

ad a point 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 attack the South for the inheritance of perplexity and shame which Northern expediency 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 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.—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 country? Very few of them have any such idea. But it will give them, first, an increase of political power.—It will wheel 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, 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 wealthy 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 at 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 years 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 slavebreeding 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 slavebreeding 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 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 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 *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?—Let 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 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 not 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 convulsed, a peaceful Territory made the scene of war, and industrious citizens robbed and murdered, because some hot-headed 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.

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 interest 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 interests of the nation have been disregarded and sacrificed in disgraceful underbidding for the slaveholding 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 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 was demanding nothing more, and its opponents had made up their minds to acquiesce in the settlement, when, for pure party purpose, 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 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 is the source of all the agitation, and turmoil, and bloodshed which have been rending the land asunder. The whole people have witnessed so tamely the successive betrayals of their interests, and voted so docilely on the issue 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 un mindful 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 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 ruse. 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 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 ourselves, mankind, and God, has been woefully 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. If respectable men, when they keep 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 iniquitous 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 arguments, 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 all others, each one must answer for himself. Caucuses of the idle and dissolute may nominate who 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 by-word 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 offenses God has justly brought upon us disgrace and a discord which threatens the direst disaster in the future.

V. It 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 opinion. To public opinion every party and every coalition is compelled to bow. It is mighty 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.

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 imbruing of hands in brethren's blood, and tyrannizing over brothers 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 acquaintances.—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.

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 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 for ourselves, for the benefit of our country. And it is God's to bring us and them into judgment, and to give sentence on our actions according to truth.

THE JOURNAL.

JOHN S. MANN, EDITOR.

COUDERSPORT, PA.

Thursday Morning July 31, 1856

Republican Nomination.

FOR PRESIDENT.
JOHN C. FREMONT,
OF CALIFORNIA.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.
WILLIAM L. DAYTON,
OF NEW JERSEY.

FOR CANAL COMMISSIONER.
Thomas E. Cochran,
OF YORK COUNTY.

FOR AUDITOR GENERAL.
Darwin Phelps,
OF ARMSTRONG CO.

FOR SURVEYOR GENERAL.
Bartholomew Laporte,
OF BRADFORD CO.

REPUBLICAN COUNTY CONVENTION.

In obedience to an understanding of the County Executive Committee, a Delegate Republican County Convention will be held at the Court House in the borough of Coudersport, on Thursday, the 7th day of August next, at 2 o'clock, P. M. for the purpose of nominating candidates to fill the various County Offices, to be supported at the ensuing State election. Each Township is earnestly solicited to send three delegates to said Convention.—All the members of the County Executive Committee, are requested to be in attendance, at said Convention, there being important business for them to transact at that time.

ISAAC BENSON,
Ch'n. of the Co. Executive Committee.
July 12, 1856.

☞ The friends of free Kansas in Wharton, have opened the campaign in that township in good earnest. They had a stirring meeting at the Hort. in School House, on Tuesday evening, July 22. J. W. Rounds acted as Chairman, and G. A. Barclay as Secretary. Isaac Benson, Esq., of this village, made a strong plea for freedom and free Kansas, and the people separated with a determined purpose to keep the ball in motion. We are greatly encouraged by this demonstration in Wharton. Let the good work go on.

☞ The friends of the Rocky Mountain Pathfinder, in Coudersport, will meet at the Hall of the Sons of Temperance this (Thursday) evening, July 31, at 8 o'clock, to choose 3 delegates to the county Convention, and to complete the organization of a Fremont and Dayton club.

☞ That man must have a queer idea of religion, who professes to be governed by its benign principles, and yet sustains the Slave Power and its assassinations in Kansas and Washington. One such professor will drive away more people from the church, than two ministers can win to it.

☞ The Sermon of Rev. Dudley Tyng, which we publish on the first

page, is one of the most remarkable and most hopeful productions of the day. Dr. Tyng is rector of one of the most fashionable Episcopal Churches in Philadelphia. This sermon was delivered on the Sabbath, in the usual course of his ministerial duties, to a large audience. As a matter of course it created a sensation. Several of his parishioners are reputed to be slaveholders, and others are in sympathy with the slave power; and so the vestry held a meeting and protested against the "repetition of such like sermons." But whoever reads the sermon will be convinced that Doctor Tyng is not to be silenced except in the way that Brooks silenced Sumner, and so he gave his hearers another Gospel sermon from the text "Go preach to the people all the words of this life." Read his sermon on the first page.

☞ The opponents of Slavery extension in Sweden will meet at the Carraw School House on Saturday next, Aug. 2, at 5 o'clock to choose delegates, and organize for the campaign. They will be speakers in attendance, and it is hoped a full attendance.

☞ There will be a public meeting of the Coudersport Library Association at the Methodist Church in this village on Saturday evening next, at which time there will be a short address delivered, and a few essays read. We hope all friends of Literary Progress in this vicinity, will attend.

☞ They had a good Fremont and Dayton meeting in Oswayo, on Friday afternoon last. L. F. Maynard, Esq., of this village, gave the freemen there assembled a genuine democratic speech, in advocacy of the old Jeffersonian ordinance for the Government of Territory. Oswayo is true to freedom.

☞ "A wasted life is a bitter death. And in proportion as it has been wasted it has bitterness."

