Chair,  
 And leave old Jimmy in despair,  
 While deaf'ning shouts shall rend the air,  
 Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!  
 For Kansas now salvation's near,  
 Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!  
 And liberty shall triumph there,  
 Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!  
 Then work, and talk, and shout, and sing;  
 'Round Dayton and Fremont we'll cling;  
 Our banners to the breeze we'll fling;  
 Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!