Vol. 14

WEBB SCRAP BOOK
July 1856

Daily Democrat.

The Missouri as a Highway.

We publish to-day a narrative of the late seizure of arms, arrest, and return of a Chicago company from Kansas, by citizens of Lexington. It is furnished by one of the party thus stopped upon a public highway. It will be found to be in the main, a corroboration of the reports already furnished by the officers of the Star of the West, and others who witnessed the proceedings. Those who are curious to read the details of this latest interruption of travel upon the public highways of the country will peruse it with avidity—those who are already surfeited with the repetition of such scenes, who are heartily disgusted with the prevalent anarchy of the frontier, and who long for a restoration of peace and law and order in our midst, will pass it by without reading, and we shall not blame them for so doing.

We are as thoroughly nauseated with the civil broils in Kansas as any one can be, although the duties of journalism require that events as they transpire there shall be truly reported to the public.

In this last instance we feel no sympathy for the Chicago band, who were mustered into service amid political excitements, shipped to Kansas with arms in their hands, their expenses paid, and all to keep up there a ferment of civil dissension, and bring on, if possible, the worst of evils, a civil war. It is but a repetition on the part of the north of the expeditionary guerrilla parties from Georgia and Carolina, by the south. The musket and bayonet give no evidence of peaceful settlement, and the manner in which these, and many similar companies, have been raised, proves only too clearly that agriculture and the ordinary pursuits of the farmer's life are far from their thoughts. Large meetings of excited citizens, who have political aims in view rather than any good to the country, are called through the partisan press, thousands of persons assemble and are addressed by inflammatory speakers, money is subscribed in abundance, and men are then called for who will accept the bounty, and take up the line of march for the vast plains of the west, to mingle there in the turbulence and strife that has already unfitted Kansas to become a State of any kind. Such men have no right to jeopard the peace of the nation for the few dollars of filthy lucre they may gain by their volunteer enthusiasm, they have no right to carry their bad passions and low ambitions to disturb the elements of civilization in a new territory, and if they have no respect for themselves, they should, at least, respect the peace and quiet of others and stay at home.

In the settlement of Kansas by a race of sturdy, industrious, laboring, intelligent men we feel a deep and abiding interest. In the securing to those settlers the full and perfect rights of citizenship, as well as the crushing out of any and all invasions of their franchises or individual liberties, we have a still deeper interest, as being directly connected in its results with the preservation of freedom throughout the Union, and of the Union itself as a bulwark of freedom. But we have no wish to see those fertile prairies colonized with armed bands from the north and the south, ready to imbue their hands in each other's blood and preventing all social progress in others by the very calamities and conflicts they precipitate upon the territory. Against all such immigration we have entered a protest from the first to the last, predicting only too truly the evils that would follow the advent of such companies. We pointed out these matters at length upon the arrival here of Buford's men and other similar parties from the south. The late scenes in Kansas have confirmed to the letter every word then uttered by us. Civil war speedily broke out, murders, robberies, the sacking of towns, the destruction of newspapers, the burning of houses, became the sole items of news from Kansas, and at last order was only restored by the interposition of the United States troops and the dispersion of the marauders. In like manner we are utterly hostile to any similar schemes of flooding the territory with armed bands from the north. They will only cause a repetition of such scenes, will inflame still more angrily passions already too fiercely aroused there, between men from different sections, and eventuate in spreading the contagion of strife from Maine to Texas, and bedewing every hamlet in the land with blood. We shall ever vindicate the cause of peace, fraternity, order, law in every section of the Union, and therefore we take early occasion to discourage those enthusiasts who may deem they are doing the country a service in sending substitutes to battle for life and death in Kansas over a question that can only be permanently settled by the peaceable resort of the ballot-box, or else by an intestine war, of which no one can foretell the horrors.

Having said thus much in regard to these "armed bands" who are being purveyed to Kansas from both the south and the north, we cannot close this notice without allusion to the action of the citizens of Lexington. Their conduct in the premises seems to have been characterized by no more violence than was necessary to stop the travel of a great public highway—river that bears the commerce of half a continent—a noble stream that belongs to the American people, and not to the fillibusters of any county s on its shores. In this we think their folly has even surpassed their zeal. Can they not see that the only effect of such proceedings is to divert a great trade, that would otherwise enrich our State, into channels far to the north of us, or far to the south of us, and thus isolate Missouri from commercial and business relations with the balance of the States of this Union?—Do they not see, too, that they are thus doing much themselves to bring about the ultimate conflict of which they profess such an aversion? Will they not see that while acting thus they are putting themselves out of the pale of law, out of the fraternal circle of fellow citizens of a great commonwealth; and out of the regard and respect of those who love peace more than suicidal agitation of the slavery question? What right have they to constitute themselves guardians of Kansas? Who made them masters of a neighboring territory as sovereign in its rights as Missouri? By what high commission do they thus seek to barricade the tributary waters of half the continent? Shall the people of Missouri who know no king or emperor submit to the miserable lording of a few such paltry politicians who find a profit in these outrages? Never! We believe the true heart of the conservative masses of this State will teach these gentry that our highways are not subject to their espionage, that our intercourse is not th object of their mock heroism. The people will no tolerate that the future wealth and standing, and social advance of Missouri shall be jeoparded, its credit destroyed, and its growth retarded, by such escapades as these, and none will discover this fact sooner than the citizens of Lexington. The conservative portion in their own midst, whose voices are drowned by the outcries of the few hot headed demagogues who incite these movements, have long been silent in opposition, but they will be so no longer. The present is a crisis that demands that every man who holds the restored quiet of Missouri and the stability of the Union dear to his heart, should come forward and *enter his protest against the prolongation of disturbances.* The time is now, the ballot box the true remedy, and the masses of the people the only conservators of the peace that will be recognized. They will take this matter in hand and they will triumph.

FROM KANSAS.

KANSAS, June 24, 1856.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

A SABBATH SCENE IN LAWRENCE!

About four o'clock this P. M., just after church, a company of thirty United States dragoons, armed with rifles, sabres and revolvers, dressed in dirty uniforms, mounted on large bay horses, went dashing through the city, led on by a Deputy United States Marshal. Our people on seeing them, expected a charge would be made upon some free State men, and more arrests were about being made in Lawrence. But the drunken cavalcade drove through town and went to Blanton, (a village four miles south,) and charged upon a cabin of Mr. Blanton, surrounded it, forced open the door, and the Deputy with a posse entered the building and commenced a search for Sharp's rifles. But nothing of a treasonable character was found, except a small red flag with a star in the center. Many inquiries were made relative to the flag, but nothing definite could be learned, and it was left. The valorous army remounted their war horses and rode back to town, without having found any free State rifles. It had been rumored in Lecompton that a large number of rifles, and a supply of amunition was stored in Blanton's cabin. The Deputy Marshal was sent after the dragoons, and with them he proceeded to Blanton, with what success is mentioned above.

MR. N. P. BLANTON.

This gentleman emigrated to Kansas from Missouri in the year 1854, and settled on the Wakarusa, laid out a town calling it Blanton; expended $1000 in the building of a bridge; identified himself with the free State party, and being born a ... educated in Missouri, and not acting with the border ruffians, he was set down at once by them as an enemy, and every attempt was made to annoy him. A post office was established in his town, and himself appointed post master. He wrote a letter denouncing the action of the invaders to an uncle of his in Missouri. Said letter was made public by the blue lodge; sent on to the post master General, with a request to put Mr. Blanton out of office, which was complied with immediately. The office was declared unnecessary and Mr. Blanton was no longer post master.

A BRIDGE DECLARED A NUISANCE.

The *graad jury* at Lecompton declared the free State hotel, the printing presses in Lawrence and Blanton's bridge a nuisance, and must be abated. After the "chivalry" had abated the two former, they intended to destroy the bridge in obedience to the command of the court. After witnessing the destruction of property in Lawrence, so unexpected, they heard of the determination to destroy the bridge, and rallied immediately at that point to the number of two hundred men, all armed with rifles, determined to protect the property of their friend, Mr. Blanton. The chivalry seeing how the matter stood, resolved to disobey the orders of the court and retreat, considering it safer to do so. The bridge "still lives," and when the posse get ready to destroy it, it is hoped they will pitch in.

THE CLIMATE.

This is a bright day, the sky is clear. The prairies are bejeweled with flowers. The atmosphere is pure. A cool breeze is wafted to us giving clearness to the eye, strength to the body, and the most joyous exhileration to the spirits. We have no quiet Sabbaths, for the subduing process is carried on every day in the week, Pierce's officials are always on the alert, and the settlers always on the watch.

T.

St. Louis, June 29.

EDITOR DEMOCRAT: Having been identified with the "First Division, Chicago Kansas Settlers," which left Alton on the evening of the 19th inst., on the Star of the West, en route for Kansas, I am enabled to give the main facts connected with that affair. They are substantially as follows:

We were sixty-eight men, all told—two ladies and three children. Our object was to become bona fide settlers in Kansas. We were armed with breach-loading rifles, with bayonets, and many of us carried revolvers and bowie knives. We were in no sense a military company, as has been reported—many of us not even knowing how to use our arms. We had provisions, carpenters' tools, tents and other things necessary for a pioneer life. Most of us intended to take claims and become farmers. A few miles below Lexington a gentleman left the steamer, leaving his baggage behind, and went up the river on horseback. We were informed that a large force would be concentrated at Lexington to dispute our passage. We arrived at that place in the evening. As we drew near, a large force of armed men was distinctly discernable on the levee, and on landing, swarms of citizens came on board, filling the cabin. A committee of citizens waited on our officers, demanding the surrender of all arms belonging to the company, guaranteeing to us the possession of our private arms of whatever kind. Mr. Andress, our president, told me he was shown three pieces of artillery, and informed that four more were in readiness on the opposite side to sink the boat should we resist the execution of this demand. After some negotiation, the conditions above stated were agreed to, and our rifles were given up, a receipt being taken for them for their return when the troubles in Kansas shall cease. Few, I think, will be found willing to blame our officers for this capitulation, for there were little, if any, short of one thousand armed men on the ground; but I must pay a tribute to the men—they were at their posts, and ready to fight. I saw one or them actually shed tears from pure chagrin at the result of the negotiations. We were treated very civilly by the people of Lexington, and they did not seem to take the admission from your correspondent that they were "the dirk or border ruffian civility" at all amiss. In the morning we proceeded on our voyage. At Kansas city the boat laid by for several hours. The reason given for the delay was the darkness. It might be the true one, but in the morning a company of Jones' men, with himself at their head, came on board. They were armed with United States muskets, revolvers and bowie-knives, and carried cartridge boxes—soldiers all but the uniform. They were rather a *hard* looking set. At Leavenworth city a large crowd of armed men collected and formed into line, and we were told that we must fight or return to St. Louis. With only a few rifles and small arms—many of us entirely without arms—your correspondent had none, it was again thought that discretion was the best part of valor, and we agreed to the conditions. Gen. Atchison was on board, and assured us that no exertions should be wanting on his part to make our *stay agreeable* and our *return safe*. The Gen. looks like a good natured old blubber, and one would hardly take him to be the ogre-god of the border ruffians. General Stringfellow was there and conducted us up to Weston, where we laid over one day (last Wednesday) under arrest, and started on our return voyage the next day. He looks very different from Atchison, and if physiognomy has anything of truth in it, Free State emigrants would learn to dance a horopipe on nothing in his hands, provided "the party" would not suffer for it. Our private baggage was searched for arms. All were taken away; the small arms were returned, but the rifles have not been seen since by their rightful owners—save in the hands of our "guard." Passing Fort Leavenworth, the questions occurred to my mind, "What are the troops about? Where are the United States authorities? Where is the federal arm ?"

We were kept under guard until below Kansas City.—And here I forgot to state, that a Mr. Groves, a citizen of Kansas, who owns a farm about two miles from Lawrence, came with us from Chicago, on his return home.—He did not, however, belong to our company, and consequently, as a private citizen, paying his own way, and not being a "pauper," a State prison convict, or an inhabitant of the "Sands" of Chicago, as we were reported to be, was permitted to pass unmolested. On our return to Leavenworth, however, he was brought on board a prisoner; and not even allowed to converse with us. At Kansas City, Mo., he was taken ashore, and what his fate is to be your correspondent knows not. Another gentleman, a passenger on board the boat from Madison, Wisconsin, by the name of Johnson, who was going on his private business up the river to Nebraska, was also detained, his baggage taken from him, and he was sent back with us. Somebody had said that they thought he was a spy, and it appears that is conviction with the bigots of the borders.—All the leading men declared that any private citizen traveling to whatsoever point on the river, could do so unmolested, no matter what were his political proclivities, but taking the facts stated into consideration, may there not be a strong doubt as to the validity of this declaration? On Friday we met the Sultan, having on board about forty Kansas emigrants from Massachusetts. We advised them to return, and they would have done so had said boat waited long enough to effect a transfer of the baggage. During the conversation some of the emigrants attempted to board our boat, but were opposed by one of Col. Buford's lieutenants, who stationed himself on the guard with a revolver, to advise that none of them should come on board. Capt. Dix ordered him to yield his position, and he refused, swearing that he was the captain of the boat as much as he (Dix) was. The captain then armed himself and went below, whereupon order was restored. Said lieutenant discharged one of the barrels of his revolver, some said at our president, being prevented from shooting him only by a bystander, who knocked his arm from its aim; others said it was accidental. One of the Massachusetts emigrants came on board our boat, and was too late to get on the Sultan again. He consequently came down with us. These are the main facts, stated with as little bias as possible and, I believe, entirely correct. A. W.

THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS:

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 1, 1856.

MORE SHRIEKS FOR FREEDOM.

The company of *chevaliers d'industrie*, pimps, &c., ejected from Chicago some days ago, to be thrown into Kansas, have announced their return. The first shriek for freedom is as follows:

From the Alton Courier.

IT IS TRUE.—We received a dispatch from St. Louis on Saturday, stating that the Chicago emigrants would return to Alton on the Star of the West, under guard of Carolinians. On Sunday morning about seven o'clock, the Star of the West landed on the Illinois shore, four or five miles below this city, and put the emigrants ashore. The men state that the Captain of the boat would not come to our levee because he said, in effect, that he feared violence from our citizens. The outrage upon this company is almost incredible of belief. We cannot state the particulars, for we have neither room nor time. A full account will be made, under oath, by the President of the company, and others, which will be published. The company did come home under guard of Southerners; and, after hearing their account we do not hesitate to say they have acted as truly brave men would act under the circumstances.

These men are now in our city, and citizens who wish to know the facts can ascertain them by conversing with them. Suffice it for us to say that they were not sent back by U. S. troops, neither by the people of Lexington, but by Atchison, Stringfellow, and Jones with southern armed men to back them. These men were from Illinois, and were brought back to Illinois. One or two other companies are still on the river, and will probably share a similar fate. They say they were obliged to pay their passage back, and complain of extortion in other respects. We shall refer our readers for particulars to their own published statement which will be made at Chicago.

The Kansas Herald, of the 17th ult., speaks in not a very favorable manner of the acts of Mr. MONTGOMERY, an Indian Agent in the Kansas Territory. Taking with him a Lieutenant and ten soldiers, he proceeded to dispossess the settlers on what is known as the Half Breed Kaw Land, immediately opposite to Lecomp on. He is said to have fired the premises of W. F. BAYNE, A. BRADLEY, DUDLEY FOLEY and D. PLUMMER. Some enormities are attributed to the Agent, which seem to us very questionable, and about which we shall say nothing. The lands belong to the Indians, and it has become necessary to protect them in their rights before the settlements become too strong.

A new edition of lies is in preparation for the "Shriekers for Freedom," growing out of the taking possession of the arms of the Chicago Chevaliers d'Industrie, &c. The Alton Courier gives us an inkling of it, when the editor says that the Captain of the Star of the West was afraid to land his cargo of rowdies at that place. What was there, or who was there, about Alton to make him afraid? One of the inventions of these chivalrous ragamuffins is, that there were 600 persons at Lexington under arms, to shoot and slay the valiant fellows if they resisted. The truth is, about two dozen young men surrounded and captured the whole seventy-six.

Dubuque Daily Tribune.

Tuesday, July 1, 1856.

Out-Spoken and Defiant.

The spirit sweeps like a whirlwind over all the Northern States, and much as we may deplore the occasion, we at the South *cannot shrink from the encounter*. We have sent our friends and relatives to Kansas, and we *cannot leave them unsupported*. We have put arms in their hands, and while we have urged them to obey, we have also enjoined it upon them to vindicate and support the law, and if in doing so, they are our right the crushed by the hordes of Free Soilers that are being turned upon them from the fruitful regions of the North, *we must send still others to assist them;* and if upon the plains of Kansas is to be fought the great battle between Free and Slave society, we must take *with energy and serious purpose*, the necessary steps to a vindication of our cause.—*Charleston, (S. C.) Standard.*

If a Northern journal, in the interest of Freedom and true Democracy, should address the public in this honest and manly strain, there would be an immediate intervention of traitors, dough-faces and cowards, to muffle and deaden the notes ere they reached their mark. Cant, and whining sophistry, about "fraternal discord," "law and order," "constitutional authority," "anarchy and bloodshed," would fly thick and distractingly in the air; but time and money in Charleston, went into a Committee's treasury, and armed crusaders fell into line at the tap of the drum, beating the rappel for Kansas and a new Slave State. Energetic action in behalf of Republican Liberty and Northern Rights, is ever clogged here by counsels and dissuasives, which pre-monish the loss of Freedom, in the loss of the sensitive spirit to maintain Freedom.

At the South, Slavery touches the politic cord of society, and every heart thrills responsively to the impression. A handful in number compared to us—poor compared to our wealth—slow compared to our speed—needy compared to our resources—they yet as a solid unit, offer to fight us in the field or at the ballot-box—to run the race of emigration with us—and to expose the future condition of a distant trans-Missouri Territory, to the direct competition between Slavery and Freedom, armed each to the teeth.

Hard lot of Liberty. The South enrols fighting men, and marches day after day to the battle field of Slave Society, upon the banks of the Kansas. She does it with the universal consent of all her sons and daughters, and her professions and all her callings, and a harmonious public prayer for success to the enterprise. The North halts, stumbles, wanders uncertain of purpose, and gropes without decision of purpose, amid a darkened atmosphere of opposition, treachery, cowardice and cant. Unless we forthwith, let sunlight in upon our pathway of duty to Kansas, the South will barricade it forever to our steps.—*Evening Journal.*

The Squatter Sovereign, of July 1st, rejoicing over the capture of the Chicago company of emigrants, who were disarmed and sent back from Kansas, says:

"The flower of Lane's army are now prisoners of war, and will be shipped back home, disgraced and cowed! If this is the material we have to encounter in Kansas, we have but little fear of the result. Fifty thousand of such "chattel" could not subdue the Spartan band now in possession of Kansas."

Harmony Evening Courier.

TUESDAY, JULY 1, 1856.

Aid for Kansas.

An emigrant company of 45 able bodied men—one half of them from Fitchburg, Mass., left Worcester on Wednesday for Kansas. Among them were two compositors, from the office of the Worcester Transcript.

Money for the relief of the Free State settlers of Kansas who have been made the victims of Border Ruffianism, has been already raised in the State of Massachusetts to the amount of over $35,000.—Such prompt liberality furnishes unmistakeable evidence of the depth and strength of popular feeling pervading the Old Bay State.

THE KANSAS BILL LOST IN THE HOUSE.—The bill before the House for the admission of Kansas as a Free State was pressed to a final vote yesterday and *lost* by one majority.

Various amendments were offered before reaching the decisive vote—among them one instructing the Committee to report a bill restoring the *Missouri Compromise*. This was carried by *seven* majority. Yeas—110; Nays—103.

A motion to lay the bill on the table was defeated by one majority. Then came the main question and, as we have already said, the result showed 106 in favor, and 107 against—so the bill was lost.

The announcement was greeted with clapping of hands and vociferations of joy on the part of the Pro-Slavery forces and Northern doughfaces.

FROM KANZAS.—By a gentleman who left Leavenworth City on Friday afternoon, we are in possession of further intelligence from Kansas.

It appears the Missouri River is in complete possession of the pirates, and all boats passing are boarded by armed men, and searched for "abolitionists," and their weapons, if any are found, are taken away, while the Southern companies are landing constantly.

There were about 300 pirates at Leavenworth, and the different landings on the shore bristled with cannon.

Col. Sumner was powerless, he having been required to send the last company of troops, under his command, to Fort Pierce.

The Massachusetts Co. were disarmed at Waverly, but sent on up the river. It was said they were to be either hung, or tarred and feathered. Mr. Grover was arrested at Leavenworth, and taken to Kansas city, and it was feared he would be hung. The Chicago Company were at Alton, and would proceed to Rock Island to-night, thence through Iowa to Kansas.—*Chicago Journal of July* 1.

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:

TUESDAY, JULY 1.

A Taste of Pease.

If the Bucanier presses could have had their will, all information in relation to the crimes and outrages perpetrated in Kansas would have been suppressed, and the people of the North kept in entire ignorance thereof. Such, very manifestly has been the wish and the intent of papers like the *Hartford Times* and the *New Haven Register*. Kansas, as Mr. Postmaster HAMERSLEY has told us, is "hundreds of miles away;" and why should the people of Connecticut—who enjoy the liberty and protection guaranteed them by the Constitution, who can cast their suffrages without molestation, and asserting the right of free speech can proclaim the principles of freedom without being shot down or chopped to death,—why should they bother themselves about what might happen in that distant region? It was a long while before the *Hartford Times* appeared to be at all aware that there were any troubles in Kansas, but at last this could no longer be concealed or denied by the most brazen-faced. Since then it has admitted that all is not entirely right there, but has claimed that the complaints of the Free State men and their tales of the misdeeds of the Border Ruffians are greatly exaggerated. It has also eagerly caught at every opportunity for sneering at and maligning the Free State men, and has not been ashamed to display its wicked bias to the pro-slavery side.

Among the colony which went out from Connecticut under the leadership of Mr. LINES of New Haven, was HENRY K. PEASE, formerly a grocer in this city. He went out, we are informed, with the intention of becoming a permanent inhabitant of the territory. A brief time only, however, elapsed between his departure hence, and his return. The Connecticut colony arrived in Lawrence about the middle of April. In less than a month Mr. PEASE was back in Hartford. Our readers can see how abundant his opportunities for investigation must have been. The tale which he brought back was thus partially embodied in an editorial of the *Times*:

"Lawrence City presents an unfavorable appearance. There is no thrift,—no prosperity apparent—but whisky, poor whisky, too, is poured out and poured down on every hand. It is dealt out in almost every building. Drinking is the principal business, and it is backed up by idleness—the people generally waiting for 'aid,' from the east. Sharps' rifles were offered to him, he says, for ten dollars each. The price in Hartford, where they are made, is $25 and $28. Exaggerated stories are started in Lawrence City, and sent off to keep up the excitement at the east, and bring in more aid to support the idlers in doing nothing except to drink whiskey, circulate false reports and talk politics. Such is the state of things in Lawrence, the result of unusual efforts to manufacture slavery agitation, with reference to the coming Presidential election."

Such was the report which Mr. PEASE brought home about Lawrence, and it was appropriately heralded in the *Hartford Times*. The inference suggested by the positiveness with which he stigmatized the whisky as poor, may perhaps be incorrect. Having been in the business, as the criminal records show, he may be permitted to speak *ex cathedra*, without being liable to the imputation of guzzling. Mr. PEASE has not suffered the propagation of his stories to be confined to the columns of the *Hartford Times*. He has been industrious in the circulation of them, and has been emboldened by apparent impunity. Now and then the *Times* has bolstered him up, repeating his account, for instance, when it served up the hearsay testimony of one Mr. ROCKWELL.

These slanders upon the town of Lawrence and its inhabitants, who are almost entirely men from our own New England, have but recently reached there. A correspondent of the *New York Tribune* refutes the falsehoods, as follows:

"The people of Lawrence have been very indignant at seeing a slander published against them by a man named PEASE, who came out this Spring with the Connecticut Company, and went back. This PEASE accuses the town of idleness, pauperism and drunkenness. I have examined his statements, and do not hesitate to pronounce them basely false. There is only one grocery in Lawrence, and, except by the dragoons and passers, is little frequented. Lawrence is much more temperate than any town of its size I ever saw, and in striking contrast with the two little places, Lecompton above, and Franklin below. The pauper part of the story is simply ridiculous, and shows the origin of this scandal, as this is a favorite string with the Border Ruffians. I am sorry to say that the plundering of Lawrence and the insecurity of property here, has lately had an unhappy effect on improvements and buildings; but there are one large church, and a dozen or two of private dwellings, even now in process of erection. The Connecticut men here speak very disparagingly of this man PEASE—mentioning that he was twice indicted in Connecticut for selling liquor in violation of law. This is rather amusing."

To any one familiar in the history of Kansas and of Lawrence, the falsity of the tales told by this fellow PEASE was at once apparent, and they needed no denial. The question was, what motive could prompt the man to the circulation of such malicious rumors. There was no question as to the motives actuating the *Hartford Times*. Its conduct has been in keeping throughout. Lawrence had been the head-quarters and the rallying place of the Free State men; it was settled by sober New England men; it contained buildings erected by the Emigrant Aid Society; and consequently the *Times* has been eager for the publication of anything which would belie or defame the town. The *Times* has been careful not to say anything against Lecompton or any other settlement of the Border Ruffian or pro-slavery stamp; but whatever it has dared to do to injure the cause of the Free State men it has done.

A friend has handed us a letter written by a prominent member of the Connecticut colony, one of the officers of the company, an extract from which displays very clearly the *animus* of this Mr. HENRY K. PEASE. The letter is dated at Wabaunsee, the 10th of June, and the extract is as follows:

"One of our letters to-day contained an extract from a letter of one named H. K. PEASE in the *Hartford Times*, containing some absurd statements about Lawrence. If his remarks on the Connecticut Colony are of the same stamp, you may consider they contain the same amount of absurdity. We have heard that he says our company has broken up. This is no less than a pure invention, unless in his innocence he thinks his turning back has caused a total failure of our plans.

"On our way out, at Indianapolis I think, he was appointed agent for the sale of groceries to be bought in St. Louis. In my presence he asked 10 or 15 per cent. for the trouble. The directors thought best to allow him 5 per cent. He purchased the groceries in St. Louis and kept on with us to Lawrence. On the way he is reported to have said he wasn't going up to Wabaunsee, for the directors had established 5 per cent. as the proper profit of a merchant. This would be a precedent, and no merchant could live on such profits. I was with the same train he was between Kansas City and Lawrence, and I found him predisposed and determined (I didn't then know why) to believe every evil report of the Territory, and to find fault with every thing.

"It has fallen to me to look over the account book of his purchases in St. Louis, and if his conversation is as incorrect as his records, it is very wide of the truth. It is characterized by looseness and inaccuracy. I charge him with nothing more. We have got such information of his reports about us as to make us believe he has done us all the harm he is able to. However I sometimes think he is more weak than malicious, and that his fretfulness and evil reports are the result of an attempt to justify to himself or others his backing out of what has proved the little end of the horn."

The *Times* has complained of the 'mendacious falsehoods' which are circulated in reference to Kansas affairs. We leave it to our readers to say on which side the mendacity clings, and to judge as to how much confidence is to be placed in the accounts which that paper publishes, derived from such sources as this PEASE.

Detroit Evening Tribune.

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 1, 1856.

Kansas Aid Convention.

This Convention, which met at Cleveland, Ohio on the 20th ult., passed the following resolution in relation to the time and place of holding its next meeting:

"*Resolved*, That when this Convention adjourn, it adjourn to meet in the city of Buffalo, in the State of New York, on the 9th day of July, 1856, and that all organizations and Aid Societies in the free States for the relief of Kansas be, and are hereby invited to send to said adjourned Convention such number of delegates as they may deem expedient."

So on the 9th day of this month this important body will meet at Buffalo. We have no doubt but that Delegates from our State will be present at this meeting. The recent disarming of the Kansas company from Chicago, at Lexington, Missouri, have proved that isolated companies composed of even as many as a hundred men, cannot meet the emergency of Kansas. We must have concerted action throughout the North, and send in such a body of men as can not be cowed or driven out by the Missouri ruffians, and we must have a large amount of money, paid in subscriptions, to sustain them. We hope the Buffalo Convention will borne in mind.

Washington.—Kansas in the House.—Horace Greeley writes to the New York Tribune in the following encouraging strain, from Washington under date of June 29th:

"It does a Republican heart good to see how the uprising of the people for Fremont and Free Kansas braces and stiffens the Anti-Nebraska majority in the House. Never before were such majorities given there for the righteous cause as yesterday, when the previous question was seconded by 98 to 63, and the main question ordered without a division, after beating all manner of motions to adjourn, lay on the table, and the like, by twenty to thirty majority. Had Mr. Grow chosen to go through I think the admission of Free Kansas would have passed the House by midnight at farthest; but it was deemed wise not to press an advantage too far, the other side being seriously weakened by unpaired absentees. I thing they will be ten stronger to-morrow, when I hope to see the bill go through.

Messrs. Haven, Dunn, Scott, Harrison, Whitney, and Volk will oppose it; but I hope hardly another who was elected as Anti-Nebraska—John Wheeler always excepted. I think Pennsylvania will give not above four votes on the side of the Border Ruffians, New York five and Ohio one.

Messrs. Howard and Sherman hope to get in their report to-morrow morning before proceeding to the Kansas bill; and there will be a strong call for its reading at the clerk's desk, though that will consume three hours. Mr. Grow would doubtless forego his right to close the debate in behalf of Free Kansas in favor of this, then the House comes to a direct vote first on Dunn's amendment proposing to restore the Missouri Restriction. This will be carried, and then Stephen's substitute, thus amended, voted down, bringing the House to a square vote for or against admitting Kansas under her Free Constitution—which I hope to see carried by about ten majority. Of course the struggle will be protracted by all manner of motions to adjourn, lay on the table, call the House, &c. But I hope to telegraph before midnight that the people's representatives gave the right hand to Free Kansas as a sister State.

Will they turn Him Out?

The able and reliable Washington correspondent of the New York *Courier & Enquirer* notices as follows one of the many good points in the speech of Hon. Schuyler Colfax of Indiana:

"In the excellent speech of Hon. Schuyler Colfax of Ind., the fact is disclosed that Judge Lecompte is the very centre of land speculation and town lot scheming in the Territory. He is a principal stockholder in all the bubble corporations raised by the mock Legislature, and in connection with his relatives, is proprietor of the site, by a presumtive claim, of Lecompton, which by the same sham authority, has been made the capitol. The proofs supplied by Mr. Colfax, show, that in the desperate course he is pursuing, Lecompte is but pushing his own sordid personal interest. These facts expose, in a stronger ligh', the hypocrisy of the pretexts for the removal of Gov. Reeder and Judges Johnson and Elmore. Lecompte well knows that should the Free State party prevail, all his well laid schemes for accumulating a fortune by the 'drippings' of unclean legislation, will fail. His ferocity stands explained. He is denounced by the *auri sacra fames*, and if be seasoned with the taste of blood, it appears that his nature will not refuse the draft.

The Atlas.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 1, 1856.

Kansas Correspondence of the Atlas.

More murders—Mr. Cantrell shot—His widow a maniac—South Carolina Banditti employed by the Government—Attack upon Palmyra—The Troops Threatened—The Pursuit, &c.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, June 11, 1856.

To the Editor of the Boston Atlas:

DEAR SIR:—More murders have just been brought to light. Seven corpses have been found on Cedar Creek. One of the bodies was identified as that of a free State man named Cantrell, formerly of Independence, Missouri. He was taken prisoner by a company of banditti, under the command of Gen. Whitfield, on Friday evening last. Col. Sumner had ordered this band to disperse, which they did, going about five miles; coming together they formed themselves into a company again, setting the authority of Col. Sumner at defiance. On their way Mr. Cantrell was taken prisoner; they kept him over night, and the next morning took him out into some timber near by, and two South Carolians shot him dead at once, without giving the unfortunate man an opportunity to save himself. After this the company left and went to Ossawattomie, and sacked the town, as I informed you in my last. The troops which had been stationed there some days, on the day before the attack was made left, and went thirty miles and camped. When the trial hour to the people of the devoted city had come, the troops were too far away to render any assistance to them whatever. But I am digressing from my subject. The other six bodies have not yet been identified. It is supposed that they were either travellers or new comers in Kansas, had been stopped on the road, and after being robbed brutally murdered. Mrs. Cantrell, on seeing the corpse of her beloved husband, became insane, and is now a raving maniac.

There is no protection for the freedom loving people of Kansas, except that which lies in their own right arms. The General Government, which should be their protector, is on the side of our enemies, encouraging them on to deeds of rapine and murder. The South Carolina banditti, which now infests the Territory, are in the employ of President Pierce. They have been enrolled and commissioned as the "Militia," furnished with arms, and paid by the General Government for their services. And when Wilson Shannon is asked to protect your town, he replies by saying, "the people of Lawrence must give up all of their arms and promise to obey the laws of the Territorial Legislature, for nothing else *will satisfy the South Carolinians.*" Our lives and property must be given up if the sand hillers of South Carolina demand it. Shannon's conduct as Governor of this Territory is sure to *"satisfy the South Carolinians,"* for he is their tool, and guided altogether by them. In my last I furnished your numerous readers with an account of the attack upon and sacking of Ossawattomie by General Whitfield's murderous crew, the troops having previously retired to give them an opportunity. The same gang, flushed with victory, returned to Palmyra early yesterday morning and made an attack upon it. One of the citizens starts immediately after a company of dragoons encamped a few miles distant, and gives information of the attack to the officer in command, and asks for the dragoons to protect the town. The officer was the same one that left Ossawatomie in the time of danger—well, he sends less than a dozen men to Palmyra with orders to dispers the gang. On their arrival, they go to Whitfield and others, and order them to disband and leave the town. Whitfield and his crew cock their revolvers and present them to the soldiers, threatening to shoot them if they interfere. Gen. Whitfield claimed the right to be there with his men, by virtue of a commission given him by Shannon, to act as the Militia of the Territor, and he pretended at the same time to be acting as a p[osse] for the sheriff, who had writs for the arrest of several men in that town, and they would have them before they left. The dragoons return to camp for reinforcements; in the meantime Whitfield's men suddenly retreat, and on the return of the company, they could not be found. Lt. Stockton, on reaching Palmyra and finding the mob had left, starts in pursuit of them. When my informant left, the dragoons had not returned. I Whitfield's crowd are overtaken by the troops, they will be ordered to disband. And the commander will promise upon his honor, as a gentleman and a member of Congress, to do so; and that will be the last of it. Whitfield some time ago left his post on the Congress commission to take command of the gang of marauders, and ever since has been travelling over Eastern Kansas, committing many outrages upon the persons and property of the settlers. S. F. T.

Washington Correspondence of the Atlas.

WASHINGTON, June 27, 1856.

The indications increase that the slavery interest intend to adopt Toombs' project in reference to Kansas, not with any expectation of carrying it, but because it has some plausibilities which may shelter their nakedness before the people.

The crying grievance from which Kansas demands and implores relief is the invasion of March 30, 1855, and its consequences. From that moment the inhabitants of Kansas have been a conquered and subjugated people. Rulers, not of their own choice, will have been placed over them; a most tyrannical code of laws has been enacted for them; and every functionary, down to a justice of the peace, has been selected from the foreign party by whom they have been overrun. All this tyranny Mr. Toombs' bill leaves in full force. He offers Kansas no relief, or show of relief. He offers nothing but the privilege of a sham contest at the ballot boxes, under circumstances which foredoom the free State party to defeat. Its leaders, pursued by judicial tyrants and hunted by mobs, are indicted, imprisoned, or exiled. Its presses have been destroyed, and not a single free newspaper is or can be printed in Kansas. The discussion, in any form, of slavery questions is prohibited under terrible penalties. Nobody, under Mr. Toombs' scheme, is to be allowed the right of suffrage, except those to whom it may be awarded by commissioners to be appointed by Franklin Pierce who made Wilson Shannon Governor of Kansas. If Mr. Toombs was less audacious than he is, he would not pretend that his project has one particle of fairness about it. He proposes a combat, where one of the parties is blindfolded, handcuffed and chained.

The Union of this morning announces that one-sixth of the army of the United States is in Kansas, and that more troops will be sent there if necessary. The Missourians are to be kept out, but the territorial laws are to be enforced by the military power of the national Government. The tyranny remains; nothing is changed except the instrument by which it is enforced. Slavery never yields an advantage which it has acquired. The liberties of Kansas were subverted on the 30th of March, 1855. The power then usurped is now upheld by President Pierce, and will be upheld by Buchanan, if Providence afflicts us with such a successor. Kansas has appealed to Washington in vain, and now appeals to the higher sovereignty of the people. Failing there, all is lost.

The impression still is, that the bill admitting Kansas as a State under the Topeka constitution, will pass the House by a small majority.

WASHINGTON, June 28, 1856.

The main question was ordered today by a decisive vote, upon the bill admitting Kansas as a free State, and will be taken on Monday.

Mr. Dunn proposes a restoration of the Missouri Compromise line. Nothing can be more absurd, as a movement from the North. It will be time enough to talk about that line when the South, which is omnipotent in the Senate, shall offer its restoration. Such an offer, even from that quarter, would probably be rejected, as it certainly ought to be. But as a proposition from the North, it is simply ridiculous and deserves no consideration. It will not be supported by a corporal's guard in the House.

Mr. Stephens's proposed amendment, is the substitution of the bill offered in the Senate by Mr. Toombs. If you will examine it in its details, you will find it to be the most unblushing and scandalous proposition yet made by the slavery interest. It places the whole control of Kansas in the hands of five Commissioners, to be appointed by the same Franklin Pierce who commissioned Gov. Shannon, Judge Lecompte and Marshal Donaldson. Pierce would be untrue to his antecedents, if he did not appoint the five most debased and profligate men he could select from the ranks of his party. These five Commissioners, who would be of the stamp of Buford, Atchison, Stringfellow and Sheriff Jones, if not those identical individuals, are to take a census by deputies of their own appointment, are to decide all disputed questions of the right of suffrage without appeal, and are to select and commission all the judges of elections. All rights are taken from the people of Kansas.

One section of this famous bill makes a parade of penalties against those who shall vote improperly, or interfere in the elections by violence or menace. The border ruffians would laugh in their sleeves when they recollect that a Lecompte presides in the Courts in which these penalties are to be enforced, and that the juries by whom they are to be recovered, will be packed by Sheriff Jones.

This proposal of Toombs, which is every way worthy of its source, does not touch the grievance of Kansas. That grievance is, that all regular government was subverted there by the Missouri invasion of March 30, 1855. So long as the tyranny remains, which was set up by that invasion and usurpation, there can be no order and no fair election in Kansas. We must first sweep entirely away that whole work of mischief. The admission of Kansas as a Free State would accomplish this. The abrogation of all the bogus laws of Kansas, and the removal of all the bogus officials under those laws, would accomplish this. Neither thing can be done, however, without the assent of the Senate, which cannot be obtained. The only remedy which remains is the election of a President who would remove the Shannons and the Lecomptes, and place honest men in office in Kansas. This would clear the atmosphere there, like a thunder-clap. This remedy is speedy in point of time, and is completely within the reach of the people. The sands of this Administration are running out. It will be succeeded by just such an Administration as the people choose to elect. The power is with the people, and the responsibility is with them.

[PRINTED BY REQUEST.]

REV. JOS. L. BENNETT, Cambridge, at the request of a few of his parishioners, has prepared for this paper an abstract of his sermon, preached on the Sabbath (June 22d), in behalf of Kansas.

Text—Ezekiel xxii., 29, 30, 31—The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy; yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully. And I sought for a man among them, that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it; but I found none.

Therefore have I poured out mine indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath: their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord God.

Sin makes a gap in the hedge of protection that is about a people. Sin makes a gap in Constitutional law, by which men are made to dwell in safety. Sin, wild and rampant, rends the most solemn compacts and with a profane swagger pours its evil agencies into the new made gap. There is a way of standing in the gap, and making up the breach against the judgments of God, by repentance and prayer and reformation. Moses stood in the gap when he made intercession for Israel to turn away the wrath of God.

The text was used to illustrate—

First. The robbery and oppression of the times.

Second. The necessity of a united attempt to suppress this spirit of outlaw.

Third. The certainty of incurring, as a nation, God's displeasure, if we fail to fix a limit to the system of human oppression.

Under the first division, from well authenticated facts, it was proved that an invading band in Kansas have "used oppression and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy; yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully."

It was then stated, secondly, a man must be sought out in wisdom to make up the hedge of protection about that injured population and to stand in the gap before God for the land, that he destroy it not.

A man must be sought out. The necessity is so serious, so commanding, we must enter into it with none but pure, philanthropic motives. We are called upon to set aside party feeling, all bickering and strife among ourselves, as lovers of universal liberty to the race. The enemies of this doctrine are united to a man. Pro-slavery advocates bring the wisdom of jurists and the conservative pathos of the pulpit into the contest, determined to perpetuate the system of American oppression. Whether the fear of man or the fear of God,—whether love to loaves and fishes, or love to Christ and the cross—whether gag law or universal free speech, unite these forces—judge ye! The anti-slavery men of the country far outnumber those of the opposite view, though thus far they have been outgeneraled in every contest but one. The North, whenever brought in direct collision with the South, meets with defeat, since the South always has a friend on the right and on the left, even when by stealth a Senator is to be smitten with a bludgeon, while the North, conscious of strength, full of innate independence, asks no favor at too great a cost. In this anti-slavery army, which stretches her encampments from the Atlantic to the Pacific, there are but few who are willing to be enrolled in the same company.

At one extreme, are seen the Radical Abolitionists, who march around the District of Columbia and our modern Jericho, thinking to overthrow it with the noise of rams' horns. At the other extreme, we see the conservative anti-slavery advocates, who tread in the shoes of the antiquarian, believing that they will do better service than new ones, though they are "old shoes and clouted upon their feet." Between the two extremes, the American Free State band come in, though with the inexperience of youth, yet having the stir and warmth of live men. The custom of Hindoo caste will not thrive on American soil.

We are to put away prejudice, though God made us to sympathize most with our own. Yet so far co-operating, especially in such an emergency as this, as to march up to the gap and toe the line and stand together, to protect freedom and plant about Kansas a living thorn hedge, yea, a wall of Gibraltar Rock, with bristling guns, if we are forced to fight slavery, saying to her proud aggressions, thus far, and no farther. But who shall be our leader, to stand by us in the gap? Some would say the next President of the United States must be that man. However important it may be to secure an American Free State man to fill that office, yet when we consider that one experienced as an Explorer, now put on the craggy road to which his feet are unused, may fail to reach the goal, we are led to inquire, cannot some other man be raised up to stand in the gap and secure the end we pray for? I enter not here, nor elsewhere, into the Presidential campaign as a partisan, though as a private citizen, I am ready to disavow allegiance to the pro-slavery platform of Cincinnati, while I most heartily approve those sentiments matured at Philadelphia, upon which that worthy clergyman, Rev. Albert Barnes, invoked the blessing of God.

Understand me to speak as a minister of the everlasting gospel, in the presence of Him to whom I must one day give account, while I rebuke the spirit of oppression and ruffianism, and defend the lovers of free thought and free speech, on all questions, civil and religious. I care not for malefictions heaped upon a free pulpit, by the author of the Kansas bill, because 3000 ministers voluntarily sent to Congress their protest against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. A thirst for political honor may have been alleged as the moving cause of that protest. While a few of our number have made themselves liable to that charge, the great majority would not, on any consideration, accept a civil office. Repeatedly they have turned a deaf ear to the proposition of promotion. The 3000 ministers of New England did not as politicians speak against the Kansas crime. If so, why did they, who have so long been silent, so suddenly and with such unanimity cry aloud and spare not? Every honest man will admit that these ministers thus protested from motives of love to their poor neighbor.

In making the declaration, we must immediately seek a man to stand in the gap, between the monster Slavery and the virgin daughter Liberty. We only say to the violent in the land: Stand off, and let Liberty build her palaces in free Kansas; stand off, and let her plant upon the hilltops and along the valleys of that fair land, consecrated to liberty, the white church and the red schoolhouse,—the one, to represent the purity of her civil and religious creed,—the other symbolical of the stripes her educated sons will one day bear, even as the lofty and gifted statesman now bears upon his noble brow, fresh stripes in the defence of freedom.

Who, then, is the man to stand in the gap? We understand thus early in the campaign, that in the uncertain issue, the next President may not be that man. Much will depend upon the soundness of his political creed, and more upon the goodness of his heart. We cannot think, however much we may desire it, that he who now occupies the chair of State, will fill up the gap, which in an evil day, his own hand made.

We turn our eyes, then, to those who have suffered in defence of Kansas, and from among those choice spirits, though few in number, we look for one to stand in the gap before the Lord and save the land. Either the chosen representative of the Free State men of Kansas or our own eloquent Sumner, may hasten the day of redress, by advocating the admission of that land into this confederacy with a free Constitution. To secure freedom to Kansas, we must be endowed with moral courage sufficient to embolden us to the contest with the slave oligarchy, in the determination to conquer or die. Towering high above all these brave men, we want a Saul in stature—a noble man—a strong man—a wise man, to fill up the gap. We have a part to act in deciding who that man shall be.

1. We must make the question whether slaveholding or free interests shall be represented in Kansas, a subject of prayer. We certainly have it not in our hearts to pray for any additional strength to the slaveholding power. When we begin to pray for an increase of drunkards and drunkard makers, then we will pray for an increase of slaves and slaveholders. The spirit of ruffianism bids defiance to godliness, and lirves the good for a refuge under the shadow of the Almighty. And it is our prayer for those struggling freemen, that God may nerve them to resist the efforts made to force slavery on them by all measures well pleasing in His sight, that Kansas, in all coming time, may be represented by freemen. We will pray God o give them wisdom to forbear, so long as forbearance s a virtue—and when righteous indignation is demanded, in that day, may the all wise One enable hem to "be angry and sin not." "With the sword of the Lord and the arm of Gideon," may 300 freemen put 10,000 of the oppressors to flight.

2. In deciding this question of liberty in Kansas, we should act as well pray.

This is the way to prove the sincerity of prayer. "Faith without works is dead." The right of individual judgment as to how we shall act, and what shall be done, is granted to every one of us. To judge right, we must inform ourselves. If we seek information from the "Independent," it will do us no harm to read the "Observer," which endorses the duelist Breckinridge, because "he has religious connections." If we read the "Observer" in order to decide what is truth on this question, then we ought by all means to give ourselves to the reading of the "Independent" or the "Congregationalist." After the testimony of different witnesses, let us approach God, beseeching Him o give us wisdom to decide with a judgment unbiased hat we must do.

Prompt action is demanded, if we would save Kansas from perpetual slavery. We should have a self-sacrificing spirit, (as much for Kansas, as for India. We teach our sons and daughters to inquire what the Lord would have them do to overthrow paganism. Ought we not to teach them to ask a similar question at the same High Throne, in order to check the growth of the Pagan institution in our own land? Far better might it be for religion to send one of our number to Kansas in this crisis, than to India. Better by far, it might be to send a contribution Westward than to send all we have to the most needy heathen of the East.

Prompt action, on the part of the North, will save Kansas! It is in their power to do it, if they will act with courage and nerve in the fear of God. We need not have a civil war. We only need to possess that moral courage which has given success to every reform. The wicked are stirred up to desperate measures; we must, by comunion with God, arouse ourselves to a moral courage, which will enable us to meet them face to face. We must go forward, and the means of defence and deliverance will be provided.

There is a sense of justice, even among those drunken invaders, and when that sense of right is awakened they will with shame and sorrow confess their wrong doing. I have seen this illustrated on the soil of Missouri. While my home was in that State, a temperance lecturer came, advocating the reform with great boldness. During four days and nights he continued in the city, until a mob, infuriated by a frequent use of whiskey, thirsted for his blood. The threat went out, that he must either take up his departure or die at their hands. He continued to fulfill his appointment, and though the mob pressed upon him armed to the teeth, he and his friends with him stood firm. From that hour, the temperance reform triumphed in that vicinity. It does not become me to speak of myself in connection with that struggle, yet it is of some weight to the cause to know, that though the leader of the mob took umbrage at the course I then felt it my duty to take, within six months from that time he sought reconciliation; saying, that rather than do again as he had done, he would stake a thousand dollars, and to prove his sincerity, abandoned a lucrative trade in intoxicating drinks. There was a triumph which rid a city of the curse of intemperance and mob rule. In the *present conflict*, by firm continuance in well doing, not a city but a whole State is to be delivered from the curse of slavery and the misrule of gag-law.

Thirdly. If we, as Christians, willingly aid in establishing oppression on the soil of Kansas, then we may fear God will leave us as a nation "to our own way and pour out his indignation upon us."

Men of the North, if you suffer slavery to become established in Kansas, when by prompt action you might prevent it, then no more charge the South with being alone guilty of perpetuating the curse. Remember Stephen Douglas, Caleb Cushing and Franklin Pierce, sons of New England, gave birth to the Kansas and Nebraska infamy, and their allies of the free States fondled their progeny into life, and prostituted the energies of the North to strengthen the coils of this anaconda in his attempt to crush freedom from the continent. Put Kansas under the lash of the slave driver, and the crack of the whip will be heard in the clefts of the rock along those mountain ranges far beyond. And the vulture will brood over and settle down in the Pacific valley, filled with that which she craves for her capacious maw. Cuba, bloated with crime, will be annexed when the South has the political power in her hands. Then, my countrymen, farewell to civil liberty. Farewell to religious tolerance. Farewell to all that is dear to us in our past history. Farewell to present comfort. A blight rests upon what is now the agricultural thrift of millions. Our merchants, today clad in fine linen, shall then hide themselves in sackcloth. See! see! see! there's a movement in the Heavens!—He whose right it is comes to judge a guilty nation. Now He pours out the vials of His wrath—famine, pestilence, war. God is in the camp. Whither, whither shall we flee? The ark is taken. We have no refuge. The thunderbolt strikes terror in hearts once brave; lofty looks are brought down. Too late, too late, we cry mercy, mercy. The land is filled with wailing. We are consumed in the fire of God's righteous indignation.

[On Monday morning three young men of East Cambridge volunteered to go to Kansas, and Mr. B. before breakfast secured $50 for one, who is now on his way with the company of emigrants from Worcester.]

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, TUESDAY, JULY 1, 1856.

SECOND EDITION.

Rejection of Kansas as a Free State.

It will be seen by the report of Congressional proceedings that the North has again been defeated by treachery, and the proposition to admit Kansas immediately as a free State has been rejected in the House by one majority. The entire Border-Ruffian party was aided in this instance, as they have been in most others this session, by the whole body of the Southern Fillmorites and by Messrs. Haven, Valk, Wheeler and Whitney of New York, Harrison of Ohio, Broome of Pennsyl-

stood out so long against the election of a Northern Speaker, have now combined to resist the admission of Kansas as a free State. The responsibility be upon them! Let us hear no more of the desire of this class of politicians or of their followers that Kansas shall be free, or even of their desire that the people shall determine their institutions for themselves. The people of Kansas, in the only elections which have been held without Missouri interference—the only elections in which even the forms of law were preserved, chose delegates to a State Convention, and then adopted the Constitution which those delegates had put forth for approval. That Constitution thus sanctioned by a great majority of the actual settlers of the territory is presented to Congress, and *because it contains a provision declaring that slavery shall never exist in the territory* it is rejected by a union of Buchaniers and Fillmorites. What a spectacle is this for the country!

We copy the special dispatch of the Advertiser in relation to this subject:

"*Washington, June* 30, 1856—*Monday evening.* The bill for the admission of Kansas, was defeated in the House to-day, by the union of Messrs. Haven, Harrison, Dunn, Broome, Valk, Wheeler, Whitney, and all the Northern Fillmore men, with the Administration party. Every other professed opponent of the Administration from the North, voted for the bill.

The object of these Fillmore men is to make a better pro slavery record at the South than the Buchanan men enjoy, with a view of carrying the Southern States for Fillmore. This is the secret of their treachery to their constituencies to-day.

An effort to reconsider the vote to morrow, is contemplated. Its success is doubtful.

The new Kansas bill reported in the Senate by Mr. Douglas to-day, is a rehash of Geyer's and Toombs's bills, and evades the duty of immediately effecting a radical cure. It proposes a future convention to form a constitution, which will be just as likely to be again controlled by Missourians. It is an ingenious fraud, designed to hoodwink the people for the Presidential campaign."

The Advertiser says:

"The telegreph report of the yeas and nays omits two yeas and four nays. We do not doubt that Mr. Chaffee of Mass. was present and voted yea—unless he paired off. We have prepared an analysis by States of the vote as reported:

	Yeas.	Nays.	Absent.
Maine	5	1	—
New Hampshire	3	—	—
Vermont	3	—	—
Massachusetts	9	—	1
Rhode Island	2	—	—
Connecticut	4	—	—
New York	25	6	2
New Jersey	4	—	1
Pennsylvania	15	6	4
Ohio	19	1	1
Michigan	2	1	1
Indiana	7	3	1
Illinois	3	2	4
Iowa	1	1	—
Wisconsin	2	—	1
California	—	2	—
Delaware	—	1	—
Maryland	—	5	1
Virginia	—	11	2
North Carolina	—	5	3
South Carolina	—	5	1
Georgia	—	7	1
Alabama	—	7	—
Mississippi	—	5	—
Louisiana	—	3	1
Arkansas	—	2	—
Tennessee	—	10	—
Kentucky	—	10	—
Missouri	—	6	1
Florida	—	1	—
Texas	—	2	—
	104	103	26
Names omitted	2	4	6
True vote	106	107	20

Full house, (including Speaker, who is not counted above,) 234.

The unbroken front, now as always, presented by the representatives from the slave States, is worthy of notice.

All the affirmative vote is thrown by the free States, which also throw 23 negative votes.

The slave States of themselves threw but 80 votes, but were assisted to reject the bill by the Northern Democrats and Fillmore men.

The only New England vote against the bill was Mr. Fuller, democrat, of Maine."

It will be observed also, by reference to the Congressional proceedings, that Douglas has made another voluminous report on Kansas affairs, accompanied by a bill which provides for the appointment of Commissioners *by the President*, who shall take a census of the legal voters of the territory and make a fair apportionment of delegates to each county, to form a Constitution and a State government. The Commissioners are to remain in session to hear complaints, examine witnesses, and correct the lists of voters, &c., and no person is to be allowed to vote whose his name is not on the lists. The election of delegates is to take place on the day of the Presidential election, and the Convention is to be held on the first Monday in December. The qualification of voters to be three months residence; no test oath to be required, and no law to be enforced infringing the liberty of speech or of the press or of the right of the people to bear arms.

The Ruffian Party, by this movement, is undertaking to shield itself from the storm of popular indignation which it sees approaching. The bill has a show of fairness, but nothing more. In the first place, the country can have no confidence in the men the Administration will appoint to do the responsible work of arranging the lists of voters. The troubles in Kansas thus far have been caused mainly by the Government officials themselves. Shannon, Woodson, Moore, Lecompte, and the other office holders in the Territory, have been the chief instruments in the enslavement of the people. The Commissioners will be of the Border Ruffian stamp, and greater frauds than ever may be expected from them. In the next place, even admitting that they will honestly arrange the voting lists, they cannot exercise any supervision over the elections, and these must be conducted by the Ruffian Party, who may add to, or subtract from, the lists, and control the election in any other way they see fit. In the next place, this measure, which it is pretended is so fair, is to take place at a time when the Administration and the Ruffians have joined in driving the Free State settlers out of the Territory, and are now combining to prevent the entrance of all others of the same class. Read the following dispatches, and then say what chance is given to the free settlers, even under this new bill:

Chicago, June 30. Gentlemen have arrived here from Kansas, who report concerning the disarming of the Chicago company at Lexington; that from 300 to 500 Missourians and South Carolinians, who had been driven out of Kansas, with some of the citizens of Lexington, gathered at the landing, armed with cannon, and threatened to fire the boat if their demand was not complied with. Under these circumstances, the captain of the steamer insisted upon the delivery of the arms as the only way to prevent the destruction of the boat.

St. Louis, June 29. By the steamer Edinburg, from Weston, Mo., we learn that when the steamer Star of the West, with the Chicago company on board, arrived at Weston, a large party of men boarded the vessel, and arrested the entire company, for the purpose of escorting them back the same way they came, it being resolved that they should not be permitted to enter the territory.

Later. The Star of the West has put back on her return trip, and will land the Chicago company at Alton, Illinois. They are conducted back under a guard of South Carolinians, and, being unarmed, there is no danger of a conflict.

Here is an account, from the Missouri Democrat of the 26th, of the murder of a Michigan man. We suppose it may be appropriately placed under the head of "Preparations for taking the census:"

"A gentleman who arrived yesterday from Kansas City, reports that on the 21st instant Mr. Wm. Gay, an Indian agent, was attacked about two miles from Westport, by parties unknown, and

AID FOR KANSAS. The Convention recently held at Buffalo appointed a National Executive Committee, a quorum of whose members reside in Chicago, which is destined to be the outfitting station for the emigration of this summer and autumn. Eli Thayer was appointed a committee of one to take charge of the systematic organization of all the States friendly to Kansas for her relief. The Advertiser of this morning says:

"Mr. Thayer has already entered on his work with the promptness which the occasion demands. He has perfected a plan, which may carry the cause of Kansas to every hearth stone in the free States. It proposes that there shall be formed two classes of Kansas committees; a State committee for every State, and a county committee for every county. Some of these committees already exist.

Each county committee should then appoint a town agent for every town in the county, with authority to appoint a solicitor (male or female) for every school district in the town. These district solicitors appply to every man, woman and child, if possible, in their respective districts; and make returns of their collections with a duplicate of the subscription books to the town agent. By applying to this agent any subscriber can ascertain whether his subscription has been duly forwarded. The town agents make returns to the treasurer of the county, who makes regular returns to the Treasurer of the State Committee, who in turn remits to the National Committee.

In this way every cent contributed can be traced from the hand of the donor to the treasury of the general committee, without any charge for expenses. And, by this plan, the general committee deals only with State committees, these with county committees, these with town agents, and the only with the school district solicitors, and only with individuals. If this plan were faithfully carried out, we should have three or four million of subscribers as the result, with scarce any expense for agencies.

We publish these details in extenso, thus, in the hope that they may be at once copied through the country, and that the different arrangements may be put at once in motion. We hope to announce soon that a regular series of remittances to the Chicago National Committee has begun."

We published on Tuesday the address of the Middlesex County Kansas Committee, developing their plan of operations. We believe that they are prepared to enter upon the work of obtaining money with zeal and thoroughness.

The Salem Gazette.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 1, 1856.

AID FOR KANZAS. We are gratified to learn, that in a part of the churches in this city, on Sunday, last it was announced that a contribution will be taken next Sunday, in aid of the distressed and suffering victims of the cruelties and outrages in Kanzas. Certainly, no more christian cause was ever presented to the benevolence of a religious people. Nothing like it has occurred in the present century; and for parallels we are obliged to go back several generations, to the expulsion of the Acadians, the Huguenots, and the poor Palatines.

Besides the persecutions of the Missouri ruffians, the settlers have encountered hardships that taxed the utmost power of human endurance. Shortness of provisions; a terrible severe winter; a prevailing fever and ague, and only tents and cabins for shelter, were trials enough for the home-sick hearts of the suffering emigrants, without the constant peril of life from the bullet of the brutal Borderer. The Pilgrim Fathers of New England, who landed on a barren coast, in the dead of winter, suffered less and feared less from their savage foes than these Kanzas settlers have suffered at the hands of men claiming to be civilized, and calling themselves citizens of a sister State. Robbery and murder have run riot in the Territory, while the federal Goverement has winked at the crimson crimes of the lawless mob.

A church which can find no warrant for contributing in a cause like this, has need to examine well its claim to the christian character.

The Committees appointed to obtain aid for the settlers in Kanzas, have announced that all the sums which they may receive will be applied exclusively to supplying food to settlers in that Territory who have been driven from house and home, or prevented from putting in their crops by the invasions of armed marauders from without the territory, or who have been otherwise reduced to destitution and suffering by the same cause. The distribution, whether of provisions or money, will be made in Kanzas by a trustworthy committee.

In many of the large towns of our State meetings have been held and liberal contributions taken, for the relief of the Kanzas sufferers; and some little towns have contributed wonderfully in proportion to their means. In Lowell, Miss L. Parmenter, formerly an operative, heads the ladies' subscription list, in behalf of the women of Kanzas, with $100.

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 1, 1856.

☞ In the Senate, yesterday, the bill authorizing the issue of an additional number of arms for the use of California, was passed. Mr. DOUGLAS, from the Committee on Territories, made a voluminous report on Kansas affairs, including a new bill providing for the appointment of five Commissioners, to be selected from different sections of the Union, to take a census and provide for a fair election of delegates to form a State Constitution—no test to be required, except three months' residence. Mr. DOUGLAS gave notice that he will ask for a vote on Wednesday. In the House, the bill for the immediate admission of Kansas was the order. Mr. GROW made the closing speech in its favor. Mr. STEPHENS moved to recommit, with instructions to report the substitute which he had offered. Mr. DUNN moved, as an amendment, that the Committee on Territories be required to report a bill for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, which was adopted by seven majority. Mr. STEPHENS' motion was then voted down. A motion to recommit without instructions was also rejected. A motion to lay on the table was negatived. The main question was then taken, and the bill was rejected by one majority. The House immediately adjourned.

AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

Citizens' Organization—Movements of Col. Sumner—A Skirmish—More Arrests—Resignation of Gov. Shannon—Expected Meeting of the Free-State Legislature.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, 3 o'clock A. M.,
Saturday, June 21, 1856.

I have come in from duty, having spent the night thus far on the "Citizens'Guard," which is kept out every night of late. We feel safe in no other way, and those who own the property and represent the enterprise of the town have joined in an organization under the above name, for the purpose of giving greater security to our lives and property. While traveling our streets, to-night I have looked at our position before the world. We are a town yet less than two years old, with a citizens' guard, composed of over fifty members, who are constantly on duty, to enable the remainder of our people to sleep more quietly in their beds. We have in our midst the ruins of *the fallen great*, and of business once prosperous,—like a city of centuries in other times.

Col. SUMNER has been driving back some of the bands that infest the Shawnee Reserve, and has even followed them into Missouri. Southern chivalry can't quite stand that, and they swear they will come back again when they please, in spite of troops, "Old Bull of the woods," (SUMNER,) or any body else. An officer reports to us that a skirmish occurred at Cedar Creek between the Georgians and the Dragoons. The ruffians fired first, wounding two Dragoons, when they returned the fire, killing one and wounding several. The Dragoons then dispersed them without difficulty. The bodies or graves of several Free-State men were seen in the vicinity of the camp. The ropes were still hanging above them to tell the tale of their doom. The Dragoons inform us that they learned of one instance where a Free-State man was taken by the wretches to a tree and hung without the slightest provocation, and, worst of all, they compelled his family to go there and stand to witness the scene. In another instance they hung one of our men who repeated a prayer just before he was strung up, and the brutes would try to repeat it as the Abolition prayer, for days afterwards, and blended it with their whisky pastimes.

The forces that came from Ft. Riley, from some unknown cause, have returned, and it is reported that 500 Dragoons are coming forthwith from Ft. Kearney. It is believed that General LANE is at Council Bluffs by this time, with about 1,000 buffalo hunters that will make tyrants tremble. We hope that arms will be sent as well as men, for there are not fifty in Lawrence to-day, all told, and 200 rifles would no more than arm us.

I intended to say more of the homicide of HOPKINS, but I am unable to furnish the report to-night that I wished to send you, consequently will defer it. HANEY is becoming the pest of the whole vicinity. He came into town yesterday with a posse of about 25 dragoons, to make arrests—no one could imagine who or for what cause. He proceeded to arrest JAMES P. LEGATE and Mr. HOYT, both of Massachusetts. They inquired by what authority. The reply was made by the Lieutenant in command, who is a rabid Southerner, saying HE arrested him, and would do so as often as he (HANEY) would point him to his man; he could take any man in Lawrence, &c. He and most of the posse were drunk at the time, and, upon the whole, this was the most aggravating thing that has occurred thus far in Lawrence, for we did not believe HANEY had a particle of authority, although he claimed to be Deputy Sheriff. I can only add that they were taken to Lecompton and offered to the Governor, but he would not receive them as prisoners, saying he knew no such officer as HANEY; he did not recognize his authority; therefore the prisoners *were not* prisoners. The mischief-makers were in a quandary, but, rather than return those men to Lawrence like gentlemen, they took HANEY before JONES and got him appointed Deputy Sheriff, then obtained a warrant (for they had no papers whatever before) and arrested LEGATE and HOYT, "according to law," simply because they are gentlemen of *some value* to us just now, where bravery is at a premium.

Gov. SHANNON has resigned unconditionally; probably because he heard that he was to be removed soon. There never was a more frightened man. Poor soul! Where can he fly? Who will receive him? Various rumors are current as to his successor. We can lose nothing, therefore there is no need of our worrying. If Gen. SCOTT comes here, and proclaims Martial law in the Territory, all will be satisfied. We are to have a Mass meeting on the 3d of July, at Topeka, of which the following is a notice:

CIRCULAR.

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
TOPEKA, KANSAS, Saturday, June 9, 1856.

SIR: The Council of Safety, at Topeka, with the advice and concurrence of the Committee of Safety at Lawrence, and other prominent citizens throughout Kansas, respectfully announce that there will be a GRAND MASS CONVENTION of the Free-State Party at Topeka, on Thursday, the third day of July next. You are earnestly requested to use your influence in having EVERY FREE-STATE MAN IN YOUR LOCALITY PRESENT at Topeka on that occasion, in order that ALL may take council together concerning the state of public affairs and the perils of the times. It is requested that each locality may send at least one person to Topeka on the day preceding, (Wednesday, July 2,) for the purpose of devising action for the Convention of Thursday.

Yours for FREE KANSAS,

C. K. HOLLIDAY, Topeka.
THOS. G. THORTON, Riley.
H. S. BENEDICT, Lecompton.
F. L. CRANE, Council City.
P. C. SCHUYLER, Council City.
W. M. MCCLURE, Fort Riley.
LORING FARNSWORTH, Topeka.
W. W. ROSS, Topeka.
JOHN RITCHEY, Topeka.
M. J. MITCHELL, Topeka.
H. NICHOLS, Topeka.

There is to be a grand rally. The robbers will also have a celebration at Tecumseh—five miles from Topeka—on the 4th. They are already gathering for that purpose. There is meaning in this. Two armies will not assemble so near together, I fear, without bloodshed. *Our Legislature will meet and be protected.* RANDOLPH.

LATEST INTELLIGENCE

By Telegraph to the New-York Daily Times.

FROM WASHINGTON.

The Defeat of the Bill for the Admission of Kansas—Douglas' New Bill.

Special Dispatch to the New-York Daily Times.

WASHINGTON, Monday, June 30.

The bill for the admission of KANSAS was defeated to-day by the union of HAVEN, HARRISON, DUNN, BROOM, VALK, WHEELER, and WHITNEY, all Northern Fillmore men, with the Administration Party. Every other professed opponent of the Administration from the North voted for the bill. The object of these Fillmore men is to make a better Pro-Slavery record at the South than the Buchanan men, with a view to carrying the Southern States for FILLMORE. This is the secret of their treachery to their constituencies to-day. An effort to reconsider to-morrow is contemplated, but its success is doubtful.

DOUGLAS' Kansas bill, reported to-day, is a rehash of GEYER's and TOOMBS', and evades immediately effecting a radical cure of the evils there. It proposes a future Convention to form a Constitution, which will be just as likely to be controlled by Missourians. It is an ingenious fraud, designed to hoodwink the people for the Presidential campaign.

S.

All the Members of the Kansas Committee in Washington—Majority and Minority Reports.

WASHINGTON, Sunday, June 29.

Mr. OLIVER having returned, all the members of the KANSAS Investigating Committee are now in Washington. Messrs. SHERMAN and HOWARD have just completed their report, and will probably submit it to the House to-morrow. The presentation of the minority report will be deferred a few days.

WASHINGTON, Monday, June 30.

THE ADMISSION OF KANSAS.

Mr. GROW made the closing speech in favor of the bill for the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, and in opposition to all substitutes for the measure under consideration.

Mr. STEPHENS moved to recommit the bill to the Committee on Territories, with instructions to report instead thereof, the substitute which he had offered, providing for the appointment of five persons by the President to make an enumeration of the inhabitants of the Territory, and an apportionment of the Districts, with the view of electing a Convention for the formation of a State Constitution, &c.

Mr. DUNN moved as an amendment, that the Committee be required to report a bill restoring the Missouri Compromise.

Amendment adopted by seven majority.

The following are the Yeas and Nays:

YEAS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Bennett of New-York, Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Broom, Buffington, Burlin, Came, Campbell, of Pa., Campbell, of Ohio, Clarke of N. York, Clark, jr., of Conn., Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, Davis, of Mass., Dean, Dewitt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Dunn, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Everett, Fingler, Gallowey, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall of Mass., Harlan, Harrison of Ohio, Haven, Holloway, Horton of N.Y., Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughes, Kelsey, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Mace, Matteson, McCarty, Meacham, Miller of N.Y., Millward, Moore, Morgan, Morrell, Murray, Oliver of N.Y., Pearce, Pelton, Pennington, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Pringle, Purviance, Robbins, Roberts, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Stanton, Strohan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburn of Ill., Washburn of Wis., Washburn, Jr. of Me., Watson, Welch, Wood, Woodruff, Woodworth—110.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Allen, Barclay, Barksdale, Bell, Bennett of Miss., Bocock, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Brooks, Burnett, Cadwallader, Campbell of Ky., Carlisle, Caruthers, Caskil, Clingman, Cobb of Ga., Cobb of Ala., Cox, Craige, Crawford, Davidson, Day, Denver, Dowdell, Edmundson, Elliot, English, Eustis, jr., Faulkner, Florence, Foster, Fuller of Me., Goode, Greenwood, Hall, Iowa, Harris of Md., Harris of Ala., Hickman, Hoffman, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tenn., Jones of Pa., Keitt, Kelly, Kennett, Kidwell, Lake, Letcher, Lumpkin, Alexander K. Marshall of Ky., Humphrey Marshall of Ky., Maxwell, McMullin, McQueen, Miller of Ind., Millson, Nichols, Oliver of Mo., Orr, Packer, Parke, Peck, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Purviance, Quitman, Ready, Ricaud, Richardson, Rivas, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Seward, Shorter, Smith of Tenn., Smith of Va., Smith of Ala., Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Swope, Talbott, Taylor, Trippe, Underwood, Valk, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wheeler, Williams, Wright of Miss., Wright of Tenn., Zollicoffer—103.

The motion to recommit with instructions, as amended, was then voted down, only two voting in the affirmative—DUNN and STEPHENS.

A motion to recommit, without instructions, was also rejected, by 101 ayes against 109 nays.

Mr. JONES of Tennessee, moved to lay the bill on the table.

Negatived by one majority. The main question was then taken, and the bill rejected by one majority, the vote being as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barber, Bennett of N.Y., Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Buffington, Burlingame, Campbell of Ma., Campbell of Ohio, Clark of N. Y., Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, Davis of Mass., Day, Dean, Dewitt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emott, Fenton, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall of Mass., Harlan, Hickman, Holloway, Horton of N. Y., Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughes, Kingsley, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkle, Leiter, Matteson, McCarty, Meacham, Miller of N. Y., Millward, Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Murray, Nichols, Oliver of N. Y., Pearce, Pelton, Pennington, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Purviance, Robbins, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Spinner, Stanton, Strohan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburn of Wis., Washburn of Ill., Washburn, Jr. of Me., Watson, Welch, Wood, Woodruff, Woodworth—108.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Allen, Barclay, Barksdale, Bell, Bennett of Miss., Bocock, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Brooks, Broom, Burnett, Cadwallader, Campbell of Ky., Carlile, Caruthers, Caskie, Cobb of Ala., Cobb of Ga., Cox, Craige, Crawford, Cullen, Denver, Dowdell, Dunn, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Eustis, jr., Evans, Faulkner, Fuller of Me., Goode, Greenwood, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Md., Harris of Ala., Harrison, Haven, Hebert, Hoffman, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tenn., Jones of Penn., Keitt, Kelly, Kennett, Kidwell, Lake, Letcher, Lindley, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall of Ky., Humphrey Marshall of Ky., Samuel S. Marshall of Ill., Maxwell, McQueen, Miller of Ind., Millson, Oliver of Mo., Orr, Packer, Parke, Peck, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Purvear, Quitman, Ready, Ricaud, Rivers, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Seward, Shorter, Smith of Tenn., Smith of Va., Smith of Ala., Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Swope, Talbot, Taylor, Trippe, Underwood, Valk, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wheeler, Whitney, Williams, Wright of Miss., Wright of Tenn., Zollicoffer—107.

The result was greeted by clapping of hands and vociferations of joy by the opponents of the bill—while its friends exhibited signs of disappointment. Amid the confusion the House adjourned.

Adjournment of Congress—The Admission of Kansas.

WASHINGTON, Friday, June 27.

There is no prospect of the House concurring in the Senate's resolution passed yesterday, for the adjournment of Congress on the 26th July.

An effort will be made to-morrow in the House to force a final vote on the bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union.

Freedom in Virginia.

The citizens of Fauquier County, Va., have held a public meeting for the express purpose of uttering denunciations against Mr. J. C. UNDERWOOD, who appeared in the Republican Convention as a delegate from Virginia. The resolutions which were adopted on the occasion are not remarkable for moderation. They declare it a libel to impute to Virginians any weakness like that of a love of Free-Soil doctrine, and are loud-voiced in praise of the Union. But the demonstration did not end here. A Committee was appointed to wait upon Mr. UNDERWOOD, to inform him of the sentiments of the meeting, and to hint that "it was deemed just and advisable" *for him to leave the State* as soon as possible. We do not learn that Mr. UNDERWOOD has yet obeyed this peremptory mandate. The order savors of the tone that Border-Ruffians employ in Kansas, and the results may be similar. Mr. UNDERWOOD may find it essential to his safety to withdraw to some other locality in which he can exercise the privilege of thinking and speaking as he pleases. In any event, his is a new instance to show that persecution for opinion's sake is not yet done away with. Transplantation of Ruffianism from Kansas to Virginia appears to aggravate the severity of the symptoms.

State Equality—An Important Paper from Daniel Webster.

We publish this morning an exceedingly able and interesting paper, clearly from the pen of DANIEL WEBSTER, in refutation of the doctrine which the Pro-Slavery party has succeeded in forcing upon the Democracy,—that *the constitutional equality of the States* forbids the prohibition by Congress of Slavery within the Territories, and also forbids *affixing any condition* to the admission of new States. It was prepared in 1820, by a Committee of which Mr. WEBSTER was chairman, as a Memorial from the citizens of Boston, praying Congress not to admit Missouri as a State into the Union, with a constitution permitting Slavery. It bears in every sentence the impress of Mr. WEBSTER'S style, both of thought and expression; and, as it bears directly upon the main issue in the present contest, and has long been out of print and out of the public knowledge, it may fairly be regarded as embodying Mr. WEBSTER'S views of the pending controversy.

The argument drawn from the equality of the States, was urged with great force by the South during the Missouri discussion. It is briefly this:—that every State must have the same right of sovereignty with every other State:—that a prohibition of Slavery within its limits, imposed by Congress upon any State as a condition of its admission, would impair that sovereignty and render it inferior to other States:—and that Congress therefore has no right to impose it. The argument in 1820 was evaded,—the issue being compromised:—and it fell into disuse and discredit. Mr. CALHOUN attempted at various periods of his subsequent life to revive it, but he never met with much success. It was regarded as an over-nice refinement of argumentation; and as the Missouri Compromise and the subsequent compromises of 1850 rendered it practically of no importance, it passed gradually out of the public memory. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, however, by renewing the struggle between Freedom and Slavery in the Territories and new States of the Union, has revived the controversy. Mr. CUSHING was the first to bring forward again this doctrine of State Equality, as a means of extending Slavery. It was eagerly adopted by the Administration—was incorporated into the Cincinnati Platform, and is now one of the cardinal principles of BUCHANAN'S political faith. It is plausible and ingenious—and in the hands of the adroit and unscrupulous politicians who are now using it, will undoubtedly mislead the public judgment and promote the advance of Slavery to a greater or less extent.

Mr. WEBSTER'S argument against it is cogent and conclusive. He shows that it has no foundation in the Constitution, or in the uniform practice of the Government. He urges that the admission of a new State is in the nature of a *compact* between that State and Congress:—that Congress is not compelled to admit new States except in its discretion:—and that this discretion gives it power to impose such conditions as the welfare of the State and of the Union at large may seem to require. He then examines the history of the Government from the commencement, and shows that in every instance this theory has been acted upon,—that all the new States admitted, whether formed from old States or from territory belonging to the United States, were admitted upon conditions of some kind, and most of them upon conditions connected with the subject of Slavery: and that any other construction of the power of Congress involves the grossest absurdities in theory and the most extraordinary incongruities in practice. He also shows that, in regard to the Louisiana territory, Congress has full power to prohibit Slavery within its limits and to require that States formed from it, shall exclude Slavery from their Constitutions.

At the present moment this argument of Mr. WEBSTER will be read with general interest. It demolishes completely the pretexts by which Pro-Slavery sophists are endeavoring to prove that the Flag of the Republic carries Slavery with it, wherever it goes, and that neither Congress nor any other authority has the right to prohibit it in the Territories of the United States.

NEW YORK HERALD.

New York, Tuesday, July 1, 1856.

The Proceedings in Congress Yesterday—Kansas and the Tinkers in Washington—The True Constitutional Policy.

The proceedings in Congress yesterday were very interesting. The Kansas imbroglio, the slavery question and the exigencies of this Presidential campaign have brought all the party tinkers in both houses to their feet. Look at the following list of expedients for the pacification of Kansas and the settlement of the slavery issue there, all introduced into the Senate within the last few weeks, and then read what was done yesterday in another column:—

First. The plan of W. H. Seward, providing for the admission of Kansas into the Union forthwith, as a free State, according to the constitution of the Topeka free State party Convention.

Second. The first bill of Mr. Douglas, providing that Kansas may be admitted into the Union with or without slavery (squatter sovereignty), when the Territory shall have secured the 93,000 population required for a representative in Congress, according to the existing ratio of federal representation.

Third. Mr. Clayton's bill, which abolishes all the existing offensive and unconstitutional laws and tests imposed upon the people of Kansas by the Legislature of the "border ruffians," and provides for the appointment of Commissioners by the Secretary of State to take a census; and also for the election of a new Legislature, &c.; and finally, for the admission of Kansas as a State, when she shall have accumulated the required population for one member of Congress.

Fourth. The bill of Mr. Toombs, which provides, under the auspices and management of the administration, for the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union as a State, without regard to population.

Fifth. The proposition of Mr. Geyer, of Missouri, which contemplates the election of a new Territorial Legislature, under a more rigid protection of squatters' rights, and the repudiation of the existing Legislature, without any provision for a State government.

Sixth. The proposition of Mr. Crittenden to send out General Scott to Kansas, for the purpose of reducing the belligerents to good behaviour, and to maintain law and order in the Territory.

These are among the late Kansas expedients offered in the Senate, and upon which, yesterday, Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, made a voluminous report—all of the aforesaid projects having been referred to the said committee. In the House there have not been quite so many schemes submitted on the subject, although Kansas has been the standing dish of that body since the first Monday in December. The committee of three detailed to the Territory to collect testimony concerning the allegations against the Missouri invaders, have returned, and their report is ready, we understand, for delivery to the House, full of vouchers of lawless outrages, illegal legislators, and unconstitutional pains and penalties upon a free people. Yesterday the House was engaged upon the bill for the admission of Kansas as a free State. It failed. (See our Congressional report.) All experiments, however, for the relief of the Territory from her present troubles will most likely fall between the two wings of the Capitol, the House being too decidedly no-slavery and the Senate too pro-slavery for any half-way compromise. But *nous verrons.*

The most remarkable feature in this business in the Senate is the change which seems to have come over the mind of Mr. Douglas since the nomination of Colonel Fremont. Less than a month ago Mr. Douglas was in favor of exacting of Kansas the Congressional ratio of 93,000 population, as the first imperative qualification for her admission into the Union. Now, it seems the Chairman on Territories has come to the conclusion that the regular representative ratio of population may be dispensed with, and Kansas may be admitted much earlier than he at first believed would be compatible with the policy of the democratic party—which is to make of Kansas a slave State. The Anti-slavery Vigilance Committee at Washington say that Dr. Stringfellow and Gen. Whitfield, fresh from the battle fields of Lawrence and Ossawotomie, have intimated—the free State squatters being pretty thoroughly cleared out of the Territory, bag and baggage, by the last hostile invasion from Missouri—that now is the time for applying the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, before the abolition adventurers recover from their fright and come back again. Sharp idea that; for if a law were passed at once providing for a State convention of the people of Kansas forthwith, under the auspices of this Pierce administration, very likely a State constitution recognizing the existence of the institution of slavery would be the result. But as the concurrence of a Northern House of Representatives will be required before a plan of this sort can be put into operation, we fear that the Northern Aid Societies will have reinforced their wasted ranks in Kansas in time to take a hand in this game of squatter sovereignty.

Alas for the follies of our narrow-sighted politicians and President makers at Washington! "The proof of the pudding is in the eating there-

of." Squatter sovereignty is a farce. The legislative supervision of Congress is supreme over the Territories; the executive authority of the President is supreme, as shown in the working of this identical Kansas-Nebraska bill, even upon the subject of slavery. The hostile abolition squatters and border ruffians have trampled squatter sovereignty under foot. It is a humbug. Mormon polygamy reigns over Utah under the plea of squatter sovereignty, and makes it a nuisance. Mr. Douglas himself, when pushed for a definite interpretation, carries this bantling of squatter sovereignty into the Supreme Court, and, dropping it there, comes away and washes his hands of the whole business. Gen. Cass essays to help him to a right understanding of the problem; but even Gen. Cass, with each succeeding effort to get out, only gets deeper into the swamp, as Mr. Clayton does in his successive explanations of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was right and proper. It was the repeal of an unconstitutional Presidential electioneering armistice. This repeal, however, was not a discovery of Mr. Douglas or Mr. Pierce. Mr. Dixon, a whig of Kentucky, threw it into the Senate as an experimental bomb shell, and no man can deny that it has made a magnificent explosion among the old party crockery. From the very outset, however, we advocated the repeal of that Missouri Compromise, and because it was a compromise outside of the constitution, and must sooner or later be set aside. It was the influence of the independent press of the North that first brought Mr. Douglas and Mr. Pierce to the happy thought that something might be made out of Mr. Dixon's motion; for what had either Mr. Pierce or Mr. Douglas to fear, with the South at his side and the constitution at his back?

So the Missouri Compromise was repealed, and squatter sovereignty was proclaimed the law of the Territories. But in the subsequent follies, imbecilities and reckless blunders of Mr. Pierce, first to conciliate the North, and secondly to "curry favor with the South;" and in the close attachment of Mr. Douglas to the administration, both our little President and the "Little Giant" have failed to make it pay expenses. Squatter sovereignty has been tried and found wanting. It means civil war in Kansas, and the most infamous of beastly abominations in Utah. It is neither the thing for good morals, freedom nor slavery. What is to be done? Let us return and see if the way of safety is not marked out in the constitution.

The federal constitution is the binding agreement of a copartnership of States and sections. There are concessions to the small States by the great States; and there are concessions, broad, large, conspicuous and liberal, from the North to the South, upon the subject of slavery. Thus, for the "sake of a more perfect union" a representation of three-fifths of the Southern slave population was conceded in the federal enumeration for Congress; and so, likewise, "for the general welfare" the framers of the constitution provided for the return of the fugitive slaves to their masters. It may, in truth, be said that we are indebted for this union of these States to these concessions of the North to the South and to Southern slavery, in the framework of the constitution. The great object sought and conceded was a self-sustaining balance of power to the people, to the States—to the small States against the larger States, and to the Southern slave States against the Northern States. This latter feature of self-protection, in the several concessions to the South is particularly conspicuous.

What is the lesson thus taught us? It is the lesson of conciliation and concession. The original bulwark of the South, of a three-fifths representation of their slaves, has been overborne by the overwhelming increase of the white population of the North. The South has fallen back upon that protection accorded to the small States against the large States, to wit: an equality of representation in the federal Senate. Here the Southern breakwater against Northern encroachments was maintained till the admission of California, which, giving to the North sixteen States to fifteen Southern States, places the South in a minority of two members, even in the Senate. The South are sensitive against any further additional weight to this Northern preponderance; and hence the intensity of this Kansas excitement. But squatter sovereignty, even should it be successful by any sort of management, in securing Kansas to the South, will afford only temporary security. We must go back to the constitution and its spirit of compromise and concession, or the Union is worth a sacrifice or two of sectional pride, any day—especially to us of the North.

The true policy, then, in reference to the Territories, in connection with the slavery question, is hereafter to let in a free State and a slave State together. According to the terms of the annexation of Texas, that State at any time, when the people thereof are ready, may be divided into three slave States. Here, then, is an offset at once against two additional free States; and when Texas is exhausted, some of the other large Southern States may be advantageously divided, and thus the South may indefinitely be secured, by a balance of power in the Senate, against any unconstitutional Northern encroachments, and without the necessity of any hotbed experiments of squatter sovereignty or filibustering raids into the territories of other nations.

Meantime, we apprehend that the proposition of Mr. Crittenden to send out Gen. Scott, or some such impartial officer, for the enforcement of law and order in Kansas, is the best plan of peace for the present. Gen. Scott has had some experience in South Carolina and along our Canadian frontiers as the guardian of peace and neutrality. From the composition of this Congress we can expect nothing better than what Mr. Crittenden proposes, although the proceedings in Washington yesterday indicate otherwise; but from the exigencies of the case this at least should be provided for the protection of the peaceable settlers of Kansas, and in consideration of "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

NEWARK DAILY ADVERTISER

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 1, 1856.

Condition of Kansas.

If any transaction ever has been proved, it is that the Legislature that made the laws in Kansas, those laws under which Whitfield was elected delegate to Congress, those laws on account of which men have been punished, their property pillaged, Lawrence and other towns been sacked and burnt, and innocent citizens have lost their lives, was a sham Legislature set up by the violence of the inhabitants of Missouri, contrary to the votes of the real inhabitants of the territory. These facts have all been substantiated beyond cavil by the late investigation of Howard, Sherman and Oliver, the Committee of Inquiry appointed by the House of Representatives.

Is our Government at Washington deaf and dumb and blind? Else why do they not annul those laws immediately? Are they traitors to the majesty of the people who made them what they are in order to prevent injustice and oppression? What foreign government, even King Bomba himself, is capable of the gross tyranny, which has been practised on the poor settlers, our brethren in Kansas? Their arms are stretched out to us for protection from the horrible enormities under which they have so long suffered from the tyranny of the laws enacted by this sham Legislature; and yet Congress feels not for them, hears not their entreaties, extends no relief from this unparalleled iniquity! Surely may it be said, by our enemies, since it is confessed by our friends at home that our republican institutions, when in the management of bad men, can be perverted to the worst of tyrannies.

There is a remedy for these abuses. There are more than one. The Executive, if he chooses, may stop bloodshed and robbery in an instant. General Scott, if called on, would do it for him. Congress too has power, and, under the circumstances, it is their duty to take off the wolves of Missouri, Georgia and Carolina, now preying on the quivering vitals of the free citizens of the territory, by accepting it as a State under the constitution already framed. Will neither of these be done? Then the least that an unfeeling step-mother can do is to declare all the elections which have taken place invalid, abolish the laws enacted by the counterfeit Legislature, and put the territory again upon its feet by a new law, amending and revising the old one, and securing its legal execution by a powerful federal force stationed at proper points.

There is now in Kansas a government without force or fairness, composed of an Executive without integrity, a partial and purchased Judiciary, and a Legislature without legal qualifications or moral principle. Something must be done. Congress or the Executive is to do it, and that without delay. It is impossible, that a whole nation can look on and not move a finger either for pity or for vengeance. We have not so learnt liberty; we have not thus understood the character of Freemen. If they can submit to insults and injuries, such horrors of fire and sword as have been perpetrated by invaders of their soil, we see no difference but what is in favor of the former between the serf of a despotism and the citizen of a republic; they are both alike abject slaves.

Whose is the Guilt of the Repeal of the Compromise?

Southern speakers and writers are constantly repeating, that they did not want nor ask for a repeal of the Compromise line. This was done on the motion of a Northern man, they say. What if it was? What if Douglas was its author, and some of the Democrats of the North were abettors of the conspiracy, it does not prove—does it?—that the South was not really at the bottom of it along with Douglas and those Democrats. We find they are in league immediately after and now the bargain was, therefore, probably made previous to the repeal, and for the very purpose of effecting it.

But suppose all this nothing but conjecture. Make the improbable supposition, that Douglas conceived the step without a previous plot with Southern leaders, what then? The South expected to be the only gainers by the repeal, and now are the principal advocates for it, and for other measures growing from it as its natural, and no doubt anticipated, fruit. They are ready, both in Congress and in Kansas, to fight for it to the death.

Thus, if the repeal was a robbery practised on Northern rights, the South are confessedly the receivers of stolen goods, and, therefore, as bad as the thief. If the repeal is a measure of which they were ashamed, and consequently put it on an unscrupulous man in Illinois to father, is there not just as much reason that they should blush for boiding on as they do to the outrage and its fruits? If they would purge themselves of the iniquity, whose perpetration they dislike to acknowledge, their compunction or dislike all amounts to nothing, unless they prove the sincerity of their repentance by making restoration according to the good old Hebrew law. Pray let us hear no more about a northern Senator being the author of the infamy, till those who are expecting to enjoy its profits show themselves above such a fraud by being willing to surrender the plunder obtained by it.

Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

EVENING.....JULY 1

Kansas.

For every letter published by the *Commercial*, giving the Black-Republican version of affairs in Kansas, we could publish half a dozen on the other side, many from disinterested lookers-on, showing the falsehoods of these stories, and presenting the evidence of the violence and lawlessness of the rebel party. The following, which is published in the Harrisburg *Keystone*, is from an intelligent and well-known Pennsylvanian:

LEAVENWORTH CITY, June 10, 1856.

I have traveled over much of Kansas Territory, and I do think it is the most lovely country I ever saw. It is most of it a rolling prairie country, with an exceedingly rich soil, everywhere underlaid with white and blue limestone. There is more timber than I expected to find, and it is said by geologists to contain an abundance of coal. There is here the best building-stone im-

...principle, and, I have no doubt, by the middle of the quarter, will be opened.

South of the Kansas River, the Abolitionists sent out by the Boston Aid Company are well armed and organized, and in the field, bidding defiance to both the Territorial and General Governments, bound by the most infamous oaths to bring on civil war, as they came bound by contract with that company to do. In the southern part of the Territory, on Saturday night, the 24th of May last, they murdered five quiet citizens in the most inhuman manner. I passed a night in the famous as well as infamous town of Lawrence, filled with traitors and "free-lovers," and inquired why those men were killed—they said, "Because they were caught hanging a Free-State man"—which was not only false, but without the shadow of truth—no attempt having been made there or elsewhere to hang even an Abolitionist, much less a Free-State man.

The truth is, they were important witnesses against them and in behalf of General Whitfield, and one of them could have proved to what extent some of the Abolitionists had perjured themselves before that Congressional Committee. Sherman, one of the Abolition members of that committee, had his wife with him in Lawrence, doing all in her power to rouse the Abolitionists to rebellion. She said they ought to exterminate the Pro slavery men; that it was right to shoot them down wherever they met them, &c. They, in return for her aid and kind sympathy in their treasonable intentions doubtless gave her lessons in the art and science of the free love system, which, in that infamous den of paupers and cut-throats, is carried on in its utmost perfection. They are now saying that the Mormons are coming on to help them.

The Free-State Hotel, as it was called, in Lawrence, was built with port-holes, had eight pieces of cannon on the third story, and was victualed and munitioned to stand a siege—for that reason the Grand Jury ordered it to be destroyed, together with the Abolition press. Robinson's house was twice set on fire, and as often put out—but about an hour after the Marshal's posse had gone to their camp, it was again fired and destroyed. When Robinson was informed of it he smiled, and said he would not have cared if they had preserved two papers; as without them he could not account for $7,000 or $8,000 of the $18,000 recently sent him by the Aid Company to disburse—which satisfies me that his friends burnt it to avoid accounting for that money, and to throw odium on the Marshal and his party. They told me that they did not mean to resist the United States Government; but that is not true; they have killed three of the horses of the First Regiment of United States Cavalry, and wounded one man while they were passing through the Territory, with a non-commissioned officer. The Abolition Congressional Committee did advise them to resist both governments "to a bloody issue."

THE DAILY SENTINEL.

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

MILWAUKEE:
Wednesday Morning, July 2.

Later from Kansas.

St. Louis, June 30.

A letter in the Democrat, dated Lawrence 28th says that five men had arrived at that city from Tecumseh, where they had been confined for some time as prisoners. They were captured by dragoons on the 27th of May, near Ossawattamie. Their arms were taken away, chains were put upon them, and then they were driven thirty miles by troops on horses.

The dragoons were under Lieut. Johnson.—They wore chains nearly four weeks, and when brought before Judge Cato, they were discharged, nothing being found against them. Three of the party captured were, however, detained, Messrs. Partridge, John Brown, Jr., and Williams—the two latter members of the Legislature. The former was released on bail. Indictments were found against Brown for treason, conspiracy, kidnapping slaves, and horse stealing; against Williams for treason—Partridge for conspiracy.—Hoyt and Legate, who were arrested a few days since by Harvey and the dragoons under Lieut. Perkins, have been released on bail.

Minnesota Times.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2, 1856.

THE PIONEER.

Our industrious friend of the Pioneer is somewhat sensitive on the subject of Kansas, and well he may be, for the course that journal has pursued recently, has caused the public to lose confidence in its integrity as well as in its consistency.

The Pioneer says that we "advocated opposition to the Territorial laws and supported Reeder, Lane and Robinson in their treasonable attempts to subvert a government established by Congress." We should like to know how Congress established a government when the laws that composed that government were made by Missourians? It is true we advocated opposition to the present laws of Kansas and do so now, and why? Simply for the reason already given, that they were made by the Missourians and not by the settlers of Kansas. Congress contemplated no such Government as that, so, that in this respect, Mr. Pioneer, you lie—under a very great mistake! We agree with the Pioneer that "all *illegal* opposition to the Territorial government of Kansas has ceased." The opposition there is not only legal and right and just, but will be the means of restoring peace to the Territory and causing Kansas to come in as a free State. It is perfectly *legal* for the people to oppose the bogus laws of Kansas.

The Pioneer continues: Col. Sumner is settling the difficulties in Kansas upon the basis of an acquiescence by the people of the Territory in the Territorial government." All wrong, sir. The people of the Territory *have* not, and *will* not, acquiesce in the Territorial Government. The difficulties are being settled by disarming and driving out of the Territory the "border ruffians," and when these are all out, the people will only acquiesce in those laws made by themselves. Peace will never be restored until the actual settlers are allowed to say what laws shall govern them and how those laws shall be made, and just so long as this is denied them, just so long will the present distracted state of Kansas continue.

The Pioneer alludes to a speech we made in Pittsburgh, and advises us to draw a "bee-line for Kansas." If our friend were not of such a fillibustering character, we might follow his advice, but we can't leave him behind, he might do harm—we intend to remain, therefore, and hoe him out! He is such a "funny" fellow!

Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:
WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 2, 1856

Who are Sectional?

The *Enquirer* a few days since quoted with great gusto "the declarations of some of the oldest and staunchest whigs in the Union" as texts by which to traduce and malign the principles and purposes of the Republicans. They contain the following very choice language:

"Every conceivable prejudice is appealed to, every conceivable abuse, all conceivable terms of reproach and obloquy are heaped on the men and the country of the South. If the southern States of this Union were as alien to us as though they had a separate existence at the remotest extremity of the earth or the sea, and had been our hereditary and implacable enemies from the beginning of time, they could not be more an object of the patriotic rage, hate and defiance of those journals."

* * * * * * *

"The basis of the organization is reciprocal sectional hate. This is the sentiment at the bottom—this and nothing else. To form and heighten this; to fortify it and justify it; to show that it is moral and necessary, the whole vast enginery of party tactics is to be put in request. *If the ingenuity of hell were tasked for a device to alienate and rend asunder our immature and artificial nationality, it could devise nothing so effectual.*"

Then, for once, Messrs. self-styled democrats, you acknowledge yourselves to be the exponents of the slavery extension policy! the apologizers and champions for American chattel slavery! Really, that is more candid than we expected from the mouth-piece of Douglas and Atchison "squatter sovereignty."—But the admission, though unwittingly made, is worth something. If you represent the sectionalism of the rapacious demands of the Slave Oligarchy for supremacy in the councils of this nation; if "the men and the country of the South" are the embodiment of the curse which we deprecate; if the foul system of unpaid, forced labor, with all the horrors which are and from necessity must be its concomitants, is the only national system; if the glorious principles of liberty and equal rights for which our fathers fought and bled and died are sectional and only sectional, then are *we* sectional.

But such declarations as the above are not meant for candid and intelligent men to read. Their authors cannot believe them. When men resort to ridicule and rotten eggs in the place of fair and legitimate argument; when they resort to abuse, detraction, falsehood and gutta percha instead of logical reasoning, it is prima facie evidence that the cause they advocate is rotten and untenable. Such arguments are used to move those characters who can appreciate no other appeals than those to the animal passions, or the powers of physical endurance in a bludgeon warfare.

We have more faith in the intelligence and virtue of the American masses, both North and South. We need no resort to vilification or gutta percha reasoning. We believe the truly national, of all portions of our country, will yet see and acknowledge the truth and impregnability of our principles. We do not believe such gross calumnies and systematic misstatements as the above, though assiduously circulated throughout the South by a subsidised press and prostituted partizan zeal, will have the power permanently to blind even them to *their* as well as our true interests.—We know the necessities of the slave system force upon it in a struggle for life the use of its legitimate appliances—of brute force and brutal power, the power of might over right.

But it cannot be that the small number of 300,000 whose interests are in slave property can always by such means bend to their behests the united intellect of the 20,000,000 of American freemen whose liberties are jeopardied by contact with an institution so entirely

as we want a truly national policy as is that of slavery. And it is our unwavering confidence in the eternal principles of truth and justice that leads us to hope, even in the darkest hour, for the "good time coming" when Liberty and not Slavery shall be universally acknowledged as the true exponent of American nationality.

CHICAGO DAILY JOURNAL

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

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 2, 1856.

REPORT OF THE CONGRESSIONAL KANSAS INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

In the House of Representatives, esterday, Messrs. Howard and Sherman of the committee of three appointed by that House to inquire into and investigate the fact related to the alleged election frauds in the Territory of Kansas presented their report. It is very voluminous, but a very important document. We subjoin a synopsis.

The report shows that as soon as the bill to organize the Territory of Kansas passed, a large number of citizens of Missouri went into the Territory, held squatter sovereignty meetings, passed resolutions denouncing abolitionists and declaring that slavery existed therein. In the autumn of 1854 a secret political society, called the Blue Lodge, was formed, the plan of operations of which its oaths, &c., are given in the Report. The lodge controlled all the subsequent movements and invasions on the part of the Missourians. At the election November 29th, 1854, for a delegate to Congress, there was no evidence of fraud except in the sparsely settled and remote districts, where citizens of Missouri appeared and voted.

Details in relation to these facts are given in the report, which says it is reduced to mathematical precision, that 1,700 illegal and non-resident votes were cast by citizens of Missouri.

The remainder being legal votes, amounting to 1,100, Mr. Whitfield would have been elected without the aid of his Missouri votes, he receiving a plurality of all the votes cast. During the winters of '34 and '55 great excitement existed in the Territory, on account of the invasion. Public meeting were held and much bitter feeling was manifested. By 1855 a census was taken and the number of legal votes was ascertained to be 2,905. Previous to the election in the spring of '55, active preparations were made in Missouri to invade the territory and a complete organization was effected.—Leaders were chosen, tents, amunition, provisions and arms distributed; and the forces were drilled in companies in Missouri, and on the day before the election, it is testified that at least 5,000 Missourians took up the line of march for Kansas, and companies went into every representative district of the territory except one.

In detailing the accounts of these companies and the declarations made by them, a great portion of the testimony consisted of extracts from the poll books, census rolls, &c., showing who were legal as well as who were illegal voters and from accurate and almost absolute proof, it appeared that of about 6,300 votes cast at the election for members of the Territorial Legislation, 5,000 were those of nonresidents.

The majority of members of both Houses of the Legislature would have been Free State men if there had been no invasion of Missourians.

The Government had set aside the election in some of the districts, and a new election took place therein the 22d of May, resulting in the choice of Free State men, in these districts, except in Leavenworth, where there was still illegal voting. The committee took a large mass of testimony regarding the proceedings of the Legislature Assembly, which proceedings they say are characterized by recklessness and injustice.

The report likewise alludes to the murders, robberies and other crimes committed in the territory, and claims that in no case except that of McRea, a free State man, was there any provocation for these offences.

No indictments were found, and no arrests made, and no measures taken to bring the perpetrators to justice. The report contains full and complete details of everything connected with the Territory of Kansas prior to the 19th of March last, and says it is clearly proven that Samuel J. Jones, the Sheriff, was the main cause of the recent disturbance in which he so prominently figured. It is also proved that Mr. Oliver, one of the committee, went into Missouri with one of the invading companies, and made a speech in the 15th election district; but it is not true that he voted.

The conclusions of the committee are, that each of the elections in Kansas were carried by invasion from Missouri; that consequently the Legislative Assembly is an illegally constituted body, and has no power to pass valid laws; therefore the enactments are void. The election of G. W. Whitfield as delegate to Congress was not held under any valid law, neither was the election of Mr. Reeder in accordance with law.

The committee suggest no remedy. The report alluded to obstructions that were thrown in the way of the committee, and to the general violence that prevails in the territory. It is signed by Messrs. Howard and Sherman.

The Crowning Villany.

A startling sound comes thrilling up, on lightning's flashing tongue,
A voice that thunders thro' the North, as Freedom's knell were rung;
It speaks of violence and wrong, of SUMNER stricken down,
And moistens women's cheeks with tears, on manhood comes a frown.

Ye little dream ye drivers of the trembling, weeping slave
What a bi ter fate awaits you, should you dig our SUMNER's grave;
The boiling blood of freeborn men, upbursting from the soul,
With all your wit, your sneers and threats, you never can control!

Think not because some traitors, bred beside our Northern hills,
With Judas' kiss would give our soil to Slavery's scourging ills,
That we have sunk so vilely, that no remnant yet remains
Of Putnam's courage, Adam's seal, on all our sunny plains.

Beware before it be too late, how much ye lightly scorn
The first full blast that gushes forth from Freedom's trumpet horn;
The bludgeon's blow, the knife's keen edge, the pistol-bullet's hum,
Will naught avail to terrify, or strike our statesmen dumb!

The sobbing groans of victims like sheep before you driven,
Are rising up against your cause on every wind to Heaven!
The sympathies of ages gone, the Future's misty gloom,
Will struggle with us for the Right, and stamp your deeper doom.

Error doth always sink away, like mist before the sun,
And Justice hath half won her cause ere battling has begun;
So ponder well before you rush 'gainst TRUTH with weapon frail,
FREEDOM hath ever conquered yet, and RIGHT will aye prevail!

E.

[*Poughkeepsie Eagle.*

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
WEDNESDAY, JULY 2.

LATEST FROM KANSAS.

A Worcester Company Disarmed.

Release of Prisoners.

CHICAGO, Tuesday, July 1, 1856.

A Worcester company of forty-four men, bound for Kansas on board the steamer Sultana, were disarmed on Friday last, in a manner similar to that adopted with the Chicago company. The scene took place at Waverly, ten miles from Lexington. Their captors have announced their intention to detain them as prisoners, and dispose of them to suit the exigences of the times. Sixty Sharp's rifles were taken from them.

The above statement is from a reliable source, a well-known gentleman who witnessed the occurrence.

It is also reported that a company from Ottawa, Ill., were also disarmed and arrested on Saturday. All the river towns have announced a determination to allow no emigrants for the North to enter Kansas. A correspondent of *The St. Louis Democrat*, Jefferson City, 20th, charges Gov. Price with having sent twelve cannon and twenty-two boxes of muskets from the United States Arsenal to Stringfellow, to assist in the conquest of Kansas.

The Atlas.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 2, 1856.

THE TREACHERY IN CONGRESS.

The vote on the Kansas bill in the House, on Monday last, must convince the most skeptical of the necessity, pressing, immediate and absolute, of a change in the Executive of the country. We have (as the result of the canvass for Speaker proves) a clear majority of members; but we have not, we are sorry to say, that moral majority which would secure us a triumph whenever such a question might be presented. We write it with infinite pain and mortification. Absorbed as we are, from day to day, in urging, with what ability God has given us, the cause which our conscience points out to be the true one—studying in our own limited sphere to be true to the freedom and the right—glad as we should be in another sphere to give our votes, as we mean to give our voice, to free Kansas—the conduct of such men as HAVEN, VALK, WHEELER, WHITNEY, HARRISON, BROOME and DUNN, fills us with inexpressible astonishment. We can understand how members of Congress can afford to play for a trifling game; we can understand how the hope of a re-election can steal away brains, heart and conscience; but we cannot understand how any one, having a stake in the country, or having even an elementary notion of morality, can be led to lend his sanction to such a piece of miserable thimble-rigging as the vote in the House developes. When the election of Mr. Banks was pending, we made all proper allowances for personal feeling, and were glad to think that the course of certain members proceeded rather from whim than from principle. But what are we to make of their votes, when they are virtually cast to consign Kansas to rapine, wretchedness and ruin? These are the Fillmore men. Had they studied the speech of their master in Albany, and had they been maddened by its ineffable and traitorous absurdity? Is it fit, or honorable, or creditable to the country, that these "Northern Fillmore men" should have the right, for the sake of making a good record at the South, thus to impede useful legislation? Ought it not to cover us with shame and confusion, to know that under our system such men can crawl into the Capitol? The North on this question was thus betrayed by members, simply to aid the

miserable game now playing by Kinstus Brooks and two or three other men in the tail of Fillmore. The great gun of Northern doughfacery showed his hand at Albany; and in the meanest and stupidest speech ever printed, crawled upon his belly for Southern votes. It seems to have been necessary for Dr. Valk and his company to follow him—to crawl as he crawled—to eat dirt as he ate it—to be the servant of servants, as he showed himself to be. On this matter the South was not divided. Steadily they marched up; every man who owns, or who hopes to own "a nigger" was on hand to vote for his "institution;" while we of the North are astonished, disgraced and betrayed by a defection which can have at its basis only personal selfishness and dishonor.

This event, so mortifying to the people of the North, must convince them of the necessity of electing (within the forms of the Constitution) a President who will be true to the great idea of the Republic. If we had been blessed with such a President as Fremont, a man of steady, honest, and honorable character, we should have been spared the pain of witnessing the scenes which recently, from every corner in Kansas, have thrown ignominy upon every section of the country. Emigration would have gone on there regularly and profitably; and in time we should have had a State worthy to be united to the great sisterhood. But Mr. Pierce lacked moral energy, and from the first show of that weakness we may date all our sorrows. Let the people, now moving with gratifying unanimity, put into the Presidential chair one who will care for the interests of States rather than the interests of party; and who will check this tide of corrupt legislation, if not by the veto, at least by moral force and by fidelity to the Constitution.

[For the Atlas.]

THE EMIGRANT AID COMPANY.

No plans for aid to Kansas present stronger claims upon the public than the enterprise of this Company. The funds which have been so liberally contributed by our citizens for aid and comfort, are doing a good work, and have been wisely bestowed, but there is danger that, in the present emergency, the great usefulness of this Company may be overlooked.

It should not be forgotten that this Company has been the first pioneer in the good cause, and that it is directly or indirectly owing to its agency that Kansas now contains a population of thousands of free men and women, instead of being abandoned to the slow but sure encroachments of Slavery. By the erection of a large hotel, and by the establishment of saw mills, grist mills, and other works of great public utility, it has made the wilderness habitable, and encouraged the immigration of a class of settlers probably superior in character and intelligence to any that ever before peopled a new country. Much of this property, so useful and almost essential to comfortable subsistence of the people, has been violently and illegally destroyed, and the means of the Company thereby seriously impaired. But, not discouraged or dismayed, the Company has determined not to relax in its efforts. It has already expended nearly its whole capital in Kansas, and now confidently appeals to the public for large and immediate additions to its resources, without which it will be unable to accomplish all the important plans which it has in view.

One of the chief advantages of this Company has been the affording remunerative labor to a large number of men. There are, at this moment, many persons whom the troubles in Kansas have deprived of their usual means of subsistence. These men do not want charity. They want *work*, to enable them to remain in the Territory and support themselves and their families. It is highly desirable to keep them there. They are more important to the free State cause than any new and inexperienced emigrants, however well disposed, can be.

To retain them, it is absolutely necessary that remunerative work should be provided *immediately*. No Company is so well situated to accomplish this purpose, as the E. A. Company, provided it can obtain the means to continue its operations.

It is not to be expected that, in the present unsettled state of things in Kansas, individual enterprise can accomplish much. Private capital is cautious, and avoids such risks. But the Company is ready to stake every dollar of its property for the cause of freedom in Kansas, and every stockholder would think himself amply repaid, if the grand result could be made sure by the sacrifice of the whole capital of the Association.

The immediate and most pressing wants of the Company are for funds to rebuild the hotel at Lawrence, and to establish, at Lawrence and other important points, the saw-mills which are already on the way, or have arrived on the borders of the Territory. We hope its appeals will not be made in vain.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, July 1.

SENATE.—Mr. Cass said a very grave transaction has occurred on the Pacific coast, according to accounts just received, into which an investigation ought to be made. Gov. Stevens, of Washington Territory has proclaimed martial law there, and has arrested a Judge of the District Court and sent him away some distance, thus closing Court. Mr. Cass did not desire to prejudge the case, but it certainly involved a great assumption of power. He submitted a resolution calling on the President for the facts in relation to the matter. Adopted.

Mr. Collamer submitted a minority report from the Committee on Territories on the Kansas question. The report was read, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Thompson spoke somewhat in favor of the bill to admit Kansas, reported yesterday, by the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Bigler also spoke for, and Mr. Hale against it.

Mr. Adams moved to amend the bill, by striking out that part which gives the right of suffrage to persons who shall have filed their declaration of intention to become citizens of the United States, in compliance with the naturalization laws.

Mr. Crittenden hoped the amendment would be adopted. He thought those foreigners who had declared their intention to become citizens had no more right to vote than those who had made no such declaration.

Adjourned.

HOUSE.—Mr. Barclay moved a reconsideration of the vote by which the Kansas bill was rejected. He said that he was informed there were frauds committed at the district election, at which Reeder, for treason. This he regarded as fanciful. He was disposed to reduce it now by voting for the bill, in order to protect the people of Kansas.

Mr. Houston expressed regret that the gentleman had changed his mind, either in consequence of persuasion or other means.

Mr. Barclay replied that he had acted from a conscientious sense of duty, and would not be intimidated by the lash.

Mr. Houston disavowed any intention to impeach the integrity of the gentleman, nor did he venture him. He moved to lay on the table the motion to reconsider.

Mr. Houston's motion to lay the motion to reconsider on the table was sustained by the presentation of the report of the Kansas Investigating Committee.

The report shows that as soon as the bill to organize the Territory of Kansas was passed, a large number of the citizens of Missouri went into the settlement of Missouri squatters, and passed resolutions denouncing abolitionists, and declaring that slavery existed therein. In the autumn of 1854, a secret political society, called "The Blue Lodge," was formed—the plan of operations of which, with its oaths, etc., are given in the report. The Lodge controlled all the subsequent movements and invasions on the part of the Missourians.

At the election, Nov. 29, 1854, for a delegate in Congress, there was no evidence of fraud except in the sparsely settled and remote districts, where citizens of Missouri appeared and voted. Details in relation to these facts are given in the report, which says: "It is reduced to mathematical precision that seventeen hundred and one non-resident votes were cast by citizens of Missouri, the remainder, being legal votes, amounting to eleven hundred. Mr. Whitfield would have been elected without the aid of his Missouri votes, having a plurality of all the votes cast."

During the winter of 1854-55 great excitement existed in the Territory, account of the election; public meetings were held, and much bitter feeling was manifested.

In February, 1855, a census was taken, and the number of legal voters was ascertained to be 2905. Previous to the election in the spring of 1855, active preparations were made in Missouri to invade the Territory, and a complete organization was effected. Leaders were chosen, tents, provisions, ammunition and arms distributed, and the forces were divided, in companies in Missouri; and on the day before the election, it is testified, at least 5000 Missourians took up the line of march for Kansas, and companies went into every representative district of the Territory, except one.

In detailing the acts of these companies, and the declarations made by them, a great portion of the testimony consists

Boston Journal.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 2, '56.

Kansas Matters at Washington.

The prospect of passing the Kansas Free State bill in the House looks more favorable. Yesterday Mr. Barclay, a Democratic member from Pennsylvania, who has heretofore voted unwaveringly with the administration, and who voted against the bill on Monday, declared his independence of party dictation and moved a reconsideration of the vote whereby the Kansas bill was rejected, avowing his intention to vote for it. The pro-slavery men in the House are said to have been seriously alarmed by Mr. Barclay's motion to reconsider, and fought desperately, resorting to innumerable small tricks and sham points of order, to worry out the friends of free Kansas, and prevent a vote. The plantation whip was cracked over Mr. Barclay, who stood his ground however, defiantly declaring that he would not be intimidated by the lash. It is thus that even the Northern Democratic allies of the slave power occasionally yield to the natural instincts of freemen and break the bonds by which they are held captive to party. The bill was finally laid aside in order to hear the report of the Kansas committee of investigation.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Journal of Commerce* says that the new Kansas bill introduced by Mr. Douglas would be taken up by the Senate on Tuesday, and that Mr. Douglas would press it to a vote on Wednesday. The main features of this plan have probably been given by telegraph. We have not yet received a copy of the bill itself. As a substantive proposition to guard against outrages which have already been committed we should have had no hesitation in expressing our approval of this measure. But is there not force in the objection that inasmuch as a very large number of the Free State settlers have been driven from the territory and their places supplied by Ishmaelites from the Southern States whose sole business seems to be to depredate upon the property of others, a fair expression of the real sentiments of those who have established their homes in Kansas cannot now be obtained? This objection is urged in Senator Collamer's minority report on the Kansas bill, which was submitted to the Senate yesterday, of which the Washington correspondent of the *Advertiser* sends the following sketch:

"Judge Collamer's minority report from the Senate Committee on Territories is brief, pointed and comprehensive. It states that the only topic of difficulty in Kansas is the subject of domestic slavery; shows that it is entirely a matter of Congressional discretion whether a State shall be formed of the Territory of Kansas now; succinctly states the history of the recent events there, to show that no just expression of the opinion of the people of Kansas upon slavery can now be obtained there, because the usurpations, prosecutions, outrages and murders have necessitated large numbers of free State settlers to abandon the Territory.

The report concludes thus: '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 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, and provide no security for those they imprison, oppress, and disperse, but provide that those now there, and those only, shall determine the definitive character of that Territory, by now forming a State Constitution.'"

The true remedy for the wrongs of Kansas is the immediate admission of the territory into the Union as a sovereign State, under her Free State constitution. There is no injustice in this to any section, for it is acknowledged that the Free State element in Kansas largely exceeds the pro-slavery. It is but a few days since the *Post* acknowledged that "the almost unvarying testimony is that every thing points to Kansas being a Free State; *that five-sixths of its population, actual settlers, are in favor of this.*" There can be no objection to the constitution adopted at Topeka, except that it makes Kansas a Free State. But what hardship is there in this, if five-sixths of its population are Free State men? What is to be gained by postponing the admission of Kansas, except to give the pro-slavery men an opportunity to rally, and again control the ballot-boxes? In the present state of matters in Kansas, we doubt whether any fair expression of the sentiments of the actual settlers in Kansas could now be obtained. Men are there from the South in large numbers, and perhaps also from the North, who have no intention of remaining, but who have gone into the territory avowedly to control its affairs. Under such circumstances, why give these men an opportunity to shape the institutions of the territory? Why expose the people of Kansas to a fresh inroad of border ruffians, and why hold out a fresh inducement for tampering with the ballot-box, for driving voters from the polls, and for the unrestrained commission of arson and murder?

The bill introduced by Mr. Douglas practically concedes the fact that the people of Kansas have been foully dealt with. It abrogates certain laws, the passage of which has largely contributed to the existing difficulties. It acknowledges that the people have been overawed and controlled in the expression of their opinions at the ballot box by illegal means. But it postpones the remedy to the uncertain future. If Democratic politicians are so anxious to quiet the existing agitation by settling forever the Kansas question, let them do an act of tardy justice by voting for the immediate admission of the territory as a sovereign State.

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, WEDNESDAY, JULY 2.

GENUINE BORDER RUFFIANISM. The genuine spirit of Border Ruffianism is exhibited in the following extract from the Boston Times of this morning. It is a great pity that such zeal in the cause of Slavery should be circumscribed within the limits of Massachusetts, when it might be so serviceably employed in picking the pockets or stealing the horses of the Kansas emigrants:

"All, or most of the money subscribed for the relief of those who are compelled to undergo the sufferings incidental to almost every new country, *has been appropriated to Black Republican electioneering purposes* It goes to fee itinerant lecturers, who go about, like Jem Baggs, the wandering minstrel, avowing their determination not to 'move on' under a shilling! It goes to pack conventions, bully good citizens, get up banners, illuminations, torch-light processions, fire-works, bands of music. It goes to bribe newspapers, to disseminate incendiary publications, to inflame the passions of the people, and to array one section of the country against the other, in all the horrors of a bloody civil war. These are a few of the purposes to which the money raised for suffering families in Kansas are appropriated."

Essex County Mercury

Independent in Politics and Religion.

Salem, Wednesday, July 2, 1856.

AID FOR KANZAS. We are gratified to learn, that in a part of the churches in this city, on Sunday last, it was announced that a contribution will be taken next Sunday, in aid of the distressed and suffering victims of the cruelties and outrages in Kanzas. Certainly, no more christian cause was ever presented to the benevolence of a religious people. Nothing like it has occurred in the present century; and for parallels we are obliged to go back several generations, to the expulsion of the Acadians, the Huguenots, and the poor Palatines.

Besides the persecutions of the Missouri ruffians, the settlers have encountered hardships that taxed the utmost power of human endurance. Shortness of provisions; a terrible severe winter; a prevailing fever and ague, and only tents and cabins for shelter, were trials enough for the home-sick hearts of the suffering emigrants, without the constant peril of life from the bullet of the brutal Borderer. The Pilgrin Fathers of New England, who landed on a barren coast, in the dead of winter, suffered less and feared less from their savage foes than these Kanzas settlers have suffered at the hands of men claiming to be civilized, and calling themselves citizens of a sister State. Robbery and murder have run riot in the Territory, while the federal Goverement has winked at the crimson crimes of the lawless mob.

A church which can find no warrant for contributing in a cause like this, has need to examine well its claim to the christian character.

The Committees appointed to obtain aid for the settlers in Kanzas, have announced that all the sums which they may receive will be applied exclusively to supplying food to settlers in that Territory who have been driven from house and home, or prevented from putting in their crops by the invasions of armed marauders from without the territory, or who have been otherwise reduced to destitution and suffering by the same cause. The distribution, whether of provisions or money, will be made in Kanzas by a trustworthy committee.

In many of the large towns of our State meetings have been held and liberal contributions taken, for the relief of the Kanzas sufferers; and some little towns have contributed wonderfully in proportion to their means. In Lowell, Miss L. Parmenter, formerly an operative, heads the ladies' subscription list, in behalf of the women of Kanzas, with $100.

MORNING STAR.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2, 1856.

WHY WE OPPOSE SLAVERY.

Not because we claim to be philanthropic above others. It requires no great stretch of philanthropy to maintain that an innocent man has the right to himself, his body, soul, family, and whatever he has acquired by honest toil.

Not because we love to meddle in the strifes of politics. It has often been said, and truly, that there is an appropriate sphere of action for each man, and for each class of men. Politicians have their sphere, and Christians theirs; and it has been often said, that each should confine himself to his own sphere, and not interfere with others. Though insidiously made, we accept the statement. Now it is evident that in the present agitation of the slavery question, some have gone beyond their sphere. And who is it? Have Christians left their sphere, and invaded that of the politicians, or have politicians invaded the sphere of Christians? What are the facts?

All know that in this land, consecrated by the blood of our fathers to liberty and religion, more than three millions of our fellow beings, made in the image of God, redeemed by the merits of Christ, and many of them sanctified by the Holy Spirit, have been seized by the ruthless grasp of oppression, reduced to chattels, bought and sold like the brutes, the rights of the family relation and of personal liberty annihilated, the Bible prohibited---a nation of heathen slaves is enclosed in the midst of a free, Christian people. Is not here a most flagrant trespass upon the Christian sphere? Not only so, but this despotic and anti-Christian system is making rapid strides upon territory hitherto solemnly protected against it, and evidently aiming to make our whole land one huge, dark, slave empire; and we are required by the statutes enacted in the face of human equity to aid in riveting the fetters not only upon them, but also upon our own limbs. We must not only submit to all the outrages of the past, but we must quietly see this system of oppression and violence extended throughout the land, the foreign slave trade re-opened, the country embroiled in other wars for the acquisition of more slave territory, the rights of property, of free speech and a free press, all cloven down, as they already have been in Kansas, and in the halls of Congress. If this is not an invasion of the sphere of Christians, then Christianity has no sphere. The truth is, so far from Christians and ministers making aggressions upon others, the existing struggle is one for the maintenance of their own vital principles; a struggle in which the question is to be decided whether Christianity shall subsist in this land.

We oppose slavery not because we claim to have any special sympathy for the colored race, though we are often taunted as being their friends. We are not ashamed to own that we are their friends. Is not the negro a man and a brother? Has not the same God made him that made us, and with the same immortal faculties? Nor can we blame him for being born here, nor quarrel with Providence for suffering it. We plead the cause of the oppressed of this land, not because they are negroes, but because they are men, and men oppressed.

We feel deeply for the wrongs inflicted by the inhuman power of slavery. We could not be Christians without remembering those in bonds as bound with them. At the same time we are free to confess, that our opposition to slavery is not based mainly on sympathy for the slaves; strong as that motive is, there is a still stronger one arising from the influence of slavery upon the nation at large. Slavery is de-

The Daily Patriot.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2, 1856.

Bloody Outrage in Kansas. A case for Mr. Edwards.

The Kansas correspondent of the Boston Post records the following "bloody outrage in Kansas," which we commend to the candid attention of Mr. Edwards and his committee:

Without entering into a detailed recital of the many outrages committed, I cannot pass by untold the horrible tragedy enacted about two weeks since in Franklin county. About 12 o'clock at night a party of some twenty free state men entered the house of Mr. Wilkinson, a member of the last Kansas legislature, dragged him out of bed and brutally murdered him, amidst the screams and entreaties of his wife. Not satisfied with this, the blood-thirsty murderers proceeded to the house of an old and respectable man named Doyle, and murdered him and his two sons in cold blood.—Before killing the old man they *chopped off both his hands and feet*, and after allowing him to lie in that condition for several minutes, they shot him through the heart, whilst writhing in the agonies of death and weltering in his own life blood. After this they went to a Mr. Sherman's, where they murdered three more men in the same brutal and fiendish manner. Five of the men have been arrested, and will be treated, it is to be hoped, with expeditious justice, as their prompt punishment would probably operate as a salutary example. The only reason the murderers assign for the commission of their diabolical deeds, is that they (the court being in session) were afraid the men they murdered would be called upon to give evidence against them, who were charged with treason, and consequently determined among themselves to "get them out of the way."

This will generally be regarded as an act of violence and bloodshed quite as worthy of public condemnation as any that Mr. Edwards and his committee have given their attention to. But it was not committed by "the slave power;" it was the work of men who have been encouraged and prompted to it by the political priests and reckless demagogues who are using this Kansas question for the promotion of their own mercenary and ambitious projects. It is therefore all right in their eyes, and this brutal and wholesale butchery of peaceable men will be justified and gloried in by them.

But perhaps Mr. Edwards and his compeers will say that no such outrage has been committed by their friends; for they always pretend that their party is guiltless of all wrong in Kansas. But unfortunately for them, the evidence in this case is too strong to admit of any doubt as to the substantial correctness of the statement above quoted. The affidavit of the wife of Mr. Doyle is published, in which she states the particulars of the diabolical murder of her husband and sons, and of her being forced to flee, with her younger children, from their home, and to seek safety in Missouri from the murderous gang of abolition cutthroats who were carrying out the doctrines of their *pious* employers here.

admitted by abolition letter-writers. Mr. Edwards' own organ, the Keene Sentinel, publishes a letter from Mr. A. S. White, a late resident of Cheshire county, a man well known to Mr. Edwards, which corroborates the main facts in regard to this bloody and brutal abolition outrage. Mr. White says:—

About fifty men went from this place to assist in defending Lawrence, but they were not needed. During their absence a horrible murder was committed in Pottawattomie by some free state men, as is supposed. The wounded party were pro-slavery—Wm. Sherman, three Doyles and Wilkinson. One other Sherman is missing, and it is feared that he has shared the same fate.

The editor of the Sentinel, speaking of Mr. White's letter, says "it is the truth told by an honest man."

Here then *is the deliberate and brutal murder of six men at once, by free state men*, admitted by Mr. Edwards' own organ—an act of violence and bloodshed more brutal, more unprovoked, more horrible than any other that has been perpetrated in Kansas; and yet, because it was done by abolitionists, and because the victims were pro-slavery men, Mr. Edwards and his compeers have not a word to utter in condemnation of it! Shame upon such inhuman hypocrisy!

New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 2, 1856.

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

GOV. SHANNON NOT RESIGNED.

Renewed Disturbances.

EXPECTED BATTLE AT TOPEKA.

Special Dispatch to the New-York Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Thursday, June 26 }
via ST. LOUIS, Monday, June 30, 1856. }

Governor SHANNON has backed out of his resignation, and his friends have, by much persuasion, induced him to remain in power.

Kansas affairs are more threatening than ever.

Major GAY, the Shawnee Indian Agent, was murdered and robbed near Westport, recently, by the Southern Army. Their forces are gathering at Lecompte, Tecumseh, Big Springs and other places in large numbers, and they are laying in large stores of provisions in order to make the long and strong pull on the Fourth of July.

A company of sixty-seven, mostly from Chicago, bound for Kansas, were disarmed at Lexington, on Monday, while on the boat. Cannon were placed each side of the river. The men have since been threatened, and have not yet reached Lawrence.

No aid is yet received from the States.

There must be a great battle at Topeka.

Col. SUMNER threatens to go home to the Fort and abandon his work if the Legislature meets, and they will as sure as God is.

RANDOLPH.

IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON.

Mr. Barclay's Motion to Reconsider.

The Reading of the Majority Report of the Kansas Commission.

Judge Collamer's Minority Report on Kansas Affairs.

THE TROUBLES IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

The Interest Due in New-York on the California Bonds.

Special Dispatch to the New-York Daily Times.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, July 1.

The Pro-Slavery men in the House were seriously alarmed to-day by Mr. BARCLAY's motion to reconsider the vote by which the Kansas bill was lost. They fought desperately, resorting to innumerable small tricks and sham points of order to worry out the friends of Free Kansas and prevent a vote.

Having come out for the Kansas bill from conscientious convictions of duty, Mr. BARCLAY will remain immovable. There is now a decided reason to hope that the bill will pass.

The reading of the report of the Kansas Investigation created a sensation. Its startling facts are arrayed in a manner carrying conviction to every unprejudiced mind, and will probably make several new friends of the immediate admission of Kansas. The reading of the report proper will occupy two hours to-morrow, but the opposition threaten to compel the reading of all the testimony also, which will take three days if persisted in, and will consequently postpone the vote on the Kansas bill until next week.

Judge COLLAMER's Minority Report from the Senate Committee on Territories is brief, pointed and comprehensive. It states that the only topic of difficulty in Kansas is the subject of domestic Slavery; shows that it is entirely a matter of Congressional discretion whether a State shall be formed of Kansas now; and succinctly states the history of recent events there to show that no just expression of the opinion of the people of Kansas on Slavery can now be obtained there, because the usurpations, prosecutions, outrages and murders have necessitated large numbers of the Free-State settlers to abandon the Territory. The Report concludes thus:

"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 public faith be redeemed by a redression of all the wrongs produced by such means. This is not proposed, nor is the law of repose to be resisted, or the Constitution already formed to be allowed, our instead of this it is now proposed to consummate the whole by leaving Usurpation in possession of its power, and providing no security for those they imprison, oppress and disperse, but provide that those now there, and those only, shall determine the definitive condition of the Territory, by now forming a State Constitution. This is but to encourage violence by rewarding it with success.

"The result of such an experiment will produce definitive 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."

MINORITY REPORT ON KANSAS AFFAIRS.

Mr. COLLAMER submitted a minority report from the Committee on Territories on the Kansas question. The report was read and ordered printed.

MR. DOUGLAS' KANSAS BILL.

The Kansas bill was then taken up.

Mr. THOMPSON (Kentucky) was to some extent favorable to the measure reported yesterday by the Committee on Territories, but would prefer to have the Government take strict measures with the Territories, and treat them as a certain father did his bad boys, giving them a flogging every morning because he knew they would do something wrong before night to deserve it. He thought it ridiculous that a young Territory, only two years old, should set itself up against the lawful authorities of its progenitor. He wanted the laws strictly enforced and enough military force sent to do it. He descanted on Col. FREMONT's qualifications for the Presidency, alluded to the state of political parties generally, and criticised the various platforms. He was not satisfied with either the Republican or Democratic platform, but the Philadelphia platform was able, sensible, and patriotic—but still above all other platforms he preferred the Whig platform of 1852, and under a good old Whig banner he would live and die. He hoped all old line Whigs would follow his example and not stray away after false gods.

Mr. BIGLER advocated the bill reported, yesterday, by the Committee on Territories as being the best remedy for the existing troubles in Kansas.

Mr. HALE liked the bill very well. He thought it was a much fairer proposition than could have been expected, considering the source from whence it emanated, but the difficulty was likely to be, that this Administration, in carrying it out, would not do so in a fair and impartial manner. He pointed out other objections to the bill also.

Mr. ADAMS moved to amend the bill by striking out that part which gives the right of suffrage to all persons who shall have filed their declaration of intention to become citizens of the United States, in compliance with the Naturalization laws.

Mr. CRITTENDEN hoped the amendment would be adopted. He thought those foreigners who had declared their intention to become citizens had no more right to vote than those who made no such declaration. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, July 1.

MOTION TO RECONSIDER.

Mr. BARCLAY moved a reconsideration of the vote by which the House rejected the bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union. He expressed his belief that the people of any Territory have a legal and constitutional right to meet and form a State Constitution without any previous authority of Congress, and that the Government of a Territorial Government was an assumption unwarranted by the Constitution of the United States. He had been informed that warrants were in the hands of the Marshal for this District, for the arrest of a distinguished gentleman of Pennsylvania for treason. He regarded this as the most farcical and absurd proceeding that the world had ever heard of and dissented from the course pursued by the officials of Kansas relative to all similar indictments. Although he had preferred the bill of Mr. STEPHENS, he would vote for the bill rejected yesterday, in order to give the people of Kansas that protection to which they were entitled in the enjoyment of their rights.

Mr. HOUSTON said it was very much to be regretted that after questions creating great excitement had been disposed of, there was always to be found some gentleman hanging on the skirts of a party that could be reached by influences not known to other members.

Mr. BARCLAY—Will the gentleman be kind enough to repeat that remark?

Mr. HOUSTON replied his health would not permit it. He did not intend to impeach the integrity of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, but only intended to express his regret that the gentleman's mind was not made up previous to the final vote, by which the consequent excitement would have been quieted. He did not know how Mr. BARCLAY could now vote for the bill which recognizes the Topeka Constitution, which was not only framed in the absence of law, but was in conflict with it. He appealed to Mr. BARCLAY to close up this excitement and hush it altogether, instead of by insisting on a motion to reconsider to extend the influences for evil.

Mr. BARCLAY replied he voted for the appointment of the Kansas Investigation Committee because he wished to know whether the reports of the outrages in that Territory were true or not. He would inform the gentleman of Alabama that he was not to be intimidated, and no influence outside his conscientious duty could be brought to bear on him. He made the motion himself.

Mr. ORR inquired of Mr. BARCLAY what he expected to accomplish by moving for a reconsideration of the vote by which the bill was rejected.

Mr. BARCLAY replied, with a view of voting for its passage, and recording his sentiments, as a representative of Pennsylvania, against these outrages.

Mr. ORR—If this was the gentleman's object, why did he not vote yesterday for the bill?

Mr. BARCLAY repeated he preferred Mr. STEPHENS' bill, but that for political purposes was encumbered with a proposition to restore the Missouri restriction, and thus was objectionable to him. He held himself responsible to no man in the House for his political action. He did as he thought he had a right to do.

Mr. HOUSTON said he did not impeach Mr. BARCLAY's integrity, but expressed his astonishment that the gentleman should have, after voting against the bill, changed his mind in the short period of a Summer's night.

Mr. BARCLAY remarked he never said he disapproved of the principles of that bill.

Mr. HOUSTON—The gentleman had, in the strongest language, condemned the bill yesterday by voting against it.

Mr. BENNETT of New-York, raised the question of order, that Mr. HOUSTON could not lecture or reflect on another member for moving for the reconsideration of the vote.

Mr. BARCLAY—I appeal to the gentleman of New-York to permit the gentleman of Alabama to go on to his heart's content.

Mr. BENNETT acquiesced.

Mr. HOUSTON resumed, saying he only wished to express his regret that his friend from Pennsylvania had not made up his mind sooner.

Mr. DUNN understood Mr. BARCLAY to say that his (DUNN's) proposition to restore the Missouri Compromise was designed for political purposes. Nothing of the kind entered into his mind. He did not agree with Mr. BARCLAY that the people of Kansas have a right to establish Slavery.

Mr. BARCLAY—I had no intention to cast the slightest imputation upon the gentleman.

Mr. DUNN—I supposed not.

Mr. HOUSTON moved that Mr. BARCLAY's motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

MAJORITY REPORT OF THE KANSAS COMMISSION.

Before further action was taken Mr. HOWARD rose to a question of privilege, wishing to make a report from the Kansas Investigating Committee.

Debate ensued, involving the question as to if the report should be received as complete, it would preclude Mr. OLIVER, of Missouri, from submitting the Minority Report.

The Speaker said, a report, in part, could be made with the consent of the House.

Mr. HOWARD, in reply to an inquiry, said the report contained certain matters which the Committee wished to present, but expressed the hope that Mr. OLIVER would be allowed reasonable time to make his report.

Mr. OLIVER said he was not with his colleagues when they prepared their report nor had he a right to anticipate its character. It was impossible for him to prepare the minority without knowing the contents of the majority report.

Mr. SHERMAN explained; he and Mr. HOWARD arrived here on Saturday morning, and Mr. OLIVER on that evening was told that the report had been prepared, and was at his service.

Mr. OLIVER replied that he was then fatigued with travel and the next day was the Sabbath, when it could not be expected that he should enter into a laborious investigation.

