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#### TOWANDA:

Chursdan Alorninn, Juln 31, 1856.

FREEDOM IN '76, AND FREEDOM IN '56.

tyranny.

that the colonies were in no danger.

that many were carried away with them.

continental congress was called, and a union

between the several colonies acreed upon -

Eighty years ago this Congress was in session

Dangers were threatening around them. En-

gland manifested an unmistakable determina-

tion to subdue them ; her strength was great,

-her resources vast ; the colonies weak and

mbarrassed in many ways ; but their spirits

ose with the occasion. Their leading men re

solved to advance-not to retire. They bold

ly advocated a declaration of Independence.

This proposition occasioned much discussion

has left us an abstract of the arguments used

The latter party triumphed. On the first test

vote, only two colonies voted against the Decla-

ration-Pennsylvania and South Carolina. On

the final vote all of the colonies voted aye. In-

dependence being declared, the contest assum-

ed a new shape and acquired greater vitality

The conservatives of course took sides with

Great Britain, and became the most bitter ene-

Seven years of fierce, bloody, destructive

war followed ; but it ended in the glorious

triumph of the principles of freedom declared

Let us examine what these principles were.

A nation declared its independence, and made

known the reasons upon which that declaration

was founded. You have heard them read .-

'We hold these truths to be self-evident,'

said they, "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 ;

that to secure these rights, governments were

port of this principle, they pledged their lives

and their fortunes, and went forth to battle

Before I pass on to speak of the contest in

ers from the consent of the governed."

and to victory.

mies of freedom in the field.

They were so plausible

arguments they used.

ORATION. Addiered at Jerrytoma, July 4th, 1856. BY THOMAS J. INGHAM.

TERRYTOWN, July 4th, 1856. The undersigned having listened with pleasure to your the subject of Freedom in '76 and Freedom in eque-t a copy for publication.

L.P. STALFORD URAH TERRY. J.F. DODGE. J.H. STALFORD. P. B. STALFORD.	Yours respectfully,
	D. L. STAATS. HIRAM STONE, FR'S X. HOMET, R. FRUTCHEY, J. G. KEELER,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : I have been actomed to consider the Fourth of July as a ed to carry on an arduous contest with neigh for rejoicing, but also for re- bors and fellow-citizens around them who took is the anniversary of a most im- a different view of the same subject. The men olitical event-one of those epochs in of '76 were not all patriots. The most danshed and long impulses given to succeedrations. On this day it always becomes fenders. These men were called tories, and And more than ever it be- for them to do nothing. They imagine that Fourth day of July, 1856, to institutions are like the rocks and hills, and has ever met to celebrate the when our liberties were in greater dan-Of these things I shall speak before My theme to-day is the contest beon and Tyranny. I shall first al- tire political system ; and when the patriots to the contest in the past ; secondst as it now exists. I shall not myself very closely to the suball indulge in such rambling remarks on may suggest.

