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hed agreeably to an act of Assembly, be-

THE DINSTEEL.

LIE WW II SI IP CO WW IN

OLD WINTER IS COMING. BY HANNAH F. GOULD,

Old Winter is coming again-alack! How is y and cold is hel How is y and cold is hel He cares not a pin for a shivering back--He's a saucy old chap to white and to black--He whistes bis chills with a wonderful knack, For he comes from a cold country.

A witty old fellow this Winter is-A witty old fellow this Winter is— A mighty old fellow for glee! He cracks his jokes on the pretty sweet miss, The wrinkled old maiden unfit to kiss, And freezes the dew of their lips—for this Is the same with we don't for this Is the way with such fellows as he!

Old Winter's a frolicsome blade, I wot-He is wild in his humor, and free! Held whistle along for the "want of his thought," And set all the warmth of our furs at nought, And ruthies the lace by pretty girls bought-For a frolicsome old fellow is he!

Old Winter is blowing his gust along, And merrily shaking the tree! From morning till night he will sing his song-

Now moaning and short-now howing and long-His voice is loud, for his lungs are strong-A merry old fellow is he!

Old Winter's a wicked old chap, I ween-As wicked as ever you'd see! He withers the flowers so fresh and green, And bites the pert nose of the miss of sixteen, As she triumphantly walks in maidenly sheen-A wicked old fellow is he!

Old Winter's a tough old fillow for blows, As tough as ever you'd see! He will trip up our trotters, and rend our clothes, And stiffen ou. limbs from lingers to toes-He minds not the cry of his friends or his foes-A tough old fellow is he!

A cunning old fellow is Winter, they say, A cunning old fellow is he! He peeps in the crevices day by day. To see how we're passing our time away, And marks all our doings from grave to gay-I'm afraid he is peeping at me

MISBELLANBOUS.

From Arthur's Temperance Tales. "THOU ART THE MAN !"

'How can you reconcile it to your conscience to continue in your present business, Mr. Muddler?' asked a venerable clergyman of a tavern-keeper, as the two walked home from the funeral of a young man

who had died suddenly. 'I find no difficulty on that score,' replied the tavern-keeper, in a confident tone: My business is as necessary to the public as that of any other man.'

'That branch of it, which regards the comfort and accommodation of travellers. I will grant to be necessary. But there is another portion of it which, you must pardon me for saying, is not only uncalled for by the real wants of the community, but highly detrimental to health and good morals.

'And pray, Mr. Mildman, to what portion of my business do you allude ?' 'I allude to that part of it which embraces the sale of intoxicating drinks."

'Indeed! the very best part of my

tem into that limb, and a constant giving back of disease that gradually pervades the entire body; and, unless that body posses-

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ses extraordinary vital energy, in the end destroys it. In like manner, if in the lar-ger body there be one member who takes his share of life from the whole, and gives back nothing but a poisonous principle, whose effect is disease and death, surely he cannot be called a good member-nor honest, nor honorable.

'And pray, Mr. Mildman,' asked the tavernkeeper, with warmth, 'where will you find, in society, such an individual as vou describe?

The minister paused at this question and looked his companion steadily in the Then raising his long, thin finger to face. give force to his remark, he said with deep that the President and his whole Cabinet con-

" Thou art the man !" 'Me, Mr. Mildman ! me !' exclaimed the

tavernkeeper, in surprise and displeasure. You surely cannot be in earnest. 'I utter but a solemn truth, Mr. Muddler: such is your position in society !---You receive food, and clothing, and comforts and luxuries of various kinds for yourself and family from the social body, and what do you give back for all these ? A poison to steal away the health and happiness of that social body. You are far worse than a perfectly dead member-you exist upon the great body as a moral gangrene. Reflect calmly upon this subject. Go home, and in the silence of your own chamber, enter into unimpassioned and

solemn communion with your heart. Be honest with yourself. Exclude the bias of selfish feelings and selfish interests, and honestly define to yourself your true position

But, Mr. Mildman -

The two men had paused nearly in front of Mr. Muddler's splendid establishment. and were standing there when the tavernkeeper commenced a reply to the minister's last remarks. He had uttered but the first word or two, when he was interrupted by a pale, thinly-dressed female, who held a little girl by the hand. She came up before him and looked him steadily in the face for a moment or two. 'Mr. Muddler, I believe,' she said.