Other explanations followed, during which Mr. FLORENCE remarked, he understood from what had been said, that the report had not been formally submitted to the Committee—therefore it could not be received as the report of that Committee.

Much confusion prevailed throughout the proceedings, and the House being divided as to whether the report should be read or not, various points of order were raised.

Mr. JONES, of Tennessee, hoped his party friends would withdraw their objections.

Mr. HICKMAN finally successfully moved that the report be read.

Members, the better to hear, drew up their seats in the area fronting the clerk's desk.

The clerk read some of the report, when the House adjourned.

New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 2 1856.

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

GOV. SHANNON NOT RESIGNED.

Renewed Disturbances.

EXPECTED BATTLE AT TOPEKA.

Special Dispatch to the New-York Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Thursday, June 26 }
via St. Louis, Monday, June 30, 1856.}

Governor SHANNON has backed out of his resignation, and his friends have, by much persuasion, induced him to remain in power.

Kansas affairs are more threatening than ever.

Major GAY, the Shawnee Indian Agent, was murdered and robbed near Westport, recently, by the Southern Army. Their forces are gathering at Ie compte, Tecumseh, Big Springs and other places to large numbers, and they are laying in large stores of provisions in order to make the long and strong pull on the Fourth of July.

A company of sixty-seven, mostly from Chicago, bound for Kansas, were disarmed at Lexington, on Monday, while on the boat. Cannon were placed each side of the river. The men here since been threatened, and have not yet reached Lawrence.

No aid is yet received from the States.

There must be a great battle at Topeka.

Col. SUMNER threatens to go home to the Fort and abandon his work if the Legislature meets, and they will as sure as God is.

RANDOLPH.

IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON.

Mr. Barclay's Motion to Reconsider.

The Reading of the Majority Report of the Kansas Commission.

Judge Collamer's Minority Report on Kansas Affairs.

THE TROUELES IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

The Interest Due in New-York on the California Bonds.

Special Dispatch to the New-York Daily Times.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, July 1.

The Pro-Slavery men in the House were seriously alarmed to-day by MR. BARCLAY'S motion to reconsider the vote by which the Kansas bill was lost. They fought desperately, resorting to innumerable small tricks and sham points of order to worry out the friends of Free Kansas and prevent a vote.

Having come out for the Kansas bill from conscientious convictions of duty, MR. BARCLAY will remain immovable. There is now a decided reason to hope that the bill will pass.

The reading of the report of the Kansas Investigation created a sensation. Its startling facts are arrayed in a manner carrying conviction to every unprejudiced mind, and will probably make several new friends of the immediate admission of Kansas. The reading of the report proper will occupy two hours to-morrow, but the opposition threaten to compel the reading of all the testimony also, which will take three days if persisted in, and will consequently postpone the vote on the Kansas bill until next week.

Judge COLLAMER'S Minority Report from the Senate Committee on Territories is brief, pointed and comprehensive. It states that the only topic of difficulty in Kansas is the subject of domestic Slavery; shows that it is entirely a matter of Congressional discretion whether a State shall be formed of Kansas now; and succinctly states the history of recent events there to show that no just expression of the opinion of the people of Kansas on Slavery can now be obtained there, because the usurpations, prosecutions, outrages and murders have necessitated large numbers of the Free-State settlers to abandon the Territory. The Report concludes thus:

"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 investigation be pursued, and public faith be rendered by a redression of all the wrongs produced by such means. This is not proposed, nor is the law of appeal to be restored, or the Constitution already formed to be altered; but, instead of this it is now proposed to consummate the whole by leaving Usurpation in possession of its power, and provide no security for those they imprison, oppress and disperse, but provide that these now there, and those only, shall determine the definitive condition of the 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 definitive national peace and satisfaction, is to suppose the people of this country blind to the power of ordinary resentment, or lost, to every sentiment of justice and humanity.

MINORITY REPORT ON KANSAS AFFAIRS.

MR. COLLAMER submitted a minority report from the Committee on Territories on the Kansas question. The report was read and ordered printed.

MR. DOUGLAS' KANSAS BILL.

The Kansas bill was then taken up.

MR. THURMOND (Kentucky) was to some extent favorable to the amendment offered yesterday by the Committee on Territories, but would prefer that the Government take strict measures with the Territories, and treat them as a certain father did his bad boys, giving them a flogging every morning because he knew they would do something wrong before night to deserve it. [Laughter.] He thought it ridiculous that a young Territory, only two years old, should set itself up against the lawful authorities of its progenitor. He wanted the laws strictly enforced and enough military force sent to do it. He descanted on Col. FREMONT'S qualifications for the Presidency, alluded to the state of political parties generally, and dissected the various platforms. He was not satisfied with either the Republicans or Democratic platform, but the Philadelphia platform was able, sensible, and patriotic—one still above all other platforms he preferred the Whig platform of 1852, and under a good old Whig banner he would live and die. He hoped all old line Whigs would follow his example and not stray away after false gods.

MR. BIGLER advocated the bill reported, yesterday, by the Committee on Territories as being the best remedy for the existing troubles in Kansas.

MR. HALE liked the bill very well, and thought it was a much fairer proposition than could have been expected, considering the source from which it emanated, but the difficulty was likely to be, that this Administration, in carrying it out, would not do so in a fair and impartial manner. He pointed out other objections to the bill also.

MR. ADAMS moved to amend the bill by striking out that part which gives the right of suffrage to all persons who shall have filed their declaration of intention to become citizens of the United States, in compliance with the Naturalization laws.

MR. CHITTENDEN hoped the amendment would be adopted. He thought those foreigners who had declared their intention to become citizens had no more right to vote than those who made no such declaration. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, July 1.

MOTION TO RECONSIDER.

MR. BARCLAY moved a reconsideration of the vote by which the House rejected the bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union. He expressed his belief that the people of any Territory have a legal and constitutional right to meet and form a State Constitution without the authority of anybody in the world, and that the formation of a Territorial Government was an assumption unwarranted by the Constitution of the United States. He had been informed that warrants were in the hands of the Marshal for this District for the arrest of a distinguished gentleman of Pennsylvania for treason. He regarded this as the most farcical and absurd proceeding that the world had ever heard of and dissented from the course pursued by the officials of Kansas relative to all similar indictments. Although he had preferred the bill of Mr. STEPHENS, he would vote for the bill rejected yesterday, in order to give the people of Kansas that protection to which they were entitled in the enjoyment of their rights.

MR. HOUSTON said it was very much to be regretted that after questions creating great excitement had been disposed of, there was always to be found some gentleman hanging on the skirts of a party that could be reached by influences not known to other members.

MR. BARCLAY—Will the gentleman be kind enough to repeat that remark?

MR. HOUSTON replied his health would not permit it. He did not intend to impeach the integrity of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, but only intended to express his regret that the gentleman's mind was not made up previous to the final vote, by which the consequent excitement would have been quieted. He did not know how MR. BARCLAY could now vote for the bill which recognizes the Topeka Constitution, which was not only framed in the absence of law, but was in conflict with it. He opposed to MR. BARCLAY to close up this excitement and hush it all together, instead of by introducing a motion to reconsider to extend the influences for evil.

MR. BARCLAY replied, he voted for the appointment of the Kansas Investigation Committee because he wished to know for himself the truth of the outrages in that Territory were true or not. He would inform the gentleman of Alabama that he was not to be intimidated, and no influence outside his conscientious duty could be brought to bear on him. He made the motion honestly.

MR. OLIN inquired of MR. BARCLAY what he expected to accomplish by moving for a reconsideration of the vote by which the bill was rejected.

MR. BARCLAY replied, with a view of voting for its passage, and recording his sentiments, as a representative of Pennsylvania, against those outrages.

MR. OLIN—If that was the gentleman's object, why did he not vote yesterday for the bill?

MR. BARCLAY repeated he preferred MR. STEPHENS' bill, but that for political purposes was encumbered with a proposition to restore the Missouri restriction, and thus was objectionable to him. He held himself responsible to no man in the House for his political action. He did as he thought he had a right to do.

MR. HOUSTON said he did not impeach MR. BARCLAY'S integrity, but expressed his astonishment that the gentleman should have, after voting against the bill, changed his mind in the short period of a Summer's night.

MR. BARCLAY remarked he never said he disapproved of the principles of that bill.

MR. HOUSTON—The gentleman had, in the strongest language, condemned the bill yesterday by voting against it.

MR. BENNETT of New-York, raised the question of order, that MR. HOUSTON could not lecture or reflect on another member for moving for the reconsideration of the vote.

MR. BARCLAY—I appeal to the gentlemen of New-York to permit the gentleman of Alabama to go on to his heart's content.

MR. BENNETT resplied—I

MR. HOUSTON resumed, saying he only wished to express his regret that his friends from Pennsylvania had not made up his mind sooner.

MR. BROWN understood MR. BARCLAY to say that his (BARCLAY'S) proposition to restore the Missouri Compromise was designed for political purposes. Nothing of the kind entered into his mind. He did not agree with MR. BARCLAY that the people of Kansas have a right to establish Slavery.

MR. BARCLAY—I had no intention to cast the slightest imputation upon the gentleman.

MR. BROWN—I supposed not.

MR. HOUSTON moved that MR. BARCLAY'S motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

MAJORITY REPORT OF THE KANSAS COMMISSION.

Before further motion was taken MR. HOWARD rose to a question of privilege, and presented a report from the Kansas Investigating Committee.

Debate ensued, involving the point, that if the report should be received as complete, it would preclude MR. OLIVER, of Missouri, from submitting the Minority Report.

THE Speaker said, a report, in part, could be made with the consent of the House.

MR. HOWARD, in reply to an inquiry, said the report contained everything which the Committee wished to present, but expressed the hope that MR. OLIVER could be allowed reasonable time to make his report.

MR. OLIVER said he was not with his colleagues when they prepared their report nor had he a right to anticipate its character. It was impossible for him to prepare the minority without knowing the contents of the majority report.

MR. SHERMAN explained: he and MR. HOWARD arrived here on Saturday morning, and MR. OLIVER on that evening was told that the report had been prepared, and was at his service.

MR. OLIVER replied that he was then fatigued with travel and the next day was the Sabbath, when it could not be expected that he should enter into a laborious investigation.

Other explanations followed, during which MR. FLORENCE remarked, he understood from what had been said, that the report had not been formally submitted to the Committee,—therefore it could not be received as the report of that Committee.

Much confusion prevailed throughout the proceedings, and the House being divided as to whether the report should be read or not, various points of order were raised.

MR. JONES, of Tennessee, hoped his party friends would withdraw their objections.

MR. HICKMAN finally successfully moved that the report be read.

Members, the better to hear, drew up their seats in the area fronting the clerk's desk.

The clerk read some of the report, when the House adjourned.

This Report, a large portion of which we publish this morning, will be found highly interesting. It shows that as soon as the bill to organize the Territory of Kansas was passed, a large number of the citizens of Missouri went into the Territory and held squatter meetings, passed resolutions denouncing Abolitionists, and declaring that Slavery existed therein. In the Autumn of 1854, a secret political society, called "The Blue Lodge," was formed, the plan of operations of which, with its oaths, etc., are given in the report. This Lodge controlled all the subsequent movements and invasions on the part of the Missourians.

At the election of Nov. 29, 1854, for a delegate to Congress, there was no evidence of fraud, except in the sparsely settled and remote districts, where citizens of Missouri appeared and voted. Details in relation to these facts are given in the report, which says: "It is reduced to mathematical precision that seventeen hundred illegal and non-resident votes were cast by citizens of Missouri; the remainder, being legal votes, amounted to eleven hundred." Mr. WHITFIELD would have been elected without the aid of his Missouri votes, by receiving a plurality of all the votes cast. During the Winter of '54-'55, great excitement existed in the Territory on account of the invasion; public meetings were held, and much bitter feeling was manifested.

In February, 1855, a census was taken, and the number of legal voters was ascertained to be 2,905. Previous to the election in the Spring of 1855, active preparations were made in Missouri to invade the Territory, and a complete organization was effected. Leaders were chosen, tents, provisions, ammunition and arms distributed, and the forces were drilled in companies in Missouri; and on the day before the election, it is testified, at least five thousand Missourians took up the line of march for Kansas, and companies went into every representative district of the Territory except one. In detail of the acts of these companies and the declarations made by them, a great portion of the testimony consists.

The Kansas Investigating Committee had before them the poll-books, census-rolls, &c., showing who were legal as well as who were illegal voters, and from accurate and almost absolute proof it appears that of about 6,300 votes cast at the election for members of the Territorial Legislature, five thousand were those of non-residents. The majority of both houses of the Legislature would have been Free-State men if there had been no invasion of Missourians. The Governor set aside the election in some of the Districts, and a new election took place therein on the 22d of May, resulting in the choice of Free-State men in these Districts, except Leavenworth, where there was still illegal voting.

The Committee took a large mass of testimony regarding the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, which proceedings they state are characterized by recklessness and injustice. The report likewise alludes to the murders, robberies, and other crimes committed in the Territory, and states that in no case, except that of McRae, (a Free-State man,) was there any prosecution for those offences. No indictments were found, no arrests made, and no measures taken to bring the perpetrators to justice.

The report contains full and complete details of everything connected with the Territory of Kansas, prior to the 19th of March last, and says it is clearly proven that SAMUEL J. JONES, the Sheriff, was the main cause of the recent disturbances, in which he so prominently figured. It is also proved that Mr. OLIVER, one of the Investigating Committee, went into Missouri, with one of the invading companies, and made a speech in the Fifteenth election district, but it is not proved that he voted.

The conclusions of the Committee are, that each of the elections in Kansas was carried by invasion from Missouri; that, consequently, the Legislative Assembly is an illegally constituted body, and has no power to pass valid laws, therefore its enactments are void. The election of G. W. WHITFIELD, as Delegate to Congress, was not held under any valid law, neither was that of Mr. REEDER in accordance with law. The Committee suggest no remedy.

The report alludes to obstructions that were thrown in the way of the Committee, and to the general violence which prevails in the territory. It is very voluminous, and is signed by Messrs. HOWARD and SHERMAN.

American and Gazette.

PHILADELPHIA:

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1856.

The Kansas Troubles.

ALARM AT FORT SCOTT.—Fort Scott, Kansas, is a rendezvous of the pro-slavery party. When the news of the shooting of five pro-slavery men at Osawatamie was received at that place, great alarm and excitement prevailed, and it was thought that the place would be burned to revenge the outrages at Lawrence. A watch guard was organized and a number of travellers stopped. But owing to the determined bearing of the Free State men at the Fort no new outrages were committed.

DISPERSING THE MISSOURIANS.—The correspondent of the New York Tribune writes from Lawrence, under date of June 20th. The dragoons have routed another party of Missourians at Turkey Creek. They came on the camp, 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 those Missourians and Southern bravos, 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.

THE DISARMING OF THE CHICAGO EMIGRANTS.—A special correspondent of the New York Times communicates the following from Chicago under date of the 30th ult.:

Gentlemen have arrived here from Kansas who report concerning the disarming of the Chicago company at Lexington, that from three hundred to five hundred Missourians and South Carolinians, who had been driven from Kansas by Col Sumner, together with some of the citizens of Lexington, gathered at the landing, armed with muskets, and threatened to fire the boat if their demand was not complied with. Under these circumstances, the captain of the steamer insisted upon the delivery of the arms, as the only way to prevent the destruction of the boat.

Subsequently, the emigrants were ordered to return, and were conducted back by a party of South Carolinians. The St. Louis Republican, (Pro Slavery) of the 30th ult., notices their arrival at Alton, Ill., and says:

"It is reported that the company offered the Captain one thousand dollars not to land at Lexington. The arms that were taken from them were placed in a warehouse for safe keeping, and a receipt given for them. During the scene no hard words passed. On the arrival of the boat at Kansas, Sheriff Jones, with a company of thirty South Carolinians, boarded, and on the way up the river, Atchison, Stringfellow and Russell, also came aboard, and, after learning what had occurred, they assuaged an audience of the leaders of the company, whom they informed that orders had been given to disband all armed parties in the Territory, and that they had better return home. The Chicagoians considered the advice good, and before the boat reached Leavenworth, the whole company had determined to return. When the boat touched at the latter place, a large crowd assembled on shore, but being informed that the party had concluded not to land, but to proceed to Weston and return in the boat, they were satisfied, and made no further demonstrations, but sent an escort with the company to Weston, where the emigrants made no attempt to land, they having given up all idea of settling in Kansas.

THE MERCURY.

BY HEART & TABER.

CHARLESTON

Wednesday Morning July 2, 1856.

Free State Party in Kansas.

Midnight murders, assassinations, burglaries and arson seem now to be the watchwords of the so-called Free State party. Whilst those rebellious subjects confined themselves to the resistance of the law, in their attempts to make arrests and execute process in their hands, the pro-slavery party in the Territory was determined to stand by the law, and aid the officers in executing process, and the courts in administering justice. And that we have no doubt is still the determination of every pro-slavery man, but there is a time for all things. Self-protection—defence of one's life, family and property—are rights guaranteed to all law-abiding citizens; and the manner and mode of keeping off murderers, assassins, &c., are not confined to any very strict rules of law.

The pro-slavery party—the only law-abiding party in Kansas—are fully able to sustain the officers of the law in executing it; and if the traitors of the country are determined to force upon us civil war, which must necessarily bring about a general collision all over the Territory, it will be found that the pro-slavery party will also be able to meet that emergency. Hundreds of the Free State men, who have committed no overt acts, but have only given countenance to those reckless murderers, assassins and thieves, will, of necessity, share the same fate of their brethren.

If civil war is to be the result in such a conflict, there cannot be, and will not be, any neutrals recognised. "He that is not for us, is against us," will of necessity be the motto; and those who are not willing to take either one side or the other, are the most unfortunate men in Kansas, and had better flee to other regions as expeditiously as possible—they are not the men for Kansas.

Civil war is truly a great calamity; but if it must come, or we surrender up our rights, the sooner the better. We intend to maintain the laws and our rights at all hazards.

Every pro-slavery man in Atchison county ought immediately to call at Atchison, and learn the news and course determined.—*The Squatter Sovereign.*

THE COURIER.

BY A. S. WILLINGTON & CO.

JULY 2, 1856.

Kansas Correspondence.

WESTPORT, (MO.) JUNE 14.—*Messrs. Editors:*—The present state of affairs in Kansas Territory are such that it is beyond the calculation of man, what the result will be. On last Monday evening an express arrived at this place, stating that Capt Pate and company (40) were surrounded by a large and superior force of men, and though he had fought them several hours when the express rider had left, yet there was no other alternative than surrender, or fight to the death. We soon raised a company of one hundred and at dark started. After riding till midnight, we picketted our horses, and wrapping our blankets around us we laid on the prairie and slept till morning. At daylight we started again. On Wednesday, at Bull Creek, we were joined by several companies, and I took my position on the right of the regiment with my company of mounted Sharp rifle shooters. We acted as skirmishers. We had received information that morning that the law-breakers were at Prairie City, three hundred strong, and busy throwing up entrenchments and breastworks. We numbered something over three hundred. When we had reached within one mile of the city, we learned that Colonel Sumner had entered the city, on the other side, with a company of United States troops. We dismounted and encamped. In an hour Col. Sumner and troops approached us; a long conference ensued, and we received orders to disband and go home. Capt. Pate and party were liberated. We returned homeward, but camped that night at Bull Creek. The next morning, we took the right hand road, and visited the Pottawatomie county, where eight pro-slavery men had been killed a few days before. That afternoon we reached Paola and halted. Capt. Reed with his company proceeded to the town, drove off the Abolitionists, took their guns and ammunition, and destroyed a press. As the United States troops were in the neighborhood we were compelled to divide and retreat; they all pushed for home and the border line. I camped with my crowd about four miles from Paola, and the next day pushed on for Little Santa Fe, where we arrived to a late dinner. Since then nothing particular has transpired; numbers of flying reports are started daily, but they soon die a natural death.

I see a paragraph going the rounds of the papers that a part of Buford's men were encamped at Possamatinje, committing depredations on the citizens, and that the citizens had killed five and drove the rest off. It is a positive falsehood, none of Buford's men have been encamped in that neighborhood, neither has any of his men been killed, two were wounded in Capt. Pate's battle—young Wood, from Georgia, and Ben. Lambert, from South Carolina, a member of my company. Several of Buford's men have been fired at, but none were killed. When Franklin was attacked, fifteen men defended it, six or eight of them were Buford's men, and they fought bravely and saved the cannon; it was my piece that I blew the hotel to pieces with. I see an account in several papers that the cannon had no effect on the hotel, and that three kegs of gunpowder were placed in the cellar, and only one exploded. It is true our cannon had very little effect on the walls, from the simple reason that in our desire not to injure other property we placed the pieces so near that we could not do as much mischief as we could have

done at four hundred yards; and again, the ball had been built expressly to stand against 24-pounders, instead of 6. As regards the powder, I placed two kegs of blasting powder in the hall on the first floor; I then made a match of the "Herald of Freedom," last edition, and touched it with a match; they both exploded and only cracked the walls, which goes to prove that the building was made to stand an assault. At present everything is quiet in the Territory, but numerous bodies of armed men from the North are on their way to Kansas, and the storm will burst forth again.

If anything should transpire of an interesting nature, I will drop you a line. E. B. BELL.

Daily Democrat.

Mr. Douglas' New Kansas Bill.

Mr. Douglas, instead of subduing the people here, it seems, been subdued himself. His defeat at Cincinnati has taught him a lesson in popular sovereignty, and he now reluctantly but emphatically acknowledges that there is a people in Kansas as well as elsewhere. In brief, he has *backed down, surrendered at discretion, given up his pet territorial laws, and now comes in with a bill declaring the acts governing elections in Kansas void, and the act imposing test oaths illegal.* He has done more, too, for he has now introduced a bill directly legislating in regard to the domestic affairs of Kansas, and thereby giving the most emphatic and pointed instance on record *of the power of Congress to legislate in respect to the government of the territories.* What will his satellites in this State say now—his thugs who have been so long swearing by the *power test;* and insisting that the black laws, and test oaths, were the most humane, constitutional, and republican statutes in existence. What will Claib Jackson, who went over to Kansas to elect the Missouri legislature that passed those laws, and Dr. Lowry who joined the know-nothings in his spite at democrats who acknowledged the power of Congress, say to this last summerset of Little Dug's? Will not somebody telegraph Mr. Polk to stop explaining away his Franklin county speech, in which he admitted the power? It is no longer necessary for Pierce orthodoxy to do so, and in this hot weather the omission will reduce his speeches to two minutes each. Or he may now do better still, and merely send his two white mules around canvassing in his stead — Verily it will be a sad blow to the favor of Mr. Douglas amongst his nullifying adherents in Missouri. His last leap has been for him, no matter what it may be for the country, jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. In Saxon verse we may say:

Little Dug,
The political Thug,
Is in deep as a hog
With the chival ry.

Seriously, the bill just introduced by Mr. Douglas has some good points in it, which we are glad to see he has caught up from the Missouri Democrat. If they help him safely out of his Kansas troubles, we shall charge him half price for our journal hereafter, and expect him to give us due credit for our advice in regard to annulling the territorial test acts and fugitive slave law oaths and tax qualifications, by appending to his report proper marginal notes and index references.

When we get the bill in full we shall speak farther concerning it. Substantially, it is as follows:

It provides for the appointment of five Commissioners, to be elected from different sections or the Union, to represent fairly all political parties. They shall take a census of all legal voters in the territory, and make a fair apportionment of delegates to be elected to each county, to assemble and make a constitution for State government. When the apportionment be thus made, the Commissioners to remain in session every day, except Sunday, at a place most convenient to the inhabitants of said territory, to hear all complaints, examine witnesses, and correct all errors in said list of voters; which shall be previously printed and generally circulated throughout the territory, and posted in at least one of the most public places in each voting precinct in each county. As soon as all errors have been thus corrected in said lists, the Commissioners are required to cause a corrected list of the legal voters in each county and copies presented to each judge of election to be put up at places of voting, and circulated in every county of the territory, before the day of the election. NO PERSON IS TO BE ALLOWED TO VOTE WHOSE NAME DOES NOT APPEAR AS A LEGAL VOTER AT THE ELECTION FOR DELEGATE TO TAKE PLACE ON THE FIRST MONDAY IN OCTOBER, AND THE CONVENTION TO ASSEMBLE ON THE FIRST MONDAY OF DECEMBER, TO DECIDE FIRST, WHETHER IT BE EXPEDIENT FOR KANSAS TO COME INTO THE UNION AT THIS TIME, AND IF SO DECIDED, TO PROCEED TO FORM A CONSTITUTION AND STATE GOVERNMENT, WHICH SHALL BE REPUBLICAN IN FORM, AND BE ADMITTED ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH THE ORIGINAL STATES. THE BILL PROVIDES THAT NO LAW SHALL BE IN FORCE OR ENFORCED IN THE TERRITORY IN FAVORING THE LIBERTY OF SPEECH, OR OF THE PRESS, OR THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO BEAR ARMS, and also for punishing illegal voting or fraud and violence at elections, and authorizes the use of a military force for that purpose. The main point is that the permanent inhabitants of Kansas shall decide all points in dispute at a fair election, without fraud, or violence, or any other improper influence. ALL WHITE MALE INHABITANTS OVER THE AGE OF 21 ARE TO BE ALLOWED TO VOTE IF THEY HAVE RESIDED IN THE TERRITORY THREE MONTHS previous to the day of election, and no other test shall be required—NO OATH TO SUPPORT THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW IN ANY OTHER CONDITION WHATEVER SHALL BE REQUIRED.

THE DAILY SENTINEL.

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

MILWAUKEE:

Thursday Morning, July 3.

ORGANIZATION FOR KANSAS.—In pursuance of the recommendation of the Cleveland Convention of Kansas Committee, held on the 20th day of June ult, the Wisconsin State Committee hereby invite the free state friends of Kansas to meet in their various counties in the State, where no county organization already exists, at the earliest possible day, and at such place as shall be deemed most central, for the purpose of appointing a county Kansas committee, and organizing their respective counties for the crisis in the affairs of that territory. The names of the officers of county committees should be reported to the Secretary of the State Society at Milwaukee.—

Free State men of Wisconsin, prompt, energetic, and concentrated action can alone save our brethern in Kansas from imprisonment, persecution and death, and preserve to future generations a vast territory once consecrated to freedom.

Free State Papers throughout the State are requested to give this notice gratuitous insertions.

J. S. DOUGLAS, Pres't
C. T. HOTCHKISS, Sec.

Important Statement.

The editor of the St. Louis *Democrat*, writing from Jefferson City, the capital of Missouri, on the 28th ult., says:

There are no cannon in Jefferson City, but two spiked unmounted ones in the basement of the capitol. *Sterling Price, Governor of Missouri, a State nominally at peace with the United States, sent twelve pieces of cannon and twenty two boxes of muskets to Atchison and Stringfellow, for the conquest of Kansas—a territory of the United States.* This fact requires no comment, but it calls for impeachment. Many a man for a lesser crime had to stretch his neck over the block.—Will the conservative masses of Missouri lie dormant under this outrage? It would justify a revolution, even before the inevitable one of the fourth of August; and by other means than the ballot box. Will commerce, which loves peace because it only flourishes in the calm—will St. Louis and the loyal citizens of the State, espouse and ratify fillibusterism on our own territory, and disgrace Missouri by electing the Price, Atchison and Stringfellow ticket, which is headed by Trusten Polk? Surely fillibusterism is not democracy, nor are public criminals necessarily national democrats! This cannot be the creed, nor these the apostles of democracy—the doctrine of humanity.

From Our Kansas Correspondent.

HIGHLY INTERESTING FROM KANSAS.

A Serious Collision Expected this Week.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, June 21, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—

The resignation of "petticoat Shannon," is supposed to have been caused by the prospective state of things in this Territory, which his mal-administration has caused. He cannot manage the whirlwind which his sowing the wind has produced. He is exceedingly frightened, he sees nothing but the ghosts of murdered men—murdered or yet to be murdered through his shameless, because dumb and senseless subserviency to the slave power—and the horrid shade of an extinguished, demolished Union. He is confident that no power can now stay or prevent a civil war, which will probably result in a dissolution of the Union.

It is a matter of exceeding interest to us who shall be his successor; Gen. Quitman is named as probable. Our people would be satisfied to have Gen. Scott sent here as Military Governor, and the country placed under martial law. They are not satisfied with Trumbull's proposition to annex us to Nebraska. It is felt that it would be very much as Douglas says, that it would simply be an extension of the difficulty. The inroads from Missouri would in no manner be checked by this act, outrage and violence would continue, and, finally, the work of constructing Kansas into a state would have to be done all over again. No, give us protection by sending us men and money at this time, and the question will be finally and favorably settled.

A collision, and if so, it will be a great and final battle, will probably take place on the 4th of July, unless the U. S. troops should be able to keep the two parties separate. A mass meeting of the free state men of the Territory is called to celebrate the 4th of July at Topeka. The object is to cover and protect the meeting of the State Legislature. The meeting is to convene on the 3d. At the same time a celebration by the pro-slavery party is to be held at Tecumseh, five miles from Topeka, and verbal orders are secretly issued to the Militia of the Territory—*alias* Buford's men and Missourians, to muster at that place on the 3d. The force under Sumner may be sufficient, if used for that purpose, to prevent a collision, but I do not think it will be. There seems to be a disposition on the part of the Missourians to "pitch into" the troops, and they have done so on one or two occasions. On the 19th inst, Col. Sumner, with a force, met a body of the invaders at Cedar Creek and ordered them to disperse. They refused to do so and fired on the troops wounding two. The fire was returned by the troops, killing one and wounding several, upon which they dispersed.

The force from Ft. Riley, ordered into this part of the territory, has returned to the Fort, for what reason is not known.

Two Wisconsin "boys" met with quite an adventure, and, if the report be true, which comes under circumstances that confirm it, covered themselves with imperishable honor, a few days since, in the vicinity of Ossawatamie. Their names are Wm. Cline and James Rankins, from the vicinity of Milwaukee; I could not learn exactly their residences. They left this place on a tour of exploration in a buggy with two horses, one armed with a double-barreled rifle, the other a double barreled pistol. They arranged it so that, when they were in a dangerous neighborhood one should drive and carry the pistol, and the other walk some thirty paces in the rear with the rifle. This was to prevent their being surprised both together under unfavorable circumstances. While proceeding in this manner, having just previously met two men or horsemen who attempted to molest them but who were driven off, Cline, who was in the buggy, was met by six horsemen who demanded his arms. He told them "he'd be d——d if they should not have them," and shot two on the spot, then called to Rankin to shoot, who killed two more of them, when the other two surrendered. They armed themselves with the revolvers of the fallen men, and immediately six more were seen approaching. They shot the two left of the first party, and two more of the second party, making eight, when the remainder fled. This is a

large story, but it was brought in by a stranger, as from them to a friend that they left in this place—a stranger to all of them.

The prisoners at Lecompton—Robinson, &c., were yesterday excluded from all approach by their friends.

Matters are becoming daily more oppressive and obnoxious. In haste, L.

The Chronotype.

CITY OF COUNCIL BLUFFS:

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25, 1856.

UNANIMOUS.—The Southern press is unanimous in its approval of the brutal and cowardly attack upon Mr. SUMNER, in the Senate Chamber by the Ruffian Brooks. It goes further and counsels similar attacks, upon other Republican Senators from the North. It is just so with the Kansas outrages, burnings and murders, if they are only committed by the pro-slavery men. The bogus democratic presses at the North pursue as nearly as they dare, the same course, or remain silent on the subject. Slavery puts bludgeons into the hands of its advocates at the South while it gags its friends at the North.

A Battle.

A regular battle was fought on the 2nd of June, between a company of Missourians under the command of Capt. PATE, and a body of Free Soilers, at Black Lick, Kansas. After several hours contest, the former surrendered and were marched off as prisoners by the Free State men, but were subsequently released by order of Col. SUMNER. Several pro-slavery men were wounded, but none killed. None of the Free State men were hurt.

Destruction of Lawrence.

We publish this week, full particulars of the destruction of Lawrence by the posse under Sheriff Jones. As it is taken from the Missouri Democrat, it cannot be charged with exaggeration, but it is in fact, a correct statement of that most disgraceful affair.

Dubuque Daily Tribune.

Thursday, July 3, 1856.

MECHANICS AND LABORERS IN COMPETITION WITH SLAVERY.—Colonel LANE illustrated the matter the other day at Cleveland, in this wise:—

He was once going down the Ohio on a flat boat. A companion, a carpenter, wanted to stop in Kentucky to get work, and he went ashore with him to the house of a planter.—The carpenter asked for work as a house carpenter. The planter drew himself back, put his fingers in the arm-holes of his vest, and in a dignified manner replied, "My dear fellow, I would like to hire you, but the fact is I *bought* two carpenters yesterday." Suppose a lot of Irishmen want to work on a railroad,—their application is met with the reply, "We bought two or three hundred yesterday." Such were the rights of free laborers in Slave States, and such was the state of things the Administration were striving to introduce into Kansas.

The Valley Whig.

KEOKUK, IOWA:

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 3.

KANSAS EMIGRANTS.—The emigrants to Kansas from Chicago, who were brought back by the Missourians and landed at Alton, passed up by here on the 4th, on the way to Davenport, from which point they are going to cross over Iowa to Kansas through free territory.

Capt. Cutter's company of Kansas emigrants, from New England, brought back from the Missouri River by the Ruffians, passed up the river last week, stopping here on Saturday afternoon. They will join the Chicago company at Davenport, and go over to Kansas through Iowa and Nebraska.

One Shout for Free Kansas.

We were pained to read the defeat of the bill admitting Kansas with the Topeka constitution, in the House, and we had not anticipated it. It was a defeat that we did not believe could be compassed by the closest union between the Fillmore and Buchanan forces. But they did defeat it, temporarily. Mr. Barclay, who had had his eyes somewhat blinded to the real intent and spirit of the managers, moved to re-consider the vote by which it was killed. It passed by one vote, and the change of his vote would re-consider it. The motion was disposed of on Thursday last. The bill was re-considered, 99 to 101, and *was then passed*, 97 to 100!

Now we will see the Senate assume the responsibility of rejecting it, for the one fault of being a *Free* constitution, when its adoption will be hailed with delight by three out of every four of the citizens of Kansas, and will bring peace to that unhappy territory from the very instant it becomes a law.

Knoxville Register.

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1856.

SOUTHERN STATESMANSHIP.

Whilst we cannot fully endorse all that is contained in the following extract from the *Charleston Mercury*, it contains much that is too likely to prove true:

"In our judgment, says the *Mercury*, true Southern statesmanship consists not in striving to link South Carolina and the South more closely to the North, or to Northern or National parties, and by this means distracting and dividing the Southern people by vain expectations of relief from without; but, in teaching them that their only safety is in themselves, and that Southern union is the grand instrumene of this safety. We have an abiding conviction that it is impossible for the Union to last. As soon as the element of slavery entered into the politics of the Union, its doom was sealed. The South has the simple alternative of separating herself from the Union, or being destroyed by it. We have faith to believe that the South will not be destroyed, but will yet live, an honored member in the great family of nations.

If the North sees that they will win Kansas, Mr. Buchanan may be elected and the catastrophe staved off for another four years. But if they perceive that the South will gain Kansas, Mr. Buchanan is not likely to receive the vote of a single State North of Mason and Dixon's line. The old fusion of Know Nothing, and Black Republicans, which swept the North in 1854 is forming again, and with prospects of another triumph. Then will come the beginning of the end. No National Convention will meet in Charleston to drag South Carolina along with National parties. But another Convention will assemble to lead the way to Southern independence, safety and honor. At that Convention we hope to be represented.

PHILADELPHIA, June 19.—Mr. Buchanan's letter of acceptance is published this morning. After expressing the gratification entertained at the highest political honor which could be conferred upon him, he says that he is deeply sensible of the vast and varied responsibilities, especially at the present crisis. He carefully refrained from seeking the nomination, either by word or by deed, and accepts it with diffidence, trusting if elected, to be able to allay domestic strife, preserve peace and friendship with foreign nations, and promote the best interests of the Republic. In accepting the nomination, he accepts in the same spirit the platform, and will confine himself to it throughout the canvass, believing he has no right by answering interrogatories to present new and different issues before the people. He cordially concurs in the sentiments of the platform relative to civil and religious liberty, and Slavery. He thinks the latter question is rapidly approaching a finality. The Kansas act does no more than give force of law to the elementary principle of self government. He says: "May we not hope that it is the mission of the Democratic party, now the only surviving conservative party of the country, to overthrow all sectional parties, and restore peace, friendship, and mutual confidence among all members of the Confederey. The foe of all geographical parties it must continue to exist as long as there is Constitution or Union to preserve. This conviction has induced many formally differing from Democracy to devote themselves to the Constitution and the Union. Under these circumstances, I most cheerfully pledge myself, should the nomination of the Convention be ratified by the people, that all the power and influence constitutionally possessed by the Executive shall be exerted in a firm and conciliatory spirit during the single term which I shall remain in office, to restore the same harmony among the sister States which prevailed before the 'apple of discord' in the form of slavery agitation had been cast into their midst."

Regarding the foreign policy, he concurs with the committee that it should be conducted with wisdom and firmness to ensure the prosperity of the people at home, while the interest and honor of the country are wisely and inflexibly maintained abroad. Foreign policy, he says, ought ever to be based upon the principle of doing justice to all nations, requiring justice in return. If elected, he will use his best exertions to cultivate peace and friendship with all nations, believing this the highest policy and most imperative duty, but shall never forget should the necessity arise that our national honor must be preserved at all hazards and at any sacrifice.

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1856.

The Report of the Kansas Investigating Committee.

The report made by Messrs. Howard and Sherman in the House of Representatives on Tuesday confirms the gravest charges that have been made with respect to the share which the borderers of Missouri had in making the so-called laws of Kansas, and at the same time breaking the recognized laws of the land. First and foremost, the bogus legislature is declared to be an illegal body, and all its enactments, and all the proceedings of the ruffians under them, are therefore null, and void of binding legal force. It is proven that of the 8,300 votes cast at the election of members of the Legislature at least 5,000 were cast by Missourians, who went into the Territory like an invading army, without even pretending to be residents. It is also shown that 1,700 illegal votes were cast for Whitfield as Delegate to Congress, and that Mr. Oliver, the Missouri member of the Commission, went into Kansas with an invading party, and made a speech to the mob in the 15th election district, but it does not appear that he voted, as had been charged.

These facts, authenticated as they are beyond all question, must compel some decisive action in Congress toward righting the wrongs of Kansas. A majority of the House is, we believe, disposed to act rightly, but their best efforts may be defeated by the malign influences that now control the Senate. We have ceased to hope anything from the sense of justice of the great majority of this body, or even their sense of shame after their approval of an atrocious outrage upon one of their noblest members, but we believe that something is to be hoped from their fears. Mr. Douglas, determined as he has hitherto been to "crush" down all opposition to the schemes of the slavery propagandists, now shows a disposition to yield to the rising wave of popular indignation, and consents to a modification of his bill for the organization of Kansas into a State. Even Mr. Toombs, the great Southern pillar of the "peculiar institution," does not think it prudent to drive the North any closer to the wall just now. The more sagacious leaders of the Slavery-extensionists begin to see that the only chance for the triumph of their party in the coming Presidential election lies in putting an end to civil war in Kansas. Under the lead of Douglas, they might have dared to carry out the drama to its bloodiest denouement, but they have a new *rôle* to play since the nomination of Mr. Buchanan. For though he has unhesitatingly consented to merge his personality in the Cincinnati platform, though Messrs. Pierce and Douglas answer for him that he indorses their whole course on the Kansas question, and the Ostend manifesto stands as the evidence that he is prepared to go the full length of the most rampant fillibusterism—though all this and more be true, yet it is necessary to represent Mr. Buchanan's personal urbanity and conservatism as the characteristics of the party of which he is the nominal head. The wolf becomes suddenly lamb-like, and it is necessary that he should keep up the deception till after the election if possible. This cannot be if the acts of the mob legislature be indorsed and the ruffian rule in Kansas be continued much longer. Full justice to the much-abused people of that Territory we do not anticipate; but we do now expect that the sham government which has tyrannized over them so outrageously will be set aside, and something better substituted in its stead.

Mr. Oliver will probably soon arrive at Washington with a minority report on the affairs of Kansas. He may, with the help of the ruffians with whom he has been in such intimate association, have raked up some charges against the massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, but he cannot invalidate the main facts contained in the report of his associates in the Commission. All the statements of fact in the latter are sustained by positive evidence, the witnesses in most cases having participated in the illegal acts to which they testify. If he should make any counter statements not depending directly upon evidence taken before the Commission, they should have no more weight in deciding the action of Congress than the reckless asseverations of Atchison or Stringfellow, with whom for a time he was associated.

The Missouri River Outrage—Statement of Mr. Sheldon.

To the Editors of the Democratic Press:

I noticed an article going the rounds from the *Missouri Republican* in relation to the capture of the Chicago emigrants, which is an entire perversion of the facts, as I was an eye witness of most of these piratical outrages. In the first place they were stopped at Lexington by an armed force of not less than four hundred, with four or five pieces of artillery, and the boat and all on board threatened with immediate destruction unless their arms were given up. In the next place, on their arrival at Kansas City, they were boarded by an armed band of pirates, headed by Atchison and Stringfellow, and a Mr. Russell, who is a large contractor for the Government. After leaving this port, no incident of moment occurred till they arrived at Leavenworth City. This place is located three miles below the fort. On their arrival, the gangway to the boat was instantly surrounded by an armed mob of at least one hundred men, in addition to some forty or fifty that came from Kansas City. The luggage, provisions, camp equipage, tents, &c., belonging to the Chicago emigrants were landed, and a strong guard of armed men placed over them. I made an attempt to get on board to have an interview with the Chicago delegation, but was forced back at the point of the bayonet, and was told that they would not be permitted to land; at the same time not less than thirty armed Southerners came on shore, all armed with guns and side arms. As soon as the boat moved up the river, the provisions, tents, &c., of the emigrants were carted to the storehouse of Major & Russell, and then broken open by some of this gang of pirates and thoroughly examined.

I think it will be well for all Free State men to know who this Mr. Russell is, and what his piratical operations are. This firm are strong pro-slavery men. They have the Government contracts for transporting army supplies to all the forts on the plains and Utah, requiring 2,000 large wagons, 2,000 men, and 12,000 yoke of oxen. I saw several thousand of them, and they are most excellent beef. Whenever Free State emigrants meet the above named Mr. Russell's oxen, I hope they will not forget that it is wrong to commit piracy on the highways of our water navigation, and it is also wrong to commit piracy by land. But remember Mr. Russell's oxen are good beef.

As soon as the Star of the West departed for Weston the Free State men had a council in regard to the course to be pursued on the return of the boat. After the entire strength was known, it was found entirely inadequate for resistance. I then proposed to exhaust negociation in their behalf to have them landed in the Territory. I called on the Deputy Marshal of the United States, who was there at the time, and requested his assistance. He made fair promises and said he could see no objection to their landing. I also called on several pro-slavery men, all assuring me that they were very sorry that such an outrage had occurred, and that they would intercede with me in behalf of my Chicago friends. But on the return of the boat on Thursday morning every avenue was closed with men armed to the teeth, with a desperado at their head, who I promised, if God should spare my life, to meet him in another way at no distant day. One yoke of Russell's oxen was put in motion to cart the Chicago provisions and luggage to the boat. But I was informed by one of the returned party at St. Louis, that quite a quantity of their effects are missing. I will relate the *modus operandi* in which this United States Marshal performed his pledge with me. Most of my readers will remember a Mr. Grover who visited this place and gave us the first news of the burning of Lawrence, some few weeks since. The first I saw of the chivalrous Marshal after the return of the boat, was to order Mr. Grover on board pressed by three armed ruffians at the point of the bayonet. I was at the same time refused any admission to the boat, and physical resistance was useless on the part of the Free State men, as the pirates were all armed and numbering not less than three hundred, and not over twenty or thirty Free State men on hand, and none of them armed except a few with pocket revolvers. Besides the pro-slavery firm above named, Russell & Major have a quantity of arms and ammunition on hand, and with their mechanics and teamsters—*all pro-slavery*—can bring out any time of day or night from two hundred to three hundred men. As soon as the emigrants' effects, what they got of them, were put on board, the boat proceeded down the river, under the escort of a sufficient number of armed pirates to cut the throats of the Chicago company if they made any resistance, and as I am informed landed them on the Illinois shore five miles from Alton. Very respectfully yours,

CHICAGO, July 2d, 1856. R. SHELDON.

Correspondence of the Democratic Press.

Letter from Kansas.

SHAWNEE MISSION, June 12th, 1853.

This day I saw some companies of Missourians returning. They looked like men who had been stealing sheep, only worse. They report having left two men hanging on the same tree by the neck, and saw many more dead in other places. Another said he saw four men hanging by the neck on Bull Creek. They said they were driven back by the troops. They curse Sumner and threaten to hang him. They also report that the Free State men were coming down from Iowa, and that a company of troops had gone up to head them. They appear to have plunder enough to make it pay. Shannon talks of resigning. He is understood to be president of the *aid society* at Lecompton, to support Buford's guerillas. Col. Anderson, of Lexington, is general agent to collect money and provisions in Missouri. Col. Titus, of Florida, distributor. These guerillas support themselves by pillage. They never think of being condemned, and the Blue Lodge or Border League, and the territorial officers are pledged to protect them. We have no government. There is no protection for American citizens against domestic violence. We want a new vocabulary to express the condition of things. Liberty, security and freedom, are destroyed and crushed by party strife. Will Buchanan carry out the policy of Pierce, in Kansas, and retain the same officers?

One inauspicious sign we have. The Benton party, the only conservative Democrats in Missouri, were refused seats at the Cincinnati Convention, while the Anties, who left the Know Nothings and formed the Border League and instituted the secret oaths of the Blue Lodge to effect their object—civil war and disunion—were received into full fellowship, and their acts endorsed consequently. Buchanan's back is not broad enough to carry the dead-weight of these Nullifiers. It was amusing to hear them previous to the Cincinnati Convention declare that if the Democratic party endorsed their platform and course, they would sustain their nominee, and the Union would be preserved. They are now waging war against Kansas, and command the government to endorse them, which it does in the most obsequious manner. Great God! What can be done to save our country? Is Congress doing any thing to stop these outrages? The troops make a little show; but hundreds of armed men are in the territory, and easily dodge the troops. The Nullifiers, our invaders, predict that "this will be the last American Congress that will ever assemble." Well, it may be, if it has not the power to give protection to Kansas. Will the free States protect and aid their citizens here? The eyes of your oppressed brethren are anxiously turned towards their countrymen for aid. Will they receive it?

KANSAS.

DAILY TRIBUNE.

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No. 53 CLARK STREET.

J. C. VAUGHAN, C. H. RAY, EDITORS.

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Thursday Morning.....July 3, 1856.

Kansas Revisited.

[Correspondence of the Chicago Tribune.]

GARVEY HOUSE, Topeka, June 22

To the Editor of the Chicago Tribune:—

I left Topeka on Sunday, a week ago, for Waubansa and Manhattan, in company with Mr. Topliffe, General of the Free State forces; Mr. Clarke, private Secretary of Gov, Charles Robinson; and Dr. J. P. Root of the Connecticut Colony.

By some inadvertance I posted only a portion of Dr. Root's narrative by the last Eastern mail. I enclose the conclusion.

Mr. Topliffe is a young man, a citizen of Providence, Rhode Island; served in the Mexican war with credit; was present at several of General Scott's most celebrated battles, and is the most accomplished disciplinarian we ever had in Kansas.

Since his arrival in the Territory, he has drilled our forces in every part of it, and prepared them to meet the crisis like soldiers when it comes—they have always been prepared to meet it like men.

For the end is not yet. As long as Atchison's three million's of dollars lasts; as long as the Slave Power is willing to contribute to our enslavement; as long as the Democratic party is the dominant party, so long will there be anarchy in Kansas.

NEWS FROM NORTHERN KANSAS.

There is trouble brewing in the Northern part of the State.

On Saturday last a gang of Pro-Slavery propagandists, headed by Major Richardson, a resident of Missouri, and member of the Shawnee Legislature, held a secret meeting in Doniphan county, and took an oath to expel and lynch several Free State men in the neighborhood.

We had a spy in their camp.

He warned the men whom the conspirators had marked.

One of their intended victims has just arrived in Topeka.

Not only our spy but a Pro-Slavery man sent him warning of the designs of the propagandists.

The gentleman informs me that the Free State settlers in that sections of the State, exasperated by a long series of harrassing annoyances inflicted under the guise of "law and order" are longing for an opportunity to retaliate on their oppressors.

It will require but a trifling incident to rouse them to energetic action. The Free State men are in an overwhelming majority.

BUCHANAN IN BORDER RUFFIANDOM.

I have had a conversation with a gentleman direct from Platte and Jackson counties, Missouri.

The Border Ruffians are delighted with the Cincinnati nominations. Pierce was their first, Douglas their second choice; but aware that neither of these traitors could possibly be elected, they willingly immolated them on the altar of expediency. They say that, even if Buchanan is not so sound as either of his competitors, Breckenridge, of Kentucky is; and as Buchanan is tottering on the verge of the grave, they feel perfectly satisfied with the ticket as it is.

The "Kansas Weekly Herald," a Border Ruffian paper, and Atchison's organ, published at Leavenworth, heads the telegraphic despatch of ballots, with these words in the largest type:

CINCINNATI CONVENTION.

FOR PRESIDENT,

JAMES BUCHANNAN, OF PA.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,

John C. Breckenridge, of Ky.

☞THIS IS A WHOLE TEAM.☜

THE PLATFORM IS SOUND AND NATIONAL, AND MEETS ALL THE QUESTIONS OF THE DAY IN A BOLD AND FRANK MANNER.

In an editorial paragraph it says:—

"The nominations of the National Democratic Convention is well received here. * * * * * We endorse him as a sound National Democrat."

No Free State man in Kansas, whether Democrat or American, will support the Buchannan ticket. Lieut. Gen. Roberts, perhaps, and an office holder excepted.

They know that it is not a man but a new policy that is to be elected or rejected during the ensuing Presidential campaign, and they will never give aid and comfort to their enemies by supporting a candidate whom Atchison's banditti endorse.

AN EXTRA FROM THE BLUE LODGE.

The Blue Lodge has issued a proclamation. It is entitled "Kansas *Herald* extra," but is sent to Pro-Slavery subscribers only. It will not appear in the regular edition, and is secretly distributed throughout the Territory.

The admissions of this proclamation would have been remarkable had it been intended for public circulation.

It acknowledges that the Ruffians have been strikers and liars both.

It admits that Missourians—"our friends along the border"—are continually invading Kansas.

It shows that Gov. Shannon is in league with the Blue Lodge, for it "speaks understandingly," as to his purposes, and appeals to its friends not to "embarrass" him, or to place him in "a false position."

It says he is determined to crush us out.

Crush out the North!

"Jordan am a hard road to trabble I believe," but not half so difficult to traverse as that man's course will be who attempts to "subdue" the descendants of the Puritans!

THE MARTYRS' GRAVES.

I see it is denied that the boy Jones was murdered. The denial is false.

I have stood at his grave. I have spoken with his relatives and with a woman who saw him die in anguish.

He is buried far up the precipitous side of Blue Mound, south of the Wakarusa, about six or seven miles from Lawrence. A few rough logs enclose the spot. On one of them the bark has been removed, and these words written:

"The body of the Boy Jones lies buried here.

He was murdered by Marshal Donelson's posse.

We will avenge you!

FREE-STATE MEN, May 1856."

Some weeks before I saw this grave, I stood where the brave Brown lies buried.

It is on Pilot Knob, near Leavenworth.

The situation is one of the most picturesque in the Territory.

As far as you can see, on every side, the most beautiful landscape lies before you. Pleasant hills, and vales more pleasant still, streams of water forest-fringed, cabins, cultivated fields, prairie and woods—Fort Leavenworth in the distance and the city near at hand, every prospect and every auxiliary is charming.

But there are several graves on the summit of the Knob. Death shades its beauty. It is the city burial ground.

My brave friend's grave is enclosed by a white, wooden paling. No tombstone tells who it is, and why he lies beneath the sod; but some of his many friends have visited it, and written words of meaning—words with a future—on the paling with their pencils.

Four different persons have each written a sentence on the paling.

At the head is written—

"R. B. Brown, Born ——, Died ——, Aged ——."

I have forgotten the dates and places.

Beneath this line, on another paling, is written, by another hand—

"Brutally murdered by that damnable league—the Kickapoo Rangers."

At the foot of the grave is written, in a delicate style of penmanship:

He died for Freedom;
let us live for it.

On the right and left hand sides, in another hand, is penciled:

He was murdered because he remained true to his
native North and her Free Institutions.
Better die a martyr of Freedom, like Brown, than
live a champion of Slavery, like Douglas.

A gentleman is about to leave for Lawrence, by whom I send this letter. More by the next mail.

No news of recent date. J. R.

P. S. Not a syllable of truth in the reports that the Free State men burned down St. Bernard or drove off pro-slavery men from their claims.

The "town of St. Bernard" is a single store—an Indian trading post. It was robbed by a "law and order" guerilla party, who carried off a wagon load of clothing, provisions and trinkets.

The store was not burned.

Give the LIE to every telegraphic despatch from St. Louis, credited to the Missouri *Republican*.

The Cat Out of the Bag.

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

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

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

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

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

Emigrants May Go to Kansas

—Southern emigrants, we mean, in any numbers in which the South chooses to send them. But when a Northern man attempts to put his foot into the Territory he is met by loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, and sent back. We have Shannon's word for the first, and well-know facts for the last assertion. Read:

[From the Lexington (Mo.) Citizen.]

Letter to Col. Buford from Gov. Shannon.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, June 10, 1856,
Lecompton, K. T.

My Dear Sir: Your favor of the 18th is received. I wrote to you some days ago, which I presume you had not received, at the date of your last.

You can have no difficulty in coming into the Territory with *bona fide* settlers.

I have resigned my office, and leave for St. Louis probably on to-morrow. As soon as I pass the line, Col. Woodson will be the acting Governor, and if you have any difficulty, which my last letter to you does not remove, with the troops, you will address him on the subject. I repeat that my Proclamation has no application to *bona fide* emigrants coming into the Territory.

Yours with respect,
(Signed) WILSON SHANNON.

Colonel Buford.

N. B. I will probably see you as I pass down.

Col. Buford, to whom this letter is addressed, came down on the boat with the Chicago emigrants, whom he assisted out of the Territory with bands of armed men, under the very nose, and, probably, with the consent of the Federal authorities. He is on his way to his home in the South, from whence he will return with hundreds of ruffians, each armed to the teeth, who will land in Kansas without let or hindrance. Such was his boast, and he will make it good!

Comment would only obscure the facts.

Mr. C. Brown, of Trumbull county, Ohio, who was some weeks ago delegated to convey the Kansas fund raised in that county to the Free State men of Lawrence, has executed that perilous trust, and arrived 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.

The Enemy Confounded.

The pitiful and flimsy excuses made by the Border Ruffian presses for their co-laborers in Kansas, disappear before the light which the Report of the Congressional Committee casts upon the gigantic frauds and unparalleled atrocities by which that unhappy Territory has been subjugated. The lies which they invented to shield the perpetrators of the great crime, stand exposed. The special pleading and dirty quibbling that they have interposed between the outraged country and the guilty objects of wrath, are swept away. The pretence that the Kansas excitement was a newspaper trick played off for political effect, falls to the ground; and now, undraped, naked, hideous, the monstrous proportions of that giant Wrong stand fully in public view! *There*, traducers of Northern settlers, defenders of Ruffianism in its most flagrant acts, traitors to Freedom, is your work! It is now recorded, sworn to, verified by collateral facts and circumstances, PROVED beyond all cavil or doubt!

It has long been known, from the public character of the investigations and the occasional letters of correspondents who attended the sittings of the Committee, that the record would be black; but many of the facts were dragged from witnesses in secret session, and have, until now, been studiously withheld from the public. The whole, we are told, when grouped together, forms the most atrocious episode that was ever written in the history of a free people. It reveals depths of wickedness which have hitherto been unfathomed, of political degradation, until now, not known to exist.

It remains for the people to fix the responsibility where it belongs, upon that base and false Democracy that has become the willing minister and unflinching defender of the heinous crimes which have made Kansas what she is—a conquered province of the Slave Power.

How the Kansas Bill was Defeated.

Our telegraphic report, as is too common now-a-days, was cut off on Monday evening by some operator or agent, Eastward, just at the point where our curiosity was strongly excited though not gratified.

It appears that the Buchanan men and Pro-Slavery Know-nothings united, as usual. Their demonstrations of joy, over the fact that the pacification of Kansas is to be still longer deferred, thus enabling Slavery to strengthen its grasp upon that Territory, will be remembered by all who desire the restoration of peace to this distracted country. Mark them!

Kansas in the House.

[Editorial Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.]

WASHINGTON, Monday, June 30, 1856.

Free Kansas in the House was most unexpectedly put under the feet of the Border Ruffians to-day by one majority. All the Buchanites but Mr. Hickman of Pennsylvania, and all the Fillmoreites but Mr. Moore of Ohio, voting together against her, and making 107 nays to 106 yeas on the final passage of the bill to admit her under her Topeka Constitution. Our friends triumphed on five or six preliminary votes, Messrs. Barclay and Packer voting with them awhile and then turning against them. Mr. Packer, is understood to have observed that the Republicans were making too much capital out of Kansas. Messrs. Bayard, Clarke, Edwards, Milward and Scott sustained Free Kansas throughout. Messrs. Haven, Whitney, John Wheeler and John Williams of New York, Broome of Pennsylvania, Scott Harrison and Dunn went with Messrs. Herbert, Brooks, Rust, and their Pro-Slavery party, throughout. Messrs. Dunn and Douglas took sweet counsel together by the hour, and were the twin consuls of the Border-Ruffian forces. There were but sixteen absentees, waving sick and paired; two pairs voted at first, but fell off to dinner before the final trial. Had all been present the result would not have been improved. There is an effort to reconsider to-morrow, but I fear without success. There is no remaining hope for Kansas from Congress. Her last reliance must be on the generous hearts and votes of American freemen.

SECOND DISPATCH.

The Slave Democracy are firing cannon and parading the streets this evening, in exultation over the defeat of Free Kansas.

Mr. Douglas has adopted Mr. Toombs' bill in lieu of his own; and means to put it through the Senate on Wednesday. I think he must wait a little. His report to-day was monstrous in the audacity of its misrepresentations. Mr. Wade will speak. H. G.

DAILY HERALD.

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

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Thursday Evening, July 3, 1856.

Gov. Shannon

Is undoubtedly drunk or crazy all the time.—When in St. Louis a few days since, he authorized the Missouri Republican to state that the rumor that he had resigned his office was unfounded; yet in the Lexington Weekly Express of June 21, we fine the following:

Letter to Colonel Buford from Governor Shannon

Defeat of Free Kansas—How It Was Done.

Writing from Washington Monday evening, Mr. GREELEY of the *Tribune* says:

Well, we have had a field fight to-day in the House on the direct question of admitting Kansas as a Free State, and were beaten by *one* majority on the final vote, after having succeeded on half a dozen preliminary questions, four of them decided by Yeas and Nays. On Saturday we had over twenty majority in the House, and could it have been reached, the bill would then have passed by at least fifteen majority, but to-day nearly every absentee had been brought in, until I think only *twelve* living members failed at one time to respond to their names, and they were mainly sick and often at points remote from the city. Had all the absentees been present the vote might have been two worse, but could hardly have been better; so that we cannot complain on that score. There were several who voted or paired against us who in their hearts wished us success, but that is slender consolation. One was hid somewhere in the city who should have voted for Free Kansas, but was quite as likely to have voted against her. They say he kept away because he dreaded to vote either way. I believe not one single member who has decided to go heartily for Fremont voted against Free Kansas, while every known Buchananite but Hickman of Pa., and every Fillmore man but Moore of Ohio, voted to-day against her admission.

Our defeat was unexpected on either side. There did not seem a fear of it until three or four votes had been taken—each a decided triumph—until the House had refused by a decided vote to send the bill to a Committee of the Whole. Now up rose Mr. Barclay of Penn., and moved to reconsider the vote. Henceforth he voted steadily with the Administration, as did Mr. Packer of the same State—a Democrat, supposed to be for Free Kansas. These changes, with Messrs. Fuller of Maine, Haven, Whitney, Valk, and John Wheeler of our State, Broome of Pa., Harrison of Ohio and Dunn of Indiana, voting steadily with the Slavery Propagandists, reduced the Free Kansas majority to very narrow dimensions; but it it was not believed that it could be overcome until the vote on finally passing the bill was taken, which, when the roll was called through, showed *One Hundred and Six* for to *One Hundred and Five* against the bill. Mr. Davidson of La., soon rose and asked to have his vote recorded in the negative, which made a tie. It now appeared certain that the Speaker's casting vote was destined to extend the greeting of the House to the new born State of Kansas; but just as the count had been completed and the result was to be announced, Mr. Elliott of Ky., rose and asked to have his vote recorded in the negative, which untied the knot and defeated the bill. If the Speaker had now voted Yea, the bill would nevertheless have been lost by a tie vote. And so the bill was lost, though a motion to re-consider and to lay that motion on the table was made by Mr. Goode of Va., and unacted on when the House adjourned in some excitement. It may possibly give rise to some action to-morrow.

One of the preliminary votes may need explanation. Mr. Stephens had moved to commit the bill with instructions to report a substitute, which is substantially Toombs' bill. To this Mr. Dunn had moved an amendment, virtually restoring the Missouri Prohibition of Slavery in the Territories north of 36 deg. 30 min. This amendment was carried by a good vote—when Mr. Stephens abandoned his substitute and wished to withdraw it, but objection was made; so the vote upon it was taken by Yeas and Nays—Yeas *Two* (Dunn and Scott Harrison,) Nays *Two Hundred and Ten*. Rather a snug majority for these times.

Mr. Haven's vote for Mr. Dunn's proposition was very urgently remonstrated against by his leading South American friends, who feared it would damage Mr. Fillmore in the Slave States.

When the final vote was a tie, a number of South Americans surrounded Mr. Millward, of Pa., and vehemently urged him to change against the bill, but he would not.

Mr. Senator Douglas came in during the struggle, took his seat beside Mr. Dunn, and held a long and intimate council with him. I did not see the need of both of them being present at the same time, but they doubtless understand it.

Of course, now that the mischief is done, almost every body can tell how it might have been avoided. If the report of the Kansas Investigating Committee had first been put in and read—if more time had been given for discussion—if such or such a pair had not been made—in short, "if your uncle had been your aunt"—all might have been changed. I give no weight to such speculations. But when people impatiently ask why this Anti-Nebraska House don't come to the rescue of the suffering people of Kansas, I say. Ask that question of Messrs. Fuller of Maine, Valk, Whitney, Wheeler, Williams and Haven of New York, H. M. Fuller of Pa., Harrison of Ohio, and Dunn of Indiana, who, elected as Anti-Nebraska men, vote with Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, to crush the life out of ill-fated Kansas, by leaving her to the tender mercies of Border-Ruffian legislation, Lecompte justice and the paternal guardianship of Shannon, Donaldson and Sheriff Jones. The Fremont men in the House have done what they could. It devolves on their brethren throughout the country to do the rest.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1856.

AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.—The last news from the "border" was not favorable to the Free State cause. While "emigrants" from the South are protected by the slave-holding communities bordering on the Territory, and can have safe access, all the ordinary avenues are closed to the Free State men. They are met by the gangs of armed bullies imported from the South, their arms taken from them, and they are compelled to retrace their steps. Many will doubtless find their way into the disputed Territory through Iowa and Nebraska. To-morrow will be a day of great importance to the settlers who have set up a Free State organization. The Legislature is to re-assemble at Topeka; and they will doubtless assert and maintain their rights to "peaceably assemble" and consult for the public safety and the interest of their constituents. We have the Kansas Tribune, of the 16th June, (the only Free State paper now published in the Territory,) which has a bold and well-considered article, in which the right and the duty of maintaining the cause of human rights and American freedom in that Territory is affirmed, and the people called upon to rally in their defence at the capital.

A letter in the Times dated Lawrence, June 26, says: The southern forces are gathering at Lecompton, Tecumseh, Big Spring and other places in large numbers, and they are laying in large stores of provisions, in order to make the

long and strong pull on the 4th of July. No aid is yet received from the free States. There must be a great battle at Topeka. Col. SUMNER threatens to go home to the fort and has abandoned his work.

There will be much sympathy expressed for Kansas, to-morrow, in all sections of the country, and many an earnest invocation that liberty may be preserved in that fair land. But let it not be forgotten, that those who are there, breasting the strong tide of oppression and wrong, need the aid of their brethren here.

A Sermon for the Times.

Last Sabbath, a sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. TYNG, pastor of the Church of the Epiphany, in Philadelphia, on "Our Country's Troubles," before a very large congregation. The preacher denounced in an eloquent strain and straight forward manner, the outrages in Kansas and at Washington, the aggressions of the slave power, the miserable truckling of the North to the South, and the horors of slave breeding, and concluded by urging his congregation to exercise their rights as freemen at the ballot-box, in staying the progress of the monster evil, and invoking aid for the suffering emigrant in Kansas.

When he came to speak of the sin of slave-breeding—the rearing of immortal souls, whose destiny should be heaven, for bondage and the lust of men, one of the congregation, a former Warden, rose and protested against the discourse as a desecration of the place and the day. The rector proceeded with the sermon, without noticing the interruption, but when he had concluded, asked the gentleman to point out the alleged wrong and desecration; saying that if he had said anything wrong or improper, he was open to correction, but as a minister of Christ, he was not to be deterred from uttering his views on the exciting topics of the day. Mr. TYNG preserved his equanimity and was perfectly cool during the whole discourse, and the excitement caused by the interruption, did not appear to move him. After service, the congregation remained to discuss the unusual occurrence, and many congratulated the minister on the patriotic stand he had taken. A reference to the Bishop (POTTER,) is spoken of.

The Vote on the Kansas Bill.

We give below the decision, in the House, on the question of the final passage of the bill to admit Kansas as a State, with her Free Republican Constitution:

The representative of this county, Maj. WILLIAMS, has inflicted dishonor upon himself and deep injury upon the people he claims to represent, by giving the *one vote* by which Kansas was rejected.

TROY DAILY WHIG,

☞ We yesterday asked the Troy *Times* to quote from the Philadelphia American Platform the passage which justified its charge that it, (our Platform) "*sanctioned the abhorrent sectional villainy in Kansas.*" Of course, we are not disappointed that the *Times* does not quote such passages, for well we knew they were not to be found.

A very brief space will suffice to answer all the *Times* has to say in justification of its reckless assertion. We hope the editors of that paper will readily discern the points we make, as we know all of its intelligent readers will.

I. The "repeal of the Missouri Compromise" the American Platform condemns, as having needlessly reopened sectional agitation. Stick a pin there.

II. The Missouri act having been repealed, the Platform recognizes and insists upon the right of the people of the Territories to "frame their Constitution and Laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, '*provided always that none but those who have a* FIXED RESIDENCE *in any such Territory ought to participate in the formation of the Constitution or in the enactment of Laws for said Territory or State.*" Stick a pin there.

III. The Free State men in Kansas outnumber the Slave State men three to one, and if the question whether the State is to be Free or Slave was left to the "FIXED RESIDENTS" of the Territory, the Free State men would of course have an immense majority. (For witnesses on this point we refer to the repeated declarations of Gov. REEDER, Gov. ROBINSON, the Congressional Investigating Committee, the New York Tribune, and the New York Times.) But men having no "fixed residence" in the Territory of Kansas, but residents mainly of Missouri, have gone into Kansas in large numbers, controlled elections, and thus defeated the will of the people permanently residing there. This interference of the Missourians the Philadelphia Platform *pointedly condemns.* Stick a pin *there.*

And tell us, what polite language will properly characterize the charge, twice repeated, that the American Platform "*sanctions* the abhorrent sectional villainy of the Kansas outrages!"

The cause of "Human Freedom!" is an excellent one, but how much it is profited by reckless assertions of this kind others will judge.

PHILADELPHIA EVENING JOURNAL.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 3, 1856.

MR. HAVEN and the "Fillmore Doughfaces," as the Journal calls them, having, with all the Free-States men, voted to send out the Investigation Committee, were disposed in good faith to wait for the evidence they should furnish, and therefore voted against the Topeka Constitution as the only way of postponing the question until the facts sent for could be placed before Congress and the country.

This is the poor apology which the Fillmore organ of this city proffers for the vote of Mr. Fillmore's Law Partner against the admission of Kansas as a Free State. The real cause of that vote was *the Slave Driver's Lash.* He was told that if he voted otherwise, his Law Partner would be wholly repudiated by the South—as he is sure to be by the North.

GEN. SMITH'S MISSION TO KANSAS.—The Editor of the Tribune telegraphs from Washington that Gen. Smith's instructions concerning Kansas are emphatically to prevent armed invasion from any quarter, and to afford protection to peaceable 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 to this trust with reference to his prudence, ability and firmness, as well as legal knowledge, enabling him to discriminate on delicate questions that may arise.

AN IMPORTANT ADMISSION AND AVOWAL.—According to the Times correspondent, Mr. Clayton, in the course of his speech in the Senate yesterday, boldly denounced the invalid laws as infamous, tyrannical and worthy of revolutionary resistance. He gave notice that he would move a proposition ordering a *nolle pros.* to be entered on the Kansas indictments for treason.

The Kansas Committee's Report.

We give this evening copious extracts from the Report of the Congressional Investigating Committee, which was sent to Kansas. Were not the document so voluminous as to make it impossible, we should publish it entire. It is a calm, succinct, impartial history of events in the Territory, in which nothing more nor less has been set down than was actually proved by the testimony of competent witnesses. So cautious have the Committee been in this respect, that they cite, in connection with each fact stated, the names of the witnesses by whom it was sworn to.

It evinces a great amount of patient and persevering labor, surrounded by all manner of difficulties and obstacles. It sounds almost incredible that a Committee of Congress should have been insulted, threatened and thwarted in the discharge of its official duties, by employés of the Executive whose duty it was to assist and protect them; but such is nevertheless the fact.

But all endeavors to hide the atrocious acts committed with Federal connivance in the Territory, failed of success. While corroborating facts already known, it reveals new and even more astounding ones.

The Report is written with ability and in the unprejudiced tone that befits a State paper. The conclusions arrived at by the Committee are in accordance with sound judgment and wise policy.

☞ This is a critical day for Kansas. The House takes up to-day Mr. BARCLAY's motion to re-consider the vote refusing her admission. Fearing a decision in the House in favor of Freedom, DOUGLAS yesterday determined to force his Bill through the Senate beforehand. The friends of Free Kansas of course resisted. A debate, long and acrimonious followed, and kept Senators in their seats all night. The minority were firm, bold and dignified, though conscious of approaching defeat; the majority insolent with expectant triumph, abusive with spleen and drink. DOUGLAS, PUGH, TOOMBS and others vied with each other in excess of billingsgate. SEWARD, WADE, WILSON and HALE each argued the case in behalf of Kansas. The bill, amended, was passed at 8 o'clock this morning. A full sketch of the proceedings is given elsewhere.

It is an ominous conjunction that finds the hand of the National Government uplifted against Liberty, on the eve of Independence Day. Would that we could hope to see displayed at Washington to-morrow, a tithe of that devotion to Freedom that made made the 4th of July immortal, at Philadelphia, eighty years ago.

KANSAS COMMITTEE REPORT.

Border Ruffianism Officially Exposed.

ASTOUNDING DEVELOPEMENTS.

Extracts from the Committee's Report.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE INTERFERENCE.

Within a few days after the organic law passed, and as soon as its passage could be known on the border, leading citizens of Missouri crossed into the Territory, held squatter meetings, and then returned to their homes. Among their resolutions are the following:—

"That we will afford protection to no Abolitionist as a settler of this Territory.

"That we recognise the institution of Slavery as already existing in this Territory, and advise slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible."

Similar resolutions were passed in various parts of the Territory, and by meetings in several counties of Missouri. Thus the first effect of the repeal of the restriction against Slavery was to substitute the resolves of squatter meetings, composed almost exclusively of citizens of a single State, for the deliberate act of Congress, acquiesced in for thirty-five years.

This unlawful interference has been continued in every important event in the history of the Territory; *every election* has been controlled not by the actual settlers, but by citizens of Missouri, and, as a consequence, every officer in the Territory, from constables to legislators, except those appointed by the President, owe their positions to non-resident voters. None have been elected by the settlers, and your Committee have been unable to find that any political power whatever, however unimportant, has been exercised by the people of the Territory.

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THE "BLUE LODGE"

In October, A. D., 1854, Gov. A. H. Reeder and the other officers appointed by the President arrived in the Territory. Settlers from all parts of the country were moving in in great numbers, making their claims and building their cabins. About the same time, and before any election was or could be held in the Territory, a secret political society was formed in the State of Missouri. It was known by different names, such as "Social Band," "Friends' Society," "Blue Lodge," "The Sons of the South." Its members were bound together by secret oaths, and they had passwords, signs and grips, by which they were known to each other. Penalties were imposed for violating the rules and secrets of the Order. Written minutes were kept of the proceedings of the Lodges, and the different Lodges were connected together by an effective organization. It embraced great numbers of the citizens of Missouri, and was extended into other Slave States and into the Territory. Its avowed purpose was not only to extend Slavery into Kansas, but also into other Territories of the United States, and to form a Union of all the friends of that institution. *Its* plan of operating was to organize and send men to vote at the elections in the Territory, to collect money to pay their expenses, and, if necessary, to protect them in voting. It also proposed to induce Pro-Slavery men to emigrate into the Territory, to aid and sustain them while there, and to elect none to office but those friendly to their views. This dangerous society was controlled by men who avowed their purpose to extend Slavery into the Territory at all hazards, and was altogether the most effective instrument in organizing the subsequent armed invasions and forays. In its Lodges in Missouri the affairs of Kansas were discussed, the force necessary to control the election was divided into bands, and leaders elected, muskets were collected, and signs and badges were agreed upon. While the great body of the actual settlers of the Territory were relying upon the rights secured to them by the organic law, and had formed no organization or combination whatever, even of a party character, this conspiracy against their rights was gathering strength in a neighboring State.

THE FIRST INVASION.

The election in the Second District was held at the village of Douglass, nearly fifty miles from the Missouri line. On the day before the election, large companies of men came into the District in wagons and on horseback, and declared that they were from the State of Missouri, and were going to Douglas to vote. On the morning of the election they gathered around the house where the election was held. Two of the Judges appointed by the Governor did not appear, and other Judges were elected by the crowd. All then voted. In order to make a pretense of right to vote, some persons of the company kept a pretended register of squatter claims, on which any one could enter his name and then assert he had a claim in the Territory. A citizen of the District who was himself a candidate for Delegate to Congress, was told by one of the strangers that he would be abused, and, probably, killed if he challenged a vote. He was seized by the collar, called a d—d Abolitionist, and was compelled to seek protection in the room with the Judges. About the time the polls were closed these strangers mounted their horses and got into their wagons, and cried out: "All aboard for Westport and Kansas City." A number were recognized as residents of Missouri, and among them was Samuel H. Woodson, a leading lawyer of Independence. Of those whose names are on the poll-books 35 were residents, and 226 were non-residents.

The election in the Fourth District was held at Dr. Chapman's, over 40 miles from the Missouri State line. It was a thinly settled region, containing but 47 voters in February, 1855, when the census was taken. On the day before the election, from 100 to 150 citizens of Cass and Jackson counties, Mo., came into this district declaring their purpose to vote, and that they were bound to make Kansas a Slave State, if they did it at the point of the sword. Persons of the party on the way drove each a stake in the ground and called it a claim—and in one case several names were put one stake. The party of strangers camped all night near where the election was to be held, and in the morning were at the election polls and voted. One of the party got drunk, and to get rid of Dr. Chapman, a judge of the election, they sent for him to come and see a *sick man*, and in his absence filled his place with another judge, who was not sworn. They did not deny or conceal that they were residents of Missouri, and many of them were recognized as such by others. They declared that they were bound to make Kansas a Slave State. They insisted upon their right to vote in the Territory if they were in it one hour. After the election they again returned to their homes in Missouri, camping over night on the way.

We find upon the boll books 161 names; of these not over 30 resided in the Territory, if they were in it one hour. After the election they again returned to their homes in Missouri, camping over night on the way.

HOW THEY VOTED AT LAWRENCE IN MARCH, 1855.

The company of persons who marched into this District, collected in Ray, Howard, Carroll, Boone, La Fayette, Randolph, Saline and Cass

On the morning of the election the Free State candidates for the Legislature were all present, and in a body, on account of the presence of a large number of armed men, by which they could be assailed and murdered. Gen. R. P. Stringfellow was present and active in promoting the election of the Pro-Slavery ticket, as was also Hon. Willard P. Hall, and others of the most prominent citizens of St. Joseph, and by the Judges of election, appointed by the Governor, and not by the strangers, who had chose two others to supply the vacancies.

WHERE THE HONORABLE MR. OLIVER, M. C., WAS.

Fifteenth District.—The election in this district was held in the house of a Mr. Hamilton. On the day of election a crowd of from 400 to 600 men collected around the polls, of which the great body were citizens of Missouri. One of the Judges of Election, in his testimony, states that the strangers commenced crowding around the polls, and that then the residents left. Threats were made before and during the election day that there should be no free State candidates, although there were nearly or quite as many free State as pro-slavery men resident in the district. Most of the crowd were drinking and carousing, cursing the abolitionists and threatening the only free State Judge of Election. A majority of those who voted wore hemp in their button holes, and their password was "All right on the hemp." Many of the Missourians now living in Kansas are named by the witnesses. Several speeches were made by them at the polls, and among those who spoke were MAJOR OLIVER, ONE OF YOUR COMMITTEE, Colonel Burns and Lalan Williams, of Platte county. Major Oliver urged upon all present to use no harsh words, and expressed the hope that nothing would be said or done to harm the feelings of the most sensitive on the other side. He gave some grounds, based on the Missouri compromise, in regard to the right of voting, and was understood to excuse the Missourians for voting. Your committee are satisfied that he did not vote. Colonel Burns recommended all to vote, and he hoped none would go home without voting.

The free State men did not vote, although they believed their numbers to be equal to the pro-slavery settlers, and some claimed that they had the majority. They were deterred by threats throughout by the Missourians, before and on the day of election, from putting up candidates, and no candidates were run, for this reason—that there was a credited rumor previously that the Missourians would control the election. The free State Judge was threatened with expulsion from the poll, and a young man thrust a pistol into the window through which the votes were received. The whole number of votes cast was 417; of the names on the poll book but 62 are in the census rolls, and the testimony shows that a small portion, estimated by one witness at one-quarter, of the legal voters voted. Your committee estimate the number of legal voters at 80. One of the Judges referred to certified to the Governor that the election was fairly conducted. It was not contested, because no one would take the responsibility of doing it, as it was not considered worth while, if another election was had, the residents would fare no better.

Doniphan Precinct.—The evening before the election some 200 or more Missourians from Platte, Buchanan, Saline and Clay Counties, Missouri, came into this Precinct with tents, music, wagons and provisions, and armed with guns, pistols, and bowie-knives, and encamped about two miles from the place of voting. They said they came to vote to make Kansas a Slave State, and intended to return to Missouri after they had voted.

On the morning of the election the Judges appointed by the Governor would not serve, and others were appointed by the crowd. The Missourians were allowed to vote without being sworn—some of them voting as many as eight or nine times; changing their hats and coats, and giving in different names each time. After they had voted they returned to Missouri. The Free State men generally did not vote, though constituting a majority in the Precinct. Upon counting the ballots in the box and the names on the poll liest, it was found that there were too many ballots, and one of the Judges of election took out ballots enough to make the two numbers correspond.

MISSOURI ORGANIZATION.

Before the election, false and inflammatory rumors were busily circulated among the people of Western Missouri. The number and character of the emigration then passing into the Territory were grossly exaggerated and misrepresented. Through the active exertions of many of its leading citizens, aided by the secret societies before referred to, the passions and prejudices of the people of that State were greatly excited. Several residents there have testified to the character of the reports circulated among and credited by the people. These efforts were successful. By an organized movement which extended from Andrew county in the north to Jasper county in the south; and as far eastward as Boone and Cole counties, companies of men were arranged in regular parties and sent *into every Council District in the Territory, and into every Representative District* but one. The numbers were distributed as to control the election in each District. They went to vote and with the avowed design to make Kansas a Slave State. They were generally armed and equipped, carried with them their own provisions and tents, and so marched into the Territory.

THE MURDER OF DOW.

On the 21st day of Nov., 1855, F. M. Coleman, a Pro-Slavery man, and Chas. W. Dow, a Free-State man, had a dispute about the division line between their respective claims. Several hours afterward, as Dow was passing from a blacksmith's shop toward his claim, and by the cabin of Coleman, the latter shot Dow with a double-barreled gun loaded with slugs. Dow was unarmed. He fell across the road and died immediately. This was about 1 o'clock P. M. His body was allowed to lie where it fell until after sundown, when it was conveyed by Jacob Branson to his house, at which place he boarded. The testimony in regard to this homicide is voluminous, and shows clearly that it was a deliberate murder by Coleman, and that Harrison Bulkley and a Mr. Hargous were accessories to it. The excitement caused by it was very great among all classes of the settlers. On the 26th, a large meeting of citizens was held at the place where the murder was committed, and resolutions passed that Coleman should be brought to justice. In the meantime Coleman had gone to Missouri, and then to Gov. Shannon at Shawnee Mission, in Johnson county.

THE MURDER OF BROWN.

Mr. Brown, with seven others who had accompanied him from Leavenworth, started on their return home. When they had proceeded a part of the way, they were stopped and taken prisoners by a party of men called the Kickapoo Rangers, under the command of Capt. John W. Martin. They were disarmed and taken back to

WHERE "SHERIFF JONES" WAS ON ELECTION DAY.

Second Dist.—Bloomington.—On the morning of election, the Judges appointed by the Governor appeared and opened the polls. Their names were Harrison Burson, Nathaniel Ramsay and Mr. Ellison. The Missourians began to come in early on the morning, some 500 or 600 of them, in wagons and carriages, and on horseback, under the lead of Samuel J. Jones, the Postmaster at Westport, Mo., Claiborne F. Jackson, and Mr. Steely of Independence, Mo. They were armed with double-barrelled guns, rifles, bowie-knives and pistols, and had flags hoisted. They held a sort of informal election, off at one side, at first for Governor of Kansas, and shortly afterwards announced Thos. Johnson, of Shawnee Missions, elected Governor. The polls had been opened for a short time, when Mr. Jones marched with the crowd up to the window, and demanded that they should be allowed to vote without swearing as to their residence. After some noisy and threatening talk, Claiborne F. Jackson addressed the crowd, saying they had come there to vote, that they had a right to vote if they had been there but five minutes, and he was not willing to go home without voting; which was received with cheers. Jackson then called upon them to form into little bands of 15 or 20, which they did, and went to an ox-wagon filled with guns, which were distributed among them, and proceeded to load some of them on the ground. In pursuance of Jackson's request the split white tape or ribbons in their button holes, so as to distinguish them from the "Abolitionists." They again demanded that the Judges should resign, and upon their refusing to do so, smashed in the window, sash and all, and presented their pistols and guns to them, threatening to shoot them. Some one on the outside cried out to them not to shoot as there were Pro-Slavery men in the room with the Judges. They then put a pry under the corner of the house, which was a log house, and lifted it up a few inches and let it fall again, but desisted upon being told there were Pro-Slavery men in the house. During this time the crowd repeatedly demanded to be allowed to vote without being sworn, and Mr. Ellison, one of the Judges, expressed himself willing, but the other two Judges refused: thereupon a body of men, headed by "Sheriff Jones," rushed into the Judges' room with cocked pistols and drawn bowie-knives in their hands, and approached Burson and Ramsay. Jones pulled out his watch and said he would give them five minutes to resign in, or die. When the five minutes had expired and the Judges *did not* resign, Jones said he would give them another minute and no more. Ellison told his associates that if they did not resign there would be one hundred shot dead in five minutes in less than fifteen minutes; and then snatching up the ballot-box he ran into the crowd, holding up the ballot-box and hurraing for Missouri.

About that time Burson and Ramsay were called out by their friends, and not suffered to return. As Mr. Burson went out he put the ballot poll books in his pocket, and took them with him; and as he was going out Jones snatched some papers away from him, and shortly afterward came out himself holding them up crying, "Hurrah for Missouri." After he discovered they were not the poll-books, he took a party of men with him and started off to take the poll-books from Burson. Mr. Burson saw them coming, and he gave the books to Mr. Umberger and told him to start off in another direction, so as to mislead Jones and his party. Jones and his party caught Mr. Umberger, took the poll books away from him, and Jones took him up behind on a horse, and carried him back a prisoner. After Jones and his party had taken Umberger back, they went to the house of Mr. Ramsay and took Judge John A. Wakefield prisoner, so as

...ction they again returned to their homes in Missouri, camping over night on the way.

We find upon the poll books 161 names; of these not over 30 resided in the Territory, if they were in it one hour. After the election they again returned to their homes in Missouri, camping over night on the way.

HOW THEY VOTED AT LAWRENCE IN MARCH, 1855.

The company of persons who marched into this District, collected in Ray, Howard, Carroll, Boone, La Favette, Randolph, Saline and Cass Counties, in the State of Missouri. Their expenses were paid—those who could not come contributing provisions, wagons, &c. Provisions were deposited for those who were expected to come to Lawrence in the house of Wm. Lykins, and were distributed among the Missourians after they arrived there. The evening before and the morning of the day of election, about 1,000 men from the above counties arrived at Lawrence, and camped in a ravine a short distance from town, near the place of voting. They came in wagons—of which there were over one hundred—and on horseback, under command of Col. Samuel Young of Boone County, Missouri, and Claiborne F. Jackson of Missouri. They were armed with guns, rifles, pistols and bowie-knives, and had tents, music and flags with them. They brought with them two pieces of artillery, loaded with musket balls. On their way to Lawrence, some of them met Mr. N. B. Blanton, who had been appointed one of the Judges of Election by Gov. Reeder, and after learning from him that he considered it his duty to demand an oath from them as to their place of residence, first attempted to bribe, and then threatened him with hanging, in order to induce him to dispense with that oath. In consequence of these threats, he did not appear at the polls the next morning to act as Judge.

The evening before the election, while in camp, the Missourians were called together at the tent of Capt. Claiborne F. Jackson, and speeches were made to them by Col. Young and others, calling for volunteers to go to other districts where there were not Missourians enough to control the election, and there were more at Lawrence than were needed there. Many volunteered to go, and the morning of election, several companies, from 150 to 200 men each, went off to Tecumseh, Hickory Point, Bloomington, and other places. On the morning of the election, the Missourians came over to the place of voting from their camp, in bodies of one hundred at a time. Mr. Blanton not appearing, another Judge was appointed in his place—Col. Young claiming that, as the people of the Territory had two Judges, it was nothing more than right that the Missourians should have the other one, to look after their interests; and Robert A. Cummins was elected in Blanton's stead, because he considered that every man had a right to vote if he had been in the Territory but an hour. The Missourians brought their tickets with them, but not having enough, they had three hundred more printed in Lawrence on the evening before and the day of election. They had white ribbons in their button-holes to distinguish themselves from the settlers.

When the voting commenced the question of the legality of the vote of a Mr. Page was raised. Before it was decided Col. Samuel Young stepped up to the window where the votes were received, and said he could settle the matter. The vote of Mr. Page was withdrawn, and Col. Young offered to vote. He refused to take the oath prescribed by the Governor, but swore he was a resident of the Territory, upon which his vote was received. He told Mr. Abbott, one of the Judges, when asked if he intended to make Kansas his future home, that it was none of his business; that if he were a resident then, he should vote no more. After his vote was received, Col. Young got up in the window sill and announced to the crowd that he had been permitted to vote. "Hurrah for Missouri." After he discovered they were not the poll-books, he took a party of men with him and started off to take the poll-books from Burson. Mr. Burson saw them coming, and he gave the books to Mr. Umberger and told him to start off in another direction, so as to mislead Jones and his party. Jones and his party caught Mr. Umberger, took the poll books away from him, and Jones took him up behind on a horse, and carried him back a prisoner. After Jones and his party had taken Umberger back, they went to the house of Mr. Ramsay and took Judge John A. Wakefield prisoner, and carried him to the place of election, and made him get up on a wagon and make them a speech; after which they put a white ribbon in his button-hole and let him go. They then chose two new Judges, and proceeded with the election.

They also threatened to kill the judges if they did not receive their votes without swearing them, or else resign. They said no man should vote who would submit to be sworn—that they would kill any one who would offer to do so—"shoot him," "cut his guts out," &c. They said no man should vote this day unless he voted an open ticket, and was "all right on the goose," and that if they could not vote by fair means, they would by foul means. They said they had as much right to vote, if they had been in the Territory two minutes, as if they had been there two years, and they would vote. Some of the citizens who were about the window, but had not voted when the crowd of Missourians marched up there, upon attempting to vote, were driven back by the mob, or driven off. One of them, Mr. J. M. Macey, was asked if he would take the oath, and upon his replying that he would, if the judges required it, he was dragged through the crowd away from the polls, amid cries of "Kill the d—d nigger thief," "Cut his throat," "Tear his heart out," &c. After they got him to the outside of the crowd, they stood around him with cocked revolvers and drawn bowie-knives, one man putting a knife to his heart, so that it touched him, another holding a cocked pistol to his ear, while another struck at him with a club. The Missourians said they had a right to vote if they had been in the Territory but five minutes. Some said they had been hired to come there and vote, and get a dollar a day, and, by G—d, they would vote or die there.

WHAT GENERAL ATCHISON DID.

Previous to the election, Gen. David R. Atchison, of Platte City, Mo., got up a company of Missourians, and passing through Weston, Mo., went over into the Territory. He remained all night at the house of ——, and then exhibited his arms, of which he had abundance. He proceeded to the Nemohaser (Eighteenth) District. On his way, he and his party attended a Nominating Convention in the Fourteenth District, and proposed and caused to be nominated a set of candidates in opposition to the wishes of the Pro-Slavery residents of the District. At that Convention he said that there were 1,100 men coming over from Platte Co., and if that wasn't enough they could send 5,000 more—that they came to vote, and would vote or kill every G—d d——d Abolitionist in the Territory.

On the day of election, the Missourians under Atchison, who were encamped there, came up to the polls in the Eighteenth District, taking the oath that they were residents of the District. The Missourians were all armed with pistols or bowie-knives, and said there were 60 in their company. But 17 votes given on that day were given by residents of the District. The whole number of votes was 62.

WHAT GEN. STRINGFELLOW WAS ABOUT.

BURR OAK PRECINCT.—Several hundred Missourians from Buchanan, Platte and Andrew counties, Mo., including a great many of the prominent citizens of St. Joseph, came into this precinct the day before, and [illegible] election.

...committed, and resolutions passed that Coleman should be brought to justice. In the meantime Coleman had gone to Missouri, and then to Gov. Shannon at Shawnee Mission, in Johnson county.

THE MURDER OF BROWN.

Mr. Brown, with seven others who had accompanied him from Leavenworth, started on their return home. When they had proceeded a part of the way, they were stopped and taken prisoners by a party of men called the Kickapoo Rangers, under the command of Capt. John W. Martin. They were disarmed and taken back to Easton, and put in Dawson's store. Brown was separated from the rest of his party, and taken into the office of E. S. Trotter. By this time several of Martin's party and some of the citizens of the place had become intoxicated, and expressed a determination to kill Brown. Capt. Martin was desirous to and did all in his power to save him. Several hours were spent in discovering what should be done with Brown and his party. In the meantime, without the knowledge of his party, Capt. Martin liberated all of Brown's party but himself, and aided them in their escape. The crowd repeatedly tried to get in the room where Brown was, and at one time succeeded, but were put out by Martin and others. Martin finding that further effort on his part to save Brown was useless, left and went home. The crowd then got possession of Brown and finally butchered him in cold blood. The wound of which he died was inflicted with a hatchet by a man of the name of Gibson. After he had been mortally wounded, Brown was sent home with Charles Dunn, and died that night. No attempt was made to arrest or punish the murderers of Brown. Many of them were well-known citizens, and some of them were officers of the law.

MISSOURIANS RECOGNIZED AT THE POLLS BY OLD ACQUAINTANCES.

The most shameless fraud practiced upon the rights of the settlers at this election was in the Seventh District. It is a remote settlement about 75 miles from the Missouri line, and contained in February, A. D., 1855, three months afterward, when the Census was taken, but 53 voters; and yet the poll-books show that 604 votes were cast. The election was held at the house of Frey McGee at a place called "110." But few of the actual settlers were present at the polls. A witness who formerly resided in Jackson county, Mo., and was well acquainted with the citizens of that county, says that he saw a great many wagons and tents at the place of election, and many individuals he knew from Jackson county. He was in their tents and conversed with some of them, and they told him they had come with the intention of voting. He went to the polls intending to vote for Flennekin, and his ticket being of a different color from the rest, his vote was challenged by Frey McGee, who had been appointed one of the Judges, but did not serve. Lemuel Ralstone, a citizen of Missouri, was acting in his place. The witness then challenged the vote of a young man named Nolan, whom he knew to reside in Jackson Co. Finally, the thing was hushed up as the witness had a good many friends there from that county, and it might lead to a fight if he challenged any more votes. Both voted and he then went down to their camp. He there saw many of his old acquaintances whom he knew had voted at the election in August previous in Missouri, and who still resided in that State. By a careful comparison of the poll-lists with the Census rolls, we find but 12 names on the poll-book who were voters when the Census was taken three months afterwards, and we are satisfied that not more than 20 legal votes could have been polled at that election. The only residents who are known to have voted are named by the witness, are 13 in number—thus leaving 584 illegal votes cast in a remote district, where the settlers within many miles were acquainted with each other.

the town of Lawrence under Marshal Donalson, and S. J. Jones, officers claiming to act under the law, and bombarded and then burned to the ground a valuable hotel and one private house; destroyed two printing presses and material; and then, being released by the officers, whose posse they claimed to be, proceeded to sack, pillage and rob houses, stores, trunks, &c., even to the clothing of women and children.

Norwich Evening Courier.

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1856.

Report on the Kansas Outrages.

The Congressional Commission sent out to Kansas for the purpose of thoroughly investigating the outrages upon the rights of the peaceful inhabitants of that Territory, made their report to the House on Tuesday. It is published in full in the New York Tribune of yesterday and occupies over *seventeen closely printed columns.* Of course its insertion in our columns is out of the question. The scene which occurred in the House of Representatives upon presentation of the report—the desperate efforts made by the Pro Slavery men—the Bucaniers—to prevent the report from getting before Congress and the country—are most significant and instructive Honest men, anxious for light on a question involving such interests and issues as this Kansas question, would never have been found fighting in this manner to *exclude* the light.

But "murder will out," in spite of the most cunning and crafty devices for covering it up. And so it proves in the present case. The Report which puts forever an extinguisher upon the bold and impudent lies of Border-Ruffianism is now before the country beyond the reach of the cohorts of Slavery, and will be read and pondered by millions of freemen whose verdict upon the facts will be rendered through the ballot box in November next.

SOUTHERN KANSAS ASSOCIATION.—Maj. Warren D. Wilkes, lately returned to Charleston from the Territory of Kansas, as a plenipotentiary from the Southern emigrants to raise men and money for the "great cause" of establishing slavery in Kansas, makes a lengthy communication to the executive committee, urging the want of men and money "to secure the fruits of a well-founded public opinion at the ballot box in October next." The importance of securing Kansas for the South is set forth in a positive and negative form

and the Acts of Congress. These men are upheld by the South. They feel the necessity of securing Kansas to the slave power and are utterly reckless and unscrupulous about the means employed.—They are upheld by the Buchanan party every where. They are supporters of James Buchanan for the Presidency, and, therefore, can do nothing wrong.

Can these reckless acts of tyranny and oppression be borne much longer? Did our ancestors suffer as much from Great Britain, as the Free State men of Kansas from the slave power?

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1856.

Force in Kansas.

There can be no doubt of the determination of the slave oligarchy to make Kansas a Slave State by force. It is now found that free state voters will press into the Territory as settlers in too great numbers to be voted down. They are now to be prevented from entering by force. The pretense or excuse for their exclusion is the bearing of arms—a right which the Constitution, which the Buchanan men prate so much about, expressly allows.—No settlers would go into any new country, however peaceable, without arms, and these Border Ruffians know that the exclusion of armed men is the exclusion of the whole.

But who assumes this authority? Who makes these arrests? Who prevent Northern men from entering the Territory to which, according to the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska act itself, they have an equal right? Not the United States troops—not even the bogus authorities of Kansas itself—but organized bands of Missourians, acting without law and in direct defiance of the Constitution



NEW HAVEN:

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1856.

Politics in the Pulpit.

An immense sensation was produced at Philadelphia by the announcement that on Sunday evening last, the Rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Epiphany, Rev. Duddley A. Tyng, would discourse on the subject of "Our Country's Troubles." The Bulletin gives the following account of the affair:

"The announcement created more sensation than usual, from the fact that the Episcopal denominations, as a body, have always discountenanced the introduction of such topics into the pulpit, as well as from the circumstances that the Rector, since his connection with his parish, has generally preserved silence on questions having the most remote allusion to public affairs. The minister having selected an appropriate text, briefly gave his reasons for introducing the subject into the pulpit, and then proceeded to denounce in an eloquent strain and straight forward manner, the outrages in Kanzas and at Washington, the aggression of the slave power, the miserable truckling of the North to the South, the horrors of the slave-breeding, and concluded by urging his congregation to exercise their rights as freemen at the ballot-box, in staying the progress of the monster evil, and invoking aid for the suffering emigrants in Kanzas.—The sermon was listened to with breathless attention, and without interruption, until the speaker spoke of slave-breeding, rearing immortal souls (who were made for heaven,) for bondage, when Dr. Casper Morris, formerly a church warden, rose from his pew, and, as one of the original church wardens, entered his solemn protest against the desecration of the place and the day by such services.

The preacher continued his discourse without noticing the interruption, and at the conclusion of his sermon, respectfully suggested to the gentleman who had interposed his objections, to point out the wrong which he had committed in using the Sabbath as the time, and an Episcopal pulpit as the place, for the utterance of anti-slavery sentiments. Mr. Tyng suggested, too, that it would have been as well to have waited until he had concluded his remarks, before interposing any objection to them. If he (Mr. Tyng) was wrong, he was open to correction, but he would, as a minister of Jesus Christ, express his views of the great exciting topic of the day. Mr. Tyng was perfectly calm throughout the unusual scene, and he appeared to be entirely unmoved during the decided sensation incident to the interruption by Dr. Morris. We should state that at the commencement of the remarks of Mr. Tyng several members of the congregation left the church. After the sermon was finished, the members of the congregation gathered in knots to discuss the unusual event, while many of them congratulated the minister upon the decided stand he had taken. We understand that the matter will be referred to the Bishop of the Diocese."

Correspondence of the Palladium.

From our Connecticut Kanzas Colony.

KANZAS CITY, June 19, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—We leave here this morning, after an unusual detention, having arrived on the 13th. We should ordinarily have accomplished our business in one day, but as we came by a new route, and left our teams up the river, thinking we should be unable to go over the ordinary road, and have been subject to various other annoyances growing out of the war. Our stay has been prolonged and our expenses very much increased; but we now have our engine, boiler, saw mill, &c., all packed on the wagons, without any accident having occurred to mar the hard work of the occasion. We start with five teams, in all thirteen yoke of oxen, beside one team containing a family from Ohio, a man with his wife and three children, first rate people, going to join our community.

We find very comfortable accommodations here with Capt. Smart, who is a slaveholder, but a sensible man. In coming down the river, the other day, we had an opportunity of seeing and hearing Mr. Atchison and some of his associates. He sat opposite us at the dinner table. He did not like the nomination of Buchanan, although it would make no difference in *the result, as the party were fully committed to their cause,*—but, said he, a victory with Pierce or Douglas would have been worth fighting for, because they were more actively *identified* with the great questions at issue. He complained that the Buford men had overdone matters in the Territory, having taken their own friends as well as foes, and, in one instance, he said they had arrested Wilson's (meaning Shannon, as we suppose,) brother-in-law, tied a ball and chain to him, and sent him down the river. His friend with whom he was talking, replied—"It will never do to allow any class of men to feel that they have a right to take life, indiscriminately, at pleasure." "*That,*" said he, "must be stopped," and Mr. Atchison assented, adding that "an *unarmed* man ought not to be detained under any circumstances," all of which, of course, meets our hearty concurrence. Mr. A. is a very fine looking man, erect in person, about the size of Judge Boardman, perhaps a little taller, with a rather ruddy complexion. During our passage, he, with another man, came where two of us were sitting upon the gunwale of the boat, and addressing a gentleman standing near us, said, "I wish to introduce to you the renowned Captain of the 'Kickapoo Rangers,' a gentleman distinguished for his military exploits, and well skilled in taking scalps." We saw the Captain afterwards in Kanzas City, in company with a Wyandot Indian, both decidedly worse for whiskey.

The pro-slavery paper at Leavenworth speaks highly of a company of Wyandots, for their co-operation in the recent troubles, stating that they fight after their old fashion. We saw in the same paper a circular addressed to the friends of slavery, signed by committees of the three border counties, calling for aid. They say they can find men in Missouri, but want money, horses, ammunition and arms. The troops, say they, cannot accomplish much on foot, and they must be supported. It goes much into detail, and is an earnest appeal to aid in carrying on the war, and in another paper in the same town, I noticed the Governor's proclamation, ordering all armed bodies to disband and disperse, and calling upon good citizens to aid in restoring peace. These things seem a little inconsistent with each other, but it is surprising to notice how bold the pro-slavery men are in their action, for the distinctly avowed purpose of making Kanzas a slave State,—and upon the borders of Missouri the popular sentiment is undoubtedly very strong in that direction, although we meet with some who deprecate the course pursued. We saw a gentleman yesterday, said to be the largest slaveholder in the country, and living within a few miles of this place, who is heartily sick of the whole thing. It is quite possible that if a few men of common sense, representing both sides of the controversy, could be brought together, measures would be taken to put an end to violence, and possibly leave the matter to be decided by the legitimate and natural course of events.

There is no doubt great excitement at the East, and there probably will be earnest efforts made to raise "material aid" for Kanzas, but it is difficult for me to see how money can be used advantageously except to encourage actual settlers to come here with simply the means of self protection, in the quiet pursuit of making homes for themselves and families. To raise money for the support of a army, is to engage in civil war, which does not yet seem expedient or right. Money invested in building school houses, churches, stores and dwellings, will be more effectual, and tend to peace, but I am sorry to say many Free State men here have lost their patience, and possibly their common sense, and are ready for the worst,—yet we hope better councils may prevail, and a general disruption be prevented.

30 We are making some purchases with a view to a celebration on the Fourth, and we intend to have one with a public dinner, military parade, oration, toasts, display of flags, &c., all of which will be duly reported after the event has passed,—and may the festivities, if we are permitted to enjoy them, contribute to promote a better appreciation of the value of our institutions, and a more determined purpose, by patient continuance in well doing, to seek for their full development and final success.

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THE CABINET:

E. D. BOYLSTON *Editor & Proprietor.*

Amherst, - - - - - - - July 3d, 1856.

Ho for Kansas Plains!

BY JAMES G. CLARK, OF OSSIAN'S BARDS.

Huzza for the prairies wild and free;
Ho! for the Kansas plains;
Where men shall live in liberty,
Free from a tyrants chains.
We will ask no page in story,
Prouder than the spotless glory,
Of a land that gives her might
To the battle of the right.
Huzza &c.,

We spurn at the power, and break the rod,
Wreaking in guilt and crime;
We bow the knee to none but God,
Maker, and King of time:
And the brave will round us rally,
From the mountain and the valley
Till the skies with freedom ring,
And the world shall hear us sing.
Huzza &c.

O sweet is the charm of rock and tree;
Bright are the flowing rills,
Where we have roamed in youthful glee,
Over the eastern hills:
But we turn from all their beauty,
To the call of truth and duty,
And we give our chainless might,
To the battle of the right.
Hazza &c.

Tho' far from the soil of Pilgrim fame,
On the Atlantic shore,
Here we will build a noble name,
Proud as our fathers wore.
And the far off Rocky mountains,
With their flashing lakes and fountains,
Shall behold our glory spring,
While the world shall hear us sing.
Huzza &c.

The Atlas.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1856.

TELEGRAPHIC DESPATCHES.

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

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, July 2.

SENATE.—The Chair laid before the Senate a com-

The bill for the admission of Kansas, reported by the Committee on Territories, was taken up.

Mr. Wade said he stood up to advocate no new doctrine, but the great principles of equal rights to all men, black and white. That was the doctrine of the fathers of this Republic. He then alluded to the passage of the Compromise Measures of 1850, which were called "finality measures," and said the Democratic party had put the present administration into power upon a platform pledging them to resist slavery agitation. He did not know how they intended to resist, whether with bludgeons or otherwise; however, they had no right to resist the agitation of any subject pertaining to this government. He stood here to resist all attempts to infringe the right of free speech, whatever might be the consequences. He opposed the bill under consideration. In conclusion, he criticised the political course of his colleague.

Mr. Pugh replied, and said Mr. Wade had used language not becoming to a gentleman nor a Senator, nor a black Republican, but language becoming a blackguard. [Sensation.]

The Chair called Mr. Pugh to order.

Mr. Pugh, proceeding with his remarks, said Mr. Wade had no right to charge him with loving slavery and hating liberty. He continued at some length, sharply retorting upon Mr. Wade.

Mr. Briggs said it could not be disguised that there was an evident foreshadowing in Mr. Wade's remarks of a determination among the party to which the latter belonged, if they cannot succeed at the ballot-box, to pull down the fair fabric of liberty, consecrated by the blood of our forefathers. He (Mr. Briggs) advocated the bill under consideration.

Mr. Clayton, at 5 o'clock, said he desired to speak, but did not care about addressing only a dozen Senators, and, under these circumstances, he moved an adjournment. The motion was negatived.

The question was taken on Mr. Adams's motion to strike out the clause giving the right of suffrage to all persons who shall have filed their declaration of intention to become citizens of the United States, in compliance with the naturalization laws.

No quorum voting, on motion of Mr. Douglas, the Sergeant-at-Arms was directed to compel the attendance of absent members.

After a pause of 15 minutes, during which absentees occasionally entered, Mr. Bell, of Tenn., asked whether the decree for a night session was irrevocable and unalterable.

Mr. Douglas asked whether the decree to break up a quorum was irrevocable.

Mr. Bell—Does the Senator allude to me?

Mr. Douglas—Does the Senator allude to me?

Mr. Bell—I do.

Mr. Douglas—We heard and overheard that it was the desire to break up a quorum. Never has so much time been given for debate as on the Kansas question. We want to end the discussion. When the bill was up on Monday, not one Senator who is now trying to deprive the Senate of a quorum spoke, yet they complain that there is not time enough allowed for debate.

Mr. Bell—I do not stand here to defend or explain the conduct of Senators. I asked a civil question, and a parliamentary one.

The Chair said the debate was out of order.

Mr. Bell—I have nothing unfair to disguise. I am anxious this bill should pass, with some modification.

Mr. Douglas, a quorum now being in attendance, again called for a vote on Mr. Adams' amendment, which was adopted, the vote being as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Bell of Tenn., Briggs, Brodhead, Brown, Clay, Clayton, Collamer, Crittenden, Fessenden, Fitzpatrick, Foot, Foster, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Mallory, Mason, Reid, Thompson of Ky., Yulee—22.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Cadler, Butler, Bright, Cass, Dodge, Douglas, Evans, Jones of Iowa, Pugh, Seward, Slidell, Toombs, Weller, Wilson, Wright—16.

Mr. Wilson moved to strike out all after the enacting clause in the bill, and insert "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."

Mr. Crittenden said it seemed to him that some explanation was required. Was the remedy for the disturbances in Kansas complete and entire?

Mr. Wilson replied, that in his judgment, the bill was to make Kansas a slave State. The report just made to the House, shows that there were 5900 Missourians forced on the people of that territory, and that it was the Legistature which passed inhuman and unchristian enactments that occasioned all the trouble. His proposition was designed as a preliminary to other legislation, to protect the people in their rights, and punishing any violation of the laws of the country.

Mr. Weller—The proposition is to repeal all laws, and settle the dispute by physical force.

Mr. Toombs—That's a good way; nobody objects to that.

Mr. Seward said he would, with the greatest pleasure, vote for Mr. Wilson's amendment. The present bill can have no other tendency and effect than to confirm the success of the object of the passage of the law abrogating the Missouri Compromise, and form a slave State out of Kansas. There is no code, there are no laws, and no legal society in Kansas, other than that of the organic act of 1854. The Government of that Territory is an usurpation and tyranny, and there are no legal or moral obligations to treat it with the least respect. The House, more true to freedom than the Senate, sent a commission thither, whose report establishes these facts beyond all question. The day for compromises has ended.

Mr. Toombs—I am glad of it.

Mr. Seward—And so am I. Henceforth we take our stand on the Constitution—

Mr. Toombs, interrupting—On the higher law.

Mr. Seward, continuing—They who stand there are firm, and those who do not are on a slippery and unsubstantial foothold.

Mr. Toombs—I think so, when you get on the higher law.

Mr. Crittenden regretted exceedingly to hear Mr. Seward say that the day of compromises had gone by. The form of the bill might not be altogether satisfactory to the gentleman, but it was offered to him in a liberal spirit; yet he has declared his intention to accept no amendments to render it more satisfactory and conciliatory. The proposition of Mr. Wilson would increase to a boundless extent the existing evils. He (Crittenden) would compromise to the last moment of time, provided they could preserve the original principle on which the Government was erected. The present crisis demanded of every Senator serious and solemn consideration. He earnestly appealed to gentlemen to come forward in a liberal spirit, and do justice to all sections of the country. He almost despaired, when those from whom he had expected so much, seemed disposed to do so little.

Mr. Clayton said he had served long in public life, but never, from the first day that he entered this hall, had he believed the country in as much danger as now. His desire was to offer gentlemen on both sides compromise. Alas! this day they had heard a word, dear to the American statesman, treated with levity. They had been told that the time for compromise was past. If so, the period of duration of this Republic is gone. The Constitution of the United States was a compromise. Every bill passed was a compromise. Men could not live in civil society or private life without compromise. If we have arrived at the determination that we will never compromise again, we might as well throw our Constitution to the winds. In a spirit of compromise he had introduced a bill to abrogate all laws in Kansas manifestly unjust, including those regulating elections, requiring an oath to support the Fugitive Slave law, and abridging the liberty of speech and the press. He explained his proposition, and predicted that if the bill now pending should become a law, the application of Kansas for admission as a State into the Union next session would produce an excitement nearly exceeding the fury and violence of 1820. He preferred that Kansas should undergo pupilage before her admission as a State.

Mr. Hale said one objection he had to the bill was that he was not willing to entrust its execution to the present Executive, in whom he had not the slightest confidence. If the Senator from Kentucky had such a high opinion of compromises, that they will come with healing on their wings to the whole nation, if such is his belief as to what compromises will do, why was it not the first dictate of patriotism, prudence and justice to see what the effect will be of restoring the compromise of 1820? He believed with Mr. Crittenden, that these were perilous times.

Mr. Toombs believed that Mr. Seward and his coadjutors wanted grievances of discord, and nothing but revolution to obtain power. He would offer to the country the evidence of these facts. When he (Toombs) submitted the pure ballot box, with all that honor could throw around it, with the entire military force of this great country to protect it, he was met by the tender from Mr. Wilson, backed by Mr. Seward, of the cartridge box. If he believed they presented the feelings of the North, he would withdraw his bill, and accept that issue. If he believed the Free States were ready for that he would be content. He had no compromise to offer but principle. But he did not believe that these men here represented the feelings of the North. He did not know what claim they had to speak for the North. He had no higher law. He despised the man who had. He looked upon him as a wretch who would steep his conscience in perjury in order to get advantage of peace.

Mr. Bigler could scarcely imagine that Mr. Wilson's amendment was to be pressed on the consideration of the Senate, and was seriously intended as a remedy for existing evils. He believed that one of the reasons for offering it was to place those who voted against it in the attitude of sanctioning all laws which exist in Kansas. He regarded the pending bill as the best measure for restoring peace and order in Kansas.

Mr. Wilson would say to Mr. Crittenden that if this bill should pass, it will not meet the object gentlemen profess to have in view. He believed the bill intended to crown the labors of the last six months, and make Kansas a slave State. The Senator from New York was rudely assailed, because he declared his opposition to compromise on the question of slavery, in which the North had always been defrauded and cheated. Freemen from the North had been driven out of that territory, have been ordered out by you.

Mr. Crittenden—Not me.

Mr. Wilson—I will say the masters of Kansas, of this Administration, the border ruffians of Missouri, the men who conquered the Territory, and the men who govern at the other end of the avenue, if they do not govern here. He defended the Free State movements in regard to Kansas. He said, among other things, withdraw Gov. Shannon, and send there an honest, sober and competent man to execute the laws. [illegible] he told the Senate on the 18th of January [illegible] to pass. Gov. Shannon has made

[illegible] for the redemption [illegible] a revocation of the appointment

Territory, telling women if he could find their husbands he would "cut their damned hearts out." He defended himself and coadjutors from the charge of Mr. Toombs, that they were traitors, enemies to liberty, and hostile to the institutions of the common country. He then descanted on the principles and fair prospects of the Republican party.

Mr. Bigler wished to know what Mr. Wilson meant by applying to him the term "jubilant Senator." [Laughter.]

Mr. Wilson explained that he referred to the exultant tone in which Mr. Bigler spoke yesterday of Mr. Buchanan being elected to the Presidency, while he invited the Senator from New Jersey (Thomson) into the boat before it was full.

Mr. Bigler was satisfied with the explanation, because the remark was confined to a particular case. If he (Wilson) thought he was in the humor under his speech, there was a mistake.

Mr. Wilson did not suppose that Mr. Bigler would be as jubilant after the November election. [Laughter.] In answer to the eulogium of Mr. Toombs on President Pierce, he said that he (Pierce) stood before the Cincinnati Convention, with the blood of the murdered people of Kansas dripping from his hand; but, after doing slavery's work, he was flung, like a worthless thing, away. He did not want any more of that man's control in Kansas, as the pending bill proposed.

Mr. Clayton maintained that the Missouri compromise was an unconstitutional provision originally, and quoted the authority of Madison, heretofore presented to the Senate.

Mr. Trumbull said that many of the features of the bill met his approbation. It contained as an assumption of power that Congress had the right to govern the territories, and repudiated squatter sovereignty and self government in the territory. He was glad the Committee on Territories had, at last, come to this conclusion. In commenting on affairs in Kansas, he said there was no such thing as constructive treason, and yet the leaders of the free State party are in prison under this trumped-up charge. The officers there are acting out the designs of the men who invaded the territory. He then gave his objections to the bill, saying it would not give peace to Kansas. He hoped his tongue might cleave to the roof of his mouth, and his right hand forget its cunning, if he ever voted for the admission into the Union of a State upon which slavery had been forced by fraud and violence. Never, so help him God!—and he did not believe the people of the country would. Two things must be done to give peace—exclude slavery from Kansas while a territory, and give the people a fair election, and if they establish slavery, then admission as a State might be assented to, and then abolish all odious and infamous laws.

[It was now midnight.]

Mr. Bell, of Tenn., said every gentleman who had looked into the question, must know that this agitation will continue to go on until finally settled by the admission of Kansas, as a State, into the Union. If he had the power, he would crush this hydra-headed monster at once, so it should not go into the Presidential election. The bill pending meets the case too promptly. The time is too short for its execution. During the turbulence of the Presidential election, the measure was not likely to give satisfaction to the country. He did not believe that any measure could be adopted that would give entire satisfaction.

Washington, July 3, 2 o'clock A. M.—The Senate is still in session, with no prospect of adjournment.

HOUSE.—Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, asked leave to offer a resolution changing the daily hour of meeting of the House from 12 to 11 o'clock.

Mr. Jones of Tenn., objected, unless the time for the adjournment of Congress was first fixed.

Mr. Giddings—No bargains.

Mr. Houston moved to take up the Senate's adjournment resolution.

Mr. Matteson and others objected.

The reading of the report of the Kansas Investigating Commission was resumed, and, before being completed, Mr. Campbell of Ohio, moved that the further reading of the document be dispensed with.

Messrs. Florence, Houston, Crane, A. K. Marshall, Quitman and Bowie, at different times severally insisted on the reading of the document.

The Speaker decided that any member had a right to have read documents which were to be refered or printed.

Mr. Cobb, of Ga., appealed to his friends not to insist upon that, as several days would thus be consumed, and no good purpose accomplished. His appeal was successful.

On motion of Mr. [Washburn, of Me., the report was referred to the Committee on Elections, and ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. Lane, authority was given the minority to report at any time within ten days, and take additional testimony, which, when submitted, shall be referred to the Committee on Elections and printed.

The understanding is that all the papers, including the minority report, shall be printed as one document.

EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 3, 1856.

FIRST EDITION.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. The sentence most frequently quoted from the Declaration of Independence occurs at the commencement of the second paragraph, and is in these words:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, etc.

As originally penned by Jefferson, this passage read as follows:

We hold these truths to be sacred and undeniable: That all men are created equal and independent; that from that equal creation they derive rights, some of which are inherent and inalienable. Among these are the preservation of life and liberty.

The alterations subsequently made by the author are a great improvement on this first draft of the paragraph.

The original Declaration was cut down about one-third during the debates upon it in the Committee of the Whole on the 2d, 3d and 4th days of July. The longest passages that were struck out related to Slavery, to King George and to the people of England. Mr. Jefferson was greatly offended at these alterations. He says:

The clause reprobating the enslavement of the inhabitants of Africa, was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Our Northern brethren also, I believe, felt a little tender under these censures; for though their people had very few slaves themselves yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others.

The passage is written in the most vigorous style of Jefferson, and no paragraph in the document as it now stands, is quite equal to it in rhetorical force. We give it entire:

He [that is the King of Great Britain] has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.

Mr. Jefferson made the parts of the Declaration which referred to the people of England quite severe, and they were expunged. Alluding to the changes made by Congress in this portion of the document, he says: "The pusillanimous idea that we had friends in England worth keeping terms with, still haunted the minds of many. For this reason, those passages which conveyed censures on the people of England were struck out, lest they should give them offence." We have space for but one of the expunged paragraphs. Alluding to the British people, the original Declaration said:

When occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have, by their free election, reestablished them in power. At this very time, too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce for ever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a free and a great people together; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too. We will tread it apart from them.

The following sentence was omitted by Congress:

Future ages will scarcely believe that the hardiness of one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to lay a foundation so broad and so undisguised for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed in principles of freedom.

When the Declaration of Independence is publicly read tomorrow, and the history of "the repeated injuries and usurpations" of the British King set forth therein, are heard depicted in the terse and vigorous rhetoric of Jefferson, the words will be found in many points particularly applicable to Kanzas. "The establishment of an absolute tyranny" in that territory; the "invasions from without"—"the altering fundamentally the forms of government"—the "burning" of "towns" and "destroying the lives of people"—the armies of "mercenaries to complete the work of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages," now, as of old, are *"totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation."* Like the Colonists, the people of Kanzas can truly say, in the language of the Declaration—

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince (president) whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

As the Colonists appealed to their British brethren, so have the settlers in Kanzas appealed to their countrymen, and well may the people of that Territory use the language of our National Charter of Freedom, and say:

We have warned them (our brethren) from time to time of attempts made by the (ir) legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity.

The New England Emigrant Aid Company, having determined to rebuild the Hotel in Lawrence at the earliest practicable moment, appeal to the public for an immediate increase of subscriptions to the capital stock of the company in aid of this and its other enterprises. The stock of the Company is divided into shares of twenty dollars each, and there is no personal liability attached to them. Subscriptions will be received by A. J. STONE, Assistant Treasurer, at the Company's Office, No. 3 Winter street, or by either of the Executive Committee.

WM. B. SPOONER, Boston.
J. M. S. WILLIAMS, Do.
ELI THAYER, Worcester.
SAMUEL CABOT, Jr., Boston. } Ex.
R. P. WATERS, Salem. } Committee.
L. B. RUSSELL, Boston.
C. J. HIGGINSON, Do.
E. E. HALE, Worcester.

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Kanzas. At a meeting of Delegates from many towns in the Commonwealth, held in Boston, on Wednesday, June 25th, the following gentlemen were appointed a State Kanzas Aid Committee:

George R. Russell, Wm. Ropes, Wm. R. Lawrence, of Boston; George 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, Treasurer.

The Committee invite the co operation of their fellow citizens throughout the Commonwealth, in the great work of promoting Freedom in Kanzas, by aiding those who are already there, as well as those in this and other States who are wishing to become actual settlers in that Territory.

It will be remembered that the "Emigrant Aid Company," already established, is a corporate body, which facilitates emigration by the investment of capital at the various points to be settled, but in no case furnishes direct pecuniary aid to the settler.

The Committee earnestly request the various towns to hold meetings, and to raise subscriptions for this end.

They pledge themselves that all monies thus contributed, shall be faithfully devoted to the furtherance of the object proposed, and in strict conformity to the laws and constitution of the country.

Contributions may be sent to the Treasurer at Boston, or to any member of the Committee.

All necessary information will be furnished by the Secretary of the Committee, S. N. GIFFORD, Esq., who may be found at 7 Nile's Building, School street, Boston.

jy 3 eodfw GEO. L. STEARNS, Chairman.

Boston Journal.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 3, 1856.

SENATOR DOUGLAS' KANSAS BILL. Mr. Collamer of Vermont has submitted the following clear, forcible and conclusive minority report against Mr. Douglas' new Kansas bill, passed this morning in the U. S. Senate:

"It is now proposed to pass the bill to enable the present inhabitants of Kansas to choose delegates to form a State 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 our 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 the 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 a State, be admitted "with or without slavery, as their constitution may 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° 30' north latitude, that bill of repose for which the slaveholding States had received and secured forever their consideration, and which had been sanctioned by thirty 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 done to admit slavery into the territory, which that compromise forbid. 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 the last national assurance, many people from Free States, as well as from Slave States, settled in Kansas, and how has that assurance been kept? Neither the Executive or Congress has redeemed that plighted faith or 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 8331 votes cast in March, 1855, for the election of the legislative assembly of Kansas, 4921 of them were cast by armed bands of the inhabitants of Missouri, who invaded Kansas for that purpose on that occasion; that only 1410 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 council districts, and 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 tyrannic laws enacted by that assembly, and more tyrannically enforced by the officers by them appointed. These laws, so made by usurpation, the Executive of this government has aided to enforce, and in Congress no relief has been granted. The complaints and representation 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 brought down on them the report of being traitors and subverters of authority.

Abandoned 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 color 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 posse, armed bands of people from without the territory prowl over the territory 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 sentiment 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, and provide no security for those they imprison, oppress and disperse, but provide that those *now* there, and those only, shall determine the definite 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 definitive 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.

Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON:

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1856.

WASHINGTON, July 3.

Passage of Douglas's Kansas Bill.

Remainder of Proceedings in the Senate Yesterday.

[Continued from fourth page.]

Mr. Bell continued, saying he preferred Mr. Clayton's bill, leaving out the federal ratio of representation. Abolish and abrogate the unjust laws, and let the people go on, under the permission of that bill, to establish a State Government, and, meanwhile, select a new Legislative Assembly.

2 A. M.—At half-past 12 o'clock, Mr. Crittenden moved for adjournment; but Mr. Douglas, and others on his side of the question, who had been regaling in private rooms, came in and voted down the motion, by yeas 9, nays 23, and then retired.

[About two dozen persons are in the galleries, some of them asleep. A few Senators are snoozing in the lobby on sofas, and in their chairs.]

In the meantime Mr. Bell discussed the admission of States into the Union, in connection with the slavery question.

2.35 A.M.—Mr. Johnson said it was a late hour, and the same might have been said two hours ago. (Laughter). If they could have a moment of silence amidst this profound sighing and deep breathing—(laughter)—he trusted the Senate would come to a vote.

Mr. Seward said a session had generally lasted three or four hours, but the present session had occupied nearly fourteen. He would say to Mr. Crittenden, he was not against all compromises, but against a compromise involving moral rights, political justice, or high political expediency. By no act of his should any man be held or kept in slavery. On this he could not compromise.

3 A.M.—Mr. Seward is still speaking; and the prospects are that the session will continue till daylight, as the majority are evidently determined to vote on the bill before adjournment.

4.15 *A. M.*—Mr Seward advocated his bill for the admission of Kansas with the Topeka constitution.

Mr Reid replied to Mr Seward's remarks relative to slavery, saying that when a majority of the people of the North became prepared to enfore the doctrine declared by Mr S., this Union cannot last one hour longer.

6.45 A. M.—Several slight amendments adopted, others reported.

Mr. Geyer, of Mo., offered an amendment to the effect that no law shall be made, or have force or effect, which shall require a test oath, or any 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 elections, or which shall impose any test upon or condition to exercise 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 Territory, or the free exercise of opinion by the people of the Territory.

This gave rise to a debate involving the question of squatter sovereignty, and whether Congress ought to interfere as proposed, it having left the people free to settle their own affairs.

Mr. Cass said some of the acts passed by the Assembly of Kansas were disgraceful to the age. How could the people properly pass laws unless they have the right of free discussion.

Mr. Geyer's amendment was adopted, only three nays, viz., Brown, Fitzpatrick and Mason.

The Commissioners (as provided in Mr. Douglas's bill) are to be appointed with the consent of the Senate.

Mr. Wilson's amendment was rejected—nays 35, yeas 8.

Mr. Seward offered a substitute, admitting Kansas with the Topeka constitution; rejected—yeas 11, Bell of N. H., Collamer, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, Wilson—nays 36.

The bill, as amended by Geyer, was finally passed—yeas 33, nays 12. The nays were, Bell of N. H., Collamer, Dodge, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, Wilson.

Ten thousand copies of the bill were ordered to be printed. Eight o'clock—adjourned.

POLITICS IN THE PULPIT.—We have given on the fourth page a sketch of an exciting scene at the Rev. Mr. Tyng's church, Philadelphia, on Sunday, in consequence of that gentleman preaching a strong anti-slavery sermon. It appears from the Ledger that the member of the congregation who rose and protested against the discourse, has the reputation of having manumitted a number of slaves, that would have been worth to him in money, had he chosen to hold them, at least $20,000. The sermon, it seems, has created quite a disturbance in the church, some of the leading members denouncing it as an attempt to substitute political tirades in the pulpit for the teachings of the Word of God. On this subject, the Ledger observes:

"The pulpit is no place for discussions, the nature of which, joined with the infirmity of human temper and judgment, necessarily leads to intemperance of thought and speech. If they are touched at all it should be in soothing the angry passions which they generate, with a view to restore the mastery of reason and judgment. This is the proper office of the clergyman, and in matters pertaining to his particular vocation the world defers to his teachings from respect to his character and the sacred office he fulfils. But there is nothing in the pursuits and profession of a clergyman which gives authority to his judgment in political questions, or makes it superior to that of any of his congregation. In nine cases out of ten the secular judgment in secular affairs is more enlightened and correct than the clerical, because men mixing with the world are better acquainted with the business of the world and the principles of human action which its strifes and its interests call continually into play. Hence it is unwise for clergymen to bring themselves in conflict with men so much better prepared to grapple with the excitements and questions of the day. It is a mistaken judgment to suppose that the authority which appertains to his divine teachings carries weight with it into other and different channels, and the clergyman must have a very imperfect conception of his office when he attempts to dictate where such authority does not exist."

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, THURSDAY, JULY 3.

LEITER FROM KANSAS.

LAWRENCE, (K. T.) June 9, 1856.

To the Editor of the Telegraph:

War! War!! War!!! That infernal Northern doughface, Frank Pierce, has, at length, succeeded in lighting up the flames of civil war, which floods of human blood may not be able to extinguish. The thunder cloud which has so long lowered in our horizon, has at last burst. The strife *has commenced*, which is soon to deluge this nation in blood, and God only knows where it will end. Lawrence, as I suppose you have already heard, is sacked and partially burned; her business ruined, for the present, at least; her principal citizens taken prisoners, to have a mock trial for treason, and then sacrificed to the moloch of slavery. Armed bands of men are prowling about, shooting down peaceable and inoffensive citizens in open day, plundering and stealing our property, and committing all sorts of outrages. A few days since they took my mule, saddle, bridle and all, from Mr. Livermore, who had him to ride to one of the neighbors, and refused to give him up. It cost me $110. Men are almost daily robbed on the highway of their horses and loading, and their lives threatened if they do not immediately leave the country. Several fights have already taken place between the Free State and pro-slavery parties. Our men are collecting and preparing to defend themselves as best they can. A force is up from Missouri, and we are expecting a fight at any time.

Gov. Shannon, Pierce's tool here, has issued a proclamation ordering all organized companies, (that is, free State men) except the regular militia, (that is, border ruffians) to disperse, and all, (free State men, of course it can mean no others) who will not submit to the border ruffian laws, to leave the Territory; and Shannon has even gone personally, to the house of a prominent Free State man, who was absent, and ordered his wife to leave. Thus we have not only the mob from Missouri, but the government itself, backed by the powers at Washington, to contend against. For it is time it was known at the North, if it is not already, that our present General Government is the mere tool of slavery, greedily doing its dirty and abominable work, like the bloodhounds of the South, catching negroes. Our people hope to be able to sustain themselves until they can have help from the free States, which we have reason to expect soon; and have we not a right to expect it? Will the people of the North calmly look on and see us, flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone, shot down and butchered in cold blood? And what is done must be done quickly, or it will do us no good. We have had resolutions and expressions of sympathy in abundance, but we want and *must have* something more. Let the free States arouse *at once*, in their might, and say to the powers at Washington and their masters at the south, this thing shall not be, stop where you are, and Kansas is safe, and the country spared the horrors of a civil war, which will be the essence of all wars, and deluge the country in rivers of blood. But delay and parley a little longer, and no power on earth can stay the flood.

It will not do to wait for Congress; the people must start, arm themselves, and show a determination to fight, if justice is not done immediately. If there are fifty men in Groton, as has been stated, who are ready to help us, we want them, and as many more from every town in the State, and want them now, and fully equipped for the campaign. There is but one alternative; this aggression must be met and resisted, or the whole country, north, south, east and west, become slave territory. This is and has been the ultimate desire of the slavery power; the present is but one act in the grand drama, and it will stick at no means, however base and abominable, to accomplish the end. Let not the people be deceived, nor deceive themselves, by the cry of peace, peace, for there will be no peace so long as the slave oligarchy rules. It is astonishing, and past comprehension to me, that free and enlightened men at the north will, by their political influence and votes, sustain a government that is doing all in its power to destroy freedom, and bring ruin upon our country. Our people have done everything and borne everything to have peace, till forbearance ceases to be a virtue. Could the people of the free states be here, and see what we see, and feel what we feel, they would, at the coming presidential election, (if the country is spared to have another) indignantly overthrow the present administration, and hurl that tyrant, Pierce, from power.

June 4th. Since writing the above I went to Lawrence, and met a fellow on my mule, and just stopped and took possession of him. How long I shall be able to keep him I don't know, for horse-stealing, by highway robbery and murder, are things of daily occurrence here. The mail driver from Westport to Lawrence said he saw *nine* dead bodies of men lying beside the road as he came up last week, and this was only on one route of forty miles. If a few of the savages on a distant island, or an Indian on the Rocky mountains, should murder an American, Congress would be called on, and a force sent off at once to chastise them; but here our citizens are shot down in cold blood by scores, by border ruffians, and no relief comes. Oh, shame, where is thy blush? Where is the North? Will they help us, or is it all talk,—mere gas? Of course business is stopped, and there is no way to earn anything. I have spent my last dollar for provisions, and getting short at that. Where the next will come from I don't know. Providence will provide.

Tell some of our Groton friends who have plenty of money and express so much sympathy for us, to feel in their pockets and help us bear the burden of the day. It is no more than just they should, for we are sacrificing everything, perhaps life itself, in the cause of humanity. We are all in good health and keep up good spirits, having no wish to leave the scene of contest.

There are several hundred United States troops about here, *pretending* to keep the peace, but in *reality* holding our men by the shoulder to let the enemy whip us. Things are getting desperate, and must change soon.

C. D.

[For the Telegraph.]

RALLYING SONG.—Tune "Susannah."

DEDICATED TO THE FREMONT CLUB, READING, MASS.

"Shall the United States—the Free United States—which could not bear the bonds of a king, cradle the bondage which a king has abolished? Shall a republic be less free than a monarchy?"

We've come up here together boys,
To pledge both heart and hand,
To fight against that foe to Right,
The Border Ruffian Band;
Then let the shout swell forth my boys,
Ring out from sea to sea,
There is a North as well as South,
And Kansas shall be free.

Chorus—Rise bold freemen,
Arise from hill and dale,
Your watchword, "Jessie, and the right."
There's no such word as fail.

The hour has come, and we are called
To join fair Freedom's van,
'Tis headed by an "engineer,"
A very "rash young man";
His heart is stout, his arm is strong,
And both are pledged to free
The virgin soil his foot first trod,
From Death and Slavery.

Chorus—Rise bold freemen, &c.

Speak! shall we idly stand and see
This fair land drench'd in woe?
Hark! from each hill and valley deep
The Bay State answers No!
Hurrah for our Surveyor bold,
Now give us three times three,
Fling forth your banner to the breeze,
Fremont and victory!

Chorus—Rise bold freemen, &c.

[For the Telegraph]

Keep it Before the People.

To the Editor of the Telegraph:

Keep it before the people—That David R. Atchison said April 15th, 1856, "We do not intend to be *voted* or driven out of Kansas, if we can help it," and in the same letter, "You come to drive us and our 'peculiar' institution from Kansas. We do not intend, *cost what it may*, to be driven or deprived of any of our rights."

Keep it before the people—That Col. Black of Philadelphia, in the Cincinnati Convention pledged Mr. Buchanan and his administration to the South in case of a dissolution of the Union.

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

Keep it before the people—That a government official in Boston, a member too of the Cincinnati Convention, says: "It won't be three years before a man will be punished for talking nigger in Boston, as surely as he now is in Charleston, South Carolina."

Keep it before the people—That Millard Fillmore, alluding to the nomination of Fremont, says: "Can they have the madness or the folly to believe that our Southern brethren *would submit to be governed by such a chief magistrate?*"

Keep it before the people—That the bill for the admission of Kansas as a free State was defeated by Fillmore votes. Let Messrs. Haven, Wheeler, Valk and Whitney of New York, Harrison of Ohio, Broome of Pennsylvania, and Dunn of Indiana, be remembered.

Keep it before the people—That on the testimony of Governor Wise of Virginia, "not only no man North, but no man *South*, can show a better record than that of James Buchanan on the question of Slavery;" that "when the issue of incendiary publications arose, he voted to *violate the very mails*, rather than permit the agitators of a Nat Turner insurrection to light the fires of incendiarism by the Post-office;" that "when the Wilmot Proviso was invented, he *firmly withstood it*;" that "when the issue of annexation of Texas arose, he went 'undividedly and unspent' for a measure, which admitted a State with Slavery already established as her peculiar institution;" that "in 1846, when the issues were coming to an issue of internal strife or separation, on the question of the extension of the line of the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific, *Mr. Calhoun himself went further North than Mr. Buchanan went.*"

Keep it before the people—That in the words of Senator Hamlin of Maine, "there is but one issue in this contest—Liberty against Slavery. The Hunker press, North and South, have for the first time boldly avowed their position. It is no question of Abolitionism, and they know it; it is a question whether the Free North is to be Africanised. It is not whether Freedom shall go South, but whether Slavery shall come North."