two principles of Freedom and Tyrane been long at war; the contest be them has been carried on in all civilized It would be interesting, if time pera trace this contest through past ages. uld find that more than two thousand ars ago these principles were already conig ; we should find that even then, freened some decisive victories. We and Rome a Republic-with a governat so wisely constituted that it was esteemin many features a worthy model for our own itution ;-with laws so just and reasonathat they are sometimes quoted as authorieven unto this day. We could trace the es of Freedom in that land ; we could assist in paying those expenses. They ridiculed the idea of fighting about a few shillings tax; at and just laws; we could then mark the ridiculed the idea of fighting England at all. ries of Tyranny-victories gained by the They counted the number of British ships, and f luxury and political corruptions. We enlarged upon the magnitude of the British ard find them buying offices with gold, and my. They implored the patriots to desist from ificing justice and the principles of Liberty opposition, and enjoy the blessings of peace and btain power. A little later we should find prosperity. edom of the people "crushed out," and The patriots answered, "We have counted nation itself overwhelmed by barbarism — the cost, and find nothing so dreadful as volumcould trace a similar progress and decline tary slavery. We cannot endure the infamy Greece and many other nations of the an- and guilt of resigning succeeding generations We could also find a vast field to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits r examination in the history of modern Eu- them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage Eagland, France, Poland, Hungary, upon them." The contest, of which these ad other nations have each in their turn been points gives but a faint idea, was carried on in battle-ground for Freedom. To do justice his branch of the subject would require ch time ; and I have only alluded to it now the purpose of calling your attention to the act that this nation is not the first nation that for acquired Freedom. It is true, perhaps, and pursued a firm and fearless course. hat no large nation ever enjoyed so great prieges, or so high a degree of freedom as our wn ; but this must not blind us to the fact hat mighty nations have existed, scarce infeor in freedom and in civilization, whose names no longer to be found on the map of the d ; and it should teach us that our libers may be forfeited and our own nation de oved by similar disregard of the eternal inciples of justice and human equality. All ry proves that free institutions will not me through ages, like the pyramids of t, but constantly require the support of even among the patriots themselves. No full report of these debates exist : but Jefferson intelligent and self-sacrificing men .--use who would secure freedom must go to contest with that stern determination which by the contending orators. One party was in favor of compromises and delay ; the other in ated Patrick Henry, when he exclaimed, we me liberty or give me death !" Those favor of immediate, bold and energetic action. ould preserve liberty must practice "etergilance"-keeping their sentinels upon atch-towers, and holding themselves alin readiness to go forth to the conflict. must not, however, expect the armies of y to come under their true colors ; like ates of the high seas the enemies of in sail under all kinds of colors, and onup the black flag when victory is secure. ublies have nothing to fear from foreign while they remain true to themselves. with an army of millions, and the on the Fourth of July, 1776. of half a world at his command, was e to subdue the little Republic of Greece ays of purity ; but in its corrupt days the prey of every petty -prince. A who are united in the determination to an never be subdued, but tyrauny is atisfied to gain its victories by quiet corion, by slothfulness, by ignorance, and by OCTISV. What could never be accomplishopen assaults, is constantly gained by in the camp. The greatest victories of instituted among men deriving their just poware gained in time of peace ; for then s supporters are resting beneath the was the ideal of freedom in '76. For the supand partaking of the fruit of the great berty, they are quietly girdling the sucking the life-blood of the tree itin the meanwhile, they shout hosanedom, and carry on their work of on in the name of all that is liberal

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that the state of the state of

show the manner of reasoning adopted by the I trust I may be permitted to say to the con- The city of Washington, the National Capital, a slave woman with two children to Philadel- free state men in Kansas; their industry has supporters of freedom and the supporters of servatives of this day who are now on the side is under the control of these regents of anarchy The dispute between England and the colthat ye are the children of them which killed onies arose on a question of taxation. England the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of