☞ Does the Warren Ledger esteem the Douglas and Toombs plan of governing Territories more democratic, or more favorable to the rights of the people, than the plan proposed by Jefferson, and adopted by the Revolutionary fathers for the government of the North West Territory? Are Douglas and Toombs better elements of Democracy, than Jefferson and Madison? If not, we submit that the Ledger is not very consistent in agonizing quite so much over a bill which every intelligent man knows was prepared for the purpose of completing the work of subduing Kansas to Slavery.

The Old Line Whigs of Erie County, Pa., had a gathering week before last, and shook hands over a common resolve to support Buchanan and Breckenridge.—Coudersport Patriot.

☞ A Potter Co. friend sends us the above marked, with the hope, we presume, of eliciting from us a notice. We have already denied it in positive terms, and now repeat that it is a sheer fabrication. There may be "Old Line Whigs" in Erie county disposed to go for Buchanan and Breckenridge, but not of the number of a "Corporal's Guard." Hence the ridiculousness of the above paragraph.—Erie Gazette.

The Buchanan men, must be hard pushed for consolation, when they resort to such silly falsehoods as the above. The Gazette says in another item, that Erie county will give from 2,000 to 2500 majority for freedom and Fremont. That will be a gain of a thousand over Pollock's majority. So it goes. Gaining every where.

☞ Rev. S. E. Darrow will preach in the Hall of the Sons of Temperance next Sabbath morning at half past ten, and at Lymanville in the afternoon.

WHAT NEXT.

Several men, who ought to be better informed have stated within the past ten days, as an excuse for their support of the party that repealed the Missouri Compromise, and let loose the dogs of war in Kansas, that the trouble was over in that ill fated territory, that Col. Sumner had dispersed the Border Ruffian Legislature, on the 4th of July.

Who started this falsehood? The Border Ruffian Legislature did their work of mischief last year and went home. They do not propose to meet again until next year. The Bogus laws passed by it, have occasioned the destruction of three printing offices, the best Hotel west of St. Louis, and many

valuable lives. It is under these that Charles Robinson, Chas. Jenkins, Geo. W. Daitzler, and others are now imprisoned for high treason. Are the troubles over? They have just commenced, unless the people of the free States come to the rescue of their brothers in Kansas in material aid and at the ballot box. Why, the Missouri river is blockaded by Missourians, and a steamboat from Pittsburg or Cincinnati, or Alton, or any other free state town is not permitted to go up it. And yet Northern men can be found in every township who justify by their political action, this blockade of the Missouri river against the steamboats from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. Such submission to party leaders is beyond our comprehension.

Instead of dispersing the Border Ruffian Legislature, Col. Sumner on the fourth of July last, broke up a peaceable meeting of citizens of Kansas, who had assembled at Topeka to petition Congress for a redress of grievances. They had a constitutional right thus to assemble, and their dispersion by the military power of the United States, was an act of tyranny that should of itself overthrow the party which caused it.

In the language of the N. Y. Eve. Post, we say:

We are under a despotism as unmitigated as that of France, Russia or the Roman Empire.

The right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed;

The right of the people to be secure in their person, houses, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; and now—

The right of the people peaceably to assemble is destroyed;

The men by whom and for whom all this is done, are certainly doing what they can to test the strength of the Union; but they over-estimate their strength when they tell us the Union is in danger.

There is another remedy, which the people will apply in November.

BUCHANAN AT HOME.

Immediately after the nomination of Buchanan his friends claimed that he was so eminently fitted for the office that all his neighbors would support him, and especially the old line whigs. Their predictions turn out to have been mere empty boasting. His neighbors will not support him as appears from the following from the Express published within a short distance of Mr. Buchanan's residence:

Of the eight papers in this city which take any part in politics, five give an active support to Fremont and Dayton; two are for Buchanan, and one for Fillmore. These embrace an aggregate circulation of seventeen thousand copies weekly, of which thirteen thousand is opposed to "the favorite son." Their former position in politics may be classified as follows: For FREMONT—The Examiner (old line Whig) and The Volksfreund, (German Whig.) The Express (Independent.) The Independent Whig (Whig American) The Inland Weekly (American.) For BUCHANAN—The Intelligencer [Democratic] and the American Republican [formerly old line Native and latterly the organ of the liquor party.] For FILLMORE—The Register [American and for Fillmore before his nomination.]

ANTI DEMOCRATIC.

The Buchanan press have given unmistakable evidence of Federal tendencies as well in support of the Cincinnati platform, which is anti-democratic in every plank, as in support of Toombs' Senate bill for the subjugation of Kansas.

The House of Representatives, which reflects the immediate wishes of the people, has passed a bill for the immediate admission of Kansas as a State. The Senate which does not reflect the will of the people, has passed a bill for the admission of Kansas as a State, after a Constitution has been adopted under the supervision of five Commissioners to be appointed by President Pierce. The Buchanan press insist that the House of Representatives, which reflects the will of the people shall yield to the Senate which reflects the will of the administration. If this is not a more odious form of Federalism than old John Adams ever recommended, then we are not able to read the English language.

Lieut. Governor Roberts, formerly of Fayette County in this State, a National democrat, has shown this Toombs Bill, to be a scheme for the subjugation of Kansas. Not a single Buchanan paper in Pennsylvania, his native State, has the madness to publish Mr. Roberts' exposé, much less