DORCHESTER.

Lawrence Courier.

LAWRENCE, JULY 3, 1856.

SHARPE'S RIFLES AND KANSAS.—We said some time ago that the time had not come for the use of Sharpe's Rifles in Kansas.—We were induced thus to differ from almost every body else after a careful calculation of the effect which the bragadocia announcement that a particular object, not alone Kansas but anything else, was to be carried against us, personally, by the use of such means. If people would but reflect for one moment upon the effect of such things on themselves, there can be little doubt that never a rifle would have been sent to Kansas. Like begets like the world over. As one act of hostility always provokes another in retaliation, so the announcement that a company is going out armed from Massachusett to effect a particular object in Kansas upon which there is a difference of opinion and a strong determination already manifested to defeat that object for every rifle which the telegraph announces as on the way, a hundred implements of destruction will be brought to oppose, ere they can traverse half the distance between Massachusets and Kansas.

The folly of arming emigrants for Kansas has been, thus early, most amply demonstrated. A company of these fool-hardy men who lately left Chicago, armed to the teeth and overflowing with valor—that kind of valor which evaporates at the point when true valor begins to manifest itself—was disarmed on its arrival in the State of Missouri, and the emigrants sent back to Illnois under guard! A more humiliating spectacle cannot be conceived.

A few weeks ago a company of 60 men left Worcester in this State, completely armed, and under a leader of their own selection. Their intention was to act like prudent men, and go into Kansas through the Free States. To this end their leader was sent forward to ascertain the most feasible route through Iowa. During his absence the company concluded to push forward through Missouri. They too, got into a nest of "border ruffians," and were disarmed, and are still detained as prisoners. They deserve very little sympathy, for two reasons:—first, they had meanly deserted the leader whom they had chosen to conduct them, and second, they betrayed a total lack of common sense in undertaking to traverse a country hundreds of miles in extent, while, at every steamboat landing, they would be sure to find two times their number armed purposely to oppose them, and as eager for a fray as men need be.

MEN, not braggarts or bullies, are wanted in Kansas—MEN who can bear insults for a time—but MEN who will "treasure up wrath against the day of wrath." The still small voice of the BALLOT can be made to tell upon Kansas. Numbers, not arms, are wanted.—One vote is worth a hundred bullets. The supreme folly of couplying the bible and bowie knife, which, pompous presentation parties, headed by ministers whose blood is too white for warlike scenes, we hope will now have an end. It has run wild and rampart long enough.

MONEY and MEN are wanted for Kansas.—If the money which has been foolishly spent for rifles had been given to aid poor but honest and sterling men to a home in Kansas, it would have told for freedom in some town, it might have carried a county,—possibly it would save a STATE TO FREEDOM. But the error has been committed, and it can't be helped. The rifles have gone on and *are turned against their owners*! We beg—we protest against thus arming our enemies.—We can't *afford* it. Independent of this consideration we have no doubt whatever that it is the duty of the Government to disarm every man, no matter to what party he belongs, who goes into territory owned in common by the whole country with the avowed purpose of fighting those—"if free, white and twenty-one"—who have as good a right in Kansas as himself.

Send men and money, but keep the rifles for a future day!

SALEM REGISTER.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 3.

MORE BORDER RUFFIAN OUTRAGES. Telegraphic despatches report renewed outrages on the Kanzas emigrants by the Border Ruffians.

A company from Chicago were detained at Lexington, Missouri, and disarmed by the Vandals assembled there. It is said that from 300 to 500 Missourians and South Carolinians, who had been driven out of Kanzas, with some citizens of Lexington, gathered at the landing, armed with cannon, and threatened to fire into the boat, if their demand was not complied with. Under these circumstances, the captain of the steamer insisted upon the delivery of the arms, as the only way to prevent the destruction of the boat. After this, when the steamer arrived at Weston, a large party of men boarded the vessel, and arrested the entire company, for the purpose of escorting them back the same way they came, it being resolved that they should not be permitted to enter the Territory.

A Worcester company of 44 men, bound for Kanzas, on board the steamer Sultana, were disarmed on Friday last, in a manner similar to that adopted with the Chicago company. The scene took place at Waverley, 10 miles below Lexington. Their captors have announced their intention to detain them as prisoners, and dispose of them to suit the exigencies of the times. Sixty Sharpe's rifles were taken from them. The above is from a reliable source, a well known gentleman having witnessed the occurrence.

It is also reported that a company from Ottawa, Ill., were also disarmed and arrested, on Saturday. All the river towns have announced a determination to allow no emigrants from the North to enter Kanzas.

What say the Freemen of the North to these infernal proceedings, which are directly in violation of the following provision of the United States Constitution:

"A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE, TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS, SHALL NOT BE INFRINGED."

Essex County Mercury

AND WEEKLY SALEM GAZETTE.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 3, 1856.

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.

THE FREE PRESS.

BURLINGTON:

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 3, 1856.

FOR PRESIDENT:

J. C. FREMONT,

OF CALIFORNIA.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

WM. L. DAYTON,

OF NEW JERSEY.

MASS COUNTY CONVENTION.

The Freemen of Chittenden County, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present Administration, to the extension of Slavery into the Territories; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a Free State, and of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, are invited to meet in Convention at ESSEX JUNCTION on TUESDAY THE 8TH DAY OF JULY, AT 11 O'CLOCK, A. M. for the the purpose of Nominating County officers for the year ensuing, and the transaction of any other business thought proper when met.

S. H. PARKHURST,
J. S. ADAMS,
JOHN WORK,
AMOS HOBART,
J. TUTTLE,
} *County Com.*

June 17, 1856.

Rev. H. P. CUTTING, who has written several interesting letters for our columns from Kansas, is, it seems, doing service in the cause with voice as well as pen. We clip the following from the Iowa City Republican of June 24th:—

"Mr. Cutting's speech at the State House last evening, was *cutting* indeed. It is universally applauded as one of the best efforts given in this city on Kansas affairs and regarded as a powerful elucidation of facts as they came under his own personal observation. What would husbands and fathers of this free land think, were the clothing, jewelry, etc., of their wives and children taken by drunken rowdies, as was the clothing, jewelry, and other private articles of Mr. Eldridge's family taken? These ruffians at the time of the Free State Hotel of Lawrence was demolished, under the lead of marshal Donaldson and sheriff Jones, even took the rings off the fingers of Mr. Eldridge's little daughter! This fact Mr. Eldridge told Mr. Cutting personally.

[From the Vermont Chronicle.]

FROM KANZAS.—Rev. A. Webster, well known throughout this State as the Secretary of the Vermont Bible Society, has just returned from a trip to Kansas. He was a delegate from Vermont to the Methodist General Conference at Indianapolis, Ind., and left that place for the territory, for the purpose of relieving an unfortunate brother, who was there insane. While seeking to make his way unarmed, quietly and peaceably into the territory, he was pounced upon by armed ruffians, searched, had muskets cocked and pointed at him and bayonets bristled over him and they even went so far as to propose to hang him, for no other reason, than that he happened to hail from Vermont, or in other words, was an Eastern man.

Mr. Webster was in Lawrence as late as the 12th inst. He represents the actual state of affairs in the territory as being worse than what he anticipated. He saw many that had been robbed, and some that had been shot. It was with considerable difficulty and peril that he finally succeded in getting his brother from the territory to his friends.

Mr. Webster is furnishing the Christian Messenger, with an account of his Kansas experience.

The Daily Patriot.

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1856.

The Kansas Rebellion. The Case Plainly Stated.

The black republicans attempt to justify the Kansas rebellion on the ground that the Legislature was illegal and that it enacted certain outrageous laws which their organs and speakers are constantly quoting. But it is an undeniable fact that Reeder, their chosen leader and champion, recognized and officially endorsed the Legislature as *the legal* Legislature of the Territory; and it is an undeniable fact that *not a single case of hardship or oppression has occurred under those laws.* It is also an undeniable fact that the armed resistance was made, *not* against those odious laws, but against the execution of just such laws as exist in New Hampshire and in every other civilized community. The black republicans in Kansas resisted with force and arms the execution of laws against murder, robbery, theft and other crimes. This fact is not and cannot be denied; and this fact should be kept constantly before the people. No matter how odious may be certain acts of that Legislature, the rebellion and armed resistance was not against them, for there has been no attempt to execute them. The rebellion was against the execution of proper and necessary laws; the resistance was against the punishment of crimes which are everywhere else punished as crimes. In Mr. Douglas' speech at the great ratification meeting in New York, these positions are fully sustained, and it is clearly shown that the black republican leaders are responsible for all the late troubles in Kansas. It is fully proved that the rebellion there was wholly unjustifiable and unprovoked. Let every honest man read the following extract from that speech, and then say whether it does not tell the plain truth:—

They tell us (said Mr. D.) that civil war, bloodshed, and violence prevail in Kansas.—Why is that? Is it the result of the Kansas and Nebraska bill? Bear in mind, my countrymen, that the same law, the same act of Congress which created Kansas created Nebraska. Both territories depend on the same organic law, and have the same rights and the same principles secured in their organic acts. And yet in Nebraska there have been peace, harmony, quiet, good will and everything that would gladden the heart of the patriot. On the other hand, in Kansas you have found a rebellion against the law—violence, murder, house-breaking, bloodshed, every crime that can disgrace humanity. Why is that, when both are under the same organic law? In one territory every blessing that a free people could desire results from the Kansas act; in the other everything that can disgrace free institutions has occurred. What is the cause of this difference? My countrymen, you will find the cause in the actions of those men who, originally opposed the Nebraska bill, and resolved and determined to render it odious by the vile acts which should be perpetrated under it. In Nebraska, where peace prevails, the abolitionists have let it alone. Black republicanism did not extend its operations there. Foreign interference was kept out. The people were allowed to regulate their own affairs in their own way, unmolested and undisturbed by any foreign interference whatever. In Nebraska, therefore, the true principle of the bill, the principle of self-government, in obedience to the Constitution, had fair play; and wherever fair play had been given to that principle, peace, quiet, happiness has been the result.—On the other hand, in Kansas you found that the New England Emigrant Aid Society, through corporations, with a capital of five millions, undertook to regulate the affairs of a territory fifteen hundred miles off, and to control the liberties without respecting the rights, wishes, or interests of the people of the territory. This foreign interference on the part of the free soil, abolition and black republican parties, this foreign interference by corporations from New England to regulate Western affairs, has created in Kansas—what every man had a right to suppose it would create—civil war, dissension, violence and bloodshed. *For every drop of blood that has been shed, or will be shed in Kansas, the black republican leaders are responsible.* It is a part of their line of policy to get up civil war there, and then make political capital out of the innocent blood shed by their tools and dupes, for the purpose of promoting their canvass in the Presidential election. What is their excuse for not obeying the law in Kansas? Why, they tell us that the laws enacted by the Territorial Legislature are barbarous and inhuman. How many of them? The code of laws enacted by that legislature compose a large volume of at least one thousand pages, containing innumerable enactments, applicable to every relation in society. And yet out of that long list of laws, relating to all affairs of human concern, *only two short enactments* have been specified as being either unjust or improper. Of these two laws, one relates to the question of slavery; the other regulates the affairs of elections—And it is worthy of remark, and should never be forgotten, that under neither of those laws has any one case yet arisen, grounded on objections to them as being improper. *No case, I say, has ever arisen, no writ has ever been issued, no trial has ever been had, no act of violence has ever occurred under either of these two obnoxious laws.*

Then what excuse is there for that violence? Why, these men, these abolitionists and black republicans, send out their agents there to get up strife and bloodshed to have the stories copied into abolition papers here for political effect. Contributions are taken up for Sharpe's rifles, and to send men out there to resist the laws. Preachers of the Gospel advocate Sharpe's rifles as an instrument of salvation, instead of the Holy Scriptures. The pulpit of the house of God is turned into a recruiting office for brigands to go to Kansas to stir up strife and civil war, in order that the Times, and the Tribune, and the Post, and the other abolition papers here may parade the horrors of the border ruffians. The men sent out by your Beechers, by your Sillimans, by your Theodore Parkers, by your Garrisons, go into Kansas, break into innocent people's houses, and when the Court issues a writ against them as housebreakers, and when the Sheriff goes to execute that writ, they shoot down the officers of the law, and rescue the housebreaker from the authority of the law. They protect him in his violence, and then talk about Kansas and the effects of the Nebraska bill. Every act of violence that has occurred in Kansas in resisting the officers of the law, has either been in a case of housebreaking, or murder, or a breach of the peace, or some other crime recognized as such in all civilized countries; and in all these cases the black republicans have been trying to protect the criminal from the punishment due to his crime. Hence it is simply a question in Kansas whether the law shall prevail or moral violence shall triumph. It is a question of the supremacy of the law or of rebellion against the constituted authorities. The black republicans, being in the minority, are determined to accomplish by violence what they cannot accomplish at the ballot box. And yet we are called on in Congress to bring forward some measure to restore peace in Kansas. My friends, I am anxious for peace in Kansas. I will do anything, consistently with my duty as a good citizen, to establish peace, quiet and security in Kansas. How is that to be done?—

submit to the laws of the land. It can be done only by putting the housebreakers in the penitentiary. It can be done only by hanging the murderer under sentence of the court. It can be done only by protecting the right of the citizen in Kansas, as we protect the right of the citizen here.

WHERE DOES THE MONEY GO?—There is no doubt that a gross swindle is being practised upon the benevolent people of the North, by the Kansas beggars. The money they thus get *does not go* to the relief of the alleged sufferers in Kansas. Of this there is ample proof. Dr. J. V. C. Smith, late Mayor of Boston, now in Kansas, writes to a Boston paper as follows:—

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

The Providence Post says that "the money that has been raised at the North has chiefly been applied to the purchase of arms and ammunition; and nine-tenths of all that has not been thus appropriated, has been used for political purposes; has gone to the support of such men as Lane, Robinson, and other preachers of rebellion, who have done nothing towards earning bread for themselves. The people have given, and given freely, in the belief that they were relieving the wants of those who had been disturbed in their common pursuits, and who needed corn more than rifles. *The money thus given, we repeat, has not reached this class of men.* The free state lettes writers of Kansas, themselves, so tell us; and we believe they speak the truth. That money goes there, as well as rifles, may be true; *but the people who need it never see it.* In this belief, we are confirmed by every day's observation. A copy of the Hartford Times, of Tuesday, now before us, contains the following paragraph to the point:—

'A gentleman who has just returned from Lawrence and Waubonsa, in Kansas, informs us that to the best of his knowledge and belief, *the money subscribed by New England to the "emigrant aid" societies of Kansas, never reaches that Territory.* He is himself a free state man, but he feels compelled to say that both Robinson and Reeder are unprincipled men, of hollow hearts, and but one end and aim in stirring up the Kansas excitement, and that is self-aggrandizement, by one or another questionable form of speculation.'

To the same effect, we might offer columns of testimony, from free state men, who have gone to Kansas expecting to find it a land of peace and plenty, but have been required, after getting there, to spend the little money they carried out, in supporting a war against the government, and feeding and clothing gangs of political brawlers and military loafers. Even the money that is now being raised, it is apparent, is to be devoted to the same purposes with that which has preceded it. The Faneuil Hall begging committee tell the public that they cannot state the manner in which they propose to use the funds entrusted to them, lest they should *defeat the object* they have in view; a plain admission, as we understand it, that the money itself *will not* be sent to the distressed people of Kansas, nor invested in bread and beef and farming utensils for their benefit."

The Mercury.

NEW BEDFORD.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1856

More Missouri Despotism.

According to the last dates from Chicago, the Missouri borderers not content with stopping the Illinois party, have resolved not to allow the passage of any Northern emigrants on the river,—not to allow in fact, an emigration into Kansas from the North at all. By this advice, it appears that the Worcester company numbering 44 men were disarmed on the 27th June, at Waverly, ten miles below Lexington. This company whose late despatch from Worcester will be remembered, and who may have friends in this city, were on board the steamer Sultana. Their arms, sixty Sharpe's Rifles were taken away from them, and they were detained as prisoners, "to be disposed of to suit the exigencies of the times." That is, whatever disposition the ruffians of the town of Waverley, may choose to make of the free citizens of Worcester, the heart of the Commonwealth, who are peacefully travelling to Kansas on their own business,—whatever disposition, hanging, chains, or prison walls, will be accordingly made, no one interfering. Another emigrating party from Ottawa, Ill., had also been disarmed in the same manner, on the 29th June.

In connection with these two extraordinary pieces of intelligence from Kansas, and which appear to be duly authenticated, a letter from Lawrence of June 21, informs us, that the Southern forces are gathering at Lecompte, Tecumseh, Big Springs and other places, in large numbers, and laying in large stores of provisions intending to extirpate the free citizens of Kansas to morrow, July 4th. A battle is to be expected at Topeka, and Col. Sumner threatens to quit the territory with his U. S. dragoons, if the Free State Legislature meets, of which occurrence there is little doubt.

It is easy to perceive from this, how important the detention and imprisonment of these three emigrating parties from the North must be,—how especially important the seizure of some hundreds of Sharpe's rifles must be, and that, supposing the account to be true, that the pro slavery party are decided upon making a grand descent upon the Free State men, that nothing can more directly prove for their advantage than the imprisonment of the members of all Northern emigrant parties, than the seizure of all arms belonging to them. Added to this, it is said, that Gov. Price has loaned the notorious General Stringfellow, twelve cannon and twenty two boxes of muskets from the U. S. Arsenal at Missouri.

Now, who are these scoundrels, these unmitigated wretches who are thus allowed by Franklin Pierce, the contemptible executive officer of the U. S. government to prey upon and pillage the innocent citizens of Worcester,—to rob, murder, and imprison at their will. According to Dr. J. V. C. Smith of Boston, who has been looking up matters there:—

There is really no law in Kansas; might is right, and each one does pretty much as he chooses.

Speaking of the 'bandits," he says:—

Those I saw at Westport, whose camp was in the woods only a few rods out of the Territory, were young men, rough, coarse, sneering, swaggering dare devil looking rascals as ever swung upon a gallows. The marauders were mounted on horses and mules, armed to the teeth with pistols, long knives and carbines. They rob travellers; surprise the humble residents of prairie cabins, whom they strip of their valuables, and in repeated instances murder the owner. They drive off cattle, the property most in request, and steal horses. They oblige a man to dismount, and take his horse, and should he remonstrate or resist, blow his brains out without apology.

Vehicles are stopped, pocketbooks overhauled, and they order persons to quit the territory with as much nonchalance as though they were the proprietors of the soil, and the reign of despotism had fairly commenced.

To go through the territory safely, requires adroit movements, even in a wagon carrying the U. S. mail. There is no knowing what might happen.

And now it is a fact, these desperadoes actually have carried it so far, that they mean to blockade the whole river, or if by chance an emigrant party get so far as Lexington, to put them in jail, possibly to hang them. And the whole excuse alleged by these ruffians for their conduct is, that the men of the North, being opponents to the extension of slavery, have no right to tread the soil, conquered by their own activity. If it had not been for the forefathers of these very Worcester people, now possibly in prison for daring to cross a part of the United States, America would still have been like Canada, the serf of England.

Yet Mr. Fillmore that most antiquated of political wiseacres, that expiring relic of a northern doughface who stands up and declaims against sectionalism, and is upheld by one press in the city of New York, and one more in Boston, calmly and temperately advises the people to swallow down the Southern rule, and his followers have just defeated in one branch of Congress, a bill for a Free State constitution in Kansas. Mr. Fillmore and his followers array themselves against the relief of Kansas, against the great and increasing party whose sole issue is the non-extension of slavery, and this endeavor to defeat the efforts of these, who believe that freedom is national and slavery sectional.

But there is one certainty. Mr. Fillmore's party will be beautifully small in Massachusetts the pioneer State, there he will be in a most contemptible minority, not deserving of the smallest respect. And his organs will find an abundance of leaks in their means of subsistence. He, who can hear that a party of Worcester citizens have been imprisoned in a sister State by the minions of slavery, and does not at least, to say nothing else contribute his vote, his voice, and his influence against all political parties that do not actively endeavor to suppress these horrible outrages upon human liberty, and the comity of the States in this republic, must be prepared to submit his wrists for the manacles of the slave-breeder, and disown the soil which gave him birth. The facts are before the people, and all over the broad fields of New England, the West, and the great North-West innumerable enthusiastic assemblages of honest citizens, are ratifying the Free States, candidates, for the Presidency,—Fremont and Dayton.

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1856.

The Report of the Kansas Committee was presented in the House of Representatives on Tuesday. It was received with a perfect storm of objections and motions and calls to order and appeals from the Speaker, but the attempt to stifle it failed. It is one of the most remarkable documents ever laid before Congress, and it details one of the most remarkable conspiracies, and one of the most remarkable series of outrages, from illegal voting to murder, all directed to the same end, ever formed and perpetrated in a civilized country. The report would fill two pages of our paper. It more than substantiates the general character of the reports from Kansas, for although many of these were exaggerated in particular cases, the whole truth piles up an amount of infamy, far greater than the collected rumors that have been reaching us.

The report establishes conclusively, and by sworn testimony, that immediately upon the passage of the Kansas bill, a company was formed to establish slavery in the territory, in utter disregard of the law and of the popular will. In pursuance of this, a secret society was formed in Missouri, called the Blue Lodge, the object of which was to send into the territory the men necessary for voting or for fighting, as the case might demand, with all the requisite supplies.

New-York Daily Tribune.
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THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1856.

It appears by the latest advices from Kansas that among the other persons murdered there in cold blood for the crime of being Free-State men, is a Mr. Gay, who held office under the U. S. Government as an Indian Agent. We know not his history, but doubtless he was some Democrat who had obtained the appointment before the extension-of-Slavery plank had been added to the Democratic platform, and who by some accident or other had escaped removal.

This murder, perpetrated by some of their own party, seems to have alarmed the citizens of Westport, Missouri, who have taken a leading part in all the outrages of which Kansas has been the scene. Had Mr. Gay been merely a Free-State man, no doubt, to judge from their past history, the people of Westport would have highly approved of his murder, and would probably have honored the murderer, *à la* Brooks, by presenting him a rifle, a bowie-knife, or a hatchet, whichsoever might have been the instrument of the murder. But considering that he was a United States officer, the people of Westport are a little alarmed, and have passed resolutions condemning the act, and offering a reward for the arrest of the murderers.

President Pierce, as established by the case of the Indian agent Clark, allows his Indian agents in Kansas to commit murders with impunity. Whether he will exhibit the same nonchalance in allowing them to be murdered remains to be seen. Had the murdered Indian agent been a Pro-Slavery man, doubtless we should have had a great rumpus about it; as he happened to be a Free-State man, it is likely his murder, like all the other murders perpetrated of late in Kansas, will go unnoticed and unpunished. In fact, the President will, it is likely, consider himself very much obliged to the murderers for having detected this Free-State interloper in possession of a Federal office, and for having, by his summary murder, saved our tender-hearted President the necessity of turning him out. This murderer, indeed, so far from being punished, is much more likely to be appointed to the first Kansas office in the President's gift.

A little less than a year ago, the country was greatly agitated by a gross act of judicial tyranny perpetrated by Judge Kane of Pennsylvania upon Passmore Williamson, held in prison for some weeks without bail or mainprize, upon a pretended charge of contempt, till at last the Judge—more moved, we suspect, by the indignant remonstrances of the press, than by any returning sense of justice or decency—was driven to discharge him. At the present moment, an act of judicial outrage of a far grosser and more serious character—by which not merely the liberty but the lives of many innocent and estimable persons are struck at—is in the process of execution, without having yet attracted a tithe of the attention that it deserves. Encouraged by the impunity of Kane, whom the lame pursuit of justice has not yet overtaken, but who, we trust, will yet meet with his deserts, Chief Justice Lecompte of Kansas has striven to outdo that Pennsylvania Jeffreys, and has stepped forward to contest, and that not without success, the leadership of the atrocious Judges of America.

We allude, of course, to the numerous warrants of arrest for high treason issued in Kansas, under which Governor Robinson and others are now held close prisoners—not being even allowed any communication with their friends; from one of which Governor Reeder is a fugitive, and threatened with arrest as such, and upon which new arrests are made in Kansas from day to day—the United States dragoons, under the command of Colonel Sumner, being employed at present as the chief instruments of these infamous outrages. The indictments against Reeder, Robinson and others who were arrested at the same time, were based upon an alleged participation of these gentlemen in framing the Topeka constitution and acceptance of office under it. But, according to the latest accounts from Kansas, as given in the letters of our special correspondent, the Border-Ruffian exposition of the law of treason has received a new interpretation. While Donaldson, Jones, Pate, and the other scoundrels who sacked Lawrence and burnt Osawattamie go at large unmolested, several of them still holding commissions from the President as Federal officers of the Territory, Lecompte is now issuing, and the dragoons are serving, warrants for high treason against all the men who, hearing of the danger of Lawrence, assembled in arms and commenced to march thither with a view of protecting the town and its inhabitants from robbery and murder!

When, some time since, a collection was published of the lives of Atrocious English Judges, it was objected by some critics that the work had no application to the present times and to us, and that it was absurd to imagine that among our Judges here in the United States, any parallels could be found for these transatlantic monsters. Such was the criticism then urged, and not without a certain degree of plausibility; and yet, among all the murderous misapplications and stretchings of the law of treason by which the English Bench has been disgraced, and which are set down as the chief atrocities of the worst English judges, not a case can be found which, for barefaced abuse of authority, and total disregard of every principle of law, can be compared to these Kansas arrests. By the law of England, to imagine or compass the death of the King is high treason, and the Courts have comprehended within that idea such numerous and diverse acts that the very worst rulings on the subject, of the very worst of the English Judges, do not lack a certain color and show of law. Warned by these abuses, the Constitution of the United States has expressly provided that treason shall consist only in levying war against the United States—a provision in the very face and eyes of which these Kansas arrests have been made. The most shameless English Judges have never wanted some coloring of law, even for their very worst acts. Chief Justice Lecompte proceeding in direct defiance of the law, and contemptuously tramples, along with every suggestion of reason and color of justice, the Constitution of the United States under his feet.

If this were only the decision of a Border-Ruffian Chief Justice, or some wretched knave or stupid fool such as Lecompte evidently is, who by some accident—like that which recently led President Pierce to commission a notorious gambler and blackleg as United States Marshal for California—had been appointed Chief Justice of Kansas, from which office he had been dismissed so soon as his scandalous incapacity and gross corruption and abuse of his official authority became known, in that case the matter would be less serious. But as the matter now stands, it is not Chief Justice Lecompte, it is the President of the United States and his unscrupulous Attorney-General, Caleb Cushing, who must be looked upon as the responsible parties for this abuse of the judicial power of the United States for the most detestable of purposes. It is not merely Judge Lecompte, it is the President of the United States, at whose pleasure he holds office, who is to be held responsible for this Kansas law—far outrunning any English atrocity—that to imagine or compass the exclusion of Slavery from Kansas is high treason.

Surely, this infamous prostitution of the Judicial authority of the Government to the vilest party purposes; this attempt, made with the countenance and with the tacit approval, if not by the secret instigation, of the President of the United States and his law adviser, to subject to the penalties of high treason the exercise in Kansas of the most elementary rights of a Free Government—rights expressly guaranteed over and over again by the Constitution of the United States; this deadly blow, aimed at the very vital principle of our Democratic Government, surely cannot be suffered to pass without remonstrance.

It is impossible that Congress should adjourn without distinctly taking notice of this most atrocious outrage, and making every possible exertion for the liberation of the unfortunate citizens thus falsely imprisoned on these baseless charges. Pierce and his advisers may, and probably will, refuse to listen to any remonstrance or any argument. They have waded too deep into this sea of bloody outrages to think of turning back. But, thank God, in this country the people rule. They will hear, they will come to the rescue. Our Pierces, Cushings and Lecomptes will vanish from the scene, and justice, right and law shall yet triumph.

The people of Missouri, it seems, or rather a miserable mob, whom the substantial citizens of Missouri, if they have the inclination, are without the courage or spirit to suppress, have assumed the authority of determining what citizens of the United States may or may not pass through that State; in fact, of preventing all citizens of the non-slave-holding States from passing up the Missouri River, on their way to Kansas. Several parties, from the Free States, passing up the Missouri River, are reported to have been stopped, robbed of their arms, and then turned back and obliged to retrace their steps.

We have some curiosity to see how the Administration at Washington, and their supporters in Congress, will regard these acts of piracy and robbery, or whether they will think them worthy of any notice at all. Mr. Cass, who appears entirely to have overlooked all the recent outrages, abuses of authority, and neglect to exercise it, in Kansas, called attention, a day or two since, to what he justly characterized as "a very grave transaction"—the proclamation, namely, by the Governor of Washington Territory, of martial law, and the arrest and sending away of a Judge because he persisted in issuing writs of habeas corpus. Suppose Mr. Cass should also call attention to the proclamation of martial law against the citizens of the Free States by the Missouri mob, and the arrest and sending away by the same mob of citizens of the Free States peaceably passing through the State with a view to settlement in Kansas. Had such an outrage toward citizens of the United States occurred in Mexico, Central America or Cuba, we should instantly have had ships of war under sail, messages to Congress, and a great stir in the Executive Department. Is the Missouri mob to be allowed to perpetrate outrages which from the hands of foreign desperadoes would be met with the alternative of instant redress or a declaration of war? Outrages of this sort are of the most dangerous consequence. They ought not to be, and they will not be submitted to. The imbecile Government that stands still in such an emergency, is justly chargeable with promoting civil war.

FROM WASHINGTON.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE FOR KANSAS?

Editorial Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Monday, June 30, 1856.

I have already mentioned the fact that the supporters of Buchanan and Fillmore, alarmed by the uprising of the masses throughout the Free States in behalf of Free Kansas and her wronged, robbed and hunted people, are now visibly anxious to patch up a compromise or settlement of some kind. And we on the other side are also anxious for a settlement if it can be effected on terms which secure to the free settlers of Kansas their inalienable rights. What we demand and must insist on is

I. *The admission of Kansas into the Union as a State* under her Free and Republican Constitution framed at Topeka last Fall, in obedience to the will of three-fourths of her people.

II. A declaration by Congress annulling or discrediting the acts of the conventicle of Border Ruffians held at Shawnee Mission last Summer, fraudulently pretending to be a Territorial Legislature of Kansas, when every member of it knew that he was chosen by voters sent over from Missouri for that express purpose, in flagrant violation

of the fundamental rights of the actual residents and citizens of Kansas.

III. The deliverance of Charles Robinson, G. W. Brown, G. W. Deitsler and other leading patriots of Kansas now imprisoned under indictments for High Treason, found by a scandalously packed jury under a charge from Judge Lecompte which defies the constitutional definition of treason and carries us back to the darkest ages of unbridled despotism.

IV. Just compensation to the Free settlers of Kansas who have been plundered, harassed, and outraged by the Border-Ruffian battalions launched against them from Missouri and other Slave States for the express purpose of dragooning them into submission to Slavery or driving them from the country.

V. Punishment of the devastators of Lawrence and other Free-State settlements, and murderers of Dow, Barber, Brown and others, whose only offense was their desire and efforts to make Kansas a Free State.

—So much Justice inflexibly demands; and those who wish to settle the Kansas difficulties should direct their exertions toward securing it. Do justice, and peace follows of course. If Congress will simply admit Kansas as a Free State, I shall be willing to accept that as a first installment of justice, and let the rest lie over to the next Session. But any offer to compromise, or manifestation of a desire for adjustment, which does not involve the admission of Kansas, is mockery and insult, because

I. It leaves the People of Kansas in the power of those who have thus far oppressed, defrauded, outraged, plundered, enslaved and murdered them. What reason have we for believing that these, should Congress adjourn and leave them in power over Kansas, would treat her any better hereafter than they have done?

II. It leaves the Border Ruffians immense powers by their own frauds and iniquities. The testimony taken by the Investigating Committee, not from one party, but from both, proves beyond a shadow of dispute that the Free-State party composed an immense majority—more than two to one—of the legal voters of Kansas on the 30th of March, 1855, when her Territorial Legislature was chosen. But for gigantic, long-plotted and widely-ramified frauds at that election, that Legislature would have been overwhelmingly Free-State. We demand, therefore, that Slavery shall be divested of all the advantages achieved for her by means of those frauds. Is not this naked justice?

III. It suspends the destiny of Kansas on the result of some future election, for the honesty of which we can have no guarantee, and which, judging from experience, we know will be debauched by violence, fraud and organized crime. But we will not consent to suspend the fate of Kansas on the toss of a copper, even if it were sure to be tossed fairly.

IV. When the election was held (March 30, '55) on which the destiny of Kansas under the Nebraska Act mainly hinged, a large majority of her legal voters (as is proved by the late investigation) were Free State. Their voice was only stifled by concerted invasion, violence and fraud. Any settlement which leaves the perpetrators and beneficiaries of this fraud in possession of the advantages they thereby clutched, would be iniquitious and a bounty on crime. Any settlement which does not place the Free-State party in as good position as if those frauds had never been committed, will be a triumph of injustice. But if there had been no frauds at that election, the whole territory would have ever since been under Free-State rule, with a Free-State delegate in Congress, sheriffs and judges in all the counties, election officers in the various districts, &c.; Lawrence undevastated, and the Border Ruffians chased out of the State by legal process. Nobody can doubt that, under such auspices, Kansas would have ere this submitted to Congress a Free-State Constitution against which no cavil could be raised. Now if it were true that the Border Ruffians have since been enabled through the power they obtained by their frauds at the Legislative Election, to drive out, kill, or scrop out Free-State men enough, taken in connection with those of their own surge whom their supremacy has brought in, to give them a present majority in the Territory, it would still be clear that they have no moral or equitable rights founded on these results of their original usurpation and villainy.

The first installment of justice to Kansas, the only reliable promise of peace, is her admission as a State under her Free Constitution. Admit that the formation of this Constitution was not attended with all desirable formalities, it is still clear that they who, by violence, usurpation and fraud, divested the Free-State movement of these legal formalities and sanctions, have no right to plead their own wrong, or its fruits, in bar of the fundamental rights of a free people. No compromise can be just, therefore, which does not bring Kansas into the Union as a Free State. H. G.

CONGRESS ON KANSAS.

Editorial Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Monday, June 30, 1856.

In the Senate, Mr. Douglas made a report in favor of Mr. Toombs's bill to quiet the disturbances in Kansas by providing for a Census and a Constitutional Convention. Douglas's Report pettifogs the whole case, and is very savage on the Free-State men in the Territory and in Congress. It particularly denounces Gov. Seward's bill.

Mr. Collamer explained that he was not aware that a Report was to be presented until it was read in Committee this morning. He was allowed to put in a minority report to-morrow morning.

A motion to print 10,000 extra copies was made and referred to the Printing Committee.

In the House, a motion was made to reconsider the vote by which the Previous Question was ordered on Saturday. Voted down by 10 majority.

Mr. GROW proceeded to make the closing speech in favor of the bill. He spoke forcibly, and gave way before the expiration of his hour to Mr. McMULLEN of Va., who spoke in favor of sending the bill to the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. HAVEN of N. Y. wished further information as to the number of votes cast at the election to ratify the Topeka Constitution.

Mr. TRIPPE of Ga. pressed a similar inquiry.

Mr. GROW explained that there was a state of anarchy and virtual civil war in Kansas when that election was held—that at many places the polls were obstructed by force.

Mr. WAKEMAN asked whether there were any remonstrances from Kansas against the Free-State Constitution.

Mr. GROW replied that there were not, but that there were several petitions in its favor.

Mr. W. asked a further question, but debate was here arrested by the expiration of Mr. Grow's hour.

The question was first on Mr. DUNN'S amendment (repealing so much of the Nebraska act as declares the Missouri Restriction inoperative and void)—moved as an amendment to Stephens's substitute. The Yeas and Nays were ordered, and the vote declared—Yeas, 109; Nays, 102.

YEAS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Bennett of N. Y., Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton Broom, Buffinton, Burlingame, Campbell of Penn., Campbell of Ohio, Clarke of N. Y., Clark of Conn., Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, Davis of Mass., Dean, De Witt, Dick, Dodd, Dunn, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, Flagler, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall, Harlan, Harrison, Haven, Holloway, Horton of N. Y., Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Mace, Matteson, McCarty, Meacham, Miller of N. Y., Millward, Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Murray, Oliver of N. Y., Parker, Pearce, Pelton, Pennington, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Pringle, Purviance, Robbins, Roberts, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Stanton, Strunahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Wis., Washburne of Ill., Washburn, jr., of Me., Watson, Welch, Whitney, Wood, Woodruff, Woodworth—109.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Allen, Barclay, Barksdale, Bell, Bennett of Miss., Bocock, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Brooks, Burnett, Cadwalader, Campbell of Ky., Carlile, Caruthers, Caskie, Clingman, Cobb of Ga., Cobb of Ala., Cox, Craige, Crawford, Cullen, Davidson, Denver, Dowdell, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Etheridge, Eustis, jr., Faulkner, Florence, Foster, Fuller of Me., Greenwood, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Md., Harris of Ala., Harrison, Haven, Herbert, Hoffman, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tenn., Jones of Penn., Keitt, Kelly, Kennett, Kidwell, Lake, Letcher, Lindley, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall of Ky., Marshall of Ill., Maxwell, McMullin, McQueen, Miller of Ind., Millson, Oliver of Mo., Orr, Paine, Peck, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Ready, Ricaud, Rivers, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Seward, Shorter, Smith of Tenn., South of Va., Smith of Ala., Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Swope, Talbott, Taylor, Trippe, Underwood, Vail, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wheeler, Whitney, Williams, Winslow, Wright of Miss., Wright of Tenn., Zollicoffer—101.

NAYS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Barclay, Bennett of N. Y., Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Buffinton, Burlingame, Campbell of Penn., Campbell of Ohio, Clarke of N. Y., Clark, jr., of Conn., Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, Davis of Mass., Day, Dean, De Witt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, Flagler, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall of Mass., Harlan, Hickman, Holloway, Horton of N. Y., Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Matteson, McCarty, Meacham, Miller of N. Y., Millward, Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Murray, Nichols, Oliver of N. Y., Packer, Parker, Pearce, Pelton, Pennington, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Pringle, Purviance, Robbins, Roberts, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Spinner, Stanton, Strunahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Wis., Washburne of Ill., Washburn, jr., of Me., Watson, Welch, Wood, Woodruff, Woodworth—107.

The question now recurred on Mr. Stephens's substitute, as amended by the addition of Dunn's proposition.

Mr. STEPHENS wished to withdraw his substitute, but objection was made, and it was voted down by Yeas and Nays—Yeas, two (Dunn and Scott Harrison); Nays, 210.

A motion to commit to the Committee of the Whole was lost by 101 to 109, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Allen, Barksdale, Bell, Bennett of Miss., Bocock, Branch, Broom, Burnett, Cadwalader, Campbell of Ky., Carlile, Caruthers, Caskie, Clingman, Cobb of Ga., Cobb of Ala., Cox, Craige, Crawford, Cullen, Davidson, Denver, Dowdell, Dunn, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Etheridge, Eustis, jr., Faulkner, Florence, Foster, Fuller of Me., Greenwood, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Md., Harris of Ala., Harrison, Haven, Herbert, Hoffman, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tenn., Jones of Penn., Keitt, Kelly, Kennett, Kidwell, Lake, Letcher, Lindley, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall of Ky., Marshall of Ill., Maxwell, McMullin, McQueen, Miller of Ind., Millson, Oliver of Mo., Orr, Paine, Peck, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Ready, Ricaud, Rivers, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Seward, Shorter, Smith of Tenn., South of Va., Smith of Ala., Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Swope, Talbott, Taylor, Trippe, Underwood, Vail, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wheeler, Whitney, Williams, Winslow, Wright of Miss., Wright of Tenn., Zollicoffer—101.

NAYS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Barclay, Bennett of N. Y., Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Buffinton, Burlingame, Campbell of Penn., Campbell of Ohio, Clarke of N. Y., Clark, jr., of Conn., Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, Davis of Mass., Day, Dean, De Witt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, Flagler, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall of Mass., Harlan, Hickman, Holloway, Horton of N. Y., Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Matteson, McCarty, Meacham, Miller of N. Y., Millward, Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Murray, Nichols, Oliver of N. Y., Parker, Pearce, Pelton, Pennington, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Pringle, Purviance, Robbins, Roberts, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Spinner, Stanton, Strunahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Wis., Washburne of Ill., Washburn, jr., of Me., Watson, Welch, Wood, Woodruff, Woodworth—107.

A motion to lay the bill on the table was lost by one majority, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Allen, Barclay, Barksdale, Bell, Bennett of Miss., Bocock, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Brooks, Broom, Burnett, Cadwalader, Campbell of Ky., Carlisle, Caruthers, Caskie, Clingman, Cobb of Ga., Cobb of Ala., Cox, Craige, Crawford, Cullen, Davidson, Denver, Dowdell, Dunn, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Etheridge, Faulkner, Florence, Foster, Fuller, Goode, Greenwood, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Md., Harris of Ala., Harris of Ill., Harrison, Haven, Herbert, Hoffman, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tenn., Jones of Penn., Keitt, Kelly, Kennett, Kidwell, Lake, Letcher, Lindley, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall of Ky., H. Marshall of Ill., Maxwell, McMullin, McQueen, Miller of Ind., Millson, Oliver of Mo., Orr, Packer, Paine, Peck, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Ready, Ricaud, Rivers, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Seward, Shorter, Smith of Tenn., Smith of Va., Smith of Ala., Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Swope, Talbott, Taylor, Trippe, Underwood, Vail, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wheeler, Whitney, Williams, Winslow, Wright of Miss., Wright of Tenn., Zollicoffer—Yeas 106.

NAYS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Bennett of N. Y., Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Bradshaw, Buffinton, Burlingame, Campbell of Penn., Campbell of Ohio, Clarke of N. Y., Clark, jr., of Conn., Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, Davis of Mass., Day, Dean, De Witt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, Flagler, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall of Mass., Harlan, Hickman, Holloway, Horton of N. Y., Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Matteson, McCarty, Meacham, Miller of N. Y., Millward, Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Murray, Nichols, Oliver of N. Y., Parker, Pearce, Pelton, Pennington, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Pringle, Purviance, Robbins, Roberts, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Spinner, Stanton, Strunahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of (Wis.), Washburne (Ill.), Washburn, jr. (Me.), Watson, Wood, Woodruff, Woodworth—Yeas 106

A motion by Mr. Barclay of Pa. to reconsider the vote by which the House had refused to send the bill to Committee of the Whole was carried by four majority:

YEAS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Bennett (N. Y.), Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Bradshaw, Buffington, Burlingame, Campbell (Pa.), Campbell (Ohio), Clarke (N. Y.), Clark, jr. (Conn.), Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, Davis (Mass.), Day, Dean, De Witt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, Flagler, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall (Mass.), Harlan, Hickman, Holloway, Horton (N. Y.), Horton (Ohio), Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Matteson, McCarty, Meacham, Miller (N. Y.), Millward, Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Murray, Nichols, Oliver (N. Y.), Packer, Parker, Pearce, Pelton, Pennington, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Pringle, Purviance, Robbins, Roberts, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Spinner, Stanton, Strunahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne (Wis.), Washburne (Ill.), Washburn, jr. (Me.), Watson, Wood, Woodruff, Woodworth—Yeas 106

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Allen, Barclay, Barksdale, Bell, Bennett (Miss.), Bocock, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Brooks, Broom, Burnett, Cadwalader, Campbell (Ky.), Carlile, Caruthers, Caskie, Clingman, Cobb (Ga.), Cobb (Ala.), Cox, Craige, Crawford, Davidson, Denver, Dowdell, Dunn, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Etheridge, Eustis, jr., Evans, Faulkner, Florence, Foster, Fuller (Me.), Goode, Green wood, Harris (Md.), Harris (Ala.), Harris (Ill.), Harrison, Haven, Herbert, Hoffman, Houston, Jewet, Jones (Pa.), Jones (Tenn.), Keitt, Kelly, Kennett, Kidwell, Lake, Letcher, Lindley, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall (Ky.), H. Marshall (Ky.), Marshall (Ill.), Maxwell, McMullin, McQueen, Miller (Ind.), Millson, Oliver (Mo.), Orr, Paine, Peck, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Ready, Ricaud, Rivers, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Seward, Shorter, Smith (Tenn.) Smith (Va.), Smith (Ala.), Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Swope, Talbott, Taylor, Trippe, Underwood, Vail, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wheeler, Whitney, Williams, Winslow, Wright (Miss.), Wright (Tenn.), Zollicoffer—Nays, 102.

From Our Own Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, Monday, June 30, 1856.

Mr. Douglas brought in a bill to patch up the troubles in Kansas, upon the substantial basis of that offered by Mr. Toombs, and with only a few trifling variations. There was a peculiar fitness in this tribute of deference from the Chairman of the Committee on Territories to the chief propagandist

of Slavery from Georgia. It was meet that, having failed in his own endeavors to prostitute position and honor, he should submit to whatever form of degradation the South demanded. This piece of quackery, like all others from the same source, only deepens the crime which it professedly affects to relieve, by covering with the mantle of silent acquiescence the black catalogue of outrage and oppression in Kansas. It will be gulped down without even a mark of compunction by the majority in the Senate, and they will go to the country claiming to have offered a remedy for all existing evils. But, thank God, the people have had their eyes opened, and cannot be seduced with the syren song of peace when there is no peace, or be defrauded into indifference while danger is imminent. The schemers, as well as their vile purposes, are perfectly known, and both will be held to high accountability.

Mr. Toombs and his confederates, now that by the combined power of marauding bands of Missouri Ruffians and United States troops, they have succeeded in driving out thousands of Free State settlers, and by the martial law of Slavery, in preventing emigration from the North, are quite willing, while they have the Territory in possession, and a military cordon extended on the frontier to exclude any opinion but such as they like to press the admission of Kansas hastily and without limitation. Having the whole machinery in their hands, the Federal power enlisted on their side, the territorial tyranny to aid their nefarious purposes, and the Ministerial officers to be appointed by an Executive ready to do their bidding, are magnanimous enough now when every plan is completed to bring in Kansas as a peace offering! Such is the character of the last dodge invented by these prolific and artful contrivers. But like an overwilling witness, they have proved too much. Their very zeal has roused suspicion, and suspicion has insured detection. No such drug as this will be swallowed be the consequences what they may.

Mr. Sumner was in the city a short time on Friday. His condition is still the subject of serious misgiving to his friends—it being the opinion of the attending physician that he is liable to a critical seizure at any moment. His nervous system received a severe shock, which time and exceeding care can alone restore. He has lost thirty pounds of flesh, and is greatly enfeebled.

An effort will be made at the first opportunity to begin the daily sittings of the House at 11 o'clock instead of noon. This is one of the unfailing indications that usually show themselves when Congress is about to close up its tardy accounts.

There is an entire agreement among all the persons connected with the Congressional Committee of Investigation that the statements which have been given to the public, of the infamous wrongs in Kansas, fall far short of the startling realities which they witnessed, but were unable to restrain. That volume of iniquity will soon be given to the world, to stir up the deepest indignation, while astounding intelligence and Christianity, by its blood-stained enormities. INDEX.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Monday, June 30, 1856.

The little bull-terrier of our politics, Judge Douglas, has given another evidence of his pertinacious audacity; he has reported Toombs's scheme for enslaving Kansas as his proposition of compromise and conciliation. There is a little more impudence in this than the public was prepared for. It was supposed, when Atchison, Stringfellow and their associated banditti had been employed to force Slavery upon Kansas as a Territory, that some secrecy would be observed in converting that Territory into a Slave State. But in that a grave mistake has been committed. Decency forms no part of the performance here any more than in Kansas. Accordingly to-day it is deliberately proposed to consummate the whole matter by referring it to a Slaveholding Commission, appointed by that prince of serviles, Franklin Pierce, under the pretense of taking a census and holding a Convention. I trust it is a piece of harmless effrontery. Douglas expects a vote on Wednesday. He will not get it unless his party, with an assurance equal to his own, adopt the rule of the previous question for this special occasion. Gen. Wilson, Judge Wade, and Mr. Trumbull are resolved to debate the scheme at length, and expose all its enormity.

This has been a day of sunshine and clouds in the House. We obtained a succession of glorious triumphs, which as the mail closes are obscured by doubts as to the result.

Mr. Grow made an able speech in concluding the debate. Then came the vote on Mr. Dunn's amendment, simply repealing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which was carried, ayes 109, noes 102. Mr. Stephens's amendment, thus improved by Dunn's, was then rejected, ayes 2, Dunn and Scott Harrison, noes 210. The next trial of strength was on the motion to refer to the Committee of the Whole; lost, ayes 101, noes 109; Kennett of Mo., and Humphrey Marshall of Ky. voting with us; Haven, Scott Harrison, Dunn, Broom, and Whitney voting with the enemy.

Mr. Barclay, an Anti-Nebraska Democrat and a Buchananeer, moved a re-consideration of the last vote, but Jones of Tenn. interposed a motion to lay on the table. This was defeated by the alarmingly close vote of 106 to 107.

The question on Barclay's motion resulted, ayes 106, noes 102.

The bill cannot pass before the Fourth of July.

The report of the Kansas Investigating Committee has been lying all day on the desk of Mr. Howard, ready for presentation. It should have been submitted this morning.

There is a deplorable imbecility in the course of the House toward Reeder and Whitfield. Gov. Reeder is not here, and, in truth, dare not come, as he is informed and believes it to be the purpose of the Executive to arrest him, and send him back to Kansas to share the imprisonment of Robinson and Brown, where he would almost certainly be murdered. This fact is well known to the House, and yet it does nothing to protect Mr. Reeder as a recognized contestant to the seat held by the impostor Whitfield. That person, covered all over with guilt as with a garment, sits, speaks and acts in the House at his pleasure. This man has just been in arms equally against the United States Government and that of the Territory; and thus reeking with treason by his own written confession, and according to the definition of the crime by his own political friends, this man is received with open arms, and moves about the hall with all the privileges of its most favored member. What is the reason of this difference? Simply that Whitfield is the agent and the favorite of the slaveholding minority, while Gov. Reeder is simply a Pennsylvania Democrat, and the Representative of the Free people of Kansas.

There is no excuse for the House. It has simply to pass a declaratory resolution asserting the privilege of Reeder and its right to protect him, and declaring the indictments of Lecompte and his packed juries the frivolous pretenses which they are. The House has but to take this position, and, if necessary, 100,000 Pennsylvanians alone will volunteer to defend its constitutional prerogative.

PEMAQUID.

THE LATEST NEWS,

RECEIVED BY

MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH.

AFFAIRS IN WASHINGTON.

Editorial Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, July 2, 1856.

You will have heard that the Hon. Philip T. Herbert, Member of Congress from California, was to-day indicted by the Grand Jury for the murder of Thomas Keating, and that he has been arrested and locked up for trial. It is understood that he cannot be bailed.

The debate in the Senate is still proceeding. Mr. Seward having declared that he stood on the Federal Constitution and repelled all further compromises, was fiercely assailed therefor by Mr. Crittenden, who spoke ably, but defeated himself. He would do almost anything for peace. Mr. Clayton advocated the specific repeal of some of the worst provisions of Border-Ruffian laws imposed on Kansas. Mr. Hale mildly gave his reasons for not supporting Toombs's bill, though many of its provisions seemed fair. Mr. Toombs made a most abusive speech, accusing Mr. Seward of falsehood, perjury, base ambition, and moral treason. Mr. Seward rose to reply, but did not get the floor. Mr. Bigler feebly supported Mr. Toombs's bill. Mr. Wilson is now speaking, showing this bill to be a consummation of the policy of subduing Kansas to Slavery. Mr. Seward will yet speak.

The House to-day completed the reading of the Kansas Report, and agreed not to read the accompanying documents, but to refer the whole of them to the Committee on Elections, and have them printed. A large extra number will be ordered. The question of reconsidering the vote, defeating the Free-Kansas bill, comes directly before the House to-morrow, but may be postponed to take up the question of contested elections. Mr. Barclay, however, desires early action upon his motion to reconsider, and his wishes will be regarded. Senator Wade made a powerful speech in favor of Free Kansas and against Douglas's and Toombs's propositions. He was terribly in earnest, and called things by their right names, even when others would have seemed more polite. He was very severe on Pierce, Douglas and his colleague, Pugh. Several Members have paired, and the vote will not be so full as on Monday. Mr. Burlingame pairs with Mr. Boyce, and goes home to-night to speak on the Fourth, at Concord, New-Hampshire. H. G.

Gen. Smith's instructions concerning [illegible] emphatically to prevent armed invasion from any quarter, and to afford protection to peaceable 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 questions that may arise.

AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

From The Philadelphia North American.

The telegraph some days ago informed us that a company of eighty men from Chicago, emigrating to Kansas, through Missouri, had their arms taken from them by a mob at Lexington. In *The St. Louis Republican*, a Pro Slavery paper, we find an account of this matter communicated by the officers of the steamer Polar Star, from which we make the following extract:

"The Abolitionists were to disembark at Leavenworth City, and, at Kansas City, as the boat passed up, the company of passengers was augmented by fifty South Carolinians, bound for the same point, who will, unquestionably, see their Northern friends well taken care of."

These "South Carolinians" were, of course, armed, for, as there were eighty of the Chicago men, the fifty Southerners could have done nothing without arms. Thus the Free-State men were first robbed of their arms, and then a company of armed ruffians was put on board the boat to follow and murder them. The same authority furnishes the following piece of intelligence:

"An intelligent gentleman told us that those of the Abolitionists that remained in the Territory had been driven far into the interior, where supplies of food could be obtained only at great peril and cost."

If this had been published originally in a Northern paper, it would doubtless have been received as one of the usual falsehoods of the press respecting Kansas. It can scarcely be thought however, in this case that the Border Ruffians would tell lies against themselves. We published, some days back, an account of the murder of Wm. Gay, United States Indian Agent for the Shawnees. It was from a source sympathizing with the Free-State men, though published in *The St. Louis Democrat*. In *The St. Louis Republican* we find a full account of it from a Pro-Slavery source, which puts the matter beyond all question. He was on his way home with his son, when three men overtook them and asked whether he was Pro or Anti-Slavery. He only answered that he was from Michigan. They repeated the question, when he said he was in favor of a Free State. One of the three then commenced shooting at him; a scuffle ensued, and the old man was shot through the head, and wounded in several other places. His son was badly wounded, but escaped, and narrated these facts in Westport, where, as soon as it was found that the murdered man was a United States Indian Agent, a great show of indignation was made. This murder was committed in Missouri, but, of course, by the Ruffians who were looking out for Free State emigrants to Kansas. A public meeting was held at Westport, at which indignation resolutions were passed. Among these we find the following, to which we desire to call attention:

"*Resolved*, That this murder, as well as other outrages committed in our midst, call earnestly upon every law-abiding citizen to help maintain the supremacy of the laws, and bring offenders speedily to justice."

No doubt the reader will be curious to know what "other outrages" are here referred to. Many Free-State men have been recently murdered by these roving bands, under precisely similar circumstances. But that was in Kansas, and the victims were only emigrants from the North. It will be observed that the outrages referred to are qualified by the phrase "committed in our midst," meaning in Westport itself. Now here is something worth inquiring into. Fortunately a letter in *The N. Y. Herald* of yesterday, dated Tecumseh (a Pro-Slavery town in Kansas) June 20, furnishes the following explanation:

"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 preparations were made by mechanics, merchants and others for a heavy and prosperous Spring business. Horses and cattle innumerable were collected for the Spring delivery and 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 co-operate 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 wagons, containing Eastern emigrants, had crossed 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 two we 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 is not destroyed, and an embittered and estranged state of feeling instigates among citizens."

The Independent.

NEW-YORK, JULY 3, 1856.

Kansas Movements at the South.—The Kansas Committee, of Charleston, S. C., report that they have received $9,511, and spent $8,958, and have armed and shipped 73 men to Kansas. The Charleston Committee issued an appeal on the 13th, in which they represent the Southerners in Kansas as in danger, and ask prompt aid to enable them to defend their homes and friends.

The First Re-inforcement.—At the Cleveland meeting on Thursday last, Mr. Charles G. Finney, Jr., of Kansas, was introduced. He is, we presume, a son of the famous Mr. Finney, the preacher, and if so, is thoroughly reliable both for truth and courage.

Mr. Finney left the camp of Col. Lane, near Iowa City, on Sunday. Col. Lane had a force of 400 men, and was waiting in camp until his company would amount to 1000 men, when he would enter the Territory, and proceed to Topeka. A stage line will be started by the men of Kansas from Nebraska City to Topeka, and will be maintained *at all hazards*. Heretofore supplies could not reach Kansas; hereafter, *the men of Kansas would show a better record.*

Mr. F. said that Col. Lane held himself responsible to all Federal laws, and if a Marshal of the United States should demand his personal surrender, he should not resist, if the demand was made in a manner that would guarantee safe and honorable treatment. But if made by an armed horde of Missourians, he would stand upon his rights as an American citizen. In no case would the private arms of the men of Kansas be delivered up.

That is, we suppose, he will not resist the Marshal, but will require the Marshal to come unattended by a horde of ruffians.

At the meeting in Columbus, Ohio, the following named gentlemen were appointed a State Central Executive and Corresponding Committee to procure funds to aid the Free State cause in Kansas:—D. W. Deshler, Chairman, Dr. L. Goodale, Dr. W. E. Ide, J. J. Janney, H. B. Carrington, Henry C. Noble, William H. Gibson, William B. Thrall, A. M. Gangewer, Secretary.

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

Territorial business before the House—Vote upon admitting Kansas, on Monday—Stephens' substitute—Objections to it—Dunn in his place, unchanged—Stephens' speech and Campbell's reply and overthrow of his opponent—Probable action of the Senate—The South preaches conservatism—Mr. Foster's speech in the Senate—Interesting and painful case of the practical work of slavery—General character of the Southern Ministry on the subject of slavery—Their co-workers at the North—Ministerial Doughfaces dying out—Stephens' Bible argument for slavery in the House, etc., etc., etc.

DEAR INDEPENDENT:

The events of the present week will not be of any especial interest to your readers in their detail. The House has been occupied chiefly with territorial business, the most important of which being the bill reported by the Territorial Committee for the admission of Kansas with the Topeka Constitution. It was thought advisable, by the leading friends of the measure, that the House should be brought to an early vote upon that question, and that debate should be limited. The bill was fairly reached to-day, and Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, opened the ball by a substitute for the original bill. The main features of the substitute are these: A provision for taking an immediate census of the territory. Seven Commissioners to be appointed by the President to decide upon the question of citizenship, and to report the basis of representation for a Convention to form a Constitution. The decision of the Commissioners to be final. These are the main and objectionable features of the proposed substitute. We have had enough of Presidential appointees in that territory, from Wilson Shannon downward to the Marshal. All are in the graces of the slave propagandists, and are doing the infamous work of petty tyrants. Seven or ten selected by this President would hand the interests of freemen in that territory over to the cruelties of the ruffians of Missouri, all manacled and fitted to be "subdued."

Our friend Dunn who figured so conspicuously during the contest for the Speakership has returned again to his seat, after a long absence, and gave notice of his intention to vote against the bill in its present form. He offered an amendment providing for a repeal of so much of the Kansas-Nebraska Act as repealed the Missouri restriction. This will of course receive the votes of all upon freedom's side of the Chamber. But at the same time he voted with the South on their petty attempts to adjourn and "lay upon the table," etc., with the design of defeating the bill. The debate was conducted by Stephens, of Georgia, and L. D Campbell, of Ohio.

Stephens unhesitatingly announced the doctrine, that slavery went everywhere by natural law where it was not prohibited by especial enactment. His speech was able, I think the ablest upon that side of the question to which it has been my pain to listen. And yet it was full of abstractions, and more the effort of the lawyer seeking a flaw in an instrument, than a Statesman's argument upon the great national questions which are now convulsing the country to its extremes.

He alluded to the difficulties of Kansas as newspaper rumors—a very common term upon this floor when the Administration men are cornered with the fearful results of their action there.

The reply of Mr. Campbell was more than sufficient—it was triumphant. He convicted them by their own history, and stultified even the representative from Georgia by holding up his own antagonistical speeches and votes. Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, a member of the Territorial Committee, closed the debate, and the previous question was moved and ordered by a decided vote, about four-and-a-half o'clock this afternoon. It will come up as the first business of the House on Monday morning.

I think now that the original bill reported from the Committee will pass the House. But, ah me! the Senate will wring its neck and send it down to the House so mutilated and disfigured that none will be willing to acknowledge its paternity. I should be inclined to the opinion that they would table it instanter, if there had not been such a decided mellowing of the democracy, brought about by the earnestness and clamor of the country, and also by the appearance here of the Investigating Committee with the overwhelming evidence of the villainy which slavery has practiced in that territory. The fire-eaters already begin to talk of conservative measures, and to counsel a milder method than has been practiced. The people are behind the ballot-boxes, and the bludgeon, either in Kansas or in this Congress, will not be suffered by them to reign with impunity.

In the Senate, Mr. Foster, of Connecticut, has added his strength to the Spartan band who defend the liberties of the people, free speech and free Kansas, in that chamber. I have heard his speech spoken of, as mild and gentle, yet firm and decided in its tone.

The case of the bardship of slavery to which I alluded in my last, is as follows: A noble specimen of mulatto manhood became providentially acquainted with me. He is some thirty-eight or forty years of age, and has upon his physiognomy the stamp of intellectual power, if it was properly cultivated. He is a deeply devoted Christian, and has won the confidence of a large circle, both white and colored, who have made his acquaintance, and who appreciate his worth. From him I learned the following facts in his history. He was born a slave in Virginia, the land of Jefferson, and the burial-place of Washington. His mistress emancipated him by will, but the heirs, by the aid of Virginia law, broke the will, and the son of his freedom set again in the dark night of slavery. Through the influence of friends and his own courage he paid five hundred dollars of tribute money to despotism, and became the undisputed owner of his own body, soul, [illegible] labor it has pressed heavily upon my noble friend. He has strove manfully, inspired by a strong faith that his family would yet be gathered in freedom by his own fireside. Thirteen years has this member of a Christian church reaped the unpaid toil of his wife and children, and now, at the age of seventy years or upwards, with God's righteous judgment-seat but a step in advance of him, he coolly crushes the hopes, and annihilates his Christian word of trust, by asking this brother of the same communion and church *four thousand dollars* for his family!

When I looked in the sad face of my friend, and saw despair cast the shadow of its raven wing upon it as his hopes were thus unexpectedly blasted, my heart said, Is God just? and will he avenge his children? Is it possible that a Gospel believer can practice such an abomination, and stifle his conscience to such an extent as to believe himself a disciple of Him who came to set the oppressed free, and to break every yoke?

I must confess that my anger (whether that "righteous anger" always upon the lips of conservatism or not I do not say,) stirred my whole being; and I have not even yet eradicated those painfully oppressive feelings. What could be said or done for a fellow-man and Christian brother under such circumstances? Parsimonious old age, with the shackles of death all ready to bind the stiffening limbs, speculating upon the bodies and souls of the wife and children of a brother in the same church, and that, too, at the expense of plighted faith! If this is Christianity, I avow myself an infidel. Think you this man could occupy his position in the church if a faithful ministry had performed all its duty? I tell you no. There is a terrible responsibility resting upon that recreant portion of the ministry who suffer this chattel system to go on unrebuked. My experience here leads me to the painful conclusion that in this capital of a boasted free, Christian republic, there is a fettered and muzzled ministry upon this crying sin of the age. True, there are one or two brave exceptions; but the mass utter no condemnation of tyranny, and no word of sympathy for the enslaved. The accursed system not only meets no disapproval, but rather has the incidental assistance and protection of the teachers of Christ's divine Gospel. In the public addresses to the throne of grace all references to God's captive children are avoided; and there is the most artful dodging of emphatic portions of Scripture which condemn slavery, while every allusion to a "servant" in the sacred book is rolled as a sweet morsel, fitted for the growth and fastening of slavery.

Out upon such shameful moral imbecility and cowardice, in descendants of a ministry once martyred for the utterance of truth!

But more sorrowful and sickening still is the public position of a cautious, conservative slave-defending ministry in the North. They are the aiders and abettors in this treason against Gospel truth and the rights of man. Men of age and experience, and with the affix of D. D. to their names, have thundered from their own pulpits in favor of the system of chattelism, with its fugitive-slave-catching horrors, as a divine precept and a Christian duty; while a still more conservative portion are afraid to utter a word pro or con, standing in fear of the "fiery furnace" of poverty, or "the lion's den" of opposition raised by the spirit of "commerce," i. e. the dealers in *cotton*.

Have such ever read that inimitable hymn of ministerial calling and work? One verse of which is so peculiarly applicable that I must quote it:

> "Shall I to soothe the unholy throng,
> Soften thy truth, or smooth my tongue,
> To gain earth's gilded toys, or flee
> The cross endured, my Lord, by Thee?"

Mark another thing. The Northern ministers who have preached *for* slavery in their pulpits professing to keep the question out of the pulpit, are the especial saints and guardians of their co-workers upon slave soil. Their names are always upon the lip to give force to the defense of the unhallowed traffic in the blood and souls of men. They alone are true expounders of the law of servitude, according to the divine standard, which means whatever the selfishness of the South may please to make it. Of all loads which a minister of the Gospel at the North carries to a righteous judgment seat, none will be more cumbersome than the soul than a labored defense of the villainous system of Southern slavery. And next in order must be the dumb watchman who saw the sword, and through fear refrained from blowing his trumpet and sounding an alarm to his church and countrymen. I thank God that few of either of the above classes are now powerful to affect the Northern Church. The race of ministerial Doughfaces is becoming numerically weaker, having every new turn and shift of the villainies of slavery.

When that time does arrive that a united ministry give an emphatic utterance against slavery in the abstract and in its practice, then the smooth stone of the Gospel will sink into the forehead of this Goliath of practical infidelity. Let every minister do his solemn duty in the formation of a correct public sentiment upon this question, for the time is approaching and the crisis at hand when such a unity must be had, or our country is for ever lost as a Christian republic.

Mr. Stephens, in the speech referred to above, produced a copy of the sacred volume, and proceeded to a Biblical defense of slavery from both the Old and New Testament. My letter is too long already to attempt even a sketch of it. I commend it to the ministry as expounders and defenders of a "divine institution," with their conservative co-laborers.

If I am able to fulfil the many promises already made to your readers, I may then give them a specimen of a Southern politician's sermonizing in the halls of Congress. Adieu.

FOUNAN.

SATURDAY EVENING, June 28, 1856.

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 preparations 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 co-operate 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 wagons, containing Eastern emigrants, had crossed 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, nominally perpetrated 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 18. 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 altogether destroyed, and an embittered and unchanged state of feeling indulged among citizens."

The Independent.

NEW-YORK, JULY 3, 1856.

KANSAS MOVEMENTS IN THE SOUTH.—The Kansas Committee, of Charleston, S. C., report that they have received $9,511, and spent $8,938, and have armed and shipped 73 men to Kansas. The Charleston Committee issued an appeal on the 14th, in which they represent the Northern men in Kansas in distress, and ask prompt aid to enable them to defend their homes and friends.

The First Re-Inforcement.—At the Cleveland meeting on Thursday last, Mr. Charles G. Finney, Jr., of Kansas, was introduced. He is, we presume, a son of the famous Mr. Finney, the preacher, and if so, is thoroughly reliable both for truth and courage.

Mr. Finney left the camp of Col. Lane, near Iowa City, on Sunday. Col. Lane had a force of 400 men, and was waiting in camp until his company would amount to 1000 men, when he would enter the Territory, and proceed to Topeka. A stage line will be started by the men of Kansas from Nebraska City to Topeka, and will be maintained *at all hazards.* Heretofore supplies could not reach Kansas; hereafter, *the men of Kansas would show a better record.*

Mr. F. said that Col. Lane held himself responsible to all Federal laws, and if a Marshal of the United States should demand his personal surrender, he should not resist, if the demand was made in a manner that would guarantee safe and honorable treatment. But if made by an armed horde of Missourians, he would stand upon his rights as an American citizen. In no case would the private arms of the men of Kansas be delivered up.

That is, we suppose, he will not resist the Marshal, but will require the Marshal to come unattended by a horde of ruffians.

At the meeting in Columbus, Ohio, the following named gentlemen were appointed a State Central Executive and Corresponding Committee to procure funds to aid the Free State cause in Kansas:—D. W. Deshler, Chairman, Dr. L. Goodale, Dr. W. E. Ide, J. J. Janney, H. B. Carrington, Henry C. Noble, William H. Gibson, William B. Thrall, A. M. Gangewer, Secretary.

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

Territorial business before the House—Vote upon admitting Kansas, on Monday—Stephens' substitute—Objections to it—Dunn in his place, unchanged—Stephens' speech and Campbell's reply and overthrow of his opponent—Probable action of the Senate—The South preaches conservatism—Mr. Foster's speech in the Senate—Interesting and painful case of the practical work of slavery—General character of the Southern Ministry on the subject of slavery—Their co-workers at the North—Ministerial Doughfaces dying out—Stephens' Bible argument for slavery in the House, etc., etc., etc.

DEAR INDEPENDENT:

The events of the present week will not be of any especial interest to your readers in their detail. The House has been occupied chiefly with territorial business, the most important of which being the bill reported by the Territorial Committee for the admission of Kansas with the Topeka Constitution. It was thought advisable, by the leading friends of the measure, that the House should be brought to an early vote upon that question, and that debate should be limited. The bill was fairly reached to-day, and Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, opened the ball by a substitute for the original bill. The main features of the substitute are these: A provision for taking an immediate census of the territory. Seven Commissioners to be appointed by the President to decide upon the question of citizenship, and to report the basis of representation for a Convention to form a Constitution. The decision of the Commissioners to be final. These are the main and objectionable features of the proposed substitute. We have had enough of Presidential appointees in that territory, from Wilson Shannon downward to the Marshal. All are in the graces of the slave propagandists, and are doing the infamous work of petty tyrants. Seven or ten selected by this President would hand the interests of freemen in that territory over to the cruelties of the ruffians of Missouri, all manacled and fitted to be "subdued."

Our friend Dunn who figured so conspicuously during the contest for the Speakership has returned again to his seat, after a long absence, and gave notice of his intention to vote against the bill in its present form. He offered an amendment providing for a repeal of so much of the Kansas-Nebraska Act as repealed the Missouri restriction. This will of course receive the votes of all upon freedom's side of the Chamber. But as the same time he voted with the South on their petty attempts to adjourn and "lay upon the table," etc., with the design of defeating the bill. The debate was conducted by Stephens, of Georgia, and L. D Campbell, of Ohio.

Stephens unhesitatingly announced the doctrine, that slavery went everywhere by natural law where it was not prohibited by especial enactment. His speech was able, I think the ablest upon that side of the question to which it has been my pain to listen. And yet it was full of abstractions, and more the effort of the lawyer seeking a flaw in an instrument, than a Statesman's argument upon the great national questions which are now convulsing the country to its extremes.

He alluded to the difficulties of Kansas as newspaper rumors—a very common term upon this floor when the Administration men are cornered with the fearful results of their action there.

The reply of Mr. Campbell was more than sufficient—it was triumphant. He convicted them by their own history, and stultified even the representative from Georgia by holding up his own antagonistical speeches and votes. Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, a member of the Territorial Committee, closed the debate, and the previous question was moved and ordered by a decided vote, about four-and-a-half o'clock this afternoon. It will come up as the first business of the House on Monday morning.

I think now that the original bill reported from the Committee will pass the House. But, ah me! the Senate will wring its neck and send it down to the House so mutilated and disfigured that none will be willing to acknowledge its paternity. I should be inclined to the opinion that they would table it instanter, if there had not been such a decided mellowing of the democracy, brought about by the earnestness and clamor of the country, and also by the appearance here of the Investigating Committee with the overwhelming evidence of the villainy which slavery has practiced in that territory. The fire-eaters already begin to talk of conservative measures, and to counsel a milder method than has been practiced. The people are behind the ballot-boxes, and the bludgeon, either in Kansas or in this Congress, will not be suffered by them to reign with impunity.

In the Senate, Mr. Foster, of Connecticut, has added his strength to the Spartan band who defend the liberties of the people, free speech and free Kansas, in that chamber. I have heard his speech spoken of, as mild and gentle, yet firm and decided in its tone.

The case of the bardship of slavery to which I alluded in my last, is as follows: A noble specimen of mulatto manhood became providentially acquainted with me. He is some thirty-eight or forty years of age, and has upon his physiognomy the stamp of intellectual power, if it was properly cultivated. He is a deeply devoted Christian, and has won the confidence of a large circle, both white and colored, who have made his acquaintance, and who appreciate his worth. From him I learned the following facts in his history. He was born a slave in Virginia, the land of Jefferson, and the burial-place of Washington. His mistress emancipated him by will, but the heirs, by the aid of Virginia law, broke the will, and the son of his freedom set again in the dark night of slavery. Through the influence of friends and his own courage he paid five hundred dollars of tribute money to despotism, and became the undisputed owner of his own body, soul, and labor. But his wife and three children were born slaves, and went to the market for sale. A man of wealth and standing in that vicinity purchased the wife and children, paying the sum of "six hundred dollars for the lot," in slave-selling parlance. He was and is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and one of its leading officers. At the time of the purchase, he made this statement and offer to the husband and father of his purchased chattels: that he did not buy them for the purpose of speculation, but if at any time subsequent to the purchase the young man should be able to redeem his wife and children, he should have them at the same price.

I must confess that my anger (whether that "righteous anger" always upon the lips of conservatism or not I do not say,) stirred my whole being; and I have not even yet eradicated those painfully oppressive feelings. What could be said or done for a fellow-man and Christian brother under such circumstances? Parsimonious old age, with the shackles of death all ready to bind the stiffening limbs, speculating upon the bodies and souls of the wife and children of a brother in the same church, and that, too, at the expense of plighted faith! *If* this is Christianity, I avow myself an infidel. Think you this man could occupy his position in the church if a faithful ministry had performed all its duty? I tell you no. There is a terrible responsibility resting upon that recreant portion of the ministry who suffer this chattel system to go on unrebuked. My experience here leads me to the painful conclusion that in this capital of a boasted free, Christian republic, there is a fettered and muzzled ministry upon this crying sin of the age. True, there are one or two brave exceptions; but the mass utter no condemnation of tyranny, and no word of sympathy for the enslaved. The accursed system not only meets no disapproval, but rather has the incidental assistance and protection of the teachers of Christ's divine Gospel. In the public addresses to the throne of grace all references to God's captive children are avoided; and there is the most artful dodging of emphatic portions of Scripture which condemn slavery, while every allusion to a "servant" in the sacred book is rolled as a sweet morsel, fitted for the growth and fattening of slavery.

Out upon such shameful moral imbecility and cowardice, in descendants of a ministry once martyred for the utterance of truth!

But more sorrowful and sickening still is the public position of a cautious, conservative slave-defending ministry in the North. They are the aiders and abettors in this treason against Gospel truth and the rights of man. Men of age and experience, and with the affix of D. D. to their names, have thundered from their own pulpits in favor of the system of chattelism, with its fugitive-slave-catching horrors, as a divine precept and a Christian duty; while a still more conservative portion are afraid to utter a word against, even, standing in view of the "fiery furnace" of poverty, or "the lion's den" of opposition raised by the spirit of "commerce," i. e. the dealers in *cotton.*

Have such ever read that inimitable hymn of ministerial calling and work? One verse of which is so peculiarly applicable that I must quote it:

> "Shall I to soothe the unholy throng,
> Soften thy truth, or smooth my tongue,
> To gain earth's gilded toys, or flee
> The cross endured, my Lord, by Thee?"

Mark another thing. The Northern ministers who have preached *for* slavery in their pulpits professing to keep the question out of the pulpit, are the especial saints and guardians of their co-workers upon slave soil. Their names are always upon the lip to give force to the defense of the unhallowed traffic in the blood and souls of men. They alone are true expounders of the law of servitude, according to the divine standard, which means whatever the selfishness of the South may please to make it. Of all loads which a minister of the Gospel at the North carries to a righteous judgment seat, none will be more cumbersome to the life soul than a labored defense of the villainous system of Southern slavery. And next in order must be the dumb watchman who saw the sword, and through fear refrained from blowing his trumpet and sounding an alarm to his church and countrymen. I thank God that few of either of the above classes are now popular to affect the Northern Church. The race of northern Doughfaces is becoming numerically weaker daily, seeing every new turn and shift of the villainies of slavery.

When that time does arrive that a united ministry give an emphatic utterance against slavery in the abstract and in its practice, then the smooth stone of the Gospel will sink into the forehead of this Goliath of practical infidelity. Let every minister do his solemn duty in the formation of a correct public sentiment upon this question, for the time is approaching and now at hand when such a unity must be had, or our country is for ever lost as a Christian republic.

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If I am able to fulfil the many promises already made to your readers, I may then give them a specimen of a Southern politician's sermonizing in the halls of Congress. Adieu.

FOUNAM.

SATURDAY EVENING, June 28, 1856.

A POOR WOMAN AND A GOOD WORK.

In every age of the world how true is the heart of woman to humanity and goodness! It is through the moral intuitions of women that God speaks the best and purest truths to each generation. The writer of the letter subjoined is a woman. Her gift was out of her poverty! Will it not touch a thousand hearts? Are there not numberless women who have burned to know what could be done for Kansas, and mourned for their helplessness, who will see that a door is opened for great usefulness to them? Let every woman in the Free States contribute one dollar to the cause of Kansas, and the fate of that State would be settled and freedom would be established.

*

TO THE EDITORS OF THE INDEPENDENT:

Enclosed you will find $30 50. Will you do me the great favor to apply it *immediately* for the relief of Kansas, in whatever way you by your knowledge of their greatest need may think the best.

Perhaps it may assist some *good* man to go to Kansas who would not otherwise be able. In some way I want it to subserve the Free-State cause and render the settlers the most *speedy* assistance.

I do not give of my "abundance," for I am in *very* moderate circumstances and poor health, and to part with this amount I make great sacrifices; but I do it cheerfully, knowing my wants are nothing compared to the privations and sufferings the noble ones in Kansas are called on daily to endure.

As yet I have scarcely heard anything from the women of our land upon this subject, but I have not a doubt there are thousands whose hearts are alive to every generous feeling, and who would respond as heartily to any call for aid for Kansas, as would the women of "76." Every outrage committed by Border Ruffians, every indignity offered the Free State men and women is remembered as if offered to themselves; every wail of love, every note of indignation finds an echo in their hearts.

Will you, Mr. Editor, allow me through your paper to ask such what we shall do? Suppose we all use our influence with our friends to join us in making a dollar contribution each, as woman's offering to Freedom, and as an expression of their sympathy with suffering Kansas.

Perhaps it will be thought best that the money, if so raised, shall be entrusted to the Committee which will be appointed by the Convention to be held at Buffalo the 9th of July.

Let us not forget there are women and children in Kansas, widows and orphans too, made such by the hand of violence unrestrained by any power; and the horrors which make our hearts stand still to read, to them is an ever-present, daily-recurring reality. There is no security for them, some flee from their homes for safety, and returning find what they left destroyed or gone; others see their husbands and fathers abused, wounded, *murdered*, and in a few such cases reason has given way, and those who were once happy wives are now raving maniacs. Such too, is the situation of the poor mother of young Stewart. We learn, too, that the daughters of a family living a few miles from Lawrence were taken to their camp and kept there during the invasion; and who, knowing the character of the invaders, can doubt that this is but a tithe of their atrocities. May we prayerfully perform our duty to these noble, afflictive ones; then it will be true of us individually, "She hath done what she could." MIRIAM.

Some Movements of the People.—We have but scanty space to devote to this record; but a few of the incidents must be recorded as specimens of what is going on.

Five hundred dollars was subscribed in aid of Kansas, by nine citizens of Leicester. We understand that efforts will be made to double the subscription.

God Bless the Women!—The *Worcester Transcript* learns that Ex-Mayor Knowlton's daughters are *personally* soliciting subscriptions from the *ladies* of Worcester, in aid of the glorious cause of Kansas. The horrible outrages that have been perpetrated in Kansas have deeply moved the *women* everywhere.—*Worcester Spy.*

KANSAS BULLETIN.

The Position of Free Settlers.—A large number of Free State settlers are in a condition of great anxiety. They went to Kansas to provide themselves with homes, relying upon the apparent energy of the friends of liberty to make Kansas a Free State, and looking to the facility of the preëmption act to take up land. Many exhausted their means in getting to the ground, relying upon the growth and prosperity of the towns to furnish opportunities of employment, by which they could obtain subsistence until they can gather the first harvest from their land. The civil war has interrupted the growth of towns and lessened the demand for labor. Many settlers have been so chased and harassed by the invading ruffians, as materially to interfere with their planting. They fear to take an active part in the defence, under the threats of Shannon and the other organs of the Administration, that they will be subjected to trial, fine and imprisonment, the loss of their claims, &c. They must have a little help to keep them along until their claims are secured. At a meeting in Columbus, Ohio, June 11th, Dr. Wilcox said:

"He left Kansas almost two weeks ago—that a few days before he left, the town of Lawrence had been destroyed—that there were in the territory about forty thousand inhabitants, scattered over a territory about two hundred miles long by one hundred and fifty miles broad—that some of the settlers had come in last spring, and of course had no provisions in store until they could raise a crop from their farms—that the Missouri, Georgia and Alabama marauders had entered the territory under pay as United States troops—that they had waylaid teams, &c., containing provisions and goods, which they had destroyed or appropriated, and it was their intention to starve them into compliance with their wishes or compel them to leave the territory. He said that this was now the pressing danger in Kansas—that they were dependent upon the settled States for food until they could raise a sufficiency to supply their wants, and that the ruffians, by intercepting and appropriating the provisions intended for the settlers, made their situation critical, and immediate aid in men and money absolutely essential."

State Movements for Kansas.—We insert in another column a notice from the Executive Committee of the New-York Kansas Committee, urging the appointment of county delegates from the several committees, to attend the Kansas Convention at Buffalo, on the 9th of July, and to collect and take charge of funds for Kansas aid.

A meeting is to be held on the 3d, at the office of the New-England Emigrant Aid Company, No. 3 Winter street, Boston, to consult on this matter. General Pomeroy is to be present.

Extract from a letter written by a merchant in Missouri to a friend now in this city:

"———, Mo., June 19.

"S. returned from up the Missouri River Saturday. In the immediate vicinity of Kansas Territory nearly all business is stopped except the sale of whisky. If ever there was a reign of terror in which no opposing opinion is for a moment tolerated, it now exists in Kansas and North-west Missouri. Even a neutral man cannot live there in peace. I hope the people of the North will quit talking and passing resolutions—put their hands deep in their purses, and send able-bodied and strong-hearted men into the territory. *Count the cost*, and not send men there to starve or leave the field."

Outrages of the Ruffians.—It is doubtful whether any year in the history of savage warfare in this country, has witnessed so large a number of families thrown into so great terror and misery over so wide an extent of territory, as we have just seen among the peaceable and freedom-loving settlers of Kansas, under the late invasion of Border Ruffians, instigated by President Pierce, his advisers and his masters. What a memory will be associated with his name in the future traditions of those families.

The Condition of the People.—The following is extracted from a private letter received by a gentleman of this city from his brother, now residing in Kansas, and it needs no comments:

* * * * "Free State men, generally, are reduced to a condition very much resembling slavery—we are not allowed to serve as jurymen—are not eligible to any office whatever; heavy fines are imposed on us for trifling offences; in the courts, decisions are invariably given in favor of pro-slavery men. *There is evidently a determination to oppress and drive from the country all persons who will not aid in making Kansas a Slave State!*"

Kansas in Congress.—We are sorry to record the defeat of the bill for the admission of Kansas as a State, with the Topeka or free constitution. The vote was taken on Monday in the House of Representatives; all amendments were rejected, the motion to lay the bill on the table was lost, and then came the main question, when the bill was lost by one vote—yeas 106, nays 107! Great exultation was shown by the slavery party.

Messrs. Bayard Clarke, Edwards, Milward and Scott sustained Free Kansas throughout. Messrs. Haven, Whitney, John Wheeler and John Williams, of New York, Broome of Pennsylvania, Scott Harrison and Dunn went with Messrs. Herbert, Brooks, Rust, and the pro-slavery party, throughout.

It is supposed that this extinguishes the last hope of real relief for Kansas from the present Congress. The Douglas men are evidently afraid to carry out their dragooning policy openly, and are anxious to get up a pretext of offering relief from the present abuses, which shall at the same time effectually secure Kansas for slavery. But they have no thought of relieving the Free State settlers from the tyranny of the bogus legislature, or affording the settlers any honest opportunity to vote without the intrusion of the Border Ruffians, who are not *bona fide* settlers.

Douglas's New Bill.—The most hopeful sign now is the backing down of Senator Douglas from his first bill for the subjugation of Free Kansas. On Monday he introduced a new bill, accompanied by a voluminous report. He proposes to have five commissioners appointed representing all parties, who shall take a census of the voters, apportion the districts, and superintend the election of delegates to form a constitution. The election to take place in November. All voters who have resided in the Territory four months, and no other test required. No person to vote whose name is not on the printed list.

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

"The Convention to assemble on the first Monday in December to decide, first, whether it be expedient for Kansas to come into the Union at that time, and if so decided, to proceed to form a constitution and State Government which shall be of republican form, Kansas then to be admitted under such constitution on an equal footing with the original States."

The first fallacy of this scheme is, that it subjects the whole thing to the control of commissioners appointed by the same Administration which removed Reeder and appointed Shannon and Lecompte, and which has so recklessly sustained all the outrages of the Border Ruffians hitherto. With a pretense of affording security against Border irruptions, and protection to Free State settlers, there is no real guaranty in it that is worth a straw. It leaves the authority of the bogus legislature untouched, and the Free State men under prosecution for the violation of its vile enactments. It seizes upon the moment when so many of the Free State men are imprisoned or have been driven from the Territory, and says all who are now residents may vote in November and settle the question. The man must be demented who can for a moment imagine that a bill devised by Toombs and adopted by Douglas *can be* anything but a fraud and a deception, for the benefit of slavery.

Dispatches from Chicago and St. Louis give further news of the movements of the Chicago company of Kansas emigrants. The boat on which they went up was stopped at Lexington, Mo., by some four or five hundred Missourians and Carolinians, who had been driven out of Kansas by Col. Sumner. These men had planted cannon, and threatened to fire upon the boat unless the arms of the emigrants were given up. This demand was complied with. The boat then went on to Weston, Mo., where a large force of armed pro-slavery men came on board and stated that the emigrants should not go to Kansas, even unarmed. Under this compulsion, the boat, the *Star of the West*, put back, and will land the emigrants at Alton, Ill., under guard of the South Carolinians.

It is reported by telegraph that a Methodist Conference which met at Rochester, Missouri, on the 14th ult., was mobbed by some pro-slavery men; the pre-

siding officer tarred and feathered, and the members dispersed and ordered to leave the State. An old man who tried to prevent the outrage was shot.

Testimony of Mayor Smith.—Dr. J. V. C. Smith, late Mayor of Boston, has been visiting Kansas, and writes to the Boston *Gazette*, just as he was about leaving the Territory, June 21. He describes the outrages of the Border Ruffians as most atrocious; that no traveler known to be from Boston is safe from being robbed or murdered; that the settlers are subject to wanton outrages in their cabins; and that there ought to be "more soldiers or none."

The Chicago Company.—The humiliating result of the expedition which was sent out with so great a flourish from Chicago, will probably appear less disastrous when the whole story is told. The telegraphic dispatch from Chicago on Monday says that they were to start again immediately for Kansas, across Iowa. It is strange that they ever thought of any other route. Their report of the affair on the Missouri contradicts the accounts sent from St. Louis in several particulars.

St. Louis, June 30.

A letter to the *Democrat* from Lawrence, 28th, states that five Free State men, who were arrested and disarmed near Ossawatomie on the 27th of May, by a party of United States dragoons under Lieut. Johnson, had arrived in that city after four weeks' detention, during which time they had been kept in chains, until finally discharged by Judge Cato, nothing being found against them.

July 1, 1856.

More Northern Emigrants Disarmed by Missourians.—A Worcester, company of forty-four men, bound for Kansas on board the steamer Sultana, were disarmed on Friday last, in a manner similar to that adopted with the Chicago company. The scene took place at Waverly, ten miles below Lexington. Their captors have announced their intention to detain them as prisoners, and dispose of them to suit the exigencies of the times. Sixty Sharpe's rifles were taken from them.

The above statement is from a reliable source, a well-known gentleman who witnessed the occurrence.

It is also reported that a company from Ottawa, Ill. were also disarmed and arrested on Saturday. All the river towns have announced a determination to allow no emigrants from the North to enter Kansas. A correspondent of the *St. Louis Democrat*, Jefferson City, 20th ult., charges Governor Price with having sent 12 cannon and 22 boxes of muskets, from the U. S. arsenal, to Stringfellow, to assist in the conquest of Kansas.

It is an idle waste to fit out companies of men in this way, to be plundered by the pirates of Missouri. These events show the necessity of having a discreet and capable Central Committee, composed of men not concerned in any settlement schemes, to direct the movement, if anything is to be done with effect this season. We hope the Convention at Buffalo, on the 9th, will attend to this matter.

The Dayton, Ohio, papers contain a notice signed by E. A. Parrott, George Fair, Edward Fair, and John Clegg, proposing to form a company "to emigrate to Kansas without delay." The Kansas Aid Committee, of which Judge Holt (an old Democrat) is Chairman, "will assist those who are unable by their private means to emigrate."

We learn that arrangements have been made in the Free States to re-establish every press which has been destroyed in Kansas. The editors of newspapers in the Free States have arranged this matter.

A party of between thirty and forty persons will leave this city at eight o'clock to-morrow morning for Kansas, under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Society. The party will be increased at Albany and other places on the route.—*Worcester Spy*, 25th.

PHILADELPHIA: American and Gazette.

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1856.

Kansas Fictions.—The Lexington, Mo., Express, a respectable paper, but sympathizing with the Missouri borderers, recently published a variety of statements to the effect that the Free State men in Kansas had murdered J. B. Donaldson, United States Marshal, attempted to rescue Governor Robinson, and murdered several Missourians named Doyle, Wilkins, etc., in brutal style. The Express of the 14th, however, learns from Col. Joseph C. Anderson, Col. Titus, and the John Donaldson, that these alleged outrages, except the affair at Ossawattomie, did not occur and are mere fabrications. And it adds, that, though they reassert the truth of the Ossawattomie affair, it is contradicted by Mr. James Rupe, who says that he stayed with Doyle since the time of his [illegible] murder. All these parties are Pro Slavery

THE INQUIRER.

PHILADELPHIA.

TH[illegible]SDAY, JULY 3 1856.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Special Correspondence of the Pennsylvania Inquirer.

THE FOREIGN NEWS—THE SENTINEL—THE MASS MEETING—THE MAIL CONTRACTS—KANSAS—AN EXCITING DAY.

Washington, July 1, 1856.

Before adjourning yesterday, the House, by a very close vote, a majority of only one, rejected the Kansas Free State bill. You, of course, have had this fact by telegraph, but the bare announcement conveys no idea of the attendant circumstances. I renew all that I have heretofore said on this subject. Had Mr. Grow been honest he would not have pressed the matter until the report of the Investigating Committee had been received and considered. And he did so, also, when he well knew that the territory could not show the constitutional number of inhabitants requisite for its admission as a State.

For both of these reasons, many members, otherwise well disposed towards Kansas, could not consistently vote for the bill, and especially after they had been forced to a direct vote by the operation of the previous question. A number of the National Americans, who would cheerfully have voted for the admission, were compelled from these causes to vote against it. They would not have been honest men or safe legislators if they had done otherwise. They were not to be led into the commission of a gross error by mad party zeal, or to aid in healing the fancied wrongs of Kansas by perpetrating another greater still, against the Constitution.

The Senate has had the subject up again to-day, and the scenes in the House have beggared description. To the surprise of most, Mr. Barclay, of your State, immediately after the reading of the Journal, moved a reconsideration of the vote by which the Kansas State bill was defeated yesterday, and gave his reasons for so doing. It was well understood that the most extraordinary efforts had been made last night and this morning to beg some member of the opposition to take this step, and also that several had quite indignantly spurned the proposition made them. Mr. Barclay, however, courageously threw himself into the breach, and of course drew down upon him the concentrated vengeance of his own party (the Democratic) and all those who voted with it. Mr. Houston, of Alabama, was so particularly severe upon him as to call for the Speaker's interposition. This was unnecessary, as Mr. Barclay proved himself capable of taking care of himself. A scene of great excitement ensued, and indeed, the day has been the most exciting and interesting one of the session. Every inch of ground was contended manfully on both side, and at times the noise and confusion were indiscribable. The object of the Kansas men was merely to open the subject, so that it would be brought up again for discussion at some subsequent day, they not daring to risk another direct vote upon it to-day. Pending a motion to lay the motion to reconsider on the table, the Kansas Investigating Committee claimed the privileged right to present their report, and as a single member had the right to insist on its being read. This led to another long discussion and some curious decisions by the Speaker, but finally, the report was received and ordered to be printed, and its reading was commenced about three o'clock. It is a very voluminous document, and occupied the remainder of the session. It is supposed some member will require the reading of the testimony and other documents, which will require two or three days time. If Mr. Pringle, of New York, had been in his seat yesterday, the vote would have been a tie, and the Speaker would have, by his casting vote, ensured the passage of the bill. Of all the old Northern National Americans, Mr. Millward, of your city, was the only one who voted with the Republicans, Mr. Bayard Clarke, of New York, it is understood, having gone over to that party some time since. Probably the scenes of to-day will be renewed to-morrow. The earnestness and real strife of the session is just commencing, and we need not expect many more lazy days, at least in the House. Connecticut.

Ruffian Sovereignty in Kansas—The New Bill of Mr. Douglas.

Under this head the New York *Herald* of the 3d, tells the truth in plain, strong language as follows:

The report of the Congressional Committee detailed to Kansas to inquire into and collect the facts concerning the political disturbances in that Territory, was laid before our readers yesterday. They have, doubtless, without a solitary exception, risen from the perusal of this astounding report, this historical document, with the most painful emotions and convictions. The names, dates, figures, facts, and specifications of this report, however, silence all doubts and all prevarications as to the doings of the "border ruffians." Explanations, apologies and denials may be piled mountain high upon each other, but here are the acts, facts, dates, names and places, all the materials of legal testimony as before a court of justice, and they cannot be displaced. Upon such evidence the President of the United States before an honest jury could hardly escape imprisonment for life.

What a picture! We have read with incredulity the atrocities of English civil wars, Irish rebellions and French revolutions, from a shrinking disinclination to believe in the possibility of such examples of human depravity; but we are incredulous no longer.—When any portion of a people belonging to the most civilized, enlightened, and law and order loving race under the sun, can descend to such scenes of systematic ruffianism as those which are set forth in this Congressional report, we are reduced to the conclusion that the general repugnance of mankind to pirates and highway robbers, to burglars and midnight assassins, is but a mockery and a delusion—that the securities which the laws of the land and the usages of civilized society throw around us and over us, like a strong shield, are subject like Kansas to the law of ruffianism and the chances of the hour—that man, after all, is but a savage cannibal, and that his social, political, moral and religious elevation is but a humbug and a cheat. Upon one point there can be no mistake—the unanswerable facts of this Kansas report establish it beyond the possibility of dispute—and the point is this: that squatter sovereignty is ruffian sovereignty—that the Kansas Nebraska law, "leaving the people of the Territory free to regulate their own domestic affairs in their own way," under the auspices of Messrs. Douglas and Pierce, means organized ruffianism, whiskey, spoliation, robbery, murder, fire and sword.

Such are the fearful and bloody fruits of an imbecile, indecisive, but reckless and unscrupulous administration, representing a demoralized, unprincipled, corrupt and thoroughly rotten political party. The seeds of this prolific crop of poisonous fruits which have so rapidly matured and ripened in Kansas, were planted by Mr. Douglas and his confederates in the Kansas-Nebraska bill; but they need not have sprouted had they not been so thoroughly watered and cultivated by this Pierce administration. At the outset, under the management of Mr. Forney and Governor Reeder, the plan of Mr. Pierce was to recover his lost ground in the North, and the plan of Forney, Reeder & Co. was to make the most money that could be made out of their Kansas land speculations. In this view, it was natural enough that they should prefer a nonslaveholding to a slave-holding body of settlers.—A slave-holding community is agricultural, and does not build up manufacturing towns and villages; but a colony of free soil squatters is developed, as it increases, into villages, towns and cities, including all sorts of manufacturing enterprises. Hence, to the original owners of the city sites, town plots and mill seats, a free soil community is just the thing; and thus the original Kitchen Cabinet land speculators in Kansas directed their movements, by and with the advice and consent of the administration, to the great financial ultimatum of making Kansas a free State.

But the South took the alarm, and soon muttering thunders began to be heard in that direction. The Administration was frightened, Reeder was dismissed, and it had become too late to carry water on both shoulders. Mr.

Pierce resolved to cut the North entirely; and by fraternizing heartily and actively with the "Border Ruffians," he hoped at least to secure the necessary Southern support in the Cincinnati Convention to bring the Northern Democracy to a surrender. Mr. Douglas boldly played the same game for the same stakes.—They lost—they both lost; but they must go on. "In for a penny in for a pound." It's too late for the back track. Though as generals they are repudiated by the nigger-driving leaders of the Democracy of the South, they must be content to serve in the ranks.—With Mr. Pierce it is but the show of consistency; for he can have no hope for the future; but with Mr. Douglas it is the campaign of 1860 and the voice of the people of the South which he failed to secure in 1856.

It is not surprising, therefore, after introducing one scheme requiring the federal ratio of 93,000 population in Kansas before calling a convention to form a State Constitution, that Mr. Douglas, a month later, should consent to drop the question of population and propose the necessary steps for the immediate admission of Kansas. The South have pointed out the way. The new bill of Mr. Douglas is nothing more than the discovery of Mr. Toombs. It is simple and to the purpose.—Under the auspices of Mr. Pierce the Border Ruffians by fire, sword and terrorism have expelled the bulk of the abolition and free soil squatters from the Territory. They are scattered all over the North; and even if invited back, it would take them some weeks or months to complete their preparations and return. The pro-slavery party are thus left in a majority in Kansas; and a law of Congress providing a State Convention on the day of the Presidential election—and providing further that none shall be voters in electing the members of that Convention, but such persons as shall have been residents in Kansas during all the months of August, September and October, will fix the business. This is the new bill of Mr. Douglas, and its meaning is simply this: to take advantage of the expulsion of the free soilers, and secure the admission of Kansas as a Slave State before they can return.

Daily Pennsylvanian

Philadelphia, Thursday, July 3.

Kansas Affairs---Report of Senator Douglas.

We publish to-day the recent Report of Senator DOUGLAS on the bills submitted for the pacification of Kansas, in which is embraced a synopsis of the bill for the accomplishment of that purpose now recommended to the Senate by the Committee on Territories. We commend this document to the careful perusal of our readers. They will find it deeply interesting. It furnishes at once a key to the cause, and a full and complete remedy, for the troubles in Kansas.

Those inveterate intermedlers, the Northern Abolitionists, immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, howled so terribly over the event, and made so many braggadocia, blustering assertions, and promises of what they would do in the way of peopling the new territory with men of their own stamp, and illegally controlling its preliminary elections, that the people of Missouri, unused to their inflated style of exaggeration, naturally enough supposed they were to be immediately surrounded by myriads of negro-stealing, Constitution-hating, law-defying abolitionists. Preparations for over-riding the true principles of the Nebraska Bill, on the one side led to similar movements on the other. And in this manner originated the unfortunate troubles which are deplored in all sections of the Union.

But whatever may have been the cause of these disturbances, the only practical question now at issue, is how they may be best remedied. And this point has been considered by the Senate Committee, in a true statesmen-like spirit. Every contingency has been provided for, and every proper provision that it is in the power of Congress to adopt, to guard the purity of the ballot box in Kansas, to ascertain who are entitled to vote there, and to prevent all other persons from exercising the right of suffrage, has been recommended. The Constitutional provisions guranteeing the freedom of speech, the freedom of conscience, and the right to bear arms, are also engrafted into the bill.

Now it is perfectly plain to all reasonable men, that the enforcement of such a law, in conjunction with the vigorous measures of Col. SUMNER in disarming all organized bands of marauders, is the true and proper way of pacifying Kansas. With all their "shrieks for freedom!" we have heard from the Black Republican Party, they have never proposed a resort to true legal and constitutional means as a remedy for the evils they allege to exist. Revolution, anarchy, strife, incendiary appeals, Sharpe's-rifles, deadly war upon the South, and the election of FREMONT are the wise (?) remidies they suggest. The truth is they view with the deepest regret every prospect of a proper settlement of this question. They are in the position of a beggar in our streets, who was in the habit of exhibiting an unsightly and diseased limb, and by thus moving public sympathy extracting money from the passers-by. A physician offered gratuitously to cure his disease in a short time. But he spurned the proposal. He sought to aggravate rather than eradicate his disease, because its appearance afforded him a handsome revenue from a humbugged people. His course was based upon the same principles as that of the Black Republicans. They have fomented a disturbance, and believing that its continual existence is calculated to enhance their political prospects, they oppose rather than assist all measures calculated to adjust it.

[Special Correspondence of the Daily Pennsylvanian.]

WASHINGTON, July 2, 1856.

After considerable skirmishing and guerilla fighting, on the part of the Black Republicans, yesterday, the majority report was finally read, or rather, it was commenced; for, be it understood, it is a long, prosy, one-sided affair, full of inconsistencies and incongruities. Just such a report as Black Republicans would be likely to make, "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." The House adjourned last evening before they had completed its reading, and of course it was the first thing in order this morning.

One of the most disgraceful scenes that has ever transpired in this or any other city, occurred night before last, immediately after the adjournment of the Fillmore Know-Nothing meeting. Mr. Magruder, who it will be remembered, was elected a short time since Mayor of this city, as an Anti-Know-Nothing, attended the Know-Nothing demonstration for the purpose of preserving order. While in the exercise of his duty, he was assailed by a mob of this law and order party, and knocked down and beaten in a most unmerciful manner; and the officers who came to his rescue were trampled on and abused without stint; and it was thought at one time, that his life would be taken before he could be rescued from the mob. By a dexterous movement of his friends he eluded their determined and overwhelming force, and made his way into the Kirkwood House, passing through the building by a back door, and continued his way home. Notwithstanding the severe treatment and bruises which he received at their hands, he was able to be at his office on the following day and attend to his usual duties.

I indicated in my dispatch of yesterday, that I should give a short notice of Gov. Bigler's speech on Kansas affairs. He was unexpectedly drawn into the debate, having no idea at the time of making any remarks. The bill under consideration was the one reported by Judge Douglas, on Monday, from the Committee on Territories.—Governor Bigler said he congratulated the Senate and the country on the introduction of a measure which he believed would allay the excitement in Kansas. He reviewed the history of Slavery briefly, as also the troubles in Kansas. He regarded these troubles as mainly attributable to influences outside of the Territory—the slavery and anti-slavery feeling of the country. But those difficulties were not fatal to the theory of the laws, for it had succeeded in all the Territories. He maintained the doctrine of non-intervention with power and clearness, and said he would go for no measure which infringed it. He did not like Mr. Clayton's bill; he preferred Mr. Toombs's bill, because it presented a remedy without infringing the organic laws. He regarded the vital principle to be that it terminated, once all motive to forcing population into the territory for the purpose of controlling its policy on the slavery question; because it proposed to obtain the popular will in a safe mode; because it provides guards for the ballot-box; because it defeats the effects of some of the local laws, by showing that they are unconstitutional. He could not recognize the Topeka Constitution because it was without authority of law, and in derogation of all law. He thought we should never countenance insubordination. He showed that it was the policy of the abolitionists to agitate the country without presenting a remedy for the evils of which they complain, and that they could not better the condition of the colored race if they had their own way; that they could not name the spot on the face of the earth where an equal number of the African race lived so happily and were as far advanced in civilization as the Southern slaves. His remarks were made in good temper, and commanded great respect

Pretty much the whole day was consumed in the House by the reading of the Report of the Kansas Committee, and the discussion which arose, on motion to print the accompanying document.

In the Senate, Wade, of Ohio, made a furious onslaught upon the bill reported by Senator Douglas to settle the difficulties in Kansas. Of course he is opposed to the settlement of those difficulties, as are also the rest of the Abolition gang. ANTELOPE.

KANSAS AFFAIRS.

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

The Committee on Territories, to which was recommitted "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. Toombs 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 our 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 to be received into 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 citizens have been protected against fraud or violence by laws of their own making.—Those 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 had 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 guarantied by their organic law. Combinations in one section 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 unconstitutional provisions are to be carried out, the 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 Nebraska Territory," &c.

The second section provides that all offices in Kansas shall be vacated, and *recognizes the validity and binding force of the acts passed by the territorial legislature of Kansas,* but contains a repealing clause to take "effect on the passage of this act."

The bill does not propose to repeal the organic act of Kansas Territory, nor to restore the Missouri Compromise, for the obvious reason that its sole object, as stated in the title, is "to restore order and peace in Kansas." Inasmuch as the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise have produced "order and peace" in Nebraska, and could have had no influence in creating the present difficulties in Kansas, the repeal of the former and the restoration of the latter would not have accomplished the objects of the bill. On the contrary, the bill proceeds on the theory that the best, if not only, mode "to restore order and peace in Kansas," is to place the people of that Territory directly under the protection of the Nebraska act, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, and thus leaves them "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States, *with the right to come into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of admission.*"

Your Committee fully concur in the objects of the bill, as thus understood and expressed, but perceive serious obstacles in the way of accomplishing those objects in the mode proposed. In the first place, the present difficulties in Kansas, although produced by the causes already stated, arise out of the fact that there is a large body of armed men in that Territory thoroughly organized for the avowed purpose of resisting to "a bloody issue," the laws and constituted authorities of the Territory, and to that end have established and put in partial operation an independent government in conflict with the government established by Congress and in defiance of its authority. If Kansas should be annexed to Nebraska, and still left under the same organic law, the difficulties are not removed so long as the rebellion continues and the revolutionary government exists in defiance of the authority of Congress. The effect would be to aggravate the evil and enlarge the theatre of its dishaters.

Your committee can perceive no wisdom or justice in making the people of Nebraska involuntary parties to an organized system of lawless violence which they have had no agency in producing, and from the calamities of which they are entitled to be exempted by their fidelity to the Constitution and laws of the land. Besides, if the reasons assigned for refusing obedience to the laws of Kansas are well founded, the same objections would apply with much greater force to obeying the laws of Nebraska. If the assumption that some non-residents participated in the elections, and to that extent affected the legislation of Kansas, be a sufficient justification for resisting all the laws enacted by the legislature, the fact that none of the inhabitants of Kansas had any voice in making the laws of Nebraska, which it is now proposed to extend over them by an act of Congress, without their consent, would furnish a much more plausible pretext for resisting the laws of Nebraska. If it be said that some of the enactments of the Kansas legislature are obnoxious to that portion of the inhabitants who resist the constituted authorities in the execution of the laws of that Territory, what assurance have we that the same persons would not find fault with some of the enactments of the Nebraska legislature, and assign the double reason for refusing obedience to them: first, that they had no voice in making them; and, second, that they were opposed to them, and would not obey any law they do not like? For the reasons stated, your committee cannot recommend the proposition to annex Kansas to Nebraska as a measure calculated "to restore order and peace in Kansas."

The next proposition in the order in which they were referred to your committee is the "Bill supplementary to an act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas," introduced by the Senator from Delaware, (Mr. Clayton.) This bill embraces two leading ideas, the one to reorganize the legislature of the Territory, and the other to admit Kansas into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, in compliance with the principles and provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act, whenever it should be ascertained by a census that the Territory contained a federal population of ninety-three thousand four hundred and twenty-inhabitants. So much of the bill as relates to the admission of the State is, in substance, a copy of the one reported by the Committee on Territories on the 17th of March last, and hence may be assumed to possess all the advantages which may be fairly claimed for that proposition, and liable to whatever objections may be justly urged against it. That portion of the bill which provides for the organization of the legislature contains some wise and excellent provisions, especially those intended to guard the elective franchise against fraud and violence, and to insure a free and fair expression of the popular voice through the ballot-box; while others are liable to serious and fatal objections in consequence of their repugnance to the great principle imbodied in the great Kansas-Nebraska act, and affirmed in the preamble, although not sustained by all the provisions of the bill under consideration.

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 no provision for the admission of Kansas into the Union, and has for its main object efficient provisions for preserving the sanctity of the ballot-box, and to throw such safeguards around the elective franchise as would effectually protect it from fraud, violence, intimidation, or any other improper influence, which would prevent a fair expression of the popular will in all elections in the Territory. Most of the provisions of this bill are admirably adopted to the objects in view, and, should it be determined to pass no law for the admission of Kansas into the Union, your committee would not hesitate to adopt most of them, with some modifications, as the best solution of the existing difficulties in Kansas.

The two remaining propositions referred to your committee relate to the same subject-matter, and, although entirely different in their character, will be considered together. They are, first, an amendment in the form of a substitute, proposed by the Senator from New York, (Mr. Seward,) to the bill reported by the Committee on Territories on the 17th of March last, and the other an amendment in the form of a substitute for the same bill, proposed by the Senator from Georgia, (Mr. Toombs.) The amendment of the Senator from New York, which he proposes as a substitute for the entire bill, provides for the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, without making any provision for the formation of a constitution, or the establishment of a State government. It may be the intention of the author of this proposition to recognize and put in operation a paper framed at Topeka in October last, and called "a constitution of the State of Kansas," a portion of which has been presented to the Senate and referred to this committee, although the boundaries and territory described and embraced within the provisions of said pretended constitution are widely different from those described and provided for in the proposition of the Senator from New York. For instance, while the State which the Senator from New York proposes to admit is described in his proposition to be bounded on the west by the one hundred and third meridian of longitude, that provided for in the Topeka constitution extends several hundred miles beyond that meridian and joins the Territory of Utah, and meanders the summit of the Rocky mountains for its western boundary, and thus embracing a Territory larger than the combined area of several of the New England States, which is not contained within the limits of the State proposed to be admitted by the amendment of the Senator from New York. The fact that the amendment of that Senator does not refer to the Topeka constitution, nor to any other constitution, nor to any supposed State government in Kansas, taken in connection with this vast discrepancy, in the boundaries and territory proposed to be embraced within the limits of the proposed State, would authorize the presumption that he proposes to ignore and reject the Topeka constitution and State government at the same time that he subverts the territorial government established by Congress, and thus leave the inhabitants without any government, or law, or protection of any kind, free to defend their rights and settle all matters in dispute, by the arbitrament of the sword. Such, in the opinion of your committee, would be the fair interpretation and inevitable effect of the proposition of the Senator from New York, if it should unfortunately become the law of the land. If on the other hand, he should revise and reconstruct his proposition in such a manner as to recognize and legalize the Topeka Constitution and State government, it becomes important to inquire into the legality, regularity, and fairness of the proceedings, with the view of ascertaining whether it was the work of the whole body of the people of Kansas, or the act of a political party, or of a mere faction, being a small minority of the inhabitants, whose chief grievance consisted in the fact that they could not control the majority.

It is not pretended that any of the proceedings which resulted in the formation of the Topeka constitution were had in pursuance of law. The preliminary meetings, the calling of the convention, the appointment of delegates, the assembling of the convention, the formation of the constitution, the voting on its ratification, the election of officers under it—each and every step in the whole movement was not only without the authority of law, but a part of a scheme, openly and boldly avowed in their meetings and conventions, having for its object the subversion of the government established by authority of Congress in said Territory. They refused to recognise the validity of the laws of the Territory, or the authority of the officers appointed to carry them into effect. Hence there was no law prescribing the qualifications of voters, or excluding illegal votes, or prohibiting any person from voting as many times as he pleased, at as many different places as he chose on the same day: no law providing the appointment of judges of elections, none prescribing the usual oath, no officer to administer the oath, and no law to punish its violation. In short, there was no regularity, no legality, no security for fairness, no safeguards against fraud in any of their proceedings. Besides, the whole movement was the work of a political party and not the action of the great body of the people, irrespective of party. Their meetings were party meetings, their conventions were party conventions, their resolutions were of a nature which necessarily precluded the co-operation of every man who felt it his duty to yield obedience to the laws and constituted authorities of the Territory under the organic act. Hence it was strictly a partisan movement—a movement of the law-resisting party in opposition to the law-abiding party. It was not a question between those who approved and those who disapproved the laws of the Kansas Legislature; for many good citizens preferred obedience to a code of laws, a portion of which they did not approve, so long as they were held to be constitutional by the Courts and remained upon the statute book, as a less evil than armed resistance and lawless violence. Thus it was a partisan movement—an organization of the law-resisting party against the law-abiding party; and the most that can be claimed for it is, that it received the sanction of a decided majority of its own party.

The question now arises, whether a constitution, made by a political party, without the authority of law, and under circumstances which afford no safeguards against fraud, and no guarantees of fairness, and raises no presumptions that it embodies the wishes and sentiments of a majority of the inhabitants, shall be forced, by an act of Congress, upon a whole people as their fundamental law, unalterable for nine years.

In the opinion of your committee, whenever a constitution shall be formed in any territory, preparatory to its admission into the Union as a State, justice, the genius of our institutions, the whole theory of our republican system, imperatively demand that the voice of the people shall 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 pretentions 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 to 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 20th of October, at such places in the Territory as will be most convenient to the inhabitants, to hear complaints, examine witnesses, 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.

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There are many other provisions in the bill, mostly matters of detail, but well devised and adapted to carrying out the main design. Among them is a bill of rights, copied from the Constitution of the United States and the amendments to that instrument, declaring that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust;" that no law shall be of force or enforced in said Territory "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of the people to assemble and to petition government for redress of grievances;" and that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed," &c., &c.

Your committee will not weary the Senate with a summary of all the provisions and details of the proposition of the Senator from Georgia in its revised form. It is believed to be well adapted to the object, and, if it becomes the law of the land, that it will insure a fair and impartial decision of the question at issue in Kansas, in accordance with the wishes of the *bona fide* inhabitants of the Territory, without fraud, violence, or any other improper or unlawful influence.

The point upon which your committee have entertained the most serious and grave doubts in regard to the propriety of endorsing this proposition, relates to the fact that in the absence of any census of the inhabitants, there is reason to apprehend that the Territory does not contain sufficient population to entitle them to demand admission under the treaty with France, if we take the ratio of representation for a member of Congress as the rule. If, however, we are to regard this as the competing or antagonizing measures to the proposition of the Senator from New York, (and we are inclined to the opinion that such is the view of the Senate,) your committee can have no hesitation in recommending its adoption.—Nearly a whole year has elapsed since the initiatory steps were taken for the election of delegates and the holding the convention for the formation of the Topeka Constitution. Nearly a year's emigration has since poured into that Territory, an emigration unparalleled in extent and character, stimulated in every portion of the Union by appeals to passion and interest, to ambition and patriotism, to every feeling and sentiment which could induce men to abandon the scenes of their childhood and the graves of their ancestors, and seek a home in a new and distant Territory, with the hope of improving their condition and controlling its destinies. Under these circumstances it is but fair to assume that the population has more than doubled within that period, and that each man has gone there with the expectation and understanding that he was to have a voice and vote in the formation of its laws, institutions, and government, in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act.

The revised proposition of the Senator from Georgia refers all matters in dispute to the decision of the present population, with guarantees of fairness and safeguards against frauds and violence, to which no reasonable man can find just ground of exception, while the Senator from New York, if his proposition is designed to recognize and impart vitality to the Topeka Constitution, proposes to disfranchise not only all the emigrants who have arrived in the Territory this year, but all the law-abiding men who refused to join in an armed open rebellion against the constituted authorities of the Territory last year, by making the unauthorized and unlawful action of a political party the fundamental law of the whole people.

In view of all the difficulties and embarrassments which surround the question, and with the anxious desire to restore harmony and fraternal feeling to the Union, and peace, quiet, and security to Kansas, your committee recommend that the following be adopted in lieu of the Senate bill No. 172.

Your committee ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the various bills and amendments referred to them in connection with the subject, together with the Topeka Constitution.

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 Nebraska Territory," &c.

The second section provides that all offices in Kansas shall be vacated, and *recognizes the validity and binding force of the acts passed by the territorial legislature of Kansas*, but contains a repealing clause to take "effect on the passage of this act."

The bill does not propose to repeal the organic act of Kansas Territory, nor to restore the Missouri Compromise, for the obvious reason that its sole object, as stated in the title, is "to restore order and peace in Kansas." Inasmuch as the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise have produced "order and peace" in Nebraska, and could have had no influence in creating the present difficulties in Kansas, the repeal of the former and the restoration of the latter would not have accomplished the objects of the bill. On the contrary, the bill proceeds on the theory that the best, if not only, mode "to restore order and peace in Kansas," is to place the people of that Territory directly under the protection of the Nebraska act, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, and thus leaves them "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States, *with the right to come into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of admission.*"

Your Committee fully concur in the objects of the bill, as thus understood and expressed, but perceive serious obstacles in the way of accomplishing those objects in the mode proposed. In the first place, the present difficulties in Kansas, although produced by the causes already stated, arise out of the fact that there is a large body of armed men in that Territory thoroughly organized for the avowed purpose of resisting to "a bloody issue," the laws and constituted authorities of the Territory, and to that end have established and put in partial operation an independent government in conflict with the government established by Congress and in defiance of its authority. If Kansas should be annexed to Nebraska, and still left under the same organic law, the difficulties are not removed so long as the rebellion continues and the revolutionary government exists in defiance of the authority of Congress. The effect would be to aggravate the evil and enlarge the theatre of its disasters.

Your committee can perceive no wisdom or justice in making the people of Nebraska involuntary parties to an organized system of lawless violence which they have had no agency in producing, and from the calamities of which they are entitled to be exempted by their fidelity to the Constitution and laws of the land. Besides, if the reasons assigned for refusing obedience to the laws of Kansas are well founded, the same objections would apply with much greater force to obeying the laws of Nebraska. If the assumption that some non-residents participated in the elections, and to that extent affected the legislation of Kansas, be a sufficient justification for resisting all the laws enacted by the legislature, the fact that none of the inhabitants of Kansas had any voice in making the laws of Nebraska, which it is now proposed to extend over them by an act of Congress, without their consent, would furnish a much more plausible pretext for resisting the laws of Nebraska. If it be said that some of the enactments of the Kansas legislature are obnoxious to that portion of the inhabitants who resist the constituted authorities in the execution of the laws of that Territory, what assurance have we that the same persons would not find fault with some of the enactments of the Nebraska legislature, and assign the double reason for refusing obedience to them: first, that they had no voice in making them; and, second, that they were opposed to them, and would not obey any law they do not like? For the reasons stated, your committee cannot recommend the proposition to annex Kansas to Nebraska as a measure calculated "to restore order and peace in Kansas."

The next proposition in the order in which they were referred to your committee is the "Bill supplementary to an act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas," introduced by the Senator from Delaware, (Mr. Clayton.) This bill embraces two leading ideas, the one to reorganize the legislature of the Territory, and the other to admit Kansas into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, in compliance with the 'principles and provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act, whenever it should be ascertained by a census that the Territory contained a federal population of ninety-three thousand four hundred and twenty-inhabitants. So much of the bill as relates to the admission of the State is, in substance, a copy of the one reported by the Committee on Territories on the 17th of March last, and hence may be assumed to possess all the advantages which may be fairly claimed for that proposition, and liable to whatever objections may be justly urged against it. That portion of the bill which provides for the organization of the legislature contains some wise and excellent provisions, especially those intended to guard the elective franchise against fraud and violence, and to insure a free and fair expression of the popular voice through the ballot-box; while others are liable to serious and fatal objections in consequence of their repugnance to the great principle imbodied in the great Kansas-Nebraska act, and affirmed in the preamble, although not sustained by all the provisions of the bill under consideration.

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 no provision for the admission of Kansas into the Union, and has for its main object efficient provisions for preserving the sanctity of the ballot-box, and to throw such safeguards around the elective franchise as would effectually protect it from fraud, violence, intimidation, or any other improper influence, which would prevent a fair expression of the popular will in all elections in the Territory. Most of the provisions of this bill are admirably adopted to the objects in view, and, should it be determined to pass no law for the admission of Kansas into the Union, your committee would not hesitate to adopt most of them, with some modifications, as the best solution of the existing difficulties in Kansas.

The two remaining propositions referred to your committee relate to the same subject-matter, and, although entirely different in their character, will be considered together. They are, first, an amendment in the form of a substitute, proposed by the Senator from New York, (Mr. Seward,) to the bill reported by the Committee on Territories on the 17th of March last, and the other an amendment in the form of a substitute for the same bill, proposed by the Senator from Georgia, (Mr. Toombs.) The amendment of the Senator from New York, which he proposes as a substitute for the entire bill, provides for the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, without making any provision for the formation of a constitution, or the establishment of a State government. It may be the intention of the author of this proposition to recognize and put in operation a paper framed at Topeka in October last, and called "a constitution of the State of Kansas," a portion of which has been presented to the Senate and referred to this committee, although the boundaries and territory described and embraced within the provisions of said pretended constitution are widely different from those described and provided for in the proposition of the Senator from New York. For instance, while the State which the Senator from New York proposes to admit is described in his proposition to be bounded on the west by the one hundred and third meridian of longitude, that provided for in the Topeka constitution extends several hundred miles beyond that meridian and joins the Territory of Utah, and meanders the summit of the Rocky mountains for its western boundary, and thus embracing a Territory larger than the combined area of several of the New England States, which is not contained within the limits of the State proposed to be admitted by the amendment of the Senator from New York. The fact that the amendment of that Senator does not refer to the Topeka constitution, nor to any other constitution, nor to any supposed State government in Kansas, taken in connection with this vast discrepancy, in the boundaries and territory proposed to be embraced within the limits of the proposed State, would authorize the presumption that he proposes to ignore and reject the Topeka constitution and State government at the same time that he subverts the territorial government established by Congress, and thus leave the inhabitants without any government, or law, or protection of any kind, free to defend their rights and settle all matters in dispute, by the arbitrament of the sword. Such, in the opinion of your committee, would be the fair interpretation and inevitable effect of the proposition of the senator from New York, if it should unfortunately become the law of the land. If on the other hand, he should revise and reconstruct his proposition in such a manner as to recognize and legalize the Topeka Constitution and State government, it becomes important to inquire into the legality, regularity, and fairness of the proceedings, with the view of ascertaining whether it was the work of the whole body of the people of Kansas, or the act of a political party, or of a mere faction, being a small minority of the inhabitants, whose chief grievance consisted in the fact that they could not control the majority.

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In the opinion of your committee, whenever a constitution shall be formed in any territory, preparatory to the admission into the Union as a State, justice, the genius of our institutions, the whole theory of our republican system, imperatively demand that the voice of the people shall 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 pretentions 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 will render it acceptable, and now present an outline of its provisions to the consideration to 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 20th of October, at such places in the Territory as will be most convenient to the inhabitants, to hear complaints, examine witnesses, 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.

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Your committee will not weary the Senate with a summary of all the provisions and details of the proposition of the Senator from Georgia in its revised form. It is believed to be well adapted to the object, and, if it becomes the law of the land, that it will insure a fair and impartial decision of the question at issue in Kansas, in accordance with the wishes of the *bona fide* inhabitants of the Territory, without fraud, violence, or any other improper or unlawful influence.

The point upon which your committee have entertained the most serious and grave doubts in regard to the propriety of endorsing this proposition, relates to the fact that in the absence of any census of the inhabitants, there is reason to apprehend that the Territory does not contain sufficient population to entitle them to demand admission under the treaty with France, if we take the ratio of representation for a member of Congress as the rule. If, however, we are to regard this as the competing or antagonizing measures to the proposition of the Senator from New York, (and we are inclined to the opinion that such is the view of the Senate,) your committee can have no hesitation in recommending its adoption.—Nearly a whole year has elapsed since the initiatory steps were taken for the election of delegates and the holding the convention for the formation of the Topeka Constitution. Nearly a year's emigration has since poured into that Territory, an emigration unparalleled in extent and character, stimulated in every portion of the Union by appeals to passion and interest, to ambition and patriotism, to every feeling and sentiment which could induce men to abandon the scenes of their childhood and the graves of their ancestors, and seek a home in a new and distant Territory, with the hope of improving their condition and controlling its destinies. Under these circumstances, it is but fair to assume that the population has more than doubled within that period, and that each man has gone there with the expectation and understanding that he was to have a voice and vote in the formation of its laws, institutions, and government, in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act.

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In view of all the difficulties and embarrassments which surround the question, and with the anxious desire to restore harmony and fraternal feeling to the Union, and peace, quiet, and security to Kansas, your committee recommend that the following be adopted in lieu of the Senate bill No. 172.

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se can perceive no wisdom or justice in ds of Kansas involuntarily subject to the n of a lawless violence which they have had ducing, and from the calamities of which to be exempted by the action of the very l laws of the land. Besides, if the reason ising obedience to the laws of Kansas are e same objections would apply to the bill obeying the laws of Nebraska. If the ac- ome non-residents participated in the elec- t extent affected the legislation of Kansas, ustification for resisting all the laws ere- gislature, the fact that some of the people and any voice in making the laws of Ne- t is now proposed to extend over them by s, without their consent, would furnish an usible pretext for resisting the laws of Ne- said that some of the enactments of the re are objectionable is then added as the o resist the constituted authorities in the e laws of that Territory, what assurance e same persons would not hereafter, in the ecisions of the Nebraska legislature, and e ground for refusing obedience to them: had no voice in making them; and, if were opposed to them, and would not hey do not like? For the reasons above s, I cannot recommend the proposition to an- Nebraska as a measure calculated "to re- peace in Kansas."

position in the order in which they were re- committee is the "bill supplementary to an the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and the Senator from Delaware, (Mr. Clayton) ices two leading ideas, the one to reorganize of the Territory, and the other to admit it e Union on an equal footing with the origi- compliance with the requirements of the unsas-Nebraska act, whenever it should be a census that the Territory contained a fe- of ninety-three thousand three hundred habitants. So much of the bill as relates to of the State is, in substance, a copy of the the Committee on Territories at the last ses and hence may be assumed to possess all e which may be fairly claimed for that pro- liable to whatever objection may be urged it. That portion of the bill which provides ation of the legislature contains some wise provisions, especially those which pro- ive franchise against fraud and violence, ose, and fair expression of the will of the- the ballot-box; while others are liable to tal objections in consequence of their repug- rent principle imbodied in the great Kansas and affirmed in the preamble, although not ll the provisions of the bill under consida-

order is "a bill supplementary to an act to Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and to e faithful execution of the same." The act Kansas, according to the true intent and ent," imbraced by the Compromise of 1850, er. This bill makes no provision for the Kansas into the Union, and has for its main t provisions for preparing the people of a and to throw such safeguards around the bise as would effectually protect it from ts, intimidation, or any other unlawful in- it would prevent a fair expression of the ad elections in the Territory. In my opinion, this bill are admirably adapted to the ob- and, should it be determined to pass no law

The London Times on the Dismissal of Mr. Crampton.

(From the Times of June 19th.)

Her Majesty's Ministers, considering that the Government of the United States had an undoubted right to dismiss Mr. Crampton at any time, and that the real reasons of their own for doing so, have discreetly availed themselves of the same liberty not to dismiss Mr. Dallas. The American Government, on the other hand, has adopted a half measure, and, as far as a positive act could be considered by any construction as a concession to expectations, they have qualified their dismissal of Mr. Crampton. They have dismissed the Minister, and expressed themselves satisfied with the explanations and assurances of the Government which sent him out, which gave him the instructions that led to the present unhappy result, which sent their direct approval of his conduct, and which declined to recall him when requested to do so.

It would be vain to say that we can take these assurances in a single sense, and that we have not fully supposed that the American Government does entirely acquit us of blame in this affair, or see a distinct line between the Government and the Minister in the diplomatic agent for the purposes of conciliation or disposed to affect, under our Government blameless in the excesses charged on its Minister. We are, therefore, to peace, even in a diplomatic guise and with a of indignity, to the apparent assumption of principles on which our government has just been called to act. Could they, with propriety and dismiss the Minister, whose conduct the American Government had brought themselves to aver that they had on this point no quarrel with their Government, but, on the contrary, had for- mance with its spirit? Could they with propriety sus- the diplomatic intercourse with the Minister, and ordered a strong force to continue it, notwithstanding bered provocation to the contrary? At all events, could ed, and, whether of good or evil, the decision has been made to submit a painful but inevitable act of honor? Undoubtedly the American Government has performed to the utmost of its power the painful duty; but we would be more than a retaliation. It would be extorting the blow, and we should be the last to impose that explained it. Wherever liberty either is interrupted by the voice, or the voice by the hand, Government the tacit consent of the people, it is for them to take sufficient course. At this moment it seems hardly the course that might have been expected from a State that had just declined an honorable alliance with a neighboring war with the greatest military Power in the world. But even in that way that power threw itself upon the party injuring it. We hold ourselves then the more free to act as we might think right, thereby to avoid a quarrel not of our imparted for the worst. Doubtless a full confidence in the ion and resolution of the country has contributed to the pacific course the Government has steadily pursued but we can afford to yield, if we can do so without positive dishonor.

In both Houses it will be observed that the explanations of Her Majesty's Ministers are limited to the more immediate question of the dismissal of the late Minister at our Minister. That is the first thing to be considered, and we have no doubt that the explanations of relations with the United States through the medium of the Minister remain now representing that Government at our Court. But the Lord Chancellor and Lord Lansdowne went further on the subject of Central America, really at the bottom of the whole affair. They made no allusion to Mr. Marcy's refusal of arbitration on the score of the treaty, and offer of a reference to a scientific authority on some questions of fact.

Lord Palmerston, indeed, assures us that nothing more was intended by the telegraphic news of our naval force in that part of the world than to protect British interests and subjects, and to prevent needless collision. We shall not, therefore, go into that matter, except just so much as to express our conviction that had not the United States' Government come to the conclusion that it was expedient to get rid of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in one way or another, and clear the field for political operations, we should never have heard a syllable of the Nicaragua question.

It is evident that the United States' government is not only pressing for an immediate solution of the Central American difficulty, but that it has made up its mind to communicate with Mr. Dallas upon any of the points connected with that question. He is clothed to enter into any arrangements upon the subject that may be required, and he assured his noble friend that the instructions given to the officers of the navy on the coast of Nicaragua were dictated by a friendly feeling for the protection of British interests and property in Central America, and no orders would prevent all chance of unnecessary collision.

Mr. Disraeli was glad that the Government was not disposed to imitate the course pursued by the Government of the United States. Mr. Disraeli at the same time quoted himself and his friends from having it supposed that the President of the American republic was not perfectly aware that of the government under which he acted. He expressed his belief that the House would never be induced to adopt the Crampton case as the scapegoat of the Government which had instructed him.

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A SERMON

Preached in the Church of the Epiphany,

ON SUNDAY EVENING, JUNE 29, 1856,

BY

REV. DUDLEY A. TYNG.

"Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it: or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."—1 Cor. xii., 26.

It is a mooted question how far the Christian pulpit may and ought to be enlisted in the consideration of current events, and the discussion of questions of public interest. It is undoubtedly a great evil when the teachers of religion forsake their appropriate themes to mingle in all the heated controversies of the day. Nothing could be more calculated to break down the influence of the ministry, and to raise up insuperable barriers of angry prejudice against the message of mercy which it is its chief business to declare. But may there not also be an opposite extreme? May there not be silence when great principles are at stake? May not great wrongs go unchanged of the pulpit till there be supposed nothing in them inconsistent with religion? May not the dread of offence be carried so far as to put the pulpit in bondage? And may not the refusal to take sides in great questions of public opinion, result in the gospel's being supposed to have nothing to do with the affairs of society, and in contempt on all hands for the ministry for its fear of speaking out? Ministers have the same interest in society and its institutions as other citizens: perhaps more so: for their happiness is peculiarly bound up in the right influence of religious and moral principles upon the community. Society can suffer in no member without a true-hearted Christian ministry's suffering with it.

Religion itself, moreover, is often vitally affected by events transpiring in social and political life. Evil principles may be at work in the social systems, whose ultimate tendency is to destroy the practical influence of Christianity over the conduct of men, and to undermine the foundations of their faith. Is the pulpit to keep silence until the advocates of the faith, having completely invested it with intrenchments in public custom and opinion, are boldly demanding its surrender? Human nature is an unit. As many interests are but one body. And the sufferings of any one of its members are felt in the vital organs. Questions of social and political economy, as to the rise of moral principle, may be the medium of deadly wounds to the religious life. In fact, Christianity enters into every interest of man. And as Christians and Christian ministers we are interested in every thing that concerns humanity. We cannot disconnect our religion from the details of our common life. It affects or is affected by them all. "They are many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you." And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it: or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it." Owing to the close interchange of sympathy and influence, the events of the day may assume a deep religious significance. The same events which in some aspects affect only commercial interests, and in another convulse the political circles, may in yet another be fraught with suffering interest for the religious community. And as they awaken great contention on the plane of social or political life, they may also, from the higher christian point of the Christian patriot, be seen to affect the dearest rights and interests of men, and to endanger great principles to the support of which the pulpit is bound. At such times the Christian ministry may be criminal if it does not speak out boldly in behalf of right, carefully avoiding, indeed, the arousing of those passions which belong to the lower aspect of events, but fearlessly and dispassionately directing public sentiment by the higher principles of divine revelation.

It seems to me that we have now reached such a time. Events are transpiring which bear most momentously on all our rights as men and duties as Christians. All that is most dear and valuable to us as citizens is put in jeopardy. The principles and influence of Christianity, which first founded our institutions, can alone preserve them to us in their integrity in the present crisis. And I claim the right as a Christian minister to declare what I believe to be important truth, and to do my part, small as it may be, towards the settlement of the difficulties which encompass us.

I claim a patient hearing, and a candid comparison with the principles of the Bible. If I am wrong, I am open to conviction: if I am right, the declaration of the truth will bring the responsibility of walking by its light. With this prefatory statement let me call your attention—

I. To the evils to be deplored.

For the first time in the history of this country, it is the scene of civil war. Armed men, in battle array, are marching on its soil, and carrying with them all the horrors of a hostile invasion. Towns are sacked, houses pillaged, property plundered and destroyed, women and children driven in terror from their homes, and men shot down by their own doors! Society is in confusion, public security at an end, peaceful industry interrupted, and a thriving Territory reduced to a state of nature, where the only protection is that of force, and the household cannot lie down at night without fear of the assassin. Families are driven out from lands which they have tilled and houses which they have built, and warned to leave the country or be hung. Fields lie unsown, and crops are left unploughed, because armed marauders have stolen the farmer's horses and killed his oxen, and obliged him to skulk in secret for fear of his life, or join bodies of his neighbors who have armed in defence of their homes and families. All the horrors which existed when invading armies marched with blood and desolation over our own soil in the suffering which drenched our frontiers when the war-whoop of the savage aroused the sleeping household for the tomahawk and the faggot, are now renewed in unhappy Kansas. Hardly a day passes without bringing telegraphic news of some new outrage, so dreadful that we can scarce realize its possibility, or arouse ourselves to feel as the occasion demands. And who are the authors of all these outrages on American citizens? Not the savage Indian nor the foreign invader, but their own countrymen, citizens of our own free and happy land, imbruing their hands in brothers' blood! And what is the cause for which their brothers are thus subjected to

(From the Daily News.)