. Yes, madam, that is my name,' was his

I have come, Mr. Muddler,' the woman then said, with an effort to smile and affect a polite air, 'to thank you for a present I received last night.'

'Thank me, madam! There certainly must be some mistake. I never made you a present. Indeed, I have not the pleasure of your acquaintance.' 'You said your name was Muddler, I

believe ? 'Yes, madam, as I told you before, that

is my name.

Political.

MR. DOUGLAS

ting a number of precedents to show that Congress ought not to recognize the Lecompton Constitution, said-

The President of the United States tells us, in his message, that he had unequivocally ex-pressed his opinions, in the form of instructions to Governor Walker, assuming that the constitution was to be submitted to the people for ratification. When we look at Governor Walker's letter of acceptance of the office of Governor, we find that he stated expressly that he accepted it with the understanding curred with him that the constitution, when formed, was to be submitted to the people for ratification.

Then look into the instructions given by the President of the United States, through General Cass, the Secretary of State, to Gov-ernor Walker, and you there find that the Governor is instructed to use the military power to protect the polls when the constitu-tion shall be submitted to the people of Kansas for their free acceptance or rejection.— Trace the history a little further, and you will find that Governor Walker went to Kansas and proclaimed, in his inaugural and in his speeches at Topeka and elsewhere, that it was the distinct understanding, not only of himself, but of those higher in power than him-self-meaning the President and his Cabinet -that the constitution was to be submitted to the people for their free acceptance or re-jection, and that he would use all the power at his command to defeat its acceptance by Congress, if it were not thus submitted to the vote of the people. Mr. President, I am not going to stop and inquire how far the Nebras-ka bill, which said the people should be left perfectly free to form their constitution for themselves, authorized the President, or the Cabinet, or Governor Walker, or any other Territorial officer, to interfere and tell the onvention of Kansas whether they should r should not submit the question to the people. I am not going to stop to inquire how far they were authorized to do that, it being my opinion that the spirit of the Nebraska bill required it to be done. It is sufficient for my purpose that the Administration of the Federal Government unanimously, that the Administration of the Territorial Government, in all its parts, unanimously understood the Territorial law under which the Convention was assembled to mean that the constitution to be formed by that Convention should be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection, and, if not confirmed by a majority of the people, should be null and void, without coming to Congress for approval. Not only did the National Government and the Territorial Government se understand the law at the time, but, as I have already stated, the people of the Territory so understood it. As a further evidence on that point, a large number, if not the majority, of the delegates

were instructed in the nominating conventions to submit the constitution to the people for tification. I know that the d

following manner, to wit: Thus acknowledg-ing that they were bound to submit it to the MR. DOUGLAS ON THE KANSAS QUESTION. Mr. Douglas, after referring to the points assumed in the President's Message and quopeople, conceding that they had no right to estimation, not from the authority of the Convention, but from that vote of the people to which it was to be submitted for their free acceptance or rejection. How is it to be sub-mitted? It shall be submitted in this form : "Constitution with Slavery or Constitution