claimed the right to tax the colonies to any your fathers." extent, and without any other limit than the Since '76, tyranny has changed its tactics. discretion of Parliament : they also asserted Then, it sought to place the people of this nathe supremacy of Parliament over the colonies tion under the government of the King and in all cases whatsoever. In pursnance of these Parliament of England ; Now, it seeks to place assumptions, various laws were passed, among the government in the hands of an oligarchy, which were the stamp act and the tax on tea. who are, from their youth up, trained as ty-The patriots denied the right of taxation with- rants, and are taught to consider labor as disout representation. " If," said they, "our graceful, and the laborer as unfit to exercise property can be taken from us without our con- any share in political government. This is an sent, we are merely serfs, and entirely at the attack upon the doctrine which our fathers demerey of our masters." They boldly declared clared to be self-evident truth ; and is the that they would not submit to these unjust more dangerous because it has come upon us ruffian who committed the assault, and coarselaws; and when England attempted to en- gradually and in a disguised form. It comforce them they openly resisted with force and menced first by destroying the freedom of a arms. While they were thus braving the helpless and despised race ; and its continual power of Great Britain, they were also obligtendency has been since that time to make the laborer of whatever race he may be, helpless and despised also. The white laborer in the Slave States does not take the same rank in society as the same kind of laborers do in the of mankind by which dates are es- gerous enemies of freedom were born in the North In several of the States they are not and biting sarcasm, was unanswerable. Their colonies, and should have been among its depermitted to vote ; and are really but little better off than the slaves. The master does and while we recall the great belong to the great conservative family of not look upon color as the badge of slaverygave the day a name and a mankind who believe in preserving things as if they did, the holding of white slaves would Richmond Enquirer, of June 9th : it is well to apply these principles to they are, and think the best way to do that is cease. We should not see in almost every southern paper advertisements speaking of slaves with light complexion and blue eyessel together ; for assuredly no per- will always remain the same if you let them with the additional information, that it is difalone. They do not perceive that the march ficult to tell them from white persons. The ry of our National Independence at of time is onward-that the inevitable law is truth is the master wants labor done without change-that steps must be taken forward, or paying for it ; he does not care who does it, The events of the past year have been the tendency is backward-that vigorous act- or of what race they come, or whether they are ich startling importance, that they have ing and vigorous thinking are as necessary to white or black. The whole south now assumes d the mind of every thoughtful person with preserve good institutions as they are to se- the ground that all men are not created equal; cure them. These men could not perceive that that they are not all entitled to liberty and the the action of England was changing their en- pursuit of happiness ;---and this false doctrine so hostile to our republican institutions, is de-

called upon them to assist in preserving the moralizing the whole nation. A crime mighty in its magnitude and terrirights of the colonies, they promptly argued ble in its consequences is daily committed and It is difjustified in one end of the Republic, while it ficult now for us to appreciate the force of the is daily apologized for or forgotten in the oth er. Three and a half millions of bodies are kept in bondage ;--three and a half millions of They argued in favor of law and order, and denounced mob violence. They desired, they souls kept in heathenish darkness by the laws of States claiming to be christian and republisaid, to preserve the prosperity of the colonies -to secure their property, and protect their families from the anarchy which must ensue, if can ; and this is permitted under the constitution and beneath the flag of this "glorious the "traitors" persisted in following their mad Union."

I have mentioned this, not intending to dwell course. England, they said, was not disposed upon the question of Slavery as it exists in the to be tyrannical ; the King was no despot. It States. I have mentioned it as the great Panwas the most free and liberal nation upon the face of the earth. The taxes levied were not dora's box from which unnumbered evils are poured out upon the land ; as the great strongburdensome, and it was just that they should be paid. England had incurred great expenhold and remitting station of the demon Tyses in defending them in the late war, and ranny. I shall dwell chiefly upon its violations common honesty, they said, demanded them to of the Constitution, and its trespasses upon northern rights.

Firstly. It violates the Constitution of the United States by restraining the personal liberty of certain citizens of the northern states whose business takes them south.

Secondly. It prohibits freedom of speech and freedom of the press on the subject of slavery. Thirdly. It trespasses on northern rights by an unjust, unnecessary and tyrannical Fugitive

of tyranny, "Ye be witnesses unto yourselves The city is full of that spirit which deems free dom of speech a crime to be punished with personal chastisement. Private citizens, editors and congressmen have been assaulted within the past winter by Southern Representatives ; and within a few weeks a Senator of the United States, in the Senate Chamber of the United States, has been struck down, with repeated blows, bleeding and senseless to the floor. And it is an astounding fact that this outrage is justified, applauded, glorified, by the entire South. An aged Senator rises in his seat and justifies the deed, and receives no rebuke from the dignified body which he addres-

> ly assail the injured Senator. Floods of abuse of every kind is poured upon him. Why is this ? The Senator made a with well merited severity, the iniquities of the on a stern array of facts, supported by close, vigorous logic, and enlivened by glowing wit only answer was the bloody reasoning of a club. Their manner of treating the subject may be seen in the following extract from the