After the declaration made by Lord Palmerston last night in the House of Commons, we may take for granted that all danger of a rupture with the United States, growing out of the Enlistment question, is at an end. We have in her Majesty's Ministers the full assurance that a door is now opened for negotiations, which, if conducted on both sides with a sincere desire to arrive speedily at an equitable and honorable settlement, will afford a ready relief to our difficulties with the United States so far as Central America is concerned. For various reasons we have always regarded the quarrel between England and the United States to arbitration. Independent nations are always reluctant to submit to arbitral decisions when judgment is given against them, and pleas are easily devised for evading a reference to arbitration. Lord Aberdeen and Lord Clarendon would meet each other in the same spirit that animated Lord Ashburton and Mr. Webster when they signed the Treaty of 1842. Nevertheless the question, the points proposed to be referred to arbitration might satisfactorily be disposed of at one or two meetings. The ground would then be cleared for a mutual understanding between the governments of England and the United States, and for the basis of a treational law which both are to recognise in future as establ shed throughout the continents of America and the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic. This law, however, a side subject, the consideration of which must be postponed to a favorable opportunity. For the present the moral feeling of the country will be gratified to see one of great satisfaction that our friendly relations with our kindred race are restored. We have indeed to be disturbed upon grounds so puerile as the dismissal of an incompetent diplomatist, or the claim of a shadowy protectorate.

(From the Morning Post.)

Mr. Disraeli was right, no doubt, in his observation last night that the enlistment question, and what Mr. Crampton or his agents may have done in that case or written, was not the real reason of the display of illfeeling upon the part of the Government of the United States, which gives us so much trouble, and the whole world so much apprehension. An idea has, no doubt, been engendered in the United States, England jealous of the growth of America, and stands in her pathe, en attitude of the expansion of her territory and the increase of her power. Such is the feeling which underlies and gives the word, 'jealousy' of them, neither are we aware to the legitimate growth of their power, but the modes in which they have attempted to relieve themselves by the deglutition by foul means, when fair failed, of every attractive morsel that lay in their way, have naturally, compelled watchfulness, and created justifiable suspicion. Nor can we, consistently with our duty to other countries with which we are in amity, remain blind to the practices of our own position and interests, permit that complaisance and intimate isolation of all the States of the western world which would be the result of such a mouse and secretited statesmen contemplate as the legitimate object of the Government of the United States. If Mr. Dallas have power, and possess ability and tact enough to settle the great and vexed questions to which the progressive expansion of the country has given rise, so as to prevent war now and for years to come, and so as to obtain through the influence of the American people the recognition of some principles founded on justice and humanity by which that expansion shall be governed—for peaceful as an advance it will and must be—he will merit, and by some conditions—we, for one, shall be disposed to accept such a consummation in exchange for that great concession which the Government of Britain has just made to the Cabinet of President Pierce.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

Her Majesty's Ministers have adopted a course on the American question which will be decided popular with the country. Each successive day has seen through the tortuous policy of the United States' Government; and they would be very ill pleased to find their own playing the enemy's game. The concession which Lord Clarendon has done, had they allowed themselves to be drawn into an act of reprisal for the unconscionable dismissal of Mr. Crampton at such a time, would have been a fatal mistake. Whatever the result may be, that our late representative at Washington should not be prejudged, it is, unfortunately, enough on the face of the authenticated papers in the affair, to show for a good excuse of complaint. Intervention, in this case, is not only the better part of valor it is dictated by a sense of justice. Even if Mr. Crampton's conduct be irreproachable, the United States Government has the right to object to him if they take a different view. What which Lord Clarendon pointedly and repeatedly to have

(From the Times of June 18th.)

If would not live in an age and in a country which seem to have adopted as their motto the rule "That no mischief shall be mended," we should be surprised that we submit as readily as we do to the glaring and notorious violations of law which the incredible and outrageous—inefficiency of our diplomatic agents abroad as we have had occasion to remark during the last two years upon the inability of different Foreign departments, there is nothing, we apprehend, which will bear a moment's comparison with the state of that service to which we must look principally to maintain the honor, assert the interests, and support the dignity of the country. Let us consider what our diplomatists have done of late years, and what they have not. We need, unhappily, no very protracted research. Within the last few years we have been called to submit to more insults, to pocket more affronts, to make more apologies, to submit more errors, than any other nation in a century. Within that period we have seen Sir Henry Bulwer ignominiously expelled from Spain and Mr. Crampton equally dismissed from America; we have made every species of blunder, blundered into every species of scrape, and got out of them as ill as we got into them. We have been a laughing-stock to parties in the preparation of a note at Vienna which, including its corrections, genius of Metternich himself could not excel. Right

governments to keep the blame on Mr. Crampton, because it is inconvenient to place it on the right shoulders, and in their pocket an affront, but at the same time take advantage of a convenient excuse. We, in fact, to do just as the American government direct us. Lord Clarendon's administration are, we presume, to get the credit for preserving peace and upholding the national dignity at the same time.

national Congress. On that day more than one thousand armed men from an adjoining State invaded the Territory, drove judges and legal voters from the polls, and by fraudulent ballots elected a man of their own. On the 30th of March, 1855, the inhabitants of Kansas were to have elected their Legislature. At that day more than one thousand armed men from the same State again invaded the Territory, took possession of the polls and elected their own candidates, some of them residents of their own States. The election thus carried on a Congressional Committee have proved that of five thousand five hundred votes cast on that day less than one thousand were of actual residents of the Territory. Surely it was bad enough to see a Legislature imposed on them by force and fraud. But what sort of laws did they pass? Hear, and ask yourselves whether we live in the 19th century, and in a free and Christian republic. They re-enacted in a mass all the slave laws of Missouri, merely adding that wherever the word "State" occurs in them it shall be construed to mean "Territory." They made the non-admission of the rightful hold slaves into the Territory a disqualification for sitting as Juror. They enacted that to say that persons have not a right to hold slaves in that Territory should be punished with two years' imprisonment at hard labor. That writing, printing or circulating anything against slavery should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That the harboring of fugitive slaves should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That assisting slaves to escape should be punished with *death*. That assisting slaves to escape from any Territory, and take refuge in that Territory, should be punished with *death*. That the circulation of incendiary publications calculated to incite slaves to insurrection, should be punished with *death*. To secure these laws perpetuity, they enacted that all who do not swear to support the Fugitive Slave Law should be disqualified as voters, but that any one might vote who will pay $1.00, and swear to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law and the Nebraska bill. And, still further to guard against all contingencies, they appointed non-residents to town and county offices for six years ahead.

Thus, by one stroke of combined fraud and force, the great question of social rights, whose settlement had been pledged to the citizens themselves, were decided by an invading army, whose agents established slavery against the wishes of the people, and in defiance of law. Any one who dared to oppose it, open the polls to pro-slavery non-residents, and shut up all who speak, write, print or circulate anything against it with long imprisonment at hard labor. What has become of the rights of American citizens? Talk of obedience to law! Would you, would any American citizen, be longer bound by such a law as that? Where were the spirit of our Revolution? Any fathers if such oppression could be submitted to? Where is our republican government if such rights can be taken away?

But what was in opposition? There was no armed resistance, no collision with assumed authority. The people of Kansas simply denied the legality of the enactments and the obligation of obedience, and the failing back on inherent rights, went through the preliminaries of a State organisation, and applied to Congress for relief. That relief has not been yet afforded. And it has since transpired that a third, fourth and fifth armed invasion has taken place, each with increased aggravation of outrage. Pillage and plunder and murder have increased from day to day. Large bodies of armed men from distant and adjoining States are in the Territory, with no attempt at becoming settlers, without means of honest support, living by the pillage of those who differ from themselves in sentiment, and perpetrating cruelties unknown even in war. Government troops have been used to overawe all attempts at resistance, and moved about so as to press unprotected town to violence. A fossiferous process of oppression has been used to ruin and drive out those whose only crime is the claiming of rights guaranteed them by the very laws which invited them to Kansas. First, innumerable indictments for imaginary crimes are made out by a corrupt judiciary against all free State men of influence, while the worst of crimes by men of opposite politics have gone unnoticed. Secondly, armed hordes of ruffians, under pretence of maintaining "law and order," patrol the country, committing all the outrages which have been described. Thirdly, the U. S. dragoons are made use of by the local authorities to suppress any risings for self-defence, and kept out of the way when attacks are to be made. And lastly, "Vigilance Committees" are appointed to drive off, with threats of lynch law," all those who by the other methods have not been subdued. All this has been going on for months. And recent advices announce that the sufferers themselves are driven by desperation to armed defence, and the hostile bands are now watching each other, and meeting in deadly conflict. Civil war is begun. And where is it to end, unless it can be suppressed at once in the place of its birth? Let it not be said that we have no interest in this matter. Distant and feeble as she may be, Kansas is a member of our body politic. The same life-blood which nourishes our own community flows through her. And the wounds and anguish which she endures are felt to the remotest parts of the Republic. Ties of friendship and of blood unite her suffering children to all sections of our country. And were these wanting, a common nationality binds them in one body to us all, and the great heart of humanity throbs them into sympathies. "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."

At the same time that these events have been transpiring, another scene has been enacted which has inflicted a still deeper wound on the honor and peace of our country. A member of the Senate of the United States, a man honored equally for his virtues and his attainments, has been stricken down and beaten by a member of Congress till his blood stained the floor of the Senate, for words spoken in debate. It matters not what were the words which gave offence, though it may well be supposed that language unchallenged at the time by a body whose majority were in opposition to the speaker, did not transgress the ordinary limits of parliamentary debate. It matters not what were the words, nor who the speaker, nor who the assailant. It was a principle which was stricken down. And the principle is one of the pillars of our free institutions. Without the right of freedom of speech, neither our liberties nor our religion are secure. If the bludgeon is to be the arbiter of debate in our country, where will be our boasted freedom and national Christianity? If the flag of our country and the symbols of her liberty cannot protect the members of her government in the halls of her Capitol, in the discharge of their official duty, what is to become of our republic? With the freedom of the press overthrown in Kansas, and the freedom of the Senate assailed in Washington, how long before the freedom of the pulpit shall be also at the mercy of a popular majority or of a reckless and excitable bully? There is not a legislator, or an editor, or a clergyman in the country, whose right to advocate what he conscientiously believes, nor a citizen whose right to represent the views of his sentiments may not be assailed in the blows which laid the eloquent Sumner senseless on the Senate chamber. But the act itself is not so ominous of evil as its endorsements. To some of the slavery. Hitherto they have regarded it with their own minds and bodies as associated with the protection of slave-labor. The inalienable rights which God has given to him and to them are arrayed against the unholy lust of human cupidity, not to any disputable, right of the slave-holder. The suffering in Kansas, the suffering of Sumner, is the resistance of human right, but it is marshalled in defence of the rights of the wrong against the aggression of a few. And the question is not whether there shall be maintained the rights of a few thousand slave-holders, but whether shall be maintained the rights of millions of freemen.

III. But, thirdly, let us not lose sight of the divine agency in all the troubles which have come upon us. We are apt to forget, in our haste, that the providence of God overrules the actions of men no less than the operations of nature. Every human agent is to the Lord only as the saw in the hand of him that shaketh it. No man can have any power at all against the right, no matter how great or oppression, except it be given him from above. "Man proposes, but God disposes." And therefore when there is evil in a city or a country, we are to look above for instrumentalities, and humble ourselves under the hand of God, and inquire why He hath dealt so grievously with us. Especially is this the case in public calamities. For as bodies politic have no existence in the world to come, their judgment and recompense, unlike that of individuals, can take place only in this world. The question which we ought to ask as a people is, therefore, "Wherefore hath the Lord dealt thus with His servants?" Many are our national offences. But there is ever a correspondence between the offence and its punishment. And in order to search out the sins and errors for which this special visitation has been sent.

Doubtless, one sin for which we are suffering is the base spirit of truckling and pandering to sectional interests and prejudices, which has for so many years characterized the prime movers of our political machinery. Politics has been a trade, conducted without honesty or principle for selfish aggrandizement. Vainly do we look for patriotism in the wire-working of our political parties. The whole system is characterized rather by the principle of the division of the spoils. There has been no prejudice so opposed to the spirit of our institutions, no sectional interest so degrading, that political leaders, high and low, were unwilling to sell themselves to it for votes. There has been no combination of parties too inconsistent, unprincipled and corrupt to be entered into for the sake of office and its emoluments. In particular, the leading political parties have for years been conducted in rivalry of subservience to the interests of slavery. The interests of the nation have been disgraced and sacrificed in disgraceful underbidding for the slave-holding vote. There was no deep, so low for one party to descend into, that some "lower deep still opening wide" was not discovered by the other. For more than a generation has this system of self-debasement been going on. No wonder that those who have been the objects of this solicitation should have been educated into the idea that the whole government of the country should be conducted for the benefit of slavery. If our unhappy country is now suffering from Southern violence, it has been brought on us by that long and increasing self-abasement of Northern politicians. Especially is this the case with our present agitators. A new scene of commotion had been settled by new concessions, to which for the sake of peace all parties had assented. The whole land was at rest and quiet. Slavery, the whole, nothing more, and its opponents had made up their minds to acquiesce in the settlement, when, for pure party purposes and for personal aggrandizement, the tumultuous spirits of freesoilism was overthrown as a new bid in the auction which has sacrificed the domain of the nation for the slave-holding vote. Let the authors of the iniquity assemble here, they dare not to be so base. The spirit of the Republic. Insane and unprincipled ambition is the source of all the agitation and turmoil and bloodshed which has been rending the land asunder. But the people have witnessed so tamely the successive betrayals of their interests, and voted so docilely on the issues they presented, that hope had been conceived of their unlimited submission. But the last jealousies which it has stirred up anew, and the attempt to secure, by violence, what slavery understood to be offered it by the measure, is its natural consequence, and the providential punishment of the nation for the iniquity which it sanctioned and participated.

Another political sin for which the nation is thus suffering, is the neglect of political duty by respectable citizens. We have boasted much of our political rights. But we have been guilty neglecters of our political duties. How large a proportion of the most respectable and influential of our citizens have wholly abstained from the nomination and election of our rulers. The whole business of nominations has been given up to caucuses, chiefly composed of the ambitious and the vile. Assemblies in which no respectable person could appear have brought their candidates for base or for inferior offices, and conventions of interested men have long wrangled out the nomination to higher posts of those to whose election they could pin their own hopes of success. The result is obtained. All honesty and all patriotism have quite disappeared from our political system. Politics have become a trade so low that few respectable men dare touch it. Yet an election can be carried without money, and bargaining and sale. And in consequence not a bill can be carried through our national legislature without bribes. Yet orderly and respectable citizens are thus themselves without troubling themselves for their correction. Absorbed in their own business and comfort, they leave the rule of the country they care not to whom. And so they forget the duties and political rights. But God has given no right without obligation of use. The right of self-government involves the duty of self-government, the duty of selecting and electing the rulers of our people.— This sacred duty, due to our country, mankind and God, has been wofully neglected, and, therefore, God has turned our neglect into our punishment, and chastised the land with misrule and civil war.

Kindred and consequential to these has been another sin—the entire divorce of the whole system of politics from the fear of God. A respectable men, when they kept aloof from the election of candidates for office, also threw away their allegiance to party, the evil would be less. But, by a strange confusion of moral sense, the obligation to party is made unquestionable and supreme. No matter what may be the character of its agent—no matter what may be the evil principles of its ignitious measures men gratify in its defence, how many good men there are for whom the single consideration, that it is the action of their own party, is enough. They ask no questions, listen to no argument, recognize no higher authority. Not a few Christian men ever think of taking counsel of God in questions of public affairs, and giving religion the control of their politics. How few citizens recognize their responsibility to God for their political influence. How few men of principle bring their political conduct to the same tests as their ordinary intercourse. Now, let it be remembered, that the ultimate responsibility of every measure rests with the people, and in this matter, as in all others, each one must answer for himself. Caucuses of the lille and dissolute may nominate whom they please, leaders of political parties may venture on what iniquities they will, but to the people belongs the responsibility of their adoption. Without the sanction of the people they sink into the obscurity which they deserve. It is on this principle that God is dealing with us as a people. The American people have been characterized by a blind and unscrupulous adherence to party—the political morality of our country has become a byword and a hissing—the whole people, by negligence or party-spirit, have become partakers in the guilt of actions which, if they had not been in politics, would be a loathing to the moral sense of the community. And, therefore, God has punished the nation with the legitimate results of their own misconduct.

For these national offences God has justly brought upon us disgrace and suffering, and a discord which threatens the direst disasters in the future.

IV. But let us inquire, fourthly, into the proper-

ward to a duty. Each individual is responsible in this view all over his own mind, and is to be humbled at it as an unmanly sin before God as for every act which he has given in charge. One fault would it have been said in their charge. The strengthening of liberty, the growth of civilization, and the influences of Christianity, have been on the hope of approaching millennium. And the decline of many pious and excellent people is still the same. But the public aspect and expression of slavery is entirely altered. It is now claimed on the one hand, and the claim is admitted by many on the other, that it is a fundamental part of our national policy; that our Constitution is designed for its protection, and that its is to grow and extend itself without limit on the national territory. All hopes of its ultimate extinction are abandoned. It is transformed into a permanent element of American society. The programmes of political leaders now allow no hope to the unfortunate slave and his no less unfortunate master. The inherited evil is transformed into the willful sin of the present generation. The original sin of slavery is fast becoming, through corrupt politicians, the free-will crime of the American people. This represents the matter in a very different aspect before God and the civilized world. Whatever may be said in the way of temporary extinction, slavery and human right, slavery and the Christian law of love are in irreconcilable opposition. To do the best we can with an inherited evil, until Providence enables us to put it away, may receive blessing from the Lord. But because of some incidental advantage to result on its permanence and extension, will surely receive his curse, and bring ruin to our country. So gradually has the change of temper and purpose been introduced, that, as a people, we are hardly aware of the sin which we were becoming ensnared. But the recent events have given such a shock to the spirit of freedom as to arouse the nation to perceive the gulf before us. May it be made the means of a full and free public sentiment which shall put the system of human bondage back where it was at the formation of our government. May this demonstration of its spirit and tendency prevent all further sin in future. Thus God will make the wrath of man to praise Him; and then, doubtless, the remainder of wrath will He restrain.

V. And, fifthly, that we should consider the duties of the present crisis. The time will not allow more than a brief enumeration.

1. The first duty of the crisis is a right public sentiment. Ours is a government of opinion. To public opinion every other power in the nation is compelled to bow. It is mightier than bayonets. The only difficulty is in bringing the national mind to a decision. There is freer circulation of news in this country than in any other. And yet there is surprising ignorance and unconcern of what is taking place in the country. Many of our countrymen have no adequate idea of what has occurred in Kansas. They know that there has been trouble and fighting, but their information is most partial and incorrect. Very few of the political journals have presented a faithful report of facts. Only one or two have sent out correspondents, catching up events for special pleading for party effect, instead of relating the whole truth before the tribunal of the people. Now let every person seek to inform himself and his neighbors of events as they occur. Put the facts before the eye of them know the outrages which have been committed. Let them understand the spirit which has actuated them, and the end at which they aim. Let them be taught to view the facts and principles of the present crisis, irrespective of party affinities. And who can doubt that the American people will condemn this imbuing of hands in brother's blood, and tyrannizing over freemen in questions of right; rebuke the aggressor, and spread the mighty shield of public sympathy and favor over the persecuted. This cause is to be tried, not by violence, but at the bar of public opinion. And whenever an intelligent decision on full and impartial testimony shall be given by the tribunal, all the agitators will be powerless. Violent men on all sides, may threaten what they please. They might as well threaten the Pacific Ocean as the resolved judgment and conscience of the nation. Our first duty is, therefore, to enlighten the public mind. Make the guilty journal feel that it is their interest to spread all the facts and the testimony of all sides before their readers. Make use of the mail for distribution of documents to your acquaintance. Organize a system of political colportage, which shall trace its way to every man's door, and through the crowds at the markets send them everywhere on the wings of the wind. This is the true system of republican government, and the true way to correct a public evil.

2. A second duty of the crisis is the pecuniary relief of the sufferers in Kansas. The operations of husbandry have been broken up by ruthless invaders. There will be no crops to nourish the inhabitants. Every department of trade and labor has been so paralyzed by fear and violence that industrious men are without the means of livelihood. Behind all the other enemies of Kansas stalks famine, threatening to complete the extermination. Families are compelled to leave their homes and become dependent on the charity of others. Besides which, insatiable robbery has plundered hundreds of everything that could be carried off. Horses, wagons, oxen, cows, sheep, provisions, clothing—money have been seized in broad daylight by roving marauders. The suffering inhabitants must return penniless to their former homes, or they must starve on the prairies, or die from their perils but desolated fields. Send them the relief which they need. Cheer their disconsolate spirits by the knowledge that there are thousands of their countrymen who sympathize in their misfortunes and condemn their wrongs. Give them food to eat and raiment to put on. Provide them with bread in the wilderness, and bid them remain and put their trust in the Lord. Let the machinery for such relief-action and distribution are already organized. Our brethren in other cities have already begun to pour in their benefactions. Let the city of the peace and liberty-loving Penn emulate their example.

3. The third duty of the crisis is the reinforcement of the pioneers in Kansas with free-state settlers. The rights of the settlers in Kansas are guaranteed to its actual settlers the right of determining their own institutions. The American people will see that that right is not defeated by force or fraud. The act of Congress organizing that territory declares that it is yet pledged to freedom, if free men have the enterprise to settle it. If four to one is not a sufficient majority to secure the pledged result, then let 20,000 go. If 20,000 will not make it free, then pour in 100,000. The law of majorities is to settle it. Let it be so large that force and fraud will be unavailing. Even armed marauders will be unable to control the elections, if its expression in the multiplication of liberty-loving settlers be overwhelming. Send men who are industrious and will work; men who are intelligent and know their rights; men who are God-fearing them. Send men who are peaceable and patient, who love law and order in its true sense, and have property dependent on its preservation; whose hands delight to labor, and whose hearts shall who will not hesitate to take down the implements of war to repel the invaders of their households. Send them with their flocks and their herds, with their wives and their children, with their saw-mills and their school-masters and their ministers, and let them go up into this land that floweth with milk and honey, and the God who guided Israel will give them an inheritance. The question will be decided not by the rifle and the bowie knife, but by the axe and the ploughshare. Therefore, appeal to no warlike feeling to send counter bands of ruffians for strife and bloodshed, but send settlers of the soil, strong in the conviction of right and resolute in the determination to maintain it.

4. The fourth duty of the crisis is the independent and conscientious use of the ballot-box. Let the fear of God and the love of man bring party predilections to an honest argument at the bar of conscience. Party will die, but the country will live. Party will die, but we shall live to answer at a higher tribunal respecting a freeman's privileges and a freeman's duty. We are the sovereigns of the republic. We are, in a great degree, the opinion and the choice of rulers for ourselves. If matters not what interested and designing men on the one side or on the other may agree upon

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Resolutions of the Epiphany Vestry.

We understand that the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted at a special meeting of the Vestry of the Church of the Epiphany, held on Monday evening:

Resolved. That the members of the Vestry have learned with deep and sincere regret that the Rector of this Church has deemed it his duty to select the Lord's day, and the pulpit of the Church, as the time and place for the discussion of sectional politics, and while desiring to enforce his opinions touching inconsistent with the highest respect for a gentleman holding so sacred an important an office, they feel it a solemn obligation to declare that such expressions are inconsistent with such themes for the simple preaching of Jesus Christ and Him crucified as the hope of a ruined world.

Resolved, That we most respectfully, but firmly protest against any repetition of such like Sermons as that preached on the morning of Sunday, the 29th Instant.

Resolved, That the above Resolutions be requested to communicate to the Rector a copy of the foregoing resolutions.

the this bright morn overcast. On the 29th of November, 1854, the infant Territory was to elect

[illegible] Congress. On that day more than one thousand armed men, organized in companies, invaded the Territory, drove judges and legal voters from the polls, and by fraudulent ballots elected a man of their own. On the 30th of March, 1855, the inhabitants of Kansas were to have elected their Territorial Legislature. On that day four thousand armed men from the same State again invaded the Territory, took possession of the polls and elected their own candidates, some of them residents of their own State. The recent investigations of the Congressional Committee have proved that of five thousand five hundred votes cast on that day less than one thousand were of actual residents of the Territory. Scarcely a shot had enough to see a Legislature imposed on them by force and fraud. But what sort of laws did they pass? Hear, and ask yourselves whether we live in the 19th century, and in a free and Christian republic. They re-enacted in a mass all the slave laws of Missouri, merely adding that wherever the word "State" occurs in them it shall be construed to mean "Territory." They made the non-admission of the right to hold slaves in the Territory a disqualification for sitting as Juror. They enacted that to say that persons have not a right to hold slaves in that Territory should be punished with years' imprisonment at hard labor. That writing, printing or circulating anything against slavery should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That the harboring of fugitive slaves should be visited with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That assisting slaves to escape should be punished with *death*. That assisting slaves to escape from any Territory, and take refuge in that Territory, should be punished with *death*. And, to render the circulation of publications calculated to incite slaves to insurrection, should be punished with *death*. To secure these laws perpetuity, they enacted that all who do not swear to support them by the Fugitive Slave Law should be disqualified as voters, but that any one might vote who will pay $1.00, and swear to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law and the Nebraska bill. As all still further to guard against all contingencies, they appointed non-residents to town and county offices for six years ahead.

Thus, by one stroke of combined fraud and force, the great question of social rights, whose settlement had been pledged to the citizens themselves, were decided by an invading army, whose agents established slavery against the wishes of [illegible] by violence, and [illegible] who oppose it, open the polls to all pro-slavery non-residents, and shut up the polls against legal voters. To assist all conniving at this gigantic fraud, to crush out opposition, and to silence all remonstrance, the Governor appointed a census-taker, who, without consulting the settlers, arbitrarily apportioned the representation, and gave to the counties, which he had himself created, a majority of the Legislature. And to all this bright morn overcast. On the 29th of November, 1854, the infant Territory was to elect a Delegate to the United States Congress. On that day more than one thousand armed men, organized in companies, invaded the Territory, drove judges and legal voters from the polls, and by fraudulent ballots elected a man of their own. On the 30th of March, 1855, the inhabitants of Kansas were to have elected their Territorial Legislature. On that day four thousand armed men from the same State again invaded the Territory, took possession of the polls and elected their own candidates, some of them residents of their own State. The recent investigations of the Congressional Committee have proved that of five thousand five hundred votes cast on that day less than one thousand were of actual residents of the Territory. Scarcely a shot had enough to see a Legislature imposed on them by force and fraud. But what sort of laws did they pass? Hear, and ask yourselves whether we live in the 19th century, and in a free and Christian republic. They re-enacted in a mass all the slave laws of Missouri, merely adding that wherever the word "State" occurs in them it shall be construed to mean "Territory." They made the non-admission of the right to hold slaves in the Territory a disqualification for sitting as Juror. They enacted that to say that persons have not a right to hold slaves in that Territory should be punished with years' imprisonment at hard labor. That writing, printing or circulating anything against slavery should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That the harboring of fugitive slaves should be visited with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That assisting slaves to escape should be punished with *death*. That assisting slaves to escape from any Territory, and take refuge in that Territory, should be punished with *death*. And, to render the circulation of publications calculated to incite slaves to insurrection, should be punished with *death*. To secure these laws perpetuity, they enacted that all who do not swear to support them by the Fugitive Slave Law should be disqualified as voters, but that any one might vote who will pay $1.00, and swear to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law and the Nebraska bill. As all still further to guard against all contingencies, they appointed non-residents to town and county offices for six years ahead.

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But what was done in opposition? There was no armed resistance, no collision with assumed authority. The people of Kansas simply denied the legality of the enactments of the usurpation of obedience, and the failing back on inherent rights, went through the preliminaries of a State organization, and applied to Congress for relief. That relief has not been yet afforded. And what has since transpired? A third, fourth and fifth armed invasion has taken place, each with increased aggravation of outrage. Pillage and plunder and murder have increased from day to day. Large bodies of armed men, from distant and adjoining States are in the Territory, with no attempt at becoming settlers, without means of honest support, living by the pillage of those who differ from themselves in sentiment, and perpetrating cruelties unknown even in war. Government troops have been used to overawe all attempts at resistance, and removed about so as to expose unprotected towns to violence. A fourfold process of oppression has been used to ruin and drive out those whose only crime is the claiming of rights guaranteed them by the very law which invited them, to Kansas. First, innumerable indictments for imaginary crimes are made out by a corrupt judiciary against all free State men of influence, while the worst crimes by men of opposite politics have gone unnoticed. Secondly, armed hordes of ruffians, under pretence of maintaining "law and order," patrol the country, committing all the outrages they have ever perpetrated. Thirdly, the U. S. dragoons are made use of by the local authorities to suppress any risings for self-defence, and kept out of the way when attacks are to be made. And lastly, "vigilance committees" are appointed to drive off, with threats of Lynch law, all those who by the other methods have not been subdued. All this has been going on for months. And now comes the announcement that the sufferers themselves are driven by desperation to armed defence, and the hostile bands are now watching each other, and meeting in deadly conflict. Civil war is there. And where is it to end, unless it can be suppressed at once in the place of its birth? Let it not be said that we have no interest in this matter. Kansas is a member of our body politic. The same life-blood which nourishes our own community flows through her. And the wounds and anguish which she endures are felt to the remotest parts of the Republic. The cry of friendship and of blood unite her suffering children to all sections of our country. And were these wanting, a common nationality binds them in one body to us all, and the great heart of humanity enfolds them in its sympathies. "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."

At the same time that these events have been transpiring, another scene has been enacted which has inflicted a still deeper wound on the heart and peace of our country. A member of the Senate of the United States, a man honored equally for his virtues and his attainments, has been stricken down and beaten by a member of Congress until his blood stained the floor of the Senate, for words spoken in debate. It matters not what were the words which gave offence, though it may well be supposed that language was intelligent at the time, byts body whose majority were in opposition of the speaker, did not transgress the ordinary limits of parliamentary debate. It matters not what were the words, nor who the speaker, nor who the assailant. It was a principle which was stricken down. And the principle is one of the pillars of our free institutions. Without the right of freedom of speech, neither our legislative nor our jury action are secure. If the bludgeon is to be the ruling argument in our country, where will be our boasted freedom and national Christianity? If the flag of our country and the epaulets of her officers cannot protect the members of her government within the walls of her Capitol, in the discharge of their official duty, what is to become of our republic? With the freedom of the press prostrated in Kansas, and the freedom of the Senate assailed in Washington, how long before the freedom of the pulpit shall exist at the mercy of a popular majority or of a reckless and excitable bully? It matters not what editor, or an editor, or a clergyman in the country, whose right to advocate what he conscientiously believes, nor a citizen whose right to representation of his sentiments, has been assailed in the blows which laid the eloquent Sumner senseless on the Senate chamber. But the act itself is the ominous of evil as its endorsement. To tear it defended and eulogized by a majority of the whole section represented by the assassin, by public assemblies giving votes of thanks for his iniquity, by the press almost unanimously holding it up by worthy of imitation, and by fellow-representatives who screen the offender from punishment, may well make one feel sadly apprehensive for the country. It indicates that we are becoming unworthy of our heritage, and that the sentiment of justice and right has rotted away in the hearts of the makers of the laws that are to speak in defence of what they deem human right, or to give a word with deadly weapons for protection in the discharge of their duty! God forbid that the spirit of religion should refuse to speak in reprobation of the evil.

II. But let us look, secondly, at the [illegible] of these outrages. They are the [illegible] sole impulse of all these outrages is the desire to extend slavery. The sole crime of the sufferers is the invincible desire to be free. The blood of a Senator has stained the floor of the Senate chamber, the blood of her citizens has been poured out like water on the virgin soil of Kansas, merely because, it may be made a land of bondage. The whole South is aroused and pours forth invading armies, and the whole influence and power of the Federal Government are employed to aid them, merely because the actual residents of Kansas, in the exercise of the rights guaranteed them by the law which opened the territory to settlers, are largely determined that it shall be free. Ignoble instincts! Wicked purpose! But it remain. Let it be apologized for and mitigated as it may, there is not one of those who would attack the South for the inheritance of perplexity and shame which Northern cupidity was originally a joint agent in introducing. Let them mourn over the embarrassments and evils of their lot, and strive to discharge their duty as Christian masters to the people they have found dependent and in servitude. Thus only can they lighten the load of misfortune they may work out a blessing to the subject race, and a mission of mercy for themselves. To apologize for an involuntary evil is one thing. To strive to extend and perpetuate it is another. We may regard the former with the truest charity. Are we freemen and Christians, what must we say of the latter?

But why are Southern men so mildly resolved that Kansas shall be thrown open to slavery? Is it because they desire themselves to be residents of the country? Very few of them have any such idea. But it will give them, first, an increase of political power. It will add another State into the phalanx, and give them two more Senatorial votes for that control of the Government which the far swifter progress of the free States has already lost them in the House of Representatives. Few among us have reflected on the political power given by slavery to the few. Three-fifths of all the slaves are counted in with the whites as the basis of representation largely increasing the political importance of the white person at the South over the white person at the North. Of the whites, large numbers are either disfranchised by a property qualification, or are completely under the control of their wealthier neighbors. Political honors and influence are confined to a few. In the whole sixteen slave-holding States there are less than 100,000 persons owning more than fifty slaves each, and of these are denizens of deserting their plantations and emigrating to Kansas? But these are the persons who control the policy of sixteen States, and by their influence at home and at the North have controlled the whole Senate and filled the honors of the General Government. Is it to be wondered that they should make such desperate efforts to extend to disproportionate an ingroportionate influence? And as it grows it will grow until this whole land of liberty shall be made tributary to the perpetuation of human bondage.

The establishment of slavery in Kansas will give them, secondly, a new market for slaves. The pecuniary value of slavery arises not from the productiveness of slave labor. It costs much and produces little, wastes largely and wears out the soil it cultivates. Left to itself, it impoverishes, in the long run, land and owner, and would gradually work out its own extermination. But slave-breeding compensates for the expensiveness of slave-labor. To breed human beings for sale, to rear immortal souls that they may be driven like cattle to the market and sold to the highest bidder, is a profitable business. Families and estates are maintained by such breeding and sale, even in old plantations. To keep up the price the market must be extended. New States and Territories must have their virgin soil thrown open to slavery, and as their lands also become impoverished, join the slave-breeding States in the ceaseless cry of the horse-leech and her daughters. Kansas is now invaded and outraged merely that it may be made a land of bondage, and that for the increase of profit the poor may be ruined to our free institutions, and a stimulus to the breeding of human beings for sale.

And what is the pretence under which these evil deeds are covered up, and the iniquitousness of the country in them is sought? It is the cry that it is of men of all sections of the country to go with their property into the national territory. It is said that to deny the right of slaveholders to carry their property there, is to destroy the equality of our citizens. As this is the grand plea, which is designed to, and to some extent does, impose on the public mind for excuse of all these enormities, it is essential that it should be examined. Let it be observed then, in the first place, that the claimed right of carrying one's *slaves as property* with him in removal, is a novelty. How much property is there in its nature so local that it cannot be removed. Who could remove his farm, or his fishery, or his water-power? Yet who ever thought of declaiming against the injustice of Nature and Providence, because he could not take them to Kansas? The proceeds of their sale he can take. And has anybody ever denied to the slaveholder the right of sale to Kansas the proceeds of the sale of his slaves, as well as the proceeds of the sale of his plantation? Secondly, the right of property in human beings is not a natural right, but merely the result of local laws. Outside the jurisdiction of those laws, the right does not exist. There are States where lotteries are allowed by law. A lottery interest is the property of its holder. Because lotteries are proscribed in Kansas or elsewhere, has the lottery-holder cause to complain of the application of his constitutional rights? Shall Kansas be thrown open to slaveholders because its inhabitants will not pass the local laws which in other States have made lotteries property? With as much reason as because they will not establish property in human flesh and blood. The property which results from local laws can be sold where those local laws have made it valuable, and the proceeds taken wherever the owner may please. And is the Union to be convulsed, a peaceful Territory made the scene of war, and industrious citizens unhesitatingly [illegible] because some unprincipled individual has resolved that instead of taking his thousand dollars to Kansas in gold and silver, he will take it in the shape of a lottery office or a roulette room? Let the flimsy pretext be understood. If the right of holding human beings as property results merely from local law, it is limited by the law which created it. It is not a natural right it is as inadmissible in Pennsylvania as it is in Kansas. And this will be the final issue.

But thirdly, it seems to be entirely forgotten that there are rights on the other side. It is a fundamental principle in law that no one must use his property, injure that of his neighbors. The welfare of the one must give way to the welfare of the many. Now if one man has property in a fellow, there are many others there who have no such undivided property in themselves. If one claims the right of making the bodily labor of his fellow subserve his own comfort and advantage, there are thousands of others who claim a different and inflexible right to make their own good arms available to their own support and advancement. And these two rights conflict. For slave-labor and free-labor are opposed to each other. Slavery degrades bodily labor. It makes a man's bodily strength and manual skill less availing for his own profit and elevation. It thus diminishes and saps every inducement to property in himself. It lessens his pecuniary reward, and shuts up the door of promotion. The question is, therefore, between the right of one man to the muscles of his neighbor and the right of thousands to the full benefit of their own muscles. It is whether one man is to leave his slave behind him, or whether a thousand white citizens are to be enslaved if they go. The right of the all our laboring class by thousands to one slave-holder, are invaded in the attempt at the violent subjugation of Kansas. Moreover, there are many methods of remunerative labor of more or less special character that are available only in a free community. In fact, there is scarcely a department of ingenuity or power, which the history and present state of our country do not show to be underscribed and depreciated by the presence of slavery. The intellectual, literary and inventive, as well as the bodily powers of man become less available for profit, and special preference, many man, therefore, who is not himself a slave-holder, is interested for himself, his children, relatives and friends in the exclusion of slavery from Kansas. The sole crime of the sufferers is the invincible desire to be free. The blood of a Senator has stained the floor of the Senate chamber, the blood of her citizens has been poured out like water on the virgin soil of Kansas, merely because, it may be made a land of bondage. The whole South is aroused and pours forth invading armies, and the whole influence and power of the Federal Government are employed to aid them, merely because the actual residents of Kansas, in the exercise of the rights guaranteed them by the law which opened the territory to settlers, are largely determined that it shall be free. Ignoble instincts! Wicked purpose! But it remain. Let it be apologized for and mitigated as it may, there is not one of those who would attack the South for the inheritance of perplexity and shame which Northern cupidity was originally a joint agent in introducing. Let them mourn over the embarrassments and evils of their lot, and strive to discharge their duty as Christian masters to the people they have found dependent and in servitude. Thus only can they lighten the load of misfortune they may work out a blessing to the subject race, and a mission of mercy for themselves. To apologize for an involuntary evil is one thing. To strive to extend and perpetuate it is another. We may regard the former with the truest charity. Are we freemen and Christians, what must we say of the latter?

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EVENING BULLETIN.
THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1856.

Mr. Tyng's Sermon.

The great interest felt by the public at large in the sermon delivered by the rector of the Church of the Epiphany, on Sunday evening, induced us to apply to the reverend gentleman for a copy of it for publication, and it was a our urgent request that he consented to th mode of gratifying the public desire to lear the cause of the difference between him an some members of his congregation. The ser mon will be found on our first and secon pages.

BULLETIN

National Congress. On that day more than one thousand armed men from an adjoining State invaded the Territory, drove judges and legal voters from the polls, and by fraudulent ballots elected a man of their own. On the 30th of March, 1855, the inhabitants of Kansas were to have elected their Territorial Legislature. More than five thousand armed men from the same State again invaded the Territory, took possession of the polls, and elected their own candidates, some of them residents of their own State. The recent investigations of the Congressional Committee have proved that of five thousand five hundred who cast on that day no less than one thousand were actual residents of the Territory. Surely it was bad enough to see a Legislature imposed on them by force and fraud. But what sort of laws do they pass? Hear for yourselves whether they are worthy of the 19th century, and in a free and Chr[illegible] carried in a mass all

non-admission of the right to hold slaves in the Territory a disqualification for sitting as Members. They enact that persons who have not a right to hold slaves in that Territory should be punished with two years' imprisonment at hard labor. That writing, printing or circulating any thing against slavery should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That assisting slaves to escape should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That assisting slaves to escape from any Territory, and take refuge in that Territory, should be punished with *death*. That the printing or circulation of publications advising persons to slaves to insurrection, should be punished with *death*. To secure these laws perpetuity, they enacted that all who do not swear to support the Fugitive Slave Law should be disqualified as voters; but that any one might vote who will pay $1.00, and swear to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law and the Nebraska Bill. And, still further to guard against all contingencies, they appointed non-residents to town and county offices for six years at once.

Thus, by one stroke of combined fraud and force, the great question of social rights, whose settlement had been pledged to the citizens themselves, were decided by an invading army, whose agents established slavery against the wishes of [illegible] ... oppose it, open the polls to all pro-slavery non-residents, and shut up all who speak, write, print or circulate anything against it with long imprisonment at hard labor. What has become of the rights of American citizens? Talk of obedience to law! Would you, would any American, obey such laws so imposed? Where were the spirit of our Revolutionary fathers if such oppression could be submitted to? Where is our republican government if such rights can be taken away?

But what was done in opposition? There was no armed resistance, no collision with assumed authority. The people of Kansas simply denied the legality of the enactments and the obligation of obedience, and the failing back on inherent rights, went through the forms of a Constitutional organization, and applied to Congress for relief. That relief has not been yet afforded. And what has since transpired? A third, fourth and fifth armed invasion has taken place, and with increased aggravation of outrage. Pillage and plunder and murder have increased from day to day. Large bodies of armed men from distant and adjoining States, not to be Territory, with no attempt at becoming settlers, without means of honest support, living by the pillage of those who differ from themselves in sentiment, and perpetrating cruelties unknown even in war. Government troops have been used to overawe all attempts at resistance, and moved about so as to expose unprotected towns to violence. A fourfold process of expulsion has been used to ruin and drive out those whose only crime is the claiming of rights guaranteed them by the very law which invited them to Kansas. First, innumerable indictments for a conspiracy once are made known to corrupt judiciary against all free State men of influence, while the worst of crimes by men of opposite politics have gone unnoticed. Secondly, armed bodies of ruffians, under pretence of maintaining "law and order," patrol the country, committing all the outrages which have been described. Thirdly, the U. S. dragoons are made use of by the free State parties to suppress any risings for self-defence, and kept out of the way when attacks are to be made. And lastly, "Vigilance Committees" are appointed to drive off, with threats of lynch law, all those who by the other methods have not been subdued. All this has been going on for months. And recent accounts announce that the sufferers themselves are driven by desperation to a self-defence, and the hostile bands are now watching each other, and meeting in deadly conflict. Civil war is begun. And where is it to end, unless it can be suppressed at once in the places of its birth? Can it not be said that we have an interest in this matter. Distant and feeble as she may be, Kansas is a member of our body politic. The same life-blood which nourishes our own community flows through her. And the wounds and anguish which she endures are felt to the remotest parts of the Republic. Ties of friendship and of blood unite her suffering children to all sections of our country. And are these wanting, a common nationality binds them in one body to us all, and the great heart of humanity enfolds them in its sympathies. "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."

At the same time that these events have been transpiring, another scene has been enacted, which has indeed a still deeper wound on the honor and peace of our country. A member of the Senate of the United States, a man honored equally for his virtues and his attainments, has been stricken down and beaten by a member of Congress till his blood stained the floor of the Senate, for words spoken in debate. It matters not what were the words which gave offence, though it may well be supposed that language unchallenged at the time by a body whose majority were in opposition to the speaker, did not transgress the ordinary limits of parliamentary debate. It matters not what were the words, nor who the speaker, nor who the assailant. It was a principle which was stricken down. And the principle is one of the pillars of our free institutions. Without freedom of debate in Congress, neither our liberties nor our religion are secure. If the bludgeon is to be the ruling power in our country, where will be our boasted freedom and national Christianity? If the flag or coat of arms and the symbols of her liberty cannot protect the members of her government within the walls of their Capitol in the discharge of their official duty, what is to become of our republic? With the freedom of the press overthrown in Kansas, and the freedom of the Senate assailed in Washington, how long before the freedom of the pulpit shall be also at the mercy of a popular majority or of a reckless and excitable bully? There is not a legislator, or an editor, or a clergyman in the country, who does not advocate what he conscientiously believes, nor a citizen whose right to representation of his sentiments, has not been assailed in the blows which laid the eloquent Sumner senseless on the Senate chamber. But the point itself is not so serious as that which underlies it. The real question is, shall the spirit of violence be encouraged in a mass of [illegible] extend now ... gard the former with ... Freemen and Christians, what must ... the latter?

But why are Southern men so madly resolved that Kansas shall be thrown open to slavery? Is it because they desire themselves to be residents of the country? Very few of them have any such idea. But it will give them, first, an increase of political power. It will wheelandother State into the phalanx, and give them two more Senatorial votes for that control of the Government which the far swifter progress of the free States has taken from them in the House of Representatives. Few among us have reflected on the political power given by slavery to the few. Three-fifths of all the slaves are counted in with the whites as the basis of representation largely increasing the political importance of the slave person at the South over the white person at the North. Of the whites, large numbers are either disfranchised by a property qualification, or are completely under the control of their wealthier neighbors. Political honors and influence are confined to a few. In the whole sixteen slaveholding States there are less than 100,000 persons owning more than ten slaves each. How many of these are desirous of deserting their plantations and emigrating to Kansas? But these are the persons who control the policy of sixteen States, and by their influence at home and at the North have controlled the policy and monopolized the honors of the General Government. Is it to be wondered that they should make such desperate efforts to extend to disproportionate an importance? And as it grows so it will grow until this whole land of liberty shall be made tributary to the perpetuation of human bondage.

The establishment of slavery in Kansas will give them, secondly, a new market for slaves. The pecuniary value of slavery arises not from the productiveness of slave labor. It costs much and produces little, wastes largely and wears out the soil it cultivates. Left to itself, it impoverishes, in the long run, both land and owner, and would gradually work out its own extermination. But slave-breeding compensates for the expensiveness of slave-labor. To breed human beings for sale, to rear immortal souls that they may be driven like cattle to the market and sold to the highest bidder, is a profitable business. Families and estates are maintained by such breeding and sale, often of blood relations. To keep up the price the market must be extended. New States and Territories must have their virgin soil thrown open to slavery, and as their lands also become impoverished, join the slave-breeding States in the onerous duty of the horse-leech and her daughters. Kansas is now invaded and outraged merely that it may be made a land of bondage, and that for the increase of a political power inimical to our free institutions, and a stimulus to the breeding of human beings for sale.

And what is the pretence under which these evil deeds are covered up, and the acquiescence of the country in them is sought? It is the equal right of men of all sections of the country to go with their property into the national territory. It is said that to deny the right of shareholders to carry their property where it is by law protected is to destroy all equality. As this is the grand plea, which is designed to, and to some extent does, impose on the public mind for excuse of all these enormities, it is essential that it should be examined. It will be observed then, in the first place, that the claimed right of carrying one's *identical property* with him in removal, is an absurdity. How much property is there in its nature so local that it cannot be removed. Who could remove his farm, or his fishery, or his water-power? Yet who ever thought of declaiming against the injustice of Nature and Providence, because he could not take them to Kansas? The proceeds of their sale he can take. And has anybody ever denied to the shareholder the right to take to Kansas the proceeds of the sale of his slaves, as well as the proceeds of the sale of his plantation? Secondly, the right of property in human beings is not a natural right, but merely the result of local laws. Outside the jurisdiction of those laws, the right does not exist. There are States where lotteries are allowed by law. A lottery interest is the property of its holder. Because lotteries are proscribed in Kansas or elsewhere, has the lottery-holder cause to complain of the overthrow of his constitutional rights? Shall Kansas be invaded and drenched in blood because its inhabitants will not pass the local laws which in other States have made lotteries property? And as much reason as have they will not establish property in human flesh and blood. The property which results from local laws can be sold where those local laws have made it valuable, and its proceeds taken wherever the owner may please. And is the Union to be convulsed, a peaceful Territory made the scene of war, and industrious citizens robbed and murdered, because some hotheaded individual has resolved that instead of taking his thousand dollars to Kansas in gold and silver, he will take it in the shape of a lottery office or a brother man? Let the flimsy pretext be understood. If the right of holding human beings as property exists merely from local law, it is limited by the law which created it. If it be a natural right it is as indefensible in Pennsylvania as it is in Kansas. And this will be the final issue.

But thirdly, it seems to be entirely forgotten that there are rights on the other side. It is a fundamental principle in law that one man must not, by his property, injure that of his neighbor. The welfare of the one must give way to the welfare of the many. Now if one man has property in a fellow, there are thousands of others who have more undoubted property in themselves. If one claims the right of making the bodily labor of his fellow to observe his own comfort and advantage, there are thousands of others who claim a divine and indefeasible right to make their own good arms available to their own support and advancement. And these two rights conflict. For slave-labor and free-labor are opposed to each other. Slavery degrades bodily labor. It makes a man's bodily strength and manual skill less available for his own profit and elevation. It thus diminishes and takes away his inherent property in himself. It lessens his pecuniary reward, and shuts up the door of improvement. The question is, therefore, between the right of one man to the muscles of his neighbor

slavery. Men justify and their property in their own minds and bodies is depreciated by the introduction of slave-labor. The inalienable rights which God himself has given to men, that whether arrayed against the merely legal and transferable, not to say disputable, right of the slave-holder. The suffering in Kansas, the suffering of Sumner, is not in resistance of human right, but in open defiance in defence of the rights of the many against the aggression of a few. And the question is not whether there shall be maintained the rights of a few thousand slave-holders, but whether shall be maintained the rights of millions of freemen.

III. But, thirdly, let us not lose sight of the divine agency in all the troubles which have come upon us. For we are taught in the Scripture that the providence of God overrules the actions of men no less than the operations of nature. Every human agent is to the Lord only as the raw in the hand of him that shaketh it. No man can have any power at all against the object of his hatred or oppression, except it be given him from above. "Man proposes, but God disposes." And therefore when there is evil in a country, we are to look above the human instrumentalities and humble ourselves under the hand of God, and inquire why He hath dealt so grievously with us. Especially is this the case with national calamities. Especially is this the case with national sins. For as bodies politic have no existence in the world to come, their judgment and recompense, unlike that of individuals, can take place only in this world. The question which we ought to ask ourselves, therefore, is, wherefore hath the Lord dealt thus with His servants?" Many are our national offences. But there is ever a correspondence between the offence and its punishment. And we are to search out the sin which terrors for which this special visitation has been sent.

Doubtless, one sin for which we are suffering is the base spirit of truckling and pandering to sectional interests and prejudices, which has for so many years characterized the prime movers of our political machinery. Politics have been a mere trade, conducted without honesty or principle for selfish aggrandizement. Vainly do we look for patriotism in the wire-working of our political parties. The whole government is administered upon the principle of the division of the spoils. There has been no prejudice so opposed to the spirit of our institutions, no sectional line prince so degrading, that political leaders, low and high, were not willing to sell themselves to it for votes. There has been no combination of parties too inconsistent, unprincipled and corrupt to be entered into for the sake of office and public money. In particular, the leading political parties have for years been conducted in rivalry of subservience to the interests of slavery. The principles of the past have been disregarded and sacrificed in disgraceful underbidding for the slave-holding vote. There was no deep so low for one party to descend into, that some lower deep still could not be found by the other to descend by the other. For more than a generation has this system of self-abasement been going on. No wonder that those who have been the objects of this solicitation should have been educated into the idea that the whole government of the country should be conducted for the benefit of slavery. If our unhappy country is now suffering from Southern violence, it has been brought on us by that long and increasing self-abasement of Northern politicians. Especially is this the case with our present agitation. A new scene of commotion had been settled by new concessions, to which for the sake of peace all parties had assented. The whole land was at rest and quiet. Slavery was demanding nothing more, and its opponents had made up their minds to acquiesce in the settlement, when, for pure party purposes and for party aggrandizement, the time-honored barrier of freedom was overthrown as a new bid in the auction which has sacrificed the domain of the nation for the slave-holding vote. Let the authors of the iniquity be nameless here, as they deserve to be in the annals of the Republic. Insane and unprincipled ambition is the source of all the agitation and turmoil and bloodshed which have been rending the land asunder. The whole people have witnessed solemnly the successive betrayals of their interests, and voted so docilely on the issues they presented, that hope had been conceived of their unlimited submission. The sectional jealousies which it has stirred up anew, and the attempt to secure, by violence, what slavery understood to be offered it by the measure, is its natural consequence, and the providential punishment of the nation for the iniquity which it sanctioned and encouraged.

Another political sin for which the nation is thus suffering, is the neglect of political duty by respectable citizens. We have boasted much of our political rights; but we have been sadly unmindful of our political duties. How large a proportion of the most respectable and influential of our citizens have wholly abstained from the nomination and election of our rulers. The whole business of nominations has been given up to caucuses, chiefly composed of the ambitious and the vile. Assemblies in which no respectable person could appear have brought out candidates of their own for inferior offices, and conventions of interested men have long wrangled out the nomination to higher posts of those to whose selection they gave up their own hopes of office to be acquired or retained. All honesty and all patriotism have quite disappeared from our political system. Politics have become a trade so low that few respectable men have touch it. Not an election can be carried without money, and bargaining and rum. And in consequence not a bill can be carried through our national legislature without bribes. Yet orderly and respectable citizens see these iniquities without troubling themselves for their correction. Absorbed in their own business and comfort, they leave the rule of the country they care could whom. And yet they boast of their political rights. But God has given no right without obligation of use. The right of self-government involves the duty of self-government, the duty of selecting and electing the rulers of our people. This sacred duty, due to our ourselves, mankind and God, has been wofully neglected, and, therefore, God has turned our neglect into our punishment, and chastised the land with intestine and civil war.

Kindred and consequential to these has been another sin—the entire divorce of the State from all politics free from the fear of God. It respects able men, when they kept aloof from the selection of candidates for office, also threw away their allegiance to party, the evil would be less. But, by a strange confusion of moral sense, the obligation to party is made unquestionable and supreme. No matter what may be the character of its agents—no matter what may be the evil principle or the injurious measures incorporated in its action, how many good men there are for whom the single consideration, that it is the action of their own party, is enough. They ask no questions. They go to no argument, recognize no higher authority. How few Christian men ever think of taking counsel of God in questions of public affairs, and giving religion the control of their political action. Even men of politics

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National Congress. On that day more than one thousand armed men from an adjoining State invaded the Territory, drove judges and legal voters from the polls, and by fraudulent ballots elected a man of their own. On the 30th of March, 1855, the inhabitants of Kansas were to have elected their Territorial Legislature. More than five thousand armed men from the same State again invaded the Territory, took possession of the polls and elected their own candidates, some of them residents of their own State. The recent investigations of the Congressional Committee have proved that of five thousand five hundred votes cast on that day less than one thousand were the actual residents of the Territory. Surely it will be bad enough to see a Legislature imposed on the people by fraud and force, but shall we submit when they pass it? Hear, and ask yourselves whether we live in the 19th century, and in a free and Christian country, when we are expected in a mass of

non-admission of the right to hold slaves in the Territory a disqualification for sitting as Juror. Section 12 says that to say that persons have a right to hold slaves in that Territory should be punished with two years' imprisonment at hard labor. That writing, printing or circulating any thing against slavery should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That the harboring of fugitive slaves should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That assisting slaves to escape should be punished with death. That assisting slaves to escape from the Territory, and take refuge in that Territory, should be punished with death. That the printing or circulation of publications calculated to incite slaves to insurrection, should be punished with death. Two more laws pass the Legislature at a hard gallop, all who do not swear to support the Fugitive Slave Law should be disqualified as voters, but that any one might vote who will pay $1.00, and swear to support the Fugitive Slave Law and the Nebraska bill. And, still further to guard against all contingencies, they appointed non-residents to town and county offices for six years ahead.

Thus, by one stroke of combined fraud and force, the great question of social rights, whose settlement had been pledged to the citizens themselves, were decided by an invading army, whose agents established slavery against the wishes of the people, themselves. All who oppose it, open the polls to all pro-slavery non-residents, and shut up all who speak, write, print or circulate anything against it with long terms of imprisonment at hard labor. What has become of the rights of American citizens? Talk of obedience to law! Would you, would any American, obey such laws so imposed? Where were the spirit of our Revolutionary fathers if such oppression could be submitted to? Where is our republican government if such rights can be taken away?

But what was done in opposition? There was no armed resistance, no collision with assumed authority. The people of Kansas simply denied the legality of the enactments and the obligation of obedience, and the chilling back on inherent rights, went through the preliminaries of a State organization, and applied to Congress for relief. That relief has not been yet afforded. And what has since transpired? A third, fourth and fifth armed invasion has taken place, each with increased aggravation of outrage. Pillage and plunder and murder have increased from day to day. Large bodies of armed men from distant and adjoining States are in the Territory, with no attempt at becoming settlers, but evincing marks of honest support, living by the pillage of those who differ from themselves in sentiment, and perpetrating cruelties unknown even in war. Government troops have been used to overawe all attempt at resistance, and moved about so as to expose unprotected towns to violence. A fourfold process of oppression has been used to ruin and drive out those whose only crime is the claiming of rights guaranteed them by the very law which invited them to Kansas. Legal, innumerable indictments for imaginary crimes are made out by a corrupt judiciary against all free State men of influence, while the worst of crimes by men of opposite politics have gone unnoticed. Large armed hordes of ruffians, under pretence of maintaining "law and order," patrol the country, committing all the outrages which have been described. Thirdly, the U. S. dragoons are made use of by the local authorities to suppress any risings for self-defence, and kept out of the way when attacks are to be made. And lastly, "Vigilance Committees" are appointed to drive off, with threats of lynch law, all those who by the other methods have not been subdued. All this has been going on for months. And recent accounts announce that the sufferers themselves are driven by desperation to armed defence, and the hostile bands are now watching each other, and meeting in deadly conflict. Civil war is begun. And where is it to end, unless it can be suppressed at once in the place of its birth? And it not be said that we have no interest in this matter. Distant and feeble as she may be, Kansas is a member of our body politic. The same life-blood which nourishes our own community flows through her. And the wounds and anguish which she endures are felt to the remotest parts of the Republic. Ties of friendship and of blood unite her suffering children to all sections of our country. And were these wanting, a common nationality binds them in one body to us all, and the great heart of humanity enfolds them in its sympathies. "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."

At the same time that these events have been transpiring, another scene has been enacted which has inflicted a still deeper wound on the honor and peace of our country. A member of the Senate of the United States, a man honored equally for his virtues and his attainments, has been stricken down and beaten by a member of Congress till his blood stained the floor of the Senate, for words spoken in debate.

It matters not what were the words which gave offence, though it may well be supposed that language unchallenged at the time by a body whose majority were in opposition to the speaker, did not transgress the ordinary limits of parliamentary debate. It matters not what were the words, nor who the speaker, nor who the assailant. It was a principle which was stricken down. And the principle is one of the pillars of our free institutions. Without the right of freedom of speech, neither our liberties nor our religion are secure. If the bludgeon is to be the ruling power in our country, where will be our boasted freedom and national Christianity? If the halls of our country and the symbols of her liberty cannot protect the members of her government within the walls of her Capitol, in the discharge of their official duty, what is to become of our republic? With the freedom of the press overthrown in Kansas, and the freedom of the Senate assailed in Washington, how long before the freedom of the pulpit shall be also at the mercy of a popular majority or of a reckless and excitable bully? There is not a legislator, or an editor, or a clergyman in the country, whose right to advocate what he conscientiously believes, nor a citizen whose right to representation of his sentiments, has not been assailed in the blows which laid the eloquent Sumner senseless on the Senate chamber. But the act itself is not so ominous of evil as its endorsement. To hear it defended and eulogized throughout the whole section represented by the assailant, by public assemblies giving votes of thanks for his iniquity, by the press almost unanimously holding it up as worthy of imitation, and by fellow-representatives who screen the offender from punishment, may well make one feel sadly apprehensive for our country. It indicates that we are becoming unworthy of our heritage, and that the sentiment of justice and right has rotted away in the foundation of government. Also that we are ripening when the makers of her laws dare not speak in defence of what they deem human right, or must go armed with deadly weapons for protection in the discharge of their duty! And it is fearful that the ministers of religion should refuse to speak in reprobation of the evil.

II. But let us look, secondly, at the *impelling power* of these outrages. They have all one

extend [illegible] gard the former with [illegible] Christians, what must [illegible] latter?

But why are Southern men so madly resolved that Kansas shall be thrown open to slavery? Is it because they desire themselves to be residents of the country? Very few of them have any such idea. But it will give them, first, an increase of political power. It will wheal another State into the phalanx, and give them two more Senatorial votes for that control of the Government which the far swifter progress of the free States has taken from them in the House of Representatives. Few among us have reflected on the political power given by slavery to the few. Three-fifths of all the slaves are counted in with the whites as the basis of representation, thereby increasing the political importance of the whites person at the South over the white person at the North. Of the whites, large numbers are either disfranchised by a property qualification, or are completely under the control of their wealthier neighbors. Political honors and influence are confined to a few. In the whole sixteen slaveholding States there are less than 100,000 persons owning more than ten slaves each. How many of these are desirous of deserting their plantations and emigrating to Kansas? But these are the persons who control the policy of sixteen States, and by their influence at home and at the North have controlled the policy and monopolized the honors of the federal Government. And it is no wonder that they should make such desperate efforts to extend so disproportionate an importance? And as it grows so it will grow until this whole land of liberty shall be made tributary to the perpetuation of human bondage.

The establishment of slavery in Kansas will give them, secondly, a new market for slaves. The pecuniary value of slavery arises not from the productiveness of slave labor. It costs much and produces little. Its wastes largely consume all the soil it cultivates. Left to itself, it impoverishes, in the long run, both land and owner, and would gradually work out its own extermination. But slave-breeding compensates for the expensiveness of slave labor. To breed human beings for sale, to rear immortal souls that they may be driven like cattle to the market and sold to the highest bidder, is a profitable business. Families and estates are maintained by such breeding and sale, often of blood relations. To keep up the price the market must be extended. New States and Territories must have their virgin soil thrown open to slavery, and as their lands also become impoverished, plunge the slave-breeding States in the ceaseless cry of the horse-leech and her daughters. Kansas is now invaded and outraged merely that it may be made a land of bondage, and that for the increase of political power inimical to our free institutions, and a stimulus to the breeding of human beings for sale.

And what is the pretence under which these evil deeds are covered up, and the acquiescence of the country in them is sought? It is the sacred right of men of all sections of the country to go with their property into the national territory. It is said that to deny the right of shareholders to carry their property there, is to destroy the equality of our citizens. And this is the idea, which is so deligned to, and to some extent does, impose on the public mind for excuse of all these enormities. It is essential that it should be examined. Let it be observed then, in the first place, that the claimed right of carrying one's *ideal property* with him in removal, is an absurdity. How much property is there in its nature so local that it *cannot* be removed. Who could remove his farm, or his fishery, or his water-power? Yet who ever thought of declaiming against the injustice of Nature and Providence, because he could not take them to Kansas? The proceeds of their sale he can take. And can anything be logical to claim for shareholder the right to take to Kansas the proceeds of the sale of his slaves, as well as the proceeds of the sale of his plantation? Secondly, the right of property in human beings is not a natural right, but merely the result of local law. Outside the jurisdiction of those laws, the right does not exist. There are States where lotteries are allowed by law. A lottery interest is the property of its holder. Because lotteries are prohibited in Kansas or elsewhere, has the lottery-holder cause to complain of the overthrow of his constitutional rights? Shall Kansas be invaded and drenched in blood because its inhabitants will not pass the local laws which in other States have made lotteries property? With as much reason as because they will not establish property in human flesh and blood. The property which results from local laws can be sold where those local laws have been made or voluntarily, and its proceeds taken wherever the owner may please. And in the Union to be convulsed, a peaceful Territory made the scene of war, and industrious citizens robbed and murdered, because some holdhended individual has resolved that instead of taking his thousand dollars to Kansas in gold and silver, he will take it in the shape of a lottery office or a brother man? Let the flimsy pretext be understood. If the right of holding human beings as property results exclusively from local law, it is only by the law which created it. If it be a natural right it is as indefeasible in Pennsylvania as it is in Kansas. And this will be the final issue.

But thirdly, it seems to be entirely forgotten that there is a right in the people of the local or fundamental principle in law that one man must not, by his property, injure that of his neighbors. The welfare of the one must give way to the welfare of the many. Now if one man is prospering in a fellow, there are thousands of others who have arisen or undoubted property in themselves. If one claims the right of making the bodily labor of his fellow subserve his own comfort and advantage, there are thousands of others who claim a divine and indefeasible right to make their own good arms available to their own support and advancement. And these two rights conflict. For slave-labor and free-labor cannot proceed to each other. Slavery degrades bodily labor. It makes a man's bodily strength and manual skill less availing for his own profit and elevation. It thus diminishes and takes away his inducement to labor. And it tends to lessen his pecuniary reward, and shuts up the door of promotion. The question is, therefore, between the right of one man to the muscles of his neighbor and the right of thousands to the full benefit of their own muscles. And is it wherefore, public to leave his slave behind him, or whether a thousand white citizens are to be enslaved if they go. The rights of all our laboring classes, ten thousand to one slave-holder, are invaded in the attempt at the violent subjugation of Kansas. Moreover there are many methods of remunerative labor of mere intellectual character that are available only in a free community. In fact, there is scarcely a department of industry or power, which the history and present state of our country do not show to be circumscribed and depreciated by the presence of slavery. The intellectual, literary and industrial, as well as the bodily powers of man become less available for individual and special prosperity. Every man, therefore, who is not himself a slave-holder, is interested for himself, his children, his relatives and friends in the exclusion of

[illegible] any power at all against the object of his hatred or oppression, except it be given him from above. "Vengeance is mine saith the Lord, I will repay." And therefore we have no right to ask the judgments of the world to come, their judgment and recompense, unlike that of individuals, can take place only in this world. The question which we ought to ask ourselves, therefore, is, Wherefore hath the Lord dealt thus with His servants?" Many are the national offences. But there is ever a correspondence between the offence and its punishment. And we are to search out the sins and errors for which this special visitation is sent.

Doubtless, one sin for which we are suffering is the base spirit of truckling and pandering to sectional interests and prejudices, which has for so many years characterized the prime movers of our political machinery. Politics have been a mere trade, conducted without honesty or principle, for selfish aggrandizement. Vainly do we look for patriotism in the wire-working of our political parties. The whole government is administered upon the principle of the spoils of the victors. There has been no prejudice so opposed to the spirit of our institutions, no sectional interest so degrading, that political leaders, low and high, were not willing to sell themselves to it for votes. There has been a combination of the most incongruous content, unprincipled and corrupt to be entered into for the sake of office and public monty. In particular, the leading political parties have for years been conducted in rivalry of subservience to the interests of slavery. The interests of the north have been disregarded and sacrificed in disgraceful underbidding for the slave-holding vote. There was no deep so low for one party to descend into, that some "lower deep still opening wide" was not discovered by the other. For more than a generation has this system of self-abasement been going on. No wonder that those who have been the objects of this solicitation should have been educated into the idea that the whole government of the country should be conducted for the benefit of slavery. If our unhappy country is now suffering from Southern violence, it has been brought on us by that long and increasing selfabasement of Northern politicians. Especially is this the case with our present agitations. A new scene of commotion had been settled by new concessions, to which for the sake of peace, all parties had assented. The whole land was at rest and quiet. Slavery was not demanding nothing more, and its opponents had made up their minds to acquiesce in the settlement, when, for pure party purposes and for personal aggrandizement, the time-honored barrier of freedom was overthrown as a new field for slavery, and the land sacrificed the domain of the nation for the slaveholding vote. Let the authors of the iniquity be nameless here, as they deserve to be in the annals of the Republic. Insane and unprincipled ambition in the rearers of all the agitation and turmoil and bloodshed which has been rending the land asunder. The whole people have witnessed so tamely the successive betrayals of their interests, and voted so docilely for the men who betrayed them, that hope had been conceived of their unlimited submission. The sectional jealousies which it has stirred up anew, and the attempt to secure, by violence, what slavery understood to be offered it by the newness, have aroused indignance, and the providential punishment of the nation for the iniquity which it sanctioned and encouraged.

Another political sin for which the nation is thus suffering, is the neglect of political duty by respectable citizens. We have boasted of our civil and political rights; but we have been sadly unmindful of our political duties. How large a proportion of the most respectable and influential of our citizens have wholly abstained from the nomination and election of our rulers. The whole business of nominations has been given up to caucuses, chiefly composed of the ambitious and the vile. Assemblies in which no respectable person could appear but through the candidacy of their own or for inferior offices, and conventions of interested men have long wrangled out the nomination to higher posts of those to whose election they would pin their own hopes of office to be acquired or retained. All honesty and all patriotism have been disappeared from our political system. Politics have become a trade so low that few respectable men dare touch it. Not an election can be carried without money, and bargaining and intrigue. And in consequence not a bill can be carried through our national legislature without bribes. Yet orderly and respectable citizens see these iniquities without troubling themselves for their correction. Absorbed in their own business and comforts, they leave the rule of the country they care not to whom. And yet they boast of their political rights. But God has given no right without obligation or use. The right of self-government involves the duty of self-government, the duty of selecting and electing the rulers of our people. This sacred duty, due to our ourselves, mankind and God, has been wofully neglected, and, therefore, God has turned our rights into our punishment, and chastised the land with misrule and evil war.

Kindred and consequential to these has been another sin—the entire divorce of the whole system of politics from the fear of God. If respectable men, when they kept aloof from the selection of candidates for office, also threw away their allegiance to party, the evil would be less. But, by a strange confusion of moral sense, the obligation to party is made unquestionable and supreme. No matter what may be the character of its agents—no matter what may be the evil principles or illegitimate measures incorporated in its action, how many good men there are for whom the single consideration, that it is the action of their own party, is enough. They ask no questions, listen to no argument, recognize no higher authority. How few Christian men ever think of taking counsel of God in questions of public affairs, and giving religion the control of their politics. How few citizens recognize their responsibility to God for their political influence. How few men of principle bring their political conduct to the same test as their ordinary intercourse. Now, let it be remembered, that the ultimate responsibility of every measure rests with the people, and in this matter, as in all others, each one must answer for himself. Caucuses of the idle and dissolute may nominate whom they please, leaders of political parties may venture on what iniquities they will, but to the people belongs the responsibility of their adoption. Without the sanction of the people they sink into the obscurity which they deserve. It is on this principle that God is dealing with us as a people. The American people have been characterized by a blind and unscrupulous adherence to party—the political morality of our country has become a byword and a hissing—the whole people, by negligence or party-spirit, have become partakers in the guilt of actions which, if they had not been in politics, would be a loathing to the moral sense of the community. And, therefore, God has punished the nation with the legitimate results of their own misconduct.

For these national offences God has justly brought upon us disgrace and suffering, and a discord which threatens the direst disasters in the future.

IV. But let us inquire, fourthly, into the *providential design* of these afflictions. What lesson are they sent to teach, wherefore, the cure? Why have the truckling subserviency of Northern politicians and the arrogant aggressions of the slave power been allowed to proceed so far unchecked, and to bring forth such disastrous fruits? Is it not to bring back the public mind to the views of slavery which were entertained at the formation of our government, and so to open anew the way for its amelioration and ultimate removal? A great change has come over the spirit of sentiment in regard to slavery within the last twenty-five or thirty years. Previous to that time it found its apologists neither North nor South. It was lamented and deplored on every hand as a necessary evil. The most that could be said in regard to it was that living men were not responsible for its introduction, and that it was not yet safe to attempt its abrogation. All preferred to look for-

ed into the willful sin of the present generation. The original sin of slavery is fast becoming, through corrupt politicians, the new-will crime of the American people. This presents the matter in a very different aspect before God and the civilized world. Whatever may be said in the way of temporary extenuation, slavery and human right, slavery and the Christian law of love are in irreconcilable opposition. To do the best we can with an inherited evil, until Providence enables us to put it away, may receive blessing from the Lord. But because of the accidental advantages to resolve on its perpetuance and extension, will surely receive his curse, and bring ruin to our country. So gradually has the change of temper and purpose been introduced, that, as a nation, we were hardly aware of the sin in which we were becoming ensnared. But the recent events have given such a shock to the spirit of freedom as to arouse the nation to perceive the gulf before us. May it be made the means of a recoil of public sentiment which shall put the system of human bondage back where it was at the formation of our government. May this demonstration of its spirit and tendency prevent all tampering with it in future. Then will the wrath of man turn to the praise Him; and then, doubtless, the remainder of wrath will He restrain.

V. It now remains that we should consider the duties of the present crisis. The time will not allow more than a brief consideration of two.

1. The first duty of the crisis is a right public sentiment. Ours is a government of opinion. To public opinion every party and every coalition is compelled to bow. It is mightier than bayonets. The only difficulty is in bringing the national mind to a decision. There is freer circulation of news in this country than in any other, and yet there is surprising ignorance and uncertainty of what is doing in the country. Many of our countrymen have no adequate idea of what has occurred in Kansas. They know that there has been trouble and fighting, but their information is most partial and incorrect. Very few of the political journals have attempted to give a faithful array of facts. They have been advocates and not witnesses, catching up events for special pleading for party effect, instead of relating the whole truth before the tribunal of the people. Now let every person seek to inform himself on his neighbors and facts as they are. Put the facts before the people. Let them know the outrages which have been committed. Let them understand the spirit which has actuated them, and the end at which they aim. Let them be taught to view the facts and principles of the present crisis, irrespective of party affinities. And who can doubt that the American people will condemn this imbuing of hands in brothers' blood, and transferring to the assailant in questions of right; rebuke the aggressor, and spread the mighty shield of public sympathy and favor over the persecuted. This cause is to be tried, not by violence, but at the bar of public opinion. And whenever an intelligent decision on full and impartial testimony shall be given by the tribunal, all the agitators will be powerless. Violent men, on all sides, may threaten what they please. They might as well threaten the Pacific Ocean as the resolved judgment and conscience of the nation. Our first duty is, therefore, to enlighten the public mind. Make the daily journals feel that it is their interest to spread all the facts and the testimony of all sides before their readers. Make use of the mail for distribution of documents to your acquaintance. Organize a system of political colportage, which shall leave tracts at every man's door, and through the crowds at the markets and places of resort, everywhere on the wings of the wind. This is the true system of republican government, and the true way to correct a public evil.

2. A second duty of the crisis is the pecuniary relief of the sufferers in Kansas. The operations of husbandry have been broken up by ruthless invaders. There will be no crops to nourish the inhabitants. Every department of trade and labor has been so paralyzed by fear and violence that industrious men are without the means of livelihood. Behind all the other enemies of Kansas stalks famine, threatening to complete the extermination. Families are compelled to leave their homes and flee for bread. Families which, insatiable robbery has plundered hundreds of everything that could be carried off. Horses, wagons, oxen, cows, sheep, provisions, clothing—money by force or by the fear of it. Right by roving marauders. The suffering inhabitants must return penniless to their former homes, or they must starve on the spot amidst their own fertile but desolated fields. Send them the relief which they need. Cheer their disconsolate spirits by the knowledge that there are thousands of their countrymen who sympathize with their misfortunes and condemn their wrongs. Give them food to eat and raiment to wear. Provide them with tools in the wilderness, and bid them remain and put their trust in the God of forces. The agencies of collection and distribution are already organized. Our brethren in Missouri have already begun to pour in their benefactions. Let the city of brotherly love and liberty-loving Penn emulate their example.

3. The third duty of the crisis is the reinforcement of the pioneers in Kansas with free-soil settlers. The organic law of the territory has guaranteed to its actual settlers the right of determining their own institutions. The American people will see that that right is not defeated by force or fraud. The soil was once consecrated unto freedom. It is yet pledged to freedom, if free men have the enterprise to settle it. If four to one is not a sufficient majority to secure the pledged result, then five to one. If 20,000 will not make it free, then pour in 100,000. The law of majorities is to settle it. Let it be so large that force and fraud will be unavailing. Even armed marauders will have to yield to public opinion, let its expression in the multiplication of liberty-loving settlers be overwhelming. Send men who are industrious and will work; men who are intelligent and know their rights; bold, and will defend them. And especially send men who are peaceable, who love law and order in its true sense, and have property dependent on its preservation; whose hands love the implements of labor, but who will not hesitate to take down the implements of war to repel the invaders of their households. Send them with their flocks and their herds, with their wives and their little ones, with their sawmills and their school-masters and their ministers, and let them be able to say that their land flows with milk and honey, and the God who guided Israel will give them an inheritance. The question must be decided not by the rifle and the bowie knife, but by the ballot-box and the pamphleteers. Therefore, appeal to no warlike feeling to send counter bands of ruffians for counter outrage, but send settlers of the soil, strong in the conviction of right and resolute in the determination to maintain it.

4. The fourth duty of the crisis is the independent and conscientious use of the ballot-box. Let the fear of God and the love of man bring party predilections to an honest argument at the bar of conscience, and then vote as they think. But the country will live. Party will die, but we shall live to answer at a higher tribunal respecting a freeman's privilege and a freeman's duty. We are the sovereigns of the republic. We are to decide the issues of opinion and the choice of rulers for ourselves. It matters not what interested and designing men on the one side or on the other may agree upon for selfish ends; it is ours to review and decide the question ourselves, and to act for the good of the country. And it is God's to bring us and them into judgment, and to give sentence on our actions according to truth.

5. And finally and chiefly, the crisis calls us to general humiliation and prayer before God. The Lord's hand is to be seen in our afflictions as well as man's. Vainly would the enemies of the public peace have plotted mischief, if the Lord had not given them power to bring it to pass in punishment of our sins. And vainly shall we endeavor to escape the punishment, unless we humble ourselves before Him who has inflicted it. Many and great have been our public and individual sins against the Lord has been provoked every day by ingratitude, irreligion and crime. In our prosperity we have forgotten Him who gave us our goodly heritage. We have paid [illegible]

the sins of [illegible] in them. Let them plead singly and unitedly with God for His overruling Providence in protection of our country. Let them pray daily and earnestly for their rulers and for all in authority. Let them pray for the defeat of iniquity, and the suppression of violence, and the protection of the depressed. Let them pray for the right guidance of the popular mind in the issues before it. Let us all remember that promotion cometh not from the North or from the West, nor yet from the South, but God is the Judge; He putteth down one, and raiseth up another, and beseech his intervention. Let us beseech Him to ameliorate sectional animosities, and to turn the hearts of the people like rivers of water to the common good. And the God that maketh her to dwell in our land, and the God that maketh men to be of one mind in an house will restore peace to our distracted country, and establish our liberties on an impregnable foundation.

Resolutions of the Epiphany Vestry.

We understand that the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted at a special meeting of the Vestry of the Church of the Epiphany, held on Monday evening:

Resolved, That the members of the Vestry have learned with great sincerity regret that the Rector of this Church has deemed it his duty to select the Lord's day, and the public pulpit of this Church, for the utterance of sectional politics, and while desiring to entertain and express nothing inconsistent with the highest respect for the sacredness of the pulpit and important an office, they feel it a solemn obligation to declare their disapprobation of the substitution of such themes for the preaching of Jesus Christ and Him crucified as the hope of a ruined world.

Resolved, That we most respectfully, but firmly protest against a repetition of such like Sermons as that preached on the evening of Sunday, the 29th instant.

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to communicate to the Rector a copy of the foregoing resolutions.

National Congress. On that day more than one thousand persons from an adjoining State invaded the Territory, drove judges and legal voters from the polls, and by fraudulent ballots elected a man of their own. On the 30th of March, 1855, the inhabitants of Kansas proceeded to elect their Territorial Legislature. More than four thousand armed men from the same State again invaded the Territory, took possession of the polls and elected their own candidates, some of them residents of their own State. The recent investigation of the Congressional Committee have proved that of five thousand five hundred votes cast on that day less than one thousand were of actual residents of the Territory. Even if this had enough to see a Legislature imposed on them by force and fraud. But what sort of laws did they pass? Hear, and ask yourselves whether we live in the 19th century, and in a free and Christian republic. They re-enacted in a mass all the slave laws of Missouri, merely adding that wherever the word "State" occurs in them it shall be construed to mean "Territory." They made the non-admission of the right to hold slaves in the Territory a qualification for sitting as Juror. They enacted that to say that persons have not a right to hold slaves in that Territory should be punished with two years' imprisonment at hard labor. That writing, printing or circulating any thing against slavery should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That the harboring of fugitive slaves should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That assisting slaves to escape should be punished with death. That assisting slaves to escape from any Territory, and take refuge in that Territory, should be punished with death. That the printing or circulation of publications calculated to incite slaves to insurrection, should be punished with death. To secure these laws perpetuity, they enacted that all who do not swear to support the Fugitive Slave Law should be disqualified as voters, but that any one might vote who will pay a $1.00, and swear to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law and the Nebraska bill. And, still further to guard against all contingencies, they appointed non-residents to town and county offices for six years ahead.

Thus, by one stroke of combined fraud and force, the great question of social rights, whose settlement had been pledged to the citizens themselves, were decided by an invading army, whose agents established slavery against the wishes of the people, and in defiance of their will. To oppose it, open the polls to all pro-slavery non-residents, and shut up all who speak, write, print or circulate anything against it with long imprisonment at hard labor. What has become of the rights of American citizens? Talk of obedience to law! Would you, would any American, after such laws so imposed? Where were the spirit of our Revolutionary fathers if such oppression could be submitted to? Where is our republican government if such rights can be taken away?

But what was done in opposition? There was no armed resistance, no collision with assumed authority. The people of Kansas simply denied the legality of the enactments and the obligation of obedience, and the infliction of penalties; appealed through the press to the sympathies of a State organization, and applied to Congress for relief. That relief has not been yet afforded. And what has since transpired? A third, fourth and fifth armed invasion has taken place, each with increased aggravation of outrage. Pillage and plunder and murder have increased from day to day. Large bodies of armed men from distant and adjoining States are in the Territory, with no attempt at becoming settlers, without means of honest support, living by the pillage of those who differ from themselves in sentiment, and perpetrating cruelties unknown even in war. Federal troops have been used to preserve all attempts at resistance, and moved about so as to expose unprotected towns to violence. A fourfold process of oppression has been used to ruin and drive out those whose only crime is the assertion of rights guaranteed them by the very law which invited them to Kansas. First, innumerable indictments for imaginary crimes are made out by a corrupt judiciary against all free State men of influence, while the worst of crimes by men of opposite politics have gone unnoticed. Secondly, armed hordes of ruffians, under pretence of maintaining "law and order," patrol the country, committing all the outrages which we have described. Thirdly, the U. S. dragoons are made use of by the local authorities to suppress any risings for self-defence, and kept out of the way when attacks are to be made. And lastly, "Vigilance Committees" are appointed to drive off, with threats of Lynch law, all those who by the other methods have not been subdued. All this has been going on for months. And recent accounts announce that the sufferers themselves are driven by desperation to armed defence, and the hostile bands are now watching each other, and meeting in deadly conflict. Civil war is begun. And where is it to end, unless it can be suppressed at once in the place of its birth? Let it not be said that we have no interest in this matter. Distant and feeble as she may be, Kansas is a member of our body politic. The same life-blood which nourishes our own community flows through her. And the wounds and anguish which she endures are felt to the remotest parts of the Republic. Ties of friendship and of blood unite her suffering children to all sections of our country. And were these wanting, a common nationality binds them in one, body to us all, and the great heart of humanity enfolds them in its sympathies. Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it.

At the same time that these events have been transpiring, another scene has been enacted which has inflicted a still deeper wound on the honor and peace of our country. A member of the Senate of the United States, a man honored equally for his virtues and his attainments, has been stricken down and beaten by a member of Congress till his blood stained the floor of the Senate, for words spoken in debate. It matters not what were the words which gave offence, though it may well be supposed that language unchallenged at the time by a body whose dignity would seem in addition to require that not transgress the ordinary limits of parliamentary debate. It matters not what were the words, nor who the speaker, nor who the assailant. It is this a republic in a war with itself? Or when and the principle is one of the pillars of our free institutions. Without the right of freedom of speech, neither our liberties nor our religion are secure. If the bludgeon is to be the ruling power in our country, where will be our boasted freedom and national Christianity? If the flag of our country and the symbols of her liberty cannot protect the members of her government within the walls of her Capitol, in the discharge of their official duty, what is to become of our republic? With the freedom of the press overthrown in Kansas, and the freedom of the Senate assailed in Washington, how long will the freedom of the pulpit shall be also at the mercy of a popular majority or of a reckless and excitable bully? There is not a legislature, a judiciary and their own statute and basis is degenerated by the influence of slavery, that all these wrongs grow out of a determination to extend the area of slavery, and to secure the ascendency of slaveholding interests with pillage and murder? Simply that they may extend over it the blight of slavery. They are men illegally arrested, robbed, driven from home, hunted like wolves, or driven before the lash, simply because they desire to save their home and family from the blight of slavery. Why are they denied the protection of a government whose pride it is to protect its citizens to the farthest verge of the habitable globe? Merely because they will not submit to force and fraud to be cursed with slavery. Why was Sumner assailed and beaten in the Senate? Merely because he spoke too pointedly and plainly for their deference from the unmerited curse of slavery. The blow was the insolent of all these outrages is the desire to extend slavery. The sole crime of the sufferers is the invincible desire to be free. The blood of a Senator has stained the floor of the Senate chamber, the blood of her citizens has been poured out like water on the virgin soil of Kansas, merely that it may be made a land of bondage. The whole South is aroused and pours forth invading armies, and the whole influence and power of the Federal Government is employed to aid them, merely because the actual residents of Kansas, in the exercise of the rights guaranteed them by the law which opened the territory to settlers, are largely determined to be free. Surely it is high time for the people of the free States to let it remain. Let it be apologized for and mitigated as it can. I am not one of those who would attack the South for the inheritance of perplexity and shame which Northern cupidity and fraud have shared in introducing. Let them mourn over the embarrassments and evils of their lot, and strive to discharge their duty as Christian masters to the people they have found dependent and in servitude. Thus out of the very birthright of misfortune they may work out a blessing to the subject race, and a mission of mercy for themselves. To apologize for an involuntary evil is one thing. To strive to extend and perpetuate it is another. We regard the former with the truest charity. But as freemen and Christians, what must we say of the latter?

But why are Southern men so madly resolved that Kansas shall be a slave open to slavery? Is it because they desire themselves to be residents of the country? Very few of them have any such idea. But it will give them, first, an increase of political power. It will wheelanother State into the Union, and give them three more Senatorial votes for that control of the Government which the far swifter progress of the free States has taken from them in the House of Representatives. And they have relied with confidence on the political power given by slavery to the few. Three-fifths of all the slaves are counted in with the whites as the basis of representation, largely increasing the political importance of the white person as to the South as the white person at the North. Of the whites, large numbers are either disfranchised by a property qualification, or are completely under the control of their wealthier neighbors. Political honors and influence are confined to a few. And the whole sixteen slaveholding States there are less than 100,000 persons owning more than ten slaves each. How many of these are desirous of deserting their plantations and emigrating to Kansas? But these are the persons who control the policy of sixteen States, and by their influence at home and at the North have controlled the policy and monopolized the honors of the General Government. Is it to be wondered that they should make such desperate efforts to extend so disproportionate an importance? And as it grows so it will grow until this whole land of liberty shall be made tributary to the perpetuation of human bondage.

The establishment of slavery in Kansas will give them, secondly, a new market for slaves. The pecuniary value of slavery arises not from the productiveness of slave labor. It costs much and produces little, wastes largely and wears out the soil it cultivates. Left to itself, it impoverishes, in the long run, both land and owner, and would gradually work out its own extermination. But slave-breeding compensates for the expensiveness of slave-labor. To breed human beings for sale, to rear immortal souls that they may be driven like cattle to the market, and sold to the highest bidder, is a profitable business. Families and estates are maintained by such breeding and sale, often of blood relations. To keep up the price of the market must be extended. New States and Territories must open their virgin soil thrown open to slavery, and as their lands also become impoverished, join the slave-breeding States in the ceaseless cry of the horse-leech and her daughters. Kansas is now invaded and outraged merely that it may be made a land of bondage, and that for the increase of a political power inimical to our free institutions, and a stimulus to the breeding of human beings for sale.

And what is the province under which these evil deeds are covered up, and the acquiescence of the country in them is sought? It is the equal right of men of all sections of the country to go with their property into the national territories. It is said that to deny the right of slaveholders to carry their property there, is to destroy the equality of our citizens. As this is the grand plea, which is designed to, and to some extent does, impose on the public mind to the exclusion of all these enormities, it is essential that it should be examined. Let it be observed then, in the first place, that the chained right of carrying one's *declared property* with him is removal,—is absurdity. How much property is there in nature so local that it cannot be removed. Who could remove his farm, or his fishery, or his water-power? Yet who ever thought of declaiming against the injustice of Nature and Providence, because he could not take them to Kansas? The proceeds of their sale he can take. And has anybody ever denied to the slaveholder the right to take to Kansas the proceeds of the sale of his slaves, as well as to transfer by sale any of his plantation? Secondly, the right of property in human beings is not a natural right, but merely the result of local laws. Outside the jurisdiction of those laws, the right does not exist. There are States where slaveries are allowed by law. A lottery interest is the property of its holder. Because lotteries are proscribed in Kansas or elsewhere, has the lottery-holder cause to complain of the overthrow of his constitutional rights? Shall Kansas be invaded and drenched in blood because its inhabitants will not pass the local laws which in other States have made lotteries property? With as much reason as because they will not establish property in human flesh and blood. The property which results from local laws can be sold where those local laws have made it valuable, and its proceeds taken wherever the owner may please. And is the Union to be shaken, a peaceful Territory made the scene of war, and industrious citizens robbed and murdered, because some hotheaded individual has resolved that instead of taking his thousand dollars to Kansas in gold and silver, he will take it in the shape of a lottery office or a brother man? Let the flimsy pretext be understood. If the right of holding human beings as property results merely from local law, it is limited by the law which created it. If it be a natural right it is as indefeasible in Pennsylvania as it is in Kansas. And this will be the final issue.

But thirdly, it seems to be entirely forgotten that there are rights on the other side. It is a fundamental principle in law that one man must not, by his property, injure that of his neighbor. The welfare of the one must give way to the welfare of the many. Now if one man has property in a fellow, there are thousands of others who have more undoubted property in themselves. If one claims the right of making the bodily labor of his fellow subserve his own comfort and advantage, there are thousands of others who claim a divine and indefeasible right to make their own good sense available to their own support and advancement. And these two rights conflict. For slave-labor and free-labor are opposed to each other. Slavery degrades free labor. It makes it a mark of disgrace and shame. It keeps it poor and ignorant, and so prevents the development of the resources of the country. It is the great antagonist power to free labor. And as the one or the other predominates, the character of the institutions and of the whole policy of the country is affected. Now the rights which God himself has given to him and those are arrayed against the merely local and transferrable, not to say disputable, right of the slaveholder. The suffering in Kansas, the suffering of Sumner, is not in resistance of human rights, but in submission to them. It is the endurance of tyranny in *defence* of the rights of the many against the aggression of a few. And the question is not whether there shall be maintained the rights of a few thousand slaveholders, but whether shall be maintained the rights of millions of freemen.

III. But, thirdly, let us not lose sight of the divine agency in all the troubles which have come upon us. We are taught in the Holy Scriptures that the providence of God overrules the actions of men no less than the operations of nature. Every human agent is to the Lord only as the saw in the hand of him that shaketh it. No man can have any power at all against the object of his fixed determination, except it be given him from above. "Man proposes, but God disposes." And therefore when there is evil in a city or a country, we are to look above the human instruments, and humble ourselves under the hand of God, and inquire why He hath dealt so grievously with us. Especially is this the case in public calamities. For as bodies public have no existence in the world to come, their judgments and recompenses, unlike that of individuals, can take place only in this world. The question which we ought to ask ourselves, therefore, is, "Wherefore hath the Lord dealt thus with His servants?" Many are our national sins. But there is ever a close correspondence between the offence and its punishment. And we are to search out the sins and errors for which this special visitation has been sent.

Doubtless, one sin for which we are suffering is the base spirit of truckling and pandering to sectional interests and prejudices, which has for so many years characterized the prime movers of our political machinery. Politics have been a mere trade, conducted without honesty or principle for selfish aggrandizement. Vanity has been made a patriotism in the wire-working of our political parties. The whole government is administered upon the principle of the division of the spoils. There has been no prejudice so opposed to the spirit of our institutions, no atrocity so great in the estimating, that political leaders, low and high, were not willing to sell themselves to it for votes. There has been no combination of parties too inconsistent, unprincipled and corrupt, to be entered into for the sake of offices and public money. In particular, the leading political parties have for years been conducted in rivalry of subservience to the interests of slavery. The interests of the nation have been disregarded and sacrificed in the unhappy but unbridling for the slave-holding vote. There was no deep so low for one party to descend into, that some "lower deep still opening wide" was not discovered by the other. For more than a generation has this system of self-debasement been going on. No wonder that those who have been the objects of this solicitation should have been educated into the idea that the whole government of the country should be conducted for the benefit of slavery. And in our unhappy day, after suffering from Southern violence, it has been brought on us by that long and increasing self-assumption of Northern politicians. Especially is this the case with our present legislature. A new scene of commotion had been retilled by new concessions, to which for the sake of peace, all parties had assented. The whole land was at rest and quiet. Slavery was demanding nothing more, and it appeared had made up its mind to acquiesce in the settlement, when, for pure party purposes and for personal aggrandizement, the time-honored barrier of freedom was overthrown as a mere bid in the auction which has sacrificed the domain of nations for the slave-holding vote. Let the authors of the iniquity be nameless here, as they deserve to be in the annals of the Republic. Insane and unprincipled ambition is the source of all the agitation and turmoil and bloodshed which has been rending the land asunder. The whole people have witnessed so tamely the successive betrayals of their interests, and voted so docilely on the issues they presented, that hope had been conceived of their quiescence and submission. The sectional jealousies which it has stirred up anew, and the attempt to secure, by violence, what slavery understood to be offered it by the measure, is its natural consequence, and the providential punishment of the nation for the iniquity which it sanctioned and encouraged.

Another political sin for which the nation is thus suffering, is the neglect of political duty by respectable citizens. We have boasted much of our political rights; but we have been sadly unmindful of our political duties. How large a proportion of the most respectable and influential of our citizens have wholly abstained from the nomination and election of our rulers. The whole business of nominations has been given up to the caucuses, chiefly composed of the ambitious and the vile. Assemblies in which no respectable person could appear have brought out candidates of their own for inferior offices, and conventions of interested men have long wrangled out the nomination to higher posts of those to whose election they could pin their own hopes of office to be acquired or retained. All honesty and all patriotism have quite disappeared from our political system. Politics have become a trade so low that few respectable men dare touch it. Not an election can be carried without money, and bargaining and rum. And in consequence no will can be carried through any national legislature without bribes. Yet orderly and respectable citizens see these iniquities without troubling themselves for their correction. Absorbed in their own business and comfort, they leave the sole of the country to those who live on them. And yet they boast of their political rights. But God has given no right without obligation of use. The right of self-government involves the duty of self-government, the duty of selecting and electing the rulers of our people. The sacred duty, due to our ourselves, mankind and God, has been wofully neglected, and therefore, God has turned our neglect into our punishment, and chastised the land with mildew and drought.

Kindred and consequential to these has been another sin—the entire divorce of the whole system of politics from the fear of God, the respectable men, when they kept aloof from the selection of candidates for office, also threw away their allegiance to party, the evil would be less. But, by a strange confusion of moral terms, the obligation to party is made unconditional and supreme, no matter what may be the character of its agents—no matter what may be the evil principles or iniquitous measures incorporated in its action, how many good men there are for whom the party is an idolatration, that it is the action of their own party, is enough. They ask no questions, listen to no argument, recognize no higher authority. How few Christian men ever think of taking counsel of God in questions of public affairs, and giving religion the control of their politics. How few citizens recognize their responsibility to God for their political influence. How few men of principle bring their political conduct to the same tests as their ordinary intercourse. Now, let it be remembered, that the ultimate responsibility of every measure rests with the people, and in this matter, as in all others, each one must answer for his self. Caucuses of the idle and disreputable may nominate whom they please, leaders of political parties may venture on what iniquities they will, but to the people belongs the responsibility of their adoption. Without the sanction of the people they sink into the obscurity which they deserve. It is on this principle that God is dealing with us as a people. The American people have been characterized by a blind and unscrupulous adherence to party—the political morality of our country has become a byword and a hissing—the whole people, by negligence or party-spirit, have become partakers in the guilt of actions which, if they had not been in politics, would be a loathing to the moral sense of the community. And, therefore, God has punished us by suffering their own actions to become the scourge of their own backs, and their own measures to be overwhelmed by the consequences.

Another sin for which the nation is thus suffering, is that which God himself has given to him and those arrayed against the merely local and transferrable, not to say disputable, right of the slaveholder. The suffering in Kansas, the suffering of Sumner, is not in resistance of human rights, but in submission to them. It is the endurance of tyranny in *defence* of the rights of the many against the aggression of a few. And the question is not whether there shall be maintained the rights of a few thousand slaveholders, but whether shall be maintained the rights of millions of freemen.

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Another sin for which the nation is thus suffering, is that which God himself has given to him and those arrayed against the merely local and transferrable, not to say disputable, right of the slaveholder. The suffering in Kansas, the suffering of Sumner, is not in resistance of human rights, but in submission to them. It is the endurance of tyranny in *defence* of the rights of the many against the aggression of a few. And the question is not whether there shall be maintained the rights of a few thousand slaveholders, but whether shall be maintained the rights of millions of freemen.

III. But, thirdly, let us not lose sight of the divine agency in all the troubles which have come upon us. We are taught in the Holy Scriptures that the providence of God overrules the actions of men no less than the operations of nature. Every human agent is to the Lord only as the saw in the hand of him that shaketh it. No man can have any power at all against the object of his fixed determination, except it be given him from above. "Man proposes, but God disposes." And therefore when there is evil in a city or a country, we are to look above the human instruments, and humble ourselves under the hand of God, and inquire why He hath dealt so grievously with us. Especially is this the case in public calamities. For as bodies public have no existence in the world to come, their judgments and recompenses, unlike that of individuals, can take place only in this world. The question which we ought to ask ourselves, therefore, is, "Wherefore hath the Lord dealt thus with His servants?" Many are our national sins. But there is ever a close correspondence between the offence and its punishment. And we are to search out the sins and errors for which this special visitation has been sent.

Doubtless, one sin for which we are suffering is the base spirit of truckling and pandering to sectional interests and prejudices, which has for so many years characterized the prime movers of our political machinery. Politics have been a mere trade, conducted without honesty or principle for selfish aggrandizement. Vanity has been made a patriotism in the wire-working of our political parties. The whole government is administered upon the principle of the division of the spoils. There has been no prejudice so opposed to the spirit of our institutions, no atrocity so great in the estimating, that political leaders, low and high, were not willing to sell themselves to it for votes. There has been no combination of parties too inconsistent, unprincipled and corrupt, to be entered into for the sake of offices and public money. In particular, the leading political parties have for years been conducted in rivalry of subservience to the interests of slavery. The interests of the nation have been disregarded and sacrificed in the unhappy but unbridling for the slave-holding vote. There was no deep so low for one party to descend into, that some "lower deep still opening wide" was not discovered by the other. For more than a generation has this system of self-debasement been going on. No wonder that those who have been the objects of this solicitation should have been educated into the idea that the whole government of the country should be conducted for the benefit of slavery. And in our unhappy day, after suffering from Southern violence, it has been brought on us by that long and increasing self-assumption of Northern politicians. Especially is this the case with our present legislature. A new scene of commotion had been retilled by new concessions, to which for the sake of peace, all parties had assented. The whole land was at rest and quiet. Slavery was demanding nothing more, and it appeared had made up its mind to acquiesce in the settlement, when, for pure party purposes and for personal aggrandizement, the time-honored barrier of freedom was overthrown as a mere bid in the auction which has sacrificed the domain of nations for the slave-holding vote. Let the authors of the iniquity be nameless here, as they deserve to be in the annals of the Republic. Insane and unprincipled ambition is the source of all the agitation and turmoil and bloodshed which has been rending the land asunder. The whole people have witnessed so tamely the successive betrayals of their interests, and voted so docilely on the issues they presented, that hope had been conceived of their quiescence and submission. The sectional jealousies which it has stirred up anew, and the attempt to secure, by violence, what slavery understood to be offered it by the measure, is its natural consequence, and the providential punishment of the nation for the iniquity which it sanctioned and encouraged.

Another political sin for which the nation is thus suffering, is the neglect of political duty by respectable citizens. We have boasted much of our political rights; but we have been sadly unmindful of our political duties. How large a proportion of the most respectable and influential of our citizens have wholly abstained from the nomination and election of our rulers. The whole business of nominations has been given up to the caucuses, chiefly composed of the ambitious and the vile. Assemblies in which no respectable person could appear have brought out candidates of their own for inferior offices, and conventions of interested men have long wrangled out the nomination to higher posts of those to whose election they could pin their own hopes of office to be acquired or retained. All honesty and all patriotism have quite disappeared from our political system. Politics have become a trade so low that few respectable men dare touch it. Not an election can be carried without money, and bargaining and rum. And in consequence no will can be carried through any national legislature without bribes. Yet orderly and respectable citizens see these iniquities without troubling themselves for their correction. Absorbed in their own business and comfort, they leave the sole of the country in the hands of those who live on them. And yet they boast of their political rights. But God has given no right without obligation of use. The right of self-government involves the duty of self-government, the duty of selecting and electing the rulers of our people. This sacred duty, due to our ourselves, mankind and God, has been wofully neglected, and therefore, God has turned our neglect into our punishment, and chastised the land with mildew and drought.

Kindred and consequential to these has been another sin—the entire divorce of the whole system of politics from the fear of God. If respectable men, when they kept aloof from the selection of candidates for office, also threw away their allegiance to party, the evil would be less. But, by a strange confusion of moral terms, the obligation to party is made unconditional and supreme, no matter what may be the character of its agents—no matter what may be the evil principles or iniquitous measures incorporated in its action, how many good men there are for whom the party is an idolatration, that it is the action of their own party, is enough. They ask no questions, listen to no argument, recognize no higher authority. How few Christian men ever think of taking counsel of God in questions of public affairs, and giving religion the control of their politics. How few citizens recognize their responsibility to God for their political influence. How few men of principle bring their political conduct to the same tests as their ordinary intercourse. Now, let it be remembered, that the ultimate responsibility of every measure rests with the people, and in this matter, as in all others, each one must answer for his self. Caucuses of the idle and disreputable may nominate whom they please, leaders of political parties may venture on what iniquities they will, but to the people belongs the responsibility of their adoption. Without the sanction of the people they sink into the obscurity which they deserve. It is on this principle that God is dealing with us as a people. The American people have been characterized by a blind and unscrupulous adherence to party—the political morality of our country has become a byword and a hissing—the whole people, by negligence or party-spirit, have become partakers in the guilt of actions which, if they had not been in politics, would be a loathing to the moral sense of the community. And, therefore, God has punished us by suffering their own actions to become the scourge of their own backs, and their own measures to be overwhelmed by the consequences.

Resolutions of the Epiphany Vestry.

We understand that the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted at a special meeting of the Vestry of the Church of the Epiphany, held on Monday evening:

Resolved, That the members of the Vestry have learned with deep and sincere regret that the Rector of this Church has deemed it his duty to select the Lord's day, and the pulpit of this Church at the time and place for the discussion of sectional politics, and while desiring to entertain and express nothing inconsistent with the highest respect for the conscientious holding of so sacred an important an office, they feel it a solemn obligation to declare their disapprobation of the substitution of such themes for the simple preaching of Jesus Christ and Him crucified as the hope of a ruined world.

Resolved, That we most respectfully, but firmly protest against any repetition of such like Sermons as that preached on the evening of Sunday, the 29th instant.

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to communicate to the Rector a copy of the foregoing resolutions.

National Congress. On that day more than one thousand armed men from an adjoining State invaded the Territory, drove judges and legal voters from the polls, and by fraudulent ballots elected a majority of their own. On the 30th of March, 1855, the inhabitants of Kansas were to have elected their Territorial Legislature. More than four thousand armed men from the same State again invaded the Territory, took possession of the polls, and elected their own candidates, some of them residents of their own State. The recent investigations of the Congressional Committee have proved that of five thousand five hundred votes cast on that day less than one thousand were of actual residents of the Territory. Surely it was bad enough to see a Legislature imposed on them by force and fraud. But what sort of laws did they pass? Hear, and ask yourself if you ever believe in the 19th century, and in a free and Christian republic. They re-enacted in a mass all the slave laws of Missouri, merely adding that wherever the word "State" occurs in them it should be construed to mean "Territory." They made the non-admission of the right to hold slaves in the Territory a disqualification for sitting as Juror. They enacted that to say that persons have not a right to hold slaves in that Territory should be punished with two years' imprisonment at hard labor. That writing, printing or circulating any thing against slavery should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That whoever shall entice a slave should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labor. That assisting slaves to escape should be punished with *death*. That assisting slaves to escape from any Territory, and aiding them to escape wherever they should be pursued with *death*. That the printing or circulation of publications calculated to incite slaves to insurrection, should be punished with *death*. To secure these laws perpetuity, they enacted that all who do not swear to support the Fugitive Slave Law should be disqualified as voters, but that any one might vote who will pay $1.00, and swear to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law and the Nebraska bill. And, still further to insult and trample on the feelings of the people, they appointed non-residents to town and county offices for six years ahead.

Thus, by one stroke of combined fraud and force, the great question of social rights, whose settlement had been pledged to the citizens themselves, were decided by an invading army, whose agents established slavery against the wishes of a majority of the people. Any one who opposed it, open the polls to all pro-slavery non-residents, and shut up all who spoke, write, print or circulate anything against it with long imprisonment at hard labor. What has become of the rights of American citizens? Talk of obedience to law! Would you, would any American, obey such laws so imposed? Where were the spirit of our Revolutionary fathers if such oppression could be submitted to? Where is our republican government if such rights can be taken away?

But what was done in opposition? There was no armed resistance, no collision with assumed authority. The people of Kansas simply denied the legality of the enactments and the obligation of obedience, and the calling back on inherent rights, went through the preliminary steps of a State organization, and applied to Congress for relief. That relief has not been yet afforded. And what has since transpired? A third, fourth and fifth armed invasion has taken place, each with increased aggravation of circumstance. Pillage and plunder and murder have increased from day to day. Large bodies of armed men from distant and adjoining States are in the Territory, with no attempt at becoming settlers, but without any means of honest support, living by the pillage of those who differ from themselves in sentiment, and perpetrating cruelties unknown even in war. Government troops have been called out, and all attempts at resistance, and moved about so as to expose unprotected towns to violence. A fourfold process of oppression has been used to ruin and drive out those whose only crime is the claiming of rights guaranteed them by the very laws which invited them to Kansas. First, innumerable indictments for imaginary crimes are made out by a corrupt judiciary against all free State men of influence, while the worst of crimes by men of opposite politics have gone unnoticed. Secondly, armed hordes of ruffians, under pretence of maintaining "law and order," patrol the country, committing all the outrages which I have described. Thirdly, the U. S. dragoons are made use of by the local authorities to suppress any risings for self-defence, and kept out of the way when attacks are to be made. And lastly, "Vigilance Committees" are set agoing to drive off, with threats of Lynch law," all those who by the other methods have not been subdued. All this has been going on for months. And recent accounts announce that the sufferers themselves are driven by desperation to armed defence, and the hostile bands are now watching each other, and mounting in deadly conflict. Civil war is begun. And where is it to end? Unless it can be suppressed, it must end in the ruin of its birth! Let it not be said that we have no interest in this matter. Distant and feeble as she may be, Kansas is a member of our body politic. The same life-blood which nourishes our own community flows through her. And the wounds and anguish which she endures are felt to the remotest parts of the Republic. Ties of friendship and of blood unite her suffering children to all sections of our country. And now, at the time wanting, a common nationality binds them in one body to us all, and the great heart of humanity enfolds them in its sympathies. "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."

At the same time that these events have been transpiring, another scene has been enacted which has inflicted a still deeper wound on the honor and peace of our country. A member of the Senate of the United States, a man honored equally for his virtues and his attainments, has been stricken down and beaten by a member of Congress till his blood has stained the floor of the Senate, for words spoken in debate.—It matters not what were the words which gave offence, though it may well be supposed that language unchallenged at the time by a body whose majority were in opposition to the speaker, did not transgress the ordinary limits of parliamentary debate. It matters not what were the words, nor who the speaker, nor who the assailant. It was a principle which was stricken down. And the principle is one of the pillars of our free institutions. Without the right of freedom of speech neither our liberties nor our religion are secure. If the bludgeon is to be the ruling power in our country, where will be our boasted freedom and national Christianity? If the flag of our country and the symbols of her liberty cannot protect the members of her government in the very halls of her Capitol, in the discharge of their official duty, what is to become of our republic? With the freedom of the press overthrown in Kansas, and the freedom of the Senate assailed in Washington, how long before the freedom of the pulpit shall be also at the mercy of a popular majority or of a reckless and excitable bully? There is not a legislator, or an editor, or a clergyman in this country, whose right to advocate what he conscientiously believes, nor a citizen whose right to representation of his sentiments, has not been assailed in the blows which laid the eloquent Sumner senseless on the Senate chamber. But the act itself is not the ominous of evil as its endorsement. To hear it defended and eulogized throughout the whole section represented by the assassin, by public assemblies giving votes of thanks for his bloody deed, by the press almost unanimously holding it up as worthy of imitation, and by fellow-representatives who screen the offender from punishment, may well make one feel sadly apprehensive for our country. It indicates that we are becoming unworthy of our heritage, and that the sentiment of justice and right has rotted away in the foundation of government. Alas for our country, when the makers of her laws dare not speak in defence of what they deem human right, or must go armed with deadly weapons for protection in the discharge of their duty! God forbid that the ministers of religion should refuse to speak in reprobation of the evil.

II. But let us look, secondly, at the *impelling motives* of these outrages. They have all originated in a horrible desire to be free. The blood of a Senator has stained the floor of the Senate chamber, the blood of her citizens has been poured out like water on the virgin soil of Kansas, merely that it may be made a land of bondage. The whole South has been roused to pour forth invading armies, and the whole influence and power of the Federal Government are employed to aid them, merely because the actual residents of Kansas, in the exercise of the rights guaranteed them by the law which opened the territory to settlers, are largely determined that it shall be free. Ignoble contest! Where slavery is let it remain. Let it be apologized for and mitigated as it can. I am not one of those who would call it back. South for the inheritance of perplexity and shame which Northern cupidity was originally a joint agent in introducing. Let them mourn over the embarrassments and evils of their lot, and strive to discharge their duty as Christian masters to the people they have found dependent and in servitude. Thus out of their birthright of misfortune they may work out a blessing to the subject race, and a mission of amelioration to themselves. But for an involuntary evil is one thing. To strive to extend and perpetuate it is another. We may regard the former with the truest charity. But as freemen and Christians, what must we say of the latter?

But why are Southern men so madly resolved that Kansas shall be thrown open to slavery? Is it because they desire themselves to be residents of the south? Not one of them have any such idea. But it will give them, first, an increase of political power. It will wheelanother State into the phalanx, and give them two more Senatorial votes for that control of the Government which has long been exercised in the Senate. States has taken from them in the House of Representatives. Few among us have reflected on the political power given by slavery to the few. Three-fifths of all the slaves are counted in with the whites as the basis of representation largely increasing the political importance of the white person at the South over the white person at the North. Of the whites, large numbers are either slaveholders or by property qualifications are completely under the control of their wealthier neighbors. Political honors and influence are confined to a few. In the whole sixteen slaveholding States there are less than 350,000 persons owning more than ten slaves each. How many of these are desirous of deserting their plantations and emigrating to Kansas? But these are the persons who control the policy of sixteen States, and by their influence at home and at the North have controlled the policy and monopolized the honors of the General Government. Is it to be wondered that they should make such desperate efforts to extend so disproportionate an influence? And as it grows so it will grow. While the whole land of liberty shall be made tributary to the perpetuation of human bondage.

The establishment of slavery in Kansas will give them, secondly, a new market for slaves. The pecuniary value of slavery arises not from the productiveness of slave labor. It costs much and produces little, wastes largely and wears out the soil it cultivates. Left to itself, it impoverishes, in the long run, both land and owner, and would gradually work out its own extermination. But slave-breeding compensates for the expensiveness of slave-labor. To breed human beings for sale, to rear immortal souls that they may be driven like cattle to the market and sold to the highest bidder, is a work of outrage. Families and estates are maintained by such breeding and sale, often of blood relations. To keep up the price the market must be extended. New States and Territories must be added to their area, in order to slavery, as their lands also become impoverished, join the slave-breeding States in the ceaseless cry of the horse-leech and her daughters. Kansas is now invaded and outraged merely that it may be made a land of bondage, and that for the increase of a political power inimical to our free institutions, and a stimulus to the breeding of human beings for sale.

And what is the evidence under which these evil deeds are covered up, and the acquiescence of the country in them is sought? It is the equal right of men of all sections of the country to go with their property into the national territories. It is said that to deny the right of slaveholders to carry their property there, is to destroy the equality of our citizens. As this is the grand plea, which is designed to, and to some extent does, impose on the public mind as an excuse of all these enormities, it is essential that it should be examined. Let it be observed then, in the first place, that the claimed right of carrying one's *absolute property* with him on removal, is an absurdity. It might properly be there in its nature so local that it *cannot* be removed. Who could remove his farm, or his fishery, or his water-power? Yet who ever thought of declaiming against the injustice of Mount and Providence, because he could not take them to Kansas? The proceeds of their sale he can take. And has anybody ever denied to the slaveholder the right to take to Kansas the proceeds of the sale of his slaves, as well as the proceeds of the sale of his plantation? Secondly, the right of property in human beings is not a natural right, but merely the result of local laws. Outside the jurisdiction of those laws, the right does not exist. There are States where lotteries are allowed by law. A lottery interest is the property of its holder. Because lotteries are proscribed in Kansas or elsewhere, has the lottery-holder cause to complain of the overthrow of his constitutional rights? Shall Kansas be invaded and drenched in blood because its inhabitants will not pass the local laws which in other States have made lotteries property? With as much reason is it because they will not establish property in human flesh and blood. The property which results from local laws can be sold where those local laws have made it valuable, and its proceeds taken wherever any owner may please. And is the Union to be convulsed, a peaceful Territory made the scene of war, and industrious citizens robbed and murdered, because some hotheaded individual has resolved that instead of taking his thousandth to Kansas he will send it over, he will take it in the shape of a lottery office or a brother man? Let the flimsy pretext be understood. If the right of holding human beings as property results merely from local law, it is limited by the law which created it. If it be a natural right it is as indefeasible in Pennsylvania as it is in Kansas. And this will be the final issue.

But thirdly, it seems to be entirely forgotten that there are rights on the other side. It is a fundamental principle in law that one man must not, by his property, injure that of his neighbors. The welfare of the one must give way to the welfare of the many. Now if one man has property in a fellow, there are thousands of others who have an undoubted property in themselves. If one claims the right of making the bodily labor of his fellow subserve his own comfort and advantage, there are thousands of others who claim a divine and indefeasible right to make their own good arms available to their own support and advancement. And these two rights conflict. For slave-labor and free-labor are opposed to each other. Slavery degrades bodily labor. It makes a man's bodily strength and manual skill less availing for his own profit and elevation. It thus diminishes and takes away his inherent poverty in himself. It lessens the necessary reward, and shuts up the door of promotion. The question is, therefore, between the right of one man to the muscles of his neighbor and the right of thousands to the full benefit of their own muscles. It is whether one man is to leave his slave behind him, or whether a thousand white citizens are to be enslaved if they go. The rights of all our laboring classes, ten thousand to one also as to numbers, are invaded in the attempt at the violent subjugation of Kansas. Moreover, there are many methods of remunerative labor of mere intellectual character that are available only in a free community. In fact, there is scarcely a department of ingenuity or power, which the history and present state of our country do not show to be circumscribed and depreciated by the presence of slavery. The intellectual, literary and industrial resources as well as the bodily power of man become less available for individual and special prosperity. Every man, therefore, who is not himself a slave-holder, is interested for himself, his children and his relatives against the introduction of slavery into Kansas. Every man who has not a hand of him that shakes it. No man can have any power at all against the object of his hatred or oppression, except it be given him from above. "Man proposes, but God disposes." And therefore when there is a majority of a people, we are to look above the human instrumentalities, and humble ourselves under the hand of God, and inquire why He hath dealt so grievously with us. Especially is this the case in public calamities. For as a bodied politic have no existence in the world to come, their judgment and recompense, unlike that of individuals, can take place only in this world. The question which we ought to ask ourselves, therefore, is, "Why has God a controversy dealt thus with His servants?" Many are our national offences. But there is ever a correspondence between the offence and its punishment. And we are to search out the sins and errors for which this special visitation is sent.

Doubtless, one sin for which we are suffering is the base spirit of truckling and pandering to sectional interests and prejudices, which has for so many years characterized the prime movers of our political machinery. Appeals have been a mere trade conducted without honesty or principle for selfish aggrandizement. Vainly do we look for patriotism in the wire-working of our political parties. The whole government is administered upon the principle of the old Roman Empire. There has been no prejudice so opposed to the spirit of our institutions, no sectional interest so degrading, that political leaders, low and high, were not willing to sell themselves to do it. There has been no combination of parties too inconsistent, unprincipled and corrupt to be entered into for the sake of office and public money. In particular, the leading political parties for years have been connected in this way in subservience to the interests of slavery. The interests of the nation have been disregarded and sacrificed in disgraceful underbidding for the slave-holding vote. There was no deep to which one party to the bargain knew that some "lower deep still opening wide" was not discovered by the other. For more than a generation has this system of self-abasement been going on. No wonder that those who have been the objects of this solicitation should have been educated into the idea that the whole government of the country should be conducted for the benefit of slavery. If our unhappy country is now suffering from Southern violence, it has been brought on us by that long and increasing self-abasement of Northern politicians. Especially is this the case with our present agitations. A new scene of commotion had been rendered by new concessions, to which for the sake of peace, all parties had assented. The whole land was at rest and quiet. Slavery was demanding nothing more, and its opponents had made up their minds to acquiesce in the settlement, when, for pure party purposes, and for personal aggrandizement, the time-honored barrier of freedom was overthrown as a new bid in the auction which has sacrificed the domain of the nation for the slave-holding vote. Let the authors of the iniquity be nameless here, as they deserve to be in the annals of the Republic. Insane and unprincipled ambition is the source of all the agitation and turmoil and bloodshed which has been rending the land asunder. The whole people have witnessed so entirely the successive betrayals of their interests, and voted so docilely on the issues they presented, that hopehad been conceived of their unlimited submission. The sectional jealousies which it has incurred up-anew, and the attempt to secure, by violence, what slavery understood to be offered it by the measure, is its natural consequence, and the providential punishment of the nation for the iniquity which it sanctioned and encouraged.

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Kindred and consequential to these has been another sin—the entire divorce of the whole system of politics from the fear of God. A respectable men, when they kept aloof from the selection of candidates for office, also threw away their allegiance to party, the evil would be less. But by a strange confusion of moral sense, the obligation to party is made unquestionable and supreme. No matter what may be the character of its agents—no matter what may be the evil principles or iniquitous measures they carried in its train, how many good men there are for whom the single consideration, that it is the action of their own party, is enough. They ask no questions, listen to no argument, recognize no higher authority. Party organization seems never to think of counsel of God in questions of public affairs, and giving religion the control of their politics. How few citizens recognize their responsibility to God for their political influence! How few feel that they will bring their political conduct to the same tests as their ordinary intercourse. Now, let it be remembered, that the ultimate responsibility of every measure rests with the people, and that the character of all others, each one must answer for himself. Caucuses of the idle and dissolute may nominate, whom they please, leaders of political parties may venture on what iniquities they will, but to the people belongs the responsibility of their election. Without the sanction of the people they sink into the obscurity which they deserve. It is on this principle that God is dealing with us as a people. The American people have given themselves up to a blind and unscrupulous adherence to party—the political morality of our country has become a byword and a hissing—the whole people, by negligence or party-spirit, have become partakers in the guilt of actions which, if they had not been in politics, would be a loathing to the moral sense of the community. And, therefore, God has punished the nation with the legitimate results of their own misconduct.

For these national offences God has justly brought upon us disgrace and suffering, and a discord which threatens the direst disasters in the future.

IV. But let us inquire, lastly, into the *general social design* of these afflictions. What lessons are they sent to teach, what practical end to secure? Why have the truckling subserviency of Northern politicians and the arrogant aggressions of the slave power been allowed to proceed so far unchecked, and to bring forth such disastrous fruits? Is it not to bring back the public mind to the views of slavery which were entertained at the formation of our government, and so to open anew the way for its amelioration and ultimate removal? A great change has come over the public sentiment in regard to slavery within the last twenty-five or thirty years. Previous to that time it found no apologists neither North nor South. It was lamented and deplored on every hand as a necessary evil. The most that could be said in regard to it was that living men were not responsible for its introduction, and that it was not yet safe to attempt its abrogation. All professed to look for-

ward into the wilful sin of the present generation. The original sin of slavery is, in fact, becoming, though not with corrupt politicians, the free-will crime of the American people. This presents the matter in a very different aspect before God and the civilized world. Whatever may be said in the way of temporary extenuation, slavery and human right, slavery and the Christian law of love are irreconcilable opposition. To do the best we can with an inherited evil, until Providence enables us to put it away, may reference pleading from the Lord. But because of some incidental advantages to resolve on its permanence and extension, will surely receive his curse, and bring ruin to our country. So gradually has the change of temper and purpose been effected in the nation, we were hardly aware of the sin in which we were becoming ensnared. But the recent events have given such a shock to the spirit of freedom as to arouse the nation to pause and reflect. Before long it will be safe to discern of a recoil of public sentiment which shall put the system of human bondage back where it was at the formation of our government. May this demonstration of the spirit of tendency prevail, hampering with it in future. Thus God will make the wrath of man to praise Him; and then, doubtless, the remainder of wrath will He restrain.

VI. I now remains that we should consider the duties of the present crisis. The time will not allow more than a brief enumeration.

1. The first duty of the crisis is a right public sentiment. Ours is a government of public opinion. Every opinion every party every coalition is compelled to bow. It is mightier than bayonets. The only difficulty is in bringing the national mind to a decision. There is freer circulation of thought in this country than in any other, and yet there is surprising ignorance and unconcern of what is taking place in the country. Many of our countrymen have no adequate idea of what has occurred in Kansas. They know that there has been trouble and fighting, but their information is most partial and incorrect. Very few of the political journals have presented a faithful report of facts. They have been advocates and not witnesses, catching up events for special pleading for party effect, instead of relating the whole truth before the tribunal of the people. Now let every person seek to inform himself and his neighbors of events as they are. Put the facts before the people. Let them know the outrages which have been committed. Let them understand the spirit which has actuated them, and the end at which they aim. Let them be taught to view the facts and principles of the present crisis, irrespective of party affinities. And who can doubt that the American people will condemn this imbuing of hands in brothers' blood, and tyrannizing over brethren in assertions of rights; rebuke the aggressor, and spread the mighty shield of public sympathy and favor over the oppressed. This cause is to be tried, not by violence, but at the bar of public opinion. And whoever as an intelligent decision on full and impartial testimony shall be given by the tribunal, all the agitators will be powerless. Virtuous men, on all sides, may threaten what they please. They might as well threaten the Pacific Ocean as the resolved judgment and conscience of the nation. Our first duty is, therefore, to enlighten the public mind. Make the daily journals feel that it is their interest to spread all the facts and the testimony of all sides before their readers. Make use of the mail for the distribution of documents and intelligence. Organize a system of political colportage, which shall leave tracts at every man's door, and through the crowds at the markets send them everywhere on the wings of the wind. This is the true system of republican government, and the true way to correct a public evil.

2. A second duty of the crisis is the pecuniary relief of the sufferers. The largest proportion of the most respectable and industrial of our citizens have wholly abstained from the nomination and election of our rulers. The whole business of nominations has been given up to caucuses, chiefly composed of the ambitious and the vile. Assemblies in which no respectable person could sit or have brought out candidates of their own for inferior offices, and conventions of interested men have long overweighed our best and most higher pests of those to whose election they could pin their own hopes of office to be acquired or retained. All honesty and all patriotism have quite disappeared from our political system. Parties became a trade so low that few respectable men dare touch it. Not an election can be carried without money, and bargaining and sum. And in consequence not a bill can be carried through our national legislature without bribes. Yet orderly and respectable citizens see these iniquities without troubling themselves for their correction. Absorbed in their own business and comfort, they leave the rule of the country to care not to whom. And yet they boast of their political rights. But God has given no right without obligation of use. The right of self-government involves the duty of self-government, the duty of selecting and electing the rulers of our people.—This sacred duty, due to our ourselves, mankind and God, has been wofully neglected, and, therefore, God has turned our political system to disappointment, and chastised the land with misrule and civil war.

Kindred and consequential to these has been another sin—the entire divorce of the whole system of politics from the fear of God. A respectable men, when they kept aloof from the selection of candidates for office, also threw away their allegiance to party, the evil would be less. But by a strange confusion of moral sense, the obligation to party is made unquestionable and supreme. No matter what may be the character of its agents—no matter what may be the evil principles or iniquitous measures they carried in its train, how many good men there are for whom the single consideration, that it is the action of their own party, is enough. They ask no questions, listen to no argument, recognize no higher authority. Party organization seems never to think of counsel of God in questions of public affairs, and giving religion the control of their politics. How few citizens recognize their responsibility to God for their political influence! How few feel that they will bring their political conduct to the same tests as their ordinary intercourse. Now, let it be remembered, that the ultimate responsibility of every measure rests with the people, and that the character of all others, each one must answer for himself. Caucuses of the idle and dissolute may nominate, whom they please, leaders of political parties may venture on what iniquities they will, but to the people belongs the responsibility of their election. Without the sanction of the people they sink into the obscurity which they deserve. It is on this principle that God is dealing with us as a people. The American people have given themselves up to a blind and unscrupulous adherence to party—the political morality of our country has become a byword and a hissing—the whole people, by negligence or party-spirit, have become partakers in the guilt of actions which, if they had not been in politics, would be a loathing to the moral sense of the community. And, therefore, God has punished the nation with the legitimate results of their own misconduct.

For these national offences God has justly brought upon us disgrace and suffering, and a discord which threatens the direst disasters in the future.

IV. But let us inquire, lastly, into the *general social design* of these afflictions. What lessons are they sent to teach, what practical end to secure? Why have the truckling subserviency of Northern politicians and the arrogant aggressions of the slave power been allowed to proceed so far unchecked, and to bring forth such disastrous fruits? Is it not to bring back the public mind to the views of slavery which were entertained at the formation of our government, and so to open anew the way for its amelioration and ultimate removal? A great change has come over the public sentiment in regard to slavery within the last twenty-five or thirty years. Previous to that time it found no apologists neither North nor South. It was lamented and deplored on every hand as a necessary evil. The most that could be said in regard to it was that living men were not responsible for its introduction, and that it was not yet safe to attempt its abrogation. All professed to look for-

the rise of their people and [illegible] in them. Let them plead singly and unitedly with God for His overruling Providence in protection of our country. Let them pray for the righteousness of our country. Let them pray for their rulers, for their authority. Let them pray for the defeat of iniquity, and the suppression of violence, and the protection of the oppressed. Let them pray for the right guidance of the pulpit, for the right guidance of the press in all remember in the issues, both of the North or her that prevails, whether it be from the North or from the West, nor yet from the South, but that of the Lord, He putteth down one, and raiseth up another, and beseech his intervention. Let us deplore and to turn the hearts of the people like rivers of water to the common good. Let us thus remember God in our calamity, and the God that maketh men to be of one mind in an house will incline our hearts to unity and peace, and establish our liberties on an impregnable foundation.

Resolutions of the Epiphany Vestry.

We understand that the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted at a special meeting of the Vestry of the Church of the Epiphany, held on Monday evening:

Resolved. That the members of the Vestry have learned with deep and sincere regret that the Lord's day, and its pulpit of this Church, as the time and place for the discussion of sectional politics, is a practice wholly inconsistent with the highest respect for a gentleman holding so sacred and important an office, and that we hereby express to him our entire disapprobation of the substitution of such themes for the simple preaching of Jesus Christ and Him crucified as the hope of a ruined world.

Resolved, That we most respectfully, but firmly protest against any repetition of such like Sermons as that preached on the evening of Sunday, the 20th instant.

Resolved. That the Secretary be requested to communicate to the Rector a copy of the foregoing resolutions.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

National Era

Office, No. 501 Seventh street, between D and E, one square south of City Post Office.

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1856.

☞ The bill reported by Mr. Douglas in the Senate, authorizing a Commission to enumerate the inhabitants of Kansas, &c., is to take effect *from the date of its passage*. In view of the possibility that this bill may become a law, the Free State men who have settled in Kansas, and are now absent on business, or for other reasons, should at once return, so that there may be no dispute as to their right to vote. *This is a thing that admits of no delay.*

KANSAS AFFAIRS IN THE SENATE.

All parties in the Senate are evidently impressed with the conviction that it is necessary to apply some remedy to the present condition of things in Kansas. Various measures are now under consideration.

First. The bill reported by Mr. Douglas, to authorize the People of Kansas to form a State Constitution whenever the population shall amount to ninety-three thousand four hundred and twenty—the present ratio of representation. The fatal objections to this, are, that it makes no provision against the anarchy and violence that now reign in the Territory, and menace the country with civil war; that it recognises as the legitimate Legislature a body of men elected by fraud and force, and without any real authority, under the Kansas-Nebraska act, to enact laws; that it assumes the validity of its acts, and places the whole process of the formation of a State, in all its stages, under its exclusive direction.

2. The bill of Mr. Seward, moved as a substitute, to admit Kansas as a State forthwith, under the Constitution adopted at Topeka, excluding Slavery: constitutional, complete, instant in its operation. If it should become a law, Freedom, Peace, and Order would be at once established. The only real objection to it is, that the Constitution it proposes to recognise, prohibits Slavery!

3. Mr. Crittenden's resolution, to recommend to the President to send Lieutenant General Scott to Kansas, armed with full power to enforce the laws, to make peace, and maintain order. This proposition is inadmissible, as it involves the assumption that the acts of an illegitimate Legislature are valid—a begging of the whole question in controversy.

4. Mr. Trumbull's bill, abrogating those acts, and virtually annexing Kansas to Nebraska, by extending over the former the laws of the latter.

5. Mr. Clayton's bill, of which we gave a synopsis a week or two ago. Recognising the Kansas-Nebraska act, it proposes to annul the various enactments in the Territory against freedom of speech and the press, and every test oath that may have been prescribed; and it provides for the election of another Legislature, a census to be taken in advance, and an apportionment, to be made by Commissioners appointed by the Secretary of State of the United States. In conclusion, it prescribes the mode of proceeding to form a State Constitution whenever the population shall have reached the present ratio of representation.

So far as the bill assumes that the enactments of the Territory, in relation to freedom of speech and the press, to practice in the courts, to jury trial, and to test oaths, are all arbitrary, unconstitutional, and tyrannical, and must be abolished, it is worthy of all praise; but the supporters of the Kansas-Nebraska act oppose it because, in assuming the right of Congress to nullify Territorial enactments, it is inconsistent with the Principle of the Act; we object to it, because it affords no immediate relief to Kansas, and provides no sufficient safeguards against the renewal of the outrages from which it has so often suffered.

6. The bill of Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, which, we are willing to believe, was brought forward by him in good faith, containing some excellent provisions, but which yet is open to serious exceptions. A brief synopsis will enable the reader to understand its drift.

1. It proposes the appointment of five Commissioners by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, whose duty it shall be to take a census of the *inhabitants resident* in the Territory at the time of the passage of the act constituting them, (excluding Indians not regarded as citizens,) under regulations prepared by the Secretary of the Interior; classifying the different classes of inhabitants, and registering their names; returns to be made in August, duplicate copies to be forwarded to the Department of the Interior. Said Commissioners shall then meet the first Monday in September, to examine the returns, and correct them, by erasing names improperly entered, or adding names improperly omitted, as shall be shown by adequate testimony. A quorum shall be competent to do business, and the judgment of a majority of the Commissioners shall be conclusive. A regular journal of proceedings must be kept, and copies forwarded from time to time to the Department of the Interior.

2. Having thus obtained a fair *enumeration* of the inhabitants, the Commissioners shall proceed at once to establish the ratio of *apportionment* for the election of members of a Convention to form a State Convention. Dividing the whole number of white male citizens, including Indians recognised as citizens, by 52, the product is to be taken as the ratio of apportionment for members in the several counties.

3. Provision is made at every step of the proceedings to give full publicity to them, so that all may know how and when to act; and, to guard against intrusion from abroad, the election of members to the Convention is to be held the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

4. *All white male citizens* of the United States, and Indians recognised as citizens, over twenty-one years of age, *bona fide* inhabitants of the Territory, at the time of the passage of this act, resident for three months next preceding the election in the county where they offer to vote, shall be entitled to vote, and no other persons.

5. The places, manner, and judges of the election, shall be determined by the Commissioners; all needful rules shall be prepared and made public; and, the returns having been made, they shall inspect them, ascertain who are entitled to certificates of election, and then issue them accordingly; after which, their powers shall cease, and the Commission be dissolved.

6. The Convention shall meet at the Capital the first Monday in December, and proceed at once to form a State Constitution.

The new State is to be bounded on the east by Missouri, on the south by the 37th, and on the north by the 40th parallel of latitude, and on the west by the 103d meridian of longitude, cutting off in the west two degrees now belonging to the Territory. The other provisions of the bill relate to the disposal of the public lands, &c.

It will be observed, that the whole work of preparing for the organization of a State, from the first step, to the meeting of the Convention to form a Constitution, is to proceed under the enabling action of Congress and the direct or indirect superintendence of the Federal Government, nothing being left to the action or supervision of the Territorial authorities. Congress enacts that there shall be a census, an apportionment, a Convention; Congress fixes the *times* for taking the census, for making the returns, for determining the apportionment, for holding the election, for the meeting of the Convention; Congress prescribes who shall be enumerated, who shall vote, who shall be eligible to a seat in the Convention, and what principle shall determine the ratio of apportionment; and Commissioners appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, are empowered and directed to carry out the will of Congress thus expressed, enumerating the People, apportioning members of the Convention, prescribing the rules, appointing the judges, determining the places of election, judging of the returns, deciding who are elected, and issuing certificates accordingly.

We are not disposed to be captious or uncharitable. Mr. Toombs doubtless believes that his measure is a fair one, and ought to be accepted by every one anxious to see peace and order restored in Kansas. Nor would we seek to keep the Kansas question open for the purpose of multiplying Republican votes. But even the author of the bill, if he will put himself for a moment in the position of the Opposition, must acknowledge that there are valid objections to it.

The Missouri Compromise was repealed for the purpose of allowing Slavery to obtain foothold in Kansas. The populous counties of Missouri lying along its borders insist that the establishment of Slavery there is vital to their safety, and from time to time have poured hundreds, if not thousands of their people into it, for the purpose of overawing and defeating the settlers in the Territory favorable to Freedom. What they have done, they stand ready to do again. They have the men, the money, the organization.