ERAN ZENE DIP DE

with no Slavery." All men must vote for the constitution, whether they like it or not, in order to be permitted to vote for or against slavery. Thus a constitution made by a Con-vention that had authority to assemble and petition for a redress of grievances, but not petition for a redress of grievances, but not to establish a government—a constitution made ander a pledge of honor that it should be submitted to the people before it took ef-fect; a constitution which provides, on its face, that it shall have no validity except what the device from the above relation of the submitted it derives from such submission-is submitted to the people at an election where all men are at liberty to come forward freely without hindrance and vote for it, but no man is permitted to record a vote against it. That would be as fair an election as some of the enemies of Napoleon attributed to him when he was elected First Consul. He is said to have called out his troops and had them reviewed by his officers with a speech, patriotic and fair in its professions, in which he said to them :---"Now, my soldiers, you are to go to the elec-tion and vote freely just as you please. If If you vote for Napoleon, all is well; vote against him, and you are sure to be shot." That was a fair election. [Laughter.] This election is to be equally fair. All men in favor of the constitution may vote for it—all men against it shall not vote at all. Why not let them vote against it? I presume you have asked many a man this question. I have asked a very large number of the gentlemen who framed the constitution, quite a number of delegates, and a still larger number of persons who are their friends, and I have received the same answer from every one of them. I never received any other answer. What is that? They say if they allow a negative vote the constitution would have been voted down by an overwhelming majority, and hence the fellows shall not be allowed to vote at all.—

[Laughter.] Mr. President, that may be true. It is no part of my purpose to deny the proposition that that constitution would have been voted down if submitted to the people. I believe it would have been voted down by a majority of four to one. I am informed by men well posted there-Democrats-that it would be voted down by ten to one; some say by twen-ty to one. But is it a good reason why you should declare it in force, without being submitted to the people, merely because it would have been voted down by five to one if you had submitted it? What does that fact prove? Does it not show undeniably that an overwhelming majority of the people of Kansas are unalterably opposed to that constitution? Will you force it on them against their will simply because they would have voted it down if you had consulted them? If you will, are you going to force it upon them under the plea of leaving them perfectly free to form Douglas county, eight in number, Mr. Cal- and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way? Is that the mode in which I am called upon to carry out the principle of self-government and popular sovereignty in the Territories---te force a constitution on the people against their will, in opposition to their protest, with a knowledge of the fact, and then to assign as a reason for my tyranny that they would be so obstinate and so perverse as to vote down the constitution if I had given them an opportunity to be consulted about it? Sir, I deny your right or mine to inquire of these people what their objections to that constitution are. They have a right to judge for themselves whether they like or dislike it. It is no answer to tell me that the constitution is a good one and unobjectionable. It is not satisfactory to me to have the President say in his message that the constitution is an ad-mirable one, like all the constitutions of the new States that have been recently formed. Whether good or bad, whether obnexious or not, is none of my business and none of yours. It is their business and not ours. I care not what they have in their constitution, so that it suits them and does not violate the Constitution of the United States and the fundamental principles of liberty upon which our institutions rest. I am not going to argue question whether the banking system established in that constitution is wise or un wise. It says there shall be no monopolies, but there shall be one bank of discount in the State, with two branches. All I have to say on that point is, if they want a banking sys-tem, let them have it; if they do not want it, let them prohibit it. If they want a bank with two branches, be it so; if they want twenty, it is none of my business; and it matters not to me whether one of them shall be on the nerth side and the ether on the south twenty it is none of my business; and it matters not to me whether one of them shall be on the nerth side and the ether on the south twenty it is none of my business is not to me whether one of them shall be on the nerth side and the other on the south twenty it is none of my business is not to me whether one of them shall be on the nerth side and the other on the south twenty it is none of my business is not to me whether one of them shall be on the nerth side and the other on the south twenty it is none of my business is not in the south the nerth side and the other on the south the nerth side and the south the south the nerth side and the south the nerth side and the south the nerth side and the south the south the nerth side and the south the south the south the south the south the south wise. It says there shall be no monopolies, of Kaw River, or where they shall be. While I have no right to expect to be consulted on that point, I do hold that the people of Kansas have the right to be consulted and to decide it, and you have no rightful authority to deprive them of that privilege. It is no justification, in my mind, to say that the provisions for the eligibility for the offices of Gevernor and Lieutenant Governor require twenty years' citizenship in the United States. If men think that no person should vote or hold office until he has been here twenty years. they have a right to think so; and if a major ity of the people of Kansas think that no man of foreign birth should vote or hold office un. less he has lived there twenty years, it is their right to say so, and I have no right to interright to say so, and I have no right to inter-fere with them; it is their business, net mine; but if I lived there I should not be willing to ene question depend upon the mode in have that provision in the constitution with being heard upon the subject, and allowed to record my protest against it. I have nothing to say about their system of taxation, in which they have gone back and resorted to the old exploded system that we tried in Illinois, but abandoned because we did not like it. If they migh to the state of action in all time to tried in Illineis, but abandened because we did not like it. If they wish to try it and get constitution, on the 21st of December-the present month-shall be submitted to all the bena fide inhabitants of the Territory on that day, for their acceptance or rejection, in the