> Richmond Eaquirer, of June 9th : It is idle to talk of union, or peace, or truce with Sum-ner or Summer's friends. Cataline was purity itself com-pared with the Massachusetts Senator, and his friends are no better that he. They are all (we mean the leading and conspicuous ones) avowed and active traitors. The sen-ding the Congressional Committee to Kansas was done with the treasonable purpose of aiding the rebellion in that Territory. The Black Republicans in Congress are at open war with the Government, and, like their allies, the Garrisonian Abolitionists, equally at war with religion, female virtue, private property and distinction of race. They all deserve the halter, and it is vain and idle to in-dulge the expectation that there can be union or peace with such men. Summer and Summer's friends must be punished and silenced. Government, which cannot sup-press such crimes as theirs, has failed of its purpose. Ei-ther such wretches must be hung or put in the penitentiary, or the south shoald prepare at once to quit the Union.

The Southern papers are so filled with simi lar sentiments that it is difficult to select any thing less atrocious than the above. They "Sumner, and Sumner's friends must be Sav punished and silenced." This is the policy they have attempted, to dictate Northern Congress men shall say and what they shall not say in the National Capitol. This would be servitude indeed. The North must rebuke these assumptions at the ballot box, or they will soon be called upon to resist them with the sword. "Peace is not so sweet, and life is not so dear as to be purchased at the price of chains and Slavery."

In return for these kind courtesies of the South, the Northern people are required to do the South a slight favor, namely : to catch their runaway chattels. These contented and happy creatures, sometimes make their way through dismal swamps, over rugged mountains, across deep rivers, ever following the North Star, until they breathe the pure air of our Northern hills. Then famished with hunger, weak from exposure, and worn out with hardship, they venture to our doors to beg for the crust of bread, or the bone we should give to our dogs. Never dare give it to them !-You boast of being a free man, a citizen of a

free Country but you dare not obey the

phia. This woman told a colored waiter at been paralyzed, their property destroyed, their the hotel that she wanted to be free. The towns burned ; many have been murdered waiter told Passmore Williamson. He went many more driven from the territory, homeless to the woman-told her she was free by the laws of Pennsylvania to go where she pleased. test is carried on ; recruits are mustering from She went off in company with several colored both sections of the Union; and unless the power persons, and Williamson saw no more of her. of the United States is placed in the hands of Shortly after, a writ of Habeas Corpus was a President who is determined to suppress these served upon him, commanding to produce the wrongs, and to preserve peace, we are in imme said woman and children before His Honor, diate danger of wide spread civil war. Judge Kane. To this writ he replied that he more opportunity is given us to settle these had not now and never had the body of said difficulties by our votes ; if this opportunity women and children in his custody. His an- is neglected, if a majority of our people are swer was called contempt, and Williamson was determined to sit idly upon the "stool of do committed to jail. And thus a free citizen of nothing," while a host of greedy politicians Other Senators make apologies for the Pennsylvania was deprived of his liberty more are using their votes to secure the high and than three months, for no offence whatever ; profitable offices, regardless of the conse

speech, exposing in courteous language but arm of slavery was mighty enough to reach fice of the National Government from the Pres him in our own free State, and within the sha- ident to the door keeper. They are the ser Southern Oligarchy. His argument, founded dow of Independence Hall. These events in- vants of a mighty despotism who respect nei dicate what we may expect from the Slave ther the Constitution, or the laws of humanity, power when it has extended its limits and se- or the laws of God. The National Capitol is cured a majority in both branches of the Unit- a great den of corruption. Oppression walks ed States Congress.