Now, this bill provides for taking a census of the inhabitants resident in the Territory at the time of the passage of the act, and that every white male citizen, a *bona fide* inhabitant at the time of its passage, shall be entitled to vote. At a moment's notice, those border counties in Missouri can place in Kansas a thousand or more white male adults. Who are to determine whether they are "inhabitants" or not? Commissioners appointed by the very Power which has repealed the Missouri Compromise to allow Slavery to extend itself into that Territory! And these Commissioners, in the work of enumerating the inhabitants, are authorized to employ assistance. Suppose, Mr. Whitfield, or Mr. Stringfellow, should be appointed a Commissioner, or suppose Mr. Jones or Mr. Donaldson, should be employed as an assistant, does any one believe that, in judging of what constituted an inhabitant, they would decide against their own friends? For, recollect, the bill provides no rule for judging on this point—it leaves everything to the discretion of the Commissioners; who are to be appointed by a President who has forfeited all claim to the confidence of the People of the Free States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, two-thirds of which stand committed to the policy of Slavery-Propagandism, involved in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Is it not asking too much of us to consent that the

sion of the great controversy between Freedom and Slavery, in Kansas, should be made to depend upon a movement, from its beginning to its end, under the absolute direction and control of the friends of Slavery?

This is not all. The bill provides no safeguards against violent interference with the freedom of the ballot-box. Suppose the men who have so often outraged the right of suffrage, should, on the day when the election for members to the Convention shall be in progress, assault and drive from the ballot-boxes, Free State voters, so as to secure a majority of Pro-Slavery members—what is the remedy? How is the mischief to be repaired?

We will not pursue the subject further. The various propositions have been referred to the Committee on Territories, and it is probable that some measure, compounded out of all of them, may be reported.

Since the foregoing was written, Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Terrritories in the Senate, has reported on the various propositions referred to it, recommending the proposition or bill of Mr. Toombs, with certain modifications. The Commissioners are to sit every day after the apportionment, to hear complaints in regard to the lists of voters, and make corrections accordingly. It provides that no law shall be of force or enforced in the Territory, infringing the liberty of speech or of the press, or the right of bearing arms. Punishment is to be inflicted for illegal voting, or fraud, or violence, at the ballot-box, and military force is to be used to prevent such mischiefs. White male inhabitants, as enumerated, over 21, resident three months before voting, are to be entitled to vote—no oath to support the Fugitive Slave Act, or any other act, to be required as a condition.

Now, we wish the country to take notice that this bill assumes the power of Congress to control the Territories and the Governments therein established; that from the beginning to the end of the organization of a State Government n Kansas, it sets aside entirely the Territorial Government in all its branches; that it annuls all the acts of the so-called Legislature of Kansas, infringing freedom of speech and the press, acts under which Judge Lecompte has caused so many outrageous arrests, and in virtue of which two printing offices were indicted by a Grand Jury, and sacked by a Sheriff's posse; that it annuls all the test oaths prescribed by the same spurious Legislature; and that in providing so stringent safeguards against fraud and violence at the ballot-box, to be enforced by the military power of the Federal Government, it virtually admits the reality of the outrages suffered by the People of Kansas.

How m[illegible]ch of these concessions we are to attribute to growing [illegible]ght among the Administration men, how much to a [illegible]slowly-awaking sense of justice, how much to an apprehe[illegible]sion of the horrors of civil war, how much to a disposition to allay the Kansas controversy, and smooth the way for Mr. Buchanan and his friends in the free States, how much to a fear that the means of supporting so large bodies of Slavery men in the Territory are nearly exhausted, it is not for us to say.

What good will the enabling bill of the Senate do, if emigrants from the Free States to Kansas, like those from Chicago, mentioned in our news column, are first to be disarmed at Lexington, Missouri, and then met by an army of Missourians at Westport, and marched back again? What is the use of passing bills to enable the People of Kansas to vote, fairly and squarely, on their own concerns, so long as the borderers of Missouri will suffer no people but themselves and Southern men to enter the Territory? Every day, the burden on the Free States grows heavier.

KANSAS TERRITORY, *June* 10, 1856.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Clouds and darkness thicken areund the future of Kansas. The action of Governor Shannon, in mustering into the United States service the filibustering companies from the South, has struck down all confidence among the Free State people, while it has licensed the other party to move on in their work of extermination. The Free State people in Kansas, though everywhere in the majority, were disposed, for the present, to submit to the Missouri-Kansas law, when *required so to do by the General Government*, but this is not what is wanted. It is the *Territory*, and not the *law*, they would have, and to secure it they are willing, if possible, to exterminate the people.

We counsel, we labor to keep down the passions of our people, but we dare not hope much longer. "Oppression will make even a wise man mad;" and a people harassed, insulted, and wronged, as have been the Free State settlers in Kansas, cannot, without superhuman aid, bear the galling yoke much longer. When a quiet people are driven from the polls, their laws made for them, made by a neighboring State, made expressly to oppress and exterminate them; when to these multiplied wrongs is added the humiliating, insulting, unjust action of the General Government, in requiring submission to laws notoriously illegal; and when, out of respect to the authority and power of the Federal authority, the people yield, then to have filibustering companies from the South mustered into the United States service, and thus giving them a kind of general license to harass, burn, shoot down, and hunt, like wild beasts, the actual settlers of the Territory—these evils are insupportable, and will not be borne, unless speedily checked. When submission itself no longer serves as a shield, then are we on the eve of a fearful revolution. Then public safety unites the masses, and desperation doubly arms them for the fearful struggle.

If the Federal power had confined its action to outside interference, then Kansas would have been at rest. The Pro-Slavery party in the Territory are, and have been, entirely *too inconsiderable* to have enforced their odious laws. Unaided by others, the laws were mere dead letters. Missouri could not have enforced them, and the party in Kansas would not have attempted it.

In these circumstances, it is natural to inquire, What will Congress do? Will they permit this state of things to continue? Will they, for any consideration, permit the question to be staved off till another term? Can the question be better settled twelve months hence? Now, Missouri and the whole South know *that the majority in Kansas are, and have been, decidedly for a Free State.* There is not an intelligent man in Missouri but knows the fact. They knew it, and sent their hundreds and thousands from Missouri to outvote us. They sent their voters here because they knew they were *in the minority.* They sent their *numbers* because they knew they were a mere *moiety* of the people. And, for the same reason, they now unite with the Federal authority to enforce laws which could *not be enforced without it.*

This is the position of the South. Does any man doubt it? Let him examine the facts as set forth by the Committee of Investigation. If the South felt that this Territory was not already gained to Freedom, why have they not sent their slaves here? But a *very few* are in the Territory. Not *three* can be found in all Central or Western Kansas.

Again we ask, What will Congress do? All eyes are turned to its action. Will they pass Mr. Douglas's "Enabling Act," and thus continue the excitement, and give Missouri another opportunity to usurp our rights, and secure Kansas to the Slave Power? Men accustomed to trample on all the rights of the black man, think it a small crime to usurp the political control of the white man. Let Congress place this Territory under martial law—"any rule or regulation"—but trust not this infant land to the action of a principle so easily perverted as the boasted one of "Territorial Sovereignty."

H.

For the National Era.

KANSAS.

There's a shadow on the land,
Dark and deep.
'Twas no broader than my hand,
When it first began to creep
O'er the sunny Southern plains,
White with mimic snows;
But it gathers, and it sweeps
Blackness with it, as it goes,
Till like fiery sword it reigns,
Where the mournful Kansas flows,
Sighing, weeping; sighing, weeping,
For the brave dead who are sleeping
Near its bed,
For the living and the dead.

Wives and Mothers of this land,
True of heart!
When the gathering forces stand,
Right and *Wrong* on either hand,
Shall we from the strife depart?
Shall we do naught but weep?
Woman's heart and woman's hand,
Ours nor office nor command,
Statesman's wile nor warrior's brand;
Longing, fearing for the morrow,
Shall we strive to lose our sorrow,
Sinking into sleep?
Nay! nay!
Rise and pray!
Whatsoever may befall,
God is mighty over all.

Then I knew the midnight air,
Sweet and still,
Heavy was with voice of prayer,
That the ear of God doth fill.
By her lone hearth kneeleth one,
Who lamenteth for her son,
Beautiful, and brave, and proud,
Folded in a bloody shroud,
Damp and chill.
And the young blood flowing free,
Prays with her for Liberty.
Better fill the martyr's grave
Than to live a soulless slave,
Lifting unto man and God,
On heart and brain,
The mark of Cain,
A brother's blood.

Where in prison cells of pain,
Madness dwells,
Mid maniac laugh and clanking chain,
A wild cry swells.
Poor wife! poor captive, sad and lone,
Wearing thy heart with ceaseless moan!
See'st thou still the mangled form;
The blood-drops falling thick and warm?
The murdered husband's noble head,
Pillowed upon thy faithful breast,
Fills now a lowlier, colder bed.
Thou canst not rest!
The cry of thy fierce agony
Doth swell the prayer for Liberty,
And, ringing from the blood-stained sod,
Pierceth the ear and heart of God.
Heart of wife and heart of mother,
Throbbing sadly for another,
Pray! pray!
While ye may,
Lest the widowed mother's moan
Speedily shall be your own.

O'er the fair land of the Free,
Strong and brave,
O'er the broad Prairie-sea,
By smooth Ohio's wave,
Where the bright Hudson winds his way,
And tower the wild Catskill,
O'er the Granite mountains stern and gray,
And the shaft of Bunker Hill,
The mantling summer air
Hangs quivering with prayer.
From each bursting human heart,
With the burning tears that start,
Comes the burden low and deep,
Some that murmur, some that weep;
Many-voiced, the prayer is one,
And its mighty wave moves on,
To the rhythm of a world.
Thou who hast the power to save!
Shield the freeman, loose the slave!
Buried in a rameless grave,
Crush all tyranny!
On our banner, wide unfurled,
Let no foul reproach be hurled,
Let the cry rise strong and free,
God for us and Liberty!
And the prayer was ended when
Christ in heaven said the Amen!

June 17, 1856.

M. E. B.

The great measure under discussion in the House, is the bill to admit Kansas, as a State, into the Union, with its Topeka Constitution. It was taken up last week, and advocated with much ability by Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, but opposed by Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, and Mr. Haven, of New York, and the Southern members.

Mr. Haven insisted on the propriety of delaying action till the report of the Kansas Committee had been laid before the House. For one, he was unwilling to act upon unauthenticated or insufficient information. If there had been such fraud and violence in the election in Kansas as had been charged, then the Legislature there was an illegitimate body, and its enactments ought to be abrogated; but, if everything had been done in a legal manner, no matter how bad the laws were, still it was not for Mr. Haven to annul them—they were the acts of the people of Kansas. The Commissioners had been appointed to investigate this matter, and he must wait for their report.

Mr. Haven's reasoning would have been logical, had the proposition before the House been, to abrogate the Territorial enactments, or eject Mr. Whitfield from his seat. But his remarks were not at all pertinent to the bill under consideration, proposing to admit Kansas with its Free State Constitution. The House is in possession of all the information it requires for intelligent action on this bill. It knows that the Missouri Compromise was repealed, to allow Slavery to be extended into Kansas: that from its repeal has sprung up a dangerous conflict in that Territory, enlisting the passions of all sections of the Union, and requiring the interposition of the military power of the Federal Government, to prevent utter anarchy. Of all this it has complete, authentic information, and it knows from official documents, published by authority, that armed bodies of men have been arrayed in deadly strife against each other, and that nothing but the presure of United States troops at this very moment prevents a bloody collision between them. It knows that if Kansas were a State, these troops might be withdrawn, the interposition of the Federal Executive dispensed with, because the State Government would be sufficient to the protection of itself. Its instant admission, therefore, as a State, is a measure of peace and order: it would put a stop to the dangerous conflict, establish the reign of law, and secure the rights of self-government to the People of Kansas. The question does not depend on the report of the Kansas Committee—every man can decide it for himself/in the light of the information he already possesses. Even the friends of the Administration assume this much, for they have already brought forward, in both branches, a proposition to enable the People of Kansas to form a State Government instantly; without awaiting the report of the Kansas Committee, or the growth of population to the point designated in the bill of Mr. Douglas, introduced some months since—thus confessing that, even in their judgment, the true remedy for the evils of Kansas is its immediate organization as a State. Why not go one step further, and agree to its immediate admission with the Constitution already formed?

We should give more credit to Mr. Haven, were his reasoning more logical.

Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, moved that the bill be ommitted to the Committe of the Whole on the state of the Union—a motion which, if successful, would, in all probability, put it beyond the reach of our friends for the present session. Mr. Dunn must be aware of this, and, of course, is an opponent of the admission of Kansas with its present Free State Constitution. Mr. Dunn, as an independent man, has a perfect right to his own opinions, and no one has a right to denounce him for expressing or attempting to carry them out. That he desires to have Kansas free, we do not doubt, but we cannot help seeing that his course on this matter weakens the friends of free Kansas, and strengthens the friends of the Administration.

The admission of Kansas with its Topeka Constitution, would secure the end which Mr. Dunn aims at, by moving a restoration of the Missouri Compromise, which he must know is unattainable. It would really be the equivalent of that measure: why then should Mr. Dunn labor, or even be willing to defeat it? It may not be in his opinion so expedient as some other measure, but so long as it violates no right, but secures certain reparation for a right violated, why should not Mr. Dunn, as a friend of Freedom, yield the point of policy, and co-operate with the only body of men in the House with which he can effectually co-operate?

Mr. Grow, to keep the matter before the House, moved to recommit the bill to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Stephens, last Saturday, moved to amend the motion to commit by adding thereto instructions to report in lieu of the original bill an amendment he desired to offer, (understood to be the proposition of Mr. Toombs, commented on in another column.)

And Mr. Dunn moved to amend this by instructing the Committee of the Whole to report a section, restoring the Missouri Compromise.

An animated discussion took place, in which Messrs. Stephens of Georgia, Campbell of Ohio, Morrill of Vermont, Evans of Texas, and Dunn of Indiana, took part, and then Mr. Grow demanded the previous question, which, after various motions to adjourn, lay on the table, &c., was seconded. The main question was then ordered, and the House adjourned.

Last Monday, the subject again coming up, Mr. McMullin, of Virginia, moved to reconsider the vote ordering the main question; but, on motion of Mr. Giddings, the House by a vote of 98 to 89 laid the motion on the table.

After a speech from Mr. Grow, closing the debate, the question was taken first on the amendment of Mr. Dunn, to restore the Missouri Compromise, moved to be added to the amendment of Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, proposing to instruct the Committee of the Whole to report, in place of the bill of Mr. Grow, the proposition (identical with that introduced by Mr. Toombs in the Senate.) The motion of Mr. Dunn was agreed to—yeas 109, nays 102.

The question next was, on the motion of Mr. Stephens as amended, and it was lost—yeas 2, nays 210—the yeas being given by Mr. Dunn of Indiana, and Mr. Harrison of Ohio.

All instructions having thus been voted down, the question was taken on referring the bill to admit Kansas as a State with the Topeca Constitution, to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and the motion was disagreed to—yeas 101, nays 109—the Administration and Southern Know Nothing Parties, together with the Northern Fillmore men and Mr. Dunn, voting *yea*, the Republicans and Messrs. Barclay and Hickman, Democrats from Pennsylvania, *nay*.

Mr. Barclay moved to reconsider the vote—Mr. Grow, to lay his motion the table—Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, to lay the bill on the table. This was lost—yeas 106, nays 107. The motion of Mr. Grow prevailed—yeas 106, nays 102. The next motion was to recommit the bill to the Committee on Territories, and this was decided in the negative. The bill was then read a third time; and on the question, Shall it pass? it was decided in the negative by one vote, as follows:

"YEAS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Bennett of New York, Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Buffinton, Burlingame, Campbell of Pennsylvania, Campbell of Ohio, Clark of New York, Clark of Connecticut, Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, Davis of Massachusetts, Day, Dean, De Witt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, Flagler, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall of Massachusetts, Harlan, Hickman, Holloway, Horton of New York, Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Matteson, McCarty, Meacham, Miller of New York, Millward, Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Murray, Nichols, Oliver of New York, Parker, Pearce, Pelton, Pennington, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Purviance, Robbins, Roberts, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Spinner, Stanton, Stranahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Maine, Watson, Welch, Wood, Woodruff, and Woodworth—106.

"NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Allen, Barclay, Barksdale, Bell, Bennett of Mississippi, Bocock, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Brooks, Broom, Burnett, Cadwalader, Campbell of Kentucky, Carlile, Caruthers, Caskie, Cobb of Georgia, Cobb of Alabama, Cox, Craige, Crawford, Cullen, Davidson, Denver, Dowdell, Dunn, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Etheridge, Eustis, Evans, Faulkner, Florence, Foster, Fuller of Maine, Goode, Greenwood, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Maryland, Harris of Alabama, Harrison, Haven, Herbert, Hoffman, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tennessee, Jones of Pennsylvania, Keitt, Kelley, Kennett, Kidwell, Lake, Letcher, Lindley, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall of Kentucky, H. Marshall of Kentucky, Marshall of Illinois, Maxwell, McMullin, McQueen, Miller of Indiana, Millson, Oliver of Missouri, Orr, Packer, Paine, Peck, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Ready, Ricaud, Rivers, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Seward, Shorter, Smith of Tennessee, Smith of Virginia, Smith of Alabama, Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Swope, Talbott, Taylor, Trippe, Underwood, Valk, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wheeler, Whitney, Williams, Wright of Mississippi, Wright of Tennessee, and Zollicoffer—107.

"Upon the announcement of the result, quite a struggle ensued for the floor.

"Mr. Grow was recognised, and moved that the House adjourn.

"Mr. Goode, of Virginia, and others of the majority, moved to reconsider the vote rejecting the bill, and also to lay the motion to reconsider on the table; but the question was put on the motion to adjourn, and it was agreed to.

"And, at half-past four o'clock, the House adjourned."

It will be observed that here, as well as on other important questions relating to Slavery, the Administration, or more properly, the Buchanan and Fillmore members act together, against the Free State men of Kansas, while the Republicans, or supporters of Fremont for the Presidency, act in a solid phalanx for the Free State men of Kansas. Cadwalader, Allen, Barclay, Denver, English, Florence, Fuller of Maine, Hall, Herbert, Jones of Pennsylvania, Kelly, Marshall of Illinois, Miller of Indiana, Packer, Peck, Wheeler, Williams, Northern and Western Democrats, vote with Broom, Harrison, Haven, Valk, and Whitney, Northern and Western Fillmore men, against the only measure calculated to secure at once Freedom and Peace in Kansas. We do not classify Mr. Dunn, for we believe he stands alone, representing no party, although, unfortunately, his votes sometimes decide the day in favor of the Slavery Party.

Extract of a letter from a settler at Topeka, Kansas Territory, dated June 19, 1856.

"In your issue of June 5th, our redemption is deferred until after the Presidential election. You think Kansas would be saved, should the Republican nominee be elected. Now, this fact must be known; if things continue as now, un-

til then, all the Republican Presidents in the world cannot save Kansas. It is men we want. The everlasting dollar is all, it appears to us, they talk about, when they meet and pass resolutions at indignation meetings. Money, to a certain extent, is needed, and, if subscribed, we would like to see it; but give us men, above all. The loss of crops for this year, to a great extent, with teams to the amount of three hundred horses, cows, hogs—in fact, everything which goes to make up a farmer's worldly store—has rendered us wholly blind to anything else but a determination to drive out the guerilla bands that now infest the Southern part of this Territory; and if we perish in the attempt, the South may attribute her victory to her five hundred Southern hirelings, whilst the North will find out that paper resolves, without men here to fight, go for nothing. These hirelings have forts erected, where, through parted logs, they can, unharmed, defy five times the number of men. Here they congregate, and at night go out upon unprotected settlements, and if opposed, kill; but, at all hazards, despoil the Free State settler of all he possesses. Those here who have lived in Mexico, in its worst-governed times, state that that Government was never so impotent or imbecile as ours; not that the power is wanting, but the will."

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

First Session.

Thursday, June 26, 1856.

HOUSE.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill to admit the State of Kansas into the Union, the question being on the motion of Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, to refer it to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

A discussion sprang up on the effect of committing the bill—its friends contending that it would be equivalent to its defeat, as it would be almost impossible to reach it—its opponents insisting that it was the only proper course of procedure. Mr. Haven, of New York, wished to act understandingly, deprecated haste, desired first to have the report of the committee sent to Kansas.

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, then obtained the floor, but, not wishing to speak upon the bill to-day, yielded to allow the House to proceed to other business.

Mr. Grow gave notice that it was his intention to call the previous question on the bill on Saturday next. He would not do so, however, prior to the hour of three o'clock on that day.

Saturday, June 28, 1856.

The Senate did not sit to-day.

HOUSE.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill for the admission of the State of Kansas into the Union, the question being first upon the motion of Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, to refer it to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and, if that should not prevail, then upon the motion of Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, to recommit it to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Stephens. A portion of my remarks shall be directed to show that the Kansas bill is not the "vexed question" that is now agitating the country. Before proceeding, however, I will ask consent to submit my substitute, as I cannot do so without leave, pending the motion to commit.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine. Understanding that the gentleman's substitute is a side measure, intended to destroy the bill, I shall object to it now and at all times.

Mr. Stephens would inform the gentleman that he had no side blow to aim at the bill. He merely wished his proposition to come before the House as a substitute for the bill; but, as the gentleman from Maine would not permit him to do this, he would move to amend the motion to commit by adding thereto instructions to report his amendment in lieu of the original bill.

As a general principle, he was opposed to the admission of a State into the Union, unless containing a population equal to the ratio of one Representative; but, in the present instance, he was willing to waive this and other objections. When he voted for the Kansas act, he did not do so to make that Territory a slave State. He said then, and repeated now, that the people might decide that question for themselves; and this was the very object of his amendment. Although the election law of the Territory was one of the very best that had ever come under his observation, yet his amendment went even beyond that, and made the most stringent provisions on the subject. The bill proposed by the Committee on Territories, upon its very face, professed to have been formed against law and order, and in open rebellion, and the officers of the Convention that framed it were under arrest for treason. If nothing but fair play was what the country wanted, gentlemen should come up to a man and support his amendment. He was, however, inclined to believe that the real object of this movement was not so much to bring Kansas in as a free State as to kindle the fires of civil war in the country.

In conclusion, Mr. S. proceeded to defend the institution of Slavery; but, before concluding his remarks, his hour expired.

There were loud cries of "go on," "go on;" but unanimous consent being required,

Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, objected to what he considered an unusual proceeding.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, replied to Mr. Stephens, contending that the success of the motion to commit would amount to the defeat of the bill. He entered into an argument to prove that Congress has the power to exclude Slavery from the Territories of the Union, in the course of which a running debate of some length ensued between him and Mr. Stephens.

Mr. Evans, of Texas, was in favor of admitting Kansas at once, without regard to the number of inhabitants, provided a fair election could be had. If the existing Government of Kansas had been established by force or fraud, he held that it ought to be abrogated. He contended that the Constitution formed at Topeka should not be received by Congress, as it was the work of only a part of the people of the Territory by revolutionary movement.

Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, argued in favor of the admission of Kansas in accordance with the provisions of the bill before the House, and declared that the present Administration should be held responsible for the present Slavery agitation.

Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, wishing to strike down that which, in his judgment, had created the disturbances of which so much was said, and desiring to restore matters to the position they occupied before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, moved to amend the motion of Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, by instructing the Committee of the Whole to report the substitute of that gentleman, with the following additional section: [Providing for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise.]

Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, then demanded the previous question, which he hoped would be sustained, and that then the House would adjourn until Monday.

Mr. Walker, of Alabama, moved that the House adjourn; which motion was disagreed to—yeas 77, nays 118.

Mr. W. then moved that the bill be laid on the table; pending which,

Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, moved that the House adjourn; which motion did not prevail.

The motion to lay on the table was then negatived—yeas 70, nays 101.

Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina, moved an adjournment; which was decided in the negative.

The previous question was then seconded, and the main question ordered.

And thereupon, at half-past four o'clock, the House adjourned.

Monday, June 30, 1856.

SENATE.

The bill authorizing the issue of an additional number of arms for use in California has passed.

Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, to which was referred various bills relative to affairs in Kansas, made a voluminous report on the subject.

The report was confined to an elaborate discussion of the bill which the committee reported, which provides for the appointment of five commissioners, to be selected from different sections of the Union, to represent fairly all political parties. They shall take a census of all the legal voters in the Territory, and make a fair apportionment of delegates to be elected in each county, to assemble and make a Constitution and State Government. When the apportionment shall have been thus made, the commissioners are to remain in session every day, excepting Sunday, at places most convenient to the inhabitants of the Territory, to hear all complaints, examine witnesses, and correct all errors in the said list of voters, which shall be previously printed and circulated throughout the Territory, and posted in at least three of the most public places in each voting precinct in each county.

So soon as all errors shall have thus been corrected in said lists, the commissioners are required to cause lists of the legal voters to be printed and copies furnished to each judge of election, to be put up at the places of voting, and circulated throughout every county in the Territory before the day of election. No person shall be allowed to vote whose name does not appear as a legal voter. The election of delegates to take place on the day of the Presidential election, and the convention to assemble on the first Monday in December to decide—first, whether it be expedient for Kansas to come into the Union at that time, and, if so decided, proceed to form a Constitution and State Government, which shall be republican in form, and admitted on an equal footing with the original States.

The bill provides that no law shall be of force or enforced in the Territory infringing the liberty of speech, or the liberty of the press, or the right of the people to bear arms, &c. Also, for punishing illegal voting, or fraud, or violence at the election, and to use the military force for that purpose. The main point is "the present inhabitants shall decide all points in dispute in Kansas, at a fair election, without fraud or violence, or any other improper influence." All male white inhabitants over the age of twenty-one years to be allowed to vote, if residing in the county and Territory three months previous to the day of election, and no other test is to be required, no oath to support the Fugitive Slave Law, or any other law, nor any other condition whatsoever."

Mr. Douglas gave notice that he should ask to have a vote taken on the Kansas bill on Wednesday next. The bill rejected by the committee was then taken up and read, and the further consideration of the subject was postponed until to-morrow, in order that it might be printed.

Tuesday, July 1, 1856.

SENATE.

Two or three private bills were passed, and Mr. Collamer made a minority report from the Territories Committee on the bill of Mr. Toombs.

The bill granting the right of way for the St. Louis and Iron Mountain railway through the public grounds at Jefferson barracks, was discussed by many Senators before the hour arrived for taking up the Kansas State bill question, upon which Mr. Thompson, of Kentucky, addressed the Senate.

HOUSE.

Mr. Barclay moved to reconsider the vote of yesterday, by which the Kansas Topeka State Constitution bill had failed to pass.

Mr. Houston addressed the House against that motion, commenting, in the course of his remarks, on the policy of Mr. Barclay upon the bill.

Mr. H. then moved to lay Mr. Barclay's motion on the table; but withdrew that motion to enable Mr. B. to make an explanation.

Mr. Barclay addressed the House in explanation, and was replied to by Mr. Houston, of Alabama, and then renewed the motion to lay on the table.

Mr. Howard, rising to what he called a question of higher privilege, proposed to report from the Kansas Investigating Committee, and the question of that gentleman's right to make the proposed report at that time.

The Speaker ruled his report to be in order.

Mr. Orr appealed from that decision, and argued the appeal.

mittee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, moved that the bill be laid upon the table, but the question was decided in the negative—yeas 106, nays 107.

The bill was then put to vote, and rejected—yeas 106, nays 107.

The result was succeeded by clapping of hands and vociferations of joy by the opponents of the bill, while the friends of the bill exhibited signs of disappointment and mortification.

Amid much confusion, the House adjourned.

WASHINGTON.

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

"We join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union."

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1856.

CONGRESS—YESTERDAY.

The SENATE during the morning hour considered the bill granting to the Iron Mountain railroad, on certain conditions, the right of way through the public grounds of the United States arsenal at Jefferson Barracks. After a discussion by Messrs. WELLER, GEYER, and BRODHEAD, the bill passed by a vote of 23 ayes to 17 noes. The Kansas question then came up as the special order, and Mr. WADE addressed the Senate for nearly three hours in a review of the history of the disturbances in that Territory, and in a very full exposition of his political opinions concerning the irritating sectional topic of slavery, its past, present, and future condition. Mr. PUGH replied to some personal portions of his colleague's address, and Mr. BIGGS succeeded him in support of the bill reported from the Committee on Territories and in answer to Mr. WADE. A proposition was then made by Mr. WILSON that the Senate should take a recess of an hour and a quarter. This, however, met with no favor, and the Senate proceeded to vote by yeas and nays on the amendment of Mr. ADAMS, which was to strike out the clause which confers the privilege of suffrage upon those residents of Kansas who have only given notice of their intention to become citizens. No quorum voting, it was decided to send for absent Senators, who soon began to make their appearance, and were called upon to record their votes. Mr. CLAYTON said that he desired to be heard on this amendment, as he flattered himself he had that to say which was worthy for him to utter, and worthy the attention of the Senate; and he would therefore move an adjournment for the day, as he had not the heart to speak to empty seats. He intended not to speak for the press or the country, but to the Senators, who alone had the right to vote on the question, and whom he hoped to influence by his argument. If his motion was voted down, he would submit to the will of the majority, and would withdraw from the debate. The motion was rejected, and the amendment of Mr. ADAMS was passed by a vote of 22 to 15.

Mr. WILSON offered an amendment to the committee's bill to the effect to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in its stead an act to abrogate and declare null and void all laws passed by the Legislature of Kansas, or any assembly so called. Mr. CRITTENDEN expressed his astonishment at the extraordinary character of this amendment, which, in lieu of applying a remedy for the numerous complaints of violated law in Kansas, undertook now to abolish all law and to remit the Territory to the arbitrament of Sharpe's rifles. The debate was continued probably throughout the night. Speeches were made successively by Messrs. SEWARD, CLAYTON, HALE, TOOMBS, BIGLER, and TRUMBULL, the latter gentleman being on the floor when we last heard from the Capitol.

In the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES the principal portion of the sitting was occupied in reading the report of the Kansas Investigating Committee. At the conclusion, the document was referred to the Committee of Elections and ordered to be printed. It was also agreed that Mr. OLIVER should have ten days to present his minority report, and this is to be disposed of in the same way. This reference was made because the testimony taken is to be used in the investigation of the contested election from Kansas.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2—*In continuation.*

IN SENATE.

When the reporter left near midnight—

Mr. BELL, of Tennesse, followed Mr. TRUMBULL. He said that any person who looked into the matter could not fail to perceive that the present agitation must go on until Kansas was finally admitted into the Union. If he had the power he would crush the hydra-headed monster at once and prevent it from going into the next Presidential election. The objection to the pending bill was, that it met the exigency rather too promptly—the time for execution was too short. He intimated his preference for Mr. CLAYTON'S proposition, omitting that part which requires Kansas to have the ratio of representation under the last census, and to abolish all the obnoxious laws, and to let the people elect a new Legislature, and to go on under the provisions of the bill to form a State constitution.

Mr. CRITTENDEN asked Mr. BELL to yield the floor, which he did, and Mr. C. moved an adjournment; but the motion only received 9 affirmative votes, 22 voting against it.

Mr. BELL then resumed his remarks, and when he closed—

Mr. JOHNSON made some playful remarks on the powers of endurance, and complimented Mr. CASS, who, although the oldest member of the body, seemed more "wide awake" than the youngest Senator. He expressed the earnest hope that the Senate might proceed to vote.

Mr. SEWARD followed, and Mr. REID replied; and Mr. WILSON and Mr. CRITTENDEN continued the discussion.

Mr. DOUGLAS, with a view to meet the objection made by certain Senators as to persons driven from the Territory and who could not get back, proposed to amend the eleventh section to the effect that any person being a *bona fide* inhabitant who shall have absented himself therefrom in consequence of the disturbance, and who shall return by the 1st of October next, shall be entitled to vote.

This amendment was agreed to.

Mr. TRUMBULL then moved to amend the bill by inserting an additional section, to wit:

"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 legislation, to regulate the institution of slavery in their own way, subject only to the laws 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. 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."

This amendment was decided in the negative: Yeas 9, nays 34.

Mr. TRUMBULL next moved to amend the bill by inserting a provision to the effect "that the people of Kansas have full power at any time, through their Territorial Legislature, to exclude slavery or to recognise 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; and the question being taken on the amendment as amended, it was decided in the negative: Yeas 11, nays 34.

The debate was then continued until 8 o'clock in the morning, when the bill was reported to the Senate, and passed by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Bigler, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, Wright, and Yulee—33.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire, Collamer, Dodge, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—12.

And the Senate adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1856.

Mr. WHEELER, of New York, moved that when the House adjourn to-day it adjourn to meet on Monday next; which motion was decided in the affirmative: Yeas 94, nays 93.

A message was received from the Senate announcing the passage by that body of the bill to authorize the people of the Territory of Kansas to form a constitution and State government preparatory to their admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States.

ADMISSION OF KANSAS.

The House resumed the consideration of the motion of Mr. HOUSTON, of Alabama, to lay on the table the motion of Mr. BARCLAY, of Pennsylvania, to reconsider the vote rejecting the bill for the admission of the State of Kansas into the Union.

Mr. BARCLAY asked the consent of the House to make a brief explanation in reply to some remarks submitted by the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. HOUSTON,) who, on Tuesday last, took occasion to say things which he afterwards disavowed in the House, and then deliberately published in the Globe.

Mr. McMULLIN, of Virginia, objected.

Mr. JONES, of Tennessee, then moved that there be a call of the House; which motion did not prevail: Yeas 84, nays 113.

Mr. J. moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. Pending which—

Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, moved to reconsider the vote by which it was ordered that when the House adjourn to-day it adjourn to meet on Monday next. He would withdraw his motion if gentlemen would come to a vote, but if it was their intention to consume the time of the House he would insist upon it.

Mr. COBB, of Georgia, replied that the gentleman was mistaken if he supposed the object was to consume the day in dilatory motions. The only object was to get a full vote.

Mr. JONES then withdrew his motion to go into committee, and

Mr. CAMPBELL withdrew the motion to reconsider.

The question recurring on the motion to lay on the table the motion to reconsider the vote rejecting the Kansas bill, it was put and decided in the negative: Yeas 97, nays 102.

The question then being on the motion to reconsider—

Mr. GROW, of Pennsylvania, demanded the previous question; which was seconded, and the main question ordered: Yeas 101, nays 98.

Mr. EUSTIS, of Louisiana, moved that the House adjourn; which motion was negatived: Yeas 78, nays 114.

The question was then taken on the motion to reconsider, and it was agreed to by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Barclay, Bennett of New York, Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Buffinton, Campbell of Pennsylvania, Campbell of Ohio, Clarke of New York, Clark of Connecticut, Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, Davis of Massachusetts, Day, Dean, De Witt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, Flagler, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall of Massachusetts, Harlan, Hickman, Holloway, Horton of N. York, Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Matteson, McCarty, Meacham, Miller of New York, Millward, Morgan, Morrill, Mott, Murray, Nichols, Oliver of New York, Parker, Pearce, Pelton, Perry, Pike, Pringle, Purviance, Robbins, Roberts, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Spinner, Stranahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Maine, Watson, Welch, Woodruff, and Woodworth—101.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Allen, Barksdale, Bell, Bennett of Mississippi, Bocock, Bowie, Branch, Brooks, Broom, Burnett, Cadwalader, Caruthers, Caskie, Clingman, Cobb of Georgia, Cobb of Ala., Cox, Craige, Crawford, Cullen, Davis of Maryland, Denver, Dowdell, Dunn, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Etheridge, Eustis, Evans, Faulkner, Florence, Fuller of Pennsylvania, Fuller of Maine, Goode, Greenwood, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Maryland, Harris of Ala., Harris of Illinois, Harrison, Haven, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tenn., Jones of Pennsylvania, Kelly, Kennett, Kidwell, Lake, Lindley, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall of Ky., H. Marshall of Ky., Marshall of Illinois, McMullin, McQueen, Miller of Indiana, Millson, Oliver of Missouri, Orr, Packer, Peck, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Ready, Ricaud, Rivers, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Seward, Shorter, Smith of Tennessee, Smith of Virginia, Smith of Alabama, Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Scrpo, Taylor, Trippe, Underwood, Valk, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wheeler, Whitney, Williams, Winslow, Wright of Mississippi, Wright of Tennessee, and Zollicoffer—99.

The question then recurred, "Shall the bill pass?"

Mr. GROW demanded the previous question; which was seconded: Ayes 99, noes 96.

Mr. McQUEEN, of South Carolina, moved that the bill be laid on the table; which motion was disagreed to: Yeas 97, nays 100.

The bill was then passed by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Barclay, Bennett of N. Y., Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Buffinton, Campbell of Pennsylvania, Campbell of Ohio, Clarke of New York, Clark of Connecticut, Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, Davis of Massachusetts, Day, Dean, De witt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, Flagler, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall of Massachusetts, Harlan, Hickman, Holloway, Horton of New York, Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Matteson, McCarty, Meacham, Miller of New York, Millward, Morgan, Morrill, Mott, Murray, Nichols, Oliver of New York, Parker, Pearce, Pelton, Perry, Pike, Pringle, Purviance, Robbins, Roberts, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Spinner, Stranahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Me., Welch, Woodruff, and Woodworth—101.

...Bell, ... of Missis... Bowie, Branch, Brooks, Brown, Burnett, Cadwalader, Chambers, Cobb, Colquitt, Cobb of Georgia, Cobb of Alabama, Cox, Craig, Crawford, Cullen, Davis of Maryland, Denver, Dowdell, Dunn, Edmundson, English, Etheridge, Eustis, Evans, Faulkner, Florence, Fuller of Penn., Fuller of Maine, Goode, Greenwood, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Maryland, Harris of Alabama, Harris of Illinois, Harrison, Haven, Hodges, Howth, Jones of Tennessee, Jones of Penn., Kelly, Kennett, Kidwell, Lake, Lindley, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall of Kentucky, H. Marshall of Kentucky, Marshall of Illinois, McMullin, McQueen, Miller of Indiana, Millson, Oliver of Missouri, Orr, Packer, Peck, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Purviance, Ready, Ricaud, Rivers, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Seward, Shorter, Smith of Tennessee, Smith of Virginia, Smith of Alabama, Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Swope, Taylor, Trippe, Underwood, Valk, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wheeler, Whitney, Williams, Winslow, Wright of Mississippi, Wright of Tenn., and Zollicoffer—97.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, then moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole for the purpose of enabling gentlemen to make speeches who intended an absence from the city.

Pending which, at half-past three o'clock, the House adjourned.

CONNEAUT REPORTER

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1856.

This item we clip from the Kansas correspondence of the Cincinnati *Commercial:*

Among hundreds of cases of outrage which have come to my notice I will mention one. The house of Dr. D., was entered by twenty-five ruffians, armed to the teeth; all his clothing, except such as he had upon his person, was taken. His wife's apparel was then examined, and every article of value appropriated. The family comprises a large number of children; *their* wardrobe—even little dresses, socks, bonnets, caps and toys—was either stolen or destroyed. A sister of Mrs. D. had recently died. A few linen articles and jewelry had been laid away and carefully preserved, as mementoes of the loved and lost. Even these relics were not sacred from the touch of the vandals, but were all removed. The dwelling was then rifled of its remaining contents and the party departed. Events of this kind are of such frequent occurrence, that they excite no remark here.

KANSAS, June 11.

A Mr. Moore, of Palmyra, was in town last evening, and reports that eight bodies of murdered men had been found near the Santa Fe road, between Palmyra and Westport, Mo. One of them was identified as the body of Mr. Cantraill, who was taken prisoner last Friday evening, after being ordered to disband by Col. Sumner. Saturday morning last, the unfortunate prisoner was taken out to a wood not far from the road, and brutally murdered by two South Carolinians. Mr. C. was formerly a citizen of Missouri, and emigrated to Kansas some time since from Independence in that State. He was a quite, unoffending free State man. His murderers have been commissioned by Governor Shannon as the militia of the territory, furnished with United States muskets by the general government, and Congress is expected to make an appropriation to defray the expenses of employing these men to murder, drive away and rob actual settlers. The other seven bodies had not been identified when my informant left, but the supposition is they were travelers, and, after being shot, they were robbed, and left upon the prairie.

MRS. CANTRAILL A RAVING MANIAC!

The widow of the murdered man has, on hearing of his death, become insane.—The battle at Palmyra a short time since, the capture of her husband by the ruffians, another attack upon Palmyra by the same mob, and the sight of the corpse, had been too much, and has rendered her insane.

The Kansas Commission.

At the Republican Ratification Meeting in New York on Wednesday last, Mr. Howard, one of the members of the Committee to investigate the Kansas outrages was called out, and made the following remarks, which we copy as indicating the importance of the trust, and the wisdom of Congress in causing inquiry into the affairs of Kansas.

SPEECH OF MR. HOWARD.

When the Committee that I have the honor to be a member of undertook the difficulty and arduous task of investigating as far as they could, the affairs of Kansas, we decided it was proper for us to pursue those investigations with as little prejudice as possible, and with all possible thoroughness and fairness [applause,] without fear or favor to any man or any men. We found it necessary sometimes to act without reference or fear for ourselves [Applause.] In order to discharge this most delicate, this most important and most difficult duty, we laid it down as a fundamental principal that we would take no part in any public demonstration, that we would in no public manner express any view or any opinion with reference to any of these subjects until we had closed our labors and put our seal to the record by which we could be willing to live and die—[The remainder of the sentence was lost in applause.] We have fully adhered to this.—You know we have steadily adhered to this purpose. We have refused, every one of us—at least my colleague, Mr. Sherman, and myself, who constituted a majority of the Committee [applause]—to violate this rule, and I do not propose to, to-night. We have some three or four more days labor to perform to close up this business, and until that is done you must bear no voice from me abnut these matters, in regard to which there can be no difference of opinion among our fellow-citizens. But I confess that when I came in here and looked upon this sea of upturned faces—although I never was an orator—I never could speak worth a cent—but being a Western man, I confess it was as much as I could do to hold back, and found myself pulling off my overcoat.—[Cheers.] But I am all right now. I cannot talk to you about Kansas affairs. I should like to address you on other topics if I had strength. ["Go on."] No, I cannot go on. I lay on my back eight days at Detroit, in order to get strength enough to go to Washington, and what little strength I gained I shall not waste, I assure you, [cheers] but simply tender you my thanks for this grateful greeting.—We aimed to do our duty under all circumstances. If we succeeded, I am glad; if not, it is all over now. But in regard to Kansas. I had read the accounts of fraud, invasion and violence. Many of them seemed to me like romance, like dreams.—I thought perhaps the newspapers might have made glowing articles out of common events. Previous to going to Kansas we took special pains to get all articles that had ever been published relative to the condition of affairs in that Territory. We got files of five papers and made scrap books, in order that we might have everything that had ever been said about Kansas before us. And all I have now to say is, that instead of this dreamy romance—this thing that might be partly true and partly false, away in the distance, perhaps, that concerns me but little, perhaps nobody—it has become to me the most fearful, living reality, [great applause]—terrible in its far-reaching consequences it cuts and scars, and it so warms the blood that I can hardly contemplate it. But enough. This is no longer a romance. To me it is a reality—it is one ever near and ever present.—But I have no more to say about it. I thank you, fellow-citizens, for your cordial greeting, and I trust you will see the propriety of my refraining from saying anything more at present. [Great cheering.

Commercial Journal.

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor and Proprietor

PITTSBURGH.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 3.

NEWS ITEMS

A correspondent of the New York Herald says:

"I was informed at Leavenworth City, by authority above suspicion, that within ten days, upwards of fifty wagons, containing Eastern emigrants, had crossed 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 beautiful 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."

PIRATES.

A regularly organized system of piracy, plunder and murder if the circumstances demand it, is now in vogue on the Missouri river. Every State and Territory has the right to choose its own domestic institutions, and therefore the President has no authority to protect citizens in their right to go from one State into another, whenever one State chooses to make robbery and violence "domestic institutions." The telegraph declares that a determination has been announced along the Missouri river towns that no emigrants from the Northern States shall go into Kansas.

In the excellent speech of Hon. Schuyler Colfax of Iowa, the fact is disclosed that Judge Lecompte is the very centre of land speculation and town lot scheming in the Territory. He is a principal stockholder in all the bubble corporations raised by the mock Legislature, and, in connection with his relatives, is proprietor of the site, by a presumptive claim, of Lecompton, which, by the same sham authority, has been made the capitol. These facts expose, in a stronger light, the hypocrisy of the pretexts for the removal of Gov. Reeder and Judges Johnson and Elmore.

The Missourians had planted cannon at Lexington, and threatened to fire upon the boat unless the arms of the emigrants were given up.

The Louisville Democrat says that whilst the Democracy of the free States condemn these Lawrence seditionists, and spend no sympathy upon them, the editor of the Louisville Journal becomes their champion, espouses their cause, credits all their falsehoods and exaggerations, and hides their crimes from his readers.

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS.

The contemptible sheets of the border ruffians which exist and expectorate in various parts of the country, where civilization has spread its blessings and a free people tolerate their utterances, continually deny every thing that is said about the murders and the murderers in Kansas. There are a couple of big boys in the office of the *Post* here, who make quite a chuckling every morning and who live by a sort of system of negation, that nobody but the Democracy with its hands in the Treasury up to the elbows ever would deem worth any compensation. These big boys that are so witty their physicians have recommended trusses for them, lest their "funniness" should split 'em, have taken a singular fancy to the Journal, and fall a cursing like a couple of drabs every morning. As we do not know what it all means, and as we cannot find any point at all in what that post has to say, we print at random a few extracts from a sheet in St. Louis, that is so straight pro-slavery that we are afraid it will break down before it will bend. That paper is the Republican (sad misnomer) and if any of its remarks apply in any way to what the Pittsburgh Post had to say about the *Journal* yesterday morning and about the Democracy favoring the extension of slavery, we shall be glad.

The Republican states:—

"An intelligent gentleman told us that those of the Abolitionists that remained in the Territory had been driven far into the interior, where supplies of food could be obtained only at great peril and cost"

This has been done by the President's posse. The North American (neutral,) remarks:—

"If this had been published originally in a Northern paper, it would doubtless have been received as one of the usual falsehoods of the press respecting Kansas. It can scarcely be thought, however, in this case, that the border ruffians would tell lies against themselves.

A lady sends her jewelry to Albany to the fund for the aid of Free Kansas. She had better save it. The men who go there from the North are but weak chickens after all.—They meet a dozen of Buford's crew, who with great ceremony disarm them there and send them home. That is the history of two Companies already. Who ever heard before of marching over an enemy's country to reach the seat of war, unless the marchers had force enough to board the lion in his den.

Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

THURSDAY MORNING.....JULY 3

Atrocities Committed in Kansas by the Lane, Reeder and Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Party — Freemen, Read!

We invite the attention of our readers to the following article, which we take from the Lecompton (Kansas Territory) *Union* of the 19th ult. The *Union* says:

MRS. WILKERSON'S TESTIMONY.—Could the masses of the people of the North have beheld the scene we did on last Friday, the 13th of June, we would no longer feel apprehensive of Kansas troubles. We speak of Mrs. Wilkerson's testimony, the widow of Allen Wilkerson, who was so inhumanly murdered near Osawattomie by five hired assassins of the Emigrant Aid Society. Her tale was one of deep sorrow and affliction. Near her stood her three little orphan children, clinging to their mother, as she related the incidents of their father's murder. She told of their leaving home, parents and friends in Tennessee and coming to Kansas to make them a new home and new friends. On arriving in Kansas, her husband found the country in commotion, and a deadly hostility seemed maturing between the two parties (Pro-slavery and Free-State) in Kansas. Her husband had always been a conservative man, and had no desire to participate in such extraneous movements. He was several times called upon by the "Free State men," who had a majority in the neighborhood, and pressed to join them. He told them he was a Pro-slavery man from principle, but was at the same time a strong "Kansas-Nebraska bill man," and would recognize that Constitution passed by a majority of the legitimate citizens of Kansas. From this time he was denounced by them, and his life threatened because he would not forsake his principles and act with them under the order of the "Aid Society," and their deputy Robinson. When the March elections came around Mr. Wilkerson was elected a member of the House, and proved himself a worthy and active member, always standing upon conservative grounds. This set another price upon his head, and he was hunted down by these scoundrels who were seeking his life. When our late troubles began, Mr. Wilkerson remained at home to protect his family from the hands of these men who had so frequently threatened their lives. Mrs. Wilkerson says her husband had not been out, or taken any part, only as far as the expression of his private sentiments. It was found out he could reveal some very important facts before the "Investigating Committee," and there now stands upon record sufficient proof to establish this as the grand cause of his murder. He may have been killed any how, but perhaps these blood-hounds would not have been so soon "set on" by their employers. This tended to hasten his death, and on the night of the 24th of May five men visited his house and dragged him from his bed, his house and the bosom of his family, and amid the screams of his wife and children bore him off a short distance into a ravine, and performed one of the most cold-blooded murders upon record. When Mrs. Wilkerson came to this part of her testimony, every eye in the room was filled with tears—she several times was stopped with sobbing, in relating her appeals to the men to spare her husband.

We repeat—if only this sorrow-stricken widow, surrounded by her little orphan children, that have so suddenly and unmercifully been thrown upon the world's cold charity, by the hands of hired assassins, could present themselves before the masses of the North and East, as we saw them, and relate their simple tale of truth, what a different feeling would possess some who have been swindled into a wrong belief about our troubles, by the lying employers of that damnable "New England Aid Society." And this is not the only picture we would like to show them—hundreds besides, as inhuman, as cold blooded and revolting murders, are daily occurring in our midst.

We are sometimes almost tempted to give up in despair, when we have exhibited daily the foul play of our enemy. This is not a war of principles; one party stands upon the platform of principle, supported by the Constitution and the laws, while the other disclaims all. We have to combat with an enemy who acknowledges obedience to no power not recognized by the "Northern army" or Emigrant Aid Society.

Our citizens are dragged from their beds and butchered before their families, and we have to wait the tardy process of law to visit justice upon the doers of such deeds; and that is not all, even out of their own deeds they manufacture for Northern consumption lying reports. For example, in the murder of Wilkerson they dare attempt, in the face of direct proof, to fabricate a case of self-defense, and that "mouth-piece" of all "low bred isms" at the North, (the New York *Tribune*,) is sounding it abroad. But we can read in the political history of our country a change taking place with the masses, and the day of retributive justice is not far distant. A gag shall soon be placed in the mouth of these paid liars and disturbers of our common country, and their underlings, who have been heretofore successful in evading the law in Kansas, hung higher than "Haman."

The "Jefferson Inquirer" of the 3d instant, received last night, has the following:

"We confess we can see no authority for the conduct of the people on our border counties in denying the emigrants the right to land in the Territory after they were unarmed, and had offered no resistance to those who took their arms from them. By what authority do the citizens of Missouri or Kansas undertake to exclude the citizens of other States from emigrating to Kansas? If this is the Kansas-Nebraska bill, we want no more of it. We want peace and quiet for the people of Kansas and this State. The people North and South want peace, and the good citizens of all the States are anxious for the restoration of peace and quiet to the country. The fanatics of the North and of the South have gone far enough with their violations of law and order, and it is time for the people to put an end to it."

THE COURIER.

BY A. S. WILLINGTON & CO.

JULY 3, 1856.

The

SUCCESS OF

The Undersigned in being enabled, by energy and determination (characteristic of)

SOUTHERN PRINCIPLES,

To get up a Stock of Summer Clothing, is to those who have not gone to

KANSAS,

And needing Clothing, a matter of much importance. It is

ADMITTED AS A

Fact, that the Handsome Styles at this Establishment are unsurpassed in any Free or

SLAVE STATE

In the Union. Those who would favor him

BY A

Call, will be convinced that a

MAJORITY

Of the Goods at this Establishment, are

OF

Superior Make and Style; only to be had in King street, No.

261, IN THE

Stock, will also be found a Variety of Goods unequalled in any

HOUSE

In the City.

A. N. COHEN, Jr.,
Carolina Clothing Depot.

July 3

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

ON DOUGLAS'S KANSAS BILL.

Delivered on the Night of its Final Passage, July 2, 1856. In U. S. Senate.

Mr. SEWARD. Mr. President, the daily sessions of the Senate usually last three hours and a half hours. The present one has already reached its seventeenth hour. If I do not hasten, the close of the morning sun will pass the limits of the chandelier which is to decorate the ceiling. The honorable and distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Garrenson) has appealed sincerely and earnestly to my love of country and my devotion to the Union. Certainly every consideration weighs upon me as strongly as upon any other American Senator or citizen to make sacrifices of personal interest and convenience throughout this broad land; that my own country, whether of my love than any other country under the sun; and that it may, by means of such harmony and concord, continually rise in prosperity, greatness and glory.

The honorable Senator has based on that appeal a recommendation against my speech, that "the time for compromises has passed." The honorable Senator from Georgia, (Mr. Toombs,) to whom the bill owes its principal features, has disclaimed in debate all notion of the bill being the character of a compromise. Assuming, however, with the Senator from Kentucky, that this is itrue character, I must say, nevertheless, that my misunderstands me when he supposes that I am opposed to all compromises of all questions, on all occasions. My position concerning legislative compromises is this, that they are merely personal, temporary, and subordinate questions may lawfully be compromised; but *principles* can never be justly or wisely made the subject of compromise. By *principle*, I mean the elements in public questions of moral right, political justice and high national expediency. Does any honorable Senator assert a difference in maxim on the subject of legislative compromises?

Unlike, perhaps, that honorable Senator, I regard Slavery as morally unjust, politically unwise, and a retrograde institution, in this age, in every community where it exists. Slavery once, and not long ago, was practically universal. It may be called, indeed, the policy of the distinguished men, whose co-laborer I am in this assembly, there is one who more than myself, if he survives fifty years, to grow upwards through a period of five or six hundred years, would not reach the *bar sinister*. I owe it to wise, virtuous and bold legislators, who have gone before me, that I have myself learned that that within the State where I live, Slavery has forever ceased to exist. I owe it to mankind and to posterity that, being a legislator in my own state, Slavery shall by no act of mine, be established or extended; and by act of mine, God giving me grace, no human being shall ever hereafter be made or held a slave. This is a principle; and, being a principle, I cannot compromise it. Nevertheless, I am not, for that reason, to be supposed willing to be the author or instrument of resisting the majority of my countrymen, when, overruling me, they compromise principles even so sacred as this. I abide that reconsideration which I always hopefully believe near, and am sure is ultimately certain.

It was my fortune to have just come into Congress when California, a Free State, applied for admission into the Union. I insisted on her admission without condition, qualification, or compromise. Others here, on the contrary, demanded a compromise, which should settle, as they said, all actual and all possible questions arising out of the subject of Slavery in the United States. I showed, by arguments, that I deem, showed that such a compromise was impracticable. I maintained that questions arising out of Slavery, were to time, under different circumstances, and in different parts of the Republic, could only be justly and wisely settled, and, indeed, could only be settled at all, severally and distinctly, on the occasion on which they occurred. I was overruled; I was censured—how widely, how severely, all the world knows, for my refusal to join in a measure of peace and harmony. But it was called, which, as I thought, at the cost of sacrifices of freedom and justice, was expected to terminate the discussion of Slavery forever, and to bring in its place peace and concord throughout the country, and perpetual repose.

These measures was made here about this time, in a midsummer night, like this, at the close of a long and stormy debate. Loud-mouthed artillery, from the terrace of the Capitol, announced to the people of the United States that the Wilmot Proviso was buried under the floor of the Senate Chamber, and that the agitation of Slavery was buried with it. Whereupon I went, here or abroad, I was pointed out as a chief mourner—the last to leave that solemn ceremonial. Only four years have elapsed, when those who had effected that compromise found it necessary to open to civilization the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and they introduced into the Senate a bill for that purpose. Then, all at once the Wilmot proviso burst the cerements of its grave, and stalked through the Senate Chamber, and in its train came fearful horrors that it had worn before its interment.

The Slavery question thus re-opened, certainly by no act of mine, or of those who act with me, the compromise act of 1850 was reviewed. Those who favored the extension of Slavery in the Territories maintained that that compromise was, after the manner, a consequence, and therefore the prohibition of Slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, contained in the Missouri compromise act of 1820, was a consequence, and therefore extension of Slavery denied that consequence. I was among that number, and was again overruled. The majority here then here left upon a new expedient to bury down and confine the Wilmot proviso in its tomb, and prevent its possible resurrection forever. That expedient was, that Congress should renounce all power over the inhabitants of the new Territories, all jurisdiction on the subject of Slavery therein. Having no faith in this juncture of wisdom of that expedient, I calmly warned the Senate that they were only sending this perplexing question of Slavery down to the Territories, to involve their inhabitants in dangerous and fruitless contests, and that it would come back again to the Senate, red with the heat of those strifes, to be settled here at last. I insisted then that Congress ought to discharge its proper responsibility, and decide whether Kansas and Nebraska should be Slave Territories or Free Territories. The compromises of 1850 were the terror of the Capitol, announced to the people a new triumph, and it was again pronounced, throughout the length and breadth of this land, a closed, settled and overthrown agitation. Two years have elapsed. What is the result of this, the second compromise made within six years—a compromise consisting in the abnegation of Federal power over the subject of Slavery in the Territories of the United States? The result, in its nature, is just what I predicted. While, in some respects, it surpasses all that my fanatical imagination had conceived.

Sir, I say again, and with emphasis, we have had enough of compromises on the subject of Slavery. The day for them has passed. Do you ask what I would do on these disturbing questions? I answer, however, that I would do this—what I would do on all other questions. I hold this to be a government of majorities, modified, indeed, by complex constitutional limitations, but nevertheless a government of majorities.

It is the business of Congress to adjust and determine all questions which legitimately come before it, but not to compromise them, or to devolve their decision upon others. True, I know very well that I might be overruled, and that Slavery might be established in a Territory by Congress, where I should vote to establish Freedom. In that case, Slavery must remain there, until, in a constitutional way, it shall be removed. So, on the other hand, if Freedom shall be established in the Territories, where others vote to establish Slavery, they, too, must submit, and abide the result of their destiny. Only when there might be a difference of opinion between the House of Representatives and the Senate in such a case. In such an event, we must wait until the two Houses can agree—to-morrow, the next month, or the next year. The people will ultimately take care to constitute the two Houses that shall at last agree. So, sir, I state my position upon the subject of compromises concerning the subject of Slavery.

Sir, I am not willing to be a party to the usurpation of Government, and consented in the asymmetry marked the enforcement of decisions, by foreign legislators, magistrates, officials, by foreign soldiers and by foreign fleets, the United States was maintaining this despotism in Kansas with the armed force of the United States. I brought these facts to the notice of the Senate, together with the fact, that the people of Kansas, free American citizens as they were, unwilling to acquiesce in that usurpation, and unable to submit to that despotism, had established, at Topeka, in the manner of freemen, a democratic occasion, and, in acknowledged subjection to the jurisdiction of the United States, organized themselves into a State Government, and were here, by representatives delegated to both Houses, soliciting admission into the Union. I submitted to the Senate that the new State of Kansas ought to be admitted, not because it would be always wise to admit whatever new States might come, and in whatever manner they might come, nor because I approved of the principles, objects and different circumstances, to have admitted even Kansas herself, but simply because Kansas was held bound, hand and foot, under a foreign usurpation, at the feet of the President of the United States; and that her admission now was not only a necessary measure of relief and redress, but was the only practicable and adequate one.

I urged her admission on the Senate upon three distinct grounds. First, that it would secure peace to Kansas, and relieve her from the fearfully threatened with common ion and civil war. Secondly, that it would be the means of protecting property, life, and liberty, within that Territory, and within the States of the Republic

mise. *By principles*, I mean the elements of public questions of moral right, political justice and high statesmanship. I shall not, any further disturb Senator Douglas's different maxim on the subject of legislative compromises!

Unlike, perhaps, that honorable Senator, I regard Slavery, not merely as a local institution, but, wide, and socially pernicious, in some degree, in every community where it exists. Slavery once, and not long ago, was practically universal. It may be dead in Sweden, and dying in other enlightened men, whose co-laborer I am in this august assembly, there is one who more than myself, if he could trace his lineage upwards through a period of five or six hundred years, would not reach the *bar sinister*. I owe it to wise, virtuous and bold legislators, who have gone before me, that I am not myself a Slave, and that, within the United States, Slavery has been progressed to exist. I owe it to mankind and to posterity that, being a legislator now myself, Slavery shall be no act of mine, established or extended; and by act of mine, God giving me grace, no human being shall ever hereafter be made or held a Slave. This is a principle; and, being a principle, I cannot compromise it. Nevertheless, I am not, for that reason, to be supposed willing to be either turbulent or factious in resisting the majority of my countrymen, whenever, in the end, they constitutionally and even so sacred as this. I abide that reconsideration which I always hopefully believe near, and am sure is ultimately certain.

In my letter to the Governor just come into Congress when California, a Free State, applied for admission into the Union. I insisted on her admission, without compromise. Others here, on the contrary, demanded a compromise, which should settle, as they said, all actual and all possible questions arising out of the subject of Slavery in the United States, then, henceforth, and forever. I showed that such a compromise was impracticable. I maintained that questions arising out of Slavery, from time to time, and under different circumstances, and in different parts of the Republic, could only be justly and wisely settled, and, indeed, could only be settled at all, severally and dividedly, as the occasion on which they occurred. I was overruled; I was censured, how widely, how severely, all the world knows, for my refusal to join in a measure of peace and harmony, as it was called, which, as I believed at the cost of sacrifices of freedom and justice, was expected to terminate the discussion of Slavery in Congress, and to restore harmony and concord throughout the country, and perpetuate them forever.

That compromise was made here about this time, in a manner which, I think, like that, at the close of a long and stormy debate. Loud-mouthed artillery, from the terrace of the Capitol, announced to the people of the United States that the Wilmot Proviso was finally under the floor of the Senate Chamber, and that the agitation of Slavery was buried with it. Wherever I went, here or elsewhere, I was pointed out as a chief mourner—the last to leave that solemn ceremonial. Only four years have elapsed, when those who had effected that compromise found it necessary to violate it in civilating the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and they introduced into the Senate a bill for that purpose. Then, all at once the Wilmot proviso burst the cerements of its grave, and stalked through the Senate Chamber, clad in the same fearful horrors that it had worn before its interment.

The Revolution thus re-opened, certainly by no act of mine, or of those who act with me, the compromise act of 1850 was reviewed. Those who favored the extension of Slavery in the Territories maintained that that compromise drew after it, as a consequence, an abrogation of the prohibition of Slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, contained in the Missouri compromise act of 1820. Those who opposed the extension of Slavery denied that consequence. I was among that number, and was again overruled. The majority then found it necessary, in order to pedicate to bind down and confine the Wilmot proviso in its tomb, but with a presumptive resurrection former. That expedient was, that Congress should pronounce in favor of the inhabitants of the new Territories, all jurisdiction on the subject of Slavery therein. Having no faith in the justice or the wisdom of that expedient, I insisted that the effect would be, not only sending its perplexing question of Slavery down to the Territories, to involve their inhabitants in factious and fruitless contests; and that it would be, in fact, to leave those people, with the heat of those strifes, to be settled here at last. I insisted then that Congress ought to discharge its proper responsibility, and decide whether Kansas and Nebraska should be free Territories or Free Territories. The compromise ordinance, from the terrace of the Capitol, announced that question was then triumphant, and was again pronounced, throughout the length and breadth of the land, a disappointed and overthrown agitator. Two years have elapsed. What is the result of this, the second compromise made within six years—a compromise consisting in the abnegation of Federal power over the subject of Slavery in the Territories of the United States, from its nature, is just what I predicted; while, in its agravations, it surpasses all that my fanatical imagination had conceived.

Sir, I say again, and with emphasis, we have had enough of compromises on the subject of Slavery. The day for them has passed. Do you ask me what I would do with these disturbing questions? I answer, that I would do on them what I would do on all other questions. I hold this to be a government of majorities, medified indeed by the constitutional limitations, but nevertheless a government of majorities.

It is the business of Congress to adjust and determine all questions which legitimately come before it, and, in so compromising them, to so devolve their decision upon others. True, I know very well that I might be overruled, and that Slavery might be established in a Territory by Congress, where I should vote to establish Freedom. In that case, Slavery must remain there, until, in a constitutional way, it shall be removed. It is the fate of labor that Freedom shall be established in the Territories, where others vote to establish Slavery, they, too, must submit, and abide the change they desire. True, I know that there might be a difference of opinion between the House of Representatives and the Senate in such a case. In such an event, we must wait until that difference can agree—to-morrow, the next month, or the next year. The people will ultimately take care to constitute the two Houses so that they shall agree. So much, sir, for my position upon the subject of compromises concerning the subject of Slavery.

Mr. President, the Territory of Kansas constitutes one twenty-fifth part of the whole domination of the United States of America, sufficient to constitute six States of the average size of those now enrolled in the Confederacy. It is a Territory which, thirty-five years ago, was, with a special act of felicity of wisdom, consecrated to freedom, and assigned as an exclusive field of free labor. The distinguished Senator from Delaware (Mr. Clayton) now argues to convince us that that beneficial act was unconstitutional. The question which is thus raised is merely incidental and collateral now. I am content, therefore, on this occasion, to regret, that the act was a compromise; that it received the form, name, and character of a compromise, at that time, by the Slaveholding States and the Free States, by parties having conflicting interests in Slavery. And it received that form, name, and character, for the purpose of binding the faith of all parties against a repeal or disturbance of it, on the ground of alleged unconstitutionality, or on other ground. So it was received and acquiesced in by the people of the United States. So it took its place in the national history, and so it was respected and maintained by all parties until 1854. Congress, in that year, abrogated the hendeous guarantee of freedom, and thus offered the exposure of the Territory of Kansas, as well as that of Nebraska, to the intrusion of Slavery and Slave labor. But Congress, nevertheless, re-pioneed, as old Compromise, to impart to it a sanctified free-labor, with a guarantee that the inhabitants of Kansas, when coming to organize the Territorial Government, after a model prescribed, should be perfectly free to establish freedom and free labor, and to reject slavery and menial labor. No sooner had this new Congress assembled, than it was made known to us that the Territorial government in the interest of Slavery organization, an armed foreign body entered the Territory, and, at the point of actual war, the new State of Kansas, and advocated its pose age on these grounds, while I urged my objections against the bill relating to the same subject, which, however, passed the Senate to the Committee on Territories. There I left the debate, and I return to it now only because that Committee have abandoned their first bill, and have brought in another, which I understand to be now by my own bill, which I maintain to be preferable to the last bill of the Committee, as it was. In the Senate, honorable Senators seem to think that it is unreasonable that I do not give up my own bill, and come down and accept the new one, which they are inclined to treat as a compromise between my own bill for the immediate admission of Kansas, under the Topeka Constitution, and the first bill of the Committee on Territories. Why should I surrender my own bill? If it were just, wise, and necessary, when I presented it to the Senate, it is as just, wise, and necessary now. It was wise, just, and necessary then, if the circumstances under the Topeka Constitution of Kansas had adopted were then truly stated and set forth by me, in my argument. I had to rely on probable evidence, for no other evidence then existed. Now, a Committee of the House of Representatives, after having diligently inquired on oath, have ascertained and confirmed the truth of the circumstances of Kansas which I then assumed. I state those circumstances briefly, on this present occasion, in the moderate and guarded conclusions of the Committee of the House of Representatives:—

"Spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive offices have been set over them, by whose usurpations, sanctioned by the forms of law, the pretended government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced.

"The rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed.

"Test oath of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and of office.

"The right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied.

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated;

"They have been deprived of life, liberty, and property, without due process of law.

"The freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged.

"The right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect.

"Murders, robberies, and arsons, have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished.

"All these things have been done with the knowledge sanction, and procurement, of the present Administration."

Why, then, under these circumstances, should I abandon my own bill? Why should the Committee on Territories have shown me marked attention, by bestowing some criticisms upon that bill. They inform the Senate that the boundaries of the Territory designated by the bill differ from the boundaries assigned by the Topeka Constitution. The explanation is a simple one. The bill proposed by the Nebraska Committee had reached the Senate—was certainly before it had reached me. To avoid all question on the subject of boundaries, I adopted those which were described in the bill which had been reported from the Committee on Territories.

Again, the learned committee express a doubt in their report, whether my bill is framed so as to admit the State of Kansas under the Topeka Consti ution. I have only to say, in reply, that the bill proposed to admit the State of Kansas shall be admitted immediately. The State of Kansas certainly has no other Constitution than the Topeka one; and the bill in form is, *mutatis mutandis*, identical with that by which the State of California was admitted into the Union, and now holds her place in the Confederacy. These, sir, are unimportant matters—matters of mere detail, unworthy the attention of this branch of the night, and at this period of the session of Congress.

I lay it to the new bill of the Committee on Territories, for weightier reasons than any of mere criticism on details. I confess, frankly, that I regard it as a bill of concession, if not of compromise. I regard it as a bill which, in its concessions to the friends of freedom in Kansas, to be identical with the bill which it has supplanted in the affections of the Committee on Territories. I regard it as a bill which seems to come into the Union with such population as they may have on the 4th of July next, instead of obliging them to wait until they shall have a population of nearly three thousand four hundred and twenty souls. It seems at least also to wai ve the previous proposition of the Committee on Territories, for the appropriation for extraordinary expense to maintain the civil order in subjection to the usurping authorities in Kansas. But, while the bill goes so far, I object to its failure to go further, in order to that which would restore peace, safety, and freedom, in Kansas.

I am not bound, by any previous commitment, to accept any bill which stops short of those objects.

First, however, I inquire what substantial objection lies against my own bill? There is only one which is not conceded upon all sides, which is, that the formation and adoption of the Topeka constitution were the acts, not of the whole people, but of a majority of the actual settlers of the people of Kansas only. The honorable Senator from Georgia says that the constitution received only seven hundred votes. It is true that the Free State party refused to vote at the polls to call a convention to decide whether it was expedient to establish a provisional State, and also the proceedings to call a convention to frame the Constitution. But they invited the settlers, and all the citizens of Kansas, to participate in the decision of every question which was thus brought under discussion before the people. Whether the proceedings should stand or fail, according to the will of the people of Kansas, expressed through the ballot-boxes in the customary way. By majorities, they decided to form a constitution, or to revolve their decision upon others. True, I know very well that I might be overruled, and that Slavery might be established in a Territory by Congress, where I should vote to establish Freedom. In that case, Slavery must remain there, until, in a constitutional way, it shall be removed. It is the fate of labor that Freedom shall be established in the Territories, where others vote to establish Slavery, they, too, must submit, and abide the change they desire. True, I know that there might be a difference of opinion between the House of Representatives and the Senate in such a case. In such an event, we must wait until they can agree—to-morrow, the next month, or the next year. The people will ultimately take care to constitute the two Houses so that they shall agree. So much, sir, for my position upon the subject of compromises concerning the subject of Slavery.

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Daily Democrat.

FROM KANSAS.

The Treason Cases in Kansas.

The United States against John Brown, Jr., Jason Brown, Priddexter Mannes, Samuel W. Kiborn, Henry H. Williams, Stephen B. Morse and William Partridge

Warrants issued by Hon. S. G. Cato, Associate Justice of Supreme Court, K. T., and Judge of Second Judicial District, May 23d, 1856, for Treason.

Examination of witnesses taken at Tecumseh court house, in the county of Shawnee, in the territory of Kansas, on the 20th day of June, A. D., 1856, before Edward Hoagland, a United States commissioner within and for the district and territory of Kansas, in the matter of complaint made upon the oath of Great against the above named John Brown, Jr., Jason Brown, Priddexter Mannes, Samuel W. Kiborn, Henry H. Williams, Stephen B. Morse and William Partridge, who are charged upon the oath aforesaid, with treason against the United States.

William Barbee, acting District Attorney of United States, read affidavit explaining absence of warrant.

Joseph B. Hoag was called for prosecution, and sworn. I know of a public meeting being held at Osawatomie sometime in April last—the action of the meeting called in question the payment of assessments of taxes. It was not my understanding of it, that the meeting was intended to set aside all laws as passed by the Legislature. The question was whether the citizens should pay taxes or not.—John Brown was one of the persons influential in raising the question. I was not in the meeting when the meeting was first called. After the meeting had proceeded some time, I was asked into the meeting by a citizen of the town. At first I refused to go, but finally did so. I found the meeting organized and some resolutions drawn up, the purport of which resolutions was to the effect that the persons then assembled repudiated the payment of any taxes under the laws of Kansas, and would use any and all means to keep from the payment of any such taxes to any officer or officers who might attempt to collect such taxes, that any means that was available to repel any such officer, should be used to that end. Further than that, I do not know about the meeting, except that action was taken to carry into effect, or rather that the question on adoption was put, and I understand that the resolutions were adopted. That is all. I think Mr. Partridge was not present. I do not know; he may have been. I do not remember of seeing him there.—I have a faint recollection of seeing one of the Mr. Partridges there, but which one I do not know; only a faint recollection. I was present about 30 minutes. John Brown, Jr., was present at that meeting. I think that Mr John Brown, jr., was in the meeting that passed the resolutions mentioned, and remained there to the close. There was a kind of squabble or opposition to the resolutions, and a kind of a split, but John Brown, jr. remained. I think Alexander Gardner was also in that meeting. I know nothing about John Brown, jr. being at the head of a rifle company after that, only from report. It was generally understood that John Brown was at the head of a company—understood from persons professing to be'ong to the company on Pottawatamie creek, who recognized him as captain. Do not know what the company was raised for—know nothing of such a company until about the time of the meeting at Osawatomie. Next time, after seeing him at the above meeting, I saw John Brown, jr, at Prairie City. John Brown, jr. was in there, in command of that company.—Only knew Mr. William's position in the company from report. At Mr. Jones', at Ottawa creek, on return of the company from Prairie City to Pottawatomie, I was some distance from where the company was paraded, but there heard Mr. Brown tender his resignation as Captain to the company. Mr. Williams, the prisoner, was then and there elected Captain in place of Brown, and had command of the company as far as my knowledge goes. I separated from them. I know nothing in relation to a man named Jones being ejected from his claim, nor her than what I heard others say. About nine A. M., Sunday morning, about the 20th of May last, there came a gentleman riding into John Brown, jr.'s camp. I was there. This man complained of the treatment that this Jones had received from Mr. Brown or his men. It was sometime before he and Mr. Brown got into conversation. I think he desired Mr. Brown to have Mr. Jones to come back; to use means to that effect. Mr. Brown refused this to do; justified himself on the expulsion of Mr. Jones. This was whilst Brown had command of the company. The Sunday before his resignation, two gentlemen rode down the Santa Fe road after Jones; they seemed like friends of his and were opposed to his being turned off. Mr. Brown found considerable fault about those men riding through, and wanted them turned and arrested. This is all that I heard Mr. Brown or any of his men say about the matter. Do not know of Brown's driving off any other settlers. A saddle was brought into camp, but whose it was I do not know. William Partridge was then with the company. Only know him as a member of the company from report. Mr. Williams was there there. I also saw there Stephen B. Morse. Don't know Mannes—Never heard of Mr. Benjamin till a few days ago. Do not remember seeing Jason Brown here. On this same Sunday morning about the 20th May, there seemed to be considerable confusion in the crowd assembled at Prairie City. It may be Palmyra, Prairie City and Hickory Point are near together, but distinct localities and settlements. John Brown jr., and others, whether of other parties than his own or not I cannot say, manifested a disposition to remain there or in that vicinity. The portion of the crowd from Osawatomie manifested a strong disposition to disperse, retire and go home. After considerable discussion, the whole crowd moved off in a southerly direction from Palmyra. After moving about a mile, a column of United States troops was discovered coming up the Santa Fe road, apparently going to Palmyra where these men had started from. Brown and the whole crowd moved on to about two miles or two and a half from Palmyra here Brown called a halt. I understood from Mr. Brown himself, that the officer commanding the troops mentioned had sent for him to come and see him. In the course of half an hour afterwards, Brown started in that direction, and on his return said he had been to the troops in consultation with the officer of the troops, that the officer told him he had been sent there to see what was going on and to disperse armed bodies, and prevent collisions between parties and that the officer desired the company under Brown to disperse and retire from that point. I have heard Brown declare that he did not approve, or intend to submit to the territorial laws unless they were sanctioned by the general government, and a conversation to that effect. Never heard Partridge say a word about the laws that I remember.—Have heard Brown speak of the President's proclamation of January or February last, concerning Kansas affairs—that he did not regard it as a document worthy paying attention to. Never heard Williams or Partridge say any thing about the laws of Kansas or the proclamation, except that Williams had remarked that he did no consider the territorial laws of Kansas just. Never heard Williams use language implying that he intended to resist the territorial laws by force. The crowd staid at Ottawa Jones on Sunday night and the next morning (Monday) I saw John Brown sen. there. Did not hear either John Brown sr., or John Brown jr., speak of the murder of Wilkinson and others at Pottawatomie *at that time*. I did not hear Brown sr., speak of the murders at any time. At Osawatomie, I got in conversation with John Brown jr., at his shop, and was speaking of the murder of Wilkinson and others. I said to him I thought it was a very desperate thing, an outrages act for any one to be guilty of, and that I repudiated all such actions and all such men, no matter what party they belonged to. John Brown jr., said he did not repudiate the crime altogether, although he said, he could not justify it altogether—that there was an excuse in part for it. I told him I could not abide any such conduct, and then I turned away and left him.

CROSS EXAMINED.

I live at Osawatomie, Kansas territory, 65 or 70 miles from here. never was at his house, but suppose I live 9 or 10 miles from John Brown jr. First saw him I think, about the first of March last. I am a house carpenter by trade. I was a member of the Topeka legislature. I know the people about Pottawatomie creek and Marais des Cygnes pretty generally. After the company had gone I went to Palmyra; arrived at Prairie City or Palmyra Saturday night and left there Sunday morning and joined in the crowd. I was not in command of any company or connected with any organized party there whatever. I was in command of a company got up at Osawatomie in February; last or thereabouts, for amusement and becoming acquainted with military tactics but not for hostile intentions. Tuthad nothing to do with Brown. I do not know for what John Brown, Jr's, company assembled precisely. Brown was at Osawatomie two or three days before they started towards Lawrence, and said there was a great deal of trouble at Lawrence, and that it was desirable for citizens of other parts of the territory to all them to resisting what he called outrages against that town. Do not know that Brown had then heard the truth about affairs at Lawrence, only that he had many rumors, and that he was going himself, and intended to get all to go with him he could. Understood from him that there were parties from Missouri and elsewhere encamped near Lawrence with the intention of burning the town. Did not hear him say anything that implied a knowledge on his part that the United States troops were there. Understood from Brown that there were armed parties from Missouri and elsewhere assembled and unlawfully arrayed and assembled against Lawrence and he wanted all to go who could. Did not hear him say anything on that occasion about resisting United states or territorial authorities. He was there only a short time. Next time I saw him he was at Palmyra with his company. He paraded them, and called them upon parade. He had been to Leavenworth the night previous to learn the fact in reference to the difficulties there, and reported publicly to his men and all others what he had learned.

After seeing the company of United States troops, mentioned as coming up the Santa Fe road, the crowd moved on further. Brown having reported the conversation with the officer, that the latter had orders to disperse all armed parties and prevent collisions, the Osawatomie people went home, and I presume Brown did too. Heard Mr. Brown say he would not resist United States officers. Said nothing about the territorial authorities, or any other authorities on that occasion. Brown's party left us. Brown gave no instruction to any organized body at that time (Sunday morning) to resist, or any operation whatever at that time. I was at Palmyra only a short time, and cannot declare the existence of any intention to resist laws by the crowd. Could not judge of their general feelings. The party from Osawatomie had no regular organization, only as riled with Mr. Dayton. In vicinity of Osawatomie, the general rumors were for several days that Lawrence was being or had been destroyed. That every house had been burned down. I then heard it disputed. The rumors were greatly exaggerated. Did not hear prior to the dragoons being sent to the Santa Fe that U. S. authorities were destroying Lawrence. On Sunday morning mentioned, I heard the facts of the matter from Mr. Brown on his return from Lawrence, after the companies had assembled at Palmyra. Brown reported what had been done at Lawrence, and who had done it, and what the people had suffered &c. There was then confusion and discussion in the crowd. It was near 12 M. when they left Palmyra. Brown advised the men to go home and attend to their work, but for himself he was going to be in the saddle."? I understood Brown's remarks concerning the proclamation, to the effect that it would have no bearing upon his actions about obeying or disobeying the laws of Kansas. William Partridge was in the company. S. B. Morse, one of these prisoners, was also there. Don't know P. Mannes. Don't recollect seeing Jason Brown there, nor Samuel Kiborn. Saw Henry H. Williams there. Don't know Jacob Benjamin. Heard no expression of intention by any organized body or officer to resist the laws of Kansas while at Palmyra. The people from Osawatomie went up to see and learn what was going on at Lawrence. What the people from Pottawatomie went to I do not know precisely, further than already stated. I know of no acts of violence to person or property committed by the crowd assembled at Palmyra, of my own knowledge. There was also another party or company besides the Osawatomie and Pottawatomie companies. One commanded by Brown, one by Mr. Shore, and Mr. Dayton was leader of part of the company from Osawatomie. At the time of moving from Palmyra the companies all agreed to be controlled by John Brown, Jr.

DIRECT EXAMINATION RESUMED.

John Brown, Jr., was a member of the free State legislature, held at Topeka. The same man was at the meeting at Osawatomie. Mr. William was also a member of that legislature, and was a member of Brown's company, and was afterwards chosen captain thereof. The affair concerning Mr. Jones and his expulsion was the cause of the split between the Osawatomie and Pottawatomie company. The main motive had desired Brown to have Jones recalled and restored, but he justified and approved the act against Jones, and the circumstances mentioned about the two men during Jones's recall and mentioned by me in the early part of my examination took place.

In regard to the occurrences at Lawrence, Mr. Brown's report to his company and others assembled at Palmyra, was to the effect that Lawrence was destroyed by a mob or posse under sheriff Jones. I do not think in his speech he advised the men to go home. He said the war was now commenced in Kansas, and the only way to get out of trouble was to fight out—to conquer or be conquered—the thing was undecided and no compromise could be entered. While as and Partridge were present. No one made objection or response to Brown's speech. Mr. Morse, I think, was also there. The men were armed and equipped. I know nothing about what had been done at Palmyra or vicinity before the Osawatomie company got there.

J. B. HIGGINS.

Daniel W. Colliers, sworn: I reside in Osawatomie. I went with the people from Osawatomie as individuals to Hickory Point or Palmyra, as mentioned in the evidence of Mr. Higgins, on his examination. All I know about the expulsion of Mr. Jones was that a Mr. Clayton came riding down on a horse with six chickens and a side saddle, which he said a woman gave him. The chickens I cooked and the saddle he took down to the camp. He said Mr. Jones gave them to him. Did not hear Mr. Brown or either of the persons speak about Jones' nearness. We all left Palmyra and got to Ottawa Jones' on Sunday night, the side saddle with us. At about two miles from Palmyra I first heard of the murder of Wilkinson and others. Just as Brown, Jr., was going into Pottawatomie, Brown Jr., remarked concerning the murders, that it was not best to talk about them much, that it would agitate the minds of the people. I was cooking in the camp. I next saw Mr. Brown after I reached Osawatomie, back of the ridge, on the Marais des Cygnes bottom, in the woods where I had a conversation with him. Mr. Adair said Brown had crossed the creek. I went down to see if he had. After a while on coming back, I heard some one talking. I had then come up the bank and on looking across the river I saw Mr. Brown with a rifle in his hand. He asked me who I was. Whether I was a pro-slavery man. I asked him if he did not know me. He said, yes, he believed he did. I had ridden a horse down to the bank in company with another man, in whose charge I left the animal. While I went to see Brown about this time, the man in whose charge I left my horse, rode off with the animal. Brown then asked me if the man mentioned was a pro-slavery or a free State man. I answered a free State man. Brown said "then it is all right." He then told me to go to Osawatomie and raise what men I could and go to Lawrence, as the road was clear. I told him I could not raise many men. I asked him if his brother was there with him. He said yes; that he was there in the brush with him; that his brother was going right on to Lawrence. Mr. Hoyte rode up then, and I had no-

more or less conversation with him at that time. Have had conversation with Brown at any time concerning the laws. Heard him express his intentions. Before I went to the woods to seek him Mr. Adair had told me that John Brown, Jr., was a little deranged; that he was crazy. I went across the ravine then to see his brother—not this one here, John Brown, Jr., came across to see me. His brother said if I would come on that evening he would wait for me and go through to Lawrence, as they had more horses than they had men to mount; this was in presence of John Brown, Jr. This prisoner, John Brown, Jr., was in command of the Pottawatomie company at Palmyra; did not know John Brown, Sr., had any command under John Brown, Jr. William Partridge and Morse were present at the camp as part of Brown's company at Palmyra; don't know, but understood Williams was lieutenant in the company; I was not there at the time, and consequently do not know what created the disturbance or division between the Osawatomie and the Pottawatamie men.

Cross-examined—When I saw Brown in the Bottom, as mentioned, was two or three days after our return from Palmyra; I thought while I was talking with him that he was in his right mind, but when I saw him in the camp next day I thought he was not. He had been taken prisoner that morning. He seemed excited when I saw him in the Bottom, and wilder than I have ever seen him before I knew him previously; had spoken with him several times. The object of the assembling of the companies was the two or three messengers had come down from Lawrence asking for assistance, as Lawrence was to be burned, and all free State people were to be driven out; understood these things were to be done by a mob from Missouri and a part of Bradford's party; it was to prevent the burning of Lawrence that the three companies assembled, we had no intention of resisting the laws in any way whatever; I speak of those from Osawatomie. At Palmyra for a time all three of the companies were subject to John Brown, Jr.'s orders. I know of no insurrectional object then existing in the camp as thus combined—nor in any of the companies separately, before or afterwards. I think I knew the designs and intentions of the several companies.

D. W COLLINS.

Henry Jackson sworn: I was at the camp at Palmyra; reside near Osawatomie; we got to Palmyra after dark Saturday night: I went to sleep; in the morning I found John Brown, Jr., in our camp; this was Sunday morning. Concerning the difficulties at Lawrence Brown made a speech to the camp, saying that the difficulties then existing between the parties were caused by the destruction of the Free State hotel, and other property at Lawrence, by a posse that Sheriff Jones had dismissed in the town; he advised the members of the company, in that speech, to return home and go to work; that the U. S. authorities were in Lawrence, or about Lawrence, and intended to keep order; knew better than the different parties. Mr. Brown was then in command of the Pottawatomie company. On Sunday morning I understood a man named Jones had passed through the camp, who was fleeing the territory, on his return to Missouri. There was some difficulty and conversation concerning calling Jones back &c. A gentleman riding in Palmyra had sent a messenger after Jones to bid him to come back. Mr. Brown learned this and objected to it, and want of the man to send a messenger to countermand the first, but to let Jones pass on. Brown was unwilling to have Jones come back. Don't know whether Williams, Partridge and Morse were present and heard Brown's conversation, but they were present in the camp at the time. Don't know Williams' position in the company. Williams was with the company at Ottawa. Jones was there elected captain of the Pottawatomie men. I saw William Partridge, the prisoner in Brown's company, at Palmyra. I do not remember of hearing John Brown, Jr., express any opinion or say anything about the murder of Wilkinson and others when we heard of them. After arriving at Ottawa Jones and Mr. Williams had command of the Pottawatomie company. I saw Mr. Morse the prisoner, in Palmyra camp. I understand John Brown, Jr., Mr. Williams, Mr. Partridge, and Mr. Morse to be citizens of the United States; never heard Brown or either of the others say anything about abusing the laws.

Cross-examined—I went up with some of the citizens of Osawatomie to Palmyra, found Brown and his company and another company there; as to the intention of the companies in going there I cannot answer, except in regard to myself and those that went with me from Osawatomie. The general understanding of the men in gathering there was that Lawrence and vicinity was threatened with an invasion by men from Missouri and other places we were going up to assist the people of Lawrence in protecting themselves against mob violence. It was my understanding that the camp generally assembled at Palmyra for that purpose. I cannot say that I know any expression in the companies of an intention to resist the laws. I saw the United States troops mentioned by Higgins. We moved on a mile and a half or two miles, after we saw said troops, when we came to a halt. I then learned the Capt. John Brown, Jr., had received a message from the captain of the troops, who wished to see Brown. Brown soon started, and on his return reported an interview he had had with the commander, that the officer desired a disbandment of the armed companies. The companies started immediately for home. We went until we got within seven or eight miles of Osawatomie, when the Pottawatomie company left us. John Brown, Jr.'s family was then at Mr. Adair's, near Osawatomie. Brown went with us towards Osawatomie.

I went with the company to within 2½ miles of the town, when I left them. I did not see him again until two hours after dark that evening. As to disbanding, I cannot speak concerning the intentions of the Pottawatomie company. Our Osawatomie company considered it a breaking up, and we disbanded.

DIRECT EXAMINATION RESUMED.

I judged of the feeling in the other camps about protecting Lawrence from mob violence from the expressions of the men in the other camps besides our own. The dispatches first mentioned about free State men being driven off were received—one I, believe from Mr. Brown, and two from other persons whom I do not recollect. On arriving at Palmyra I could not learn of any free State men having been driven away, as represented in Brown's dispatch. I now correct the language above to this effect, that I do not remember positively that any of the dispatches represented that free State men had been driven off—but that there were troubles threatened there and in that vicinity. These three companies numbered a hundred men or more, well armed.

CROSS EXAMINATION RESUMED.

I heard no particulars of affairs at Lawrence until Mr. Brown gave his explanation on Sunday morning. In two or three hours after that we started southward. The state of affairs at Lawrence was found not to be as bad as had been represented before. I understood from him there had been a posse taken in there by sheriff Jones, to make some arrests, and after he was through with the posse, he dismissed them in the town, and that these outrages were committed by the men after they were dismissed.

H. JACKSON.

Here the prosecution rests.

Defendants declined calling any witnesses.

The prosecuting attorney declares that he no further prosecutes against either of the prisoners, except John Brown, Jr. Mr. Williams, Mr. Partridge and Mr. Morse.

Counsel heard pro and con

Ordered, that the prisoners John Brown, jr., and Henry H. Williams, be held to answer any indictment that may be preferred against them on the charge aforesaid, &c.

Joseph B. Higgins recalled. (A set of resolutions offered in evidence, and hereunto annexed, marked "A," received and read by prosecuting attorney.) So far as these resolutions are concerned they are, I think, word for word with those passed at the meeting mentioned by me in my examination in chief. They are to the same effect certainly. As to the preamble I do not recollect precisely.

J. B. HIGGINS.

Mittimus, for John Brown, jr., and Henry H. Williams, issued and delivered to U. S. marshal.

I, Edward Hoogland, do hereby certify that the above is a correct statement and account of an examination taken by and before me, as above stated, and of the testimony of the several witnesses produced, sworn and examined thereupon, and that the paper hereunto annexed, marked "A" is the one referred to in the foregoing depositions. Given under my hand at Tecumseh K. T., June 20, 1856.

EDWARD HOOGLAND, U. S. Com.

United States of America, Territory of Kansas, County of Shawnee, } Second Judicial District, K. T.

I, Chas. P. Bullock, clerk of the second Judicial district court of the Territory of Kansas, hereby certify that the foregoing testimony is a true and correct copy of the original as taken before Hon. E. Hoogland, United States Commissioner for Kansas Territory, on the 20th day of June, in the case of the United States against John Brown, jr., Jason Brown, Pot dexter Manese, Samuel W. Kiborn, Henry H. Williams, Simeon B. Morse and Wm. Partridge, charged with treason against the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of said court, at office in Tecumseh this 21st day of June, A. D., 1856.

[L. s.] CHAS. P. BULLOCK, Clerk United States District Court. by JNO MARTIN, Deputy Clerk.

APPENDIX A.

At a meeting of the settlers of Osawatomie and vicinity, held at Osawatomie April 16th, 1856, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Whereas, several invasions from the border States have been made into this territory, to subjugate it, and make it subservient to slavery, and whereas said invasions were made for said result in the prostration of our civil and political rights, and the entire pollution of the ballot box and foisted upon us as a set of pretended and tyrannical legislators who unlawfully assembled at the Shawnee mission in the Indian Reservation, and there attempted to impose upon the settlers cruel and tyrannical laws, and appointed officers contrary to the fundamental principles of our government for the term of six years; and whereas we are credibly informed that attempts have been made to assess and collect taxes of us by men appointed for the purpose by the aforesaid legislature, so called: therefore resolved that we utterly repudiate the authority of that legislature, as a body, emanating not from the people of Kansas, but elected and forced upon us by a foreign vote, and the officers appointed by them, have therefore no legal power to act.

Resolved, That we pledge to one another mutual aid and support in a forcible resistance to any attempt to compel us into obedience to the enactments, let that attempt come from whatever source it may; and that if any appointed by that legislature to the office of assessor, or sheriff shall hereafter attempt to assess or collect of us, they will do so at the peril of such consequences as shall henceforth be necessary to prevent the same.

The Emigrants on the Sultan.

We published a few days ago the fact that the free State emigrants who started to Kansas on board the steamer Sultan, had been disarmed by citizens of the towns along the Missouri river. The following account of the proceeding has been handed to us by one of the party for publication. We give it without comment:

The steamer Sultan left St. Louis for Weston Tuesday, 24th June, 1856, having on board a company of men from Massachusetts, under the command of Capt. Cutter, bound for Kansas territory. The company consisted of about forty men, each well provided for any emergency, being armed with a Sharp's rifle, bowie knife, revolver etc. When we left St. Louis no trouble was anticipated from the border ruffians, but we had not proceeded far up the river when we were informed that the boat would be stopped and the arms taken away. A short distance below Waverly we were met by the Star of the West, having on board the Chicago company, who, after having all their arms taken away, had been forced to return; these endeavored to dissuade Capt. Cutter from proceeding further, but they were refused. Capt. Cutter determining to get a peep at the elephant at any risk. When we arrived at Waverly a deputation from that place came on board and demanded their fires on board, and the captain thinking discretion was the better part of valor, quietly turned them. We were congratulating one another that we had escaped so easily, but great was our chagrin, and I am afraid fear also, when on reaching Liberty, we perceived a company of about 150 men drawn up on the bank, and saw the mouths of two cannon pointing directly at the boat. From this place a guard escorted us to Independence, at which place we were again accosted by a salute from a 24 pounder, loaded with grape shot. Here Captain Shaw's company came on board and accompanied us as far as Weston. When a short distance above Independence it was proposed to search the rooms of the passengers, suspecting that they had arms concealed, the result proved that they were not deceived, for there were found some 15 or 20 rifles in the rooms; some of these had been hidden in the matresses, which had been cut for that purpose. It was said that a lady threw overboard some 15 or 20 rifles, but for the truth of this we will not vouch as we did not see it. After taking all the rifles, it was proposed, to cap the climax, that all he side arms should be taken away, and accordingly each one was commanded to walk up to the officer and fork over, which very *reasonable* request was complied with. When we reached Delaware City we were hailed by a large red flag and commanded to land; here we were boarded by a committee, who, after learning that all was right on the goose, allowed us to proceed without further molestation. When we reached Leavenworth City a guard was placed on the forecastle, who would allow none to go on shore. This was done also at Weston. We left Weston Monday morning, 30th inst., at 7 o'clock, and at every place we landed the same guard was placed at the stage plank. Arriving at Independence, Capt. Shaw took off his command, and we proceeded to St. Louis a great deal relieved. We arrived Wednesday evening, at 8 o'clock. It is needless to add that for most of us, the sight at the elephant as it now is, has been for the present sufficient.

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 4, 1856.

The Kansas Bills Before Congress—Passage of Mr. Douglas' Modified Bill.

This bill of Mr. Douglas is a decided backdown from his former position. The *N. Y. Herald* thus speculates upon the motives that may have induced the change in his tactics:

The most remarkable feature in this business in the Senate is the change which seems to have come over the mind of Mr. Douglas since the nomination of Col. Fremont. Less than a month ago Mr. Douglas was in favor of exacting of Kansas the Congressional ratio of 93,000 population, as the first imperative qualification for her admission into the Union. Now, it seems the Chairman on Territories has come to the conclusion that the regular representative ratio of population may be dispensed with, and Kansas may be admitted much earlier than he at first believed would be compatible with the policy of the Democratic party—which is to make of Kansas a slave State. The Anti-Slavery Vigilance Committee at Washington say that Dr. Stringfellow and Gen. Whitfield, fresh from the battle-fields of Lawrence and Ossawotomie, have intimated—the free State squatters being pretty thoroughly cleared out of the Territory, bag and baggage, by the last hostile invasion from Missouri—that now is the time for applying the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, before the abolition adventurers recover from their fright and come back. Sharp idea that; for if a law were passed at once providing for a State Convention of the people of Kansas forthwith, under the auspices of this

Pierce administration, any future State Constitution recognizing the existence of the institution of slavery would be the result. But as the concurrence of a Northern House of Representatives will be required before a plan of this sort can be put into operation, we fear that the Northern Aid Societies will have reinforced their wasted ranks in Kansas in time to take a hand in this game of squatter sovereignty.

Alas for the follies of our narrow-sighted politicians and President-makers at Washington! "The proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof." Squatter sovereignty is a farce. The legislative supervision of Congress is supreme over the Territories—the executive authority of the President is supreme, as shown in the working of this identical Kansas-Nebraska bill, even upon the subject of slavery. The hostile abolition squatters and border ruffians have trampled squatter sovereignty under foot. It is a humbug. Mormon polygamy reigns over Utah under the plea of squatter sovereignty, and makes it a nuisance. Mr. Douglas himself, when pushed for a definite interpretation, carries this bantling of squatter sovereignty into the Supreme Court, and dropping it there, comes away and washes his hands of the whole business. Gen. Cass essays to help him to a right understanding of the problem—but even Gen. Cass, with each succeeding effort to get out, only gets deeper into the swamp, as Mr. Clayton does in his successive explanations of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

July 4 DETROIT. 1856

ESTABLISHED JUNE, 1835.

H. F. JOHNSTONE & Co., PROPRIETORS.

RUFUS HOSMER, - - - - - EDITOR.

J. M. HOLBROOK, COLLECTING AGENT.

Report of the Kansas Committee.

Messrs. Howard and Sherman, the majority of the Kansas Committee in Congress, have made their report, which occupies fourteen columns of the New York Tribune, we shall publish this important document as soon as practicable, in the form of a supplement. It is rife with information with which every true man should make himself familiar, and if it is not read and understood in this State, it shall not be our fault. It is a calm, dispassionate presentment of facts, which needs no elaboration, a bare recital of which, will cause the blood of every freeman to thrill with indignation and shame, be his affinities what they may.

Hitherto, although much has been read and written of Kansas outrages, so far as black and wicked details are concerned, the half has not been told.

SLAVERY REJOICES.—When the Kansas Freedom Bill failed in the House, a drunken orgie was instituted, at which Douglas presided. This swaggering pot-house Catiline took that as an appropriate opportunity to insult with whisky belchings, the State of his birth, the State of his adoption, and the name and memory of his forefathers.

> 'Is there not some secret curse—
> Some hidden thunder red with uncommon wrath—
> To blast the wretch who owes his greatness
> To his country's ruin?'

Colonel Bissell and the Kansas Bill

This distinguished statesman, now republican candidate for Governor in opposition to Richardson, is assailed by the Buchanier presses of Illinois on the ground that when the final vote on the Nebraska bill was taken he was not in the house, and that at a meeting of democratic Congressmen from his state, at Col. Bissell's room, it was agreed to telegraph to leading men in Illinois that Col. Bissell would support the Kansas bill. To these absurd calumnies, which are uttered in the *State Register* and the *Ottawa Free Trader*, the editor of the *Democratic Press* of Chicago makes the following crushing reply:

"The whole statement is a sheer fabrication from beginning to end. Col. Bissell was never counted a friend of the Kansas-Nebraska bill at Washington.—His opposition to it was no secret. It was spoken of as a thing well understood in the public press at the time. No meeting of the democratic representatives from Illinois, including Col. Bissell, ever took place in connection with that bill. No consultation such as the *Free Trader* alludes to, was ever held, nor was any such despatch ever left with Col. Bissell to be sent to Illinois. We repeat, the whole statement is a sheer fabrication, and we have full authority for thus designating it.

"While the Kansas-Nebraska bill was under discussion, we had more or less private correspondence with Col. Bissell. He gave us his opinions frankly and unreservedly. He was uncompromisingly opposed to the bill, and had he not been stricken down by disease so early in the session, we doubt not his personal influence and the force of his eloquence would have defeated the measure in the House. One of his letters is now before us, and we presume we shall not be going beyond what is proper, under the circumstances, to give it to the public, although not written for publication. The reader will perceive that it bears date a long while prior to the final action upon the bill. The sentiments of the letter correspond with those now held by Col. Bissell. They are creditable to him as a statesman, as a patriot and as a friend of freedom. We subjoin the letter.

"'Washington, April 27, 1854.

"'My dear Sir: I beg you to excuse my seeming neglect in not earlier acknowledging the receipt of your most welcome and agreeable letter on the Nebraska question.

"'Upon the question of repealing the Missouri Compromise, my views are in strict accordance with your own; and you have never published or written a word on that subject, so far as I know, which I do not heartily approve.

"'The base proposition to disturb that ancient and important land-mark is little less than infamous, and, in this case, the motive for it is such as no right-minded man can for a moment hesitate to condemn, the whole extent of its nationality being personal aggrandizement.

"'Has it ever occurred to you to look closely into the motives for establishing *two* territorial governments instead of one, as at first proposed? Those who suggested that novelty reasoned thus: Efface, said they, the Missouri Compromise line—then establish a northern and a southern territorial government. Slaves will be taken in greater or less numbers into the southern (Kansas) territory. That very fact will cause northern emigration to stop in Nebraska, (the northern Territory.) Thus the two embryo States will grow, side by side, and pretty nearly *pari passu*. They will apply for admission into the Union about the same time, when pro-slavery men can say with some plausibility, Now, gentlemen of the North, let us have equal division. Here are two new States to be admitted. Be just to the South. Give us half—one State (Kansas) slave—the other (Nebraska) no slave. Thus they will get a slave State in our old French Territory, *north of* 36 deg. 30 min., or they'll have a fuss!

"'My present purpose is to say a few words upon this bill before it comes to a vote.

"'I sincerely thank you for the success and discreet moderation with which you have so zealously opposed this vile measure, and I trust you will continue the same efficient opposition so long as there shall be any occasion.

"'I remain truly your friend,

"'W. H. BISSELL.

"'J. L. Scripps, Esq.'"

THE CHICAGO EMIGRANTS TO KANSAS.—Eight of the returned—returned, but not "subdued"—Chicago emigrants to Kansas, arrived here yesterday morning from Alton. They took the evening train for Iowa City, from whence they proceed to Kansas. The remainder of the emigrants were to proceed to Davenport by steamer, and from thence, via Iowa City, to Kansas.—*Chicago Dem. Press.*

THE MODERN PATRIOT.

A Poem Delivered Before the Young Men's Association of Albany, N. Y.

JULY 4TH, 1856.

BY J. G. HOLLAND.

Fresh from the scissors and the busy quill
And the dwarfed imp that haunts the copy-till;
Fresh from the ceaseless round of toil and strife
That fill the hours of editorial life—
That chafe the mind, and waste the weary flesh,
Until the twain are anything but fresh,
I can invoke no fairy throng of dreams
To clothe and crown imperial thoughts and themes,—
I can command no troop of deft conceits,
Led by the elfin drum to elfin feats;
And jest and shout shall serve my muse in vain
To start from slumber Humor's laughing train.

Besides—the weather! What can poets do
With the the mometer at ninety-two?
Grandeur in shirt-sleeves! Grace with no cravat!
Sublimity beneath a palm-leaf hat!
Love with no dickey! Beauty in a sweat!
Truth at the pump, with hands and forehead wet!
Fame drinking soda! Glory with a fan!
Passion asleep upon the cool divan!
And Faith and Hope, in slippers, throwing dice,
To close a quarrel o'er a chunk of ice!

Well that the day to every patriot dear,
Which comes so regularly every year,—
The day so blest to furious little boys,
The day so curst with their vexatious noise,
The day of crackers from the far Chinese
And snaps and crackers that go off with cheese,
The day of great explosions, such as catch,
Alike from matchless speech and speechless match,
The fire that gives them impulse to harass
The resonance of patriotic brass,—
Well that this day demands no higher powers
Of inspiration than its own bright hours,
Nor calls my voice to topics more sublime
Than those which occupy the living time.
The teeming age is crowded with events:
Cause leaps before its rushing consequence;
Epochs prick Eras with advancing spears,
And weeks are freighted with the wealth of years!

If in this broad, tumultuous throng I choose
That which relates to current life and news;
If things grown too familiar load the tongue
With language which were better said than sung,
And themes unwelcome, or deemed contraband
Of party, in this party-blasted land,
Shall stand before us, in their dark array,
To claim a fitting tribute from the day,
Remember that prohibitory laws
Touch not the spigot whence the poet draws,
And that poetic license starts the taps
Of casks that flow with Heiconian schnapps.

Ill fare the day when ban of party zeal
The patriot's honest utterance shall seal!
Ill fare the country where the poet's lyre
Defers to demagogues its noblest fire!
Ill fare the soul which does not dare to face
Those mean proprieties of time and place,
Born of corruption, fed and bred by knaves,
Endured by fools and pandered to by slaves,
Which prostitute the country's natal day
To pointless rhetoric and blank display,
And shun, as if it were a very ghost,
That which concerns the country's welfare most.

I sing the patriot: and who is he?
What shall the sign of his great honor be?
What the sure test to vindicate his claim
To the distinction of this noble name?

'Twas a great day when, four-score years ago,
Our stalwart fathers struck the lusty blow
Which smote in sunder the degrading chain
That bound them subject to a tyrant's reign.
'Twas a great day when, gathering in the gloom
And the dumb grandeur of that sacred room,
The breathless destinies, with hope and fear,
Waited the baptism of a hemisphere!
And as those names, immortal as the sun,
Sought the majestic record, one by one,
From Hancock's bars of supple steel enrolled
To Hopkins' corrugated wires of gold,
Spirits unseen took up each sundered thread,
And wove a crown for every godlike head!
Ah! who shall weigh the mighty load of care
That pressed, like mountain-piles, upon them there!
Ah! who shall gauge that wealth of nob'e life,
Pledged to the doubtful issue of the strife!
Ah! who shall measure that heroic faith
Which spoke for freedom in the face of death!

'Twas a great day—and those were wondrous men,
Whose like the country shall not see again.
Those men were patriots: every honest breast,
In its great manhood, stood the vital test:
They laid their lives, their fortunes, honor, all,
On Freedom's altar, at their country's call.

Not such the patriots of this later day,
Nor such the price our modern patriots pay.
New tests have risen, new demands are made,
And patriots now are patriots by trade.
They give themselves, as did these men of old;
Those for their country—these, their country's gold.
They love their country—every hill and plain—
From the magnolia to the oaks of Maine;
They know no North, no South, no East, no West,
(Save the choice cardinal which pays the best);
They grasp the whole, and, all impartial, strike
For vice and virtue, right and wrong alike;
And, when they save the Union, take good care
That all defects and stems and skins are there.

Oh! when the butcher leans upon the ox
That waits from his red hand the fatal knocks,
Shall he in philosophic seeming stand,
And reason thus upon the task in hand?
"A noble creature! juicy, fat and fair!
What luscious steaks—what sirloins nestle there!
What alamodes and savory soups abide,
What roasting pieces hide within that hide!
And as for tallow, try it, and behold
The world aglare with sunlight manifold!
True, there are horns, and vicious ones at that,
But then, the noble beast is very fat!
True, there are hoofs, not quite unused to kick,
But that for him is such a little trick!
True, there's a hide, to which the hair adheres,
But it adorns the very prince of steers!
Shall these, associate with his very life,
Part at the touch of the profaning knife?
Do they not help to make the ox complete—
These rude old horns, this hide, these ugly feet?
Grant that their office has not been the first
By which this batch of breathing beef was nursed;—
Still, they've done something, and, perhaps, their best,
And so should share all glory with the rest:
So fetch a hogshead, or a mammoth box,
And I'll pack down entire, the perfect ox!"

Think you Turk's Island would save such a mass
From being turned to its familiar grass?
Think you that sophistry would quench the grief
Of the gaunt buyers of that awful beef?
Think you that devious butcher could command
No better course, with saw and knife in hand?
Praise you his wisdom when, upon the spot,
He might have skinned him just as well as not?
And filled his market with the noblest food
That e'er gave pith and pluck to human blood?

New tests have ris'n, and, equal to the hour,
Slim men to meet them, with beseeming power.
A patriot now is crowned and glorified
Who stands committed to the sacred hide;
He is no patriot whose fastidious proof
Chokes at an oath upon the holy hoof;
He is a graceless traitor who shall scorn
To save this glorious Union—in a horn!
New tests have risen, and the patriot now,
To a new shrine must bring his gifts, and bow;
For, on the throne where smiling Freedom sate,
Grins her old Enemy in royal state.
When, at her word, invading armies sweep
O'er wild morass and blood-bought mountain-keep,
And each position of the Mexic falls,
From Ulua's towers to Montezuma's halls,
The modern patriot cheers them loud and long,
And shouts, "My country, whether right or wrong!"

When, at her bidding, on these broad domains—
New England's mountains and old Empire's plains—
Law slips the leash that bound the greedy pack
Of hounds that haunt the flying negro's track;
When the dear soil the Pilgrim Fathers trod—
Baptized with freedom in the name of God,
And by their children's blood to freedom sealed—
Becomes the slaver's legal hunting field;
When, 'neath the granite tower that holds in trust
Immortal Bunker's consecrated dust,
The slave is dragged, through files of cursing men,
To wear the chains of servitude again,
The modern patriot howls his wild applause,
And glories in the triumph of the laws.

When yielding tamely to her foul behest,
The golden line that pierced the mighty West,
And, like the first long ray of rising light,
Marked where the day divided from the night,
Is swept from prairie wilds and mountain shades
And the strong hands of three benign decades;—
When a great compact, sealed with honor's seal,
Forever pledged, and sacred from repeal,—
A compact which, with compromising hand,
To purchase peace for a distracted land,
Parted the soil 'twixt Freedom and her foe,
And said to Slavery—"thus far shalt thou go.
And all beyond, from rolling age to age,
Is Freedom's consecrated heritage,"—
When this is trampled in the shuddering dust
By a foul pretext, born of shame and lust,
And, like a brood of demons, o'er the brink
Leap the dark billows from their sea of ink,
The modern patriot scowls not at the test,
But gulps the damned potion with the rest!

When pressing forward to their rightful soil,
The free, brave sons of enterprise and toil
Pour fresh and strong, like old Atlantic's surf,
Wave after wave along the flowery turf,
Where loitering Kanzas wanders ocean-ward,
And swift Nosho cleaves the fragrant sward;
And, 'neath the magic of the freeman's wand,
Primordial harvests wave on either hand,
And embryo cities, in a moment made,
Throb to the pulses of maternal trade;—
Oh! when upon this scene of peaceful strife,
That marks a mighty empire's opening life,
The border ruffian, with his bloody horde,
Sweeps lu to devastate with fire and sword,
And, backed by plundered suffrage, frames a code
As foul to man as blasphemous to God;—
When peaceful men are butchered by the way,
And trains are plundered in the open day;
When towns are sacked and presses overthrown,
And human dwellings burnt or battered down;
When men, like deer, fly breathless from the chase,
And women shriek beneath a brute's embrace;
When pure, brave men who love their country well,
Pass the long hours within the felon's cell—
Martyrs devoted whose most flattering hope
Hangs, with themselves, upon a broken rope—
The modern patriot sighs, and thinks it sad,
Swears the rebellious freemen must be mad,
And, as in duty bound, gives firm applause
To the low rabble that maintain the laws!

Oh! tortured Kanzas! When the day appears—
A sun-lit summit in the looming years—
That these thy wrongs shall be redressed, and thou
Recall the trials thou art suffering now,
Tears—grateful tears—shall steep the ransomed sod,
And thou shalt bless the Providence of God.
For these, thy wrongs, shall be thy treasures then;
Thy priceless jewels all these martyred men;—
This story of the throes that gave thee birth,
Thy crown, thy glorying, in all the earth,
Which shall, from patriot sire to son, descend—
A golden legend—until time shall end.
And thou shalt have, unshared by other clime,
Thy Pilgrim Fathers to the end of time;
And while we kneel on our lone Plymouth Rock,
And weep warm tears upon the precious block,
Thy children, richer by surpassing signs,
Shall bless a thousand consecrated shrines.

When, at his desk upon the Senate floor,
Lingers the Senate's peerless orator,
Scribbling perchance, or, wrapped in listless mood,
Giving dim entertainment to the brood
Of lordly fancies, of the echoes born,
Which his great words awoke but yestermorn,
Slow to his side the ruffian bully steals,
With fitting panders dogging at his heels,
And on that head rains murderous blow on blow,
Till, stunned, the form it crowns lies faint and low,
While noblest blood spurts fearfully and hot,
And burns like gouts of fire around the spot,
The modern patriot faintly blames the act,
(To save his own poor, craven skull intact,)
Then damns the victim for the maddening word,
Or feeds the ruffian at the festal board.
A breach of law, a breach of courtesy,
A breach of faith and honor it may be,
A breach of all the rules of brutal strife,
A breach of all the decencies of life,
A breach of manliness, a breach of truth,
But yet, "*no breach of privilege*,"—forsooth!

And thou, too, gallant SUMNER, when the day
Of this poor patriotism has passed away,
And thy brave words, outstanding from the age,
Shall glow like gold on the historic page,
When free, bold speech, against a bolder crime,
Shall be accounted noble and sublime,
And words no more for brotherhood and right
Be deemed the outbursts of a traitor's spite;—
When these foul tests of patriotic truth—
False to the legends of the nation's youth,
False to the freedom which the fathers won
In the long strife that burst at Lexington,
False to the old, false to the rising age,
That frown alike on human vassalage,
False to the record that the slaver's thong
Has swayed this land too rudely and too long,
False to the sentiment that servile toil
Comes without right upon the public soil,
False to the Union's prevalence and power,
False to the spirit of this day and hour—
When these foul tests have vanished, one and all,
In the perdition that awaits their fall,
AND SLAVERY SHALL BE LOCAL, AS OF YORE,
AND FREEDOM NATIONAL FOREVERMORE,
Then, in the scars upon thy manly crown,
The world shall read thy patent of renown.
And thy pure name shall be for aye enrolled
Among the purest of the names of old,
And, canonized, a household word shall be,
Wherever hearts are true and hands are free!

My country! Oh my country! Not in wrath
Scourge I the lions that beset thy path;
But duty stirs these sharp, responsive chords,
And sorrow speaks in all these honest words.
Oh more than wealth and dearer far than fame
I love thy welfare and thy great, good name!
Child of the brave, first-born among the free,
My hand, my heart, my prayers are all for thee;
But thou hast sinned, in channels broad and deep,
And I must chide and warn thee, while I weep.
Of all the lands that smile beneath the sun,
Thou art the fairest, thou my chosen one;
Yet while I love thee—worship thee—and praise
The golden glories of thy purer days,
Can I forget that Britain's iron power
Through whose clean breach leaped up this very hour—
Though millions curse it, with unuttered cries,
On its own soil or under Indian skies—
Has banished fetters, and no longer waves
Its mighty flag o'er acres tilled by slaves?
Can I forget that France, whose noblest men
Breathe death among miasms of Cayenne,
Or, basely exiled, wandering alone,
Breathe death to him who sits a stolen throne;—
Whose soldiers, hoarse with Freedom's shouts at home,
Dash out the fires of liberty in Rome—
False to herself at once and false to man—
Holds human slavery firmly under ban?
Can I forget that Russia's tyrant Czar—
Sated and silent with the glut of war—
Though sending noblest blood to find repose
With the frore secrets of Siberian snows,
Though robbing queenly Poland of her dower,
And crushing Hungary beneath his power,
Though panting still from the congenial work
Of war upon the fierce and feeble Turk,
And listening to the ceaseless clash of swords
With gallant Schamyl and his mountain hordes,
Is learning to look kindly on the serf
That breaks his own inhospitable turf?
And while I think of this, can I forget
That here the curse of slavery lingers yet;—
Nay, sadly more than this—that here—aye here—
Slowly and sure, from laggard year to year,
The power that binds a brother man in chains,
And holds the negro and the negro's gains,
Has won by threats and treacherous finesse
New grants from freemen, guilty none the less,
Until each wisely planted bolt and bar
Has snapped before its still advancing car?
Can I forget a public sentiment
Debauched so deeply, and so warped, and bent,
That stern proscription is the price of schism,
And pandering the test of patriotism?

"I speak to you, young men, for ye are strong:"
Oh! spurn this test of cowardice and wrong!
This Union, born in blood, baptized in tears,
The one great object of your hopes and fears,
Is worth the saving; and, if saved alive,
In truth and virtue can alone survive.
To its first base the tottering shaft restore,
And it shall stand and strengthen evermore;
And each return of this most hallowed day
Shall find it scathless from the lightning's play,
Safe from the tempest and the earthquake's shock,
Firm as God's truth—its own eternal rock.

Wait you a watchword for this great emprise?
List! From the tomb where peerless WEBSTER lies—
The great Defender of that priceless Chart
Which binds and blesses every patriot's heart—
It comes, still ringing through the noblest page
He gave his own, and left this later age:—
"FREEDOM AND UNION, LINKING SHORE WITH SHORE,
ONE AND INSEPARABLE, NOW, AND EVERMORE!"

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 4, 1856.

A CAMPAIGN SONG.

Air—"OH! WHAT HAS CAUSED THIS GREAT COMMOTION?"

1.

What has caused this great commotion, motion, motion,
The country through?
It is the ball a rolling on
For John Fremont and Johnston too,
For John Fremont and Johnston too,
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!
We should, will and can—
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!

2.

We'll make a way for Kansas free, free, free,
To join the States,
And this we mean to put right through,
By choosing Fremont and Johnston too,
By choosing Fremont and Johnston too,
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!
We should, will and can—
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!

3.

At last it's found there is a North, North, North,
Who'll right her wrongs,
And carry Freedom o'er the West,
With John Fremont and Johnston too,
With John Fremont and Johnston too,
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!
We should, will and can—
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!

4.

We do not mean Buck's Ostend brags, brags, brags,
Shall kick up war;
We'll keep our Union's honor bright,
By dealing justly in all we do,
With John Fremont and Johnston too,
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!
We should, will and can—
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!

5.

We warn that Mormon Gov'nor Brigham, Brigham, Brigham,
He must step out— [ham,
He cannot say "I'll take my time,"
To John Fremont and Johnston too,
For they will be sure to put him through,
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!
We should, will and can—
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!

6.

Though Fremont fled with Benton's daughter, daughter, daughter,
His "Jessie" fair; [daughter,
If she told him to, what could he do?
I really don't know—do you? do you?
Then hurrah for Fremont, and Jessie too,
And with them we'll beat the bachelor man!
We should we will, we can—
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!

7.

Hurrah for men, speech, press, land, all free, free, free!
Our platform broad;
"We're Americans, Republicans all,"
With cause so just, we'll our union perfect;—
Fremont and Johnston we're bound to elect,
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!
We must, we will, we can—
And turn out the tyrant Pierce clan!

8.

Yes, rout the whole gang, from Douglas to Brooks, Brooks,
Who'd "subdue" with canes; [Brooks,
And this is our ticket to do it,—
Fremont for President, Johnston for Vice!
They'll accomplish the job in a trice,
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!
We can, we can, we can—
And with them we'll beat old Buchan!

Doings in Kansas.

Guy, the Indian agent, who was reported to have been shot by Indians, was shot by the Border Ruffians. His son was wounded but escaped. Haynau has been made Deputy Sheriff by Shannon for no other reason than to gratify his own personal revenge against some of the free state men. The *Louisville Democrat* says:

"If a man has a difficulty with a member of the Free State party, to be revenged he has only to go to Lecompton and get commissioned for the time being as deputy sheriff. He is furnished with a sufficient number of United States dragoons, who are under his order. At their head he rides as commander, comes to Lawrence, pounces down upon his victim and drives him off to Lecompton and puts him in irons.

Mr. Evans was arrested by Haynau in this manner, taken to Lecompton, his hands tied behind him by order of Haynau, who mounts his horse and drives his victim before him as he would an ox about town for his own amusement! then he locks him up in a small room, puts chains upon hands and feet, and leaves him in that situation. And Mr. Evans does not yet know what charge there is against him."

Fremont at Cincinnati.

At the great Cincinnati meeting, where 5000 persons ratified for Fremont the following resolution passed and speech was made.

Resolved, That we stand to and abide by the Union as it is—the Constitution as it is and as it was interpreted by the great and good men who made it. That its purpose was to establish liberty, and make our country free; that while we deny the right of the Free States to interfere with the domestic institution in any of the Southern States; we do claim the right of Congress to prevent the spread of slavery into Kansas, or into any other Territory belonging to the Union; and believing that such was the interpretation given by the Framers of the Constitution, to that great charter of liberty, we shall plant our standard in the front of battle—its folds inscribed with the words FREE SPEECH, FREE LAND, FREEDOM and FREMONT, and trust to God and the people for a glorious victory.

.....A meeting at Lecompton, Kansas, of the Border Ruffians, fully endorsed Buchanan for President. Jones,—Sheriff Jones—the man whose back bone was broken by a pistol shot, was one of the Vice Presidents.....

BOSTON DAILY TIMES

FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1856.

The murder of Allen Wilkinson, a member of the Kansas Legislature, and a man named Sherman, on the same occasion, is fully authenticated. But the particulars are not, as in the case of the three Doyles, substantiated by affidavits. A letter from Kansas city, dated May 29th, in a Western paper, says:—

"He (Wilkinson) has been a resident of Kansas for about two years; his wife, a woman of about 25 years of age, was a native of Illinois. She is represented as being a lady of intelligence and refinement. They had two little boys—one of seven and one of five years. Wilkinson had a good claim, and had built himself a snug cabin in which he had in addition to his farming avocation, kept a little store; he was also the United States Postmaster for what is called the Shermansville Post Office. This place was named after Sherman, another of the murdered men. Wilkinson was an ambitious man, and had managed to get a little money together, with which he had sent to St. Louis and purchased some law books; and having devoted himself to the study of that profession, was examined and admitted to the bar by Judge Cato, one of the district judges for Kansas Territory, only about five weeks ago, and was immediately appointed to the office of Public Prosecutor for the county of Franklin.

"He was a pro slavery man, but has never been put in any of the difficulties in the Territory. He was emphatically a 'home man;' he was not a talking man; his pleasure was in being with his family, his wife and little children.

"Wilkinson was, as we think we have already stated, a member of the first Legislature of Kansas Territory, or what the Free State party call the 'Missouri bogus Legislature.' In this, in all human probability, consisted his crime which he has expiated with his life.

"Wilkinson had his windpipe entirely cut—literally pulled out—the throat having been cut previously. It is said that after taking him from the house a short distance, they threw him down, and then, in answer to the shrieks of agony and prayers for mercy from his young wife, they commenced outraging him in her presence, the only reply to her cries and appeals being this: 'Madam, you are a young woman, and will have plenty of chance to get another husband.' They then [illegible] work, and the young wife [illegible] barefooted, with two little ones, to the nearest house, a Germans, some miles distant from her desolate home, where she arrived almost in a state of madness. These murderers then robbed the cabin, taking about $70, all poor Wilkinson had in the world, which he had gathered to pay his debts. They even took the poor woman's shoes, which she had left behind her in her flight."

The Atlas.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 4, 1856.

Kansas Correspondence of the Atlas.

TOPEKA, Kansas, June 16, 1856.

Mr. Editor:—Having learned at Lawrence that the bogus sheriff was endeavoring to make arrests in Topeka, I started, with several others, citizens of the town, to be in at the frolic, if he should undertake to carry out his intentions. On arriving at Topeka we learned that Horner had been made a Deputy U. S. Marshal, (a specimen of Pierce's king-craft, and illustrating the weakness of an authority assumed contrary to the popular will.) He *found* many of our men *missing;* and after being put on 40 different scents, to his infinite discomfiture and the infinite amusement of the lookers-on, he left, with two or three whom he happened to discover on his first arrival. By good luck, those that he captured were shrewd, sharp fellows; one of them, the best lawyer in this section of the country, more than a match for the Court, attorney and jury. He could stand a hand with them at *either bar*, and, as it proved, beat them at their own game. At Tecumseh a salutary feeling seems to exist, that it will not answer to press *too* hard upon our people. Some of their leading men have endeavored to restrain their party from taking ultra measures in this district. Judge Elmore, deposed with Governor Reeder and Gov. Johnson, and Mr. Stinson, a leading citizen there, have both been arrayed against the more violent of their party. A Dr. Gaghan was appointed foreman of the grand jury, and was determined to have Constitution Hall and the presses at Topeka destroyed at nuisances. Having committed an assault on a Free State man, our men preferred a charge against him, which could not be avoided, and he was displaced. There are 4 or 5 Free State men on the jury, it being thought politic to attend until some further action by the Legislature, by Congress or by the North should be taken. A proposition was made to indite, as had been done in other districts, all persons connected with the State Government. A hint from our men, that the men of Topeka would object to such an arrangement, that the Free State men of the State were getting fully organized, and that a large force was on its way here to protect us, produced a good effect. It was thought best to indite but a few leading ones. Squire T., with *indignation*, inquired who the leading men were; *he* was a member of the Legislature, and was sure that he deserved to be ranked as one of them. Yet they overlooked him. They finally concluded to make no arrests for treason until the cases in the other districts could be disposed of.

The cravens appointed as Deputy Sheriff a man by the name of Edwards, who but a day or two before had made an unprovoked and cowardly assault upon Mr. Tyler, a Free State man, badly injuring him. Honor to whom honor is due.

Some of the Court scenes were ludicrous, and were related by those who were present from here with a gusto, to our great edification and amusement. Of course I can't describe them here.

The way some of our men got leave of absence:—

T.—Gen. Barbee, some of us would like to get leave of absence. (T. and Gen. Barbee both social fellows over a social glass.)

Gen. B.—All right. (Writes: T—., C—., H—., good and lawful citizens. Holds up the paper and reads, or attempts to read, as far as he has got: T—., C—., H—., go-good, a l-a-wful—demme, I can't read it.

T.—It's all right. (Takes the paper and puts it in his pocket.) Let's take something!

From present appearances, we don't expect much trouble from this Court.

DEPREDATIONS.

We continue to hear of depredations from the mob below. Some of the citizens of Wabonsa, who went to Kansas City for goods are missing, and much anxiety is felt for them. Robert Hills arrived in Topeka on Thursday. He was taken on the Santa Fe road, by the ruffians, gagged, his hat tied over his eyes, his hands and feet tied and then tied together; and his team (for which he paid $400), a load of goods and $211 in money, were stolen from him. Three men were found hanging on a tree, on the road between Lawrence and Westport. They swear at Westport that they will starve the d—d Yankees out. Our merchants are having all their goods shipped to Leavenworth. While these and other innumerable outrages are going on, the Free State camps are broken up, to give Col. Sumner an opportunity to break up the main body of the Pro-Slavery force, which is commanded by Gen. Whitfield.

Gov. Shannon, in his reply to the memorial of the citizens of Topeka and other places, speaking of the shooting at Mr. Cox (a pro-slavery man), after the destruction in Lawrence (which shooting, as can be readily proved by a multitude of witnesses, never occurred), says:—"It is such outrages as *these*, as must inevitably bring on a civil war," &c. Shannon himself, since the commencement of the last invasion, threatened a woman! and told her he would cut her heart out!! if certain conditions were not complied with. The poor fool was drunk, and was not *responsible*. The details of all the scenes that are daily occurring here are too sickening to be related to an intelligent reader.

Gov. Shannon started for St. Louis the first of the week. On arriving at Westport, he found the preparations for an incursion into Kansas by the borderers so extensive and thorough that he immediately left for Fort Leavenworth. Lieut. Wieting, of Company E, who arrived here from the fort yesterday evening, states that Shannon came into the fort in a state of excitement and alarm, and said that 2000 men were getting ready to march into the Territory. All the troops that can be spared from Forts Leavenworth and Riley will be or have been sent to the eastern part of the Territory. A battery of artillery passed through Lawrence on Friday; and today 150 dragoons, a field piece, wagons, &c., passed through this place from Riley. It is said the Missourians will resist the troops—this is too good to be hoped for. They have been too long endeavoring to decoy us into such a position, by making the officers most odious to us U. S. Marshals, and using the *troops*, as well as the mob under the U. S. Marshal, in the dirty work of executing their fiendish purposes. It is giving them too little credit for sagacity, I fear, to believe that they will now fall into the pit themselves. However it may turn, we shall be glad to hear that Sumner has got his "dutch up," and that he is pitching in. We stand ready with 1000 to 1500 fighting men to help him, or if he fails, to perform the task ourselves.

The State is being thoroughly organized for military duty.

On the 2d, 3d and 4th of July, there will be a gathering of the people of the State at Topeka. On the 2d there will be a delegate meeting. On the 3d there will be a grand mass convention, and on the 4th the Legislature will meet pursuant to adjournment. Whether a quorum can get here or not, I cannot tell. Some of the members are indicted, some are fugitives, some are prisoners. If tribulation purifies, there will be assembled at Topeka on the 3d and 4th of July, as self-sacrificing, as devoted a company of men as ever congregated.

In the sanguinary struggle going on here, we scarcely realize our own wrongs, and scarcely have time to reflect upon the view that others, not immediately interested, must take of our affairs.

What a spectacle to the monarchies of Europe must that be, where a handful of men (comparatively), fanatically devoted and subservient to an institution peculiar to a portion of our nation, make offensive war on the people of Kansas, for refusing to prostrate themselves at the feet of the same power which govern them, and at whose bidding they act, while the sycophants in power at Washington obey the same behests.

The fact is, the United States of America is ruled by *mob law*, and Kansas is a good stand point to see the full workings of this law. The Statute laws are disgraceful enough, some of them—with these, however, we have no business. But there is a law which must be carried out in the South, and even in the Capitol, of which pride prevents the expression in statute form. This law is as firmly established as the unwritten Constitution of England.

Where is the locality south of Mason and Dixon's line, that a mob cannot be let loose at once upon any luckless individual who chances to become an object of suspicion. Hundreds of instances can be named. Even the most respectable citizens from the oldest of the Northern States cannot peacefully and officially make an inquiry without being subject to this unwritten mob law. It is executed without trial, and the instruments of execution are carried and used even in the Capitol of our nation. When this law is being executed on a grand scale in Kansas, and the Executive force of the Federal Government is being used to assist in enforcing it, it is time that those who recognize not this law should help us to make a stand against it. We have seen chivalry or mob law of the United States exemplified and amplified. We have seen the Executive of Kansas a tool, and the U. S. Marshall at the head of a mob of 800 to 1000 men, destroying a building worth $50,000, printing presses, plundering, detaining, and killing, under the form of law. This law was made by a mob from Missouri—by invasion—and is the first time that the oligarchy have expressed so much of their will in the form of law. We have repudiated this law, and, God helping

us, we will resist its execution.

The result of the Convention at Cincinnati gives no satisfaction here. There were faint hopes—very faint in the minds of some—that a portion of the Convention would repudiate the action of the administration as anti-Democratic. But no! that portion of the Democracy (from Missouri) who did not come up to the requirements of the ultras, were put out. I send herewith an extract from "The Voice of the Radical Democracy of New York," which expresses, so far as I can judge, the feelings of those here who have acted with the Democracy before coming to Kansas.

I am pleased to apply it here:

"A man who would represent these principles would be the choice of the people of Kansas. We hope to hear of the nomination of *John C. Fremont.*"

We are daily expecting men and means from the East. This hope buoys up our spirits—though *Gen. Whitfield is up with an army from Missouri to conquer his constituents!*

I send you a curiosity emanating from the Executive department of the Territory. There are many more of the same kind afloat:

"let this man pas for i no him to bee a law and abiding man. Samuel Salters
deputy Surii douglass Co,"

A free State man must have a *pass* to travel in the Territory! Even *that* will not always save him. A gentleman from Vermont, who came to the Territory on business, told me he was taken three times after leaving Westport before he reached his destination.

Glorious country! Glorious privileges!

Yours truly, THERMOPYLÆAN.

More Outrages on Free State Emigrants.

Chicago, July 2.—Passengers from Lexington bring intelligence of the capture of the Ottawa company of emigrants on board the Arabia, on Friday night. The men were robbed of everything, and kept close prisoners. It was resolved by the mob to take the Massachusetts men up the river, to hang their leader, Mr. Decatur, and keep the remainder as prisoners, confiscating their arms, money, provisions and baggage to the use of the mob.

[For the Evening Post.]

FREEDOM.

Free soil, free men,
Free speech, free pen,
Freedom from slavery's thrall;
Free North, free East,
Free South, free West,
Freedom for one and all!
Free ports, free seas,
Free ships, free breeze;
Free homesteads for the people;
Free bells on every steeple,
Free pulpits and free preachers;
(Three cheers for all the BEECHERS;)
Freedom from Southern rooks;
Freedom from Southern "Brooks;"
Free schools, free books;
Freedom to worship God,
Freedom to read his Word;
Freedom's star-spangled banners
Waving o'er gallant Kansas,
Freedom from Border-Smugglers,
(Three groans for Pierce and Douglas!)
Free men to bear the battle brunt,
And, rushing to the battle-front,
FREMONT! FREMONT!

LINTON.

FREMONT THE CHOICE OF THE NATION.

For Fremont's the choice of the nation—
The pride of the fearless and free!
We'll drink to his health and his station,
Though Fillmore has come o'er the sea.
His heart beats for freedom remaining
On the soil where good liberty grew—
He's for our pioneers sustaining
The free flag—the red, white and blue.

There are lands where millions are yearning
For freedom from tyranny's chain,
Though to Kansas our efforts are turning
To keep her from slavery's stain.
For Fremont he stands with devotion,
And swears to the Union he's true;
He crosses o'er mountain to ocean,
And plants there the red, white and blue.

No sectional bands e'er shall sever
The bonds our forefathers wrought;
"The Union forever and ever!"
Unsullied, unstained and unbought,
Is the watchword from Fremont we borrow,
And he stands by his promise so true;
Then who will their leader not follow,
When he bears the red, white and blue?

Our voices are joined, then, for Union:
The stars and the stripes are above;
Huzza, all! for Fremont and Dayton!
Huzza for the man that we love!
The old Union ship, when well guided,
Will be found that her timbers are true,
And soon will the storm have subsided
That threatened the red, white and blue.

THE HERALD.

Friday Morning, July 4, 1856.

THE KANSAS DISCUSSION in Congress occupies considerable space in to day's paper, but will be read. We know nothing of the bill more than has come to the papers by telegraph, and from that should judge it to be very just and liberal, and can not therefore see the cause of this fierce opposition. It is objected that this will occasion another invasion of the Missourians; but this is provided against in three ways; first, by the check list, that will tell whether there are more votes than voters; second, by fixing the trial on the same day as the Presidential election, which will keep the Missourians at home to vote; and, third, by guaranteeing an available military force, to resist any such irruptions.