New Series---- Vol. 111. No. 7.

their having it if they want it; it is their business, not mine. So it is in regard to the free negroes. They provide that no free ne-gro shall be permitted to live in Kansas. I suppose they have a right to say so if they choose; but if I lived there I should wast to vote on that question. We, in Illinois, provide that no more shall come there. We say to the other States, "take care of your own free negroes and we will take care of ours." But we do not say that the negroes, now there, shall not be permitted to live in Illinois, But we and I think the people of Kansas ought to have the right to say whether they will allow them to live there, and if they are not going to do so, how they are to dispose of them. So you may go on with all the different clauses of the constitution. They may be all right; of the constitution. They may be all right; they may be all wrong. That is a question on which my opinion is worth nothing. The opinion of the wise and patriotic Chief Mag-istrate of the United States is not worth any-thing as against that of the people of Kan-sas, for they have a right to judge for them-sales and nother Presidents or Sonators selves, and neither Presidents, nor Senators, nor House of Representatives, nor any other nor House of Representatives, nor any other power outside of Kansas has a right to judge for them. Hence, it is no justification, in my mind, for the violation of a great principle of self-government to say that the constitution you are forcing on them is not particularly ebnoxious, or is excellent in its provisions. Dathers Sir, the same thing might he said

Perhaps, Sir, the same thing might be said of the celebrated Topeka Constitution. I do not recollect its peculiar provisions. I know one thing: We Democrats, we Nebraska men, would net eyen look into it to see what its previsions were. Why? Because we said it was made by a political party, and not by the people; that it was made in defiance of the authority of Congress; that if it was as pure as the Bible, as holy as the ten command-Perhaps that Topeka Constitution, but for the mode of making it, would have been unex-ceptionable. I do not know; I do not care. You have no right to force an unexceptionable constitution on a people. It does not mitigate the evil, it does not diminish the insult, it does not ameliorate the wrong that you are forcing a good thing on them. I am not wil-ling to be forced to do that which I would do if I were left free to judge and act for myself. Hence I assert that there is no justification to be made for this flagrant violation of pepular rights in Kansas, on the plea that the constitution which they have made is partic-ularly obnoxious. But, Sir, the President of the United States is really and sincerely of the opinion that the slavery clause has been fairly and impartially submitted to the free acceptance or rejection of the people of Kansas, and that, inasmuch as that was the exciting and paramount question, if they get the right to vote as they please on that subject they ought to be satisfied; and possibly it might be better if we would accept it, and put an end to the question.

Let me ask, Sir, is the slavery clause fairly submitted, so that the people can vote for or against it? Suppose I were a citizen of Kan-sas, and should go up to the polls and say, "I desire to vote to make Kansas a Slave State; here is my ballot." They reply to me, "Mr. Douglas, just vote for that constitution first if you please" "Ob no?" I constitution

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1857.

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public are hereby notified that I have ted the Foundry and Machine Shop in ough of Lewistown, known as the "Ju-Works," and the large and general fiment of Patterns, late the property of ter and Willis, now of John Sterrett & and Wm. Willis, and that I am prepared oall kinds of

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ing, birtgages, amply secured, \$1,519,932 73 State, (present value, \$109.-89.114 18 the unavoidable excesses which sometimes

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grow out of the use of liquors as a bever-

'I certainly must say, that, in my opinion, a very large share of the responsibility rests upon your shoulders. You not only make it a business to sell liquors, but you use every device in your power to induce men to come and drink them. You nvent new compounds with new and atractive names, in order to induce the indifferent or the lovers of variety, to fre-

quent your bar-room. In this way, you too often draw the weak into an excess of selfindulgence, that ends, alas! in drunkenness and final ruin of body and soul. You are not only responsible for all this, Mr. Muddler, but you bear the weight of a fearful responsibility !'

'I cannot see the subject in that light, Mr. Mildman,' the tavernkeeper said, rathgravely. 'Mine is an honest and honorable calling, and it is my duty to my family and to society, to follow it with dilgence and a spirit of enterprise."

'May I ask you a plain question. Mr. Muddler?

'Oh yes, certainly! as many as you please.' Can that calling be an honest and honorable one which takes sustenance from the community, and gives back nothing in return ?

'I do not know that I understand the nature of your question, Mr. Mildman.'

'Consider then society as a man in a larger form, as it really is. In this great body, as in the lesser body of man, there are various functions of use and a reciprocity between the whole. Each function receives a portion of life from the others, and gives back its own proper share for the good of the whole. The hand does not act for itself alone-receiving strength and selfishly appropriating without returning its quota of good to the general system. And so of the heart, and lungs, and every other organ in the whole body. Reverse the orderand how soon is the entire system diseased! Now, does that member of the great body of the people act honestly and honorably, who regularly receives his portion of good from the general social system, and gives nothing back in return?"

To this the landlord made no reply, and Mr. Mildman continued-

'But there is still a stronger view to be taken. Suppose a member of the human body is diseased-a limb, for instance, in a DERN SHELLERS-hand and horse power, partial state of mortification. Uter sale by F. G. FRANCISCUS. is a reception of life from the whole sys-

Then you are the man. You made my little girl, here, a present also, and we have come with our thanks.'

'You deal in riddles, madam. out plainly."

As I said before,' the woman replied, with bitter irony in her tones, 'I have come with my little girl to thank you for the present we received last night; a present of wretchedness and abuse.

'I am still as far from understanding you as ever,' the tavernkeeper said--- 'I never abused you, madam. I do not even know you

But you know my husband, sir! You have enticed him to your bar, and for his money have given him a poison that has changed him from one of the best and kindest of men, into a demon. To you, then, I owe all the wretchedness I have suffered, and the brutal treatment I shared with my helpless children last night. It for this that I have come to thank you.

'Surely, madam, you must be beside urself. I have nothing to do with your ourself hushand'

'Nothing to do with him !' the woman exclaimed, in an excited tone. 'Would to heaven that it were so ! Before you opened your accursed gin palace, he was a sober man, and the best and kindest of husbands -but, enticed by you, your advertisement and display of fancy drinks, he was tempted within the charmed circle of your barroom. From that moment began his downfall; and now he is lost to self-control-lost to feeling-lost to humanity !

As the woman said this, she burst into tears, and then turned and walked slowly away.

'To that painful illustration of the truth of what I have said,' the minister remark-ed, as the two stood once more alone, 'I have nothing to add. May the lesson sink deep into your heart. Between you and that woman's husband existed a regular business transaction Did it result in a mutual benefit? Answer that question to your own conscience.'