Senators Seward and Wilson say that this bill will ensure the admission of Kansas as a slave State. If this be so, it is because a majority of the people there are in favor of slavery; and if so we cannot see how they can prevent it. All they have demanded heretofore was that the people should be allowed to form their own constitution and be admitted on that. This bill appears to secure all they have asked; and when it is so certain that Kansas cannot be admitted with the Topeka constitution, we cannot see why they should refuse so liberal a bill as this. There may be something in the details of the bill objectionable; but if this is refused, we doubt whether a better bill will soon be reported.—All the objection that strikes us now, is that many Free State men have been frightened from the territory by disorders which have increased the number of southerners, and this bill provides that they should reside there three months before the 4th of November. To offset that, 5,000 men can be sent there in the next thirty days, who will vote for freedom.

THE WEEKLY ADVERTISER

ROCK ISLAND,

Friday Morning, July 4, 1856.

"A white flag, with a blood red star in the center—the onsign of the Southern Disunionists—was hoisted on the Free State Hotel at Lawrence before the cannonading commenced.

"Sheriff Jones himself planted a red flag—appropriate emblem of pirates!—on the roof of the *Herald of Freedom* office.

"An American flag floated from a staff at the fort erected last Autumn near the Kansas River. The 'legally organized' militia *hauled it down* and *tore it into ribbons.* This act is significant of their ultimate designs."

O say, do you see in the fair morning light
What so oft we have hailed in our land's free air gleaming,
That flag which was borne through the perilous fight
When, to leave their sons free, our sires' life-blood was streaming?
O tell us—do still those stars beam through the air?
Do those glorious stripes flow? is our country's flag there?
Ah, no! 'tis the conquerrors' flag which they wave
O'er the home of the base and the land of the Slave!

On that shore where they gaze o'er Eternity's deep—
In that shadowy land where each hero reposes,
A reveille sounds, and they start from their sleep;
Ah! what is the sight which this flashing discloses?
From the nation's rude throat there issues a gleam,
And it lights up the plain and illumines the stream:
What shrieks are these heard? whose this blood on the wave?
They are killing the Free to give place to the Slave!

O, past are those days when so stoutly we swore
To pay traitors with death—hurl at tyrants confusion!
One curse was left with us—we crave for yet more:
Not enough do we know of Crime's damning pollution.
The flat goes forth: He who works's a slave;
If black, he's a Beast; if white, he's a knave!
Ave! tear down the flag! no more should it wave
Where for Freedom is left not even soil for a grave!

Must it ever be thus, when Freemen shall stand
On the soil of their birth, to avert desolation—
Their cries going up from a hell conquered land
To Heaven's tribunal? O! infidel Nation
Rouse, rouse thyself up! Become righteous and just!
One more be thy motto: "In God is our trust!"
And the Star-Spangled Banner unsullied shall wave,
O'er a host of great nations, free, mighty and brave!

GEORGE BOWERYEM.

Watchman & State Journal.

BY E. P. WALTON.

MONTPELIER, JULY 4, 1856.

Aid for Kansas.

Rev. B. B NEWTON, of St. Albans, has been appointed agent to form a Vermont Company to settle in Kansas, with authority to collect funds for this purpose, and to receive the funds already collected.

E. P. WALTON, *for State Committee.*

July 2, 1856.

KANZAS MEETING IN MONTPELIER.

TO COMMENCE AT 7 O'CLOCK PRECISELY, GETTING THROUGH IN SEASON FOR TORCH LIGHT PROCESSION.

A reliable witness direct from Kanzas.

In a letter to the Boston Atlas, dated Lawrence, (Kanzas Territory) June 9th, which details sundry new outrages, we find the following paragraph:

"Rev. A. Webster, of Montpelier, Vermont, an agent of the American and Vermont Bible Societies, was taken today by the same band, delayed and subjected to the same annoyance."

Mr. Webster has just returned to Montpelier. As all our readers certainly know and most of the people of Vermont, Mr. Webster is an able and worthy minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and entitled to implicit confidence. We are authorized to say, that he will address the people of Montpelier, on FRIDAY EVENING July 4, 7 o'clock p. m., at Washington Hall, and testify to his personal experience among the Border Ruffians of Kanzas. Let all attend who wish to hear the honest and unvarnished truth.

June 10, 1856.

Vermont Patriot.

"We go where Democratic principles lead the way;—when they disappear, we cease to follow."

MONTPELIER:

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 4, 1856.

Just as we Expected.

The Windsor Journal swallows the dose, raw dog and all! It endorses the nomination of the "mere enterprising and adventurous explorer," as it styles Fremont, and though, according to its own declaration, "tens of thousands of whigs, *solid, religious and commercial men*, are lost" by his nomination, yet that paper, "blushing with shame for its independence," gives in!

This is as we expected, and the Journal might be left to follow in the track of the "enterprising and adventurous explorer" at its own gait, and to "blush for its independence" at its leisure, were it not that it attempts to draw public attention from its tergiversations by a most tremendous hullaballoo about "suffering Kansas," "Freedom of speech," &c., &c. The "shrieks" of that paper for freedom, although "enterprising" enough, and terrific enough, are nevertheless extremely "adventurous;" as for instance, it states that

"For the first time in our history as a free and independent nation do we witness civil war within our borders."

Has the Journal any recollection of a "civil war" in Massachusetts—of a "civil war" in Rhode Island? Did it ever hear what one Ethan Allen did in Guilford, without the shadow of law or gospel?

The Journal must brush up its history.—Again, says the Journal—

"For the first time do we see peace-loving and law-abiding citizens ruthlessly driv-

on from their homes, and shot down, their dwellings burned and their property destroyed, simply because they will not abandon their political faith, &c."

What has the Journal to say to the Philadelphia, to the Louisville, and the New Orleans abominations, where "peace-loving and law-abiding citizens were ruthlessly driven from their homes, and shot down, their dwellings burned and their property destroyed" by the same lawless, reckless and "adventurous" spirit that, in the name of "freedom," has created all the troubles in Kansas, "simply because they would not abandon their political faith" and their religious opinions? What has the Journal to say to these cold-blooded, inhuman butcheries—the murder of men, the violation of women and the massacre of helpless children? *They* were all right, eh? *They* were all well enough, eh? *because they were perpetrated by the Journal's Black Republican, Hindoo, Fremont friends!* All right *these;* but touch a hair on the head of one of the rowdies, thieves, pickpockets, ragamuffins and jail-birds, that have gone out to Kansas with Sharpe's rifles in their hands, pistols and bowie-knives in their pockets, inviting and daring collision, and the abdominal regions of the Journal heave and lurch in a manner awful to behold. Again, the Journal declares the Sumner performance the first thing of the kind that ever occurred in Congress. Perhaps no Senator ever happened to be caned before, but affairs of the same character have happened time and again. The Journal cannot remember any of them, no doubt; cannot remember the *murder*, not the *caning*, of Cilley by a northern bully and his associates; cannot remember that northern men have, time and again, come to blows in the halls of congress; cannot remember how, a few weeks since, the whole nigger-worshipping press in the north was thrown into fits of delight by the prospect that the bully, Lane, would provoke Judge Douglas into a duel and kill him! Nor a little further back, how the "freedom of speech" was invaded in the person of the same gentleman at Chicago, by a gang of Black Republican bullies, with pistols, knives and bludgeons? O! no! The Journal can hear only one side. To MURDER a *democrat* for words spoken in debate is not invading the freedom of speech—but to *cane* a BLACK REPUBLICAN for words spoken in debate *is* invading the freedom of speech. To shoot down defenceless democrats and catholics is all right; but to compel a set of Black Republican "adventurous explorers" to obey the laws is awful, horrid and abominable, and calls for the most terrible denunciations.

If the Journal *could* "blush," it would "blush" for more things than its "want of independence."

Fremont and the Abolitionists.

Fremont's record is a bad one for him—and puzzles the abolitionists now, and will puzzle them a great deal more before election comes off. The truth is that down to a few months since, when he conceived the notion of running on the black republican ticket, he classed himself with the ultraist school of southern politicians! His conversion to abolitionism occurred about seven months ago—and the only word he has yet uttered, showing him to be now with that party, is one short letter *declining to attend a Kansas sympathy meeting, in New York!* Fremont, however, is he upon whom the opposition hope to unite all the opponents of Buchanan and the Democracy—the free soiler, know nothing and abolitionist. Below we spread an extract from the congressional record, before the reader, which embraces the action and the votes of Fremont upon two questions then held to be all important by the abolitionists. We ask the obolition voters of Vermont, if they approved then his course, and if they believe he has changed his opinions since? In the Senate he voted with the extreme southern party; always against, not only abolitionists proper, but against the mildest forms of free soilism. The following extract from the record abundantly proves this. Honest, reflecting abolitionists—and there are some such—what do you think of your candidate? —have you any confidence in this new party that arrogates to itself all the commisseration for the slave? But to the extracts:

From the Congressional Globe, vol. 21, part 2d, pp. 1803.

IN SENATE OF U. S. SEPT. 11, 1850.

Mr. Underwood, of Kentucky, called up the bill for the aid of the American Colonization Society. The slaves that were recaptured on the barque Pons were turned over to the Colonization Society by the authority of the United States, sent to Liberia, and there kept at the expense of the society for one or two years. Most of them were children of twelve, fifteen and sixteen years of age.—The society thinks that the expense of feeding, clothing, and educating these people which was thus devolved upon them by the action of the government ought to be repaid. It was certainly an expense incurred by the society, through the action of the government in throwing those young negroes upon them for maintenance, instead of taking them, as the government was bound to do by law, and providing for them. That is the nature of the claim. They simply ask that so much shall be paid them as the society, from its own experience, pays in reference, to its own emigrants. The claim was reported on favorably two years ago.—A similiar report has again been made; and as the necessities of the society require that they should have the money. I hope, said Mr. U., the Senate will consent to take up the bill. The Senate proceeded to take up the bill, and proceeded to consider it as in committee of the whole.

Mr. Turney asked for the reading of the report of the committee.

The secretary read the report accordingly. It sets forth that a liberal construction of the act of Congress, of March 3, 1819, would require that the government should provide for the support of those recaptured Africans for a reasonable time after they had been landed in Liberia, and that it is beneath the dignity of the government to devolve this duty upon the society. The petition of the executive committee of the society, which the committee incorporated in their report, states that on the 16th of December, 1845, the United States ship Yorktown, Comodore Bell, landed at Monrovia, in Liberia, from the slaver Pons, *seven hundred and fifty* recaptured Africans in a naked, starving, and dying condition, all of them, excepting twenty-one, being under the age of twenty-one. The United States made no provisions for their support after they were landed. * * * *

The services of providing for the destitute negroes were not required to be performed by the society under their constitution, but the alternative was to leave these recaptured Africans to starve and die, and the society therefore cheerfully took charge of them, relying upon the government of the United States to refund the cost to them.

The question was discussed at length as to whether the United States would pay these just and legal demands; and on the vote being taken for the engrossment of the bill to a third reading, Mr. Fremont's name is found recorded in the *negative*, as follows:—

YEAS—Messrs. Badger, Baldwin, Bell, Chase, Clayton, Davis of Massachusetts, DAYTON, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Ewing, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Jones, Mangum, Pearce, Pratt, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Sturgeon, Underwood, Wales, Walker, Whitcomb, and Winthrop—29.

NAYS—Messrs. Atchisen, Barnwell, Benton, Butler, Dawson, Dickinson, Downs, FREMONT, Hunter, King, Mason, Rusk, Sebastian, Soule, Turney, and Yulee—16.

It will be seen that Fremont voted with Atchison Butler, Hunter, Mason, and Soule, and against Seward, Hale, and Dayton.

Again: in the United States Senate on the 18th day of September, 1850, the bill to prevent persons from enticing away slaves from the District of Columbia was under consideration, and John P. Hale "moved that it be committed to the Committee of the District of Columbia, with instructions *to so amend it as to* ABOLISH SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA."—On the vote being taken, FREMONT'S name was recorded in the NEGATIVE.—[See Congressional Globe, Thirty-First Congress, part 2d, p. 1819.]

Kansas in the House.—The Topeka Constitution Defeated!

The Kansas mischief-makers in Congress, sympathisers with Reeder's and Robinson's rebel forces and abettors of their treason, were disastrously beaten in the House (as they supposed) of their friends, on the final vote on the bill to admit Kansas as a State with the Topeka Constitution, on Monday. A full report of that day's proceedings is given in another place. This action must be regarded the most important of the session, and should be accepted as decisive.

When this Congress was elected full two-thirds of its members were opposed to the course pursued by the Administration towards Kansas. Note the change of sentiment upon this question in these few months! Instead of the President being opposed by *two-thirds*, he is now sustained by a *majority* of that body,—and this after a thorough and long-protracted debate. It is regarded in Washington, as it must be everywhere, as ominous of the destruction about to overwhelm the agitationists—the instigators of rebellion and treason in Kansas. It is, in fact, a gratifying and emphatic approval from a quarter not much looked to by democrats, of the whole course of the Administration in relation to that Territory—for in the fall of the Topeka constitution, Reeder, Robinson and gang, fall, and the black republican "shriekers" at the north are fairly choked off. In the beginning of this controversy, all there was of it was, shall the legitimate, constitutional government of the territory be overthrown by a squad of disorganizing, rebellious, traitorous abolitionists? Black republicans said, yes! and appealed to Congress, asking that Kansas be admitted with the Topeka rebel constitution. Congress, as before stated, refuses to do it. It is to be hoped that this decision will be submitted to as final,—that Kansas will be permitted a little quite, and left to work out her own destiny. Freedom will lose nothing by such a course.

The Sentinel.

KEENE, FRIDAY MORNING,
JULY 4, 1856.

It appears that 76 Kansas Emigrants from Chicago, on passing up the Missouri, at Lexington, were robbed of their arms, (Hull's carbines) before being allowed to proceed. Lexington is a famous place. It was here that Gov. Robinson was seized without any warrent, and sent back to Lecompte, where he has since been imprisoned. We hope no more emigrants will take passage in Missouri boats; but that boats be especially chartered with room enough for a few big guns, if necessary, to keep off the thieves; and that as a condition the boats shall not stop at any of the considerable towns in the Ruffian State; but proceed at once to the territory. Southern emigrants with arms have free passage, and are not molested. Well our friends must suffer but for a short time. The November blast will soon bring relief. The agreement that the arms should be safely deposited at Lexington, and be forth-coming when the affairs of Kansas are settled, is no security whatever. It is surprising that 75 men with arms in their hands permitted this unlawful outrage. Shannon just arrived at St Louis, has the impudence to report that all is quiet now. ¶

The Daily Patriot.

FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1856.

☞ The Hartford, Ct., Times, is informed by a gentleman who has just returned from Lawrence, (Kansas) that to the best of his knowledge and belief the money subscribed by New England to the "emigrant aid" societies of Kansas, never reaches that Territory. He is himself a free State man, but he feels compelled to say that both Robinson and Reeder are unprincipled men, of hollow hearts, and but one end and aim in stirring up the "Kansas" excitement, and that is, self-aggrandizement, by one or another questionable form of speculation. He also thinks that the present turbulent and dangerous condition of things in Kansas would never have happened had it not been for the "emigrant aid societies" of the northern and eastern States.

DR. ROBINSON'S SPEECH.—The House had the pleasure of listening to another good Democratic speech, yesterday, on the Kansas resolutions, from Dr. Robinson of Salisbury. It was full of good matter, and gave our friends great satisfaction. It stirred up the opposition greatly. We give a brief and imperfect abstruct of it, from which the reader can see the points which were ably discussed by Dr. Robinson, and regret that we are not able to give the speech in full.

The New Kansas Bill of Mr. Toombs Passed —Kansas to be a Slave State.

[From the N. Y. Herald, July 4.]

After a continuous session of twenty hours, running from Wednesday noon, through the afternoon and night, and closing at about nine o'clock Thursday morning, the new Kansas bill originally introduced into the Senate by Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, and adopted by the Committee on Territories, was passed by a vote of thirty-three for the bill to twelve against it. Let all the people read this bill and remember it, for it establishes another conspicuous landmark in the history of the slavery question in this country.

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 this bill, and, if passed by the House of Representatives, it will accomplish the work.

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 from 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 expelled 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.

The report of the Kansas Investigating Committee is an ugly affair. Its facts and circumstantial specifications are hard to get over. They confirm the worst reports of Governor Reeder and others against the "border ruffians." It is shown by this report that these invaders, under the encouragement of Mr. Pierce and Mr. Jeff Davis, have re-enacted most of the atrocities of the piratical Saxons and Normans when they invaded England. Even the United States army under Col. Sumner appears to have been detailed to Kansas on the same benevolent mission with which Cromwell was sent over to Ireland—that is, to punish the rebel Free State squatters, and to eat out their substance.

It may be urged by the nigger-worshippers that this bill gives the lie to squatter sovereignty—that it steals into Kansas like a thief—that in the prescribed term of residence to voters it is a shameless fraud upon popular rights—and that in the amendment excluding all aliens not fully naturalized from voting in the Territory, as they were permitted to vote by the original Nebraska bill, this new measure betrays the humiliating servility of Northern Senators to Southern nigger-drivers; but what of all this? Is not the question even of a temporary peace between the North and the South worth all these little sacrifices of regularity, law and order in a frontier Territory? And can we not afford to give it up, when it is manifestly indispensable to the future security of the South, and will increase the cash value of niggers, if not up to the standard of Governor Wise, at least ten per cent?

Our Flag is There.

Our flag is there!—the starry flag
Our stout forefathers gave
O'er Freedom's home, free still, free bold,
To triumph long to wave!
Yet all its bright and shining folds
Foul Slavery seeks to stain,
Till Freedom's form is veiled in night:
Her but let us arouse!
And fight we will, from vale and hill,
The hellish fury to hound,
Till with FREMONT and DAYTON [illegible]
The Nation's heart is stirred.

O blessed Freedom! goodliest boon!
Worth all the world beside!
For thee 'mong many here soon
Have gladly bled and died!
And 'tis for thee, dear Liberty,
We gather in this hall,
To save thy flag from ruin and shame,
And Slavery's awful might!
Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men—
Free men, Freedom unsoiled,
Are in their three for Freedom's host,
On every blazing field!

Our flag is there! Oh, bright and fair
It leads the marching on
Till Slavery's curtain may be stayed,
And Freedom's battle won!
And Valor's arm and Beauty's smile
Shall bid it proudly wave,
Till not a reed of Freedom's soil
Is cursed by chain or slave!
Free Speech, Free Kansas—for and aye
Be these the battle cry,
Till Freedom's flag in Freedom's cause,
Is crowned with victory!

—*N. Y. Tribune.*
New York, July 3, 1856.

Semi-Weekly Times, F

Friday, July 4, 1856.

Sympathy of the Right Kind for the Right Objects.

To the Editor of the New-York Daily Times:

I notice your Kansas correspondent, writing from Lawrence, May 23, says: "Not one-half of the gentlemen in town have any clothing left except what they wore upon their backs on the 21st. Everything else was taken. Scarcely a trunk is left in town that is not broken open and contents taken. The ladies' clothing, in some instances, they tore into shreds and threw into the streets."

Inclosed you will find $14 for those ladies who then lost, or for others in more need in any part of the Territory. It is the contribution of two sisters whose grandsires both fought in Revolutionary times. One often incurring the extreme danger of carrying dispatches through Tory districts, and near the enemy's quarters; sometimes on horseback, but usually on foot and in the night, traveling twenty, forty miles, any distance required, with danger attending every step, enduring hardship, cold, fatigue, hunger, every thing but death. The other an officer, and who can tell the agony experienced by a patriot heart, obliged to submit to a long imprisonment when his country daily needed his services. This and the like of this thousands suffered whose descendants are now living; and why did they manfully endure all this? It was for our country's Freedom; the right to rule ourselves; to make our own laws, which right *our own Government* is now trying to take from the people of Kansas.

We cannot remain unmoved while these scenes are transpiring. When men maintaining free principles are assaulted and killed; when women and children flee from their homes for safety from lawless mobs; it is time for all who desire the continuation of free institutions, as left us by those who purchased them by their blood, to do all in their power for the noble men and women of Kansas, who are as true patriots as were our forefathers whose memory we cherish, and whose deeds we repeat to our children for their imitation.

Doubtless from thousands of homes have heart-felt prayers ascended from the *women* of our land for those who are doing battle for the right; but is this all we can do?

There are comparatively few of our sex who can put our hands in our purses and give as it were, without feeling it. It is by making personal sacrifices, perhaps great ones, that the majority of us can gratify our benevolent desires. And shall we not be willing to use our utmost exertions, and that speedily, in this fearful crisis, for the assistance of those who are giving their lives, even, for Freedom, and who, by their position, are doing more for us and our children than we here can, by any possibility? This is and will be a personal matter. We are identified with them. If they are sustained we prosper, in their defeat we fall, and as we are reaping the benefits derived from Revolutionary deeds, just as surely will our descendants bless our memory, if we, by our sympathy, influence, prayers and money, take a noble stand for Kansas, and prove that the spirit which animated the women of "76," is burning bright in the hearts of their daughters of '56.

SYMPATHY.

For entire article see Part 978.1

AN IMPORTANT DOCUMENT.

AUTHENTIC HISTORY OF THE KANSAS TROUBLES.

The Missouri Invasions.

HOW THE TERRITORIAL ELECTIONS WERE CARRIED.

MAJORITY REPORT OF THE HOUSE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

Presented July 1, 1856.

The Special Committee appointed to investigate the troubles in the Territory of Kansas, having performed the duties required by the House, beg leave to submit the following

REPORT.

A journal of proceedings, including sundry communications made to and by the Committee, was kept, a copy of which is herewith submitted. The testimony also is herewith submitted; a large mass has been made and arranged, not according to the order in which it was taken, but so as to present as clearly as possible, a consecutive history of affairs in the Territory, from its organization to the 19th day of March, A. D., 1856.

Your Committee deem it their duty to state, as briefly as possible, the principal facts proven before them. When the act to organize the Territory of Kansas was passed on — day of May, 1854, the greater portion of its eastern border was included in Indian reservations not open for settlement, and there were but few white settlers in any portion of the Territory. Its Indian population was rapidly decreasing, while many emigrants from different parts of the country were anxiously waiting its extinction of the Indian title, and the establishment of a Territorial Government, to seek new homes in its fertile prairies. It cannot be doubted that if its condition as a Free Territory had been left undisturbed by Congress, its settlement would have been rapid, peaceful and prosperous. Its climate, soil, and its easy access to the older settlements would have made it the favored course for the tide of emigration constantly flowing to the West, and, by this time, it would have been admitted into the Union as a Free State, without the least excitement. But this was not to be—interest but the kindest feeling could have existed between it and the adjoining State. Their mutual interests and intercourse, instead of, as now, endangering the harmony of the Union, would have strengthened the ties of national brotherhood. The testimony clearly shows, that before the proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise was introduced into Congress, the people of Western Missouri appeared indifferent to the future settlement of the Territory, and neither asked nor desired its repeal.

When, however, the prohibition was removed by the action of Congress, the aspect of affairs entirely changed. A controversy was instantly had by the reopening of a controversy which conservative men in different sections hoped had been settled in every State and Territory by some law beyond the danger of repeal. The excitement which has always accompanied the discussion of the Slavery question was greatly increased by the hope on the one hand of extending Slavery into a region from which it had been excluded by law; and on the other by a sense of wrong done by what was regarded as a dissonor of a national compact. This excitement was naturally transferred into the border counties of Missouri and the Territory as settlers favoring free or slave institutions moved into it. A new difficulty soon occurred. Different constructions were put upon the organic law. It was contested by the one party that the right to hold slaves in the Territory existed, and that neither the people nor the Territorial Legislature could prohibit Slavery—that that power was alone possessed by the people when they were authorized to form a State Government. It was contended that the removal of the restriction virtually established Slavery in the Territory. This claim was urged by many prominent men in Western Missouri, who actively engaged in the affairs of the Territory. Every movement of whatever character which tended to establish free institutions was regarded as an interference with their rights.

Within a few days after the organic law passed, and as soon as its passage could be known on the border, leading citizens of Missouri crossed into the Territory, and commenced the work of preparing to settle to their homes. Among their resolutions are the following:

"That we will afford protection to no Abolitionist as a settler of the Territory.

"That we recognize the legality (so of Slavery, as already existing in this Territory, and as the slaveholders have introduced their property into it as such."

Similar resolutions were passed in various parts of the Territory, and by meetings in several counties of Missouri. Thus the first effect of the repeal of the restriction against Slavery was to substitute the resolves of squatter meetings, composed almost exclusively of citizens of a single State, for the deliberate action of Congress, acquiesced in for thirty-five years.

This unlawful interference has been continued in every important event in the history of the Territory; every election has been controlled not by the actual settlers, but by strangers from Missouri, and, as a consequence, every officer in the Territory, from constables to legislators, except those appointed by the President, owe their positions to non-residents' votes. None have been elected by the settlers, and your Committee have been unable to find that any political power whatever, however unimportant, has been exercised by the people of the Territory.

In October, A. D., 1854, Gov. A. H. Reeder and the other officers appointed by the President arrived in the Territory. Settlers from all parts of the country were moving in in great numbers, making their claims and building their cabins. About the same time, and before the election of delegate to Congress, the Territory, a secret political society was formed in the State of Missouri. It was known by different names, such as "Social Band," "Friendly Society," "Blue Lodge," "The Sons of the South." Its members were bound together by an oath, and they had passwords, signs and grips, by which they were to be known to each other. A penalty was imposed for violating the rules and secrets of the Order. Within minutes were kept of the proceedings of the Lodges, and the different Lodges were connected together by an effective organization. Its members were pledged to support the Kansas bill, and was extended into other Slave States and into the Territory. Its avowed purpose was not only to extend Slavery into Kansas, but to form a union of the Territory of the United States, and to form a union of all the Slave States, and to this end it has been operating was to organize and send men to vote at the elections in the Territory, to furnish money to pay their expenses, and, if necessary, to arm them in voting. It also proposed to induce Pro-Slavery men to emigrate into the Territory to aid and sustain them while there, and to elect none to office but Slavery men, or those who would be. This dangerous society was controlled by men who avowed their purpose to extend Slavery into the Territory by force and fraud, and to use it as the most effective instrument in organizing the subsequent armed invasions of Kansas. The leaders in Missouri the affairs of Kansas were discussed, and force necessary to control the election was divided into bands, and leaders and captains were appointed, and signs and badges were agreed upon. While the great body of the actual settlers of the Territory were relying upon the rights secured to them by the organic law, and formed no organization or combination whatever, even of a peaceful character, this conspiracy against their rights was gathering strength and forming in the State of Missouri.

[illegible] and other Judges to make a census of the [illegible] that persons might be enabled to vote. Some persons of the company knew of [illegible] squatter claims, on which they did [illegible] Territory, and [illegible] place for a town. [illegible] told by the [illegible] that he would be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

The Missouri Invasions.

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A journal of proceedings, including sundry communications made to and by the Governor, is herewith submitted. The testimony also is herewith submitted; a map of Kansas has been made and arranged, not accurate in all its details, but in order in which it was taken, but so as to present, as clearly as possible, a consecutive history of events in the Territory, from its organization to the 19th day of March, A. D., 1856.

Your Committee found it their duty to state, as briefly as possible, the principal facts proper before them. When the act to organize the Territory of Kansas was passed on — day of May, 1854, the greater portion of its eastern border was inhabited by Indian reservations not open for settlement, and there were but few white settlers in any portion of the Territory. In this population, rapidly increasing, while many emigrants from almost every part of the country were anxiously waiting the extinction of the Indian title, and the establishment of a Territorial Government, to seek new homes in its fertile prairies. It cannot be doubted that if its condition as a Free Territory had been left undisturbed by Congress, its settlement would have been rapid, peaceful and prosperous. Its climate, soil, and its easy access to the older settlements would have made it the favored course for the tide of emigration constantly flowing to the West, and, by this time, it would have been admitted into the Union as a Free State, without the least sectional excitement. If so organized, none but the blackest feeling would have existed between it and the adjoining State. Their mutual interests and intercourse, instead of, as now, endangering the harmony of the Union, would have strengthened the ties of fraternal brotherhood. It unfortunately clearly shows, that before the proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise was introduced into Congress, the people of Western Missouri appeared indifferent to the question of the character of the Territory, and neither spoke nor desired its repeal.

When, however, the prohibition was removed by the action of Congress, the aspect of affairs entirely changed. The people of Missouri looked to the reopening of a controversy which conservative men in different sections hoped had been settled in every State and Territory by some law beyond the danger of repeal. The excitement was not always equal. It passed the discussion of the Slavery question was greatly increased by the hope on the one hand of extending Slavery into a region from which it had been excluded by law; and on the other by a sense of wrong done by what was regarded as a dishonor of a national compact. This excitement was naturally transferred into the border counties of Missouri and the Territory. Of course, as slave property, the institutions moved into it. A new difficulty soon occurred. Different constructions were put upon the organic law. It was contended by the one party that the right to hold slaves in the Territory existed, and that the people had no power, by territorial Legislature could prohibit Slavery—that that power was alone possessed by the people when they were authorized to form a State Government. It was contended that the removal of the restriction virtually established Slavery in the Territory. This claim was urged by many prominent men in Western Missouri, who actively engaged in the affairs of the Territory. Every movement of the Slavery character which tended to establish free institutions was resisted as the extinction of property in slaves.

Within a few days after the organic law passed, and as soon as its passage could be known on the border, there were numerous and excited meetings in the Territory, held squatter meetings, and then returns, and to their homes. Among their resolutions are the following:

"That we will afford protection to no Abolitionist as a settler of the Territory."

That we recognize the institution of Slavery, as already existing, in the Territory, and fully recognize the rights introduced their property as such as possible."

Similar resolutions were passed in various parts of the Territory, and by meetings in several counties of Missouri. From the first effect of the repeal of the restriction against it, pursuant to the organic the resolves of squatter meetings, composed almost exclusively of citizens of the adjoining State, for the deliberate action of Congress, acquiesced in for thirty-five years.

This unlawful interference has been continued in every important event in the history of the Territory; every election has been controlled by it, and actual settlers, but by citizens of Missouri, and, as a consequence, in fact, in the Territory, from constables to legislators, except those appointed by the President, owe their positions to non-resident voters. From the evidence before them, the majority of your Committee have been unable to find that any political power has been exercised by the people of the Territory.

In October, A. D., 1854, Gov. A. H. Reeder and the other officers appointed by the President arrived in the Territory. Settlers from all parts of the country were moving in in great numbers, making their claims and building houses. It was the busy season of the year, and before any election was or could be held in the Territory, a large majority of the actual settlers in the State of Missouri (1). It was known by different names, such as "Social Band," "Friends' Society," "Blue Lodges," &c. (2). The object was (3). Its members were bound together by secret oaths, and that by passwords and signs, by which, in the dark, they were known to each other. Penalties were inflicted for violation of the rules and secrets of the order. Written minutes were kept of the proceedings of the Lodges, and the different Lodges were connected together by a military organization. They embraced great numbers of the citizens of Missouri, and was extended into other Slave States and into the Territory. It was a powerful party, and to extend Slavery in Kansas, but also into other Territories of the United States. It is no longer one of all the friends of that institution. Its plan of operation was to organize and send men to vote at the elections and in the Territory, if necessary, to pay their expenses, and, if necessary, to protect them in voting. It also, when necessary, sent Slavery men to emigrate into the Territory to aid and sustain their principles, and in fact none to go to effect those friendly to their views. This dangerous society was controlled by men who avowed their purpose to force Slavery upon the Territory at all hazards, and was altogether the most powerful instrument in organizing the subsequent armed invasions and frauds. It is no longer in Missouri the affairs of Kansas were discussed, the force determined on, the men fixed upon to march into bands, and leaders selected, means were collected, and the whole machinery put in operation. While the great body of the actual settlers of the Territory were relying upon the rights secured to them by the organic law, and upon the ballot-box as the only combination whatever, even of a party character, this conspiracy against those rights was gathering strength in a neighboring State, which would have been sufficient at their first election to have overthrown them if they had been united as they were.

Your Committee had great difficulty in eliciting the proof of the details in regard to this secret society. They were informed by the Executive Council, refused to answer questions in reference to it (4). Another declined to answer it, because to do so would result in his injury (5.) Others stated they would only answer as to the general purposes of the Society, but declined to state them, from a fear of many to show the influence it had in controlling the elections in the Territory.

The first election was for a Delegate to Congress. It was appointed for the 29th of November, 1854. The Governor divided the Territory into seven different Election Districts, appointed Judges and prescribed proper rules for the election, in the First, Second, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Twelfth, Thirteenth and Seventeenth Districts, there appointed were not but little if any opposition.

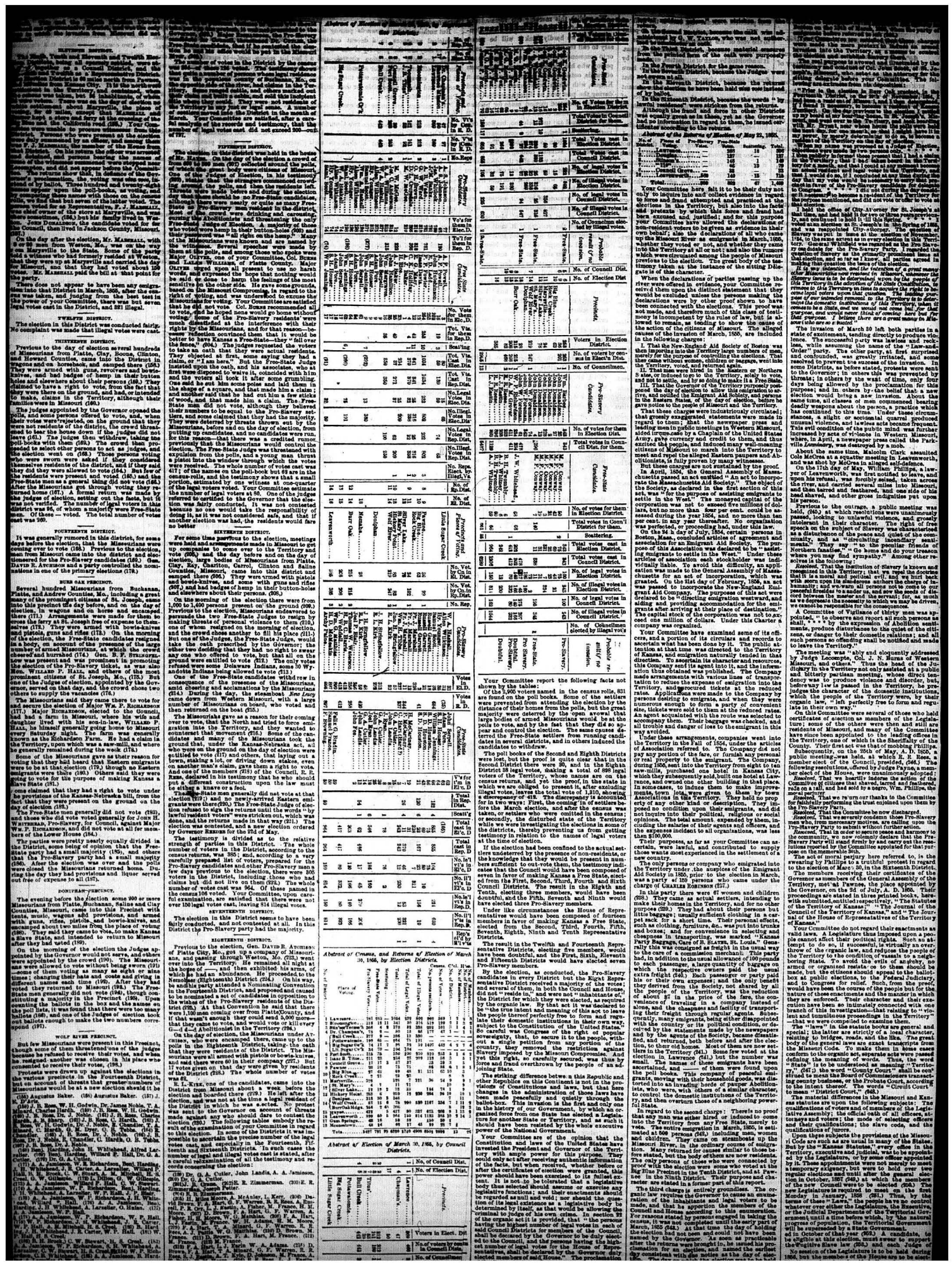
The election in the Second District was held at the village of Douglas, fifty miles from the Missouri line. On the day before the election, large companies of men came into the District in wagons from the Missouri counties—many of them from the State of Missouri, and were going to Douglas to vote. On the morning of the election they gathered in large numbers at the house where the election was held. One of the Judges appointed by the Governor did not

Thus your Committee find that in this the first election in the Territory a very large majority of the votes were cast by citizens of the adjoining States, in violation of the organic law of the Territory. Of the 2,258 votes cast, Gen. Whitfield received a majority. The settlers took but little interest in the election, not one half of them voting. This may be accounted for from the fact that the settlements were scattered over a great extent—that the term of the Delegate to be elected was short—and that the leaders of the Slave institutions had come to be generally regarded by them as distinctly at issue. Under these circumstances a systematic invasion from an adjoining State by which large numbers of illegal votes were cast in remote and sparse settlements (6), by which the control of the Territory was put into the Territory, even though it did not change the result of the election, was a crime of great magnitude. Its immediate effect was to drive from it the people of the Northern States—induce sets of resistance, and to excite a deep feeling of hostility against their neighbors in Missouri.

In January and February, A. D. 1855, the Governor caused a census to be taken of the District, returns and qualified voters in the Territory, an abstract of which is here given:

Abstract of Census Returns.

On the same day the census was completed, the Governor issued his Proclamation for an election, to be held on the 30th of March, A. D. 1855, for the election of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory. It prescribed the boundaries of districts, the places of polls, the number of judges, the apportionment of members, and recited the qualifications of voters. If it had been observed, a just and fair election would have been secured to the bona fide settlers of Territory. Before the election, false and inflammatory rumors were industriously circulated in the counties of Missouri. The number and character of the emigration then passing into the Territory were grossly exaggerated, and the principal object, by the active exertions of many of its leading citizens, aided by the secret influence of judges, clerks, and



of any county, or any attorney of this territory to practice in the courts of record.

A portion of the militia is required to muster on the first day of October, 1855, and every year while in the service of the United States, and every free white male citizen who is made a citizen by treaty or otherwise, and who is made a citizen by the first section of this act, and resident of the Territory and of the County or District in which he offers to vote, and shall have made a Territorial list, shall be a qualified voter at all elections." (257.) Two classes of persons were thus excluded: 1st by the organic act were allowed to vote, viz: those who would not take and subscribe the oath required, and those of foreign birth who had declared on oath their intention to become citizens (283.) Any man of proper age who was a citizen of Territory on the day of election, and who had paid a county tax and given the Sheriff, when he was at the polls to receive it (229.) could vote as a "bona fide resident," although he had breakfasted in Missouri and intended to return to Missouri before sunset. There can be no doubt that this unusual and unconstitutional provision was inserted to prevent a full and fair expression of the popular will in the first election for officers of the House, or to control it by non-residents.

All jurors are required to be sworn by the Sheriff or "other person who is conscientiously opposed to the holding of slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, to try such juror in any cause" affecting the right to hold slaves, or relating to slave property.

The last clause of every provision relating to slaves, are of a character intolerant and unusual even for that class of legislation. The character and conduct of the officers appointed to hold office in the Territory contributed very much to produce the events which followed. Gen. Wilson Shannon was appointed Sheriff of the County of Douglas. Included within it the First and Second Election Districts. He has been already thoroughly obnoxious to the settlers by his conduct on the 30th of March in the Second District, and by his burning the cabin of Dr. Cutler and Reese on the 16th (264).

An election for Delegates to Congress, to be held on the 1st day of October, 1855, was provided for by the 9th section of the Enactments, and by proclamation of the Governor. The Free-State men took no part in this election, having made arrangements for holding one of their own on the 9th of October previous. The citizens of Missouri attended at the election of the 1st of October, and, as some say paying the dollar tax, others not being required to vote (229.) They went and voted at the voting-places of Atchison (261,) and Douglas County (263;) at Willow Springs (264;) Franklin (265,) and Lecompton (266,) in Douglas County; at Hickory Point, Tecumseh and Lawrence, at Baptiste Paola, Lykins County, where some Indians voted, some whites paying the $1 tax for them (268 ¼) at Leavenworth City, at Kickapoo, Delaware City, Leavenworth County; at the latter place, under the lead of Gen. Richard Barrett, Samuel J. Lewis Barnes, of Missouri (270,) from the list of the Election precincts at which it was alleged there was illegal voting. The Investigating Committee appointed by the Committee failed to obtain the attendance of witnesses. Your Committee did not deem it necessary, in regard to this testimony, to report in detail, as it was manifest that, from their being but one candidate—Gen. Whitfield—who must have received a majority of the votes cast. This election, therefore, depends not on the number or character of the votes received, but on the validity of the laws under which it was held. Sufficient testimony was taken to show that the voting of citizens of Missouri was practiced at this election, and at every election held in the Territory. The following table will exhibit the result of that testimony, and regard the number of legal and illegal votes at the election. The County of Marshall embraces the same territory as was included in the First Election District, and the reasons before stated indicate that the great majority of the votes then cast were either illegal or fictitious. Where the testimony as to examinations extended, there were —— illegal votes cast, as near as the proof will enable us to determine:

Abstract of Poll-books of October 1, 1855.

COUNTIES.	TOWNSHIPS.	Whole No. of Votes.	Scattering.	Total.	Whig.	Democratic.	Free State.	Illegal Votes.
Atchison		219		219		80	139	
	Shannon	121	4	117				
Bourbon		44		44				
Brown		4		4				
Calhoun		29		29	29			
Davis		11	4	11	11			
Doniphan	Burr Oak	42		41		41		
	Iowa	31		31		31		
	Wayne	68		68		68		
	Washington	61		61		61		
	Wolf River	53		53		53		
Douglas	Franklin	58		58		58		
	Lawrence	43		43			43	
	Lecompton	101						
	Willow Springs	119		223		86	50	
Franklin		15		15		15		
Jefferson		49		49		49		
Johnson		190		190		80		110
Leavenworth	Alexandria	190						
	Delaware	220						55
	Kickapoo	152						55
	Leavenworth	216						110
	Wyandott	340	5	895				
Lykins		79		79		79		158
Madison	(See Wise Co.)	67		67				
Marshall		171		171		24		147
Osawatomie		4		4		4		
Riley		28		28		28		
Shawnee	One Hundred and Forty	23		23				
	Tecumseh	53		53		53		
Wise	Council Grove	12		12			12	

While these enactments of the alleged Legislative Assembly were being made, a movement was instituted in the Free State Government and party for admission into the Union as a State. The first step preparatory to this was the general meeting which was held in Lawrence on the 15th of August, 1855.

The following preamble and resolutions were then passed:

Whereas, The people of Kansas have been, since its settlement, and now are, without any law making power; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the people of Kansas Territory, in mass meeting assembled, irrespective of party distinctions, influenced by common necessity, and greatly desirous of promoting the common good, and of securing to ourselves and posterity those *rights* as citizens of Kansas territory, of whatever political views or predilections, to compel murderers in their respective Election Districts, and in mass convention or otherwise elect three delegates each to represent them in the said Election District to meet in the House of Representatives of the Legislative Assembly, by proclamation of Governor Reeder, of date 19th of July, 1854; said delegates to assemble in Convention at the town of Topeka on the 19th day of September, 1855, then and there to consider and determine upon all subjects of public interest, and particularly such as the Governor may see fit to speedy formation of a State Constitution, with an intention of an immediate application to be admitted as a State into the Union of the United States of America.

Other meetings were held in various parts of the Territory at which indorsements were made of the above meeting, and delegates were selected in compliance with its recommendations.

They met at Topeka on the 19th day of September, 1855. By their resolutions they provided for the appointment of an Executive Committee to consist of seven persons, who were required to "keep a record of their proceedings, and shall have a general superintendence of the affairs of the Territory, and so far as regards the organization of the State Government." They were required to take steps for an election to be held on the first Monday and day in October following, under regulations imposed by that Committee, for the members of a Convention to form a Constitution, adopt a Bill of Rights for the people of Kansas, and take all needful measures for organizing a State Government, preparatory to the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State."

The rules prescribed were such as usually govern elections in most of the States of the Union, and in most respects were similar to those contained in the proclamation of Gov. Reeder for the election of March 30, 1855.

The Executive Committee, appointed by that Convention, accepted the trust reposed in them, entered upon the discharge of their duties by issuing Convention and made addresses to the people of Kansas, requesting them to meet at their several precincts, at the time and places named in the proclamation, to choose delegates to the Convention, that members of a Constitutional Convention, to meet at Topeka on the 4th Tuesday of October then next.

The proclamation of the Governor, the act of election, appointed Judges, recited the qualifications of electors and the appointment of members of the Convention.

After this proclamation was issued, public meetings were held in every District in the Territory, and in nearly every precinct. The State movement and the general topic of discussion throughout the Territory, and there was but little opposition manifested to it. Elections were held at the time and places designated, and the returns made to the Executive Committee. The following table is an abstract of these returns:

The result of the election was proclaimed by the

Precincts.	Votes.	Constitution, Yes.	Constitution, No.	Exclusion of Negroes, Yes.	Exclusion of Negroes, No.	Judges.
Lawrence	369	369		369		Gaius Jenkins
Blanton	73	73		73		
Franklin	46	46		46		
Franklin	46	4	21	18	2	
Hickory Point	140	140		140		
East Douglas	15	15		15		
Palmyra	135	135		9	64	
Washington	73	73		73		
Brownsville	24	24		23	2	
Tecumseh	74	74		74		
Prairie City	73	73		73		
Little Osage	29	29	83	29	83	
Big Sugar	18	18	16	18	16	
Neosho	5	5	29	5	29	
Potawatomie	33	33	19	33	18	
Little Sugar	42	18	33	18	33	
Stanton	4		20		20	
Osawatomie	56	1	20	26	17	
Tiffin	20	20		20	17	
Juniata	39	23	6	19	19	
Ohio City	25	25		25		
Mill Creek	30	30		30		
St. Mary's	17	17		17		
Washbourne	19	19		17	1	
Pawnee	45	15	20	40	5	
Grasshopper Falls	70	70	20	70	20	
Doniphan	23	8	14	21	2	
Burr Oak	22	6	16	21	1	
Jesse Fadur's	12		1	11	1	
Oceana	20	20		20		
Kickapoo	30	7	13	16	4	
Pleasant Hill	19	19		19		
Indianola	19		18	19		
Whitfield	3	3	4	6	1	
Wolf River	34	34	19	34	19	
St. Joseph's steam mill	15	14	9	14	1	
Mt. Pleasant	21	21	22	21	22	
Jackson	71	23	19	71	7	
Mission						
Total	1,731	46	1,120	864	1,287	453

N. B.—Poll-book at Leavenworth was destroyed.

The Executive Committee then issued a proclamation reciting the results of the election of the 15th of December, and at the same time issued a call for an election to be held on the 15th day of January, 1856, for State officers and representatives to the Legislative Assembly of the State of Kansas. An election was accordingly held in the several election precincts, the returns of which were sent to the Executive Committee. An abstract of them is contained in the following table:

Abstract of the Election of January 15, 1856.

Districts.	Gov. W. Y. Roberts.	Lieut. Gov. M. J. Parrott.	Sec. State, Aud'r. Treas'r. F. G. A. Cutler.	W. F. Goodell.	Atty. Gen. H. W. Fisher.	Rep. to Congress. John Wakefield.	Dep. Sup. H. Miles Moore.	Members of Legislature.
Precincts.								
Washington	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	32
Doniphan	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	32
Osawatomie	82	82	82	81	82	82	82	79
Shannon	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	78
Easton	86	86	86	86	86	86	86	86
Burr Oak	41	41	41	41	41	41	41	41
Big Sug. Sou'n.	49	49	50	49	49	49	49	49
Pal'y's Mission	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42
Wolf River	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36
East Douglas	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51
Easton	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	20
Potawatomie	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
Tiffin	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
Blanton	32	48	78	85	24	48	48	48
Franklin	78	78	78	78	78	78	78	78
Pleasant Hill	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42
Palmyra	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23
Juniata	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45
Lawrence	215	41	176	245	883	45	280	1
Wyandott	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34
Washington	73	73	73	73	73	73	73	73
Doniphan	32	31	31	31	31	31	31	31
Osawatomie	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81
Tiffin	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
Easton	66	66	66	66	66	66	66	66
Burr Oak	41	41	41	41	41	41	41	41
St. Joseph's Mission	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58
Easton	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21
Wolf River	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36
East Douglas	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51
Stanton	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31
Potawatomie	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
Tiffin	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
Blanton	65	50	80	23	23	46	77	54
Prairie City	73	73	73	73	73	73	73	73
Pleasant Hill	43	43	43	2	2	43	43	43
Mission	25	25	25			25	25	25
Palmyra	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45
Franklin	78	78	78	78	78	78	78	78
Little Sugar Creek	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34
Little Osage	19	19	19			19	19	81
Hickory Point	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140
Tecumseh	74	74	74	74	74	35	74	74
Pawnee	45	45	45					
Kickapoo	14	14	14	51	51	51	51	51
Leavenworth	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223
Delaware	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Neosho	13	13	13					
Shawnee	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
Wyandott	895	895	895	895	895	895	895	895

* Anthony Floyd 1.

The result of this election was announced by proclamation by the Executive Committee.

In accordance with the Constitution thus adopted, the members of the Legislative Assembly and officers of the State officers met on the day and at the place designated by the State Constitution, and took the oath of office prescribed.

After electing United States Senators, passing some preliminary laws, and appointing a Codifying Committee and preparing memorials to Congress, the General Assembly adjourned to meet on the 4th day of July, 1856.

The laws passed were all conditional upon the admission of Kansas as a State into the Union. These proceedings were known, and in the report of their Committee the Constitution thus adopted fairly expresses the will. of the majority of the settlers. They say: "We await the action of Congress upon this Memorial.

These elections, whether they were conducted in pursuance of law or not, were not illegal.

Whether the result of them is sanctioned by the action of Congress or not, they are the fair and free expression of a popular will, and Congress should refuse to grant the prayer of the Memorial, that cannot affect their legality. The right of the people to assemble and express their political opinion in any form, whether by means of an election or a convention, is secured to them by the Constitution of the United States. Even if the elections are to be regarded as the act of a Party, whether political or otherwise, they were proper, in accordance with examples, both in States and Territories.

The elections, however, were preceded and followed by acts of violence on the part of those who opposed them, and the invasion from Missouri and Platte County tainted the invasion from Missouri were peculiarly hostile to these peaceful movements preliminary to the organization of a State Government. Instances of this violence will be referred to hereafter.

To provide for the election of Delegates to Congress, and at the same time do it in such a manner as to obtain the judgment of the House of Representatives upon the validity of the alleged Legislative Assembly sitting at Shawnee Mission, a Convention was held at Big Springs on the 5th and 6th days of September, 1855. This state of the Territory, and the call for the election, and a party calling itself the Free-State Party was then organized. It was in no way connected with the state movement, except that the election of Delegate to Congress was fixed by it on the same day as the election of members of the Constitutional Convention, instead of the day prescribed by the alleged Legislative Assembly. Andrew H. Reeder was put in nomination as Territorial Delegate to Congress, and an election was provided for under the regulations prescribed for the election of March 30, 1855, excepting as to the qualifications of voters and the persons to whom the returns of the elections should be made. The election was held in accordance with these regulations, an abstract of the returns of which is contained in the following table:

Abstract of the election of A. H. Reeder:

District.	Voting Place.	No. Votes.	District.	Voting Place.	No. Votes.
I.	Lawrence	307	IX.	Big Mound	21
	Palmyra	16		Big Sugar	20
	Franklin	46	X.	Rock Creek	21
	Hickory Point	140		Rock Vermillion	15
	Juniata	39	XI.	St. Mary's	19
II.	Osawatomie	81		Pottawatomie	29
	Stanton	31	XII.	Mount Hill	21
	Topeka	133		Palm Tree	19
III.	Tecumseh	74		Hickory Point	11
	Big Springs	38		Total	1,731

The chief guilt of it must rest on Samuel Jones. His character is illustrated by his language at Lecompton, where these votes were made: "The said Major Clark and Buford both claimed the benefit of killing that d——d Abolitionist, and he didn't know which one fought hardest, if Shannon hadn't been a coward. Clark was the first man from the door, and the first man to the top of the pile." The Constitution was held at Leavenworth City, on the 23d of October, 1855, and the Constitution was framed, ratified, adopted, and the officers elected. Owen Brown was present, and voted at the election. Some of the leading men from the Territory were present, and participated in the proceedings. Among them was Gen. Richard Barrett, of Missouri, who was chosen President of the Convention. Gen. Barrett was also present at the election of Governor, Legislature, and Delegate to Congress, under the Constitution, and was a candidate for Governor. He

...ed every attorney admitted to practice in the ...

...ction of the militia is required to muster ...ay of election. (268.) "Every free white male ...ty of the United States, and every free male in...ons who is made a citizen by treaty or convention ...ed over the age of 21 years, and who shall be an ...ident of the Territory, and of the county and ...District in which he offers to vote, and shall have ...paid a Territorial tax, shall be a qualified elector for ...ch election." (267.) Two additional judges were then excluded who by the organic act were allowed to vote, viz: those who had taken a lease to the land required, and those of foreign birth who had declared on oath their intention to become citizens of the United States more than one year and less than two years before the day of election, and who had paid one dollar as a tax to the Sheriff, who was to be at the polls to receive it. (266.) "It shall be the duty [of the Sheriff," although he had breakfasted in Missouri and intended to remain there for dinner. There can be no doubt that this unusual and unconstitutional provision was inserted to prevent a full and fair assessment of the population in the taking of the census of the House, or to control it by non-residents.

All jurors are required to be selected by the Sheriff and "no person shall be disqualified to serve on such jury on account of his color, or who does not admit the right to his slaves in this Territory to be held as a juror by any cause" affecting the right to hold slaves, or relating to slave property.

The above code, and every provision relating to slaves, are of a character intolerant and unusual even for that class of legislation. The character and conduct of the judges appointed to govern the new Territory contributed very much to produce the events soon to follow. Hon. Samuel J. Jones was appointed Sheriff of the County of Douglas, which included within it the First and Second Election Districts. He had unlimited control over appointees to the settlers by his conduct on the 30th of March in the Second District, and by his burning the cabin of Jonas W. Oakley on the 9th of April, 1855.

An election for Delegates to Congress, to be held on the 1st day of October, 1855, was provided for with the same rules and regulations as were applied to other elections. The Free-State men took no part in this election, having made arrangements for holding an election on the 9th of the same month. The citizens of Missouri attended at the election of the law of the Territory, claiming that the settlers were not being required to pay it. They were pressed and voted at the voting-places of Atchison (361,) and Doniphan (362,) in Atchison County; at Grasshopper Springs, Johnson County (253;) at Willow Springs (664;) Douglas County; at Franklin, Douglas County; at Fort Scott, Bourbon County (267;) at Baptiste Peoils, Lykins County, where some Indians voted, and at Leavenworth City (265,) and at Kickapoo City, Leavenworth County (365,) and at the latter place, under the lead of Gen. B. F. Stringfellow and Gen. Clarke Barnes, of Missouri (370.) From two of the elections returns, those of Bourbon and Lykins, were illegal voting, viz.: Delaware and Wyandotte, your Committee failed to obtain the attendance of witnesses before the Committee of the House of Representatives in regard to this election, to state in details as it was manifest that they had voted for the pro-slavery candidate—Gen. Whitfield—he must have received a majority of the votes cast. This election, therefore, depends not on the number of actual votes that were received, but upon the validity of the laws under which it was held. Sufficient evidence was taken to show that the voting of citizens of Missouri was unprecedented at this election, as at all former elections in the Territory, and that it greatly affected and nullified the result of the testimony as regards the number of legal and illegal votes at this election. The County of Marshall embraces the territory which was included in the Eleventh District; and the reasons before stated indicate that the great majority of the votes then cast were either illegal or fictitious. In the Counties to which our examination extended, the following is the result, as near as the proof will enable us to determine:

Abstract of Poll-books of October 1, 1855.

COUNTIES.	TOWNSHIPS.	Whole No. Votes.	Whole No. Legal Votes.	Scattering.	Total No. Votes for Delegate.	Whole No. Illegal Votes.
Atchison	Grasshopper	58				
	Shannon	121	4	219		
		242	50	292	192	
Bourbon		44		44		
Brown		29		29	29	
Calhoun		12		12	12	
Davis		81		81		
Doniphan	Burr Oak	12		81		
	Iowa	21		21		
	Wayne	16		69		
	Washington	81		81		
	Wolf River	53		53		
Douglas	Franklin	86		23	63	
	Lecompton	23				
	Lecompton	101				
	Willow Springs	118		118		
Franklin		15		15	15	
Jefferson		23		23		
Johnson		196		196	196	
Leavenworth	Alexandria	40				
	Delaware	220				
	Leavenworth	313				
	Shawnee	159				
	Wyandott	346	5	925		
		1,078		1,078	70	156
Lykins		67		67		
Lynn		67				
Madison	(See Wise Co.)					
Marshall		171		171	24	147
Osawatomie		24		24		
Pierce		28		28	28	
Shawnee	One Hundred					
	and Ten	23		23		
	Tecumseh	52		52		
Wise	(County Organized)	29		29		

While these enactments of the alleged Legislative Assembly are of a character as to render them inoperative to form a State Government and apply for admission into the Union as a State. The first step taken by the people of the Territory, after the passage of the invasions of March 30, 1855, was the circulation for signatures of a petition to the Congress of the U. Congress. Your Committee find that every allegation in this memorial has been sustained by the testimony. The other step taken was one by which it was hoped that some action by the General Government would protect them in their rights. When the alleged Legislative Assembly proceeded to construct the series of enactments referred to, the settlers were of opinion that the assuming to them would result in depriving them of the rights secured to them by the organic laws. Their political condition was freely discussed in the Territory during the summer of 1855. Several meetings were held in reference to holding a Convention to form a State Government and to apply for admission into the Union as a State. Public opinion gradually settled in favor of such an application to the Congress to meet in December, 1855. The first general meeting was held in Lawrence on the 15th of August, 1855.

The following preamble and resolutions were then passed:

Whereas, The people of Kansas have been, since its settlement, and now are, without any law making power; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the people of Kansas Territory, in mass meeting assembled, irrespective of party associations, fellowship or name, necessity, and *gravid* desirous of promoting the common good, do hereby call upon and request all bona fide citizens of Kansas Territory, without regard to former political views or predilections, to consult together in their respective Election Districts, and by mass convention or otherwise elect three delegates for each representative to which said Election District is entitled in the House of Representatives of the Legislative Assembly, by proclamation of Governor Reeder, of date 25th of May last; said delegates to assemble in Convention at the town of Topeka on the 19th day of September, 1855, then and there to consider and determine what shall be for the best interest, and particularly upon that having reference to the speedy formation of a State Constitution with the intention of an immediate application to be admitted as a State into the Union of the United States of America.

Other meetings were held in various parts of the Territory, which indorsed the action of the Lawrence meeting, and delegates were selected in compliance with its recommendations.

That met at Topeka, on the 19th day of September, 1855. By their resolutions they provided for the appointment of an Executive Committee to consist of seven persons, who were required to keep a record of their proceedings, and shall have a general superintendence over the affairs of the Territory, as regards the organization of the State Government." They were required to take steps for an election to be held on the second Tuesday of the October following, under regulations imposed by that Committee, "for members of a Convention to form a Constitution, adopt a Bill of Rights for the people of Kansas, and take all needful measures for organizing a State Government preparatory to the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State." The resolutions provided that there were such annual elections in most of the States of the Union, and in most respects were similar to those contained in the proclamation of Gov. Reeder for the election of March 30, 1855.

The Executive Committee, appointed by that Convention, accepted their appointment, and entered upon the discharge of their duties by issuing their proclamation addressed to the people of the Territory, requesting them to meet at their several precincts, at the time and places named in the proclamation, and there and then cast their ballots for members of a Constitutional Convention, to meet at Topeka on the 23d Tuesday of October then next.

The proclamation designated the places of elections, appointed Judges, recited the qualifications of voters and the apportionment of members of the Convention.

After this proclamation was issued, public meetings were held in every District in the Territory, and in nearly every precinct. The State movement was a general topic of discussion throughout the Territory, and there was but little opposition expressed. Elections were held at the time and places designated, and the returns were sent to the Executive Committee. The following table is an abstract of these returns:

The result of the election was proclaimed by the Executive Committee, and the persons elected were convened to meet on the 23d day of October, 1855, at Topeka. In pursuance of this proclamation and direction, the Constitutional Convention met at the time and place appointed, and formed a State Constitution.

(263) Statutes, page 84. (269) p. 338.

(262) Samuel Smith and Edward Oakley. (263) D. W. Jones, J. G. Cummins, Wm. Phillips, Wm. Hutchinson, Thos. B. Wyandall. (264) A. White, T. Wolverton, J. Ross, J. H. Stringfellow. (265) Jas. Blair, Jas. Hanna, C. K. Holliday, W. Cook, J. Hamilton. (266) B. Woodson, Jas. Lyon, Jas. Hughes. (267) Jas. Lyon.

(268) Jas. Lyon, Jas. Hughes, Jas. Blair, Jas. Hanna, C. K. Holliday, W. Cook, J. Hamilton. (269) Jas. Lyon, Jas. Hughes, Jas. Blair, Jas. Hanna, C. K. Holliday, W. Cook, J. Hamilton.

(270) Jas. Lyon, Jas. Hughes, Jas. Blair, Jas. Hanna, C. K. Holliday, W. Cook, J. Hamilton.

(271) Pat Laughlin, Precdt. (272) G. P. Lowry, A. H. Reeder, (273) Lowry, Reeder and R. C. Cowan.

(274) Wm. and Nicholas McKinney, D. T. Jones and wife, Wm. Phillips.

(275) Jacob Branson.

(276) Jacob Branson. (277) Luther Leonard.

(278) William Shannon (Charles Robinson).

(279) G. P. Lowry, Reeder and Cowan.

(280) Charles Dow.

(281) Jacob Barker. (282) William Phillips, Jesse W. Lowry, Wm. Hutchinson.

(283) Wm. Phillips, Jesse W. Lowry, Wm. Hutchinson.

(284) Wm. Phillips, Jesse W. Lowry, Wm. Hutchinson.

(285) Wm. Phillips, Jesse W. Lowry, Wm. Hutchinson.

(286) Wm. Phillips, Jesse W. Lowry, Wm. Hutchinson.

(287) Wm. Phillips, Jesse W. Lowry, Wm. Hutchinson.

The American.

BALTIMORE:

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 4, 1856.

Kansas Affairs.

There is in the action of Congress during the past few days a promise that the affairs of Kansas may yet be settled upon a basis satisfactory to lovers of union and peace. Notwithstanding Mr. Seward proclaims that the day of compromise has past, and Mr. Toombs re-echoes the declaration, and thinks that to settle the dispute by physical force would be a "good way," yet the event will prove that these extremists represent nothing so well as their own distempered imaginings, and that neither the masses of the country nor those who act for them in Congress are prepared to turn their backs upon compromise or to refuse concession so long as one or the other is necessary to the peace and safety of the country. The rejection in the House of the bill admitting Kansas as a State on the basis of the Topeka constitution was a warning to the sectionalists that even in the branch of government which they claim as peculiarly under their control, they were unable to carry this ultra measure, and the passage by the Senate of a bill looking to the pacification of Kansas, and in important respects one of compromise and concession, is a still more insignificant indication that the country, heartily tired of the irritating and profitless dispute, is anxious for its settlement upon a fair and constitutional basis.

The bill which has passed the Senate provides for the appointment of five commissioners, to be selected from different sections of the Union, to represent fairly all political parties. They shall take a census of all the legal voters in the Territory, and make a fair apportionment of delegates to be elected in each county, to assemble and make a Constitution and State Government. When the apportionment shall have been thus made, the commissioners are to remain in session every day, excepting Sunday, at places most convenient to the inhabitants of the Territory, to hear all complaints, examine witnesses, and correct all errors in the said list of voters, which shall be previously printed and circulated through the Territory, and posted in at least three of the most public places in each voting precinct in each county. So soon as all errors shall have been thus corrected in said lists, the commissioners are required to cause lists of the legal voters to be printed and copies furnished to each judge of election, to be put up at the place of voting, and circulated throughout every county in the Territory before the day of election. No person shall be allowed to vote whose name does not appear as a legal voter. The elections of delegates to take place on the day of the Presidential election, and the convention to assemble on the 1st Monday in December, to decide, first: Whether it be expedient for Kansas to come into the Union at that time, and if so decided proceed to form a Constitution and State government, which shall be republican in form, and admitted on an equal footing with the original States. The bill provides that no law shall be of force or enforced in the territory, infringing the liberty of speech or the liberty of the press, or the right of the people to bear arms, etc.—Also, for punishing illegal voting, or fraud, or violence at the election, and to use the military force for that purpose.

In its passage through the Senate the bill received two important amendments. The first of these proposed by Mr. Adams, of Mississippi, was to strike out a clause which gave the right of suffrage to foreigners who had merely declared their intention to become citizens, but were not fully naturalized. This was adopted by vote of ayes 22, nays 15. The second and more important amendment proposed by Mr. Geyer, of Missouri, was in these words:—

"That no law shall be made or have force or effect which shall require a test oath or 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 on condition to exercise 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 Territory, or the free expression of opinion therein by the people of the Territory."

During the discussion to which this amendment gave rise, Mr. Cass characterized some of the laws passed by the Kansas Legislature as disgraceful to the age. The amendment strikes at the root of squatter sovereignty, and overthrows the doctrine that the people of the territory are to control their own affairs independent of the supervision of Congress. The bill says in effect that certain laws passed by the Legislature are improper and unjust, and therefore are abrogated by Congress. The conclusion is irresistible—if Congress can thus interfere in relation to laws upon one subject, it can upon all, and it in fact holds an annulling power over the acts of the Territorial Legislatures, which it may exercise whenever circumstances, as now, seem to require an assertion of the power. That the majority of the Senate, ruled as it is by the framers and supporters of the original Kansas-Nebraska bill, should have yielded thus much, is strong evidence of a desire to remove the causes that have made Kansas the field of sectional and fratricidal strife. The propositions of the bill as now framed are reasonable, wise, and moderate, and we hope will be received as a final settlement of the existing troubles.

GEN. SMITH'S MISSION TO KANSAS.—The design of the President to send Gen. Persifer F. Smith to Kansas has been asserted, denied, and is now re-asserted. His instructions, it is said, are emphatically to prevent armed invasion from any quarter, and to afford protection to peaceable settlers at any cost. Col. Sumner will remain in his present position in Kansas, subject to the orders of General Smith, who is entrusted with large discretionary powers, and is fully possessed of the President's views on the subject of Kansas affairs. Gen. 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 questions that may arise.

Daily Pennsylvanian

Philadelphia, Friday, July 4.

A True Word About Kansas.

The intelligent Washington correspondent of the New York *Journal of Commerce*, holds the following language about the Kansas bills:

The Senate, after passing this bill, can well abide by the issue. If the House choose not to pass it—then let the country decide at the coming Presidential election between the Senate plan and the House plan.

The House bill—which the Republicans are trying to pass to-day—proceeds on the ground that the Free State men—if they ever had a majority of votes in the Territory—never will have again. Therefore they propose to admit Kansas with a Constitution made last Fall, by an irregular, disorganizing, and treasonable party.

The Republicans say that they will not agree to any appropriations for Kansas, until the Senate concur in their bill. Of course, they wish to reduce the condition of the Territory to absolute anarchy and confusion. It is their only or chief political capital.

[Special Despatch to the Daily Pennsylvanian.]

THE KANSAS ISSUE MADE UP.

LAW AND ORDER AND THE PACIFICATION OF KANSAS,

vs.

REVOLUTION, ANARCHY AND CONTINUED AGITATION.

WASHINGTON, July 3d, 1856.

The issue is made up. The patriotic men of the U. S. Senate offer a peaceful settlement of the Kansas difficulty. The bill of Mr. Toombs guarantees peace and justice, and was supported by the Democrats and National Whigs. It is admirably framed and will completely settle all the troubles of that Territory. Yet the Black Republican Senators, Collamer, Hale, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, etc., bitterly opposed its passage.

The practical question now at issue is the complete adjustment bill of the Senate, or the Revolutionary Proposition of the Black Republicans of the House. Let all conservative men, all friends of the Union, all opposed to sectional agitation, mark well the present aspect of this controversy. After all the loud complaints of the condition of Kansas with which the country has resounded, the agitators reject the only true and correct method of remedying the evils they have complained of, and thus show to the world that their professed sympathy for the settlers of Kansas is hypocritical and insincere, and that their only desire is to continue the slavery agitation, to vent their spleen against the plain provisions of the Constitution, and to aim deadly blows at the perpetuity of the Union.

Let all read carefully the report of Senator Douglas, examine the synopsis of the new bill, and the proceedings of the Senate previous to its passage. Every Democrat, and every friend of peace and justice will rejoice at the passage of the Senate bill. Let the shameless hypocrisy of the Black Republican agitation, in opposing true and legal measures and resorting to revolutionary illegal and turbulent ones, be charged home upon them.

WASHINGTON.

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

"We join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union."

FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1856.

The SENATE continued its session through Wednesday night in consideration of the bill for the admission of Kansas as a State. The amendment of Mr. WILSON proposing to strike out all after the enacting clause and to declare all the acts of the Kansas Legislature null and void was negatived after a long discussion. An amendment was adopted, at the instance of Mr. DOUGLAS, allowing all *bona fide* inhabitants who had been driven out of the Territory until the 1st of October to return and vote. Mr. TRUMBULL proposed an additional section to the effect that no slave should be held in Kansas until the Legislature shall have legalised slavery. This was rejected by the decisive vote of 34 to 9. Mr. T. varied his amendment, keeping in view the same object; but this was also rejected. And, at 8 o'clock on Thursday morning, after a session of twenty hours, the bill was passed by a vote of 33 to 12. There were fourteen Senators absent on the final vote, but it is understood that if the Senate had been full the vote would have been relatively the same. Several important amendments were incorporated in the bill—such as prohibiting any but citizens, native and naturalized, from voting, repealing the test oaths imposed by the Kansas Legislature, and securing full scope to the freedom of speech and of the press within the Territory.

The HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES was occupied principally in the consideration of the bill for the admission of Kansas as a State into the Union—first upon the motion to reconsider the vote of Monday rejecting the bill, which was carried, and then upon the passage of the bill. An ineffectual motion was made to lay the bill upon the table, and several motions to adjourn failed. Finally, at three o'clock, the vote was taken upon the passage of the bill, which was decided affirmatively by a vote of 100 to 97.

THE BILL FOR THE PACIFICATION OF KANSAS.

The following is a correct copy of the bill, passed by the Senate yesterday morning, to authorize the people of the Territory of Kansas to form a Constitution and State Government preparatory to their admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States:

Be it enacted, &c. That, for the purpose of making an enumeration of the inhabitants authorized to vote under the provisions of this act, an apportionment and an election of members of a convention to form a State constitution for Kansas, as hereinafter provided, five competent persons shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to be commissioners, a majority of whom shall constitute a quorum, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this act, each of whom, before entering upon the duties of his office, shall take and subscribe an oath or affirmation that he will support the Constitution of the United States, and faithfully and impartially exercise and discharge the duties enjoined on him by this act, according to the best of his skill and judgment; which oath or affirmation shall be administered to them severally, and be duly certified by a judge, clerk, or commissioner of a court of the United States, and filed and recorded in the office of the Secretary of the Territory of Kansas.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, 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

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to take him in preference to BUCHANAN. They foresee, despite the wild speculations of some of his Northern supporters,—that he can by no possibility get the electoral vote of a single Free State. Their only resource, then, is in the South, where the Fillmore men fight the battle, and hope to win by proving themselves better Pro-Slavery men than their Democratic opponents.

DETAILS OF THE SCHEME.

It was to aid this Southern Fillmore movement—to aid in fighting such a battle, that Kansas was sacrificed to-day. It was to make a good record South—to convince the slaveholding oligarchy that FILLMORE'S friends can be trusted for all the servility which Slavery demands, as certainly as the "Democracy," that the appeal of our suffering kinsmen in Kansas was treated with cold disdain. How many Northern free men, who seek no offices, and have no selfish ends to serve, are prepared to follow such leaders, and be sold by them to the traders in human

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House in the evening, and was followed by the Strawberry Festival and other good things. Mr. GEORGE H. MOORE, President, took the chair. The attendance was large.

Prof. THOMAS B. STERLING, made an address upon the "Alumni View of the University." He declared that the Association of Alumni had in view three specific objects: 1. To cherish and strengthen the bond of literary brotherhood; 2. To promote the welfare and elevate the character of Alma Mater; and 3. To aid in advancing education throughout this country and the world. The first object, he contended, was gained by assembling on such occasions as this; the second won when the Alumnus honored the early training received at the hands of Alma Mater; the third was to be attained by taking active part in educational discussions. It was the third view to which the orator gave his especial attention, considering it as the "Alumni view of the

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instruction nearly four hundred students, and the last course of lectures was delivered to more than three hundred students. The Faculty of Medicine have their department almost entirely under their own control. They have adopted the plan of allowing their students to study at home, in their own States, for more than two-thirds of the year, and requiring them to spend some three or four months only in each year in the City of New-York. That period of time is occupied in listening to oral lectures, in attendance upon the various hospitals, and attending charity patients in the City. The sums paid by the students for such instruction often amount to more than $40,000 per annum, which amount is principally divided among the Professors of the Medical Faculty.

Your Committee are of the opinion that a Law School, established upon the same plan as the Medical department of the University, in which a course of oral lectures would be annually delivered, and such course not in any instance to extend beyond the period of four months, would prove eminently successful. The price of tuition should not exceed

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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.

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 regulations and forms to be observed in making the enumeration 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 shall meet without delay at the seat of government of Kansas Terrritory, 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 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 fidelity 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. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That an election shall be held for members of a convention to form a constitution for the State of Kansas, according to the apportionment to be made aforesaid, on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, eighteen hundred and fifty-six, to be held at such places and to be conducted in such manner, both as to persons who shall superintend such election and the returns thereof, as the board of commissioners shall appoint and direct, except in cases by this act otherwise provided; and at such election no person shall be permitted to vote unless his name shall appear on said corrected lists.

Sec. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That the board of commissioners shall have power, and it shall be their duty, to make all needful rules and regulations for the conduct of the said election and the returns thereof. They shall appoint three suitable persons to be judges of the election at each place of voting and prescribe the mode of supplying vacancies. They shall cause copies of the rules and regulations, with a notice of the places of holding elections and the names of the judges, to be published and distributed in every election district or precinct ten days before the day of election, and shall transmit a copy thereof to the clerk of each court of record and one copy to each judge of election.

Sec. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That the judges of election shall each, before entering on the discharge of his duties, make oath or affirmation that he will faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of judge of the election according to law, which oath may be administered by any officer authorized by law to administer oaths. The clerks of election shall be appointed by the judges, and shall take the like oath or affirmation, to be administered by one of the judges or by any of the officers aforesaid. Duplicate returns of election shall be made and certified by the judges and clerks, one of which shall be deposited in the office of the clerk of the tribunal transacting county business for the county in which the election is held, and the other shall be transmitted to the board of commissioners, whose duty it shall be to decide, under proper regulations to be made by themselves, who are entitled to certificates of election, and to issue such certificates accordingly to the persons who, upon examination of the returns and of such proofs as shall be adduced in case of a contest, shall appear to have been duly elected in each county or district: *Provided*, In case of a tie or of a contest, in which it cannot be satisfactorily determined who was duly elected, said commissioners shall order a new election in like manner as is herein provided. Upon the completion of these duties the said commissioners shall return to Washington and report their proceeding to the Secretary of the Interior, whereupon said commission shall cease and determine.

Sec. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That every white male citizen of the United States over twenty-one years of age, who may be a bona fide inhabitant of said Territory on the fourth day of July, eighteen hundred and fifty-six, 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, and any person qualified as a voter may be a delegate to said convention, and no others; and all persons who shall possess the other qualifications for voters under this act, and who shall have been bona fide inhabitants of said Territory at any time since its organization, and who shall have absented themselves therefrom in consequence of the disturbances therein, and who shall return before the first day of October next and become bona fide inhabitants of the Territory with the intent of making it their permanent home, and shall present satisfactory evidence of these facts to the board of commissioners, shall be entitled to vote at said election, and to have their names placed on said corrected list of voters for the purpose; and to avoid all conflict in the complete execution of this act, all other elections in said Territory are hereby postponed until such time as said convention shall appoint.

Sec. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That the said commissioners, and all persons appointed by them to assist in taking the census, shall have power to administer oaths and examine persons on oath in all cases where it shall be necessary to the full and faithful performance of their duties under this act; and the secretary shall keep a journal of the proceedings of said board, and transmit copies thereof from time to time to the Secretary of the Interior; and when said commissioners shall have completed the business of their appointment, the books and papers of the board shall be deposited in the office of the secretary of the Territory and there kept as records of his office.

Sec. 13. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person, by menaces, threats, or force, or by any other unlawful means, shall, directly or indirectly, attempt to influence any qualified voter in giving his vote, or deter him from going to the polls, or disturb or hinder him in the free exercise of his right of suffrage at said election, the person so offending shall be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor, and punished by a fine of not less than two hundred and fifty dollars nor exceeding five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment of not less than three months nor exceeding one year, or by both.

Sec. 14. *And be it further enacted*, That every person not being a qualified voter according to the provisions of this act who shall vote at any election within the said Territory, knowing that he is not entitled to vote, and every person who shall at the same election vote more than once, whether at the same or different place, shall be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor, and be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars nor exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars, or by imprisonment not less than three months nor exceeding six months, or both.

Sec. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That any person whatsoever who may be charged with holding the election herein authorized, who shall wilfully and knowingly commit any fraud or irregularity whatever, with the intent to hinder, or prevent, or defeat a fair expression of the popular will in the said election, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and punished by fine not less than five hundred dollars nor exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not less than six months nor exceeding two years, or both, at the discretion of the court.

Sec. 16. *And be it further enacted*, That the delegates thus selected 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, to wit: 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; and until the next Congressional apportionment the said State shall have one representative in the House of Representatives of the United States.

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 Commissioner of the General Land Office, and to be appropriated and applied in such manner as the Legislature of said State may prescribe for the purpose aforesaid, but for no other purpose.

Third. That ten entire sections of land, to be selected by the Governor of said State, in legal subdivisions, shall be granted to said State for the purpose of completing the public buildings, or for the erection of others at the seat of government, under the direction of the Legislature thereof.

Fourth. That all salt springs within said State, not exceeding twelve in number, with six sections of land adjoining, or as contiguous as may be to each, shall be granted to said State for its use; the same to be selected by the Governor thereof within one year after the admission of said State, and, when so selected, to be used or disposed of on such terms, conditions, and regulations as the Legislature shall direct: *Provided*, That no salt spring or land the right whereof is now vested in any individual or individuals, or which may be hereafter confirmed or adjudged to any individual or individuals, shall by this article be granted to said State.

Fifth. That five per centum of the nett proceeds of sales of all public lands lying within said State which shall be sold by Congress after the admission of said State into the Union, after deducting all the expenses incident to the same, shall be paid to said State for the purpose of making public roads and internal improvements, as the Legislature shall direct: *Provided*, The foregoing propositions herein offered are on the condition that the said convention which shall form the constitution of said State shall provide, by a clause in said constitution, or an ordinance irrevocable without the consent of the United States, that said State shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil within the same by the United States, or with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in said soil to *bona fide* purchasers thereof, and that no tax shall be imposed on lands belonging to the United States, and that in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents.

Sec. 20. *And be it further enacted*, That the President be and is hereby authorized and empowered, upon application of the said board of commissioners, to employ such military force, according to existing laws, as he shall deem necessary to secure the faithful execution of the provisions of this act.

The Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH:

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 4, 1856

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

It is eighty years to-day, since the Declaration of Independence was read in Philadelphia, and the Old Bell rung out a peal for Liberty to the land and to the people thereof. We look back with deep emotion and with swelling hearts to that day so full of proud recollections; to that Congress whose members drew from Burke himself the highest encomiums; and to the new era which was that day inaugurated, as one calculated to stir the blood of every man who loves this land of his birth. We would, how gladly, if we could, look forward with similar emotions. The times forbid it. This day which should be a grand jubilee to every free man, what bitter bitter contrasts with the *first* American 4th of July does it suggest! What though the terrible contest which closed so gloriously at Yorktown was then only to commence, there was no civil war in the land, there was no deep and bitter curses wrung from the North against the South, hurled from the South against the North; there were no minions of power and lords of plantations with hands dripping with blood in the councils of the nation when the voice of Jefferson declared the "self-evident truth that all men are created free and equal;" no mobs disgracing the very name of liberty, invading the pulpit, defacing the handiwork of God in the "human face divine," sacking and burning towns, and hurling defiance alike upon law, morality and religion. Let mealy-mouthed orators cover up these facts as they may to-day with the "stars and stripes" and, spread as they may the broad pinions of the American Eagle "that soars aloft" particularly sublime on this day; these still remain *facts*, to our everlasting shame be it said and worse than all and most to be deplored they have all been brought about by an effort to extend the curse which those men who *made* the 4th of July, most of all deprecated and strove to bring speedily to an end. There is a Territory nominally American, three times as large as the State of Pennsylvania, where liberty does not even exist in name; where a Sabbath silence will this day brood above the blackened ruins, of the printing office the Hotel and the dwelling House; where the seal of dumbness is placed upon the white man's lip, and where neither the pen nor the type may give utterance to one word for Freedom. In that gloomy land the man who this day should read the Declaration of Independence would come under the following penalty which is found in the eleventh section of the slave code of Kansas.

SECT. 11. If any person *print, write, introduce, into, publish or circulate*, or cause to be brought into, *printed, written, published, or circulated, or shall, knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing or circulating*, within this Territory, any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, handbill or circular, containing any STATEMENT, ARGUMENT, OPINION, SENTIMENT, DOCTRINE, ADVICE OR INUENDO, *calculated* to produce a DISAFFECTION among the SLAVES in this Territory, or to induce such SLAVES to escape from the service of their masters, or resist their authority, HE SHALL BE GUILTY OF FELONY, AND BE PUNISHED BY IMPRISONMENT AT HARD LABOR FOR A TERM NOT LESS THAN FIVE YEARS.

In our Executive chair at Washington a man is seated who writes in his message of Jan. 24:

"It will be my imperative duty to exert the whole power of the Federal executive to support public order ~~in the~~ Territory: to vindicate its laws whether Federal or local, against all attempts of organized resistance, etc."

This he has done. Under the law we have quoted, his judges have indicted printing presses and they now lie under the waters of the Missouri; indicted public houses and they have been battered to the ground by Federal cannon; indicted editors and officers elected by the people and they are now in confinement and bail refused. Armed bands of ruffians have taken possession of one of the great rivers of this continent and declared that no citizen from one portion of the Confederacy shall pass. Is this a day to plume ourselves upon our liberties? or should we cry in sackcloth and ashes for the dying glories of the Republic, and write "Ichabod" upon the temples of our liberties whence all that is dear and sacred to the hearts of freemen seems to have departed?

The glorification of our ancestors has come to be one of the staple subjects of discussion in Congress, and of it has always been formed what little substance 4th of July orations ever had. On the strength of this laudation all our little great men, all our would-be great men, all our excellent time-servers and demagogues claim for themselves and for us, the people, their dumb-waiters, a place of distinction in the history of the Republic. We cordially agree with a cotemporary writer in his remarks,

that:—

The little demagogues who now rule the fortunes of this mighty people, only show their own insignificance, in attempting to hide their misdeeds under the protecting mantle of the fathers of the Republic. It is, doubtless, right to remember, with pride and reverence, the virtues of our great ancestors; it is right to be proud of a noble descent. "The pride of blood," said Lamartine, "is the prophecy of destiny." The examples of the past are intended for our instruction, and are only useful when they impel us to imitate the illustrious lives of those whose virtues we extol. In this aspect, and in no other, may it be said that a noble ancestry throws its reflections down to the remotest generations, and exerts a controlling influence in shaping the destiny of every civilized nation.

Let us this day, in whatever we may say or do, have constantly in view our duties to the Republic in the present awful emergencies; let us strive by word and deed to make sacred the example of the good and great of early days and induce all to follow in their footsteps, rather than claim, while practically despising the fathers, a glory from the fact that they once lived and have built for us the foundation of a glorious temple which the madness of party strife and the sworn enemies of freedom on this continent are striving to pull down. God save the Republic!

THE KANSAS BILL,

Has passed the Senate. It was concocted by Toombs and Douglas, and voted for by Cass. The whole game is apparent. Now that nearly all the free State men are driven out, and the decree gone forth that no "Yankee" shall pass up the Missouri, Kansasward, the conspirators in Washington put up the bars, say that no persons entering the Territory after a certain given day shall be permitted to vote, and thus they hold the destiny of the Territory in the hands of a majority of the persons now in the Territory although it is believed that hundreds of actual residents have been obliged to flee for their lives within the last two months. We trust the House will "block the game."

DEFEAT OF FREE KANSAS—THE YEAS AND NAYS.

The enemies of Liberty have had another success in the House. The Bill of Mr. Grow which he had matured with so much care, for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a Free State in accordance with the wishes of the actual residents of that Territory as expressed in the Topeka Convention, and in opposition to all substitutes for the measure under consideration, was defeated in the House on the 30th ultimo, by a majority of one vote. The follow-

In looking over the names, we perceive that every Buchananite who voted except Mr. Hickman of the 6th District of this State, voted in the negative. It will be seen, however, by reference to the telegraphic despatches of Wednesday morning, that Mr. Barclay of the 24th was inclined to take the back track.—We looked quite anxiously for the name of Mr. Ritchie, but it is not to be found on the record. We shall doubtless learn that there was some good and sufficient reason why, when such a vote was about to be taken—which, though it might have really effected nothing, would at least have had a good influence upon the friends of freedom in the country—Mr. Ritcie was not at his post.—The men of the Free States who were elected upon pledges in favor of freedom, who voted "nay" as above and who are worthy of whatever condemnation those whom they have betrayed see fit to mete out to them are the following:

Messrs. Haven, Whitney, John Wheeler and John Williams of New-York, Broome of Pennsylvania, Harrison of Ohio, and Dunn of Indiana, who went with Messrs. Herbert, Brooks, Rust, and their Pro-Slavery party throughout.

The Slave-Democracy celebrated their victory with hideous orgies on the night of the 30th, paraded the streets of Washington with cannon and other noise, and will probably gather from this success new courage to attack somebody in the House or Senate with a pistol or a bludgeon.

DAILY GAZETTE.

GAZETTE CO.....Proprietors.

Office—N. E. Corner Fourth and Vine Sts

(Editorial Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.)

The Defeat of Free Kansas.

WASHINGTON, Monday Evening, June 30.

Well, we have had a field fight to-day in the House on the direct question of admitting Kansas as a Free State, and were beaten by *one* majority on the final vote, after having succeeded on half a dozen preliminary questions, four of them decided by yeas and nays. On Saturday we had over twenty majority in the House, and could it have been reached the bill would the have passed by at least fifteen majority; but to-day, nearly every absentee had been brought in, until I think only *twelve* living members failed at one time to respond to their names, and they were mainly sick and often at points remote from the city. Had all the absentees been present the vote might have been t o worse, but would hardly have been better: so that we cannot complain on that score. There were several who voted or paired against us who in their hearts wished us success, but that is slender consolation. One was hid somewhere in the city who should have voted for Free Kansas, but was quite as likely to have voted against her. They say he kept away because he dreaded to vote either way. I believe not one single Member who has decided to go heartily for Fremont voted against Free Kansas, while every known Buchananite but Hickman of Pa., and every Fillmore man but Moore of Ohio, voted to-day against her admission.

Our defeat was unexpected on either side.—There did not seem a fear of it until three or four votes had been taken—each a decided triumph—until the House had refused by a decided vote to send the bill to a Committee of the whole. Now uprose Mr. Barclay of Pennsylvania, and moved to reconsider the vote. Henceforth, he voted steadily with the Administration, as Mr. Packer of the same State—a Democrat supposed to be for Free Kansas. These changes, with Messrs. Fuller of Maine, Haven, Whitney, Nalk, and John Wheeler of our State, Broom of Pa., Harrison of Ohio, and Dunn of Ind., voting steadily with the Slavery Propagandists, reduced the Free Kansas majority to very narrow dimensions; but it was not believed that it could be overcome until the vote on finally passing the bill was taken, which, when the roll was called through, showed *One Hundred and Six* for to *One Hundred and Five* against the bill. Mr. Davidson, of La., soon rose and asked to have his vote recorded in the negative, which made a tie. It now appeared certain that the Speaker's casting vote was destined to extend the greeting of the House to the new-born State of Kansas: but, just as the count had been completed and the result was to be announced, Mr. Elliott, of Ky., rose and asked to have his vote recorded in the negative, which untied the knot and defeated the bill. If the Speaker had now voted Yea, the bill would nevertheless have been lostby a tie vote. And so the bill was lost, though a motion to reconsider and to lay that motion on the table was made by Mr. Goode, of Va., and enacted on when the House adjourned in some excitement. It may possibly give rise to some action to-morrow.

One of the preliminary votes may need explanation. Mr. Stephens had moved to commit the bill with instructions to report a substitute, which is substantially Toombs' bill. To this Mr. Dunn had moved a substitute, virtually restoring the Missouri Prohibition of Slavery in the Territories north of 36° 30 min. The amendment was carried by a good vote—when Mr. Stephens abandoned his substitute and wished to withdraw it, but objection was made; so the vote upon it was taken by yeas and nays—Yeas *Two* (Dunn and Scott Harrison,) Nays *One Hundred and Ten*.—Rather a snug majority for these times.

Mr. Haven's vote for Dunn's proposition was very urgently remonstrated against by his leading South American friends, who feared it would damage Mr. Fillmore in the Slave States.

When the final vote was a tie, a number of South Americans surrounded Mr. Millward, of Pa., and vehemently urged him to change against the bill, but he would not.

Mr. Senator Douglas came in during the struggle, took his seat beside Mr. Dunn, and held a long and intimate council with him. I did not see the need of both of them being present at the same time, but they doubtless understand it. H. G.

THE COURIER.

BY A. S. WILLINGTON & CO.

CHARLESTON.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 4, 1856.

Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, JULY 3.—There is some excitement in the House to-day, as was to be expected. The crest-fallen Black Republicans came into the House this morning, expecting to carry their Topeka bill after a reconsideration. They persuaded Mr. Barclay, of Pennsylvania, to move a reconsideration I doubt much whether Mr. Barclay will vote with them upon reconsideration. His whole course and his political associations show to the contrary. I think the Republicans obtained yesterday their last vote for the Topeka bill, that is 106 against 107. They are mortified, chagrined, and almost infuriated by their failure. Horace Greeley will pour down vials of wrath upon the Northern men who, though elected as opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, came out in vehement opposition to it. The names of these members deserve to be remembered.

They are, first, Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, a whig, a man of ability, talent and firmness, who, in his controversy with the friends of Banks, last winter, bore himself with so much independence. "Call off your dogs," said he, to the party who had set Greely upon him. Next comes Scott Harrison, of Ohio, the son of Gen. Wm. H. Harrison, a high-minded and pure man. Mr. Broom, of Pennsylvania, is another, and one of those members who supported Mr. Fuller in the contest for Speaker. Mr. Haven, of New York, a friend and law-partner of Mr. Fillmore, is well known to the public. Mr. Whitney, of New York, is the fifth of the patriotic, but, as I hope, not in the end, self sacrificing band, who come out in opposition to the designs of the black republicans, upon their own great issue. These men, you will observe, are from strong anti-slavery districts, and vote in this way with the full knowledge that they will be almost flayed alive for their votes by their run mad constituents.

There were, altogether, twenty members from non-slaveholding States, who voted against this iniquitous bill. But those above named had been supposed to be committed to the measure by their preliminary votes, as well as by the opinions of their constituents.

The bill goes over till to-morrow, having given place to the privileged report of the Kansas Investigation Committee. This report was made and with a motion to print it. But, thereupon, rose much agitation in the House, and much opposition to the circumstances under which the report was made, and the political object which it had in view.

The admirable Kansas bill reported yesterday from the Senate Committee on Territories, meets with some objections in the Senate, but will pass to-morrow by a vote of two or three to-one. The opponents of the bill disclaim any intention to prolong the debate. Mr. Hale stated, to-day, that he should forego even an answer to questions that had been put to him. If the friends of the bill will abstain from discussion, it will pass to-morrow, and cannot fail to have a good effect upon the country, and especially upon Kansas. But I have no hope that it will pass the House, though it will completely check-mate the anti-slavery members of that body.

It was stated, from the record, to-day, that the Senate had had but ninety-one working days this session; and thirty-seven of these days had been occupied with the debates on the Kansas question. Thus, the matter has already received an unusual degree of attention from the Senate.

The House, on the other hand, are determined to pass their Topeka Constitution bill. I found from the proceedings to-day, that the republicans have got a majority, though a small one, for this bill, and they will pass it to-night or to-morrow.

Thus, the two Houses will make a distinct issue before the country, and upon it enter into the presidential canvass. The people are to decide it. It is now perfectly certain that no Kansas bill will pass at this session.

The Republicans declare that they will not vote a dollar for the support of the territory of Kansas, at this session, unless the Senate will concur in their Topeka bill. This is an absurd position, but not more absurd than the Topeka bill itself, which adopts a constitution on an exclusive footing in a treasonable convention.

It was determined, as I had anticipated, by the President and Mr. Marcy to send Gen. Gadsden back again to Mexico, though in opposition to some intrigue which had been set on foot here by interested parties.

P. S.—Hurrah for the House! The Topeka bill is killed in the House by one vote—it was 106 to 107. The Republicans were sure of a triumph till the moment of the annunciation of the vote. But their faces are long enough now.

[From the Anderson Gazette and Advocate]

To the People of South Carolina.

Up to this time since my return from Kansas, I have labored zealously, publicly and privately to secure aid for the South Carolina Emigrants to that territory. So far, I have succeeded well in arousing a proper feeling upon the subject, wherever I have been privileged to address my former fellow citizens, and I may reasonably calculate upon receiving a fair contribution of men and money. But the active duties of camp-life, and the fatigue of traveling and speaking for the last ten weeks, has well-nigh exhausted me It will be impossible for me therefore, to make the tour of the State during the brief time allotted for my visit, and I sincerely hope that the people of each District will contribute for the relief of their Carolina friends in Kansas, as freely and fully, as though addressed in public assembly.—All moneys contributed for their benefit, can reach me by being deposited in any of the Columbia Banks, to my order. A word more in their behalf. South Carolina has sent to Kansas, between two and three hundred young men of character and spirit, with money enough to support them until they could get into business—in May, the U. S. Marshal summoned the law and order men of the Territory, to aid him in arresting certain persons in the town of Lawrence, who were indicted for High Treason, and in compelling the Abolitionists to obey the law, our Carolina boys, almost to a man, grasped their arms and responded to the call;—they not only marched one hundred and sixty miles upon foot, but upon the open prairies without tents, and endured the perils of war, but generally expended their money in purchasing ammunition, provisions and teams necessary for the expedition.

They are under no compulsion to do so—they might have refused to obey the summons, retained their money, and gone upon a claim. If they had done so, the Abolitionists would have over run the territory. But no, the authority of the United States had to be maintained, and Southern rights and institutions defended, and they spent their money and periled their lives in maintaining the one and defending the other. The same is true of Southern Emigrants generally. Now they ask for money to support them, until quiet is restored and they can get to work. Is this appeal in vain? Will not every man and patriotic woman in this, and other Southern States, give the small sum of fifty cents for their relief? If so, it will be enough. If they knew what our Emigrants have suffered and are still suffering in defence of their rights and property, they would do so promptly. Let not this appeal be in vain, lest the emigrants be forced to leave the Territory for the want of timely aid and the cause of the South abandoned. Respectfully,

WARREN D. WILKES,

Anderson, C. H., July 1st, 1856.

[From the Washington Union.]

Kansas Affairs.

NATIONAL HOTEL, JUNE 30, 1856.

Mr. Editor: I observe in the papers telegraphic and other accounts of a reported difficulty between the United States troops and a party of "Missourians," on the 19th inst. Being in Kansas at that time, and near the place where the collision is said to have occurred, I can speak with certainty. No such difficulty happened. The pro-slavery party o Kansas—or, as the abolitionists persist in calling them, the "Missourians"—have never resisted in any manner whatever the troops or the authority of the United States.

This is written that the friends of the law-and-order party may not be deceived as to their true position. Out of the huge mass of matter in the shape of Kansas correspondence published daily at the North, the smallest imaginable quantity is true; it is gotten up and spread abroad by those who would "tear in inch-pieces" the constitution itself if it were necessary, in order to bring odium on the administration of Mr. Pierce; and it is well to receive such stories as the above with allowance. For every report, in fact, to the St. Louis Democrat, Chicago Tribune and New York Tribune, the editors are largely indebted to the rich imagination of a hired writer, who is not very particular as to the truth of what he writes, which has been proven several times by myself and others. That correspondent is especially "down on the Pierce Administration;" and he is not very fond of the New York Day Book.

Your servant, H. CLAY PATE.

Daily Republican.

QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

D. S. MORRISON. F. A. DALLAM.

EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

STAURDAY EVENING, JULY 5.

Speech of Hon. Robert Emmet—

Temporary Chairman of the Philadelphia Republican Convention.

Gentlemen Delegates of the Republican Convention—I feel deeply the honor which you have just conferred upon me, and I return you my sincere thanks for it. Certainly it is owing to no merit of mine that I have been thus singled out for this compliment. Nothing beyond the zeal I feel in the cause which brought us together could have entitled me to it, and in that respect I claim not to be behind any one of you. [Cheers.] My antecedents have all been democratic. For fifty years I have been allied to that party, until that party abandoned the only platform upon which I could stand.

Fellow-citizens: The formation of a new party in a republic like ours, after an existence of eighty years, is a singular event in history, and one that, perhaps, will require an explanation at the hands of the historian. It is a measure that can only be justified by strong and irresistible causes, and the question is whether, in organizing this new republican party at this late day, we were justified by the causes which have induced us to form this organization.

In the early days of this republic, when our government was founded, all things were favorable, perhaps more favorable for the formation of a republican government than they had ever been in any part of the world, in any stage of its history. But there was one unfortunate element that created difficulty, and it has been the great source of all our troubles from that time down to the present. I allude, of course, to southern slavery. It was early seen by the great men of that day that it was necessary to make some provisions to prevent this evil from becoming the cause of still greater evils. All the great men of that day, without exception, predicted that slavery must cause, although it could not then be summarily disposed of. All perceived that it was an evil, and it was the policy of the day to get rid of it.

In 1820 the Missouri Compromise was adopted, as the only measure that could give peace and security to this country. Slavery existed in the southern states, and it was not then the wish of either the North or the South that it should extend beyond its confines into the free states. But it was an element of discord, and must ever remain such. I grant that if all the states should become slaveholding there would be no discord, no antagonism, but it would be a paradise in which I should have no desire to remain. [Applause and laughter.] Freedom fortunately had the larger portion here, a freedom which would not permit slavery to absorb her up and engross the whole of this fair territory. [Cheers.] What was then to be done? We could not make all the southern states free at once, so we drew the line of the Missouri Compromise. It was understood and agreed that slavery was not to go beyond that line—never to extend farther North than that line.

That Compromise was respected, honored, lauded, upheld, by all the people of this country, until quite recently, when unfortunately a demagogue forced his way into our councils, who undertook to break down that solemn compact, entered into by the states of this Union, to prevent the evil which have followed its repeal. [Applause.]

Why, gentlemen, the irruptions into Kansas were but the logical results of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; all the horrors and outrages which existed in Kansas may be traced directly and logically to that act. We are met for the purpose of resisting, and if possible "subduing" the administration and the party which has brought upon us all these evils. [Cheers] This democratic party (and I have always heretofore honored and looked up to the democratic party) has met at Cincinnati and adopted its platform. A worse counterfeit of a true democratic platform I never read. [Laughter and applause.] They repeat the cant about "squatter sovereignty." What is "squatter sovereignty?" If it means the popular will, it is a political syllogism. Popular will governs everything, but only where it is a state of organization; and "squatter sovereignty," applied to a territory, is a failure, a delusion, a snare Popular will was put into this quaint form in Kansas for the purpose of enabling Missourians to go into this territy with bowie-knives and revolvers and force slavery upon the territory by first enslaving the whites.

I have known James Buchanan, the candidate of this democratic party, some forty years, and I would always defend his personal character if assailed. But for his political character if I were not in deadly hostility to that, I should not be here. [Cheers·]

I do not complain of Mr. Buchanon because he has been a politician in profession. There is nothing dishonorable in that; (I say nothing of politicians by trade.) I don't blame him for having once been a federalist, nor for having said in the enthusiasm of the moment—he was a young man then—that if he had a drop of democratic blood in his veins he would let it out. That remark was very well for a Fourth of July celebration. [Laughter.] But I do blame him because, after he had expressed his opinion with regard to that Missouri Compromise, after he had bowed in devotion to it, as every patriot did; when he found certain men of his party engaged in breaking down that bulwark of liberty, he had not strength enough to resist the outrage.

I blame Hon. James Buchanan for having shown a want of firmness, of self-reliance. Adhesion to principle. Take his last act Adhesion to the Cincinnati platform. In answer to the club which waited upon him, he acknowledges that he is no longer James Buchanan, and a free agent, with a right to express an opinion of his own, but he is firmly bound to every plank of that platform, and has no right or power to criticise or alter it. He admits that he has allowed himself to be chained to the car of the Juggernaut slavery, to be dragged headlong about. [Applause.]

The theory of our government is that of concession of the minority to the majority, and no man can have everything in the arrangement of public affairs precisely as he could wish, but I do not understand how a man, after a lapse of only two or three years, can make so complete a somerset as my friend, James Buchanan, did, when he tumbled himself on to the Cincinnati platform with so little scruple. [Cheers]

I came here because my conscience told me it was my duty to come, and I was bound to be in Philadelphia if I could get here. I appreciated the honor of being chosen a delegate. No man can boast of higher position or one of more dignity than that of a delegate to this Convention. [Applause.] We are here for a high, a noble purpose. They may call us Black Republicans and Nigger Worshippers. If they were not triflers and buffoons, they could find something better to say. They may charge us with collecting all the „isms." Be it so. Let them come on with their „isms." We will merge them all into one great „ism"—Patriot-*ism*. [Laughter and applause.]

How can it be otherwise than that a leading party should contain elements from all existing parties. We find here a large number of democrats who have awoke up like myself. In 1848, I was simple enough to believe that some of the democratic party of the state of New York—some of the shining lights—some of the leaders of the party—were going to lead us on to that

point of perfection in politics which we always hope to attain. They erected a platform at Buffalo, to which I gave my adhesion, and I yet see no reason to change the grounds upon which I based that adhesion. I was then, and am now, called a freesoiler, [cheers] and if there was to be no other man in New York styled a freesoiler, I would still remain a freesoiler to the day of my death.

Gentlemen, I despise nicknames. They call us abolitionists, although they say they abbor slavery as bad as we do. Now I say boldly that there is not an honest man, who understands his own rights and the rights of others, as declared in the immortal Declaration of Independence, that does not hope that the time may come when such a thing as human boundage shall not exist in the world. [Cheers.] That is honest abolition—that is the abolition which I am not ashamed to avow. I hope that the day will come, but I am not for convulsing our country with efforts to forestal it. God, in his good providence, will bring it about when it is right and proper. But, in the meantime, are we of the free states to be paralized by slavery?

The slaveocracy controls all the power of the nation. It has chosen our Presidents, and sent abroad our foreign ministers, and it tells us that it means to continue to do all this, and more, and „if you rebel we will subdue you and orush you out." Men of the East, to you specially this taunt is directed; you who remember the blood shed at Lexington, at Concord, and on Bunker Hill. Are you prepared to submit to such an insult to your manhood? [„No! No!"] I am sure you are not; but, fellow citizens, let us not get excited upon this point. [Laughter.] We come here to treat slavery not as a moral question. Let me be understood as emphatically suggesting the propriety of keeping up a proper distinction.

Slavery is, so far as our functions are concerned, a political evil, and we do not come to discuss it on the light of abstract principle—whether it is within accordance with the law of God or not. It exists among us, and we must manage it as best we can; by its nature it is always aggressive, and we must restrain it. If we cannot restore the Missouri Compromise by an act as solemn as, and a great more honest, than the act which repealed it, then we must find some other mode. At this moment the fires of discord are blazing in Kansas. That doomed portion of our territory is suffering all the consequences of the unhallowed repeal.

Would to God we had the power, by a more summary process than by the election of a President, to rid the people of Kansas of the present evils. [Applause.] I am not without hope that such a process will be found. We will get cheering news from Kansas yet. In the mean time let this great party proceed in a constitutional manner to nominate its candidates for President and Vice President. In doing this, let us remember to make concessions to go on in harmony, and at the close I trust we shall act unanimously. It is natural that there should be preferences, but we all agree in principle, our object is victory, and that is a legitimate object.

If we succeed, as I trust we shall, in defeating the administration party it would require more words than I have time to utter or you time to listen to, to enumerate the blessings that would result to our common country. Being, therefore, united for one high patriotic purpose, I call upon the members of this Convention not to let their personal predelictions interfere with the interests of the cause in the selection of the man who is to lead us on to victory. I trust we shall yet strangle this Hydra of disunion which is menacing our liberties—that we shall extirpate this canker which is eating our vitals, and extinguishing the smouldering fire of treason and disunion which is under our feet, and may burst forth at any moment, swallowing up fair liberty, which has been our boasting pride since the establishment of the Republic. We are met here to prevent these evil consequences. We have a high duty to perform and I am sure at the close of this Convention the people will say with one acclaim "well done, good and faithful servants." [Loud cheers.]

THE JANESVILLE GAZETTE.

Kansas Metting.—At a meeting of the citizens of foreign birth, at the English settlement, in Racine county, on the 17th inst., the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

Resolved, That we identify ourselves with, and will support that political party which, while it opposes the narrow and bigoted principles of know-nothingism, which are proscriptive on the ground of birth, also denounces the border ruffianism of Kansas territory, which is proscriptive on the ground of principle.

Resolved, That we recoguize in the republican party, the only practical party which is true to the principles of freedom, and we fully endorse the resolutions adopted at the republican state convention, held at Madison, June 4, 1856.

The Kind Employed. — Those who know Berry Haney, who formerly lived near Madison, will not be surprised to learn that he has been appointed a "law and order" officer in Kansas, and figures prominently in arresting free state men, aided by the United States troops. His first exploit was to arrest the mayor of Lawrence without a warrant, and for this he was rewarded by a commission from "Sheriff Jones," (the man who was shot in the spine and got well in a fortnight,) when he repeated the process by a due course of Kansas law.

☞ Col. Lane in his speech at Lafayette, Indiana, stated that there were more saw mills in Kansas, than in the whole state of Missouri. Most of these were erected through the exertions of the "Massachusetts aid society." *This is the way northern men have interfered with Kansas affairs.*

In his speech in this city, he said that the single state of Indiana had furnished more emigrants for Kansas than New York and all the New England states together. These are the men who are to be expelled by force of arms from the territory they have made their homes.

☞ In one of the border counties of Missouri (Andrew) an annual conference of the Methodist church was in session on the 11th. Disliking "spiritual wares" probably quite as much as those of a more palpable kind, the pro-Slavery men coolly ordered the members to leave the state. On their declining to do so, and proceeding with their meeting, a mob entered the assembly, tarred and feathered the presiding elder, and shot an old man who attempted resistance.

Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Saturday Evening, July 5, 1856.

REMARKS OF HON. S. G. HAVEN.

OF NEW YORK

In the House of Representatives, June 26, 1856

In relation to the reference of the bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State.

Mr. HAVEN. This debate, I fancy, is all very well; but I am apprehensive that the House is not yet exactly in position to decide fully upon the line of action it should take in regard to this question. I do not know that it is very material to consider what the House or committee may see fit to do hereafter, when affairs arrive at a certain crisis—when a certain stage of proceeding is reached by this bill. But I propose to make a suggestion or two to the House, as to what seems to me must be proper for the purpose of coming to a right conclusion on this matter. I suppose that the House, to act discreetly and sensibly, should act upon some general plan—upon some general line of conduct—and not drift along, and take things as they happen to turn up. Men of business, and men who act effectively upon any subject generally bring all of their proceedings into subordination to some system—to some general lines of action and make results the natural fruits of such system.

Now, for myself—for it was only to govern my own conduct—I marked out very early in the session the course which I intended to pursue upon this important subject. I determined, then, when I voted for the committee of investigation to go to Kansas, that the facts established by that investigation should form the basis of my action upon this subject during the Congress—unless something occurred of an unforeseen—of an unexpected character, which would make it necessary or proper to change my general plan, or abandon the course I had so marked out. I still intend to follow that course, if permitted by the House, and to await the evidence that committee may furnish, and to consider and weigh it well, before I undertake to apply a remedy to the evils which that evidence alone can satisfactorily prove the existence and extent of. Without that report and that evidence I aver this House is not qualified to act. The House has, if not directly, yet by the broadest and most unmistakable implication, declared it could not act—it was not qualified to act—without it. Why send for it at all? What was the object of the House in passing the resolution and raising the committee?

Why, sir, one side of the House alleged that the code of laws enacted in Kansas was enacted by a Legislature that was not elected by the inhabitants of Kansas, but was tyrannically imposed upon Kansas by men, citizens and inhabitants of the State of Missouri. This allegation was flatly denied by the other side of the House and so the parties were at issue, and there was no proof to establish either the allegation or denial, and hence the committee was raised to take the proof and report it to the House. Now, this House being the only tribunal to judge of the facts, to determine what they are, and to make them the basis of its action, it seems to me—and I have had some experience in the judical investigation of facts—that it should wait and hear the proof, then determine what facts it establishes, and after that apply the proper remedy.

Knowledge should precede action: a trial upon the facts should precede judgment in this case. Such a course would, in my judgment, be sensible, discreet and orderly. And yet gentlemen here seem to insist upon going on *pell-mell*, without consideration, without any authentic information, and without any of the proofs which they admitted to be necessary by ordering them to be taken—to legislate upon this very important subject. Sir, I protest against this course. I advise the House to avail itself of the benefit of the investigations of the committee, to act in the light of the truths there revealed, and not trust itself to the dark and shadowy guide of telegraphic reports, and the extraordinary newspaper announcements which have been pressed upon us day after day, and month after month, since the passage of the act erecting the Territory.

After their searching investigation, if that committee lay before us testimony that satisfies us—that would satisfy reasonable and fair men—that persons, not inhabitants of Kansas, but being citizens and inhabitants of, and living in the State of Missouri, or of Massachusetts, or of South Carolina, have intruded into that territory, and upon the *tabula rasa* there, to use a phrase somewhat famous when the Kansas bill was passed, have written their laws, and by force or fraud have prevented the inhabitants of Kansas from writing their own—if the testimony establishes these facts—I hold that fair gentlemen on the other side of the House will be estopped from their denials, and will feel bound to get up and say, "This is not in the spirit and tone, nor is it according to the letter or general character of the act creating the Territory," and unless they are utterly shameless, will agree that such foreign laws, written by foreign and unauthorized hands upon the *tabula rasa*, shall be rubbed out, and that the actual inhabitants of the Territory shall, according to its organic law for themselves, and by themselves, be allowed to regulate their concerns, domestic and general, in their own way. Why, sir, any other course would be monstrous, and wholly in violation of the principles of self-government, and against the instincts of every American citizen.

As I have said elsewhere, I would not hold a man responsible for drowning a cat in the Territory of Kansas, under laws which the men of Missouri, of South Carolina and of Massachusetts imposed upon her. If, on the other hand, it turns out from this investigation and the proofs which that committee shall lay before us, that there has been no irruption from abroad into that Territory, no frauds or irregularities, or none except those which are incident generally to new settlements and to the disorganized state of society which ordinarily belongs to them—if it turns out that that is the state of the case, then I hold it equally clear that the gentlemen on this side of the House will be estopped from their allegations, and that the code of laws enacted for the Territory are wholly unobjectionable for any such cause.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio: Will the gentleman allow me to make a suggestion?

Mr. Haven: I will, Mr. Speaker, with a great deal of pleasure: but I beg leave to say to the

gentleman here, that I shall resume what I was saying just where I left off, without paying the least attention to his suggestion at present—although I will be happy to hear him.

Mr. Campbell. I do not know that it is a very material matter to me where the gentleman may take up his remarks. I simply rose to make a suggestion, in the spirit of kindness, touching the points which he is just now discussing. If he is disinclined to hear it, I will not propose to inflict it on him.

Mr. Haven. I am not in the least disinclined to hear it but I merely meant to advertise the gentleman that I was not to be thrown off my regular tack until I get through with what I desired to say upon the subject which I was discussing. I intended no discourtesy by the remark.

Mr. Campbell. I certainly had no design of interrupting my friend at all. I desired to make the suggestion only as pertinent, I think, to the argument. The committee of investigation which has been sent out to Kansas by this House has limited powers. It cannot, in my judgment, go beyond the requirements of the resolution under which it acts; and, as I understand it, its inquiries are to be directed as to the right of two contesting gentlemen to a seat as a Delegate representing Kansas on this floor, and the validity of laws made by the Legislature; matters which, in my opinion, have no direct bearing on the question as to whether the people there have not a right to form a State constitution, independent of that resolution.

Mr. Haven. The suggestion of the gentleman from Ohio is a very proper one, and I shall say a word about it before I get through, if I can carry it along in my mind.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that I was remarking that if, on the other hand, it turned out that there had been no improper irruption of men from foreign States into Kansas, and that the actual residents there, the citizens of Kansas, had been exercising their right of franchise uninterruptedly and unawed by any improper influence from abroad, that then gentlemen on this side of the House ought to, and would fairly, say that they were estopped, and that their mouths were closed on that subject, and that the people of the Territory of Kansas who had acted so without restraint or control, and so without interruption or foreign interference, should be, and were, the best judges of their own necessities, conveniences, and wants, and of the legislation best adapted to their condition and circumstances. I may dislike their legislation—others may like it; but it is for them, and not for me.

So far as that it is their own, and not an infliction—an imposition upon them without their consent, and against their will, that is all I desire to know; and I think, with a knowledge of that fact, many gentlemen here would be content, who would otherwise be willing and anxious to interfere in the matter.

Now, sir, it is wholly foreign from my purpose to undertake to pronounce any judgment upon the state of affairs in that Territory to-day. I do not feel myself competent to express any opinion upon the subject. I have not the information to enable me to pronounce any such opinion. It was for the purpose of obtaining that information, that early in the session I voted for the broad and comprehensive resolution of my friend from Indiana, [Mr. Dunn,] to send a commission to Kansas. And when that commission reports, I feel that very much of the crimination and recrimination between gentlemen on this side of the House and the other side of the House will be avoided. Let us have the facts before us in an authentic form, and then I hope we shall be able to provide a remedy.

I have nothing to say in reference to this bill in the present stage of proceedings, and before I get the facts as to the condition of affairs in Kansas. It has been asserted on one side, though the telegraphic reports for the last eight or ten months have not corroborated that opinion, that there has been no irruption in Kansas; that everything there has been conducted with regularity; that the Legislature of that Territory was elected by the free, out-spoken acts of the inhabitants of the Territory.

If that statement be true, then no action is needed on the part of this House. But that is the precise question. Who can tell me whether that statement is true or not? It is denied on this side of the House. If it was known to be true, you certainly sent out your committee on a fool's errand, to use a very homely phrase. If it was not known to be true, or if it was not known to be false, had we not better await the arrival of the proofs that we ordered on that point before we assume to decide the question?

When the report comes, if it turns out that no injustice or illegality has prevailed, I shall certainly vote against this bill; but if, on the contrary, the report be a fair one, and it establishes the fact with reasonable certainty—that kind of certainty which would be satisfactory to a fair minded juror in passing upon a case between man and man—that the elections held in the Territory of Kansas have been carried by violence against the wishes of the people of the Territory, by outside interference, coming from Missouri, Alabama, South Carolina, or Massachusetts, then I am prepared to say—not that I would vote for this bill to admit her as a State under the Topeka constitution—but that I would vote for what seems to me the only sensible and effectual remedy and right in such a case. I would vote to wipe out—to annul everything that has been done under or in pursuance of those elections—every enactment, every resolution, every law. I would leave no excuse to compel the men of Kansas to obey the laws made effectual by the votes of Missouri or Alabama, any more than I would compel Massachusetts to obey the laws of South Carolina, or South Carolina to obey those of Massachusetts. I would not even stop to inquire whether they were repugnant or oppressive to those upon whom they were sought to be imposed.

But, sir, this House is not prepared to act upon this subject understandingly. It has said so itself. It said so when it sent out the commission, else it would not have sent it. Let us have a fair understanding of the subject, and then let us act. So far as I am concerned, I am influenced by no party bias; I have no party upon the subject. I can only carry out what are the sentiments I entertain. Whatever course I pursue will be the result of my own individual judgment—of my own honest conviction.

Now, sir, in reference to the bill before the House, let me say that to me it is immaterial whether it is sent to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, or whether it is considered in the House. The course I should suggest would be, that it be postponed until a day certain, for the reason that the House is now unprepared to act upon it. Let it be postponed until the committee we have sent to Kansas shall have had time to report. It is due, however, to the House, that I should say that I am against this bill. I am against it under all circumstances unless it undergoes essential modifications.

Let us look at it for a moment. Suppose every law in Kansas is void; suppose the Legislature of Kansas was an imposition and a fraud; suppose that both were the fruits of a mob from Missouri—what authority does all that give to an unauthorized body of men a mob in Kansas (if I may use the term for illustration) representing but a part of the people of that Territory—to make and impose a constitution, a fundamental law upon the Territory, and to control all the people there? I am opposed to unauthorized and illegal bodies of men there, whether coming from within the Territory, or from elsewhere.—What, sir, a meeting, a convention, a political gathering, extremely partial at that, got together, without antecedent law, or subsequent ratification, and endeavoring to bind the whole people of the Territory by changing their form of government, whether it was organized according to law or not! Why, sir, in my judgment, it had no more authority to change the form of government in that Territory or to establish a new one, than the convention at Cincinnati, or the late convention at Philadelphia, had to change the Constitution of the United States. In all these cases, the gathering was but of a party, and not of the people.

Sir, I have not adverted to general argument bearing upon this bill. I have said nothing of the character, position, or political opinions of gentlemen this bill would bring into the Senate; one, at least, of whom was a very pertinacious advocate of the Kansas and Nebraska bill in the last House, by reason of which, I suppose, he found so little encouragement in his own district in Indiana that he migrated to Kansas, and is, by this bill, proposed to be restored to public life in the Senate, where, though representing a population less than one sixtieth part of the population of New York, his vote will be just as potent, on all questions, as that of either of the honorable Senators from that State.

Nor shall I more than advert to the great injustice to the large and populous States like Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York, in giving the forty thousand to sixty thousand people of Kansas (if there be so many) an equal power and vote in the Senate with their millions.

New York alone, to have a vote in the Senate, in proportion to her numbers, equal to Kansas, if admitted now under this bill would be entitled to over one hundred and twenty Senators in the other House.

I leave these, and all such arguments, and kindred suggestions, until we have the facts from the committee, when, if I can get an opportunity, I intend speaking in full upon the question.

Although, in my opinion, we have the power to make laws for a Territory, yet we have no right to make a constitution for a Territory; nor have we a right to admit a Territory as a sovereign State within this Union, unless she comes to us with a constitution made by her people, at least a majority of them, or ratified by them.

Let me say to the friends of this measure, if they propose to recognize the proceedings of this convention, and admit Kansas as a State with this constitution, they should, at least, submit the constitution to the actual residents of the Territory to see whether they will have it or not. I think, if they will consider the matter deliberately, they will see the propriety of the course I have suggested.

But, sir, I do not care to follow out this course of argument. I simply desired to make the suggestion to the House that, when this information comes, one half the debate upon this subject will be unnecessary. Gentlemen cannot criminate and recriminate when this information is before us, because it will settle the facts about which they have been, and are now, in dispute. Then I am not without hope that some wise, just, and proper measure may be entered upon which shall bring peace and quiet to the people of that distracted Territory. I have not had time to look into all the propositions that have been brought forward for effecting such a state of things. It may be that, after examination, we may agree upon such a proposition as has been presented by the distinguished Senator from Delaware, which has in it, I think, merit, moderation, forbearance, and good sense. A gentleman on my right says he has something to bring forward. I hope it will be sound, fair, and well considered, and I am prepared to accept it; but it must impose nothing upon the people of the Territory, as a constitution, to which they do not agree.

Now, in reference to the suggestion of my friend from Ohio, [Mr. Campbell,] that the information to be obtained from the Kansas commission will be of no value in determining the question before the House, because the House limited their scope of investigation to one or two questions, I have not the resolution under which they were appointed. If any gentleman has, I hope he will have it read. But my recollection is, that they included the most broad and comprehensive grounds of inquiry; and it was upon that consideration that I voted for its appointment. If I mistake not, they were directed to inquire into all the irregularities alleged to have been committed in the Territory. The resolutions will speak for me, if gentleman will refer to them. If my recollection serves me, they covered all irregularities, not only in the election for delegate in this House, but in the elections for members of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas. My friend will remember they covered the entire ground.

Mr. Campbell—Mr. Speaker, I have ascertained, on inquiry, that I was slightly in error, and I make the correction. The spirit of the resolutions was more general than I have stated. They are as follows:

Resolved, That a committee of three of the members of the House, to be appointed by the Speaker, shall proceed to inquire into, and collect evidence in regard to the troubles, in Kansas generally, particularly in regard to any fraud or force attempted or practised in reference to any of the elections which have taken place in said Territory, either under the law organizing said Territory, or under any pretended law which may be alleged to have taken effect therein since. That they shall fully investigate and take proof of all violent and tumultuous proceedings in said Territory, at any time since the passage of the Kansas Nebraska act, whether engaged in by residents of said Territory, or by any person from elsewhere going into said Territory, and doing, or encouraging others to do, any act of violence or public disturbance against the laws of the United States or the rights, peace, and safety of the residents of said Territory; and for that purpose said committee shall have full power to send for, examine and take copies of all such papers, public records, and proceedings as, in their judgment, will be useful in the premises; and, also, to send for persons, and examine them on oath or affirmation as to matters within their knowledge, touching the matters of said investigation; and said committee, by their chairman, shall have power to administer all necessary oaths or affirmation connected with their aforesaid duties.

Resolved further, That said committee may hold their investigations at such places and times as they may seem advisable, and that they have leave of absence from the duties of this House until they shall have completed such investigation. That they be authorized to employ one or more clerks, and one or more sergeants-at-arms, to aid them in their investigations; and may administer to them an oath or affirmation faithfully to perform the duties assigned to them, respectively, and to keep secret all matters which may come to their knowledge touching such investigation as said committee shall direct, until the report of the same shall be submitted to this House; and said committee may discharge any such clerk, or sergeant-at-arms, for neglect of duty or disregard of instructions in the premises, and employ others under like regulations.

Mr. Haven—I thought, on a reference to the resolutions, that the gentleman would find that they were of a more general nature than he stated them to be. I have a recollection that the gentleman from Indiana submitted them to me before he presented them; and I then made the observation that, if adopted, the report of the committee would foreclose and stop gentlemen in reference to all the controverted facts in this case of Kansas. It will be seen that the resolutions are indeed far more comprehensive than I stated they were from mere recollection. The

committee are to inquire into the facts and causes of existing troubles in Kansas. In anticipation of the knowledge that their report will bring us, when it comes gentlemen may ask me, if they please, to vote on the great fundamental question which underlies all others in reference to Kansas; but I give them notice that I shall favor none of these extraordinary or extreme measures until I know what there is in that report. When I learn what there is in it, then I will be enabled to act consistently and understandingly, so far as I am individually concerned.

I think we ought to have that information; and I have made these remarks for the purpose of bringing the attention of the chairman of the committee on territories to this subject, that he might see the importance of enabling this House to lay its hands on this piece of information. I am ready to act on it when I get it. Nay, I am willing to go further; I am ready to declare that if it turn out to be true, as is proclaimed by telegraphic despatches, that there has been a destruction of property in Kansas, committed under the order of any marshal or other public officer in that territory, I am willing to vote indemnity to the people who have suffered a consequent loss. I think that indemnity is due them. And I also think that, in such a case, it is equally due to any officer who has authorized, allowed or commanded any such preceding, that he be at once not only dismissed the public service, but punished to the extent of the law.—Gentlemen may square themselves to side questions and side issues, and do business in a small way as much as they like, but I am desirous to meet this great question on the facts which I understand are on their way here. When they are at hand, I will apply the remedy that seems to me to be just, without reference either to the north or to the south.

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

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Saturday Evening, July 5, 1856.

Official Report on the Kansas Outrages.

The Report of the majority of the House Investigating Committee fills seventeen columns of the N. Y. Tribune. It will, with the testimony taken, which is also voluminous, be printed by Congress, and will form an authentic history of a series of the most dark and damning wrongs and outrages ever recorded.

Ruffian Sovereignty in Kansas—The New Bill of Mr. Douglas.

Under this head the New York *Herald* of the 3 1, tells the truth in plain, strong language, as follows:

The report of the Congressional Committee detailed to Kansas to inquire into and collect the facts concerning the political disturbances in that Territory, was laid before our readers yesterday. They have, doubtless, without a solitary exception, risen from the perusal of this astounding report, this historical document, with the most painful emotions and convictions. The names, dates, figures, facts, and specifications of this report, however, silence all doubts and all prevarications as to the doings of the "border ruffians." Explanations, apologies and denials may be piled mountain high upon each other, but here are the acts, facts, dates, names and places, all the materials of legal testimony as before a court of justice, and they cannot be displaced. Upon such evidence the President of the United States before an honest jury could hardly escape imprisonment for life.

What a picture! We have read with incredulity the atrocities of English civil wars, Irish rebellions and French revolutions, from a shrinking disinclination to believe in the possibility of such examples of human depravity; but we are incredulous no longer. When any portion of a people belonging to the most civilized, enlightened, and law and order loving race under the sun, can descend to such scenes of systematic ruffianism as those which are set forth in this Congressional report, we are reduced to the conclusion that the general repugnance of mankind to pirates and highway robbers, to burglars and midnight assassins, is but a mockery and a delusion—that the securities which the laws of the land and the usages of civilized society throw around us and over us, like a strong shield, are subject like Kansas to the law of ruffianism and the chances of the hour—that man, after all, is but a savage cannibal, and that his social, political, moral and religious elevation is but a humbug and a cheat.

Upon one point there can be no mistake—the unanswerable facts of this Kansas report establish it beyond the possibility of dispute—and the point is this: that squatter sovereignty is ruffian sovereignty—that the Kansas-Nebraska law, "leaving the people of the Territory free to regulate their own domestic affairs in their own way," under the auspices of Messrs. Douglas and Pierce, means organized ruffianism, whiskey, spoliation, robbery, murder, fire and sword.

Such are the fearful and bloody fruits of an imbecile, indecisive, but reckless and unscrupulous administration, representing a demoralized, unprincipled, corrupt and thoroughly rotten political party. The seeds of this prolific crop of poisonous fruits which have so rapidly matured and ripened in Kansas, were planted by Mr. Douglas and his confederates in the Kansas-Nebraska bill; but they need not have sprouted had they not been so carefully watered and cultivated by this Pierce administration. At the outset, under the management of Mr. Forney and Governor Reeder, the plan of Mr. Pierce was to recover his lost ground in the North, and the plan of Forney, Reeder & Co. was to make the most money that could be made out of their Kansas land speculations. In this view, it was natural enough that they should prefer a non-slaveholding to a slave-holding body of settlers. A slave-holding community is agricultural, and does not build up manufacturing towns and villages; but a colony of free soil squatters is developed, as it increases, into villages, towns and cities, including all sorts of manufacturing enterprises. Hence, to the original owners of the city sites, town plots and mill seats, a free soil community is just the thing; and thus the original Kitchen Cabinet land speculators in Kansas directed their movements, by and with the advice and consent of the administration, to the great financial ultimatum of making Kansas a free State.

But the South took the alarm, and soon muttering thunders began to be heard in that direction. The Administration was frightened, Reeder was dismissed, and it had become too late to carry water on both shoulders. Mr. Pierce resolved to cut the North entirely; and by fraternizing heartily and actively with the "Border Ruffians," he hoped at least to secure the necessary Southern support in the Cincinnati convention to bring the Northern Democracy to a surrender. Mr. Douglas boldly played the same game for the same stakes. They lost—they both lost; but they must go on. "In for a penny in for a pound." It's too late for the back track. Though as generals they are repudiated by the nigger-driving leaders of the Democracy of the South, they must be content to serve in the ranks. With Mr. Pierce, it is but the show of consistency, for he can have no hope of the future; but with Mr. Douglas it is the campaign of 1860 and the voice of the South, which he failed to secure in 1856.

It is not surprising, therefore, after introducing one scheme requiring the federal ratio of 93,000 population in Kansas before calling a Convention to form a State Constitution, that Mr. Douglas, a month later, should consent to drop the question of population and propose the necessary steps for the immediate admission of Kansas. The South have pointed out the way. The new bill of Mr. Douglas is nothing more than the discovery of Mr. Toombs. It is simple and to the purpose. Under the auspices of Mr. Pierce, the "Border Ruffians," by fire, sword and terrorism have expelled the bulk of the abolition and free soil squatters from the Territory. They are scattered all over the North; and even if invited back it would take them some weeks or months to complete their preparations and return. The pro-slavery party are thus left in a majority in Kansas; and a law of Congress providing a State convention on the day of the Presidential election—and providing, further that none shall be voters in electing the members of that Convention, but such persons as shall have been residents in Kansas during all the months of August, September and October, will fix the business. This is the new bill of Mr. Douglas, and its meaning is simply this: to take advantage of the expulsion of the free soilers, and secure the admission of Kansas as a Slave State before they can return.

Free Kansas Triumph in the House!

The news from Washington makes the heart of every friend of Freedom beat lighter. The vote in the House by which the Free State Kansas bill was defeated was reconsidered on the 3d, by a vote of 101 to 97, and then passed, yeas 100 nays 97. Mr. GREELEY says:

The House has to-day nobly redeemed itself. After considerable fillibustering on the part of the South, the decision of Monday, on motion of Mr. Barclay, was reconsidered by a vote of 101 to 97. Mr. Barclay sustained himself well throughout. Mr. Mott, who has been sick in New York, present; Herbert, (Adm.) the alleged murderer, was in jail; and Payne, (South American,) was also absent without having paired off. Mr. Chaffee, who was again absent and sick, had paired with Mr. Carlile. Haven, Whitney, Valk, Wheeler, Dunn, Scott Harrison & Co. voted with Brooks, Rust, Herbert & Co's Ruffian party. The North is quite elated, and Douglas, Toombs & Co. are dejected.

The Senate, after an all night session, passed the new Kansas bill concocted by Douglas and Toombs, a little before sunrise on the morning of the 3d. The bill is deliberately designed to consummate the villainy of the last three years by making Kansas a Slave State, and the *Tribune* well says:

We rejoice in being able to state, therefore, that the House of Representatives, directly after the passage of this measure, assembled and sustained Mr. Barclay's motion to reconsider the decision by which the bill admitting Kansas under her Free State constitution had been (107 to 106) rejected; and, having thus reconsidered it (Yeas 101, Nays 97), the House proceeded to pass the bill: Yeas *One Hundred*, Nays *Ninety-seven*. The Yeas were those who sustained the bill before, reduced by the pairing and absence of Mr. Burlingame and some eight or nine others, and increased by the presence of Mr. Mace, Mott and Pringle, who were absent on that occasion, but who were now present and voted. Mr. Mott was away sick; Messrs. Pringle and Mace out of the House, but paired on the former vote. Mr. Barclay's is the only vote changed. Mr. Broom voted No, as before; so did Messrs. Dunn, Haven, Harrison, Valk, Whitney, John Wheeler and John Williams. Messrs. Bayard, Clark, Millward, Moore and Scott have stood by Free Kansas throughout the struggle.

The People's Representatives, therefore, have, on mature deliberation, decided that the true way to end the troubles in Kansas and give peace to her distracted and down-trodden people, is to recognize her now as a Free State of the Union. That, we have no shadow of doubt, is the true course, and the only one that can arrest the crimes and outrages of the Border Ruffians and the miseries of the Kansas people.—Let there be no flinching from the righteous decision!

ALBANY EVENING JOURNAL.

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 5, 1856.

Passage of the Bill for the Admission of Kansas as a Free State by the House of Representatives.

There seemed to be more music in the bells that welcomed our National Holiday, and deeper significance in the rejoicing cannon, when the news came that the House of Representatives had so nobly remembered its duty to Freedom on the eve of the Fourth of July.

The bill for the admission of Kansas under the Topeka Constitution was rejected on Monday, by one vote. The next day Mr. Barclay, one of the opponents, moved a reconsideration. His motion was voted upon on Thursday. It succeeded by one majority. The bill was then taken up and PASSED by a majority of three.

This is a highly gratifying result. Although there is little or no reason to expect the concurrence of the Senate, to give the measure practical force, yet it will have a great moral effect. It will cheer the hearts of the settlers in Kansas, by showing them that there is a popular sentiment uprising in their behalf which is felt even in Congress. It will stimulate the friends of Free Territory to renewed exertion, by the assurance it gives that they can rely upon their Representatives. And it will encourage those Representatives themselves to resist with increased energy the scheme of the Administration and its Senators to remand the new State to Missouri tutelage, in order to compel it to adopt Missouri Slavery.

The Reason Why all Free State Emigrants to Kansas are now Stopped by the Border Ruffians.

The new Douglas Kansas bill provides that only those resident in the Territory on the 4th day of July, instant, shall be "enumerated," or recognised as "legal voters" at the Election for which the bill provides. This feature of the bill was doubtless communicated to the "Border Ruffians;" and explains the recent compulsory return of the Northern Emigrants on their way to Kansas. More than three hundred of this class of Emigrants were driven back, (after being robbed of their arms, money, and provisions,) by Border Ruffian mobs of Leavenworth, Alton, &c. If they had been allowed to proceed, they would have reached the territory before the 4th of July, and so would have had a right to insist upon being "enumerated" as residents entitled to vote at the election in November!

It was a well-concocted scheme. The manner in which its execution has been begun shows how determined Douglas and his associates are that Kansas shall be made a Slave State.

But this branch of the plot will fail. The bill did not pass the Senate until the 3d of July, and it cannot pass the House for a month yet, if ever.

But it should *never* pass. It is a cunningly devised and specious scheme to consummate the original purpose of the Kansas-Nebraska iniquity. It places arbitrary and unlimited power in the hands of the Commissioners to be chosen. It is no guarantee of safety that Senator CASS has promised that these Commissioners will be impartially chosen from all parties. The "impartiality" of this Administration is the mercy of the Wolf.

We trust, however, that no such calamity awaits the People of Kansas as the passage of a bill which will still more mercilessly place them in the hands of their enemies.

The assault on Sumner by Brooks is generally approved and applauded by the citizens of Kansas. We think it one of the best acts ever done in the Senate Chamber. [*Kansas Squatter Sovereign.*

The "Ruffians" are highly flattered to find their example in Kansas so closely followed in the Senate Chamber.