How the tavernkeeper answered it, we know not. But if he received no benefit from the double lesson, we trust that others may; and in the hope that the practical truth we have endeavored briefly to illustrate, will fall somewhere on good ground, we cast it forth for the benefit of our fellow-men.

men. A man should never put a fence of words around his ideas, because many who would otherwise give him a fair hearing, lack resolution to climb over such a rugged enclosure.

houn, President of the Couvention, being among them, were not only instructed thus to submit the question, but they signed and published, while candidates, a written pledge that they would submit it to the people for ratification. I know that men in high authority and in the confidence of the Territorial Ad National Government, canvassed every art of Kansas during the election of delegates, and each one of them nledged himself the people that no snap judgment was to be taken; that the constitution was to be submitted to the people, for acceptance or rejection : that it would be void unless that was done; that the Administration would spurn and scorn it as a violation of the principles on which it came into power, and that a Democratic Congress would hurl it from their presence, as an insult to Democrats who stood edged to see the people left free to form their domestic institutions for themselves .---Not only that, Sir, but up to the time when the Convention assembled, on the 1st of September, so far as I can learn, it was under stood everywhere that the constitution was to be submitted for ratification or rejection. They met, however, on the 1st of September, and adjourned until after the October election. I think it wise and prudent that they should thus have adjourned. They did not wish to bring any question into that election which would divide the Democratic party and weaken our chances of success in the election. was rejoiced when I saw that they did adourn, so as not to show their hand on any question that would divide and distract the arty until after the election.

During that recess, while the Convention was adjourned, Governor Ransom, the Democratic candidate for Congress, running against the present delegate from that Territory, was canvassing every part of Kansas in favor of the doctrine of submitting the constitution to the people, declaring that the Democratic party were in favor of such submission, and that it was a slander of the Black Republicans to intimate the charge that the Democratic party did not intend to carry out that pledge in good faith. Thus, up to the time of the meeting of the Convention, in October last, the pretence was kept up, the profession was openly made and believed by me, and I thought believed by them, that the Convention intended to submit a constitution to the people, and not to attempt to put a government in operation without such submission. The election being over, the Democratic party being defeated by an overwhelming vote, the Opposition having triumphed and got possession of both branches of the Legislature, and having elected their Territorial Delegate, the Convention assembled and then proceeded to complete their work. Now let us stop to inquire how they redeemed the pledge to submit the constitution to the people. They first go on and make a constitution. Then they make a schedule, in which they provide that the constitution, on the 21st of December-the

Uh, no Lanswer, "I cannot vote for that constitution conscientiously. I am opposed to the clause by which you locate certain railroads in such a way as to sacrifice my county and my part of the State. I am opposed to that banking sys-

the State. I am opposed to this banking sys-tem. I am opposed to this Knownothing or American clause in the constitution about the qualification for office. I cannot vote for it." Then they answer, "You shall not vote on making it a Slave State." I then say, "I making it a Slave State." I then say, "I want to make it a Free State." They reply, Vote for that constitution first, and then you can vote to make it a Free State; otherwise you cannot." Thus they disqualify every Free State man who will not vote first for the constitution; thus they disqualify every Slave State man who will not first vote for the constitution. No matter whether or not the voters state that they cannot conscientiously vote for those provisions, they reply. "You cannot vote for or against slavery here. Take the constitution as we have made it, take the elective franchise as we have established it, take the railroad lines as we have located them, take the judiciary system as we have formed it, take it all as we have fixed it to suit ourselves, and ask be questions, but vote for it, or you shall not tote either for a Slave or a Free State."

EL

In other words the legal effect of the sched-le is this: All these who are in favor of this constitution may vote for or against sladown instantly by an overwhenning in joint if you allow a negative vote. This shows tha a majority are against it. They disqual and disfranchise every man who is against thus referring the slavery clause to a minor of the people of Kansas, and leaving minority free to vote for or against the slav clause, as they choose. Let me ask you that is a fair mode of submitting the slave clause? Does that mode of submitting t particular clause leave the people perfe free to vote for or against slavery as t choose? Am I free to vete as I choos the slavery question if you tell me I shall vote on it until I vote for the May and law? Am I free to vote on the slow of the tion if you tell me that I shall not way until I vote for a bank? Is it i.P. you are going to vote on some other in which has no connection y freedom of election? Is that Humbo

President of the United States has remarks in his message which, it ?? The