☞ REMEMBER! Every Fillmore member of Congress voted against Free Kansas!

☞ Herbert, the murder of Keating, gave the one vote by which the Free State Kansas Bill was killed in the House of Representatives on the first trial. Before the second vote was taken, he was sent to jail. If all the Ruffianly Men Slayers on the Missouri borders were similarly disposed of, Freedom would easily triumph in Kansas.

☞ REMEMBER! That Mr. HAVEN, member of Congress from Buffalo, and Law Partner of Mr. FILLMORE, voted in Congress against admitting Kansas as a Free State!

☞ The entire report of the Congressional Kansas Committee makes 700 pages of manuscript. Mr. WENDELL promises to have it printed in ten days. He will do so if he promises.

"The treasonable Topeka movement"—"the whole movement was organized in defiance of law."—[*Atlas.*

A year ago the Atlas insisted on the "sovereign right" of the people of Kansas to "manage their own affairs," and pronounced all "traitors" who took a different view. Now it declares with Lecompte, that a Convention to form a Constitution was "treasonable," because Congress did not "manage" *that* "affair" for them. "Democracy" leads its followers round some pretty sharp corners in these latter days.

According to the best of our information, the newspaper offices in Lawrence, were destroyed by a mob, composed in part of the Sheriff's possee, but not acting under his direction, or with his consent. If we are in error as to the fact we shall cheerfully make the correction.—[*Buffalo Courier.*

The Editor of the Courier must have been very careless in his reading. In the account given of the sacking of Lawrence, it was distinctly stated that the Lawrence Hotel and the two Printing offices had been presented by the Grand Jury as "nuisances," and that, as such, they were destroyed under the eye, and by direction of Sheriff JONES. The same fact is officially recorded in the Congressional Committee's report. The presses could only have been so indicted, because they published articles contraband under the gag-laws of the bogus Legislature.

☞ The "Border Ruffians" had a meeting at Atchison on the 13th ult., at which, on motion of Judge James A. Headley, it was unanimously

Resolved, That Col. Robt. S. Kelley be appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in town, with full power to call them out for either AGGRESSIVE or DEFENSIVE WARFARE; and that we promise to yield implicit obedience, and a cordial support to his authority.

HANEGAN, Ex-M. C. from Indiana, was present, and, after complimenting the Ruffians, said "his heart and judgment were with the pro-slavery party in Kansas."

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 5, 1856.

Celebration of the Buchaneer Democracy.

After the extraordinary efforts of the Buchanan democrats to get up a rousing demonstration on the fourth, we think they pretty generally acknowledge the result a mortifying failure. They were first in the field; they had the beautiful city hall for their meeting, and every circumstance favoring them except that the people were not with them. The old rallying cry of democracy has lost its power over the masses since it has come to mean only border ruffianism and slavery. If the men of the armory, of the Western railroad, the American machine works and the Argus office had been left out, there would not have been a baker's dozen besides the postmasters of the vicinity, who participated in the celebration. The Springfield democrats have seen the day when they could get up a larger and better meeting, with no help from out of town.

Ex-governor Seymour, distinguished soft from New York, was introduced and made decidedly *the* speech of the occasion. It was in fact a masterly piece of special-pleading and the craftiest demagogu-ism. He had declined to meet with the thousands of New York democrats at Tammany hall and other theusands in Philadelphia, that he might come to Massachusetts and fight where the ranks were thinnest. (He probably never saw any so thin before.) He then went on, in the wholesale manner of a New York politician, to claim that everything great and glorious in the political history of the country had been achieved by his party. He argued that the democracy owes its power to its idea of letting men govern themselves, and that its opponents had always injured themselves by meddling legislation. As an illustration he cited and denounced the liquor law. (Here there was more enthusiastic applause than at any other point, showing that he had touched the *spirit* of the audience.)—He then made a great argument for the right of self-government, unfairly accusing all out of his own party with denying that right, and wound up with an attempt to apply the doctrine to Kanzas. Here he halted and was lame, and instead of meeting the real case manfully, went into a shameful effort to belittle and ridicule the wrongs of the settlers in that territory, disparaged the country, laughed at the idea of anybody's emigrating thither, and showed a sympathy in spirit with the border ruffians that was absolutely disgusting and indecent. He denied in general terms the aggressions of the South; appealed for generosity and magnanimity towards that much-abused section; declared the superiority of the free states in wealth and political power, but did not say, of course, that it was by purchasing and using such politicians as himself that the South manages to rule the whole country with a rod of iron. He glorified California, but was not magnanimous enough to give credit to Col Fremont for its acquisition. His blood boiled with indignation, he said, that the strong North should accuse the weak South with aggression. Our southern brethren may be too irritable, (just a little so,) but all our present troubles come from the intermeddling of the North. The difficulties in Kanzas arose from not carrying out democratic ideas of sovereignty—no wrong there is to be charged to democratic principles. (No but to the undemocratic acts of your party, Gov.) The democratic party is the party to make Kanzas a free state and to remove slavery everywhere by removing its causes. (Better not say that to the South.) The sacredness of the compacts of the constitution was then enforced, but no word said of the sacred Missouri compact for the freedom of the territories, and Gov Seymour ended with the customary grand patriotic flourish.

Three cheers were then given standing for Gov Seymour, and J. D. Weston of Dalton, secret U. S. mail agent, rose and with much enthusiasm thanked the eloquent speaker from New York for his speech, and offered to give $100 or $500 if necessary, for its publication, declaring it the great speech of the campaign. The meeting voted to ask a copy of it for the press.

D. A. Smalley of Vermont then began a speech about the crisis, and the audience began to move, thinning out very rapidly. Mr S. declared all opponents of the democratic party traitors. The people of New England, he said, do not understand the questions before the country—they need to be enlightened. The object of the emigrant aid company was not to settle Kanzas, but to get up fights and make political capital. But Mr Smalley's talk is too small to report. It had the effect to neutralize much of Gov Seymour's able speech.

It was now almost 2 o'clock, the convention had been in session over two hours, and the hall was nearly deserted of all except the postmasters and the officers of the meeting. Mr Comstock presented his resolutons, which were adopted. The president of the day then remarked with great appropriateness and much feeling that there were still the gallant Butler of Lowell and the eloquent Loring of Salem to be heard from, but he would not do them the injustice to ask them to speak to empty seats—if anybody wanted to hear them there would be a chance at the dinner in the evening. Thereupon the remnant of the meeting spontaneously dissolved, no one objecting. We have heard democrats call the affair a fizzle. We shall not be so hard as that. It was not quite a fizzle. It was as successful as the ruffian principles of the debauched democratic party would warrant, and quite as much so as would be creditable to Western Massachusetts or any other region of country outside the dominions of Quattlebum.

Not over five hundred persons, at the outside, participated in this whole demonstration of sham democracy strength in Western Massachusetts.—Never did the party make so miserable show here—never did they make so much effort for one.

☞ We rejoice to be able to assure our readers that the House of Representatives, on Thursday, re-considered its rejection of the bill admitting Kanzas as a free state under the Topeka convention, and passed the bill by three majority, in spite of the desertion of traitors from the free states. This vindication of the freedom of Kanzas by the popular branch of the government is most gratifying and is ominous of still greater triumphs in the future. This is evidently the only measure that can do justice to Kanzas or pacify the country. If the administration majority in the Senate dare defeat it, on their heads be the responsibility of the results of so great a wrong, and on their party the infamy and defeat it will surely bring.

The Two Kanzas Bills.

Our advices from Washington express great confidence in the ability of the House to resist the new and deceptive Douglas' bill from the Senate, for the settlement of the Kanzas questions. That bill is a confession of judgement in favor of the free state people and against the border ruffians of Missouri, besides trampling under foot the principles of squatter sovereignty; but it does not remove the evil. It is a confession of wrong, but it is an attempt to compromise a right, to patch up the bleeding wound of Kanzas for the presidental campaign, only to open it afresh when that is over. There is but one way to settle this trouble—that is to restore Kanzas to freedom. Give back the stolen goods, and peace will once more reign. This the House proposes to do in the passage of the bill admitting Kanzas.

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Affairs at Washington.

The correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune telegraphs:

Gadsden was allowed to return to Mexico at his own urgent request, and for the purpose of settling his personal affairs. He has been recalled, and will carry out the notice of that fact. No successor has been or probably will be indicated, unless an exigency should occur, until Gadsden relinquishes the mission, which he has promised to do as promptly as his affairs will allow.

Gen Smith's instructions concerning Kanzas are emphatically to prevent armed invasion from any quarter, and to afford protection to peaceable 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 questions that may arise.

More Emigrants Robbed and Imprisoned in Missouri.—A dispatch from Chicago states that passengers from Lexington, Mo., bring intelligence of the capture of a company of emigrants from Ottawa on board the steamer Arabia on Friday night. They were robbed of everything, and detained close prisoners. It was resolved by the mob to take the Massachusetts men in the company up the river and hang their leader, Decatur, immediately. All the arms, provisions, baggage, and money of the prisoners were confiscated for the use of the mob. The Worcester company is still held as prisoners at Weston, Mo. Has Massachusetts no remedy for these outrages upon her citizens on the national highways? And has the general government nothing to do in this matter, or must we wait till next March before the commonest rights of American citizens can be secured?

FREMONT AND FREEDOM MASS MEETING IN SPRINGFIELD.

Three Thousand Freemen in Council.

GREAT ENTHUSIASM—ELOQUENT SPEAKING.

RESOLUTIONS.

After Music from the band, Francis Chamberlin of the committee of arrangements proposed the following resolutions:

This convention of citizens, assembled in response to a call addressed to the friends of Fremont and Freedom in Western Massachusetts, to come together in mass convention on this day consecrated to the "Declaration of Independence" and to resolves and acts for freedom, to consider what shall be done by us to secure and perpetuate to ourselves and our children that "liberty and union" which we inherited from our fathers; believing that the present position of our country is such as to awaken the deepest anxiety and call for the united action of all who are opposed to the policy of the present administration and to the prosecution of those partizan schemes and sectional measures which have brought us to our present condition;

Resolves as follows:

Resolved, That the policy of the present administration, in devoting its main energies to the extension of the domain of slavery; to the firm establishment of its power, predominance and controlling influence in the national councils and government—is *partizan, sectional* and *agitating*—is fraught with danger to the very existence of our Union, and seriously threatens us with all the horrors of anarchy, insurrection and domestic and foreign war.

Resolved, That James Buchanan—the nominee for the presidency of the democratic party falsely so called—by his consecration of himself to a party and platform, which approves the policy of the present administration; by the necessities of his present position; by his paternity of the Ostend manifesto—and by all his antecedents—has clearly indicated what may be expected from him if his party shall succeed in the coming contest; and that he is not entitled to the support of any true lover of his country.

Resolved, That at this time, when questions of immense importance, involving in their consideration and disposal great principles, are before the country, we will call to the helm one who has discharged faithfully and with signal ability every duty which has been entrusted to him—who has undoubtedly been "faithful in a few things"—whose courage and firmness will never be questioned—whose devotion to liberty assures us that the interests of freedom, which are national interests, are safe in his hands—and whose intelligent patriotism, and comprehensive personal knowledge of the different sections of the "Union," with their "peculiar institutions" and sectional interests, are a sufficient guaranty that he will adopt no policy, nor sanction any measures, which are partizan, sectional agitating, and fraught with danger to the Union and the perpetuity of our free institutions.

Resolved, That while we may have had personal preferences in favor of different candidates for the presidency, which we shou d have been glad to gratify, we all see in John Charles Fremont the energy, sagacity and inquitable perseverance which organized and secured to freedom the vast territory and wealth of California. We also see in him that eminent intelligence, high integrity, wise firmness and moderation, ferulity in resources, simplicity and truthfulness of character, and devotion to liberty, which fit him for the administration of the affairs of government. Born in Georgia, educated in South Carolina, inheriting from his mother the blood of Virginia, married at Washington to a daughter of Missouri, the explorer of the vast regions of the West and of the overland pathway to California, still retaining a large interest and a home in that state, at home in the hearts of the people throughout the North and West—he is emphatically a citizen of the Union, and we hail him as the chosen leader of the people in the coming contest.

Resolved, That we disapprove and condemn as nullifying, treasonable and dangerous the sentiments recently expressed in a public speech, by our late president, Mr Fillmore; and we affirm and believe that if John C. Fremont shall be elected president by the free votes of a majority of the citizens of this country; and if the people shall see fit to select for the second office in their gift a man from the same section of the Union, it is neither "madness nor folly to believe that our southern brethren will submit to be governed by such a chief magistrate."

Resolved, That the constitution of the United States was ordained in order to secure a more *perfect union*, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty: That by the procurement of the present administration, the federal government has been perverted from these its high and beneficent purposes, and has adopted a policy and given its sanction and influence to measures which are subversive of the constitution, hostile to freedom and oppressive to humanity; that we are in favor of recalling our public servants to the limited and well defined duties marked out for them in the constitution, and of restoring the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and the simplicity of earlier days.

Resolved, That the facts and conclusions reported by the investigating committee appointed by Congress, show that in relation to the outrages upon the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kanzas, the one-half had not been told. That in view of the 8th conclusion of that report, to wit: "that the constitution ordained by the people's convention, embodies the will of a majority of the people," Kanzas ought to be immediately admitted to the Union, *with her present free constitution.*

Resolved, That while we concede to slavery and to the labor which is *owned* and controlled by southern capital, the rights secured to them by the constitution, *in the states in which slavery has been established*; we are opposed to and will resist the extension of slavery to territory now free; and we claim for freemen who *own themselves in their own labor*, the right to own and till the soil, and all the rights of freemen in the field *and in the Senate chamber*; in all the states and districts and territories of the Union.

Resolved, That the federal government, the rights of the states, the Union of the states, and the rights of the humblest citizen of the United States must and shall be preserved.

Resolved, That slavery and polygamy are alike opposed to that Christianity which is a part of the common law of this country, that they can therefore exist only where they are authorized by municipal regulation duly established by competent authority, and are limited to the range of such regulations.

Resolved, That we will unite and co-operate in the support of Fremont and Freedom and of the principles herein declared; and that we pledge ourselves and our most earnest efforts to secure their success in November next.

The reading of these admirable resolutions was several times interrupted with applause.

THE SPEECHES.

Julius Rockwell of Pittsfield was first introduced, and spoke in exposition of the nationality of the principles advocated by the friends of Fremont, and of the candidate himself in happy and effective language. Judge E. Rockwood Hoar of Concord followed in a spirited address; but had not proceeded far, when a severe thunder storm came up. The wind blew strongly, the tent shook, one of its poles loudly cracked, and it seemed for some moments as if the whole must be prostrated. Much alarm was aroused, and the rain poured so heavily that the canvas afforded small protection. The speaking was interrupted, but after the delay of half an hour, the storm quieted, and the throng demanding the resumption of business, Judge Hoar continued, and said this was nothing to the reign of terror which the people of Kanzas were victims of. He also reminded his hearers that Gov Robinson, Editor Brown of the Herald of Freedom and other of their compatriots in the work of undertaking to establish a government for themselves in accordance with the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Kanzas-Nebraska bill, were now confined in a tent on the plains of Kanzas under the guard of United States soldiers, exposed to all the severity of the elements, there to remain till fall and then to be tried for the crime of treason; though the House of Representatives of Congress had just accepted the work of their hands and under it admitted Kanzas as a free state into the Union. Judge Hoar proceeded to expose the extraordinary nullification and disunion doctrines of Mr. Fillmore's recent Albany speech, tracing their connection with the views of John C. Calhoun, and showing how manifestly absurd and fallacious they were. He closed with a tribute to the strength of the popular cause, in which we were engaged. It is stronger than party, or politicians, and must and will bring all together who are for Fremont and Freedom, however much you or I may have to give up in order to effect it.

Fitz Henry Warren of Iowa—a native of Hampden county—spoke with beauty of language and grace of manner, in presentation of the feelings which animated his young but vigorous state in this crisis. Iowa felt deeply the persecutions of Kanzas, along whose border her territory extended—she felt that the threatened civil war would first invade her own soil,—and that, if the ballot-box failed to secure to the people of the country the inalienable rights so boldly threatened by the slaveocracy with the national government to back it, the cartridge box must necessarily be the next resort. Col Warren's discussion of the history and characteristics of Col Fremont was apt, striking and inspiriting. His many old friends in the audience heard his remarks with great pleasure.

Gen Pomeroy and Wm. J. Patterson of Kanzas followed, in succession, with a pair of the most arousing and appealing speeches. General Pomeroy spoke particularly of the wrongs of Kanzas and her people, and set forth how much the administration had to atone for—what great compensation it had to make to the widows and orphans of the murdered citizens of the territory, before it could wash its hands of its guilt, and stand forth free to compromise the questions which its wickedness had brought before the country. Mr Patterson convulsed the audience with laughter by his capital hits at Atchison & Co., and stirred them with deep feeling by his appeals. He is a most earnest and effective speaker. The public will remember him as the editor of the Industrial Luminary of Western Missouri, the first victim to the border ruffian warfare upon the free press of that region. He represented himself as a straightened-out democrat, straightened-out by his experience with Pierce and Atchison and Springfellow democracy in Kanzas and on its border.

John Wells of Chicopee spoke a few earnest words in exhibiting the last remnant of a free press in Kanzas—a small half sheet printed at Topeka, the only town not yet under border ruffian rule, on paper that was thrown into the streets, when the Missouri invaders sacked the printing offices and public buildings of Lawrence, and rescued to be thus used in defiance of the free state persecutors.

It was now five o'clock—the gathering had been in uninterrupted session since 11 o'clock, growing in numbers and enthusiasm all the time; and though they cried for more talk, the question on the resolutions was put, and they were carried with an unanimous aye; when with cheers and the firing of cannon the people formed again into procession, and moved back into Main street, where they dispersed. Thus closed one of the most interesting and earnest popular political demonstrations that we ever witnessed. Though the rain beat for hours during its continuance, it neither lessened in numbers nor interest, and throughout the whole session there were at least one hundred women in steadfast attendance, though nearly all obliged to stand in inconvenient and wet positions. The speaking was all excellent, being practical, pointed and spirited. Everybody was in good temper, and all separated highly gratified at what they had seen and heard, and the demonstration that had been made, under unfavorable circumstances, for Freedom and Fremont. The singing by the young men of the Fremont Club was one of the most inspiring features of the occasion, and should be cultivated for repetition on all similar occasions in future.

Not less than three thousand persons joined in this handsome impromptu demonstration; and its effects will be seen for good throughout the whole campaign.

7 Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, SATURDAY, JULY 5.

Kansas and Congress.

We have better news to-day than in our last issue, concerning the prospects of Kansas in Congress. On the 3d of July the House fitly prepared itself for the "Glorious Fourth," by reconsidering its vote rejecting the Bill to admit Kansas into the Union with its FREE CONSTITUTION, and then passed the bill! The vote on reconsideration was 101 yeas to 99 nays, and then the bill was passed, 100 yeas to 97 nays. The only vote changed was that of Barclay of Pennsylvania, who moved the reconsideration. Mr. Herbert of California, who voted against the bill a few days before, was called away by the Grand Jury and was unavoidably detained in the jail of the District of Columbia. His vote, however, would not have defeated the bill. Its passage caused great rejoicing at Washington, and will be hailed with gratulations by all friends of Freedom.

The issue is now made whether Kansas shall be received as a free State or a slave State, the Senate having passed the bill to make Kansas a slave State, and the House having voted immediately to admit Kansas with the Constitution its people have already adopted. The purpose of the Senate bill is to make Kansas a slave State, and to receive it as such before the fourth of March, 1856. The preliminary measures have been for a year or more taken by the Border Ruffians and the administration. The Free State men have been murdered or dispersed, and armed clans have been stationed upon the borders to prevent them from returning or others from taking their places. A slaveholder is placed in command of the U. S. troops, and all the Ruffian officeholders of the United States and of the Territorial Government are continued in their places for the purpose of keeping up the reign of terror. Kansas is to be compelled to elect a Constitutional Convention under circumstances which make it certain the slaveholders must carry the day. *For this purpose and no other is the Senate Bill passed.* The plot approaches its consummation, and if the bill passes the Senate and House, and the Buchaneers succeed in the Presidential contest, Kansas will be enslaved before the fourth of March next. And while the contest in the territory must not be given up or neglected, the contest in the States is the all-important one. If the Senate Bill passes the House, the people must on the 4th of November rally at the polls and rescue Kansas from the fate which, on that day the slave power means to subject her to. Fremont elected, and though the slaveholders should carry Kansas, the House would be strengthened to reject her application for admission as a slave State. But if Buchanan is chosen, the plot will be sure to succeed. We trust that the dangerous plot may be defeated in the House. Of the passage of the House Bill in the Senate, there is no hope. Its rejection there will be conclusive evidence, if any were wanting, that the design of the South is to enslave the territory. The responsibility be upon them of rejecting it.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY KANSAS CONVENTION. There was a Convention of Middlesex County people at Charlestown this forenoon, Lieut. Gov. Brown of Concord in the chair, and B. B. Edmands of Charlestown, Secretary. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Whitman of Kansas, Mr. Winchell of Council City, both of whom spoke in a very earnest and acceptable manner, Mr. Williams of Cambridge, Mr. Sanborn of Concord, Mr. Macintire and Mr. Hunnewell of Charlestown, Mr. Locke of Watertown, and several others.

The purpose of the meeting was to take measures for a county organization of the friends of Kansas, in order that every town should be canvassed for aid. This purpose was carried out by the election of the following gentlemen as a County Committee: John Nesmith of Lowell, F. B. Sanborn of Concord, G. A. Locke of Watertown, C. C. Esty of Framingham, Benjamin Hinckley of Charlestown, Addrin Flint of North Reading, and Mr. Hammond of Groton. We regret that we have not room for a longer report. The meeting was one for *business*, and great good will result from it.

BUNKER-HILL AURORA.

W. W. WHEILDON—EDITOR.

Saturday Evening, July 5, 1856.

THE TRUE ISSUE.

Mr Editor—In all great controversies, much is gained if the real points of difference can be clearly stated and defined.

This it seems to me, is especially true of the present political controversies which agitate the country, and which are directly involved in the coming presidential election. There are so many minor issues, many of them important in themselves, and many of them urged merely as a blind, that the ONE *great paramount issue*, now before the country, is in danger of being lost sight of

This issue is between *Freedom* and *Slavery*, and the real question to be decided in the coming election is, whether Congress *has the power*, under the Constitution, *to exclude Slavery from the Territories*,—whether the ordinance of 1787, and the Missouri Compromise, were in fact, constitutional enactments,—whether those patriotic men, such as Jefferson and Madison and Washington, were mistaken in regard to the powers conferred by it, and those who first administered it made the stupendous blunder of excluding slavery by the ordinance of 1787, from Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and now to repair as far as may be, this great wrong, any number of slaveholders may go into any portion of the national territory, and there "squat" with their slaves, on the public lands, and make it the nucleus, the "rude cradle" of a future slave state.

The 'Cincinnati platform' certainly hath this extent. It expressly asserts that Congress shall not legislate Slavery into any territory or legislate slavery out of any territory, but leave it to the people to decide this question for themselves, when forming a State Constitution. If they cannot legislate it "into" or "out of" any territory, then they cannot legislate to *keep it out*, and all the territory of the United States, enough now to make twenty States of the largest class, between the Mississippi river and the Pacific Ocean, must be open to slavery.

I am aware that Mr Webster said, in 1850, that the nature of the climate and the soil would determine the question, and that the God of Nature had excluded it from the mountainous regions of New Mexico, &c., and that Mr Everett said, in reference to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, that he was happy to believe that the soil and climate would exclude it from Kanzas and Nebraska But it is going to Kanzas, through *fire* and *blood*, and the determination is openly avowed and backed up by the whole power of the slave states, that it shall be established there, at whatever cost, or whatever hazard to the peace of the country. The fact is, the soil and climate have much less to do in determining the question than we imagine. *Slave labor* is not profitable in Missouri and Tennessee, in Virginia or in Kentucky, nor, in fact, anywhere else. It curses the ground on which it treads—it dooms the earth to perpetual sterility and barrenness—and the masses of people, where it exists, to ignorance, degradation and poverty. But Slave breeding and the Slave trade are profitable, and every new territory opened to slavery, opens a new market and enhances the value of slave property.

This property is in the hands of a few, so that while the masses are impoverished, labor is degraded, industry and enterprise paralyzed, the few are made rich. Probably not one in ten of the population of any of the slave states, and not *one in seventy* of the population of the country, are slaveholders, yet these few hold nine-tenths of the property, make the laws, create the public sentiment, and rule the state, and to a great extent control the destiny of the nation. Slavery in its essential elements, is a despotism—a one-man, irresponsible power—it will bear no restraint—it knows no argument, or moral suasion, and the scenes of violence in Kanzas and Washington, are but the natural expression of the spirit of the institution.

The *right* to carry this institution into all the territories of the United States, under one national flag, now boldly avowed by the slave states, and adopted by the bogus democracy as an issue in the ensuing presidential election, is surely a little startling, and a very great advance on the political creed of any former party. But we live in a fast age, and "manifest destiny" perhaps, is carrying us whither we would not.

The Fathers of the Republic, in their simplicity, thought that Slavery and Freedom were incompatible with each other, and that as one triumphed the other would die out, and carefully excluded the very *name* from their charter of liberty, and deemed it their right and their duty to exclude it forever from crossing the threshold of any free territory. This right was acknowledged by the *south*, as well as the *north*, in the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and the duty of exercising it, always insisted on by the free states, and the right seldom denied by the south, except by a few politicians of the Calhoun school, until Mr Douglas made the wonderful discovery, less than two years ago, that Congress had no power over it whatever; thus leaping at a single bound a great way ahead of the Cass doctrine of popular sovereignty—for Mr Cass never contended that slavery could be carried by the Constitution into the territories, but could only be established by positive law. What new discoveries he may make now that he has put himself on the "Cincinnati platform," it is impossible to tell.

Now with this tremendous issue distinctly before the country, an issue compared with which all mere party questions sink to merest trifles, presented by the slave States, adopted by the so-called democratic party, and accepted by their candidate, Mr. Buchanan, who, with a wonderful facility of adaptation, sinks his personal identity, and says he is no longer simply James Buchanan, but must square his conduct by their platform, every plank of which he approves —What are the free States to do? This issue they must meet—they can neither avoid it, get over it, or round it

Mr. Fillmore in a recent speech at Albany, after referring to the exasperated feeling between the North and the South, on the most exciting of all topics, says—'But this is not all, Sir. We see a political party, presenting candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, selected for the first time from the free States alone, with the avowed purpose of electing these candidates by the suffrages of one part of the Union only, to rule over the whole United States. Can it be possible that those who engaged in such a measure can have seriously reflected upon the conse-

quences which must inevitably follow, in case of success? Can they have the madness or the folly to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a chief magistrate?"

Admit for a moment the force of this reasoning, and suppose the free States retire from the contest, and our "Southern brethren" elect their candidate by Southern votes, for they claim for him, and not without reason, the votes of every slave State, and all they ask is the votes of Pennsylvania, and two in addition from the free States to secure their triumph.—Slavery is established in Kanzas—the whole energies of the South are employed in extending the institution to other free territory, and in acquiring new slave territory,—the spirit of the Ostend Circular is carried out, for this manifestly is a part of the programme. Cuba is purchased, if the sovereignty of it can be obtained for the trifling sum of two hundred millions of dollars—or if Spain hesitates, and there is the slightest reason to fear its being "Africanized," that is, that slavery will be abolished there, then it must be *seized* and wrested from its owners by force, involving a war with Spain, perhaps with England and France, on the ground that self-preservation, that is the preservation of slavery in the States, is the first law of our national life. The right of transit of slave holders with their slaves through the free States, is permanently secured, and Mr Toombs may call the roll of his slaves under the shadow of Bunker Hill Monument, without any to molest or make him afraid. And slavery becomes the great interest of the government. Now if Mr. Fillmore's argument means anything it certainly involves all this. But Mr. Fillmore presents himself to us as a *national* candidate, ignoring entirely this great issue. If he is green enough to think the people will ignore it, he will probably find himself mistaken next November. But Mr Fillmore is out of the question, certainly, until the Compromises of 1850, and the fugitive slave law are forgotten.

And would there be nothing sectional in the election of Mr. Buchanan? If slavery is sectional, then is he the candidate of a sectional party, for this is the one great interest he is expected to protect—and must be the leading policy of his administration, whether his cabinet are selected from the slave holders of the South, or from among the dough faces of the North.

Would there be no danger to the "Union" in this line of policy? Would the North be satisfied? could the free States, with a free population of more than double that of the slave States, and with more than ten times the wealth and productive industry, "submit to be governed by such a chief magistrate?" Would not patriotism, humanity, religion, cry out against such a monstrous perversion of the principles and objects for which our government was founded?

On the other hand, suppose the republican party shall be successful, as I trust they will be, and the gallant Fremont—a Southern man by birth, but whose great soul could not be shrivelled and perverted to the sectional interests of slavery—whose noble daring conquered California and consecrated it to freedom—the only concession made by the South to the North in the compromises of 1850,—should be elected to the Executive Chair. What do they propose to do? Simply to bring back the government to its original principles. Not one in ten thousand, if there is one in a hundred thousand of the people, have any desire, to meddle with slavery in the States where it exists, or to interfere in the slightest particular with the *rights* of the South. They regard slavery as an anomaly—as antagonistic to the principles of the government—as against the spirit of the age—the spirit of humanity and christianity, and mean to confine it to its present limits, to say in regard to it, "hitherto hast thou come, but no farther shalt thou go—and here shall thy proud waves be staid," and leave the South to find a remedy for it, when it becomes, as it assuredly will ere long become, an evil too great to be borne.

July 4 M

THE FREE PRESS.

BURLINGTON:

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 5, 1856.

The Fourth.

The 80th Anniversary of this independent Yankee Nation, passed off in Burlington with more than common *eclat*. The weather was all that could have been asked for. A shower the night before settled the dust somewhat, while blue skies and a fine breeze from the North kept every body cheerful and comfortable. Early in the morning the people from neighboring towns, in vehicles and on foot, began to gather into town. Long trains of crowded cars came in over the different roads—and the steamers Canada, America, Saltus and Montre l, were coming and going all day, bringing and carrying thousands. A great many people went *through* Burlington to Plattsburgh, returning to the Fireworks in the evening, and a great many, we cannot estimate how many, stayed in town throughout the day and evening.

The various exercises and amusements came off as announced. The procession was formed at half past one, and headed by the Cornet Band, marched through Church and St. Paul Streets and around the Square. The most striking feature in the procession was the parade of the different Fire Companies—and of those, the juvenile company "Young America," composed of lads of 12 to 15, dressed in red shirts with white pantaloons with red stripe, drawing a small fire engine, decorated with evergreens and flowers, attracted unusual attention.

The procession marched into the Town Hall, which was filled with an intelligent and attentive audience. A prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Wheeler. Levi Underwood, Esq. read the Declaration of Independence, after which the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, Wm. Weston, Esq., introduced the Orator of the day, Hon. Daniel Roberts. Mr. Roberts delivered an exceedingly able and interesting address. His subject was the nature of our institutions as having their foundation in the principles of Justice, Liberty and equality, set forth in the Declaration of Independence. We trust the address will be printed and widely read. A series of patriotic sentiments, read by Mr. Weston and G. F. Edmunds, Esq., followed, which were responded to in brief speeches by Charles Adams, Esq., Wm Weston, Mr. Edmunds and G. W. Benedict. The exercises were closed by a few remarks from Dr. Wheeler. The exercises were interspersed and enlivened by stirring music from the Cornet Band.

The largest collection was at the grounds of the State Fair, where the trotting matches came off as previously announced. The particulars of the several matches we are compelled to postpone to a future day for lack of accurate information.

The Kansas Levee of the Ladies of Burlington was most admirably conducted, and meinently successful. Union Hall was very handsomely decorated. Wreaths of evergreens embellished the walls and window caps. An elaborate screen of drapery and evergreens, with the likeness of Washington and "July 4th, 1776" in the centre, and the mottoes "Who is my neighbor," and "Love thy neighbor," in letters of green cedar, at the sides, filled one end of the Hall. The other end was adorned with a large spread eagle and the mottoes "Aid for Kansas" and "Remember the widow and the fatherless," all in evergreens. A beautiful pavilion of columns of evergreens supporting a canopy of the same, covering a pyramidal flower stand, which was kept supplied with magnificent bouquets, for sale, was a noticeable object.

The tables, loaded with every delicacy of the season, and adorned with a profusion of fine flowers, presented a most attractive appearance. The Hall was cool, free from dust, filled with happy faces from morning until night, and was as pleasant a place as any one could wish to resort to. We have learned to expect all such efforts of our ladies to be carried through with a high degree of good management and taste. In this instance we think they excelled all their previous efforts. To the very last, in spite of the numerous and heavy drafts upon them, the tables were as clean, the strawberries and ice cream as abundant, the coffee as good, the order as perfect, and the faces of the ladies as smiling as at first. The proceeds of the sales amounted to between *five hundred and six hundred dollars*, a very handsome amount, which will carry relief and encouragement to many a needy dwelling in Kansas.

On the whole we think the citizens of Burlington, have seldom spent so agreeable and satisfactory a Fourth. All concerned are under obligations to the gentlemen who devised the celebration carried through so successfully.

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 5, 1856.

The Commissioners for Kansas.—It is stated by the telegraph reports that Mr. Douglas's Kansas bill provides that the Commissioners to be appointed by the President to take the census of Kansas and to superintend the election preliminary to the admission of the Territory as a State, are to be taken from all parts of the country, and to represent all political parties. We find nothing of this kind in the bill. It provides simply, that the Commissioners shall be appointed by the President.—There is no reason to doubt that he would appoint Atchison, Stringfellow, Lecompte and others, as bad or as near to that mark as the imperfections of human depravity would admit. We know what sort of men he has appointed and retains in office in Kansas. We know that he keeps upon the bench a Judge who told the Grand Jury, in effect, that it was high treason against the United States to speak or write against the introduction of slavery into Kansas. He has kept in office a Marshal who collected a band of rowdies and ruffians who had no right in the territory at all, and half of them no right to be outside of the penitentiary any where, and calling them a "posse," handed them over to a bogus sheriff for the destruction of a hotel and printing office, on the ground that a grand jury had presented them as nuisances. He has sent orders to enforce laws, which Gen. Cass said, in the Senate, were "disgraceful to the age," and at the same time permitted the most atrocious crimes against property, liberty and life to go unpunished. This is what he has done, and from this may be judged what he would do if the appointment of the Commissioners to superintend the highest concerns of Kansas should be entrusted to him. If it was the intention of the bill to provide for Commissioners of different parties and from different parts of the country, the obvious mode of effecting it was to name them in the bill; and as it is upon the character of the Commissioners that the whole bill hinges, its passage will only place Kansas more completely and helplessly in the hands of the President.

There could be no better evidence of the alarm with which the Democratic party look upon the exposure of the affairs of Kansas than the unruly opposition that was made against the reception of the report of the commissioners with the sworn testimony of the witnesses who had been examined.—Every sort of objection was interposed, and every sort of disorder was resorted to in order to prevent the report from coming before the House and the country. But it was all in vain. The damning facts are published; and whatever men may affect for the sake of party, or whatever real blindness party interests may cause, there can be but one opinion of the tyranny which has desolated that unhappy territory, and of the administration which has ordered it, and which keeps in office the men who have done it. There has been nothing to compare with it in this age and country. Future generations will wonder that it was permitted, and will admire the forbearance of the people that submitted to it,

According to Mr. Douglas's bill no person can vote in Kansas who has gone into the territory since the 4th of July. At this time large numbers of free State men have been driven out, and others have been reduced to such conditions that they can remain there only on charity. Meanwhile the pro-slavery men have been pouring over the border. This is the time for Mr. Douglas to close the gates and to commit the destiny of Kansas for all future time to the population actually resident there. The monstrous injustice of this well corresponds with the atrocious cruelty by which it has been made possible. The bill, indeed, grants the right of suffrage to those who have been driven out and who return by October, but this provision is of no avail, for the Missourians guard all the avenues, and will not allow them to come back.

On the first vote on the Kansas bill, in the House of Representatives, Mr. Chaffee, of Massachusetts, was absent, being confined by sickness. An arrangement was attempted to pair off, but it failed.—On the second vote he was present. Mr. Herbert, of California, whose name appeared with the majority on the first vote, by which the bill was rejected, did not vote on Thursday. We infer from this that his commitment to take his trial for murder was not a Pickwickian sense, but that he is really in confinement. We should like to know what is the fact in this case. It is said that the wife of the man whom Mr. Herbert killed has died of grief.

JOURNAL OF COMMERCE

EVENING EDITION.

Half-past Two o'Clock, P. M.

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 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, at 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, and not even any plausible issue, with which to go before the people at the Presidential election.

EVENING BULLETIN.

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1856.

Letter from Kansas.

The following letter has already appeared in print, but from its interest, we lay it before our readers. It is from a former resident of the 24th Ward, who was well known and much esteemed there and in other parts of the city. Other letters have been received since this one, and a late one says that the writer has been declared an "outlaw" by the "border ruffians," and has been obliged to leave the territory. The letter will show how utterly lawless and outrageous have been the recent doings in Kansas:

HICKORY POINT, }
Kansas Territory, Aug. 6th, 1855. }

Dear Sir:—I take pleasure in addressing you a few lines, in accordance with my promise, in reference to the things of this Territory. I suppose you thought I had forgotten you, inasmuch as I have delayed doing it until the present, but my time and mind have been so much occupied with other matters, that it has seemed almost out of the question for me to do so. However, I presume it is better late then never.

I am happy to inform you that we have enjoyed the best of health since we have been here, and I hope that these few lines may find yourself and family in the enjoyment of the same blessing.

We arrived at Kansas City in about twenty days from Philadelphia. Kansas City, as, perhaps you are aware, is a thriving little town upon the west bank of the Missouri, about one mile and a half south of the mouth of Kansas river. Upon our arrival at this place we found it impossible to obtain passage up the Kansas river, on account of its low stage of water, and from information received in reference to the difficulty of procuring good claims, at or near Fort Riley, our first place of destination, we determined to start for a point on the Neosho, distant about 110 miles from Kansas city. With this view we supplied ourselves with an ox team, and made all the requisite preparations for a journey by land, when we started for the above place, taking the Santa Fe route, and after a two days' journey arrived at this place, about 15 miles from Missouri, and immediately west of the Shawnee reservation. Here we were informed that we could get good claims on the prairie, but the timber land being very scarce and mostly taken up already, there was very little to be had; but there was some of the finest prairie land here that a person need wish to see. I must say that I am very much taken up with the country. Its climate is very healthy, its soil remarkably productive, and I believe that if that abominable system of slavery is kept from it, it is destined to be the granary of the world.

We found at this point some half-dozen men from Indiana, engaged in laying out a town plot one mile square, to be known as Palmyra City, and I think from the enterprise exhibited by the company, as well as the interest manifested by the settlers generally, that it will be one of the first places in the Territory. Its geographical position, as well as many of the advantages necessary to the prosperity of a city, must make it a place of some notoriety. Already there are some half dozen houses erected and many more in the course of construction, and the proprietors are about erecting a large steam saw mill, in a beautiful grove of fine timber, adjoining the town, which, when in operation, will give new life and vigor to the growth of the place, inasmuch as the timber at present is required to be taken out of the woods by hand. I have taken up a quarter section, adjoining the town plot, upon which I may succeed in getting some twenty or thirty acres of wood.

There is, as I before said, a scarcity of wood as well as a scarcity of water power, but, with these exceptions, Kansas is certainly one of the finest countries to be found. There is an abundance of limestone, sandstone, a very good article for building purposes, as well as bituminous coal, all of which are in abundance, convenient to our new town, so that you can recommend to any person who has a desire to come here that if they can make up their minds to endure the toils and privations of a frontier life, and bring with them six hundred or a thousand dollars, they can make for themselves a good home in a couple of years. I have not the money to go into the tilling of the soil, as I would wish, but am preparing to go into the wheelwrighting and blacksmithing business, for which there seems to be a good opening.

I might say something of the political affairs of the country, but I presume you are already made acquainted with most of the points of interest. I would say, however, that we have some very interesting times here, with the wild Missourians. They seem to be considerably riled at so many Abolitionists (as all are termed who do not fall in with their notions) settling around Hickory Point, and they have frequently threatened us with the demolition of our town, but we have deemed it prudent, in order to defend ourselves against their attacks, to form a volunteer corps, in which we can, in a couple of hours, muster some fifty or sixty men into service. I have the honor to be Captain, and think that they will be likely to meet with a warm reception when they do come. They threw down a man's house in this place at the last election, but if they undertake it again they will probably have something to do besides. Every man is determined to defend his rights at all hazards, and the citizens, to a man, or those of them not pro-slavery in their views, are particularly "down on," to use a common phrase, President Pierce, on account of his backwardness in attending to our affairs.

Please answer this as soon as you can conveniently, directing to me at Westport, Jackson county, Missouri, and oblige, Yours respectfully,

GEO. D. BROOKE.

Hon. WM. D. KELLEY.

TO JOHN C. FREMONT.

Champion of Freedom! hail to thee!
A million eyes with pride will flame,
To see the Goddess Liberty
Adorn her standard with thy name;
That glorious flag of stripes and stars,
Borne westward by thy daring hand,
Through the tempest and o'er mountain bars,
And planted on Pacific's strand

Columbus of the Golden West!
As he returned from Salvador,
So thou, by jealousy oppressed,
Thy path of honor traveled o'er.

But Time to you, and glory now
With busy fingers joyful weaves
A diadem to grace thy brow
Of myrtle boughs and laurel leaves.

Young Alexander of the age!
Lay thou aside the sword and shield—
Leave the tempest's wrath and Indian rage,
To serve upon a nobler field;
That field thy country's sacred soil—
The Canaan of the human race—
Made by the Revolution's toil,
True freedom's only dwelling place.

"WE WILL SUBDUE YOU."

BY A. OAKEY HALL.

"*We will subdue you!*" Douglas cried
To Sumner, who his taunt defied
"*We* will subdue you"—and they tried,
As, on old Indian war-grounds, Shannon
Bristled his bayonets and cannon.

"*We will subdue you*"—Rust repeats,
And with his bludgeon Greeley beats!
—Assassination in the streets
Competes with negro-drivers' whips,
To whiten freemen's quivering lips

"*I* will subdue you," echoes Brooks,
While murder animates his looks;
"'Tis I'll subdue this man of books!"
—So South Carolina takes the floor,
And Senate Halls are drenched with gore.

"*We* will subdue you, Free-State, Sir!"
Adds Atchison, the modern Burr,
"And drive from Lawrence every cur
"Who dares dispute *our* right to save
"The Kan-sas prairies for the slave."

—Now from New England hill and valley,
The voters from their slumbers rally!
They cry, "'Twere shame to longer dally,
"Or longer list to syren strains,
"That beckon thus to blood and chains.

"The faith we pledged Missouri's token,
"In vow's at slavery's altars spoken,
"By ruthless treachery was broken—
"Now force completes what fraud began:
"Not mied with mind, but man to man."

"*We* will subdue"—they whisper hoarse,
"By reason's aid, and not by force:
"The ballot-box is our recourse!
"And ere the autumn leaf shall fall
"The Union we will disenthrall!"

Another game of the Slavery-Extensionists.

A New Orleans correspondent of the N. Y. *Tribune* writes as follows:

It is telegraphed here that the Massachusetts Legislature had voted $20,000 for Kansas! What is $20,000 in the present emergency, and for a *state* to vote! Why, Buford himself gave $20,000. The South has sent more than *two hundred thousand dollars* already—not to Kansas, but into the border counties of Missouri—and will send double that amount within the next three months. Do you ask what for? I will tell you, for I have got hold of the secret. *To buy Kansas lands!* It is understood by those in the secret and confidence of the Slave Power at Washington, that all the best lands in Kansas are to be brought into market sometime this summer, and the Southern Oligarchy are to have money enough deposited in the neighborhood to buy them all up. The thing is kept dark. Nothing is said about it in the papers, and it is seldom mentioned in public speeches; yet it forms an *undercurrent* throughout the South; agents are at work, and thousands of dollars are being subscribed, collected, and carried off and deposited with the banks and responsible merchants in the upper counties of Missouri. The Free State men and Northern "Squatters" are all to be driven out of the Territory, and the way cleared before the land offices are opened. The first act in the drama of "clearing out the Abolitionists" has just been concluded. You know how successfully. I speak what I do know; this is the last desperate effort of the Slave-Propagandists to secure Kansas, and they are determined to carry it through, backed, as they are, by the powers at Washington. Once they get the lands, they have got every thing. This anybody can understand.

THE CAMPAIGN POST.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY BEALS, GREENE & CO., NO. 21 WATER STREET, BOSTON.

Terms Cash. SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 5, 1856. Number 1.

A Campaign Paper.

"THE CAMPAIGN POST,"

devot. d to the advocacy of the election of

JAMES BUCHANAN

TO THE PRESIDENCY, and

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE

TO THE VICE PRESIDENCY, of the UNITED STATES.

The coming Presidential Election will be the most important of all our elections. In the great struggle, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, true to its old landmarks and to a present high duty, plants itself on principles which are essential to a maintenance of the CONSTITUTION and the preservation of the UNION. It will have to encounter Black Republicanism, and its allies, in their most desperate moods. They will assail the Democratic Nominees and the Democratic Cause with every weapon of political warfare: by misrepresentation, falsehood, and plausible sectional appeal. Such assaults must be repelled; and one of the most successful means to do this, is by the great instrumentality of the press: the wide circulation of Democratic journals. In order to contribute in such a work, we propose to issue the CAMPAIGN POST at so low a price as will bring it within the reach of every Democratic voter. And we respectfully suggest to those who sympathize with the only NATIONAL PARTY, a co-operation with us in giving this sheet an extensive circulation.

The CAMPAIGN POST will be published twenty weeks at TWENTY-FIVE cents for the series to a single subscriber. It will be sent to clubs, composed of not less than *ten* persons, to the address of one individual, at ten per cent discount from this price; to clubs of twenty at twenty per cent discount, and to clubs of any number above twenty, at twenty-five per cent discount. The first number will be issued on the first week in July and will be continued, on each Saturday, until after the Presidential Election.

Such was the demand for our similar issue in the last Presidential campaign, that, though we struck off a large number above the original list of subscribers, we could not answer the call that was subsequently made for the early numbers. The only way to secure them all is to subscribe early.

Democrats will greatly aid this undertaking by forwarding to us promptly, as many names as they can for the CAMPAIGN POST.

In all cases orders must be accompanied by the CASH. BEALS, GREENE & Co.

THE BOSTON POST,

THE PRESS AND POST,

—AND—

THE BOSTON STATESMAN

AND WEEKLY POST,

THE TERMS of our Journals per year are—

For the DAILY POST, $8, or the PRESS AND POST semi-weekly, (Mondays and Thursdays) $4; and for the STATESMAN AND WEEKLY POST, (Fridays) $2.

These journals are edited by CHARLES G. GREENE and RICHARD PROTHINGHAM, JR.; employ a large corps of assistant editors, reporters and correspondents; and neither labor nor expense is spared to make their columns valuable. They have been published nearly thirty years; have a range of subscription exceeded in extent and regularity by no paper in New England and, so largely is their circulation increasing, that

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AND WEEKLY POST

forms a racy and complete record of the times, and contains the news of every description; in fact, a brief and comprehensive history of passing events; foreign news in detail, domestic information, agricultural items, commercial and monetary articles, statements of trade, of the weather, of crops, &c.; accounts of meetings, political rec ds, news of every description, poetry, pleasant reading matter, humorous items, epigrams; in fact, a COMPLETE FAMILY Newspaper—a vehicle for every species of useful and entertaining information—among which will be found, in each issue, a PLEASING STORY. The STATESMAN is printed on the LARGEST SIZED PAPER and on new and beautiful type. It has a very large circulation and its rapidly increasing list is the best evidence of its popularity. It is supplied at the rate of TWO DOLLARS a year for single subscriptions. CLUBS, *taking ten or more copies in one package*, will be supplied at ONE DOLLAR AND A HALF a year.

THE COMMERCIAL DEPARTMENT

of these journals involves a large expenditure; contains varied and accurate reports as to all branches of trade; and is second to that of no paper published in New England.

These journals are carefully conducted and edited in a faith, in democratic principles, but in a spirit of conciliation to all parties. As advertising mediums they are unsurpassed; penetrating, as they do, into such a variety of households scattered over the whole Union and read as they are by all classes of the community, they furnish an opportunity for the diffusion of information which can scarcely be obtained elsewhere.

BEALS, GREENE & CO.,

19 & 21 Water street, Boston.

The Philosopher, published at Horseheads, Chemung country, N. Y., a paper heretofore refusing to take sides in politics, has come out in favor of Buchanan and Breckinridge. Its motives for this are candid and honest; and its course will be influential in that quarter.

THE CAMPAIGN POST.

BUCHANAN AND BRECKINRIDGE!



DEMOCRATIC NOMINATIONS.

FOR PRESIDENT.

JAMES BUCHANAN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE,

OF KENTUCKY.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

Every good citizen, on the return of a presidential election, owes the duty to his country, to examine parties and their consequenzes; and having done this, vote as his judgment dictates.

There have been seventeen elections of President. Let the critical observer go over them all and look at the administrations of them all; and he will find that all have had a national cast; that the candidates have been supported, and, after Washington's administration, by parties without reference to localities. On the occasion of the reelection of Jefferson, the party opposed to him, and it had its centre in New England, voted for Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina; and he continued to be the candidate of the same party in the first election of Madison. James Monroe was elected by the votes of all the states—with the sultary exception that one of the New Hampshire electors gave his vote for John Adams. In 1825 all the states but two, and those Ohio and Virginia, gave their votes for John C. Calhoun for vice president. In the election of 1828, the great states of New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania, and other northern states, cast nearly as many votes for Jackson as other northern states cast for Adams. It is unnecessary to do more than name the recent elections of Harrison, Polk, Taylor, and Pierce, where a national spirit is seen pervading them. The observer, in the results, will look in vain for the evilence of sectionalism, for they all bear the glorious impress of NATIONALITY.

The same great feature is seen running through successive administrations. The whole world can offer no prouder catalogue of characters worthy to be called statesmen; men trained in civil affairs, and who understood the wants of our country, and who patriotically labored for its interests, than the catalogue of those who have been at the head of our executive department. There is seen, too, this same feature of nationality; the representative men of different sections of our country, ever faithful to the rights of all sections, and yet ever true also to what the whole country required of them. There is Jefferson, of the south, acting with Hamilton, of the north; John Marshall, of Virginia, acting with Samuel Dexter, of Massachusetts; James Madison with Albert Gallatin; John Q. Adams with John C. Calhoun; Henry Clay with Richard Rush; Edward Livingston with Louis McLane; Daniel Webster with Hugh S. Legare; and so we might go on enumerating the great statesmen of the north and south, who have honored the country, and whose renown is of the treasures of the country, who side by side have worked together to consolidate its strength and promote its interests. Here, too, we see the marked characteristic of nationality. Such administrations were not composed of men representing but a fragment of our country; they represented a boundary as wide as the constitution and the Union; they represented nothing less than the whole country.

From this spectacle, which is a glory to the American name, and should speak with pride to every American heart, we turn to a spectacle reserved for this day and this generation. Let us put this exactly as it is. A party has arisen which, in its convention—which it dares to call *national*—consisted of delegates from but one half of the states of this Union; whose basis is political action as to a *local* institution, which exists but in fifteen states of this Union; and whose avowed object is to war on this institution to the knife and the knife to the hilt. It is a party, therefore, boldly aggressive on rights as to which all the states have covenanted with each other in the constitution. This makes the basis of this party local and sectional; its political action sectional; and its candidates sectional. John Charles Fremont is the candidate of the states only that do not recognize slavery. No gloxing can cover up this great, startling, suicidal FACT. This is the deplorable spectacle which this day and generation witnesseth. Such a candidate cannot, by a possibility receive a single vote from the fifteen states that recognize slavery!

Patriotic citizen! Look this new feature in this presidential election full in the face; run it out to what is certain—if this party should be successful—to be its "bitter end" Compare the action of this sectional party with what has been the action, up to this time, of the great political parties that have successively ruled the country; with the common unwritten law of presidential elections up to this time. Compare this spectacle of a party and a candidate for ONE-HALF OF THIS UNION, with the grand old spectacle exhibited from WASHINGTON'S time downward, of a party and a candidate for nothing less than the WHOLE OF THIS UNION. Is not this one circumstance alone, that, of sectionality, enough to condemn this party?

But look again at this party. The triumph of such a northern, sectional, freesoil party, would be an insult to fifteen of the sovereign states of this Union. What would be the consequence? Would any of the prominent or leading statesmen of the fifteen states go into a cabinet to be called by such a President? How different then would be the spectacle from the one we have glanced at, since the days of Washington! In place of the great men of our whole country, we should have the narrow men of *half* the country in cabinet council! And would this be a sight that an American could look upon with pride and confidence? Libel not the comprehensive hearts and minds of the fathers by terming such political suicide, following their broad footsteps!

Such is the peculiar character of the present contest. Let us endeavor to be precise and correct in our terms of speech. We deny that the whole north is engaged in this sectional business; we deny the accuracy of the advocates of such a party when they say that their action is that of the *united* north. It is a piece of assumption and falsehood. It is directly in the teeth of FACTS. A noble party at the north are warring upon this suicidal and terrible sectionalism. It may be in a minority. It may be overpowered. The ides of November must tell this. But it knows that its affinities are country wide; that its feet rest on the firm ground of the constitution; that waving above it is the untorn banner of the stars and stripes; and therefore do the party claim to utter their indignant protest against the presumption that constantly represents the north as *a unit*.

The true issue of this presidential election is: Shall a party prevail which is exclusively confined to the north, and which seeks to halve and divide our country? Or shall the democratic party prevail, which has affinities of organization wide; which has basis principles as wide as our constitution extends; which would guard alike the rights of all sections of our country; which would *renew in this election, as they have been practically renewed in every presidential election thus far, this spirit of compromise which originally made the Union and the constitution.*

This national party is represented in BUCHANAN and BRECKINRIDGE. Let them succeed and it will be like renewing the youth and strength, guarding the rights, and perpetuating the glory of our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH—MR RIVES'S LETTER.

We hardly need to call the attention of our readers to the interesting documents we present to-day. They are well worthy of an examination.

And we would ask thoughtful men to ponder on the admirable paper from the pen of Hon. William C. Rives. It was elicited partly by a private letter addressed to him by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and partly by the excellent reply of this gentleman, which we have printed, declining to attend the indignation meeting held in this city. It will be found strong in its positions, patriotic in its tone, and wise in its suggestions.

Mr Rives justly remarks, that we have been, of late, rapidly and fearfully drifting into that geographical antagonism of parties which all good and wise men have so earnestly deprecated. Nothing can be worse for our country than sectional strife; and nothing can tend more directly to this than a sectional party. Its success would be the ruin of the republic; for such a triumph would undermine, at the foundation and in its primordial elements, that Union which had its origin in mutual respect, voluntary effort and will, and conciliation, and which was planted on the strong basis of equality among its members. Yet we have such a party fairly inaugurated. *Twelve states of this Union took no part in its nominations. Fifteen states can have no sympathy with its objects; can never submit to its creed; and should its candidates go into power, can take no share in its administration of the general government.* This is a plain statement as to this sectional party. When was a like spectacle ever exhibited in our republic?

The object of this party is to war on slavery—slavery as it exists in fifteen states in this Union; and its leading men, its pioneers, constantly avow, that their ultimate purpose is to destroy this institution; that what are termed constitutional barriers are in fact no barriers, for they are contrary to a higher law of God and Christianity and therefore are null and void. Such are the teachings of William H. Seward, and such have been the utterances of his true disciples; and it is these men who form the opinions and control the movements of this northern, geographical, sectional party.

The fact of the existence of such a party therefore, with such objects, cannot be disputed. We may mourn over the infatuation of good men who lend it countenance; we may deplore the fatal tendency of its works; but the fact of its existence cannot be denied. Here it is among us. Not as a band of crazy Garrisonites, but as a working power of formidable combination.

Thus far the intelligence of the people has carried this nation safely through all its trials; and every patriot should hope that, in the words of Mr Rives, "the people would take counsel only of their own cool and unimpassioned judgments." Let us hope, also, that the patriotic men of the north may enter upon "a careful and dispassionate revision" of recent questions. Sure we are, that in such a process, their sober second thought would come to a more accurate judgment than now generally prevails.

How unsound northern public opinion, or rather shall we not say, northern prejudice, has been, let the position it stood upon in urging congress for two years to put *a restriction on a sovereign state, attest.* From 1819 to 1821, down to a date later than the Missouri compromise 36.30 line, the north stood on this ground; in the language of the New York legislature (Nov. 13, 1820) urging on congress "the prohibition of slavery in the state of Missouri," as an "indispensible condition of her admission into the Union." We now repeat statements which we have again and again made, which none of our contemporaries have met, much less answered, but which are of a vital character. This position of the whole north was one of aggression on the constitution. Had the measure it urged passed congress, President Monroe would have vetoed it; and his message is extant. This principle of imposing a restriction on a sovereign state has been condemned by Presidents Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, J. Q. Adams, Jackson, Harrison and Taylor, and we have cited their words. As a specimen of this authority, let us cite what Jefferson in 1820 wrote. He said—"The regulation of the different conditions of men composing a state, was certainly the exclusive right of every state, which nothing in the constitution has taken from them and given to the general government." And yet the whole north for two years, under the lead of politicians striving for place, contended for a principle so utterly untenable, so clearly unconstitutional, and which is now known to have had such an overpowering weight of authority against it. Such is the historical record. No one can justly deny its truth.

At the outset the north is not, by any means, a tithe so sectional *to-day*, as to numbers, as it was in 1820; and it is an impudent piece of presumption in sectional politicians in representing that they constitute the whole united north. Why, they were beaten in Maine; have not a popular majority in New Hampshire or Connecticut; and never yet carried, single-handed, even Massachusetts! And in Vermont and Rhode Island there are strong national minorities. So much for New England. And if we go out of it, by what authority can the great Empire State, democratic always when democrats go together, be termed sectional? This northern sectionalism encounters here a determined opposition. Now what is there in its objects that should draw patriotic men to its ranks? How practical are they? Can Union loving men sanction them? Are they of such *paramount* importance as to warrant, to attain, them the hazard of a state of civil war between the peaceful states of this confederacy? Let us coolly look at these objects.

The purpose is not avowed of agitating for a restoration of the Missouri 36° 30' line. The freesoil leaders, when in 1848 it was proposed to carry it to the Pacific, made their mark on it. They denounced it and spit upon it. They termed it a swindle on the north. They told how many northern politicians who voted for it, had been ruined. They declared in congress they never would vote for it, and out of congress they poured their foul vituperation on those who proposed it. The tears of such for its abolition were crocodile tears. Others might object to the repeal and might go for a restoration; but not such a class of patriots. The design by them is given up. On all hands it is admitted that the special object of restoring this line is an utter impossibility.

Is the avowed object, that of congressional prohibition of slavery in all the territories, a whit more practicable? This object, if it can be attained at all, cannot be done without long years of agitation; without controversy more sharp than ever was seen; without inflaming local prejudice to an extent it never was inflamed before; without intensifying sectional feeling and animosity to a degree never seen before, without cutting asunder social and business relations as they never were divided before; without substantially rupturing the bonds which unite these states in so noble a brotherhood. And suppose the object gained, what is it worth? It is only a prohibition of slavery so long as the territory remains a territory; and very likely to be practically disregarded, as the so much be-praised north-western ordinance was for twenty years in Indiana and Illinois territories; from 1800 and 1800 to 1822. We put it to sober men: even if this prohibition of slavery be practicable, is it worth all this angry controversy and civil strife?

But look at this agitation in a still more practical point of view. To those who view the prohibition constitutional it may be asked, is it needed? What prospect is there that slavery will find root north of the 36° 30' line? Kansas is said to be the battle ground; for Nebraska is not adapted to slavery; and nobody pretends there will be slavery in other territory north of 36° 30'. But how is it with Kansas? Does its physical condition invite the introduction of slavery? Is its soil cotton land? or is it fit for sugar plantations? The general testimony is that the soil and climate are unfitted for slave labor. The almost unvarying testimony is that everything points to its being a free state; that five-sixths of its population, actual settlers, are in favor of this; and it is certain that these will control its condition. What need, then, is there for a ten years' crusade on slavery to make Kansas and the territory north of 36° 30' free territory?

In view of the existing state of public affairs; of the fact that a restoration of the Missouri line is impracticable; that the establishment of the policy of legislative prohibition of slavery can only be effected after years and years of bitter controversy, and then would be dangerous; and that neither measure is needed to make free states north of a 36° 30' line; we ask, what is there to prevent all who are opposed to slavery agitation from coming together and standing on a common platform? Is it past opinions and effort in behalf of the Wilmot proviso? Democratic legislatures, as well as whig legislatures, went for this measure, until events proved its inutility. Were there ever considerations more urgent against its utility and expediency than exist now? While there may be differences of opinion as to the power of congress to prohibit slavery, there can be none as to the power of congress to make the existing settlement. Non-intervention and local self-government were certainly recommended as sound principles by President Taylor; were certainly embodied in the 1850 compromise measures; were certainly endorsed both by the whig and democratic national conventions of 1852; and are as certainly in the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Beyond a question both are pre-eminently constitutional. And now the fearful attempt to install a *northern sectional* party with power, and the fierce onslaught made against the southern section of the republic, appeal to patriotic citizens to acquiesce in a settlement which leaves to the people of a territory the sovereign decision of the slavery question, when they elect to become a state.

And how can there be any other settlement that will save the constitution and preserve the Union? Suppose the freesoil, or republican, or sectional party carry out their whole programme; those measures they avow in their platform, and those pressed by their Wades, Chases, Wilsons, Sumners and Sewards; suppose they triumph; inaugurate a freesoil administration; prohibit slavery in the territories; repeal the fugitive slave law; and then advance on to their ultimate work. Suppose fifteen sovereign states, galled to the quick at the progress of such a party, should resolve to withdraw from the Union. What do the sectional party propose to do then? They have their plan all matured. They are passing resolves that they will maintain at all hazards the Union. But how do they propose to maintain the Union? Judge Conrad, the president of their convention, uttering words that, we regret to write it, are daily in the mouths of freesoilers here, gives the answer, when he said as to these fifteen states of the south—"*She shall remain nevertheless; we have hearts and arms strong enough to compel her obedience!*"

Here is the plan of these patent emancipators. They propose to conquer the south and hold it in obedience. They propose to reduce fifteen states of this Union to a state of slavery; to hold them as a conquered people. Think, patriotic citizen, of what such a state of things would be. We will not libel it by calling it the Union of our fathers. It would be a state of civil war. It would be a dissolution of the Union. And every good citizen, following the counsels of WASHINGTON, should indignantly frown down the very dawning of this freesoil, sectional, suicidal plan.

THE NOMINATION OF COL. FREMONT.

Despite the warnings of all the more moderate men of the black republican party, and the wishes of all the comparatively conservative citizens who were casting longing glances towards that organization—despite the assertion of Thaddeus Stevens in the convention, that without Judge McLean was its candidate Pennsylvania would be lost by 50,000 majority in the fall, he was withdrawn under circumstances which strongly indicate his betrayal by pretended friends, for some unknown reason.

In his place, that "enterprising young man," Col. Fremont, has received the nomination. Destitute of qualifications, destitute of all semblance of statesmanlike qualities, his only recommendation appears to have been that there was "a great deal of romance" about him. This may be a weighty consideration with a young lady in her teens in selecting a lover, but it would be an insult to the intelligence of the American people to suppose they would not require more solid and attractive qualities in a president. For the sake of Mr Fremont's own fame, he should never have placed himself in a position which will render it necessary that the true history of his life should be made public, the veil of tinsel with which he has been bedecked be rudely snatched aside, and the facts connected with his career exposed. His friends will be very apt to maintain a close silence upon his feats as an explorer, when the history of his blunders and heartlessness becomes known. They will not boast much of his famous Cochatopa Pass, which eventually prove to be the highest peak but one of the Rocky Mountains, nor of his favorite route for the Pacific Railroad, which, on examination, proved so crooked that it received the soubriquet of the Ram's Horn Route—nor of the school of engineering which he established, viz: that the movements of the buffaloes were the best guide to an explorer—nor will they be apt to particularly laud the desertion of his corps in the midst of the perils into which he had led them, shut up in snow thirty feet deep, which occurred near TAOS, in New Mexico.

Perhaps no man of his age has a more unfortunate record than Col. Fremont. He was court-martialled and dismissed from the army for insubordination—his financial transactions with the government funds will probably be found to be not at all times of the most creditable character—he failed as a politician; and, after serving a short time in the senate, was superceded as soon as he became fairly known by the people of California—and altogether, though he may be a very fast, a very romantic, and a very enterprising young man, he will find that no "buffalo engineering" will take him within hailing distance of the White House—that obstacles, high and insurmountable as his famous *pass*, will rise before him—and that his political "Ram's Horn Route" will lead him into difficulties as inextricable as those by which he was surrounded when he deserted his companions in the snow at TAOS.—*Pennsylvanian.*

THE POLITICAL BUDGET EXAMINED.

"The senate wondered much at all he spoke,
Which he designed—mock tragedy or joke."
" Shall parts so various aim at nothing new?
He'd shine a Tully and a Wilmot too."

As the observing traveller approaches London or Paris, even while he is at considerable distance therefrom, the peculiar hum and thronging increase of the human tide about him herald his proximity to some vast thoroughfare. So is it with our national elections. For months before the united millions pour forth their written decisions and elect the exponents of their sentiments by the quiet "ballot, people begin to grow animated, evince more than usual interest in political affairs, while congress arouses from its monotonous tenor, and adds to the bustle manifested on all sides. Parties are arrayed against each other, and their respective champions brandish their weapons of debate on the political chess board. Those of the masses who are so engaged in procuring the means of subsistence that they cannot spare the time, nor incur the trouble, to investigate the real merits of the question, lend their ears to those who can. Thus is it important that such as assume to teach an audience of the well meaning masses should be able, willing and resolved to communicate salutary doctrines and reliable information.

PARTY DISTINCTIONS.

These parties are distinguished from each other by the liberal and the niggardly, the advocates of broad and those of narrow views. In religion, as well as in temperance, this distinction obtains. Indeed, all society is cleft asunder by the same magic power. In our country the democratic principle is the basis of a liberal and expansive policy. In the revolution, who were the whigs and who the tories? In the earliest stages of our government, who were the republicans and who the federalists? In the question of extending the national domain, under Jefferson, who were for the spread of freedom and who the advocates of stationary limits? In fine, who have contended for general laws, the rights of man, and the interests of the whole people, and who for special privileges, monopolies, and the few? Read the history of our country from the time parties began to be as distinct as the two banks of a river. Examine the policy of the Adamses, of the fragmentary career of Harrison and Taylor, and you have a comprehensive view of narrow measures—alien and sedition laws, unequal tariffs, exchequer systems, bankrupt laws, violation of pledges. You see about all, under these four heads. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Van Buren, Polk, and Pierce, have filled the rest of the time. And James Buchanan is now unanimously presented for our suffrages. His name is inseparably interwoven with our measures for the last thirty or forty years. Just contrast their ruling policy with that you have now examined; and the more thoroughly you scan the record, the less likely will you be to halt between two opinions. You will soon know where you belong, as well as the kind of policy you should adopt. It is an easy matter for a candid man to decide.

As we are about entering upon the presidential campaign, we have not indeed to settle those measures, which have already been sanctioned by the people, because they have proved salutary and acceptable. But we cannot well avoid casting a furtive glance, in passing, at the grave-yard and epitaphs of our opponents' measures, while we observe the vitality and permanent appearance of every individual one of our own. A similar fate has visited their party ranks. The destroying angel which prostrated Sennacharib's army has repeated its visit among our enemies' forces. It has scattered them in all directions. And while we look around ourselves and find the democratic phalanx of the nation yet unbroken, a unit in sentiment, and a host in numbers, with its inconsiderable losses supplied by equal accessions, we cannot fail to trace the tracks of our opponents to their new asylums, and to identify them, though *disguised under a new name*. For there were only two main parties in existence, and ours still lives and breathes and acts, thus demonstrating that the disjointed fragments of our old foes are our present opponents, officered by men of a darker stamp.

We will premise that these officers have volunteered their services to the forlorn hope of *anti*-republicanism. By political engineering they have mounted hobby after hobby, step by step till they have attained stations of eminence. Though mighty in skilful tactics they are few in number, as a survey of their forces in the field testifies. The freesoilers proper rallied their entire strength at our last presidential election. They are spread over fifteen of our states, which cast an aggregate vote of two and one third millions, while this party exhibited less than two hundred thousand altogether. The tumult they make, the assurance they display, and the recklessness they evince, would lead a stranger to suppose them to constitute the majority, when they did not come within the probability of carrying a single state. They are weak in ballots, but loud in clamor.

This party, now endeavoring to become the nucleus, or connecting wire, of the various fragments afloat in our country, to marshal the discordant elements under one leader, and to officer the Fusion, if it can be welded together, view their own rights, as well as those of others, through a false medium. They aim to be dictators not only of what shall be done in their own states, but trespass on the affairs of other states, and wish also to dictate a policy for them. This would be equivalent to ruling two or more states, and disallowing the resident citizens of the state in which these interlopers do not reside, whether contiguous or remote, to manage their own matters in their own way. It would be equivalent to an expatriation or a disfranchisement of innocent citizens, and to the supremacy of a minority faction. It would virtually blot out, obliterate the sovereign authority of one state, make it an empty cipher, so far as its own constitutional power and the rights of the people thereof are concerned, and usurp at least the control of double its own legitimate authority, supposing a party unable to carry a state has any such authority. It wants to legislate for all the other states, and thus set up a government of thirty-one states by a single state, or, what is worse, by a minority faction of a single state, and thus control the rights of the entire thirty-one. It works a great monarchical monopoly, which is clearly unconstitutional.

Now there are various methods of interference with other people's rights. Not only can you interfere personally, and molest your neighbor by carrying away his property, but you can interfere by despatching agents thither for that purpose. You can instigate others to do the same, not merely by main force, but by artful misrepresentation, thereby exciting prejudices and depreciating the conventional value of property, by deceptive or sincere promises, by newspapers, pamphlets, letters, circulars, tracts, sermons, speeches, resolves, and legislation. Introducing these documents is like the ancient mode of hurling blazing arrows from the catapulta, or the more modern one of sending forth Congreve rockets—calculated to set on fire whatever houses they touch. They incite insurrection, endanger life, happiness and property.

THE THREE-PLY PARTY.

Massachusetts of late years has been the hot-bed of this kind of intermeddling, though she had colleagues in other regions. These, however, have mostly been graduated at her institutions, and instructed at the feet of her Gamaliels. She has become the magazine of abolitionism, from the rankest dye to the mildest dilution. All shades nestle in her bosom. But its substratum is anti-Bible, anti-religion, anti-church, anti-Sabbath, anti-suffrage, anti-constitution, anti-government. Its main pillars are Garrison, the editor, Parker, the preacher, Wright and Pillsbury, expreachers, Phillips, the orator, with the itinerant Foster and Burleigh, the stump speakers. Its ministers plenipotentiary are Seward, Wade, Greely, Chase, Hale, Wilson and Sumner. Its young converts are Metcalf, Banks, Burlingame, and others. Their chaplains are numerous. They mustered some three thousand strong to memorialize congress, under the old, exploded dogma of divine rights, to obstruct the national legislation and the exercise of equal rights with the enjoyment of popular sovereignty. They boldly assumed to be a hierarchy, constituted by authority, and, "in the name of Almighty God," to dictate the particular species of laws to be passed. They entered their pulpits to agitate and prejudice the minds of their respective congregations against our national enactments. To this they linked the cry of popery and foreigners, and preached insidious crusades against them. This attempt to weld together the three topics of sectarianism, aliens, and anti-Nebraska, in a united organization, was a coextensive effort to blend the three factions which advocated such doctrines. In 1855 they poured into the Massachusetts legislature, and even elected a clergyman for their speaker. Their position and conduct there suggested the ludicrous idea of politicians with pulpits strapped to their backs as the itinerant hand-organ players carry their instruments, and ready to play secular tunes on a week day for two dollars, while sacred strains on the Sabbath varied in price from $10 to $50 for the Sunday. They could vary their graduation to suit the magnificence of the occasion, from the solemn sermon, to the humble "Barney, let the girls alone," with the Hiss accompaniments.

THEIR MEASURES.

It was the committee of that legislature which charged to the state the expenses of a carousal well spiced with choice liquors, and it was that very legislature which passed the stringent Maine liquor law. It was there that the self-destruction of the Missouri compromise was falsely charged against the congress of the United States, a compact which was *in its conception and essence, unequal and unjust*. Similar resolves had been passed during the previous year, to back up the contemporary memorial; but it was reserved for this black contest legislature to grasp, if not perpetrate, high crimes, by making a direct appeal to the people's bill. This bill prohibits every person, while holding a state office from issuing any warrant or granting any certificate, in any capacity, in accordance with the fugitive slave acts of 1793 and 1850, and this, too, under the penalty of forfeiting his office, and of becoming "FOREVER thereafter ineligible to any office" under the state. An annual legislature binding the people at least during life, threatening punishment on all persons of the Union who obey the United States laws, and of gaining immortality! Fit commentator and mourner over a compromise, which also used the word *forever* to ape perpetuity. This bill prohibits counsellors and attorneys at law, as well as judges, from acting for the claimants towards the execution of the law, they also a law, under somewhat similar penalties—banishment from the courts and liability to impeachment or removal. It goes farther by forbidding any U. S. commissioner barely qualified to execute those laws, from holding any state office. Sheriffs and constables observing those national laws, are liable to a fine of $2000 and imprisonment in the state prison for two years. The volunteer militia, that guardian of our safety and property, as well as the basis on which our liberties and independence are guaranteed, are thereby threatened with a $2000 fine and two years state imprisonment, if they shall aid in having those laws executed! Vain effort, like that for immortality, to crowd some thirty thousand soldiers into a prison cell only holding one or a few hundred, and now almost filled to its utmost capacity by felons. Letting these convicts out to make room for a citizen soldiery would be releasing Barabbas with a vengeance. This bill was vetoed by the governor for self-evident as well as constitutional reasons; and the obstinate legislature enacted it by a two-thirds vote. An attempt has been made by some of the present legislature (1856) to repeal it, but it has been reenacted, and another series of resolves have been passed, declaring fugitive slave law of 1793 was approved by Jefferson and Hamilton, and signed by Washington within four years after the United States constitution had gone into operation. These laws have been pronounced constitutional by the United State supreme court, and have been cited in the words of the constitution, (art. 6) "the supreme law of the land." The germ of these enactments is found in the much cited ordinance of July 13, 1787, relating to the north west territory organization. This was before the constitution was framed.

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

This was under the old confederation. Now, observe the selection. Much inconvenience resulted from the absence of this clause in the articles of confederation, and it was made a prominent point to introduce a portion of it into the new form of the constitution. The proviso was selected, the fugitive slave proviso, while the prohibitory clause was omitted. Both parts were only endued with force during the limited term of the enacting congress, and until repealed by a subsequent congress. What had been deemed permanent and irrepealable, there would have been no need of inserting it in the constitution. Had the upper clause been thought worthy of retention, it would have been retained; but, it was local in its applica tion, as well as partial in operation, and transient in duration, and consequently inconsistent with the general, equal and permanent tenor of our comprehensive instrument. Besides, read the Ohio law for runaway apprentices and those that harbor them. It not only creates slavery, but makes it a crime to feed the hungry and the oppressed. In 1793, when the first fugitive slave law was enacted, two new states had been admitted.

It was by that legislature of 1855 that resolves were passed against the fugitive slave law of 1850, pronouncing it a direct violation of the constitution and of the "higher law," as they term their assumed standard or test of national legislation. These also declared its unconstitutional repeal. Thus did that body assume, in addition to former assumptions, to be the lawfully delegated representative and mouthpiece of all the thirty-one states, together with the territories, just as if these had not the ability, intelligence, or courage to speak for themselves, because a limit in the constitution secured to the states and to the people certain reservations. Another step carried this three-ply legislature to the naturalization resolves, declaring aliens commonly incapable of a safe and advantageous exercise of the citizen's functions, urging an extension of the required time for admitting them, and requesting to have them excluded from all national offices, at home and abroad; shades of Lafayette, Pulaski, and Kosciusko! Unfortunately for the presumptuous petitioners, a dual clause, though hemmed within parentheses, entirely excluded the petitioners themselves from office, honors and emoluments. That clause excludes all not *"not opposed to every kind of despotism."* It was that officious legislature which declared the constitutional veto of the French republican bill "a disgraceful violation of just obligations," and strove to incite other states to do likewise, assuming to be arbiters for them of what is and what is not essential to maintain national honor and credit, and thus usurping the rights of other states. This assumption invites another, that these states are less sagacious, less capable of taking care of themselves than that legislature was of taking care of them. Nor did that body neglect, in its arrogant career, while falsely charging the congress of 1854 of repudiation, Missouri compromise (which was repealed at all, was previously repealed,) to pronounce that falsely alleged act a gross injustice, nor to avow a determination to seek for its restoration, and for the repeal of the very vital portion of the Nebraska bill. This legislative body of anti-Bible abolitionists and abolitionized clergymen, which repudiated the authority of the constituton and of the U. S. supreme court, as well as of national legislation, and whose constituents were talking in the streets already of seeking in Kansas for the express purpose of precluding slavery therefrom, filled the state monopoly of $5,000,000, which had been chartered by the preceding legislature, might speculate on the lands thereof, and divide the profits among themselves.

EMIGRANT AID COMPANY.

This emigrant aid company act includes, among the members named into first section, the names of Henry Wilson, Anson Burlingame, Stephen C. Phillips, Charles Allen, Samuel E. Sewall, Francis W. Bird,—all prominent abolitionists or freesoilers, and not only prominent and active candidates for high stations, gubernatorial, congressional, and legislative, but some of them already in office. It was approved April 26, 1854. The par value of a share was $100; and this fact was industriously hawked about the streets and around the state house. That legislative body is all the efficiency to yes yet other session, in May of last year, and to send copies of them to the President, and to every state and territorial governor in the Union. These resolves "called upon the lawabiding citizens of Missouri, upon the Missouri governor and legislature, and upon the President, to interfere in the affairs of a territory situate at a distance from us of nearly two thousand miles! They actually couched a SUMMONS upon the President of the Union, and upon the governor and legislature of a remote sovereign state, as well as upon its citizens, to do what? To defend and protect Massachusetts, the only state in the Union they professed to represent? No; but to obey instantly the peremptory orders thus issued, and keep out the mhorrary from Kansas! It was an official order for Missouri to keep back its Emigration Company, with the commercial motto of "No friendship in trade," and with accessions of "material aid" from Connecticut and elsewhere, could step in and squat unmolested, a host of speculators, and monopolize the best lands, and the best property. After they had established white slave labor among their factory operatives, and secured the choicest spots, then they would probably have condescended to open the door, and admit the Missourians for a season, upon equal terms, and without restrictions, which would not equally affect themselves. Oh, no. Such a course was not to be tolerated. Missouri would not admit her own lack of intelligence, nor an ignorance of her state rights and duties, submit to dictation in her own affairs, and, And such a state, too! It would have been capping the very pinnacle of the climax of absurdity, to yield to blustering fanatics, who had passed such acts and resolves as we have cited, and who had made the state republican almost an anti-slavery one, to the remotest sections of the Union. This reputation had preceded her emigrants to Kansas, and her mention or appeal to "*law-abiding* " citizens in another state, was almost indicative that she was conscious of having put the premium herself. It was a gross insult to Liberty bill, and of the insurrectionary resolves, tendering her readiness "to aid with her whole power any state or territory, in the support of Constitutional rights," according to her perverted construction of them. Missouri was not to be duped by the her very face while she was penning that appeal. Yes, tidings of these flagrant deeds and this random legislation had previously reached Missouri and the south, and excited their apprehensions, even before some of the emigrant companies had left the north streets, turbulent and insolent and vaunting, while on their way to Kansas. This indiscreet and officious policy has aroused southern suspicions, and it has been sustained by abolition abuse and interference within and without the halls of congress. The southern people have become very tender from so long goading and encroachment. An abolition emissary of notoriety had so aggravated them by his words, pen and deeds, nearly thirty years ago, that they almost craved his head, as the government does sometimes the head of a wolf, and offers a bounty therefor. And why? Because they regarded him as stirring up revolt and consequent massacre, among their slaves; and they deemed it a much less evil for one to die than for millions to be indirectly put to death by his manœuvres.

Again, in 1835, Gen. Jackson's message to congress said, "I must invite your attention to the painful excitement produced lif the south by attempts to circulate, through the mails, inflammatory appeals addressed to the passions of the slaves, in prints and in various sorts of publications, calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and to produce all the horrors of a servile war. I feel it my duty, therefore, to call the special attention of congress to the subject, and respectfully suggest the propriety of passing such a law as will prohibit, under severe penalties, the circulation, in the southern states, through the mail, of incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection. Now, no one can reasonably accuse old Hickory of cowardice, and of being frightened at a shadow or an imaginary phantom. Nor can he be charged with disingenuousness. To suppose a certain intelligence should inspire our own domestic animals—dogs, cows, oxen, &c., horses, &c.,—which are property by the same kind of law as slaves are, with a consciousness of their strength, the right to natural freedom and a natural death, and their ability to redress their wrongs, and then unbridled, and now dormant tendency to wreak them upon us and our children, should we not feel ten-er at the interposition? Do not our factory nabobs wince when the genuine ten hour law is brandished over their heads, and when their enslaved operatives resolve upon a "strike"? And yet this is only the purse. It does not en-langer life or health. The abolitionists produce similar effects upon the slaves; and they are regarded as reckless as we should regard an intelligence thus operating upon our domestic animals. We should not forget that a man's belief, even of an error, influences him just as potently as if the thing were actually true; and that severity of speech and denunciation rarely produce conviction.

Now, the whole tenor of this species of legislation, so grasping and restrictive, so aggressive and egotistical, indicates its paternity. It hesitates not to prefer false accusations against measures having an opposite and more generous tendency. Even the Nebraska act, with all its glorious features, has not escaped their calumny. There is some consolation, however, in knowing that a viper gnawing at its file, gnaws himself alone. The calumniated act proposed no rebellion, no sedition, no disorder. It asserts the rights of man, in accordance with the spirit of our institutions. Its essence has no connection with the Kansas disturbances. As well might one say that the Declaration of Independence and the subsequent war of the revolution occasioned the mobs which have since infested the various parts of this nation, or the robberies, murders, frauds, duels, and family quarrels, which daily occur, as to attribute the Kansas rebellion to the Nebraska act. And yet such is unblushingly charged against it. A false view of this national statute, this congressional champion of equal rights, a misapplication of its intended operation, a perverted representation of its features and tenor, may have possibly been instrumental in the conception of this and is not answerable for these extraneous abuse, any more than the horse is answerable for the saddle or the burden imposed on his back, nor is it any more originative of the disturbance than is the horse the author of his saddle.

The plain truth is, Nebraska act is stubbornly alleged, repeal the Missouri compromise. Neither does it aim to extend slavery; but liberty of choice and action among the people, who had been for some thirty years laboring under an imaginary restraint by that compromise. The legislative bodies have been superficially hitched to the salutary measure by an overheated and prejudiced imagination, for the very sake of making political capital. A presidential election is coming on. It is at hand—not five months as it was a year ago, it was predicted that another 1840 commotion would be attempted. That disgraceful whirlwind drove a large portion of the people to frenzy, by its Bacchanalian carousals, songs, labelled banners, blackguarding, and gross misrepresentations. The same legislative body which Ogle's was the prototype, emanated from congress, falsely impugning the President and our prominent measures, since adopted and universally approved, and accusing him of deeds over which he had no control.

SUMNER'S SPEECH.

And what is the case now? A studied and rehearsed senatorial speech is sent forth as a model for stump orators to copy all over the north; as a magazine for abolition editors and newspaper paragraphers from, which they can enlarge at pleasure, for it will stretch like India rubber; as a quiver of texts for abolition pulpits, abolition tracts, and abolition tongues. It is one of the political budgets for the campaign. Any one who will read the Nebraska bill, act, and speech dispassionately con over that octavo speech, mark its exasperating language, its vehement tone, its virulent comparisons, its defiant rhetoric, its incoherent logic, its reckless perversions, its harsh and chafing expressions, its passionate appeals, its bitter hyperbole, and interpreting that internal evidence. It is evidently an elaborate effort for political effect, and among other things for a reelection to the U S. senate. It is a special plea. All we ask is for the people to reflect.

Here we then to a cursory examination of that missile. It is ushered in by calling upon the president of the senate to redress a great transgression, which is afterwards styled a heinous crime. That crime is alleged to consist in the forcible introduction of slavery into Kansas. The alleged object of this introduction is to gain political power, which means to preserve a balance of power in the senate. This seems rather a slender reason, when we are repeatedly assured that the influx of population from the north will overwhelm slavery in the south can master or spare, and secure two northern senators—and when we are further told that Kansas has now a governor and legislature in favor of slavery, capable of electing two senators, were Kansas a state; and that the overwhelming majority is opposing her admission into the Union, at the risk of losing two favorable senators by an overpowering anti-slavery vote. The slave power is adjudged the criminal, while justice to Kansas demands the prostration of its influence. Why does the orator begin with slavery perpetual there, merely because of a temporary introlution, to be sanctioned or disallowed by any succeeding legislature hereafter? The original thirteen colonies once held slaves, but the institution failed from lack of them, and was gradually shrinking within a smaller compass, till the breeze of fanaticism interfered, and fanned the smouldering embers. The remedy proposed is to admit Kansas at once into the Union as a state. The speech is divided into three general heads,—the origin and extent of the crime,—its apologies,—and its true remedy. The orator seems to digress for the purpose of trying to implicate the President.

MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

The alleged overturn or repeal of a "time-honored prohibition," the Missouri compromise, by the Nebraska bill, is set down as "the first stage in the crime." It will be well to remember, in passing, that there are time-honored *sinners* as well as time-honored saints, time-honored *vices* as well as time-honored virtues. As to this prohibition, which came from the north, we simply say it was never of any valid force: first, because it was passed "without the least color of constitutional authority." No congress has a constitutional right to prohibit slavery or freedom in any state or territory. The right belongs to the territorial or state inhabitants, if it belongs anywhere. Secondly, because it was an unequal law or prohibition, imposing an unjust restriction on a part of the nation, while the north, after the congress of 1820, nor any other congress, has a right to bind any other than its own constituents. The territories are not fully represented in congress, and therefore are not its constituents. Fourthly, no congress can bind even its own constituents for a longer period than its legally prescribed term of years. Fifthly, because no congress can legislate positively so as to bind posterity inviolately, as that congress attempted. Sixthly, because the subject matter proper to compose the coming generations is beyond the province of any congress. Seventhly, because the word "forever" nullified what was perhaps intended for a compromise. Eighthly, because it would abrogate the rights guaranteed to the people by the treaty of 1803. All these fatal objections operated in full force long before the Nebraska act was dreamed of. Thus it appears that this supposed prohibition proved, instead of a "seven-fold shield," to be a seven-fold curse, or a political mirage. As the alleged overturn of this formidable shadow, then, a myriad of which could not form the materials of the germ of a substance; it was this that was the first stage in the crime! As we have already said, the compromise did not even profess to repeal that efficy of a prohibition,—the compromise. It simply declared a fact already established, that the compromise had been long before that time obliterated. A man to-day declaring that the sun rose on the first of January, 1856, with the same propriety, be accused of having caused it to rise. The alleged idea of "leaving all the other territory to await the judgment of another generation," is of no weight; for the congress of 1820 possessed no right to legislate for another generation, nor any territory they tried to clamp with the prohibition, nor for another congress; but, the restriction upon any part of the territory for a single moment beyond the constitutional existence of that congress was downright assumption, even had they constitutional authority to impose it only during their existence. When it undertook a perpetual restriction, it not only perpetrated an unconstitutionality, an inequality and injustice on some, if not all, parts of the Union, or its domain, but undertook a legislation absolutely void. It would not have been absurd had they added *Amen*, and instead of saying "forever prohibited," had said *forever Amen*, prohibited.

JEFFERSONIAN POLICY.

It is necessary with the view of making it a live state. Very well is it known and universally admitted that, in order to have certain directions obeyed promptly, or certain laws executed with fidelity, any one would select agents who are evidently friendly to those laws. It would be suicidal to appoint an enemy of those statutes, and in opposition to their measures, to enforce their observance. Gen. Washington would not have entrusted to a notorious royalist any important orders or instructions to be communicated to an American officer stationed at a distant post. The reason is obvious. We shall by-and-bye see that this is the true Jeffersonian policy. It is also well known that, on the subject of slavery in our country, the people are arrayed on diametrically opposite sides, as upon all other questions. The scriptural dictum, he that is not for us is against us, is applicable here. There are men among us who deny the validity of the constitution; others who deny the constitutionality of the fugitive slave law; still others who claim validity for the Missouri compromise, insist upon the right and duty of congress to restrict the internal affairs of the territories, while another class rages against the provisions of the Nebraska act. Now, the President makes oath that he will support the constitution and faithfully execute his office. Does this oath require him to apply, as it does, the test expected to conform to it. Would he so conform, did he appoint men avowedly opposed to the very laws he wished to have executed? It would be folly, and he would become a reproach and a laughing stock to do so. It would be a violation of his oath. Then there are but two main parties to draw from in this matter. Did he act judiciously or stolidly to appoint officers known to admit the validity of the constitution, of the fugitive slave law, and of the Nebraska act? Did he appoint men opposed to the validity of those important statutes, would he not have stultified himself? Having discharged his duty, according to the principles of common sense, he can afford to have false motives attributed to him by the abolitionists; for their very objections to his policy demonstrate them unfit for such offices. We pronounce false the assertion that "no man with the sentiments of Washington, Jefferson and Franklin, found any favor." All these worthies were supporters of the constitution, of the original fugitive slave law, and of the liberal principles involved in the Nebraska act; and offers entertaining or believed to entertain these sentiments, were appointed in Kansas. The alleged "complicity and copartnership of the President" in any conspiracy or unjustifiable proceeding, is a gross calumny. It had nothing to do with the compromise, nor with the introduction of slavery into Kansas.

The law made it incumbent on him to appoint the governor, secretary, judges, attorney and marshal in every state of the Union up appoints U. S. judges, district attorneys and U. S. marshals; for, they are national officers. So are they in Kansas. The usage of appointing all the functionaries named is as old as the time of Gen. Washington, who appointed a postmaster for the northwest territory, and one of Thos. Jefferson, who did the same for Louisiana, and of James Monroe, who commissioned one for Florida. If the course pursued, in this particular, by the Nebraska act, or by the President, be wrong, then the whole course of action on this point must be defective ever since the inauguration of Washington. These are the "auspices under which the "unconstitutional conspiracy proceeded."

SECRET SOCIETIES.

It is charged that "in advance of the Nebraska bill, secret societies were organized in Missouri, ostensibly to protect slaves from insurrection, and self-defensive associations and blue lodges in her western counties, *before any counter movement from the north.*" Were there not secret societies organized in New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and elsewhere, before the passage of the Nebraska bill of May 30, 1854, was enacted? And were not their ostensible purposes similar? Consult the know nothing records. And were not many of these lodges steeped to the brim in abolitionism? But, these secret societies were not authorized by the Nebraska act, nor more than by each law and mob law are authorized by the national constitution. Besides, all movements made in the north previously to these associations, could not, from the nature of the case, be *counter* movements; for, they were early in the field, and the first in organizing. The abolition forces have for years been professedly ready to encounter all that should come in their way. Their armor was buckled on when Missouri was admitted as a state, and long before. These blue lodges must have been the *counter* movements, if there were any. Look now at the charter of the Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts, with its five million capital, incorporated April 26, 1854, and her "resolves concerning the Nebraska act," passed February 20, 1855, and see the grand secret conclave of the senator from that prolific mother of corporations, how his election was brought about in 1851 by the freesoil horseman spurring the other parties, under a plausible pretence to consummate the deed, and you may form an inkling of the infernal plot which led to the formation of "self-defensive associations" in the state of Missouri. In the course of about a year from the commencement of its operation, the Emigrant Aid Society numbered fifty persons. If it do thus much in a green state, how much, think you, will it do in the dry or mature state? How the establishment of these Missouri lodges, insinuated to be belligerent in character, can contrast unfavorably with the above "aid and belief of citizens of Kansas" it always might be introduced into Kansas quietly," we cannot comprehend. If they expected to exercise what they deemed their rights in this matter, without molestation, and it is reasonable to suppose that they believe, we should they need self-defensive clubs?

But, we are told that the alleged "conspiracy," "—— harsh term to designate the exercise of people's legal rights under a national law,"—was unexpectedly baleful." Here again, we ask why call them self-defence. Was it to prepare for an *unexpected* emergency? This is hardly credible. If "the bill opened the territory to emigrants from every quarter," as the senator asserts, what evil has it done? Is not that a *certificate* of its value, and a fair testimonial of its impartiality? Then came the struggle for the "supremacy of numbers by the populous north, stung by a sharp sense of outrage." What outrage? Opening wide the doors for their own emigrants? Was it that simple act so outrageous for the south to enter a door open to all? Did not the law allow them to act at their pleasure about their plantation laborers and implements, as it did the north about their factory operatives and spindles? And such is the case with regard to Kansas, the subject by the south. And what law prohibits to them the enjoyment of their opinions? What right have we to attempt to control those sentiments? We cannot conscientiously admit, however, that "a supreme majority of numbers of right" is not supremacy of freedom," merely because they pour in from the north, unless freedom means abolitionism. If so, it was this active interference that instigated the disturbances. But, we cannot clearly see how the alleged "conspiracy was baleful," if, as the senator asserts, "slavery has been introduced into Kansas;" for, this achievement seems to be the senator's "consummation of the crime." Nor can we comprehend how the President was connected with the alleged Catiline and his band of ruffians; for, the senator represents him as declaring "the conduct of the emigrants far from justifying the illegal and reprehensible counter-movement which ensue," and which was, according to Mr Sumner, "the essential crime." At least, we have not yet encountered any evidence of his being *particeps criminis*. But, let us proceed.

Letters of correspondents, scraps from newspapers, oral communications from itinerant lecturers, or tales of travellers, bitter opponents to the present administration, and "unauthorized statements," constitute the testimony of the senator, which he rightly calls second-hand evidence. One of the witnesses, Gen. Pomeroy, has been at the north addressing audiences assembled under a call for those "opposed to the present national administration, and in favor of a repeal of the Nebraska act, and of restoring the Missouri compro-

sins." Such notices as these were posted within gunshot of the Bunker Hill monument, which was erected in honorable memory of the lamented Warren and his compatriots, and dedicated by our own Washington, in presence of the magnanimous LAFAYETTE, and thousands of various nations mingled with our own. Freesoilers and abolitionists responded to the call.

KANSAS ELECTION.

The disturbances are next detailed with serious unction, and the dates of their occurrence are given; but, neither the President, nor the Nebraska act, was responsible for that part of the alleged tragedy. The senator himself tells us that when our chief magistrate was assured of the violent proceedings in Kansas, he declared them "illegal and reprehensible." To make the matter more intelligible, we will give a brief outline of the same. The KANSAS Nebraska act was passed May 30, 1854, and the governor was commissioned under it June 29, 1854. He arrived in KANSAS October 6, 1854. A census taken, under his direction, at once announced a population of 8521 in the territory, and among the a 2,905 qualified voters. About a month afterwards, Nov. 29, 1854, by a regular proclamation, an election was held for a delegate to congress, and J. W. Whitfield was chosen by a vote of 2,258 against 575 for all other candidates. Not a breath of complaint was raised against this. Mark how near the aggregate, 2833 votes, is to the returned census. An election of judges to the territorial legislature took place March 30, 1855, after due notification had been issued. The governor gave the successful candidates certificates, withholding them from eleven whose returns indicated to him no choice, those alleged to be illegal. He certified the legal election of a majority in each branch—a business quorum. A new election followed, May 24, to fill vacancies. Three out of the original eleven were re-elected, and certificates were given to all the successful candidates at this second election. By proclamation, after three months delay, the legislature met July 2, and proceeded, like all other legislative assemblies, to judge the credentials of its own members. Four out of a committee of five, after close investigation, decided it to be May election was illegal, and its results should be reversed. A majority and a minority report were given by the committee on elections, and neither even alluded to any interference or to any armed men entering the territory during the election. In August, 1855, Gov. Reeder was dismissed for speculating unlawfully in lands. His messages contained no allusions to disturbances up to his dismissal. He recognized the validity of the legislature, organization, and questioned only the legality of the members' election, nor their authority to enact laws, if at a proper place they should hold their session. Thus he made *locality* a test of the validity of legislation,—a house or barn or village to be the legislative essence instead of mind.

FREESOIL REBELLION.

The territory being duly organized, and the governor dismissed, symptoms of rebellion began to peer forth. Under the indefinite signature of "many voters," was called a meeting for Aug. 14, 1855, at Lawrence, (named like the Lawrence in Massachusetts for the Boston Lawrence* family) to take measures for a convention preparatory to forming a state. The caucus thus held and resolved the germ of the subsequent troubles. The legislature had provided a meeting for Oct. 1, 1855, to ascertain people's views on the propriety of calling a convention. The "many voters" caucus appointed Sept. 19, 1855, for their convention at Topeka. Another convention assembled at Big Springs, Sept. 5, and resolved to act in concert with that for Sept. 19. Secret, oath-bound leagues were set on foot to aid in the revolution, by force. Some were forming or formed before any invasion from abroad alleged. The convention of one, which had held a meeting in Feb., 1855, was discovered in the mouth of a member. The Topeka convention assembled as expected, transacted their insurgent brain so, and dissolved. In accordance with the territorial legislature's act, Jan. 7, Whitfield was again, Oct. 1, 1855, elected to congress without opposition, by some 2,000 votes. By virtue of the Topeka assignment, A. H. Reeder was elected to congress, Oct. 9, 1855, without opposition, by no particular vote. Denver† came out as such, or as claiming his seat at Washington. Then ex-Gov. Reeder claimed the seat. For the first time, we now see him disclaiming the authority of the KANSAS legislature, which he had authoritatively recognized all the time he acted as governor. The struggles of dissolution increased so seriously that the civil authority became apparently inadequate to quell them; and the governor finally misled the President. He duly issued his proclamation, Feb. 11, 1856. And four days after that, Cols. Sumner and Lane were ordered to have the troops ready for the enforcement of the laws, for suppressing insurrection, and for repelling invasion, in case the governor should need them. That magistrate has been moderate and discreet in employing their aid. So has the President. Neither has been dilatory nor rash.

The senator, with an air of confidence, propounds the question, Why did Missourians go there armed? And when he comes to the clearing of the conditions, he says, "the rifle is the pioneer's companion." Why did the early settlers of the New England wilderness carry arms to market, to town meeting, and to church? Are Indians more desperate than fanatics? Might not their forefathers have set out with the "pilgrim's staff" to the polls and to the pew? Were they not peaceable in their habits? Say you that they meant to establish the white man's institutions on the soil, to the exclusion of the red man, and thereby caused the idea and violate the principle of popular sovereignty now contended for? We must remember that the abolitionists are said to be moving heaven and earth, and hesitating at no means, fair and foul, to render KANSAS a free state.‡ Rum, gunpowder, and trinkets were used among the Indians. We adduce these remarks as reasons which may be given, not as justifications of intervention, either armed or unarmed.

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What says the constitution on this point? "The President shall be commander-in-chief of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States"—art. 2, sec. 2. "Congress shall provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions"—art. 1, sec. 8. What says the provisionary law of congress? "Whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed in any state, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceeding, or by the powers vested in the marshals by this act, it shall be lawful for the President to call forth the militia of such state, or of any other state or states, as may be necessary to suppress such combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed; and the use of the militia may be continued until the expiration of thirty days after the commencement of the then next session of congress: Provided that, whenever it may be necessary in the judgment of the President to use the military force aforesaid, he shall forthwith, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, within a limited time"—Feb. 28, 1795. "In all cases of insurrection or obstruction to the laws, either of the United States, or of any individual state or territory, where it is lawful for the President to call forth the militia for the purpose of suppressing such insurrection, or of causing the laws to be duly executed, it shall be lawful for him to employ, for the same purposes, such part of the land or naval force of the United States as shall be judged necessary, *having first observed all the prerequisites of the law in that respect*"—March 3, 1807. One of the prerequisites alluded to, is the President's proclamation, which is not to be published till the combination is too powerful for the civil arm to suppress. And the President can only recognise such a fact when he is officially informed thereof. See U. S. constitution, last clause of art. 4, sec. 4.* We are aware of no such official communication in existence before that, which occasioned the proclamation of February 11, 1856, forbidding both internal and external interference in the domestic polity of KANSAS. In his annual message, Dec. 31, 1855, he avers that no acts had then occurred, so far as he knew, officially informed, "to justify the interposition of the federal executive."

The legislature was chosen an i organized; and any interference in that election, whether by outsiders or by the President, would be considered an usurpation. It would have been unconstitutional in every sense of the word. But, when he was officially notified of the imminent danger of resistance to the law, he ordered the militia in KANSAS to hold themselves in readiness to aid the civil authority, when properly called upon by the legislature, which occurred Jan. 15, only nine days before; another, Feb. 18. The conspiracy, so often alluded to by the senator, begins to develop itself in another quarter. Mr Seward's speech and this seem to have been concocted in concert. A studied determination to find fault with the President, whether he do nothing or do something, pervades them both; but his position is truly impregnable. He stands firm on the constitution, faithful to his inaugural oath, and impartially administers the militia act of 1795, which clearly see that he adopted the Washingtonian policy.

KANSAS LEGISLATION.

With the character of the territorial legislature, we have properly nought to do, as we must let its establishment. But, bedding each bitter comments thereon, it may not be irrelevant to consider some of them, as the masses, who are very not familiar with the *technalities* and chicanery of lawyers, may be deluded by a speech, or by articles of a mischief-like unsapicious. The successful competitors for the ascendancy, as in all legislatures, have passed laws by them deemed necessary for their circumstances. Had the other party succeeded, they would have enacted statutes to their liking, and the whole matter would rest there. Look at the personal liberty bill of Massachusetts, represented by Mr. Sumner, and at its hostile resolves. And then witness the legislative effort, at this session, to raise $20,000 for her children now in KANSAS, to aid a plea that the state must be legally warrant that expen liture. They must be of similar views with these legislators, thus to call forth their sympathy. And this Massachusetts legislature has just re enacted that infamous law, and passed a fresh group of resolves. Under it, a specimen slave code the emigrants would be likely to establish in KANSAS. On beholding the parallel between the offspring in the west and the p rent in the east, the classical senator might truly exclaim, *Par nobile fratrum*. Each is worthy of the other. Both alike is buried deep in abolition soil, while the trouble originates in the impatience of abolitionists to force a maturity, which they insist must eventually come, according to the common course of things. They was against nature.

Three acts are cited by the senator. One is severe on persons who deny the slaveholder his legal right. Why should offi ious people deny one a right, which would with machievous intent? Such laws affect none who attends to his own business. The severity of the law indicates the stringency of the circumstances, and abolition comments thereon self condemn the interference of those agitators; another in vasion whom alleged. Another is the election of one, which had held a meeting in Feb., 1855, was discovered in the mouth of a member. The Topeka convention assembled as expected, transacted their insurgent brain so, and dissolved. In accordance with the territorial legislature's act, Jan. 7, Whitfield was again, Oct. 1, 1855, elected to congress without opposition, by some 2,000 votes. By virtue of the Topeka assignment, A. H. Reeder was elected to congress, Oct. 9, 1855, without opposition, by no particular vote. Denver† came out as such, or as claiming his seat at Washington. Then ex-Gov. Reeder claimed the seat. For the first time, we now see him disclaiming the authority of the KANSAS legislature, which he had authoritatively recognized all the time he acted as governor. The struggles of dissolution increased so seriously that the civil authority became apparently inadequate to quell them; and the governor finally misled the President. He duly issued his proclamation, Feb. 11, 1856. And four days after that, Cols. Sumner and Lane were ordered to have the troops ready for the enforcement of the laws, for suppressing insurrection, and for repelling invasion, in case the governor should need them. That magistrate has been moderate and discreet in employing their aid. So has the President. Neither has been dilatory nor rash.

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* James Lawrence, of Boston, was treas. and Amos A. Lawrence, treasurer of the Massachusetts Kansas Aid Society.

† The United States shall, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened,) protect each state against domestic violence.

are detected and stand confessed before the people.

But, the charge is pushed still further by those abolition gentry. They insist, through their agent senator, that to "let the President's power alone, is to interfere is to confess our government a practical failure." According to this reasoning, before the law of March 8, 1807, died by the senator as the reservoir of this power, he virtually declares our government a failure. What Washington had two terms, Adams one term, and Jefferson nearly two terms, previous to its enactment. All these worthies labored under a delusion, and one of them was from Massachusetts, too! However great may be the defect discerned in our frame of government, he blames one attach to the President, who disharged his duties in strict conformity to the national laws.

The wild and reckless idea that our Chief Magistrate is obliged to listen to and to believe every colorated bubble that the credulity, prejudice, timidity, or fanaticism may circulate, and thereby keep the machine running about all over the country from one spot to another, digressing at every lo, here, and lo, there, like firemen at every sound fel alarm, whether false or not, is supremely ridiculous. And it is very strange that a senator, so completely stuffed with classical allusions, so very fon l of Demosthenes as to appropriate entire sentences of that orator, so versed in Roman lore, conspiracies and eloquence, had not heard of his moral application. He believe the President my hear of a rumored violation of the national laws, through whatever channel, by whatever interested busyroly or informer, he is to order out the troops; it is strange he did not allu le to the policy of Dionisius, the elder of Syracuse, who instituted a system of spies all over the empire, as the architectural ear of Dionysius, constructed by order of that crafty tyrant, to hear personally all secret whisperings. The senator's imputation reproaches the President for not copying those evil tyrants, and establishing the odious system of informers. The imputation is an unlegned eulogium. No, sir, the law of our Union is not quite so loose as that, nor so suggestive of tyranny and abuse. It is connected with the law of 1795, and says, that *where it is lawful* for him to call forth the militia;" and its closing injunction is, "*having first observed all the prerequisites of the law in that respect.*" Such a construction as the senator imposes upon it, would open the floodgates of our republic, that would open wide our national doors to treason much worse than the Catalinian conspiracy, subjecting the United States forces, land and naval, to be ordered away to the Pacific coast under the pretence of a formidable invasion from the north while the enemy was ravaging our unprotected Atlantic sea-board; or to the southern borders, that our Canadian frontier might be exposed. For not adopting the senator's peculiar views of the law, for not allowing the senator to be the virtual President, as he would be if the constitutional Mr Sumner instead of President Pierce, for not usurping unlaw power, and acting contrary to his own sound judgement, he is villified to a high degree. "Imbecility and idiocy" are harsh terms for senatorial dignity to employ towards a President. The United States senate chamber was not constituted as a soun ling-board to reverberate such indecorous and virulent expressions.

As to the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society's interference, being an alleged analogy, we allude to what has lready been said of Massachusetts legislation, and to the report of that society. We would say that the body of that enormous speculating Kraken is imbedded in the abolition soil of that state, as a simile is to be employed, and while its grasping claws are stretched out to fasten on the far west. It works under the auspices of a state whose whole congress delegation is freesoil in its entire texture, and in all its tendencies. A member of the corporation, at last chartered, is a leading member of congress now. And the Tribune almanac tells us that "the following companies have been and still are in active operation in assisting persons to settle in Kansas:—*American Settlement Company*, New York City. *New England Aid Company*, of Massachusetts, Gen. Pomeroy one of its conductors. It has promoted the creation of several towns, and considerably aided emigrants to Kansas. *New York Kansas League*, which has sent many persons thither. *Bostonp Settlement Company*, and the *Virginia Settlement Company*." The almanac omits mention of the *New England Emigration Company*, with its $50,000 capital. The Vegetarian Company has a subscribed capital of $22,503. So much for the external application to Kansas. They hail from too great distance to be called *border* ruffians.

THE REMEDIES.

The slurred remedies and the proposed remedy are the two outer-pieces of gramdling complaint and fault-finding. After lastly barking for executive and martial interposition, basely pronouncing the President dumb, and bantering him all he can, he whirls right about because the President "proposes no enforcement of violence to the laws of the Union, federal or local," and declares such an act "pusillanimous" and applies to that high officer's message the speech of king George III. in 1774. Mr Seward enumerated the grievances against that monarch as embodied in the declaration of independence, and applied them. We do not say that these two senators are conspirators; but, we do say that the conspirator Cataline they allude to was a senator of Rome. The senator underlakes finally to state the true remedy, the grand panacea—the immediate admission of KANSAS as a state." Yes, it must be *immediate* to be efficacious, to absolve the alleged crime. Garrison said, over thirty years ago, abolition of slavery must be *immediate*. It mattered not how moderation was recommended, immediate emancipation was the cry. And Moloch of *impatience* must be pacified, and then the "joyful metamorphosis" is gurranted. Then will the alleged "usurpation be peacefully suppressed." And then, we might add, would the triumph of the abolitionists, with the reneal of the fugitive slave law be complete over the sovereignty of the Union and its constitution. Then would the personal liberty bill label the dome of the KANSAS state house, inditing resolves would emanate from her legislature dictating the *immediate* reclamation of the Missouri Compromise, white livid slavery, with its money making spindles, would be introduced, and freedom crushing corporations would enchain the people.

Now, it seems that long before this proposition, the President, by special message to congress in February, submitted the following: "that when the inhabitants of KANSAS may desire it, and shall be of sufficient numbers to constitute a state, a convention of delegates duly elected by the qualified voters shall assemble to frame a constitution; and thus prepare, through regular and lawful means, for its admission into the Union as a state. I respectfully recommend the enactment of a law to that effect." In compliance with this, a bill was reported March 12, by the committee, to carry out the recommendation. This authorized the calling a constitutional convention as soon as the KANSAS population should prove to be 93,420,—the number required for the present ratio of representation for a member of congress. A dispassionate believer in the asserted anti-slavery population of the north, and its tendency to emigrate westward, aided by the pumping of numerous corporation engines, will pronounce this a most favorable to northern interests and views. Both the message and the bill are scouted and lampooned by the senator. It is not rallied enough for his and his. It does not propose to allow the northern abolitionist of sovereign states to "force their peculiar institutions" guarded by state right principles. It is not instantaneous enough for his impatience. Did you never see a small, headstrong child rage terribly, and beat its head against the floor or wall, because its perilous demands were not satisfied immediately?

The bill is denounced as "the remedy of injustice and civil war." Baron Munchausen is classically alluded to in connection therewith. But, he unwittingly squeezes out one true comparison, provided "the bill sets up a usurpation and bids Kansas to bow before it." He adds, "as the Austrian tyrant set up his cap in the Swiss market place." Now, this story of Gessler, Tell, and the apple is a regular Baron Munchausen myth. A writer, who lived more than a century before Tell was born, related the same story of an archer of Denmark, named Toko; and that writer transferred it from much higher antiquity. Even Herod, from whom Gessler was deduced, was said to have been killed by Toko in A. D. 981; and the story, at best a fable, is truncated to a much earlier date than even the tenth century. There is no real imputation, after all, in the comparison. But it holds true; for the alleged usurpation is quite as ludicrous as the fabulous tale of the Austrian tyrant and the Swiss archer.

BASES OF ADMISSION.

The reason why 93,420 inhabitants are the required basis is a sound one; it precludes all possibility of disproportion between the number of voters. If Maine on admitted on "an equal footing with the other states," none of them can justly find fault. None but a fanatic or a bitter, insatiable opponent would expect or propose an admission on an unequal footing. No representative, for instance, from Massachusetts or Ohio or Maine, by a smaller constituency than that named in the bill. Ohio, when our population was less than it now is, the basis was less. When the Union was formed, it was 33,000; but, each state, however small, was constitutionally entitled to one representative, at least, and to two senators. The ratio is varied with the population. As a dollar sometimes represents, in value, fourteen pounds of flour, and at other times, when the article is more plenty, it represents only a few pounds, so the people were few, a proportionately small number were adequate to furnish a representative, while a more numerous population required him to be the deputy of a larger constituency. In 1825, the basis was 40,000; in 1835, when the ratio was applied over six years before, was admitted, the basis was 70,000. She now numbers nearly 100,000. The rate now is 93,420. These are regulated by a general law, applying alike all over the states. Delaware has but one of the original thirteen. Would them be just to allow a superiority or kind of superiority over a state? a minor over a citizen? Years as well as people are reckoned by numbers. To secure the same equal privilege to the territory as to a state, is the reasonable demand. And, as to the precise nature of the bill, so captiously complained of. It matters not what may have been the requisite quota, years ago; nor what kind of laws each congress passed. Unless they were sound and equal, the sun could not rise upon them. Would they were alien and sedition laws, and as Jackson did against the United States Bank. We regard KANSAS as she is now, and the basis as it is now. On the argument adduced that some other states have not a population equal to the basis, we say, that they have not a representative, we ask what justice would there be to allow a New York or Indiana congressional district two representatives, because their present population would have entitled them to two, in 1825, when the ratio was 40,000? Is it generating bad blood for the praised value of a representative, and we have ours. They had no right to legislate for us.

After sneering at the idea of the census being taken by the authority of the legislature composed of settlers and citizens of KANSAS, what does the senator propose as a substitute? He would have "*a prudent* authority" consulted. And what, think you, and where, is that prudent authority? It is no less than "the Boston Daily Advertiser," published within a few rods of the senator's state-house, where the legislature held their sessions, and where they passed those fire-brand laws and resolves, incorporated the speculating companies for the west and KANSAS, and elected Messrs Sumner and Wilson to congress. Yes, such a two-thousand miles to insult the citizens of KANSAS, by lugging in an estimate of a new paper, whose editors have nothing to do with the legislation of that territory; by disallowing them the right and ability to determine their own census; and to resist the adoption of a national bill passed by congress. That is ultraism, literally and essentially. It is not only going beyond the borders of KANSAS, for intermeddlers, but beyond everything. And all this, he says, "in the absence of any recent census." Such a work is recommended as the basis for admission. He conjectures there are 50,000 people, while the Boston newspaper estimates them at 60,000. On these conjectures, he would insist upon its immediate admission. Such is the "prudent" authority of the senator, when he speaks of "rifles as the pioneer's companion," and styles the pledged proposition to have them taken away "the remedy of folly," to call them *Sharpe's* rifles, and instead of saying "under God," say under Mr Sharpe.

OPINIONS OF THE SPEECH.

Thus have we finished our brief review of the vituperative and reckless electioneering bulget,—a speech which has exhausted the vocabulary of harsh and irritating epithets. The senator says "I would go further, if language could further go," invocation of regarding the words of the wise man, "A soft answer turns away wrath, but grievous words stir up anger." We must confess that in the performance of illiberal principle

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tions have been the other way,—his previous politics, his family connexions, his education, his teachers at school, in college and in the lawyer's office, his associates in the senate, his habits of life, where a democratic governor is and has been regarded as a political anomaly,—should be very profoundly versed in the true democratic doctrines, or should deem the democratic principle equal to his standard of dignity. It is difficult for the senator to descend to what he does not comprehend. It is no cause for astonishment, if we reflect, that such a person should deliberately pronounce an act, advocating and securing equal rights to the people, a swindle. It is no cause for surprise at the conduct of the many, it may actually appear to be a swindle, especially if the New York Tribune first applied the term. Nor is it any matter for surprise, that, at the conclusion of such a ferocious philippic, he should recommend the Washington policy of Mr Sumner's effort as inconsistent with his previous tenor and spirit. The senator's speech, like that of the mouth of even the prudent and cautious ex-Governor Boutwell, while within the very precincts of the state house. A free state, in the abolition acceptation of the term, means a state free to the operatives in factories, free to speculators in land, free to northern interference, free to Sharpe's rifles, free to Massachusetts corporations—in fine, a state free and easy.

In short, we cannot but pause to ask why did not these peace-loving emigrants, if they sincerely desired to found a free state, settle themselves with the inhabitants of Nebraska? That territory was organized by the same congressional act. It has its governor and its laws. The southern border of that territory is as good as the northern border of its twin-sister; and the area of that marginal strip from Kansas up to the latitude of the northern line of Missouri, would accommodate four or five million people. It then adjoins Iowa with its 800,000 population, for 150 miles. All they need, to make it a state, is 93,420 inhabitants. Its main body is far above the latitude of the slave states. If the abolitionists would only settle themselves in Kansas as they claim, the requisite number for a congressional representative could have been easily made up in Nebraska, by adding the two populations together, and they would have been better able to resist any invasion, actual or alleged. Thus could they have been a state, with their two non-slaveholding senators and a representative. Then if the south is so inefficient in stocking a territory with inhabitants, before these had re ched 93,420, northern emigration, backed up by the already established state of Nebraska and of Iowa, would have very soon given them an overwhelming abundance for the purpose of procuring the admission of Kansas. And as the senator seems fond of inferring motives from conduct, we respectfully ask if it is reasonable to suppose that the abolitionists were constituted by grace and nature alone, considering what we have advanced above? Every thing is quiet in the upper territory—without invasions and disturbance. No, the fact is too eloquent to be dumb. It betrays the motive; for it is to be seen belonging to the palpable fact, that England sent forth the shrill blasts of her abolition trumpets before Missouri brought her opposing cannon into the field. It was an expedition to forestal every body else in securing for themselves an I their monopolies the land of Canaan. And it is by comparing one all about the *ancient* expedition to that valley* promised land.

GENEALOGY OF THE SPEECH AND OF BLACK REPUBLICANISM.

Now for the genealogical and hereditary features of the budgot. While the senator was lauling Massachusetts for the noble stand she took in the revolution, he should have remembered that Virginia, the Carolinas, the whole south were a unit with us, and glorious Georgia confirmed their part,—the Washington, the father of his country; Jefferson, the intrepid author of our Declaration of Independence; Madison, the penman of the Constitution; were from that quarter. He should have remembered that when that same senator was declaiming against the Union, and still the patriot republican, this very Massachusetts, in both branches of her legislature, approved and eulogised the exclusive and anti-republican policy of John Adams, when President, and passed resolves of New England Federalism, that latter was called "a mad system of destruction." So far did they and their party constituents carry their opposition, that her than acting governor felt constrained to remind them, in his message, that if their "dictated measures were adopted by congress, one state would have obtained a disastrous triumph over the United States, would have conquered the Union, prostrated its government, and trampled under foot the last reserve of national power. Could the opposition prevail, a part would be left a helpless wreck and our strength would be scattered to the winds. As a nation we should perish, as freemen be lost." He felt obliged to remind them of the necessity of absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority as the vital principle of republics, and of the awful consequences resulting from a domination of a minority, which might soon shrink its already inadequate numbers into an oligarchy, and thus proceed straight forward on the road to monarchy. For, when any minority is allowed to control the majority, contrary to the diminishing compass of that minority, even before it shall dwindle away to unity, and let in a monarch to set up his own single-handed authority?

The senator should not forget that, when he and Mr Seward attempt to parallel the policy of President Pierce with that of king George III towards the colonies, that Massachusetts legislature of 1809, compelled a grand, black cockade federalists, compared the then republican party of Jefferson to a similar standard. They declared "the prohibitions by the strong arm of royal power in 1774," applicable to the Jeffersonian measures; and sneeringly applied the maxim, "The king can do no wrong." He should not omit to mention that the federalists on their legislative committee, at that time, cited the very law of February 28, 1795, which Mr Sumner cites, touching the President and the militia, and insisted that "the President cannot *legally* camp by the militia, till they have been called forth in the mode prescribed by congress." They also cited the Pennsylvania insurrection of 1794, and lauded the course of Washing on, who was then chief magistrate, because he patiently waited till "the insurgents finally perpetrated acts of treason, by open and overt acts of levying war against the United States. President Washington then *proceeded most scrupulously*," said they, "in conformity to the act of congress then in force." "This is the law," said Gen. Maltby, the chairman of the committee, "by which the President is empowered to call forth the militia, and by which he is bound *always to publish his proclamation* before he issues his orders, and never to do this, till the combination is too powerful to be suppressed by the civil authority." Another member, Sergent of Boston, spoke, and detailed Washington's course. "After the facts of the insurrection had been duly certified by the proper officer, President Washington issued his proclamation. The government of Pennsylvania issued one on the same day, and recognizing the President's. At the request of the President, measures were taken by certain states to be fully embodied. He sent a message to Gov. Lee, the commander-in-chief, that *the essential principles of the government confine the province of the military on such occasions*, to combat and subdue *all who may be found in arms* against the national will and

...ressed Mormons — we are apt to regard the feder...ating outcry of alarm as groundless and unworthy of notice. According to them, Jefferson ruined the country, Madison did the same, Jackson did no better, neither did Polk, and finally, Pierce is carrying out the same policy of ruin, which proves to be...ional prosperity. Indeed, if we may identify or know men by their fruits, the federalists of 1809 very much resemble those of 1856. The latter appear to be lineal descendents of the former. Thus have their genealogical features traced to an unmistakable source. But pre cognoscit will avoid noticing a salutary remark in the address put forth to the people by that legislature of federalists. They remarked "the dangers incident to an habitual interference of the state legislatures in the great concerns of the nation." It is not such danger as great as it was then asserted to be by the very persons who were habitually interfering? We commend this suggestion to the notice of our present intermeddling Massachusetts legislature. And to this we add another extract from the same address, which, if heeded, would give dignity to the suggestions of impatience and discontent, proceeding from partial and interested sources, will undertake to decide upon questions exclusively of national cognizance, disturbance and confusion must ensue to the peace of the general and state governments; and *such conflicts, when they become frequent, can terminate only in a* DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION."

That legislature commenced its session January 26, 1809, and resolved in March. Governor Sullivan having deceased, the lieut. governor delivered the message. Each branch made a pungent reply to it. Three various reports were made by as many one-sided committees. Numerous speeches and spoutings were delivered by numerous members. A remonstrance was despatched *at* congress And finally, a flaming address was issued to the people. All these passed through their several stages, by the same body, in less time than the whale-devouring Jonah: and the whole is a monument for destructive, was high-pressure federalism.

We have now identified "the dreadful crime of all crimes," with a "counter-movement" provoked by abolition resistance. "The first stage in the crime" proves to have been a highly illumined political harage, hailed as "the fabric of a vision." The gratuitous effort to find fault with the organization, authenticated by the rebel ex-governor and rebel delegate to congress, and to put the Kansas inhabitants under the abolition surveillance of Massachusetts, demonstrates to be the work of the real authors, and their resolving legislature to represent king George III dissatisfied with the condition of things in his distant colony or territory. The proposed remedy applied, would subvert the principle of equality, allow a meagre majority to rule, and arouse the nation to arms. And as the issue of the next election is between friends of the Union and disunionists, it had far better be decided by the peaceful ballot.

TAXES FOR THE CLERGY.

In closing, we would recall to mind once more that striking parallel which occurred under the administration of Jefferson, and applicable to the condition of things under the administration now in power. The ecclesiastics were then in great trepidation. They fermented like bitter or sour beer, and the patrons of their congregations concealed the Bible for safety. But we do think that certain portions of Mr Sumner's speech should remind them of the significant lines of Pope:—

"There dwelt a rebellious *Logic*, gagged and bound, There, stripped, fair *Rhetoric* languished on the ground; His blunted arms by *Sophistry* are borne, And shameless *Billingsgate* his robes adorn."

And we also observe in its vituperative tenor, a prolific suggestion of appropriate texts for several theologico-political discourses, such as, "the tongue is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison." "The tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity." "If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man, and able also to bridle his whole body." "that is, capable of self-government." "The tongue setteth on fire the course of nature; and it is set on fire of hell." See James, c. iii, v. 2, 6, 8. "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." Acts, xxiii, 5. Never was there a more golden opportunity for the clergy, and especially as they have been appointed by the Massachusets legislature, as well as for those three thousand who memorialized the United States senate on the Nebraska bill, to inculcate wholesome doctrines to their hearers

Above all, may we take a steadfast stand in behalf of liberal principles, and exert our utmost endeavors to support the constitution, obey the laws, respect our magistrates, and preserve the Union. Said the liberty loving Washington, "The UNITY of government, which constitutes you one people, is dear to you. It is justly so; for it is the MAINSPRING in the edifice of your real INDEPENDENCE; the support of your tranquility at home—your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands." Rally, then, citizens of the United States, as one man around the standard planted in a blood-bought soil by patriots of former days, labor for your own and for the common welfare, and let your significant watchword be Buchanan and Breckinridge.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION.

LETTER FROM THE HON. WM. C. RIVES.

Castle Hill, Va., June 10, 1856.

My Dear Sir—I agree with you that the present condition of affairs is such as to awaken serious solicitude and call for the best reflections of patriotic men of all parties, whether in or out of public life. Sections and factions are so much excited against each other, and public feeling has become so much heated with these controversies, mainly of their own creation, as well as by their personal quarrels, that the only appeal now seems to be to the calm good sense and good feelings which are always to be found in the virtuous and intelligent masses of the people.

My observation of public affairs for more than the third of a century has satisfied me that the contentions which have come to threaten the dissolution of the country, and more than once brought its institutions into peril, have been gotten up by politicians for party ends, not only without the concurrence, but against the wishes and settled sentiments of the great body of the people. Let the people, then, in their rightful sovereignty and without being trammelled by party leaders or party organizations, take command only of their own cool and unimpassioned judgments, and interpose the blended voice of reason and authority to *command the peace* between angry and excited factions. Which better constitutes a republican form, the form of government delivered to us by the wisdom of our ancestors, in which the *public voice and the public interest* make the supreme law—distinguishing it from those spurious forms which, with a specious show of order by a cunningly devised machinery, have ever had the effect of transferring the legitimate power of the people into the hands of a few interested party managers.

In regard to their deplorable strife which has stained our border with fraternal bloodshed in civil strife and desecrated the capitol by a licentious grossness of speech and scenes of personal violence, which bring shame on the cause of representative government, the sober masses of the people in every portion of the Union, I am persuaded, look upon them with stern disapprobation. They are disgusted with mere physical force for the peaceful authority of the laws, and the coarseness of insulting denunciation for the dignity of rational and persuasive argument, they so far assume the air of disorganizers and enemies of civil society itself; and, unless some means can be found of arresting this unhappy commencement of intestine troubles, we have already entered upon a career of violence, which, if not soon checked, must speedily terminate a violent disruption of the Union, with all its train of disastrous consequences to ourselves and to the world.

Fortunately, means of correction, and those of the highest efficacy, do exist. The remedy is in the hands of the independent and uncorrupted masses of the people. *They* have a direct and paramount interest in the meetings in every part of the country, to the north and to the south, without regard to temporary and subordinate party distinction; let them frown down factions and revolutionary and personal violence in all its forms; let them set their faces against all recruiting or subornation of men, by whatsoever name, to go to Kansas to settle, with Sharpe's rifle, or the musket, or the bowie knife, a question of local domestic policy which rightfully and exclusively belongs to the free and sovereign decision of the *bona fide* inhabitants of the territory, when they are duly qualified to form a constitution of state government for themselves. In the mean time, let the government of the Union be called upon to exert all its constitutional powers whether legislative, executive, or judicial, to repress civil war, not merely in its overt acts, but in its incipient and preparatory movements. In short, let good citizens everywhere, separately and collectively, justify by their conduct and their language in upholding the cause of the public peace and the Union, what was so well said of our political system by one of the fathers of the republic, that, in a moral sense at least, it is the duty of every man to support it, and every man will, at the call of the law, fly to the standard of the law, and meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern."

Such, my dear sir, I trust is common ground, broad and firm enough on which sound patriots and sober men, both at the north and at the south, can stand shoulder to shoulder in a united and fraternal defence of the country. It is ground on which you have already nobly planted yourself in your admirable letter to the Boston Kansas meeting, and where many of your fellow citizens have already preceded you, will, I am persuaded, soon be merged in a common sentiment of loyalty to the Union, on the basis of equal rights in all its members, and a frank and cordial determination to live up to the constitution in all its requirements.

The repeal of the Missouri compromise, which rendered the Kansas and Nebraska bill so unfortunate in the form in which it was at first asked for at the time by the people of the south or their representatives in congress. It was a measure brought forward, and, if I mistake not, largely sustained, from the north, by that large majority of the south who seek has always believed, from the true spirit and sound construction of the constitution, which had withheld from congress any power, by a geographical line of discrimination or otherwise, to impose a restriction on property in the territories either while remaining in their territorial condition or coming into the Union as states, when the proposition was made from another quarter of the Union to establish a discrimination believed to be both unconstitutional and injurious to the just equality of the states, the south could not but accept and confidently sustain it by its vote. The repeal of that act has left the law where it was before, and has left us to learn to the principles of the constitution, after a temporary and forced deviation from them, the south can never agree to give it up.

Under these circumstances of the case, the Constitution and the Union at the north will, I am sure, be disposed to look at this great question of organic law, involving the equal rights and mutual harmony of the two great sections of the Union, in the light of the calm lights of reason, truth, and original plighted faith. Was the Missouri compromise a derogation from the principles of the constitution, and without any warrant in the original letter or spirit of the compact of union between the states, as the south has always contended and still believes? If it was, then surely all just men will say it ought sooner or later to have been repealed; and, the repeal having been made, that repeal should now stand. We invite our friends and brethren of the north to a candid and dispassionate revision of this paramount question of constitutional right, from the proper point of view

Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

SUNDAY MORNING.....JULY 6

General Persifer F. Smith.

This officer has been ordered to Kansas to take command of the military stationed in that Territory. A more judicious appointment could not have been made. General Smith is a Pennsylvanian by birth, the son of a distinguished citizen of that State, who was once President of the Bank of the United States. With a fair education and excellent natural gifts he settled in Louisiana thirty years ago, and soon took a prominent part in the public affairs of that State. He was always remarkable for tact, judgment, sound sense, general intelligence and cool determination. A passion for military life alone prevented his attaining the highest civil honors. He has, however, filled several judicial and political posts in the State with great credit and success. At the breaking out of the Mexican War, when the news arrived that General Taylor was in imminent peril of being surrounded by a greatly superior force, General Smith raised in the city of New Orleans a brigade of six regiments, with which he repaired to the Rio Grande, and by his timely arrival made the position of General Taylor secure, and enabled him to prosecute his advance into the enemy's country.

Appointed a Brigadier General, General Smith joined the army of General Scott, and performed the most efficient and brilliant services in the campaigns in the valley of Mexico. He was the hero of the very decisive battle of Contreras, the most brilliant exploit, viewed strategetically, of the whole campaign, and acted as one of the commissioners of the armistice between the two armies. On the organization of the regiment of mountain riflemen, General Smith was appointed its Colonel, with John C. Fremont as Lieutenant-Colonel. This is at present his lineal rank, though he has always commanded a brigade, having so acted in California, in the commencement of the organization of that country; and, also, more recently in the western part of Texas, where continual Indian disturbances have required the utmost vigilance and promptitude on the part of our military.

General Smith is, of all other officers of our army, the very one to discharge with success the delicate and difficult duties which will devolve upon the commander of the troops of the United States in Kansas. He is a lawyer, fully acquainted with the Constitution and laws of the country—perfectly versed in those nice distinctions between civil and military authority which the commander of the Federal troops in Kansas will be required to keep constantly in view; and, at the same time, as an officer, he is prompt, decisive, cool and courageous. General Smith has never been a politician—is entirely free from sectional or other bias, and will perform his duty with firmness, fidelity and intelligence. With such a man to command the troops and to counsel those who may be placed in the high civil offices of Kansas, quiet and prosperity will soon be restored to that unfortunate Territory.

[From the Nashville Union, July 6.]

Public Meeting at Chattanooga—Murder of Tennesseeans by the Abolitionists.

We published a few days since an account of the atrocious murder of Mr. Doyle and his two sons, in the Territory of Kansas, by a party of Silliman and *New England clergy* assassins. The murdered man and his family were originally from Knox County, Tennessee, but more recently from Chattanooga, where they resided for a number of years, esteemed alike for their honesty and industry. It will be remembered that they were dragged from their beds at night, and after being put to death their bodies were mutilated by cutting off their arms, fingers, laying open their heads and stabbing them in various places. The only offense committed by Mr. Doyle against these Black-Republican emissaries of Silliman and the Northern clergy was that he was born upon Southern soil.

We give below the proceedings of a large meeting of the citizens of Chattanooga, to raise means for the relief of the survivors of the family, consisting of a wife and five small children. What a contrast is presented between the objects of the two public meetings which have a reference to this bloody tragedy! In the North, a meeting is held in a church, dedicated to the service of Almighty God, where Professor Silliman and New England clergymen subscribe Sharp's rifles to be placed in the hands of assassins to murder Southerners in Kansas. The murderers execute their commissions, and are ready to bear back the bloody trophies of their crime. Another meeting is held in the South—not in a church, but in a market-house—not attended by clergymen, but by the citizens, where a subscription in money is raised to relieve the necessities of the wretched widow and her five orphan children. Upon which of these meetings will the smiles of Heaven rest? Black-Republicanism preaches in the North that the clergymen were actuated by pure and high and holy motives, while no doubt the clergy there would regard the subscription by the citizens as of doubtful morality.

[From the Chattanooga Gazette.]

MURDER OF JAMES P. DOYLE AND HIS TWO SONS IN KANSAS.—In pursuance of a public call, a large proportion of the citizens of Chattanooga assembled at the market-house on the evening of the 27th of June, for the purpose of taking such action as they might deem advisable in relation to the recent murder of J. P. Doyle and his two sons, formerly citizens of this place.

The meeting was organized by calling to the chair Captain William Williams, and appointing W. L. Rogers, Secretary.

The Chairman explained, in a few pertinent remarks, the object of the meeting.

J. L. Hopkins, Esq., then introduced the following preamble and resolutions, which he supported in a short, effective speech:

WHEREAS, James P. Doyle, a native of Knox County, in this State, and for many years a resident of this place, a man of moderate means, and not a slaveholder, actuated by a desire to secure for himself and family a permanent home in the West, and without the stimulation of "Southern aid," as a legitimate emigrant, without reference to or connection with any political question whatever, together with his family, removed in the fall of 1855 to Kansas, located his claim and commenced its improvement; and

WHEREAS, We have received intelligence that while in the peaceful prosecution of his agricultural pursuits, at home, in the bosom of his family, he, with his two eldest sons, William and Drury, for no crime save the fact of his Southern birth and an unwillingness to place himself and family upon an equality with the negro race, were, by the hired assassins of Northern Emigrant Aid Societies, armed for the hellish purpose by Northern clergymen, at the dead hour of night torn from an imploring wife and mother and brutally murdered. Therefore,

Resolved, That the survivors of poor Doyle's family—his wife and five almost helpless children—deprived of their only support, in the midst of strangers, unsustained in the midst of their overwhelming calamity by any kindred hand—we tender our heartfelt sympathy.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the Chairman, to obtain contributions for the relief of Mrs. Doyle and her children.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to make such further investigations, and report such further action as justice to the living and the dead may seem to require.

Addresses were made by several other gentlemen, and the preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Before the meeting adjourned a handsome sum was received by the Committee on Contributions.

WM. WILLIAMS, Chairman.

W. L. ROGERS, Secretary.

Sunday Gazette.

G. C. McWHORTER & J. J. JONES,
PROPRIETORS.

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE PARISH.

SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 6, 1856.

KANSAS DIFFICULTIES.

We have been handed a letter from a gentleman in Kansas to a friend in this city, from which we make the following extracts. The writer is well known to us, and his statements in regard to "affairs in Kansas," may be relied upon as correct in every particular:

"In ten days we have traveled the whole central portion of this Territory, disarming and disbanding the two parties, pro and anti-slavery. The country, instead of presenting the appearance which the Creator intended it should, looks more like an immense camp, or rather did look so, for we have compelled the Missourians to fall back into the State, and have disarmed all the Free State parties.

There are many small parties, made up from both factions, who are carrying on a most terrible round of murders and robberies. These are composed of men who are scoundrels by nature, and have no interest in the political discussion going on here, but are taking advantage of these disturbances to carry out their outrageous proceedings. We found, two days since, four dead bodies, most brutally murdered, and yesterday found another hung up in a woods close to our camp.

The men sent here from Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Alabama are in a most destitute condition, and are compelled to steal to enable them to live; many of the parties are breaking up and leaving to find employment elsewhere. If the South will send bona fide settlers, and provide them with means to commence farming, they might make this a slave State; but it will not be done by sending (as all are) armed parties, for that disgusts the good settlers of both parties, and conflicts directly with the Governor's proclamation. This duty is exceedingly unpleasant to the army; but there is no doubt that their mission now is one of mercy. Both parties are violent in their abuse of Col. Sumner, which is probably the best evidence of his operations being correct. I will try and keep you informed as to events transpiring here, but do not believe one word that is telegraphed from Kansas Territory. The most unfounded stories are afloat, and I have come to the conclusion, that nothing can be believed, and one is almost disposed to doubt what he sees."

THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS:

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 7, 1856.

A SHARP'S RIFLE.—We Saturday saw a Sharp's rifle and upon the breach was a brass plate bearing the following inscription "presented by the ladies of Haverhill, Massachusetts, to the ladies of Lawrence, K. T, April 1856." It might be supposed that this warlike and gallant testimonial was in the hands of some gallant adventurer charged with a chivalrous commission, a gun-powder death-dealing instrument from the fair of Massachusetts to the beauties of Lawrence.

But such was not the fact: on the contrary the "Beecher Bible" was lying quietly on the counter of Dimick's, where it had been sold, actually bartered away for money; the Massachusetts knight had transferred the token for a small price, and was on his way back. It was not expected that the Lawrence ladies would use the article in question, but then there is a sentiment conveyed by the inscription itself which made the bearer an honorable trustee of a woman's gift, which he was expected to exercise. It was significant of bloody and gaping wounds in the bodies of "Border Ruffians," sanctified by a savage token from the women of the North to their sisters of the North West. There is a sentiment of chivalry even among the rudest and most barbarous; the bull baiters of Spain have their rules which no gallant gentleman dare transgress; a Bayard would have starved, before he would have pawned his sword, the gift of his sovereign or his mistress, for money. But sentiment does not reach so high a standard now a days, and this Massachusetts hero in his eagerness to "raise the wind" forgot even the delicate duty of tearing the inscription from the gun placed in his hands by the ladies. Instead of flashing in the sunlight among the Abolition hosts upon the plains of Kansas, it is an article of merchandize and traffic at a Main street house, bought by Dimick, and will be by him sold again.

"Sic transit gloria," Sharp's rifle.

PUBLIC MEETING.

Under this head the last Alton Courier announces that there will be a meeting at the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railroad depot, on the evening of the Fourth, to "consider the recent outrages upon citizens of Illinois," &c. If by the term "citizens of Illinois" is meant the Chicago renegades who recently returned, we presume that the great mass of Illinoisans will not feel themselves complimented by being associated in such company. This worthless bacchanalian scum of the Lake city has even turned the stomachs of the Black Republican press, not only in Illinois but other States, who have not hesitated to denounce them with the most opprobrious epithets.

We have not heard the result of this meeting, but will hazard the "guess" that it was a fizzle wanting both in dignity and decency. The people of Illinois no matter to what party they belong, will never lend themselves to, endorse the character of this Chicago crew.

THE WORK OF IMPOSTURE.—In Detroit, as was done in Chicago, a very large subscription was made to aid the Kansas traitors. In the published list appeared the following names:

Z. Chandler, $10,000; E. B. Ward, $10,000; Duncan Stewart, $2 000; Shubael Conant, $1,000; S. S. Barnard, $1,000; Chas. Merrill, $1 000.

Z. Chandler and his associates have been rewarded by the plaudits of all their fellow traitors in the Union. But the truth has got out. These gentlemen intended no real subscription: they do not contribute one dime for the "cause;" they allowed the use of their names as "decoys," that other men might be humbugged into paying money. The bait having caught other fish, who have been cooked out of their money, Chandler and his associates back down. We have no doubt the same game was played in this city.—[Chicago News.

FROM NEBRASKA.

OMAHA CITY, NEBRASKA TERRITORY,
June 28, 1856.

The vexed questions which have so convulsed her sister Territory, Kansas, have never disturbed the tranquility of Nebraska. Quietly and steadily the Territorial Government has discharged its functions: no one has questioned its authority, but a ready and prompt obedience is given to all its decrees by every citizen. This fact proves that the troubles in Kansas have not grown out of any peculiarities or defects in the organic law, as its enemies are fond of charging, but are attributable wholly to the unauthorized and impertinent interference of Emigrant Aid Societies, and the fanatical and treasonable doctrines of their emissaries. Popular sovereignty in Nebraska is working to a charm, and under its benificent sway she will, in due course of time, come forward to claim her place in the array of States.

I shall visit most of the larger settlements of the Territory on leaving here, and of these I will endeavor to give you a full description hereafter.

MISSOURI.

For the Republican.

The first Monday in August is fast approaching, the day the citizens of St. Louis county must make a selection of some man to *represent* them in Congress. Whom ought they to choose? The passions of the North and the South are aroused on the slavery question. Nearly the whole time of the present Congress has been most maliciously and banefully employed in discussing that question, as relating to Kansas, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Propositions have been introduced to restore that Compromise by the most violent men of the North. We have every reason to believe that many of these dangerous fanatics, the most violent "shriekers for freedom," will be returned by their constituents, to repeat, in the next Congress, their lugubrious wailings about liberty trampled upon; the evils of squatter sovereignty; the foul murders perpetrated, by Southern desperadoes on the virgin soil of Kansas, upon the *unarmed and peace-loving votaries of freedom:* who will *rehearse* and repeat their gross libels upon Missouri and her citizens.

The remedy proposed by these agitators is either to admit Kansas, at once, with her Topeka constitution, or, restore the Missouri Compromise.

Kansas has not sufficient population to legally demand admission. The Topeka constitution is not the legal expression of the will of her citizens. It was concocted by a few base automatons in Kansas, worked by wires terminating in Washington. The South demands, as a right, that, if there be one *bona fide* resident, who has pro-slavery sentiments, he shall have the privilege of voting for his delegate to form a constitution. If, then, a majority of the *bona fide* residents are in favor of Kansas being a Free State, the South will peacefully submit, and vote for her admission into the Union when she has the requisite population. If the majority wish it to be a slave State, the South will demand that she be so admitted.

The other remedy of these agitators is the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. How do the citizens of St. Louis city and county wish their Representative to vote on these questions? Are these difficulties unimportant? Have we no interest in their decision? Are we Missourians? Then, Missouri asks us to send one of her sons to *represent* her in the halls of Congress. Who will raise his voice in her behalf, to prevent the restoration of the illegal, the unholy price, illegally demanded as payment for the recognition of her rights, when she applied for admission into the Union. Price, illegally demanded? Yes, Missouri, having the requisite population to form a State, was entitled by the treaty with France, by the fundamental law of the land, was entitled by equity and justice, by rights vouchsafed to her by the privileges of self-government; was entitled by her rights of sovereignty, to a ready and free admission into the Union on an equal footing with the other States. Missouri had the requisite population. She formed a constitution. She applied for admission into the Union. She was refused, repulsed. Who were the guilty actors in this first step? The price demanded of Missouri was, that she should be shorn of her sovereignty, tied in leading strings, bound in shackles, when performing the most sublime act in the history of government—the formation by the people, of their own constitution. The south, the friends of Missouri, nobly refused to permit the foul blot to be cast upon her escutcheon, there to be seen when first held up to the gaze of the noble sisterhood of States. Still, a price was demanded. When force compels us to choose of two evils, judgment would direct us to choose the least. The South proposed or agreed, as a compromise, (compromise of what? Was not the South forced?) to surrender up their own rights, in the "territory purchased by the common blood and treasure"—the inalienable right of governing themselves, should they become inhabitants of the territory north of 36 deg. 30 min.—to surrender the right of posterity, in order that Missouri might become a sovereign State. The South was stopped on the highway of justice. She could not resist the force of *numbers*. She offered less than was demanded. The North grumblingly accepted. This was the Missouri compromise. It was obtained by duress. There was no consideration. It could not be enforced in a court of law, even should it be granted that the terms were proposed by the South, and that, had there been no duress, it would have been constitutional. The work of the South! Who dares say it, in the light of history?

Enough men, good and true, were found in the North—the act has been repealed, justice has been done. The Union men of the North and the South have hailed with delight this solution of the vexed and troublesome question of slavery. The people settle it for themselves. As Union-loving men, will we not rally to the rescue? As Missourians, will we not stand by and assist the South, when she is ordered to sign that bond, which she was once compelled to sign or keep us out of the Union, and from which she has been released, yet which furnishes the pretext for the present demand? Are we either just or generous? We want the question definitely settled. We want peace. Peace, founded in justice, may be continuous, secure—no other can. The question is in Congress—we wish it was not. It may be there next Congress, and the next. Shall we send a Representative there to vote for the admission of Kansas with her Topeka Constitution? To vote against her admission if she forms a Constitution which does not prohibit slavery? To vote for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise? Will Missouri be false to herself, to her friends, to the Union?—or, will the citizens of St. Louis county be false to their State?

A NATIVE MISSOURIAN.

THE EVENING NEWS.

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 7, 1856.

Saint Louis:

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 7, 1856.

KANSAS.

The late proceedings in Congress on the Kansas question, and the developments made in the course of those proceedings strikingly confirm what we have maintained and insisted on, from the first—that the troubles in the Territory have been the result of unlawful, oppressive and unjustifiable acts and measures by one party, resented by illegal, revolutionary and insubordinate conduct by the other. The history of the Territory is but a series of wrongs on one side met by equal wrongs on the other, and out of this conflict of two hostile parties, each bent on overcoming the other, has arisen all trouble that has harassed and retarded the progress of Kansas.

It is the sheerest folly to attempt to extenuate the rebellious cause of the Free State leaders and partizans, and quite as absurd to endeavor to justify the oppressive acts of the Pro-Slavery party. Gen. Cass declared that the pains and penalties imposed on the freedom of discussion by the Territorial Legislature were a disgrace to the age; and Mr. Geyer, of Missouri, proved that he entertained similar sentiments by so amending the Senate bill for the pacification of Kansas, as to expressly prohibit the passage of such tyrannical laws in future. Mr. Geyer's amendment was adopted almost ananimously—only three Senators voting against it.

Nothing is now wanted to settle all the disputes and troubles in the Territory, but a fair, impartial, unmolested expression of the views of the citizens, at a new election, so guarded and conducted that none but bona fide residents shall be allowed to vote. The legal and social affairs of the Territory are all in a jumble, and it is proper that a new commencement should be had. With a new, fair start, Kansas will yet emerge from the disasters that have thus far attended her progress, and be prepared to come into the Union as a respectable State.

H CLAY PATE.

Capt. H. Clay Pate, or Claypate, as the Abolitionists very ungenerously call him, the man who went to take old Brown and was taken *by* old Brown, writes a letter to the New York Tribune, challenging the editor of that sheet to fight him. Capt. Pate is the correspondent of the Missouri Republican,

and is the redoubtable individual who, with thirty men under his command, was met and captured by Brown, a Free State brigand, with about the same force—Capt. Pate magnanimously determining to surrender rather than incur the responsibility of "the carnage that must have ensued" on a general fight between the two parties. On account of this surrender, the Tribune threw out some hints that Capt. Pate was not as brave as he might be, whereupon, that gentleman, in the letter to the Tribune, thus vindicates himself:—

Your correspondent has also said that, at the battle of Black Jack, I and my men dodged behind logs, stumps and trees. Your readers can judge of the "accuracy of that report" when they learn the fact that there was not a log or stump in two miles of the battle ground, and but one tree, which was nearer to Brown's party than to mine; the battle ground is in the midst of open prairie.

You copied, moreover, an article from the St. Louis Democrat, hinting that I am cowardly. If you doubt that I will fight, you can have a chance to try me in any way you want to and at any time you want to. My address for the present is 89 Guy's National, Washington, D. C., and for the future, Lecompton, Kansas Territory, until further notice.

Finally, I want it understood that I live in Kansas, and intend to live there as long as I like; that I did not dodge behind trees, stumps or logs, because there were no trees, stumps and logs to dodge behind; that, when necessary, I will fight, and stand ready, "now and forever," to prove it; that I was guilty of no such barbarous conduct as that of exposing prisoners' lives to save mine; and that, when attacked at Black Jack, I was clothed with the authority of the United States. You will do an act of justice by publishing my side; and if you won't publish, please send this back.

Yours, H. Clay Pate.
National Hotel, Washington,
June 30, 1856.

From the Kansas City Enterprise.

OUR RAILROAD

The Board of Directors have elected Robert J. Lawrence, formerly Assistant Engineer of the Pittsburgh and Connelsville Railroad, Chief Engineer of the Kansas City, Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. This is an excellent appointment, as Mr. Lawrence is highly recommended by some of the first railroad men in the country, and is an energetic and thorough business man. He has already organized his corps, and intends commencing the survey the coming week.—An agent of the company will accompany the engineer, for the purpose of laying before the citizens along the route, the advantages and condition of the company, and inviting additional subscriptions to capital stock.

The only point settled upon so far, is the town of Liberty, and we think the citizens of Clay county will give us their active and hearty co operation. We look upon this line as one of the most important in the country, and as it is the only project by which a large number of the most fertile counties of Missouri will ever have to secure railroad facilities, we look for large subscription to the stock of the company by the counties interested.

Taking the estimate of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Road as the basis, the cost of our road will only be about $1,000,000, which ought to be readily obtained by local subscriptions. Kansas City and Clay county alone can make half the stock. The road is a fixed fact, and we only have to urge the matter with energy, to have it in running order by the time the Hannibal and St. Joseph road is finished to the point of intersection. Push on the work.

Daily Republican.

QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

ITEMS FROM KANSAS.

We condense the principal items of Kansas intelligence received by this morning's mails. It is reported that the Chicago company, numbering about 80, were disarmed at Lexington by twenty five citizens of that place. This story is doubtless untrue. Indeed it is improbable that the company were disarmed at all by any number of Ruffians. The arms it seems were not carried by the company, but packed in a box, and nailed up! It is said that fifty South Carolinians were also on board the boat, but there is nothing said about the arms being taken from them. We shall probably learn something more about this matter in a day or two. In the mean time we cannot help saying, that if the Chicagonians have given up their arms to the citizens of Lexington they deserve to be drummed out of the territory.

A correspondent of the Missouri Republican says, that two companies of Missourians have been sent back to their own State by U. S. Troops. This looks a little like an effort to protect the citizens of Kansas. If it had been done twelve months ago, it would have served a better purpose.

Another thing that seems passing strange is the admission by the notorious Pate, the Republican's correspondent, that Gay, a free state man, was butchered by three pro-slavery ruffians. And more strange still, the citizens of Westport held a meeting, resolved to attend the funeral of Gay, denounced his murderers, and offered a reward of $700 for their apprehension and conviction! Whether this extraordinary action is the result of repentance and a determination to respect law, order, and justice for the future, or is a mere pretence to cover up the damning deeds that have hitherto been perpetrated, and furnish a little capital for Douglas and Pierce, is not yet apparent. If there is any sincerity in this move, the pro-slavery men had better take immediate steps for the apprehension and conviction of the murderers of Brown, Barber, and Dow, and the assailants of Pardee Butler, and there would then be some proof of their love of law and order.

There are various reports about the resignation of Shannon. There is no doubt the ruffians wish him to resign. Notwithstanding his aiding them to commit so many and such disgraceful outrages, he has begun to sicken at the fearful amount of crime which they are perpetrating, and has not nerve enough to go as far as they wish. If they could only get Atchison or Stringfellow as Governor, what a glorious time they would have! Shannon however who was in St. Louis yesterday says, he has *not resigned*, and that the territory *is* now quiet.

Dubuque Daily Tribune.

Monday July 7, 1856.

'Tis Time that Freemen Raise a Hand.

SONG OF THE GALENA FREMONT CLUB—NO. 1.

AIR—*Yankee Doodle.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Grand Rapids Eagle.

Michigan. July 7, 1856.

The Right Spirit.

The following is a copy of a letter addressed to the late Ottawa County Republican Convention; but which was not received in time to find a place in our last:

Gentlemen of the Ottawa County Republican Convention, assembled at Lamont, July 1st. 1856:

I most deeply regret that I cannot, in consequence of indisposition, meet with you and participate in the ratification of the nominations of the bold, honest and liberty-loving Fremont, and the equally noble and trustworthy Dayton, the standard bearers of the glorious Republican party of 1856. Although absent in person, my feelings and sympathies are with you, and warmly enlisted in the cause. I believe our cause is a righteous one—that we are contending for great, glorious and Heaven-born principles. *Free Speech, a Free Press, Free Kansas, Free Soil,* Fremont and Dayton now, and Freedom forever; and that a glorious triumph will crown our efforts.

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But if we do our duty faithfully, we shall not only elect our ticket, and establish freedom in Kansas; but we will bring its Government back to the Democratic doctrines of Washington, Jefferson and the founders of our Republic, and save our country from civil war, discord and disunion, and from the longer reign of Pierce, Douglas and Border Ruffian Democracy. Will we do it?

I have faith in the people—abiding faith in the liberty-loving yeomanry of our country; and therefore answer emphatically, *yes*! It would be a slander upon them, and a most unjust imputation upon the character of their illustrious sires of 1776, to suppose them so recreant to their country's honor, and their country's welfare, as to now neglect their duty, and their whole duty. Gentlemen, I am for FREMONT and DAYTON in 1856, and for *Freedom* and my Country forever. God prosper the right. MOSES B. HOPKINS.

GRAND HAVEN, June 30, 1856.

☞ The Report of the Investigating Committee shows conclusively that Kansas was overrun by ruffians from Missouri, legal voters driven from the ballot-box, settlers robbed and murdered, houses burned and pillaged, women ravished and children orphaned. The immediate admission of Kansas under its free constitution would end these deplorable outrages. The Republican party desire to secure peace for that Territory, and have voted for its admission as a State. The Democratic party oppose the admission of Kansas as a free State, and by so doing endorse and sustain all the rapine, murder and tyranny of the Border Ruffians.

The Daily Journal.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 7, 1856

Free Kansas.

As will be seen by the telegraphic announcement, the Kansas Bill, after a defeat which set the pro-slavery men crazy with delight, was passed on a reconsideration. This vote, which cannot further the purpose at which it ostensibly aims, the admission of Kansas with a free constitution, and the making her, for all time, a free State, will yet add much to the strength of the cause of freedom in Kansas. One branch of the national legislature, it will be seen, yet recognizes its responsibility to the people, and will give its aid, as far as it can, to the cause of Freedom and Truth against the schemes of propagandism which Douglas has plotted and Buchanan stands pledged to carry out. It is a real victory, though we can show none of the usual trophies of one. In this effort we are glad to see that every man elected on the anti Nebraska issue from Indiana voted right. Mr Scott, who stood out against Banks, has since acted uniformly and faithfully with the friends of Free Kansas, and in his recent letter to his constituents, very ably and elaborately presents the Republican view of the matter. Mr. Dunn, we presume, voted against the Bill, but as the ayes and noes are not given, cannot tell. Any how, the course he has taken for the last few days indicates that it is his purpose, if he has any, to oppose the Republicans, and probably support the Douglas Bill, which passed the Senate at the same time the Free State Bill passed the House. We hope this reconsideration and passage of the "Topeka Bill," as it is called, admitting Kansas as a State with a Free Constitution, indicates the existence of strength enough in the House to defeat the Douglas Bill, which is meant, as plainly as any of the propogandist measures of the last two years, to make the State a Slave State. It is true, it makes provisions which, six months ago would have allowed a fair expression of the popular will, and would have prevented Missouri or South Carolina intrusion, but *now* that numbers of the Free State men have been driven from their homes, and compelled to abandon the territory, to lose their claims, and by a system of intimidation have been deprived of all incitements to settle there, now when not one half the strength they used to possess remains, and the Missouri men along the border and the Missouri, now have established a pro-slavery quarantine *to keep out* all Free State emigrants, which is being constantly and rigidly enforced; now while bands of robbers are still threatening, and driving away free voters, and pro-slavery settlers are gathering rapidly, and taking advantage of the improvements effected by Free State energy and labor, this Bill is nothing more nor less than a well contrived plan to fasten Slavery under a specious appearance of fairness, with the approval of the National Government. It is one of the worst and basest cheats of the great "swindlers'" life, and we hope to see it crushed, as his others were.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax.

We have received a copy of the admirable speech of Mr. Colfax on the Kansas question, which we hope to be able to publish soon. It embodies more information, in a more systematized and easily used form, than any speech we have seen yet. The Newark (N. J.) *Mercury* says of it:

The speech of Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, a few days since, in reference to the "Laws of Kansas," was one of the ablest and most searching which has been delivered during the session. It was a complete and thorough exposure of the infamous acts of the Ruffians of Missouri, and a masterly vindication of the rights of the Free State men of Kansas. We trust the speech may have a wide circulation, for we are confident that it will accomplish good wherever it penetrates.

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 7, 1856.

The Douglas Bill in the Senate.

Mr. Trumbull made a strong speech against the bill, concluding at midnight on the 3d. The following is a brief summary of his remarks:

He said that many features of the bill met his approbation. It contained, as an assumption of power, that Congress had the right to govern the Territories, and repudiated squatter sovereignty. There was no such thing as sovereignty and self-government in the Territory, and he was glad the Committee on Territories had at last come to this conclusion. In condemning the affairs of Kansas, he said there was no such thing as constructive treason, and yet the leaders of the Free State party are in prison under this trumped up charge. The officers there are acting out the designs of the men who invaded the Territory. He then gave his objections to the bill, saying if it should pass it would not give peace to Kansas. He hoped his tongue might cleave to the roof of his mouth and his right hand forget its cunning, if he ever voted for the admission into the Union of a State upon which slavery had been forced by fraud and violence. Never, so help him God! and he did not believe the country would. Two things must be done to give peace—exclude slavery from Kansas while a Territory, and give the people a fair election, and if they establish slavery their admission as a State might be assented to; and then abolish all odious and infamous laws.

The yeas and nays upon the final vote are as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Bell (Tenn.), Benjamin, Biggs, Bigler, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Douglas, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones (Iowa), Mallory, Pratt, Hugh, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson (Ky.), Toombs, Toucey, Weller, Wright, Yulee—33.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell (N. H.), Collamer, Dodge, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, Wilson—12.

The Kansas Bill in the Senate—Unjust and Deceptive.

We have given the main facts with regard to the Kansas bill which was passed on Wednesday last in the Senate, and now have a few words to offer with respect to the motives of Mr. Douglas and his confreres, and also upon some of the general bearings of the measure.

The bill is framed with the usual art of its author, and under a fair outward seeming, is intended to accomplish a double purpose of deception. We have truly said that this bill is a backdown from the former position of Douglas and and his party, but it must not be imagined for a moment that they have abandoned their original purpose of making Kansas a slave State. On the contrary, they flatter themselves that they now see not only an opportunity of quietly accomplishing their main purpose, but at the same time of gaining such a credit for moderation and justice as will form no inconsiderable capital to help balance the dead weight of the Cincinnati platform and the candidate who stands upon it. We will explain briefly.

The people of Kansas, and the whole North for them, ask for substantial justice (a fish), and Mr. Douglas throws them a stone. Nothing, it will be observed, is said in the bill with respect to the outrages which they have already suffered, and they are still to be left to the tender mercies of the same power by which their wrongs have been inflicted. Some of the more objectionable features of the Ruffian Code are abolished by the bill, freedom of speech and the press are guaranteed, and the people are promised protection from violence in the exercise of the franchise and other rights, which all looks very fair, but we utterly lose confidence in these fair promises when we consider that the whole thing is to be managed by Commissioners appointed by President Pierce. We understand from the start that it is a foregone conclusion with the Power in whose hands Mr. Pierce is but a helpless puppet, to make Kansas a slave State at all events. Davis and Cushing, the ruling members of his Cabinet, and the especial agents of that Power, would have the appointment of those Commissioners, as they have already appointed Shannon, Lecompte, and the other tools of slavery who now rule the Territory. What are the guarantees of this bill worth in the face of the past administration of federal officers in Kansas? Who can believe that its provisions promising justice and protection to the people will be carried out in any better faith than have been those of the Kansas-Nebraska bill? It will not do for the defenders of Mr. Pierce and of the present bill to say that the wrongs of the people of Kansas have been committed in defiance of law. We have seen the government in close alliance with the ruffians in the perpetration of some of their greatest crimes, and when the latter went so far as to frighten Mr. Pierce and his advisers, the federal power was too weak to control them, even if it had had the disposition. Suppose the Commissioners should be of a piece with Shannon, Lecompte, Sheriff Jones, and the rest of the present upholders of "law and order" in Kansas, what is to hinder Atchison and Stringfellow from again marching into the Territory at the head of thousands of ruffians next November to elect delegates to the proposed State Convention, as they elected the members of the mob legislature? There is every probability that they would do this, for it would be no greater breach of law than that of which they are now a hundred times guilty, and for which the government shows no disposition to call them to account.

The unjust and deceptive character of the bill is strikingly shown by a glance at the present condition of Kansas. Three months ago no one doubted that the Free State men of the Territory outnumbered the pro-slavery settlers at least four to one. Meantime nearly all the leading men of the former have been compelled to flee to save their lives, or are still held as prisoners on charge of "treason." Thousands of quiet Free State settlers have been driven from their claims, and all their possessions seized by the marauders. Col. Sumner has dispersed a few marauding bands, but the whole Territory is still substantially under the

control of the ruffians, and is likely to remain so till the Commissioners shall have arrived. They will, of course, be the creatures of the President, chosen expressly to carry out the purpose of the Slave Power, and they will find all things cut and dried to their hands to render their task as light as possible.

If the bill goes into effect, it will be a cruel mockery of fairness and justice, but it will be used as an argument to advance the interests of Mr. Buchanan and his party. What more can anybody desire, it will be asked, than is provided for in this bill? Now, it will be said, we are to have "popular sovereignty" in reality, and "law and order" in the best sense of the term. Mr. Buchanan and his friends are moderate and conservative, and they mean to do the fair thing by the people of Kansas. All this will sound exceedingly well before the day of election, but if we are again deceived, as we surely shall be, it will be too late to apply a remedy. We trust the anti-ruffian members of the House will show this bill up in its true character when it comes up for consideration in that body.

P. S.—We "breathe deeper and freer." Since the above was written, we have received the gratifying intelligence that the bill in the House admitting Kansas as a State on the basis of the Topeka Constitution was passed on Thursday by three m jority, soon after notice had been received of the passage of Douglas' bill in the Senate. The majority is not so large as we could have wished, but its passage at all augurs well for ultimate justice to Kansas and confusion to the traitors.

KANSAS MEETING LAST SATURDAY EVENING.—The Kansas meeting last Saturday evening rallied a large concourse of citizens at Dearborn Park, to consider what should be said and done in regard to the treatment the Kansas settlers who went on from this city received at the hands of the Missourians. The response of the assembly to the sentiments of the speakers and of the resolutions showed the deep earnestness of thi king men.

J. Y. Scammon, Esq., was chosen chairman and J. W. Waughop Secretary. Speeches were made by Peter Page, who also reported the action of the Chicago Kansas Aid Committee, by I. N. Arnold, who offered resolutions denouncing the Missouri ruffians, and calling on the General and State Governments to protect the citizens of Illinois; by Gen. Bruce of New York, and by J. C. Vaughan. The resolutions were ably drawn and unanimously adopted by the meeting.

Celebration at Palatine.

The people in the northwestern part of the county celebrated the day with a great deal of spirit at Palatine. MORGAN S. JOHNSON, Esq., was President of the day and Dr. L. J. KEELER Marshal. A large procession formed at the Depot, and preceded by a band of music marched to the residence of Dr. Keeler, and from thence to the grounds prepared for the occasion. Rev. J. A. Hallock opened the exercises with prayer. After this the Declaration of Independence was read by the President of the day, and an oration delivered by John A. Bross, Esq., of this city. Then the people repaired to a dinner table spread beneath an arbor and gotten up in the best of style. After everybody had enjoyed to to their hearts' content the creature comforts of this life, they were again called to the speaker's stand, and stirring speeches were made by Rev. J. A. Hallock of Lake Zurich, Isaac Claflin and Henry Seelye, Esqs., of this city, for Free Kansas and Fremont. A choir sang some excellent odes, and the celebration closed with six cheers for Fremont and six cheers for "Jessie." The little company in attendance from Chicago were highly pleased with their visit to the country, and returned in the evening train with large ideas of the enterprise and hospitality of our friends in Palatine.

Palatine is a station on the Chicago, St. Paul and Fond du Lac Railroad, near the centre of the town of Palatine, one of the north towns of this county. Wheeling is east and Barrington on the west. Palatine station has grown up rapidly, being surrounded by a rich farming country, and twenty-seven miles from this city, it will no doubt become a place of importance.

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J. C. VAUGHAN, C. H. RAY, EDITORS.

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Monday Morning.....July 7, 1856.

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 untiring, they marched on step by step triumphantly. All knew the contest to be close. The Fillmorites 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 confident up to the moment of voting, when it seemed as if they were hopelessly routed. The House Bill admitting Kansas a Free State was defeated by one, (yeas 107; nays 106); and our friends were disheartend, 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 Investigating Committee sent to Kansas—with its mass of documents—as a priviledged 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 previous question, by which the House was brought to a vote, on referring the report to the Committee on Elections and ordering it printed, and the call for its reading by Hickman of Penn. Another fierce storm raged. But the Speaker ruled that any member might call for its reading, 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 softened, and our friends filled again with hope and courage.

On July the 2d, the House completed the reading of the Kansas Report, omitting 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!

From Washington.

WASHINGTON, July 3.

THE LITTLE GIANT IN EXTREMES.

Douglas has taken serious alarm because of the storm raised by the working of his Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the indignant mutterings of the North and West against the perpetrators of the outrages in Kansas. In his extremity he has, to-day, reported a new bill for the pacification of Kansas, differing entirely from that reported by himself some weeks ago. His first bill provided for a future Constitutional Convention in Kansas, to be chosen *after* the Territory should have a federal population of 93,000 souls. Meantime all the iniquitous laws imposed upon the Territory by its bogus Legislature were to continue in full force, and not the least penalty against illegal voting was to be provided. Douglas begins to understand that this bold attempt upon the public credulity has failed; and now he proposes a Constitutional Convention, and the admission of Kansas when she shall have formed a new Constitution, without regard to the amount of her population. Why not, then, if the Senator is sincere in his pretence of desiring that the people of the Territory shall decide this question for themselves, why not admit Kansas with the Constitution already framed, and so settle this disturbing question at once?

BEWARE OF FRAUDS.

It seems to me perfectly clear that such a bill as that now proposed can only commend itself to Douglas and those who act with him, for the reason that while they hope it will allay the public excitement against the Democratic party and its Presidential candidate, they feel confident that the operation of the new bill, under the management of its Pro-Slavery executors, will enure at last to the interests of Slavery. And why should it not thus enure, when the entire judicial system of the Territory which now makes mockery of justice will continue in full force, until a State Legislature shall be assembled? If it is utterly impossible now to bring to justice the murderers and robbers, and ballot-box stuffers of Kansas, how can we expect a change for the better without an entire change of the judicial system and its *personnel*? This new scheme of the Illinois politician is another ingenious fraud attempted to be palmed upon an intelligent public. Let it be watched, studied and exposed. S.

Massachusetts Emigrants Disarmed by the River Pirates.

One of the Massachusetts Company of Emigrants that were disarmed and turned back by the Border Ruffians on the Missouri River, publishes the following account of the affair. The account was first published in the St. Louis *Republican*:

STATEMENT.

The steamer *Sultan* left St. Louis for Weston, Tuesday, 25th June, 1856, having on board a company of men from Massachusetts, under the command of Capt. Cutter bound for Kansas Territory. The company consisted of about forty men, each well provided for any emergency, being armed with a Sharp's rifle, bowie knife, revolver, &c. When we left St. Louis no trouble was anticipated from the Border Ruffians, but we had not proceeded far up the river when we were informed that the boat would be stopped and the arms taken away. A short distance below Waverly, we were met by the *Star of the West*, having on board the Chicago company, who after having all their arms taken away, had been forced to return; these endeavored to dissuade Capt. Cutter from proceeding further, but they were refused, Capt. Cutter determining to get a peep at the elephant, at any risk. When we arrived at Waverly, a deputation from that place came on board and demanded the rifles on board, and the captain thinking discretion was the better part of valor, quietly surrendered them. We were congratulating one another that we had escaped so easily, but great was our chagrin, and I am afraid fear also, when on reaching Liberty, we perceived a company of about 150 men drawn up on the bank, and saw the mouths of two cannon pointing directly at the boat. From this place a guard escorted us to Independence, at which place we were again stopped by a salute from a 24 pounder, loaded with

rope shop. Here Captain Shaw's company came on board and accompanied us as far as Weston. When a short distance above Independence it was proposed to search the rooms of the passengers suspecting that they had arms concealed, the result proved that they were not deceived, for there were found some 15 or 20 rifles in the rooms; some of these had been hidden in the mattrasses, which had been cut for that purpose. It was said that a lady threw overboard some 15 or 20 rifles, but for the truth of this, we will not vouch, as we did see it. After taking all the rifles, it was proposed, to cap the climax, that all side arms should be taken away, and accordingly each one was commanded to walk up to the officer and fork over, which very reasonable request was complied with. When we reached Delaware City we were hailed by a large red flag and commanded to land; here we were boarded by a committee, who, after learning that all was right on the goose, allowed us to proceed without further molestation. When we reached Leavenworth City, a guard was placed on the forecastle, who would allow no one to go on shore. This was done also at Weston. We left Weston, on Monday morning, 30th inst., at 7 o'clock, and at every place we stopped the same guard was placed at the stage plank. Arriving at Independence, Capt. Shaw took off his command, and we proceeded to St. Louis, a great deal relieved. We arrived Wednesday evening at 3 o'clock. It is needless to add that for most of us, the sight of the elephant as it now is, has been for the present sufficient.

DAILY TRIBUNE.

DETROIT:

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 7, 1856.

Rev. A. St. Clair, who led the Michigan Kansas Company has just returned from that territory in company with Mrs. G. W. Brown, wife of the imprisoned editor of the Kansas *Herald of Freedom*. He spoke at Jackson last Saturday to a numerous auditory. He made a strong appeal to those present to aid Mr. Brown in re-establishing his press.

☞ One of the pro-slavery Deputy Sheriffs in Kansas rejoices in the name of Haynaw, a name sake of the Austrian Butcher, whom the London Brewers mobbed. This man is like the infamous Austrian in more respects than in name. A few days since he shot a young Kentuckian before his house, dragged the corpse in and robbed it, and went to Lecompton and boasted of the fact, but Judge Lecompte was too busy prosecuting free State men for treason to attend to his arrest and punishment. On another occasion this same man arrested Mr. Evans, tied his hands behind him and drove him like an ox before him and his posse to Lecompton, at which place he shut him up in a room with his hands and feet chained. Mr. Evans does not know on what charge he is arrested.

Who fought the Battles of the Revolution?

Since Mr. SUMNER delivered his speech which called forth the wrath of the South and brought upon his devoted head the ruthless cane of *Brooks* there has been considerable controversy regarding the relative share of the burthens of the Revolution, borne by the Northern and Southern States. The intimation that South Carolina contributed a smaller number than Massachusetts in that contest, has been the cause of much indignant feeling and expression. The following statement of the number of troops, both regulars and militia, furnished by each State during the war, which was prepared under authority of Congress soon after the close of the contest, is conclusive upon this point:

	Regulars.	Militia.
New Hampshire	2,496	2,093
Massachusetts	68,007	15,145
Rhode Island	5,935	4,285
Connecticut	32,029	7,702
New York	18,331	3,304
New Jersey	10,726	6,055
Pennsylvania	27,822	7,327
Total Free States	172,819	45,910
Delaware	2,317	316
Maryland	15,912	4,127
Virginia	26,668	5,620
North Carolina	7,263	—
South Carolina	6,417	—
Georgia	2,679	—
Total Slave States	58,256	10,123

This statement, which is official, certainly does not sustain the claims presented so clamorously on behalf of South Carolina.

The Record.

It is a matter of just pride with us that our Republican members in Congress have, EVERY TIME, been right in their votes as well as their acts.—They have, always, truly and honorably, represented the views of the People of Michigan on the great Principle of Freedom. Cool, firm, consistent, courteous, determined, never *dodging*, "knowing their rights, daring to maintain them," *they* have won laurels, not only for themselves, but for the State.

But how different is it with "Popinjay PECK," as John S. Bagg appropriately christened the misrepresentative from the Northern district of this State. He *has always* voted with the Slave Power—*always* voted *against* Freedom and *for* Slavery. Not only that, he has sustained the coward Brooks' Outrage on Senator SUMNER, HERBERT, and the murder of the Irishman, KEATING. When not voting directly with the South, he has dodged voting, slid out of the House, as on the vote for Investigating into the murder of KEATING. According to his vote, on every occasion, you, People of the Northern Congressional district of Michigan, are in favor of extending Slavery over Kansas and all the Territories and the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise and opposed to its Restoration—you oppose the admission of Free-Kansas into the Union—you approve the outrages in Kansas and in Washington! Freemen of Northern Michigan, are these representations True? Has George W. Peck represented your views on these important questions, questions affecting all your rights of person, property and citizenship? It is for you to answer these questions at the ballot-box. He will again ask your suffrages, your endorsement of his acts; your verdict, your vote, will be a reply. If you Favor and Approve his course, his votes, and the Principles they maintain, then vote for and return him to Congress. But, *if you* DO NOT *approve his votes*—if you are not in favor of extending Slavery over all the Territories—if you desire to see Kansas a Free State—if you would preserve Freedom of Debate in Congress and out of it and Protection to Northern members in the performance of their duty at Washington, stay the progress of National Executive Tyranny, and rebuke the lawless recklessness of Individual Rights and opinions, *then vote against* MR. PECK, and condemn him to a retirement, which, to his credit and yours, he should never have been permitted to go forth from on your public business.

We give herewith the votes of the House of Representatives, on the *Proposition to Restore the Missouri Compromise—to admit Kansas, a* FREE STATE (lost)—*to reconsider the last named vote, and the final vote and passage of the bill admitting Kansas a Free State*. These votes show Messrs. HOWARD, WALBRIDGE and WALDRON ALWAYS VOTED FOR FREEDOM, and that GEO. W. PECK Always VOTED FOR SLAVERY *and with the South* against the North.

Freemen of Northern Michigan bear these things in mind.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, Monday, June 30.—The bill to bring Kansas into the Union, with her Free State (Topeka Constitution,) being before the House, Mr. Stevens (of Georgia,) moved to send it back to the Committee on Territories. Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, then moved, as an amendment, that the Committee be required TO REPORT A BILL RESTORING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE. This amendment was ADOPTED by seven majority. The following is a classification of the vote:—

Southern Members and Northern Doughfaces Voting against the Restoration of the Missouri Compromise.—103.

Aiken, S. C.	ALLEN, Ill.‡	Barksdale, Miss.
Bell, Texas,	Bennett, Miss.	Bocock, Va.
Bowne, Md.	Boyce, S. C.	Branch, N. C.
Brooks, S. C.	Burnet, Ky.	CADWALLADER, Pa.
Campbell, Ky.	Carlisle, Va.	Caruthers, Mo.
Caskie, Va.	Clingman, N. C.	Cobb, Geo.
Cobb, Ala.	Cox, Ky.	Craigie, N. C.
Crawford, Geo.	Davidson, La.	DAY, Ohio,*
DENVER, Cal.‡	Dowdell, Ala.	Edmondson, Va.
Elliott, Ky.	ENGLISH, Ind.‡	Eustis, Jr., La.
Faulkner, Va.	FLORENCE, Pa.‡	Foster, Geo.
FULLER, Me.‡	Goode, Va.	Greenwood, Ark.
HALL, Iowa.‡	Harris, Md.	Harris, Ala.
HICKMAN, Pa.‡	Hoffman, Md.	Houston, Ala.
Jewett, Ky.	JONES, Tenn.‡	Jones, Pa.
Kelly, S. C.	KELLY, N. Y.‡	Kennett, Mo.
Kidwell, Pa.	Lake, Miss.	Letcher, Va.
Lumpkin, Ga.	Marshal, Ky.	Marshal, (2d) Ky.
Maxwell, Fla.	McMullen, Va.	McQueen, S. C.
MILLER, Ind.‡	Millson, Va.	Nichols, Ohio,‡
Oliver, Mo.	Orr, S. C.	PACKER, Pa.
Paine, N. C.	PECK, Mich.‡	Phelps, Mo.
Porter, Mo.	Powell, Va.	Puryear, N. C.
Quitman, Miss.	Ready, Tenn.	Rhiland, Md.
RICHARDSON, Ill.‡	Rivers, Tenn.	Ruffin, N. C.
Rust, Ark.	Sandidge, La.	Savage, Tenn.
Seward, Geo.	Shorter, Ala.	Smith, Tenn.
SUMNER, N. Y.‡	Stevens, Geo.	Stuart, Md.
Swope, Ky.	Talbot, Ky.	Taylor, La.
Tripp, Geo.	Underwood, Ky.	VALK, N. Y.‡
Walker, Ala.	Warner, Geo.	Watkins, Tenn.
WHEELER, N. Y.†	WILLIAMS, N. Y.‡	Wright, Miss.
Wright, Tenn.	Zollicoffer, Tenn.	

* Elected Anti-Nebraska—now Fillmore Know-Nothing.
† Americans.
‡ Pierce-Buchanan Administration men.

Northern Members in favor of Restoring the Missouri Compromise—110.

Albright, Ohio,	Allison, Ill.	Ball, Ohio,
Barbour, Ind.	Bennett, N. Y.	Benson, Me.
Billinghurst, Wis.	Bingham, Ohio,	Bishop, N. J.
Bliss, Ohio,	Bradshaw, Pa.	Benton, Ind.
Broom, Pa.	Buffington, Ohio.	Burlingame, Mass.
Campbell, Pa.	Campbell, Ohio,	Clark, N. Y.
Clark, Jr., Ct.	Clawson, N. J.	Colfax, Ind.
Comins, Mass.	Covode, Pa.	Cragin, N. H.
Cumback, Ind.	Damrell, Mass.	Dick, Pa.
Dean, Ct.	Dewitt, Mass.	Dickson, N. Y.
Dodd, N. Y.	Dunn, Ind.	Durfee, R. I.
Edie, Pa.	Edwards, N. Y.	Emrie, Ohio,
Flagler, N. Y.	Galloway, Ohio,	Giddings, Ohio,
Gilbert, N. Y.	Granger, N. Y.	Grove, Pa.
Hall, Mass.	Harlan, Ohio,	Hickman, Pa.
Holloway, Ind.	Horton, N. Y.	Horton, Ohio,
HOWARD, Mich.	Hughston, N. Y.	Kelsey, N. Y.
King, N. Y.	Knapp, Mass.	Knight, Pa.
Knowlton, Me.	Knox, Ill.	Kunkle, Pa.
Letter, Ohio,	Matteson, N. Y.	McCarty, N. H.
Meacham, Vt.	Miller, N. Y.	Millward, Pa.
Moore, Ohio,	Morgan, N. Y.	Morrill, Vt.
Murray, N. Y.	Nichols, Ohio,	Oliver, N. Y.
Parker, N. Y.	Pearce, Pa.	Pelton, N. Y.
Pennington, N. J.	Perry, Me.	Pettit, Ind.
Pike, N. H.	Purviance, Pa.	Robbins, N. J.
Roberts, Pa.	Robinson, Pa.	Sabin, Vt.
Sage, N. Y.	Sapp, Ohio,	Scott, Ind.
Sherman, Ohio,	Simmons, N. Y.	Spinner, N. Y.
Stanton, Ohio,	Straunhan, N. Y.	Tappan, N. H.
Thorington, Iowa,	Thurston, R. I.	Todd, Pa.
Trafton, Mass.	Wade, Ohio,	Wakeman, N. Y.
WALBRIDGE, M.	WALDRON, Mich	Washburn, Wis.
Washburn, Ill.	Washburn, Me.	Watson, Ohio,
Welch, Ct.	Whitney, N. Y.	Wood, Me.
Woodruff, Ct.	Woodruff, Ill.	

The motion to re-commit was then voted down, only two voting in the affirmative—Dunn and Harrison.

A motion to re-commit without instructions was next rejected by 101 ayes against 109 nays, whereupon,

Mr. Jones (Tenn.) moved to LAY THE BILL ON THE TABLE. This was negatived by one majority. The main question was then taken, and the bill WAS REJECTED BY ONE MAJORITY.

The following is an analysis of the vote:

Vote on the Bill to admit Kansas into the Union with the Topeka (or Free State) Constitution. Ayes 106—All Northern Men.

Albright, Ohio,	Allison, Pa.	Ball, Ohio,
Barber, Ind.,	Bennett, N. Y.	Benson, Me.
Billinghurst, Wis.	Bingham, Ohio,	Bishop, N. J.
Bliss, Ohio,	Bradshaw, Pa.	Brenton, Ind.
Buffington, Mass.	Burlingame, Mass.	Campbell, Pa.
Campbell, Ohio,	Clarke, N. Y.	Clark, Jr., Conn.
Clawson, N. J.	Colfax, Ind.	Comins, Mass.
Covode, Pa.	Cragin, N. H.	Cumback, Ind.
Damrill, Mass.	Davis, Mass.	Day, Ohio,
Dean, Ct.	Dewitt, Mass.	Dick, Pa.
Dickson, N. Y.	Dodd, N. Y.	Durfee, R. I.
Edie, Pa.	Edwards, N. Y.	Emrie, Ohio,
Flagler, N. Y.	Galloway, Ohio,	Giddings, Ohio,
Gilbert, N. Y.	Granger, N. Y.	Grove, Pa.
Hall, Mass.	Harlan, Ohio,	Hickman, Pa.
Holloway, Ind.	Horton, N. Y.	Horton, Ohio,
HOWARD, Mich.	Hughston, N. Y.	Kelsey, N. Y.
King, N. Y.	Knapp, Mass.	Knight, Pa.
Knowlton, Me.	Knox, Ill.	Kunkle, Pa.
Letter, Ohio,	Matteson, N. Y.	McCarty, N. H.
Meacham, Vt.	Miller, N. Y.	Millward, Pa.
Moore, Ohio,	Morgan, N. Y.	Morrill, Vt.
Murray, N. Y.	Nichols, Ohio,	Oliver, N. Y.
Parker, N. Y.	Pearce, Pa.	Pelton, N. Y.
Pennington, N. J.	Perry, Me.	Pettit, Ind.
Pike, N. H.	Purviance, Pa.	Robbins, N. J.
Roberts, Pa.	Robinson, Pa.	Sabin, Vt.
Sage, N. Y.	Sapp, Ohio,	Scott, Ind.
Sherman, Ohio,	Simmons, N. Y.	Spinner, N. Y.
Stanton, Ohio,	Straunhan, N. Y.	Tappan, N. H.
Thorington, Iowa,	Thurston, R. I.	Todd, Pa.
Trafton, Mass.	Wade, Ohio,	Wakeman, N. Y.
WALBRIDGE, M.	WALDRON, Mich.	Washburn, Wis.
Washburn, Ill.	Washburn, Jr., Me.	Watson, Ohio,
Welch, Ct.	Wood, Me.	Woodruff, Ct.
	Woolworth, Ill.	

Voting against the Bill—Nays 107.

Aiken, S. C.	Allen, Ill.	BARCLAY, Pa.‡
Barksdale, Miss.	Bell, Texas,	Bennett, Miss.
Bocock, Va.	Bowie, Md.	Boyce, S. C.
Branch, N. C.	Brooks, S. C.	Broom, Pa.*
Burnett, Ky.	CADWALLADER, Pa.	Campbell, Ky.
Carlisle, Va.	Caruthers, Mo.	Caskie, Va.
Cobb, Ala.	Cobb, Geo.	Cox, Ky.
Craigie, N. C.	Crawford, Geo.	Cullen, Del.
DENVER, Cal.‡	Dowdell, Ala.	Downs, Ind.*
Edmundson, Va.	Elliott, Ky.	ENGLISH, Ind.‡
Etheridge, Tenn.	Eustis, Jr., La.	Evans, Texas,
Faulkner, Va.	FULLER, Me.‡	Goode, Va.
Greenwood, Ark.	HALL, Iowa.‡	Harris, Md.
Harris, Ala.	HARRISON, Ohio,*	HAVEN, N. Y.†
HICKMAN, Pa.‡	Hoffman, Md.	Houston, Ala.
Howard, Tex.	Jones, Tenn.‡	Jones, Pa.
Keitt, S. C.	KELLY, N. Y.‡	Kennett, Mo.
Kidwell, Pa.	Lake, Miss.	Letcher, Va.
Lindley, Mo.	Lumpkin, Geo.	A. K. Marshall, Ky
H. Marshall, Ky.	S. S. MARSHALL, Ill.‡	Maxwell, Fla.
McMullin, Va.	McQueen, S. C.	MILLER, Ind.‡
Millson, Va.	Oliver, Mo.	Orr, S. C.
Packer, Pa.‡	Paine, N. C.	PECK, Mich.‡
Phelps, Mo.	Porter, Mo.	Powell, Va.
Puryear, N. C.	Quitman, Miss.	Ready, Tenn.
Rhiland, Md.	Rivers, Tenn.	Ruffin, N. C.
Rust, Ark.	Sandidge, La.	Savage, Tenn.
Seward, Geo.	Shorter, Ala.	Smith, Tenn.
Smith, Va.	Smith, Ala.	Samuel, Tenn.
Stephens, Geo.	Stewart, Md.	Swope, Ky.
Talbot, Ky.	Taylor, La.	Tripp, Geo.
Underwood, Ky.	VALK, N. Y.‡	Walker, Ala.
Warner, Geo.	Watkins, Tenn.	WHEELER, N. Y.†
WHITNEY, N. Y.*	WILLIAMS, N. Y.‡	Wright, Miss.
Wright, Tenn.	Zollicoffer, Tenn.	

* Americans.
† Elected Anti-Nebraska—now Fillmore Know-Nothings.
‡ Pierce-Buchanan Administration.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, July 3.—Mr. Barclay's motion to *reconsider the vote by which the bill to admit Kansas into the Union with the Topeka Constitution was rejected*, was called up and adopted by 101 Yeas to 99 Nays;

The bill *was then passed*—100 Yeas against 97 Nays, as follows:—

FOR ADMITTING KANSAS A FREE STATE.

Albright, Ohio	Emerie, O	Oliver of N Y
Alison of Pa	Flagler, N Y	Parker
Ball, O	Galloway, O	Pearce
Barbour, Ind	Giddings,	Pelton
Barclay, Pa	Gilbert, N Y	Perry
Bennet, N Y	Granger, N Y	Pike

a Terri[illegible] ... subsequently ad[illegible] er the

Billinghurst, Wis	Hall, Mass	Parvlance
Bingham, O	Harlan, O	Robbins
Bliss, O	Hickman, Pa	Roberts,
Bradshaw, Pa	Holloway, Ind	Robinson
Brenton, Ind	Horton, N Y	Sabin
Buffington, Mass	Horton, O	Sage
Campbell, Pa	HOWARD, Mich	Sapp
Campbell, O	Hughston, N Y	Scott
Clarke, N Y	Kelsey, N Y	Sherman
Clark, Conn	King, N Y	Spinner
Clawson, N J	Knap, Mass.	Stranahan
Colfax, Ind	Knight, Pa	Tappan
Comins, Mass	Knowlton,	Thorington
Covode, Pa	Knox	Thurston
Cragin, N H	Kunkel	Todd
Cumback, Ind	Leiter	Trafton
Damrell, Mass	Matteson,	Wade
Davis, Mass	McCarty,	Wakeman
Day, Ohio	Meacham,	WALBRIDGE
Dean, Ct	Miller, N Y	WALDRON
DeWitt, Mass	Millward,	Washburne, Wis
Dick, Pa	Morgan	Washburne, Ill
Dickson, N Y	Morrill,	Washburne, Me
Dodd	Mott	Welch
Durfee, R I	Murray	Woodruff
Edie, Pa	Nichols,	Woodworth,
Edwards, N Y	Total, Yeas	100

NAYS.

Aiken, S C	Fuller, Pa	Powell
Allen, Ill	Goode,	Puryear
Barksdale,	Greenwood	Ready
Bell	Hall, Iowa,	Rhett
Bennett, Miss	Harris, Md	Rivers
Bocock	Harris, Ala	Ruffin
Bowie	Harris, Ill	Rust
Branch,	Harlson,	Sandidge
Brooks,	Haven,	Savage
Boocns,	Houston,	Seward
Burnett,	Jewett,	Shorter
Calwalader	Jones, Tenn;	Smith, Tenn
Caruthers	Jones, Penn	Smith, Va
Caskie,	Kelly,	Smith, Ala
Clingman,	Kenner,	Sneed
Cobb, Ga	Kidwell,	Stephens
Cobb, Ala	Lake	Stewart
Cox,	Lindley,	Swope
Craigie,	Lumpkin	Taylor
Crawford,	A K Marshall, Ky	Tippe
Cullen	H Marshall, Ky	Underwood
Davis, Md	Marshall, Ill.	Valk
Denever,	McMullin	Walker
Dowdell	McQueen	Warner
Dunn,	Miller, Ind	Watkins
Edmundson	Millson	Wheeler
English	Oliver, Mo	Whitney
Etheridge	Orr	Williams
Eustis,	Packer	Winslow
Evans	PECK	Wright, Miss
Falkner	Phelps	Wright, Tenn
Florence	Porter	Zollicoffer
Fuller, Me	Total, Nays	97

DAILY HERALD.

CLEVELAND:

Monday Evening July 7, 1856.

The Missouri River Pirates.

The St. Louis *Democrat* condemns the sending of "armed bands" to Kansas from the South as well as the North, and then proceeds in the most pointed manner to denounce the "fillibusters" who have taken possession of the Missouri river, and by violence stop the travel of a great highway. Says the *Democrat:*

In this we think their folly has even surpassed their zeal. Can they not see that the only effect of such proceedings is to divert a great trade, that would otherwise enrich our State, into channels far to the North of us, or far to the South of us, and thus isolate Missouri from commercial and business relations with the balance of the States of this Union? Do they not see, too, that they are thus doing much themselves to bring about the ultimate conflict of which they profess such an aversion? Will they not see that while acting thus they are putting themselves out of the pale of law, out of the fraternal circle of fellow citizens of a great Commonwealth; and out of the regard and respect of those who love peace more than suicidal agitation of the slavery question? What right have they to constitute themselves guardians of Kansas? Who made them masters of a neighboring territory as sovereign in its rights as Missouri? By what high commission do they thus seek to barricade the tributary waters of half the continent? Shall the people of Missouri who know no king or emperor submit to the miserable lording of a few such paltry politicians who find a profit in these outrages? Never! We believe the true heart of the conservative masses of this State will teach these gentry that our highways are not subject to their espionage, that our intercourse is not the fit object of their mock heroism. The people will not tolerate that the future wealth and standing, and social advance of Missouri shall be jeopardied, its credit destroyed, and its growth retarded, by such escapades as these, and none will discover this fact sooner than the citizens of Lexington. The conservative portion in their own midst, whose voices are drowned by the outcries of the few hot-headed demagogues who incite these movements, have long been silent in opposition, but they will be so no longer.—The present is a crisis that demands that every man who holds the restored quiet of Missouri and the stability of the Union dear to his heart, should come forward and *enter his protest against the prolongation of disturbances.* The time is now, the ballot-box the true remedy, and the masses of the people the only conservators of the peace that will be recognized. They will take this matter in hand and they will triumph.

Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Monday Evening, July 7, 1856.

Gen. P. E. Smith, U. S. A., is in this city, where his head quarters are established. He will proceed immediately to Kansas, to quiet affairs there. As he is a man of mature judgment, a good lawyer, and having no other object than to keep the peace in Kansas, he will, we feel assured, accomplish it.—*St. Louis Republican.*

Now that Pierce has no longer any motive to keep up the excitement in Kansas, there is good reason to suppose that it will be speedily terminated. Had the administration possessed the disposition, it no doubt had the ability to have *prevented* the outrages that have set the country in a blaze.

REMEMBER! Every Fillmore member of Congress voted against free Kansas.—*Albany Journal.*

Remember! The "Free Kansas" they voted against, was the bastard Topeka constitution, which was likewise voted against in the Senate by Fish, Hamlin, and other Republican Senators. It was too absurd to command the undivided support of the party that brought it forward.

Remember! That Fillmore, in no one of the score of speeches which he has made since his return from Europe, has uttered one word in rebuke of the Border Ruffians, or in favor of Freedom upon Free Soil! *Albany Journal.*

Remember! that this dishonest charge is made with a full knowledge of the fact that in the speeches referred to, Mr. Fillmore condemned the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in the most decided and emphatic manner.

Remember! That Mr. Haven, member of Congress from Buffalo, and law partner of Mr. Fillmore, voted in Congress against admitting Kansas as a free State.—*Albany Jour.*

Remember! That the writer of this knows that Mr. Haven voted in Congress for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, which would exclude slavery from Kansas, both now and hereafter.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

MONL... MORNING, JULY 7, 1856.

The Laws of Kansas.

Mr. Cass said some of the acts passed by the Legislative Assembly of Kansas were disgraceful to the age. How could the people properly pass laws unless they have the right of free discussion? [Senate Proceedings

These few words concede enough to stamp with infamy the laws of Kansas, the men who passed them, and the men who in any way give them countenance. No people, living in a land of liberty, and under a written constitution which ought to protect it, have ever been subjected to more fiendish persecution and cruelty than the Free State citizens of Kansas. It is the blackest chapter in the history of modern times, and can only be paralleled by going back to the despotisms of a darker age. Gen. Cass, confirmed as he is in the habit of cringing to the South, for once let out the honest feeling of his naturally kind heart, and we have no doubt felt a relief after pronouncing so just a condemnation of the infamous code of Kansas, and the infamous means by which it was enacted.

Mr. Cass was giving his support to an amendment to Douglas' Bill, 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. This amendment, proposed and adopted in the Senate of the United States, virtually concedes the invalidity of the Kansas laws, and justifies the people in resisting them. And yet for resisting them, men have been murdered, driven from the Territory, and others are now in prison and under indictment for *Treason!* Shannon and the entire crew of federal officers, who are instigating these troubles to aid Slavery, ought to be in their places. The voice of a majority of the actual residents, before they were persecuted out of the Territory, was for a Free State; but under the auspices of Sham Democracy this voice is TREASON, and the "Ruffians" are the friends of law and order! And the Cincinnati Platform, which Buchanan says he approves, aims a direct blow against the patriots of Kansas, and sustains the attempt to enforce the laws passed by the Missouri elected legislature.

Troy Daily Whig.

TROY:

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 7.

Important Votes in Congress.

The Bill to admit Kansas into the Union, with the so-called Topeka (or "Free State") Constitution, it will be remembered, was defeated in the House of Representatives, on Monday last, by a majority of one. On Thursday, a motion to reconsider the vote of rejection, was successful, and subsequently the bill itself *passed*—ayes 101, nays 99. So, as far as the House is concerned, the Topeka, or Free State Kansas Bill, is a law; but there is not the remotest probability that it can pass the Senate, and even if it could, it would encounter the veto of the President. Those who have the most strenuously urged the bill in the House have of course been aware that it stood no chance of becoming a law. But a few hours before the last vote was taken in the House, Mr. Seward offered an amendment to a pending bill comprehending precisely the same principle as the Topeka bill of the House, which amendment was rejected by the Senate—ayes *eleven;* noes *thirty-six.*

Several Northern Members of the House, voted against the Topeka bill. They regerded the affair as simply an abortion, the bill itself impracticable and absurd, and felt justified in treating it as a political manoeuvre of the Republicans, from which no good was expected by any body. This was the view taken of the bill by Mr. HAVEN, of this State, and so regarding it, with the certainty that the bill itself would have no vitality after it had passed the House, he voted against it. Mr Haven, on the same day, however, voted for Dunn's amendment to restore the Missouri Prohibition of Slavery in the Territories. This amendment was adopted by a good vote.

In the SENATE, on Thursday morning, after a session of all night, several very important votes were taken. The bill known as the Kansas Nebraska Pacification bill was under discussion.

Mr ADAMS, (American) of Mississippi, moved to amend the bill so that *none but American citizens* should be allowed to vote in Kansas, previous to her admission as a State. For this purpose, he moved to *strike* out the following in the bill:—

"Including all persons who shall have filed their declaration of intention to become such, in compliance with the naturalization laws of the United States."

Mr. ADAMS said strike out this section, and we shall confine voting in Kansas to the free white male citizens of the United States. The motion to 'strike out' PREVAILED, ayes 22, nays 16—Messrs. Seward and Wilson voting with Douglas and Butler *against* it.

The bill itself afterwards passed the Senate

This is a very important bill. It restores to Congress the power it parted with over the Territories, by Douglas's Kansas and Nebraska bill; it sweeps away all the tyrannical tests and oaths, which the Territorial Legislature prescribed for voters; prohibits the enforcing of any law against freedom of speech or the press. In short, it is an effectual blow against all the tyrannical acts and usurpations of Stringfellow, Achison, and their followers. It is believed it will pass the House. If this bill shall pass the House, (and there can be no good reason why it may not) we are in a fair way to have an improved state of things in Kansas.



MONDAY EVENING, JULY 7, 1856.

The Kansas Congressional Committee.

The Report of Messrs. HOWARD and SHERMAN, overwhelmingly fortified with Testimony proving more of usurpation and outrage than was alleged, all written out with the pen of truth, is enlightening the public mind and arousing the public indignation.

The series of wrongs inflicted upon Kansas, by Missouri, with the avowed object of extending Slavery into that Territory against the wishes of its Inhabitants, form the darkest page in American History. And in all the crimes committed, including robbery, arson and murder, Missouri has had the aid, co-operation and protection of the General Government! In every Kansas Election, the proportion of Missourians voting has been as three to one against the Electors of Kansas. In every such Election the People of the Territory have been driven from the Polls by armed "Border Ruffians." The Territorial Legislature was chosen by Missourians. Gen. WHITFIELD was elected by Missourians. Sanguinary and Infamous Laws were enacted by Missourians. Free Presses were burned by Missourians. Freemen were robbed, imprisoned and murdered by Missourians.

All this "damning array" of facts, undeniably established by a Congressional Committee, has not even yet elicited one word or expression of reproof either from the Administration, or from any Administration Member of Congress. And three recreant, craven Members of Congress from our own State, followers of FILLMORE, voted against ridding Kansas of Missouri Vassalage, by coming into the Union with a Free Constitution!

Nobly has the wisdom of Speaker BANKS been vindicated by the able and fearless manner that the Kansas Committee has discharged its difficult duty. That duty was discharged, too, with as much good sense and temper as courage. Less fearless men would have been intimidated when beleaguered by "Border Ruffians," with Revolvers in their belts and Bowie-Knives in their boots. But they pursued the "even tenor of their way," and with truly wonderful success, gathered from witnesses, often reluctant, and frequently intimidated, volumes of Testimony, direct and corroborative, furnishing "proof strong as holy writ," that the Government of Kansas is a Usurpation in which the People of Kansas had no voice; and that the Federal Territorial Officers are the instruments and abettors of that Usurpation.

To Messrs. HOWARD and SHERMAN, therefore, the persecuted and suffering citizens of Kansas owe a large debt of gratitude for services which command the admiration not only of the immediate constituents of those members, but of all who love Justice, Truth and Freedom.

LATE OUTRAGES ON THE MISSOURI.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

ST. LOUIS, 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. M'Grew, 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 boiler-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 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 the 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 the property (by the way) was taken on shore at Leavenworth, and deposited till their return down the 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 and 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 Warnley." The same authority quietly adds: "Met the William Campbell with a large force of Southerners bound for Kansas." Thus it goes: the South pours its multitudes in, while a single Free-State party is got up with great labor, amid the opposition of "cautious" men, and gets disarmed on the way. When will the North wake up? 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 cities are ready to do is 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 men. 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 practicable ways by which the passage might yet be opened to Free emigrants. But there must be some outrage yet before even the Northwest 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 nonentity every morning and a beast almost every afternoon? Yours truly,

T. W. HIGGINSON.

☞ The Argus publishes a statement furnished it by Dr. GORGAN, who went from this city to Kansas two years ago. The Doctor was a pro-Slavery man, and says he was driven from Topeka by the Free-State Party. We have no evidence to disprove this statement; but we have evidence to prove that what he says of the murders at Ossawatomie is grossly exaggerated and untrue. Dr. GORGAN says:—

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, "Ossawatomie Brown." One of these murders was particularly atrocious. A German called "Dutch Henry" had refused to go into the Topeka insurrection, and was styled, in the slang of the day, a "pro-slavery man." He was marked out as a victim; but he was absent when the attack was made; and his brother, a German, who had been only three weeks in the country, was in the house. He was asked if he was a pro-slavery man? He replied no. Was he a Free-State man? No. He was taken to a ravine near the house, his ears and nose cut off, and other more infamous mutilations perpetrated, and then his throat cut. The three Doyles, a father and two sons, torn away from wife and daughters, tortured and killed, were victims of this same party.

There *were* five men murdered at the place named. But who the murderers were is not known. It is known, however, that the person designated as "Ossawatomie Brown" was not a party to the murder, for, at the time of it, he was at Kansas City.

Nor is it true that the bodies were mutilated as charged. The crime was brutal enough without that; and it finds no apologists among Free-State men either in or out of Kansas. The bodies were buried by Free-State men, who were as indignant at the murders as any others—having held a meeting to denounce the crime and to take steps to discover the murderers.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
MONDAY MORNING, JULY 7, 1856.

Kansas Investigating Committee.

This committee have made a Report to Congress of their investigations of the frauds committed at the elections in Kansas. It is too voluminous for our columns, and an abstract is hardly possible.—We presume that it will be printed in a pamphlet for the perusal of every Free State citizen—of every one who feels that the purity of the ballot box and the perpetuity of our Institutions are intimately connected. It unfolds a concerted system of fraud and force, on the part not only of Missourians, but of those high in authority, *to make Kansas a Slave State.* No one can read the evidence produced without feeling that the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise was planned by Atchison and Douglas, and coincided in by Pierce and the Administration party, for this express purpose. What state, what city or town election, will be safe, when such frauds are allowed?

The following shows the outrageous frauds committed by the Missourians at the election of members of the Territorial Legislature:

Dist.	Census of Voters.	Votes Polled.	Legal Voters.	Illegal Voters.
I.	369	1064	232	802
II.	199	341	30	311
III.	101	372	40	332
IV.	47	80	15	62

At the close of their Report the Committee read the following conclusions: Vide page

Such are the conclusions to which the vast array of facts embodied in the Report will conduct all impartial readers. *The whole Territorial Elections have been under the control of armed bands of residents of Missouri.* Thus to secure the new state to slavery, every principle of Republicanism, or of Right, has been violated by men claiming to be citizens of the United States acting under the Constitution, and to be of the straitest sect of the Democracy! What hope is there of the perpetuity of our Union or of our Republican forms, when such proceedings are not only allowed, but justified?

These frauds were committed by members of the so-called Democratic party—by the supporters of the present Administration—by men who intend to vote for James Buchanan, as the man best fitted to carry out their plans of the propagation of slavery by fraud or force! The same thing is true respecting the frauds of ballot-box stuffing at San Francisco, though different motives were the governing cause. The so-called Democratic or Buchanan party were the instigators of the enormous frauds there practised for the sake of the enjoyment of the petty City offices, and the success of the party! Shall such a party be continued in power by the people? Shall they be enabled by a rule of four years more to debauch our elections—to stuff the ballot boxes of one State and to surround them with revolvers and bowie knives in another? The leaders of the Democratic party of the United States are unwilling to give up the emoluments and influence of office. For this reason, they flatter the prejudices and favor the plans of the South. For this reason, they employ fraud and force at elections. *Shall they be continued in power* by the election of James Buchanan? Every lover of freedom, free speech, the free ballot, and free labor will answer NO!

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
MONDAY, JULY 7.

I HEARTILY CONCUR IN ALL MOVEMENTS WHICH HAVE FOR THEIR OBJECT 'TO REPAIR THE MISCHIEFS ARISING FROM THE VIOLATION OF GOOD FAITH IN THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.' I AM OPPOSED TO SLAVERY IN THE ABSTRACT, AND UPON PRINCIPLES 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 AS INFLEXIBLY OPPOSED TO ITS EXTENSION ON THIS CONTINENT BEYOND ITS PRESENT LIMITS. *John Charles Fremont.*

The Treason in Kansas.

It is now some weeks since Gov. ROBINSON, when quietly pursuing his journey, with his wife, from Kansas to Washington, was forcibly seized and detained in Missouri, without warrant or precept or color of law. Thus detained, his wife departed without him, and in the meantime word was sent back to Kansas that he had been seized and detained until an indictment could be got up against him. Judge LECOMPTE, appointed by PIERCE to administer justice to the people of Kansas, was not slow, through the instrumentality of a packed jury summoned by Mr. PIERCE'S marshal, in procuring the required indictment, and Gov. ROBINSON was sent back a prisoner to Kansas. There he has remained long, weary weeks, in close duress, guarded by United States soldiers, under the orders of this Administration.

What is his crime? He is charged by LECOMPTE and his packed grand jury with treason, and for this the Administration detain him, by federal arms and federal money, in custody. His treason consists in his having, with a large majority of the people of Kansas, taken an active part in forming a State constitution, been elected by a large majority of the people to be Governor, and applying to Congress for a recognition as a State and admission into the Federal Union. These peaceful proceedings, practised heretofore in other and less pressing emergencies in other territories, are declared to be treason in Gov. ROBINSON and his associates, by a tool of the Administration and his packed jury, and he is imprisoned with the concurrence and knowledge of this degraded and tyrannical Administration. The constitution which they present is an admirable instrument, enlightened, just and beneficent, and establishes freedom in the new State. Had it contained a clause authorizing slavery, Gov. ROBINSON and his friends would have escaped these long, severe, atrocious, and causeless persecutions, with which he has been vindictively followed and imprisoned—torn from his family and denied the intercourse of his friends. To wreak their vengeance more fully on this bold champion of freedom, his house has been burned by the mob, calling itself a *posse*, under the Border Ruffian laws of Kansas, and with the furniture, library and all that it contained destroyed, while he was imprisoned.

These are the fruits of the Territorial policy inaugurated by this administration in 1854, and persistently adhered to since. This is the policy to which JAMES BUCHANAN stands pledged. These are some of the means for extending and nationalizing slavery, forced upon the country by this administration. The whole question of slavery was adjusted and settled by the act of 1820, which DOUGLAS, TOUCEY, and others repealed. Had that act remained, these outrages could never have taken place. The blood of the slain in Kansas is on these men.

But not only has Robinson been imprisoned on this infamous and illegal assumption of treason—others associated with him are also indicted and persecuted by the ruffian tools of the administration. REEDER and LANE, the two Senators elected to Congress, are also charged with this same crime of treason, and are hunted from the territory by the miserable creatures whom this administration has armed and equipped, and taken into its pay as militia, composed of the idle, vagabond, dissolute, gambling collection of the most degraded portion of South Carolina, Alabama and some other States. These wretches who scorn and despise labor, SHANNON took into pay, and their spring and summer employment has been in harassing the industrious and laboring population,—stealing their cattle—robbing them of their horses, plundering their dwellings—insulting the women, imprisoning the men, and in every way interrupting them in their avoca-

ons. Free labor they hate—free labor they mean to exterminate, and every man who advocates the rights of free labor, they denounce as abolitionists, and are determined by the perverted assistance of United States troops to drive from the territory.

But the House of Representatives, in behalf of the people of the United States, has spoken on that subject. A majority of that body recognise and accept the Topeka constitution. What was pronounced treason in ROBINSON, and REEDER and LANE, and their associates, by the miserable tool of the administration, a majority of the Representatives of the people declare to be correct. Are they also, like the persecuted freemen of Kansas, to be indicted for treason? We shall have to wait events. But the people of this country are rousing to the enormities of this administration and the weakness of its policy—a policy to which PIERCE and BUCHANAN, and the whole nullifying influence is pledged.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
MONDAY MORNING, JULY 7, 1856.

Late and Interesting from Kanzas.

SPRINGFIELD MEN AMONG THE BRAVEST OF THE FREE STATE SETTLERS—PERSECUTIONS STILL GOING ON.

We are permitted to make use of a letter from Charles Stearns of Lawrence, Kanzas, to his mother in this city, dated June 22, which contains some items of special interest to our own citizens. It appears that John Brown, of whom we have had accounts as the bravest leader of the free state men and most feared by the ruffians, and who was recently taken prisoner by them and chained to his insane son in most barbarous style, was formerly a resident of this city, and will be recollected as having been of the firm of Perkins & Brown in the wool business here. We take several paragraphs from Mr Stearns' letter:

"What has become of you? We have heard nothing for five or six weeks. We have written several times since the last war began, but probably our masters do not see fit to allow our letters to reach their destination. Border ruffianism still reigns triumphant. Only this last week a company of them, with U. S. troops on their side, paraded through town and arrested whoever they saw fit, for a pretended assault on a Mr Haney, a pro-slavery villain of the deepest dye, who sympathized with the ruffians when the hotel was destroyed. Only think of living in continual dread not only of assassination and robbery, but of their counterpart, arrest by the U. S. troops and trial by a border ruffian court at the head-quarters of ruffianism, Lecompton!"

We learn from another source that when Haney reached Lecompton with his prisoners, Gov Shannon found that he had no warrant for their arrest and was not an officer, and he ordered their discharge; but sheriff Jones was around and immediately commissioned Haney as his deputy, made out the writs against the men on the spot, and had them arrested and imprisoned. That is what they call 'law and order' in Kanzas.

We quote further from the letter: "Business is at a complete stand. If the town stands and re-inforcements arrive business will probably be good the coming fall; until then we do not hope for much. Gloomy indeed is the prospect for the territory. I hardly think we can keep slavery out of the territory. We cannot without fighting, and fighting is of no use without the North to help us. A thousand men armed and provisioned for one year are absolutely necessary to save us from the grasp of the slave power. I have actually bought me a rifle and shall fight if the crisis demands it. Non-resistance is of no more value with the border ruffians than chastity with a prostitute. [Mr S. went to Kanzas a radical peace man]. They are brutes of the lowest grade and must be met with their own weapons. I stood guard last night, and am ready at any time to lose my life and all my property in defense of liberty.—Mary [his wife,] is equally determined; she visited Mrs Cary a few weeks since, and with her practiced pistol shooting and became quite expert. She has a couple of small pistols to defend herself with, and keeps them where she can lay her hands on them at night.

"It is emphatically the reign of terror here.—Men are slaughtered for no other crime but being free state men, and their property taken. This morning I saw a man who was shot by the border ruffians, after being robbed of everything he had, horses, wagon and money. He is just able to crawl about. Gov Shannon winks at all this, and does nothing to protect us. The free state men have had several fights with the ruffians and have always been the victors. In one case they took double their own number in prisoners and lots of horses, ammunition, etc. Mrs Nichols' son (formerly of Brattleboro', Vt.) was wounded in one of these battles. You need not be surprised to hear the same of me, one of these days, for I shall never run from the border ruffians—'Give me liberty or give me death.'

"In one of these skirmishes the free state men lost several who were taken prisoners by the ruffians, among them John and Jason Brown, formerly of Springfield, where John Brown, the father, was once in the wool business. He is one of the most valiant men we have. His other son, John Jr., is still a prisoner and insane. I saw Jason Brown, the son released with his father, last night, and another son several days ago. I saw the chains which were put upon them, and by which the father was chained to his insane son, and in which they traveled twenty-five miles."

The correspondent of the St. Louis Democrat, writing at Lawrence, June 28th, gives these additional particulars in respect to the treatment of the Browns:—

"On Saturday last, a company of five men came into our city from Tecumseh, where they had been confined for some time as prisoners. They were captured by the dragoons on or about the 27th of last month, near Ossawattomie; their arms were taken from them; chains put upon their ankles and they were driven thirty miles under a hot sun with the irons upon them, in front of the troops mounted on horses. They were hurried along on foot all day, without time being allowed them to get dinner and water on the road. One of them described his sufferings on that very warm day as horrible. They wore the chains upon their limbs for nearly four weeks, and when brought before judge Cato they were discharged, as nothing could be found against them. Three of the party captured were, however, retained, Messrs Partridge, John Brown, Jr., and Williams. The two latter are members of the Kanzas legislature. The former was released on bail, and arrived here this morning. Four indictments were found against John Brown, Jr., for high treason, kidnapping a slave, conspiracy and horse stealing; Mr Williams for high treason; Mr Partridge for conspiracy; the others nothing against them, they having been imprisoned nearly a month for no crime. Mr Brown came to Lawrence to assist in its defense a few days prior to the destruction of the hotel and printing presses, and for doing that he is indicted for high treason by Judge Cato! While Mr Brown was in this city, his house was attacked by a company under the command of Henry Clay Pato, special correspondent of the Missouri Republican. After sacking the house it was set on fire by Pato's company and destroyed, together with a library valued at $250. Mr B. is a poor man; they have robbed him of all his property. He is hated and persecuted because he is for making Kanzas a free state. In this way are the settlers robbed by Shannon's possies, assisted by the United States army."

We had, some days since, a telegraphic report of the murder of William Gay, an Indian agent of the general government in Kanzas, by Indians. The account came from ruffian sources. It now appears on the evidence of Mr Gay's son, who was with him at the time, that his father was murdered by the pro-slavery ruffians, and murdered solely because he came from a free state. The crime was committed on the 21st of June, about two miles from Westport, Mo. As Mr Gay and his son were passing along the road they were overtaken by three ruffians on horseback, one of whom asked Gay what part of the country he was from; and on being told 'from Michigan,' observed, 'I believe you are a d—d freesoiler,' and immediately blazed away at him. The old man was unarmed, but clenched his assailant and got away his bowie knife from him. Upon this the other two fired upon him and his son. Gay received five shot wounds, the last shot lodging in his right eye. The son was severely wounded in the thigh. The elder Gay soon expired, and his pockets were rifled of $150. The people of Westport, who had encouraged the murder of free state men, were alarmed when they found that their ruffians had made a mistake and killed a government officer, and immediately called a public meeting and offered $700 reward for the arrest of the murderers. The general government has allowed its agents to lead the gangs of ruffians to the robbery and murder of peaceable citizens—will it also tolerate the murder of such of its own officials as come from the free states?

WHAT ATCHISON THINKS.—Mr Lines, of the Connecticut colony in Kanzas, writes that he was on a steamboat in company with David R. Atchison recently, and Atchison said he "did not like the nomination of Buchanan, although it would make no difference in *the result, as the party were fully committed to their cause*,—but, said he, a victory with Pierce or Douglas would have been worth fighting for, because they were more actively *identified* with the great questions at issue. He complained that the Buford men had overdone matters in the territory, having taken their own friends as well as foes, and, in one instance, he said they had arrested Wilson's (meaning Shannon, as we suppose,) brother-in-law, tied a ball and chain to him, and sent him down the river."

FREMONT.

BY ELIZABETH WHITTIER.

From the National Era.

All hail to Fremont! Swell the lofty acclaim
Like winds from the mountains, like prairies aflame!
Once more the Pathfinder is forth on his hunt,
Clear the way for Free Soil, for Free Men and Fremont!

We'll spurn every fetter, we'll break every rod,
And Kanzas shall bloom like the Garden of God,
When we plant the white banner of Freedom upon't,
And cry, 'To the rescue, Free Men and Fremont!"

Oh! the land that we love shall be sacred from slaves,
From the tyrant's misrule and the plunder of knaves;
We'll baptize the Union in Liberty's font,
And the faith of our fathers shall live with Fremont!

Go, brave mountain climber, lead on in the path
Where the people shall sweep in the storm of their wrath.
Who shall hinder their triumph, if God so appoint?
Who stay the bold march of Free Men and Fremont.

Then East, West and North, swell the lofty acclaim
Like winds from the mountains, like prairies aflame!
Clear the way, the Pathfinder moves on in our front,
And our hearts shall keep time to the march of Fremont!

OLD STOCKBRIDGE, July 3.—We had a glorious Fremont ratification meeting here last evening. It was opened, as the primary meetings of the people in the *first* Revolution were, by prayer; the venerable Rev Mr Field leading the devotions of the people. Fitz Henry Warren of Iowa then expatiated on the wrongs of Kanzas and their remedy, in accents which came warm from the heart, and were sent home with power to the intellects and consciences of all his hearers. He was followed up by John Z. Goodrich, J. Reid, E. W. B. Canning and C. M. Owen in like strain, and the meeting adjourned *sine die*, after the passage of the following resolutions, with three cheers for Fremont:—

Resolved, That the territory of Kanzas is consecrated to freedom, and that consecration must remain infact forever.

Resolved, That we believe that the election of John C. Fremont to the presidency will result in securing freedom to that territory, and therefore we will use every lawful means to accomplish it.

Resolved, That it is the duty of every true American to carry out the intentions of the founders of our republic,—to make slavery sectional and freedom national; and to unite, heart and hand, to prevent the extension of the former over an inch more of our public domain.

The fires of 1810 are alive again in the Housatonic valley, and the Berkshire men, though slow in getting under way, yet move, when started, with effective momentum. They are getting up steam; so please clear the track, and look out for a welcome result in November.

[illegible], &c.—The Fremont meeting at New Haven was addressed by Mr Dana of the New York Tribune and Mr Harrison of New Haven. Gen Wilson said in his speech that he received an average of five letters a day from the South, whose authors said that there was a strong anti-slavery sentiment in the southern states, but the despotism was so severe there that it allowed no expression of their views; but if the North would extinguish their doughfaced politicians, the would-be free South would join hands with us in arresting the further progress of slavery in the territories. C. H. Barlow of Waterbury, who was strung up by the neck in Kanzas by the slavery ruffians, was at the meeting, and his presence on the stage produced a deep sensation.

The profits of the New York Tribune for the last six months were $60,000, and the proprietors donated $1000 to the Kanzas aid committee and another thousand to the Fremont vigilance committee. About half of this sum of profits was devoted to a payment on the purchase of the buidings occupied by the Tribune, which have recently been bought by Greeley & Co. for $130,000.

The Daily Spy.

MONDAY, JULY 7, 1856.

KANZAS MEETING.

The City Hall again crowded, on Sunday Evening.

On Sunday evening, in response to a notice posted in the streets, the City Hall was crowded with ladies and gentlemen to hear a report from Rev. T. W. Higginson, who had returned on the previous night from a trip to the far west, for the purpose of affording aid and advice to the party of Massachusetts emigrants who were arrested and robbed while passing through the state of Missouri on their way to settle in Kanzas.

The meeting was called to order by Dr O. Martin. Eli Thayer, Esq., was called to the Chair, and Thomas Earle was chosen Secretary.

Mr. Higginson then took the stand, and proceeded to narrate all the circumstances of those infamous outrages upon the rights and liberties of Massachusetts citizens which have been perpetrated upon the Missouri river.

The audience listened with the most earnest attention, and when he had concluded, there was but one impression upon the minds of the audience, and that was altogether favorable to the courage and prudence and good conduct of the Massachusetts company. Mr. Higginson eulogized Dr. Cutter, the commander of the party, in the strongest terms.

The crowded state of our columns prevents us from giving a full report of the proceedings this morning, but as many of the facts there stated are given in the communication from Mr. Higginson which appears in another column, it will be a matter of less regret to our readers than it would be under other circumstances.

KANZAS MATTERS.—Our friend and fellow citizen, Rev. T. W. Higginson, returned home late on Saturday evening, from a trip to the far West, which he made for the purpose of looking after the interests of Eastern Emigrants to Kanzas. He brings much new and interesting information in regard to the state of affairs upon the Western border, and also the gratifying intelligence of the safety of the emigrants from this section who fell among thieves. The statements of Mr. Higginson in another column in advance as they are of mail and telegraph, will be found of especial interest at this time, and should be perused by all.

KANZAS.

The subjoined letter, giving an account of the Border Ruffian outrages to which the first party of Kanzas emigrants was exposed by the Border Ruffians of the West, is from the pen of Mrs. Dr. Cutter of Warren who was of the party. Read it:

A Trip to Leavenworth City, K. T.

It is said that there is nothing new under the sun. This is true of the elementary principles of oppression, tyranny, and slavery—while it may not be true of the manifestations of the will of tyrants. The acts now daily perpetrated upon the Missouri river and in Kanzas are the legitimate results of the tyrannical principle in our government; the immediate actors in these oppressive and bloody dramas, are but the *instruments* and the *employees* of the slave power. To complain of these automatons, to denounce their atrocities, while we overlook and apologize for the so-called "respectable" men, at whose bidding these wrongs are enacted, is as absurd as it would be to denounce the bowie knife or pistol of the assassin, while the knave who wielded the weapon of death upon his neighbor, is greeted by honorable men and ushered into good society.

I will now tell an unvarnished tale of what I have seen the last two weeks. I left my New England home June 17th, to accompany my husband to Kanzas, with the expectation that the rich, rolling prairies of that section of the country would be my future home. In accordance with a common feeling of greater security, we joined a company emigrating to that territory. The party consisted of forty men and two women. The company were from several of the New England States, and consequently strangers to one another. There was no organization of the party until we arrived at Deposit, on the New York and Erie Railroad. My husband was then unanimously selected as the general travelling conductor of the party; another was selected to take charge of the baggage; and the third, to provide the needful to sustain the wants of the stomach. There was no military organization—no drill or use of military weapons—but agricultural and mechanical implements, and also guns and pistols belonging to the party for use and defence. We arrived at Chicago June 20th, and by advice of gentlemen of that city, we proceeded to St. Louis, instead of Iowa city. We left the busy, bustling levee of St. Louis, in the steamer Sultan, June 24th.

No paragraph of incidents or accidents occurred to relieve the monotony of mud banks, and the same unvarying view of cotton wood, except here and there a bluff towered upwards to furnish a retreat for the turkey buzzard.

The evening of June 25 we arrived at Boonville, Mo. One of the passengers, a Mr. Whittaker of Saline co., Mo., stepped ashore, and busied himself reporting us; there was some excitement on the bank, accompanied with threats. Here a vague rumor reached us that the company from Chicago, that had preceded us up the river, had been disarmed, and they would not be permitted to leave the boat. On the afternoon of the 26th we met the steamer Star of the West, with the disarmed Chicago company. They advised our return. Facts being stated, arrangements were made with the captain of the Star of the West for us to return to St. Louis.

Two of our company entered the boat, others were prevented by the passage way being filled with Missourians, who were guarding the Chicago men down the river; they presented pistols and threatened the life of the captain and others, if more from the Sultan came aboard. The noble steamer turned rapidly, and glided down, while we ploughed up the turbid waters of the Missouri. It was then decided that we return on the Sultan, occupying the same rooms that we then had. The rifles were then delivered to the clerk of the boat, and consigned to a commission house in St. Louis; a receipt was written, but not signed, when the boat reached Waverly. The shore here was lined with armed men—our steamer was boarded—the rifles forcibly taken away. These robbers stated that three pieces of cannon and fifteen hundred men were planted on shore. There were also cannons at Lexington to "adjust matters" if there was resistance. It was dark, and I did not see the "peace makers." We then cherished the hope that we should proceed unmolested, as we had made arrangements not to land at Leavenworth; and besides, the dreaded, as well as eagerly-sought-for Sharpe's rifles, were stolen. At Richland the same public military demonstration awaited us, although the rain was pouring in torrents.

We arrived at dawn on Sunday morning, at Liberty; here were arranged a military company of one hundred and fifty men, armed with *U. S. muskets*, also cannon to command the river—threats were here made, and a portion of the military remained on the boat—on leaving the shore, the guns were discharged in the air, and directions given to the cannonier "not to fire *too* high, as people were on the opposite bank" At Independence we had similar ruffian treatment, also an accession to our bandit company. (May I never see Liberty or Independence again, if these places are representatives of those words so endeared to every true American.) Before we arrived at Kanzas City, my husband, guided by the advice of Free State men not of our party, arranged with Capt. James Shaw and Capt. H. Bledsoe of Independence, that the pistols should be deposited with the clerk of the Sultan with the positive assurance that each man should receive his pistol on the return of the boat to Kanzas City. We were now near the shore, and looking from my state room, two hundred of Col. Buford's gang met my eye. The excitement was more intense than the preceding places. At Parkville the same demonstration awaited us as at former landings. My pen is inadequate to describe the motly crowd that we saw on two terraces as we approached Delaware City, K. T. I hope Pluto may never receive into his dark domain a viler looking crew. In their hands were muskets, rifles, pistols, knives, &c. These were the "law and order" militia of the Territory. I was told they were chiefly from South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, ordered by Gov. Shannon to preserve the peace of the Territory.

In passing from Delaware to Leavenworth City, our masters gave another turn to the slave driver's screw. The state rooms must be examined. In searching the gentlemen's cabin, three rifles were found, gifts to different persons of our party. The "Regulating Committee" assured the owners, on the honor of gentlemen, that they should be returned. But alas! in this instance, the old maxim was not verified—"there is honor among thieves." Behind the warehouse at Leavenworth City, there is a deposit of U. S. muskets for the use of the "law and order men." Does this look like disarming the pro slavery men? At this landing, insult was heaped upon insult. My pen forbids to tell the tale. Over this city waved the red flag with the letters S. R. (Southern Rights.) I now took my berth, as my physical energies were prostrated. We passed Fort Leavenworth—here on a parapet waved the so called Flag of Freedom, whose folds are to afford protection to every American citizen. But no protection, no security did it give to free state men and women. Its flag staff is nailed by the fiat of the slaveholder, and now I felt the force of Douglas's words, "we will subdue you."

On arriving at Weston, Mo, the door that opens upon the guards of the steamer, was thrown open, and I saw that I was a prisoner. About six feet from me stood two *gallant* gentlemen from the sunny South, guarding a sick woman, who required a constant attendant. Here these chivalric men remained, with huge pistols fully displayed on the left side, and large hilted bowie knives on the right—occasionally, Capt. H B. Chapman of S. C., crossed over the stern of the boat, and probably sympathised with them in their arduous labors. It is but justice for me to say, that Capt John Gillspicer of Miss., from his better culture, did not stare at me as rudely as Capt. Eli Moore of Virginis.

Monday morning, June 30.—The bow of our steamer was turned, and we were floating down the Missouri, under the surveillance of men, armed with rifles revolvers, &c. All was quiet until we reached Parkville. A change was now manifest in our captor guards. They visited the bar more frequently—they increased the number of deadly weapons—profanity and threats of murder were rife. They made every effort to get up a wordy quarrel, as a pretext to murder unarmed unresisting men. They did not succeed—hence, murder is not added to their list of atrocities.

The Regulating Committee refused, at Kanzas City, to return the pistols and side arms, as previously arranged. In addition, Captains Shaw and Bledsoe took a bale of goods. We received no further annoyance after leaving Independence—though a 'corporal's guard' attended us below Lexington.

I will close this brief and painful recital of facts by a few remarks,—1st, it may be asked, who are the men that commit these outrages? I will answer, all classes in Western Missouri, and the South lend their aid. At Weston, Gen. Stringfellow, Sheriff Spratt of Platt Co., and other men of wealth smiled approbation. At Kanzas city, Mr. Russell of great wealth, and others of less note, aided by Southern chivalry, operate with the most degraded ruffians of Missouri.

2d, What in respect to the officers of the Boats? The mob *rule* all the Boats above Lexington. Persons or property cannot be protected.

3d, Will the Missourians permit Free State men to enter Kanzas? I answer, No! They stop large companies prepared to protect themselves. They *pretend* that small unarmed companies can be admitted, but the self-styled "law and order men," to annoy, if not to rob them.

4 th, What is the true condition of the North? I answer, *subjugated, subdued*, unless a pathway is opened so that Kanzas can be freely entered by all citizens of the United States.

MRS. E. P. CUTTER.

Letter from T. W. Higginson.

To complete this statement of Mrs. Cutter's, something farther seems necessary. Having gone to St. Louis on the first telegraphic news of the outrage, for the purpose of meeting this very party of emigrants, and assisting or directing them if necessary, having also left that city on Thursday evening, July 3, I am able to correct some false impressions which seem to exist here.

The recent telegraphic despatch from Chicago about the "Ottawa Company," and a certain "Decatur," (supposed by some to be our friend, Dr. Cutter,) is, like many despatches from that region, a jumble of confusion, and in no way authentic. True, a company from Ottawa went up the river as Dr. Cutter came down, and trouble was expected, but no definite news had come from them when I left St. Louis, *after* the date of the despatch—which may therefore be disregarded.

I waited at St. Louis a day and a half for Dr. Cutter and his company, who *returned in safety* on the third of July. We immediately chartered a steamboat to take them up the Mississippi river to Davenport, Iowa, starting that same afternoon. Thence they were to go by railroad to Iowa city, where Dr. Cutter and Perry Thayer would join them. Dr Cutter came along with me that same night as far as Alton; so I can state confidently that he was out of the hands of the Border Ruffians. Indeed, neither he nor any of the others were ever imprisoned in any way or taken off the boat.

I had time enough, however, to carefully question the members of the party, with the officers and passengers of the boat. All their accounts agree; and they prove clearly the outrageous conduct of the Missourians, and the admirable conduct of our men. All along the road the latter have obtained respect. The captain of the steamb at pronounced them the best company of emigrants he ever carried. The passengers praised them likewise. And every person without exception, was enthusiastic in his praise of Dr. Cutter, not merely as regard to his energy and courage (which not only ever doubted) but as to his caution, prudence, coolness, and discretion (about which some of us had a good deal of doubt.) Said a Wisconsin passenger to me: "Not a man in ten thousand could have saved the lives of that company. There were men on board the boat, for days together, who had sworn not to let him go on shore alive; they were constantly trying to pick a quarrel with him, after his men were disarmed; a single blow struck would have been the death warrant of the whole party; and it required rare coolness and judgment to prevent it."

All this was fully confirmed by other testimony. There were but two paths open before Dr. Cutter, when once his danger was discerned. One was, to sell the lives of his men as dearly as possible but *not* to surrender the arms. This course was fully considered by Dr. Cutter, and rejected. The

only alternative was to temporize with the enemy, to surrender nominally, but in reality to give up as little as possible. This he did.

All the steamboat captains agree, that there were on that river, as he went up, *from three to five thousand men*, distributed at different points, several hundred at each. At Waverly, Lexington, Delaware, Liberty, Independence, Plattville, Leavenworth, and Weston, there were these were these bands—commonly with cannon. Of course, forty-five men could not fight their way through these, in a steamboat so fragile that one cannon shot might sink her. Of course, he had to surrender, or sacrifice the lives of all his men. He chose the former.

Some may say—why go up the Missouri at all? It was done by the earnest advice of our best friends in Chicago and St. Louis, and I cannot blame him, though I never for a moment believed it would succeed.

Some may say—why not return in the steam boat *Star of the West*, with the Chicago company, who warned them of their danger. Because the South Carolinians on board the boat would not permit the captain to stop, nor allow them to get on board, except Perry Thayer and C. H. Holway, who were sent on board first by Dr. Cutter.

The real trouble was this: they were taken by *surprise*. The Chicago men warned them that there would be an attack at Lexington.—Instead of that, the mob had come farther down and awaited at Waverly. It was evening, and they could only *see* some three or four hundred men, with arms and cannon. They were *told* that there were fifteen hundred, which from other accounts, is by no means impossible.

Now, just as they got in sight of Waverly, they had concerted an excellent plan for saving most of their guns, which it is needless to print, but which would have succeeded admirably, I think, but for this most unhappy surprise at Waverly.

Several other excellent plans were formed, doing great credit to Dr. Cutter; but the overwhelming numbers of their opponents rendered abortive. This was the case, for instance, with a plan of landing near Westport, and going through by land. It would have been suicidal.

Of course there are always persons who believe no plan a good one, that does not succeed. I am writing for no such person. I know that Cutter *deserved* success. And I maintain also that he obtained a *comparative* success. Look at it, for days together he was in an enemy's country, his little band, under guard and the banks of the river lined with men. Again and again the boat was searched by those thieves. He has brought back all his men safe, all his provisions, all his ammunition, some side arms, *and more good rifles than the Missourians have got from him.* Most of those they obtained, were got by an act of treachery at the last moment. He has brought back twenty; they have got only fifteen, *in good condition.* The remainder were sunk in the river, or dismantled before they were surrendered. No wonder at the remarked of a Missouri passenger, who saw these unloading after their return to St. Louis. "By——, the yankees have outwitted us, and are as well armed as when they started."

No thanks to the Missourians, however. When the guard left the steamboat again, disembarking at Independence, on the down trip, they carried the side-arms which their Captain (Shaw) had pledged his honor to return; besides stealing all the tents, and making a final search for rifles.

At this time they had evidently laid a deliberate plan to carry off Dr. Cutter. I enjoyed the looks of the young men who told me that part of the story. "We were collected in the cabin, on the watch," said they "and unarmed as we were, they would have had to walk over all of our bodies before capturing *him*."

Indeed I was delighted with the whole appearance of the company. They seemed to be twice the men that they were when they left Worcester A few left, between here and St. Louis, and two in Missouri. But not one of those remaining, but seemed more resolute than ever to force his way through into Kanzas *somehow*. They were brave, patient, uncomplaining, and perfectly united. I believe, from all I could hear of them, that, if Cutter had given the word, they would have fought to the last.

As to our other (second) company, when the rumor came to Chicago that the first company had been disarmed, perhaps killed or imprisoned, they came to me and begged as a favor that I would authorize them to go up the Missouri to their rescue. But it was not necessary.

I have no comment to make on these things—The facts are enough. Let me explain one thing farther. Other Free State men, *unarmed*, were sent back by this same boat, equally unable to enter the territory. On the other hand, the day I reached St. Louis a boat load of recruits went up unmolested. Thus the South acts while we are talking. Three weeks ago ten thousand dollars, in the hands of the Chicago committee, would have opened the Iowa route to Kanzas.—Five times that sum was, even then, subscribed in New England; but it was not *used* then—it is not used now. What is the consequence? The South sent hundreds, perhaps thousands of fresh men into Kanzas, between the sacking of Lawrence and the eventful 4th of July. The North, so far as I can learn, *did not send a single party*. I have said enough.

T. W. HIGGINSON.

The following resolutions, adopted by the Massachusetts emigrants, who were recently robbed by the land pirates of Missouri, on their way to Kanzas, deserve a place in our columns as a part of the history of these times, when the slave power rules the land, and the lash, the bowie knife, and the revolver, are used upon the national highways, to crush out the liberties of Northern freemen:

WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, and natives of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Illinois, left our old residences for the purpose of improving our future condition, by securing *permanent* homes in the Territory of Kanzas; *and whereas*, we have not only been robbed of our goods, and of our arms for defence, by citizens of Missouri, but have been forcibly prevented from entering the Territory of Kanzas *armed or unarmed*, by the same Missouri and Southern bands. Therefore,

Resolved, That the forcible resistance to the transit of persons and property through Missouri, on the great national thoroughfare of the Missouri River, is, in fact, a virtual dissolution of the Union

Resolved, That unless the impediments to the peaceable passage of free state men, free state women, and free state goods of every description, now existing in the State of Missouri and the Territory of Kanzas, in the form of large organized bands of men armed with cannon, rifles, U. S. muskets, pistols, and bowie knives, are removed, the threat of S. A. Douglas "We will subdue you," is accomplished we are subdued, and the North is subjugated by the slave power.

Calvin Cutter, Warren, Mass; S. M. Stevens, Bangor, Me; H. C. Abbott, Montpelier, Vt; C. H. Colton, Bayonne, Me; Jesse Holbrook, Bangor Me; W. L. Wightman, Geneva, Vt; Benj Gates, Templeton, Mass; Charles P. Tidd, Worcester, Mass; Henry W. Peters, Hinesburgh, Vt; George W. Wright, North Brookfield, Mass; G. F. Bigelow, Peterham, Mass; I. F. Phillips, Brimfield, Mass; D. H. Hurd, Chicago, Ill; William F. Harris, Worcester, Mass; M. W. Brown, Ware, Mass; C. A. Oliver, Worcester, Mass; C. F. Shepard, Sturbridge, Mass; Israel C. Bartlett, Bangor, Me; S. F. Sanborn, Haverhill, N. H; George Warden, Ware, Mass; Newton Blinn, New Britain, Ct; A. Chambers, Worcester, Mass; C. L. Preston, Worcester, Mass; George W. Bolster, Uxbridge, Mass; Charles W. Hughes, Hanesville, Me; J. B. Bannum, Hodedon, Me; George H. Strickland, Warren, Mass; W. H. Loman, Oakdale, Mass, Wm. Sherman, Ware, Mass; Tim Kelley, Oakdale, Mass; Geo. W. Olds, Sturbridge, Mass; Lewis Haskell, Dover, Me; E. P. Howland, Millbury, Mass.

The following resolutions were also passed by the members of this company:—

Resolved, That we are under great obligations to Dr. Cutter, for the manner in which he has managed the affairs of this party. Many, if not all of us, owe our lives, or our liberties, to his clear judgment and prompt action. We recognize, in him, a man whose sagacity, calmness, and courage do not desert him in moments of the greatest peril. We heartily recommend him to every friend of Freedom, for we believe him to be able, staunch, and true.

Resolved, That we admire the fortitude exhibited by Mrs. Cutter, during the perils that surrounded herself, as well as us, and that she has our thanks for her kind treatment when we were sick, as we has for courteous and encouraging attention when we were well.

The Atlas.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 7, 1856.

THE CHICAGO COMPANY.—The telegraph has briefly announced this the latest outrage against the constitutional rights of citizens of the free States, as it was also one of the most high-handed and arrogant on record. We find in the Chicago papers of Monday further particulars. A member of the company who returned to Chicago, Saturday, June 28th, furnishes the following statement:—

"The company proceeded from Alton up the river quietly and without molestation, until the boat got within fifteen miles of Lexington, on Sunday evening, where a passenger got ashore, who, as was afterwards discovered, procured a fleet horse and galloped to that place at a pace that killed the horse. He immediately announced that a company of Chicago emigrants were coming up the river on the 'Star of the West.' The whole town forthwith beat to arms. Some days previously, Col. Sumner had driven out of the territory four or five hundred armed South Carolinians, Georgians and Missourians, who had been bucaneering and plundering in Kansas. Those cut-throats had gone down to Lexington, where they were encamped at the time the Chicago company reached that place which was about 11 P. M., Sunday night.

The boat stopped to unload some freight. A chain cable was taken on shore and made fast. In a few minutes a committee of 25 men came aboard and were introduced to J. H. Andrews, President of the company, who demanded the arms of the men, which demand was stoutly refused. A long controversy or parley which lasted until 6 A. M. next morning before any definite arrangement was made. The force of the enemy were 800 to 1000 armed men. They had three cannon loaded to the muzzle bearing directly on the boat from the levee, and a fourth on the wharf-boat, so planted as to rake the steamer from stem to stern. The captain and crew became [illegible]. The former sent his wife and children ashore. All this while the mob roared and howled on the levee. To fight would have been sheer madness, as the Chicago men were opposed by ten times their own number, and with all the advantages of position on the side of the ruffians. The boat could have been sunk in two minutes.

At last it was agreed that the carbines, 50 in number, in the possession of the company should be delivered to a merchant of Lexington, who receipted for them. It was further stipulated that the arms should be restored to the men after quiet should be restored in the Territory.

The Chicago Tribune adds to the above account:

The boat was then unmoored and proceeded up the river. When she reached Parkville, our informant went ashore and ascended the bluff overlooking the stream, where he stood enjoying the fresh breeze, as the day was hot and sultry, waiting the signal for starting. While standing there three armed Missourians came up to him and inquired if he had come up the river on the Star of the West. He replied in the affirmative; whereupon they seized him, and marched him back from the river a half a mile, and detained him until after the boat had gone. They then brought him down to the levee, where he was detained until the Polar Star came along on her trip down. He was then put aboard, and started for St. Louis. He concluded to return to Chicago and relate the facts concerning the difficulty at Lexington. He starts tomorrow back to Kansas.

If the report be true this morning, the Kansas settlers sent from this city have been forced back from Weston. However we may regret this, it may not prove a futile loss or an inglorious defeat. It is easy enough to say, that they should have resisted—a momentary impulse would declare, better fight and fall than surrender—but seventy-five men cannot cope with five hundred, nor a handful meet and overcome a host.

The shallow-pated and thoughtless may sneer at this unfortunate termination of the first Chicago Company. Yet at what and over what do they laugh? At common rights trampled under foot by a ruffian mob—over common privileges wrested from American freemen! Already a *pass* is needed for the white man in Kansas, if he be for Freedom—men, white men, if for Liberty, cannot travel on a common highway of the Union. Is this a subject fit for jeers among those who value right, justice or law? It may delight the despot or his minions, but never can it do otherwise than quicken the indignation and the resolve of the leaders of Freedom and their friends.

One thing is now clear; if these reports shall prove true, that the river cannot be used for Kansas settlers, unless they are prepared to fight their way through. Had we men and money enough, we would try this dire alternative, rather than submit longer to the infernal outrages and brutal oppression of the Missouri robbers. For one, though loving peace, we should count life valueless unless its liberty were secure, and we would give that life at any moment, and against any foe, in its defence. But we want the means, and therefore cannot obtain the men, through whose stout arms and resolute will we might awe the ruffians into submission, and therefore the land route, through Iowa, must be chiefly the settlers' route. Go on they will. Kansas never will be surrendered to the slave power. More than ever, freemen will resolve upon this, and stand by it, till the triumph is won.

We know how temporary defeats discourage the timid, or startle the enthusiastic. But it is in that very crisis—it is amid discomfiture, that men of pluck show themselves, and stand up for the right with bolder front and sterner purpose. It will be so here and now. These settlers, and thousands of others like them, shall be planted in Kansas, there to work for freedom, without fear or failure, until freedom is made the fundamental law of the Territory.

We will only add this, that if the Chicago settlers reach Alton, in a fortnight thereafter they will be in Kansas.

Washington Correspondence of the Atlas.

WASHINGTON, July 3, 1856.

At eight o'clock this morning, after a session of twenty hours, the Senate passed the bill in relation to Kansas, which originated with Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, and the transparent object of which is to secure to the border-ruffians the fruits of their outrages. The free State leaders of Kansas being exiled, or imprisoned, and large numbers of the free State men being driven off, it is now proposed to clinch the nail, to deprive those who may hereafter go to Kansas, of any voice in its affairs, and to make it a slave State during the term of the present Administration. Bad as the Nebraska bill was, this bill is still worse.

The minority of the Senate, although small in number, exhibited great talent and vigor during the closing debate. This is conceded on all hands.

of the South admits of no freedom of opinion. Such a man as Cattlemen may talk as much as he pleases of his fairness and impartiality, but of what avail is it, when slave-holding Kentucky is behind him? He can only vote in one way, be his own interests what they may.

The fate of Mr. Summer appeared then, as at the best, he will never entirely recover from the effects of his injuries, and apprehensions still more gloomy are entertained by many of them. He suffers acutely in his head, and is enfeebled to the last degree. It is not at all probable that he will be able to resume his seat in the Senate during the present session.

Mr. Moore, of Ohio, who voted for the bill admitting free Kansas, is said to be a supporter of Fillmore. If so, there is one Northern Fillmore man, who did not vote with the South on that question. Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania, is here, and will vote against the bill, but this is balanced by the loss to that side of Herbert, of California, who was last evening arrested and incarcerated for the murder of Keating. If only found guilty of manslaughter, he will undoubtedly be punished by imprisonment, and in all probability he will never again outrage the moral sense of the country by taking a seat in the House.

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1856.

Mr. Mott, of Pennsylvania, who was not present on Monday, was in the House yesterday, and voted for the bill admitting free Kansas. The presence of Mr. Mott and the incarceration of Herbert, of California, took away all hope from the opponents of the measure, and they submitted to their fate with becoming composure. 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.

To the bill on this subject, which passed the Senate, an amendment was adopted, with only three dissenting votes, to abrogate the laws of Kansas, taking away the freedom of the press and of speech, and imposing test oaths (of allegiance to the Fugitive Slave law) as the condition of certain rights, including the right of suffrage. The adoption of this amendment exhibits the strength of that public sentiment, to which even the Senate has been obliged to succumb. We might have more confidence in the good faith of this death bed repentance of that body, if we did not recollect that this abrogation of certain obnoxious laws of Kansas is appended to a bill otherwise so odious that its defeat in the House is a matter of acknowledged certainty.

The pro-slavery party in Congress have now distinctly backed down from two positions hitherto stoutly maintained. They have abandoned their objection to the admission of Kansas, based upon the smallness of its population. They have asserted the rightful power of Congress to abrogate any laws of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas. The assertion of this power, is the abandonment of the whole constitutional ground heretofore taken by the Buchanan party. If Congress may abrogate territorial laws which infringe upon the liberties of white men, they may abrogate such laws as infringe upon the liberties of black men. The power being conceded, its exercise is a matter of discretion.

Republican Mass Convention,
AT ABINGTON.
Celebration of Independence Day.

On Friday, July 4th, the citizens of Plymouth county who are friends of Free Kansas, Freespeech and Freedom, assembled in Mass Convention, at Abington, for the purpose of celebrating in an appropriate manner the 80th anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence. The heavy rain in the forenoon prevented the immense gathering which otherwise would have taken place; nevertheless, there were in the morning not far from a thousand persons present, and in the afternoon there were two or three times as many. Hundreds of horses and vehicles were standing among the trees of the beautiful Abington grove, tents and booths were erected, flags and other decorations waved, and, saving the presence of a large number of ladies, the scene resembled the encampment of an army.

It had been arranged to hold the Convention in the grove, but in consequence of the rain it was held in the town Hall.

The Convention was called to order at 11 o'clock, by M. H. Pool, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of arrangements, and Hon. Jacob H. Loud, of Plymouth, was called upon to preside.

A Committee on organization was appointed, and recommended the following officers, who were unanimously chosen:

President.—Hon. JACOB H. LOUD.

Vice Presidents.—Abington: Silas Abington; Samuel Leonard, of Bridgewater; Everett Robinson, of Middleboro'; Sylvanus Bourne, of Marshfield; Hon. Gamaliel Bradford, of Lansing Nagle, of Rochester; Ephraim Thompson, of Halifax; Flavil Churchill, of Hanson; Caleb Stetson, of South Scituate; Joseph Kingman, of West Bridgewater; Caleb Prouty, of Scituate; John Babit, of Marshfield; James Thurber, of Bridgewater; Warren Josselyn, of Duxbury; David F. Studley, of North Bridgewater; Robert Goodwin, of Hanson; G. W. Richmond; N. H. Whitmo, of South Marshfield; Melzar Hatch, of Hanover; Ebenezer Clap, of Hingham.

Secretary.—S. L. Rockwood, of Hanson.

Committee on Resolutions.—S. L. Rockwood, of Hanson; D. U. Johnson, Esq., of East Abington; Rev. P. Couch, of North Bridgewater; C. Fain, of Halifax; A. Sawyer, of Plymouth; Wm. Ellison, of Duxbury; T. Russell, of Kingston.

Rev. Mr. Couch, of North Bridgewater, offered an appropriate and fervent prayer.

Hon. J. H. Loud, the President, addressed the Convention. Although a cloud had been overhanging them, yet they were not to be driven away; and might they not, he asked, have faith that the clouds now overspreading the political horizon would pass away, revealing the bow of promise, and beyond and above it, the sun of liberty, in all its splendor, and the beautiful dome over their heads? The day and the occasion were consecrated to freedom. Eighty years ago today, the great ideas of equal civil and political rights was born. That doctrine was dimly seen by the Purians in the cabin of the Mayflower, but it was left for their descendants to embody and give utterance to it in 1776, in the bold words of the Declaration of Independence. [Applause.]

Wherever that sacred instrument is read on this anniversary, it will be heard with enthusiasm akin to those of the men who gave it to the world, for men will perceive with sorrow that it requires but a slight alteration of words to make its recital of wrongs apply to the present circumstances of a portion of our land. The great principles of the declaration need already to be re-affirmed. We are as much called upon to pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor" as were our patriot fathers.

Three millions of slaves attest that, in our prosperity, we have forgotten to be just. Slavery has usurped the government. It governs Kansas; it governs it; it strikes down free speech in the National Capitol; and it is aiming to quench forever the sacred fires of liberty. Slavery has become national, while freedom is made sectional. Slavery is to be subdued and restricted, or we shall all become its victims. Wherever the National Government has exclusive jurisdiction it must be the ward of the nation. Our brother in Kansas, barbarously persecuted, plundered and murdered, appeal to us for aid, and we have a responsible part to act. The issue has been fairly made between freedom and slavery, and the contest now opened, it is believed will be decisive. Although he had been a conservative Whig, he could heartily adopt the platform laid down by the late Constitutional Whigs of Philadelphia. It was broad enough for all freemen to stand upon, and he hoped to see the freemen of the country acting together upon it, united against the common enemy, and determined to elect John C. Fremont. [Cheers.]

The Declaration of Independence was then read with excellent emphasis by Levi Reed, Esq.

Mr. Lowry of Kansas, who had been Governor Reeder's private secretary, was introduced and made a short speech. There was not, he said, one grievance among those recited in the declaration of right read, which had not been endured by himself and the settlers in Kansas; and until he should be re-instated in the rights of an American citizen, of which he had been unjustly deprived, he had no other Declaration of Independence than that put forth last November by the freemen of Kansas. [Applause.] Mr. Lowry briefly recited the outrages which have been inflicted upon the Free State men, and his remarks were frequently applauded.

The Convention then adjourned to the grove, where an excellent dinner was partaken of, and the rain having passed away the meeting was organized for the afternoon at the grove.

Immediately after the Convention was called to order in the afternoon, Rev. S. L. Rockwood of Hanson, in behalf of the Committee on Resolutions, submitted the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, all legitimate civil governments exist for the good of the people:

And Whereas, The administration of this present Government has fallen into the hands of a slave oligarchy, neglects the well being of the people, and applies all its energies to extend and propagate a system of slavery, evinced of God and hated by the civilized world; and, pursuing this purpose, called the Ostend Conference, the circular of which contains sentiments a war with every principle of civil right, morality and religion, to our old grace before the nations of the earth.

And whereas, It has by fraud and corruption, removed the ancient landmarks of freedom, turned the military power of the country against our peaceable citizens, wantonly destroyed the property of our quiet and industrious people, and murdered men, women and children in cold blood, to make room for slavery; and when this crime of crimes was exposed, and held up to the light in its just enormity by the Hon. Charles Sumner, a Senator from this State, he was brutally smitten down on the floor of Congress, by a conspiracy of this power, in a most infamous, dastardly and cowardly manner.

And whereas, This same power declares openly that that it must, and shall, submit to the man who dares to be true to freedom, or cannot be a member of the Union.

And whereas, The platform of this self-styled National Democracy, issued by the Cincinnati Convention of June 2, 1856, is considered by this power as sanctioning all the demands of the slave oligarchy:

And whereas, The standard bearer of this black flag—of slavery and polygamy, tyranny and ruffianism, murder and rapine—has asserted that he is no longer simply James Buchanan, but the representative of this great Democratic party—with no will or limitate, and no conscience of his own, but the platform of the party;—Therefore—

Resolved, That the time for action has come; we must meet the foe in the name of Freedom and God, and conquer or submit to a fate infinitely worse than death.

Resolved, That we do most heartily approve of, and adopt the Platform of the Philadelphia Convention of June 19, 1856.

Resolved, That as God raised up a Moses for the deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage, and a Washington to lead the Fathers through to Revolutionary struggles and took the shepherd Davids, who had hunted the lion and the bear, to be the ruler of his ancient people; so in the present hour of peril we recognize the hand of God in the raising up of Freedom's Champion, John C. Fremont; and with an enthusiasm worthy of the day and the place—hard by old Plymouth Rock, and as the sentinels of the old country of Pilgrims; friends of free soil, free men and free speech, we adopt and ratify the nomination of John C. Fremont for President, and Wm. L. Dayton for Vice President of these United States.

Resolved, That with the favor of God, a platform so truth, justice and right, a nomination of men, good and true, and opposed to such a scheme of fraud, wrong and wickedness, we must, and will conquer.

Resolved, That we extend an earnest invitation to men of all parties, who are the friends of liberty, in this hour of Freedom's peril, to forget all party attachments, to abandon party prejudices, and to unite with us in the great cause of freedom and right in which we are engaged.

The reading of the resolutions was interrupted by warm applause.

John A. Andrew, Esq., of Boston, was then introduced. He said it was almost impossible to conceive or to utter the real magnitude of the issue now on trial. By the machinations of wicked men it had come to pass that a test is to be applied to know how far the people of the country, eighty years after their Declaration of Independence, are fit for self-government. He believed the people loved liberty, and as a whole understood it, but if, in the year of grace 1856, they trample under foot that Declaration, and refuse to construe the Constitution in its light, he should be compelled to think that an experiment of free government is still on trial. He hoped for better things. The people would be found faithful, but every lover of liberty must be at his post. Let him who has a ballot to give, a brain to think, or a heart to feel, be prepared to do his duty. Every man counts one.

He was no new convert. The youngest voter would remember when Democrats, as well as Whigs, and men of all parties believed in the inviolability of the Missouri compromise. No voice was raised against it, even in the South. But the present administration has made a disgraceful retrograde movement. The people will repudiate that repeal, and thus show their fitness for self-government.

The true and practical issue was the admission of Kansas as a free State. He then spoke of the glorious free empire which might be built up in our vast territories, and asked if it should be given over to slavery. No argument is needed to prove the worth of

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Kingman, of West Bridgewater; Caleb Prouty, of Scituate; Louis Baker, of Marshfield; James Thurber, of Plymouth; Aaron Josselyn, of Duxbury; David T. Stanley, of North Bridgewater; Robert Gould, of Hull; G. F. Reed, of Kingston; E. Dr. Whitney, of South Marshfield; Melzar Haich, of Hanover; Ebenezer Gay, of Hingham.

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Wherever that sacred instrument is read on this anniversary, it will be heard with emotions akin to those of the men who gave it to the world, for men will perceive with sorrow that it requires but a slight alteration of words to make its rental of wrongs apply to the present circumstances of a portion of our land. The great principles of the declaration need already to be re-affirmed. We are as much called upon to "pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor" as were our patriot fathers.

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And Whereas, The administration of this government has fallen into the hands of a slave oligarchy, neglect the well being of the people, and applies all its energies to extend and perpetuate a system of slavery, cursed of God and hated by the civilized world; and, pursuing this purpose, called the Ostend Conference, the circular of which contains sentiments a war with every principle of civil right, morality and religion to our disgrace before the nations of the earth:

And whereas, Aided by fraud and corruption, removed the ancient landmarks of freedom, turned the military power of the country against our peaceable citizens, wantonly ravaged the property of our quiet and industrious people, and murdered men, women and children in cold blood, to make room for slavery, and when this crime of crimes was exposed, and held up to the light in its just enormity, by the Hon. Charles Sumner, a Senator from this State, he was brutally smitten down on the floor of Congress, by a conspirator of this power, in a most mean, cowardly and like and cowardly manner:

And whereas, This same power declares openly that *man* it must; and shall be done to the man who dares to be true to freedom, who cannot be bartered or bought from his purpose:

And whereas, The platform of this self-styled National Democracy, issued by the Cincinnati Convention of 1856, fully is considered by this power as sanctioning all the demands of the slave oligarchy:

And whereas, The standard bearer of this black flag—of slavery and poligamy, tyranny and ruffianism, murder and rapine—has asserted that he is no longer simply James Buchanan, but the representative of this great Democratic party—with no sentiments, and no conscience of his own, but the platform of the party.—Therefore—

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He was no new convert. The youngest voter would remember when Democrats, as well as Whigs, and men of all parties believed in the inviolability of the Missouri compromise. No voice was raised against it, even in the South. But the present administration has made a disgraceful retrograde movement. The people will repudiate that repeal, and thus show their fitness for self-government.

The true and practical issue was the admission of Kansas as a free State. He then spoke of the glorious free empire which might be built up in our vast territories, and asked if it should be given over to slavery. No argument is needed to prove the worth of freedom. It is one of the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence. If those truths were self-evident, then is the Cincinnati platform a self-evident lie; and if that platform is true, our fathers were crazy fanatics.

They had with them their brother from the free plains of Kansas. He came with Pierce's halter just above his head, and pursued even across the great lakes by a United States Marshal. Would they approve of that by their votes? Would they sustain the iniquities perpetrated by the administration in a part of the vast domain entrusted to the keeping of the nation? We are the Trustees. "The earth is the Lord's," and we hold every inch of that domain in sacred trust from Him for universal humanity. We cannot evade the trust, shall we betray it?

He did not object to the party cry, "Americans shall rule America," but if American principles should rule, he would be content. A few thousand unprincipled men have usurped the government and have betrayed American principles. How have have Americans ruled in Kansas? They have a despotic ruler, a standing army, a foreign, worse than savage foe let loose upon them, while their own hands are tied. Men of our own blood are ground down beneath dire and absolute despotism, while the stars and stripes wave over them as if in mockery.

Squatter sovereignty, the cheat of an hour, is overthrown at the command of slavery, because it refused to do its work. Law and order is trampled down by a mob, led on by an ex-President of the United States Senate. And when the crime is exposed in the Halls of Congress, the slave power attempts to stifle free speech, and your noble Senator is stricken down in the Senate Chamber. What next? If these things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

The rain here set in afresh, and the meeting was [illegible] adjourned to the Town Hall.

[illegible] solved] to use every possible means to obtain peaceful redress,—to appeal to Courts, to the ballot-box, and to Congress. But the Courts and the ballot-boxes are closed against them. A monster has destroyed their last hope by rejecting the bill to admit Kansas as a free State. The question is, shall white men be slaves? What would Massachusetts do in this crisis? Would she have sympathy and aid to Kansas, and follow Fremont to victory? [Cheers.]

His heart today was oppressed with a leaden weight, for in Kansas he had dear friends and gallant comrades, dear as brothers, and a mother had destroyed soil of Kansas with that blood of the martyrs which is the seed of the Church. The Free State Legislature was to meet on the 4th of July, and the Southern forces were to rendezvous five miles distant, as they say, to celebrate Independence Day. He deemed a collision highly probable, but the question cannot be decided at once. Twenty thousand Free Kansas ready to do and die for liberty, and that is more than they can kill in one day. The men of Kansas ask of Massachusetts sympathy and material aid, and they will take care of the issue, and do you no discredit. [Cheers.]

Hon. Gershom B. Weston, of Duxbury, who was a delegate to the Philadelphia Convention, spoke of the character and action of that body. He had attended all the great conventions for twenty years, but he never saw such enthusiasm as was displayed in that Convention, on the nomination of John C. Fremont. [Cheers.] Fremont was elected, will not disappoint his friends. He is an honest man, free from "antecedents" and party prejudices, able and brave. We are not in danger of being enslaved; if we are to submit to what has been done, we are slaves already. Southern men threatened openly in his hearing, in Washington, that if Fremont, if elected, should not be inaugurated. This means bowie-knives and bludgeons, but two can play at that. [Applause.] If this Union should ever be dissolved, it would be by the extension of slavery; and he relied upon the patriotism of the North to go into this contest united, and determined to conquer a peace; to save us from presenting to the world the mortifying spectacle of a shipwrecked republic—a black wreck on the shore of time, from which the mariner will ever steer his bark afar.

Mr. Lowry said he had a personal communication to make on his own responsibility. He expected to return to Kansas with a colony of 500 Pennsylvania farmers, who will ask for no assistance from Massachusetts; but Gen. Winchell, the man who made the famous treaty with Gov. Shannon, and who is the author of a memorial setting forth the grievances of the people of Kansas, lately presented to President Pierce, is now in Boston and proposes to take back material aid. Since he had come to Abington a gentleman had given him unsolicited $100 to take back to Gen. Winchell, [applause] and he was ready to receive further contributions. If those were any who objected to giving money for arms, he would say that there are committees who collect money to replace the bread as it is gradually stolen from the Free State men, instead of enabling them to defend the bread which they already have; but as for him, he collected money for rifles, and for nothing else. [Cheers.]

Rev. Mr. Couch, of N. Bridgewater, was called upon, and made an eloquent speech. He said a new Declaration of Independence was needed. We should declare that Congress shall be free, and we should pledge ourselves to sustain our Representatives. He feared it was too late to sustain Charles Sumner.—We will sustain him if God spares his life and strength of mind; and if not, his memory shall live in our hearts as long as freedom lives. The blows that were meant too disgrace him have made him immortal. [Applause.] We declare for free Kansas, for freedom in all the territories, and no more slave States. [Cheers.] We are released from all compromises, and Texas must not be divided. [Applause.]

Who cries sectionalism, when the slavery party claim 120 votes, pledged from the South for Buchanan, and only hope to carry one or two Northern States? Fillmore calls us sectional, too, but he does expect no vote from the South. They will unite for the slavery candidate. If Fillmore loses all the South, and all the North, he will be a sectional President, or what? [Laughter.]

They say we are leading to civil war and disunion. Civil war is now upon us. The Union sacked Lawrence, and arrested Robinson. What is the Union doing when parties of Americans are disarmed and imprisoned? What will the Union be doing, when, as it is reported will be done, Decatur, the leader of the Chicago party, is hung? Shall we vote for Union, and not for liberty? [A voice—"Let the Union slide."] No, sir, we will not let it slide. We mean to recover the Union for the protection of our liberty. We do not mean to break it up nor let anybody else break it up. We mean to re-assert the Declaration of Independence—that all men are free and equal, and have inalienable rights. We are resolved to reform the Government from the thrall of a few thousand slaveholders, and give it into the hands of the freemen of the whole country. [Cheers.]

At the close of Mr. Couch's remarks, the resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote.

Several other short speeches were made, and the Convention adjourned.

The Abington Brass Band was in attendance on the Convention, and a glee club at the grove sung some patriotic campaign songs.

Boston Journal.

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 7, 1856.

THE MOBBING OF KANSAS EMIGRANTS. We have received by mail to-day accounts of the disarming of the Chicago company of emigrants already reported by telegraph. Although mainly from pro slavery sources, these accounts do not vary from those already published. The Chicago company numbered sixty-eight men, two ladies and three children. A correspondent of the St. Louis *Democrat* says they designed to become bona fide settlers in Kansas. They were armed with breech-loading rifles, with bayonets, and many of them carried revolvers and bowie knives. They had provisions, carpenters' tools, tents, and other things necessary for a pioneer life. They took passage on the steamer Star of the West. When a few miles below Lexington a man left the boat and went up the river on horseback, and the emigrants were given to understand that their passage would be disputed. On their arrival at that place a large force of armed men was distinctly discernable on the levee, and on landing, swarms of citizens came on board, filling the cabin. A committee of citizens waited on the officers of the company, demanding the surrender of all arms belonging to the company, guaranteeing the possession of private arms of whatever kind.

This demand seems to have been acceded to without a show of resistance. The rifles were given up, a receipt being taken for them for their return when the troubles in Kansas shall cease. They were then allowed to proceed, but this was not the end of their troubles as will be seen by the following extract from the Lexington (Mo.) *Express*, a pro-slavery paper:

"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 fillibusters were accordingly met at Leavenworth City by the people of Kansas, who required of them that they should immediately 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."

THINGS IN KANSAS. Geographic July 7. 1856

The following statement is published in Missouri and the truth of it is admitted. On a recent public occasion at Jefferson City, the capitol of the State, it was found impossible to have "the thunders of artillery" on the occasion, and this statement is given in explanation:

"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, a territory of the United States.* This fact requires no comment, but it calls for impeachment. Many a man for a lesser crime had to stretch his neck over the block. Will the conservative masses of Missouri lie dormant under this outrage?"

The notorious "Henry Clay Pate," who does duty in and near Kansas, as a leader of banditti and a writer of border ruffian letters for the St. Louis Republican, is indignant because somebody has called him a Missourian. He declares that he is a Virginian, and intends to be a citizen of Kansas; and offers to fight anybody who questions this statement or doubts his courage. He does not in terms deny that he is a miserable scamp; for this is so evident that such a denial would be too ludicrous for even *his* nerves.

Gen. P. F. Smith has been appointed to succeed Brig. Gen. Clarke, in charge of the military department west. The headquarters will be removed from St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth. Colonel Sumner will remain in Kansas subordinate to Gen. Smith. The administration has received no intimation from Gov. Shannon of his intention to resign the governorship of Kansas, but has received dispatches from him since the date of his letter to Col. Buford, in which he distinctly stated that he had resigned. Shannon was probably drunk when he wrote to Buford.

Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON:
MONDAY, JULY 7, 1856.

The Pacification of Kansas

Is not likely to be promoted by the bill presented by Mr. Douglas for that object—the same, substantially, as the bill previously presented by Mr. Toombs. It is admitted on all hands that the bill is a decided improvement over Mr. Douglas's former bill, and it is acknowledged, moreover, to be a concession that Congress has the power of legislation on the subject of slavery in the Territories, and a virtual abandonment therefore of the extreme "Squatter Sovereignty" doctrine. Neither are any serious objections made to the intrinsic provisions of the bill. It is nevertheless received with suspicion and distrust; the sincerity of the movers is not unnaturally doubted, and the measure is believed to cover a design which is neither upon the face of the bill, nor acknowledged by the advocates of it. In a word, it is assumed to be a snare to Free-Kansas men, and a bill to facilitate pro-slavery interests, and to promote ultimately a pro-slavery triumph, rather than a measure, such as it purports on the face of it to be, for the pacification of Kansas. The danger to the interests of freedom in Kansas arises chiefly from the first section of the bill, which provides for the appointment of Commissioners to carry into effect the provisions of the act. Upon the stern integrity, faithfulness and impartiality of these Commissioners, the efficacy of the act will wholly depend. If they are party men, it is easy to see, that the pacification of Kansas may be the last thing which will result from their labors. And that they will be party men, is inferred from the fact that they are to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. It is urged that even if an impartial board of Commissioners were appointed by the President, they would not be confirmed by the Senate, and that therefore there is no hope that under this act, fair and promising as it may be upon its face, the free State interest of Kansas can be promoted. That the Senate will yield any further, and pass the House bill, is of course out of the question. Some expectation was indulged that the House might adopt the Senate bill, and thus make an experiment of pacification; but the latest accounts from Washington do not encourage any such expectation. The Republicans, it is said, have decided in caucus, to oppose the bill to the last, and to strive for an early adjournment, and thus leave the matter to be settled by the Presidential election. There are those, however, who believe that the Senate bill will be got through the House. Mr. Barclay, who moved the reconsideration of the vote by which the House rejected the bill for admitting Kansas with the Topeka constitution, and finally voted for that bill, declared his intention, if we remember aright, to vote for the Senate bill if it should come into the House. Others, it is said, who voted for the House bill, are inclined to take the same course. The difficulty in regard to the appointment of Commissioners, it is proposed to guard against by amending the Senate bill so that the Commissioners shall be named in and appointed by the act itself.

EVENING LEDGER

Boston, Monday, July 7, 1856.

THE KANZAS REPORT.

The Report made by Messrs. Howard and Sherman, of the Congressional Kanzas Committee, discloses a state of affairs in that Territory such as was never before known in any place belonging to this country. Hitherto it has been the custom to overlook any proceedings of a violent character that may have happened on our remote frontiers, on the ground that they occurred from the necessity of the case, and because they bore a strong resemblance to those acts which have been perpetrated by the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco. They were violations of the letter of the law in order that its spirit might be preserved. Government has done what it could to temper the evil, and the people have not been disposed to find fault because it did no more, as there is a limit even to the power of government, though fools talk of it as if it were omnipotence itself. But never before has there been found an instance in which anarchy has been regularly organized by men of influence, standing and reputation, with the express purpose of setting the law at defiance. It was reserved for Kanzas to be the theatre of outrages that not only have none of those excuses that have been heretofore plead in palliation of border troubles, but which never could have happened if they had not been deliberately resolved upon and planned by eminent politicians for the purpose of setting aside a law of their own making, and upon the success of which, they solemnly assured the world, depended the well being of the country, and through which alone could the provisions of the Constitution be carried out in their integrity. Everybody knows that the Nebraska bill was reported to Congress, and the repose of the country disturbed,—when to be restored, heaven only knows,—on the pretence that the existence of the Missouri Compromise was unjust to the slaveholding States, by making a distinction between a "peculiar" species of their property and the property of people in the free States. Granting that gentlemen were sincere in this, and that they really meant that the people of the two sections should stand on a perfect equality in Kanzas, it is now evident that they went to work in the most extraordinary manner to realize their design. The territory was flooded, at every election, with thousands of voters from slaveholding States, who had no more business there than they would have had to come into Massachusetts, and here to have cast their ballots for Governor and members of Congress. The men who were chosen to compose a Territorial Legislature were so chosen by foreigners, mostly Missourians, and who had been organized for the express purpose of setting aside the Nebraska law itself, that law which had been forced through Congress, in defiance of public sentiment, in order that justice might be done to all parties!—as was said by some, but probably was believed by none. The Legislature thus chosen proceeded to act in the spirit of its origin, passing laws that would disgrace an African tribe, and which such statesmen as Clayton and Cass—who will not be accused either of radicalism or of unfriendliness to the South—have pronounced to be infamous.—Heretofore, we have been compelled to make a large allowance for the stories we have heard from Kanzas. It is so common for men to exaggerate, when they are excited, that it will not do to take for facts all that is said under such circumstances; but the official report of the Congressional Committee leaves no room for doubt now on the subject. All that has been said, so far from being exaggerated, is short of the truth. We have the facts as they occurred laid before us by the men who were appointed by Congress to examine into one part of the charge that had been made against the Border Ruffians, but who necessarily had to go fully into the whole subject. The picture that has been drawn of the state of society in Kanzas, merely by stating the plain facts, is shocking beyond comparison. It shows that we have fallen even behind the Spanish-American countries, inasmuch as the violent acts there perpetrated have been the results of ignorance and passion, whereas in Kanzas what was done violently and illegally was done deliberately, and in cold blood. It is for the people to look into the matter, and to take order for the punishment of the law-breakers, and also to prevent the success of their designs. This is the duty of good men of all parties, and we believe that this duty will be fulfilled.

Daily Citizen and News.

Lowell, Monday, July 7, 1856.

FREMONT AND KANSAS. General Pomeroy of Kansas and H. P. Lowry, private secretary of Gov. Reeder, both recently from the scene of strife, will address the Fremont meeting, this evening. The reputation of Gen. Pomeroy and the eloquence of young Lowry ought not to fail to fill Huntington Hall. Galleries reserved for the ladies.