> exerting all its power. It covets every foot of ble halls of national power. Such iniquities free territory on the American Continent .-- cannot long continue. If there are no men to Guilty of mighty crimes, it feels the uneasiness of guilt, and labors day and night to ex-

> tend its limits and strengthen its power. Our fathers at the time they framed the Constitution, wisely passed an ordinance prohibit ing slavery in *all* the territory then owned by prophets are light and treacherous persons; the General Government. When a new ter- her priests have polluted the sarc'uary, they ritory was acquired, the Oligarchy demanded have done violence to the law. The just Lord half of it for slavery, and the State of Missou-ri in the bargain. This was not desired by ty, every morning doth he bring his judgment the majority of the North, but the bargain was to light. He faileth not. Therefore wait ye made by all the South, and a portion of the upon me, saith the Lord, until the day that I North, and called the Compromise of 1820 .-- rise up to the prey, for my determination is to By that act, slavery was prohibited in the gather the nations, that I may assemble the territory now called Kansas and Nebraska .-- kingdoms to pour upon them mine indignation In 1854, the South aided by a few North- even all my fierce anger ; for all the earth ern men, repealed the act of 1820, and open shall be devoured with the fire of my jealousy. ed this territory to slavery. It was asserted in the North at that time, as you will re- and even skeptics may learn amid the rains of member, that slavery would never go to Kan- Ninevah and Babylon and the desolations of sas. They declared the prohibition of 1820 the Jewish nation the terrible significance of was repealed for the purpose of allowing the these denunciatious. Doubt not that the just territory to "fix their own institutions and God is in the midst of this nation also ; every govern themselves in their own way." In morning he bringeth his judgments to light. 1855, the first election for Members of As- Doubt not that our rulers are as roaring lions sembly was held. Five thousand citizens of and our judges as evening wolves. The events Missouri invaded the territory-took posses- of every day prove it. Our rulers have lost sion of the ballot boxes-and carried the elec- the wisdom of those who declared all men tions, by electing members who were, in equally entitled to life and liberty-they have many instances, citizens of Missouri. The forgotten the God who inspired and sustained first act of this fraudulently elected Legisla- that declaration. It is in the power of the ture was to expel all the free State representatives except one, who voluntarily retired, bring the nation back to its early purity ; but knowing that he would be of no service to the the desire for office, the shackles of party, and cause of freedom by remaining. Their next the bonds of ignorance are clinging around so act was to remove the seat of Government many that the result seems doubtful. We from Pawnee where it was legally fixed to the must implore the God of the Revolution to Shawnee Mission. This bill Gov. Reeder ve- kindle new faith in the hearts of this moneytoed ; but the Legislature adjourned to Shaw- getting generation. The Most High lends his nee nevertheless. After this Gov. Reeder re-fused to acknowledge any of their acts and His name. When faithless Charles the First

> but on the contrary, doing just what the laws of Pennsylvania gave him a right to do, and what his duty to God required. The black "Hirelings and mammonites" are in every ofboldly forth in their high places at noonday, To accomplish this object the Oligarchy is and returns safely at night to rest in the mar overthrow them, there is a living God who wil'

> " No," says He to the oppressing city !-"She obeyed not the voice, she received not correction. Her princes within her are roar-Thus said the Lord to the nations of old sovereign people to cast off these rulers, and strength to those who go forth to battle in treated their proceedings as a nullity. Reed- of England, attempted to subvert the rights of the English Commons, an earnest app around the King like avenging spirits ; they came upon the battle field with pravers ; they came forth from the battle with triumph and thanksgiving. And in the revolution, when the colonies were borne down by the armies of despotism, and divided by factions-when human power seemed impotent to avert destruction, then they called upon the Supreme Ruler of the world for assistance. They appealed to Him " for the rectitude of their intentions." They declared their "firm reliance upon his protec tion." They relied not in vain. The mighty armies of which Europe stood in awe proved impotent to destroy them. Army after army was sent against them during seven years, but accomplished nothing. The Colonies emerged from the conflict in safety, and this nation re of the people, and a significant example of the inspiration and protection of Divine Providence Let us profit by their example-going forth to the contest in the name of the Most High -with a "firm reliance upon his protection and an abiding faith that He will bring instice and freedom out of wrong and oppression.

Such are the enemies with which s always had to contend, and such zers which now surround it.

ng of the contest of freedom in not intend to enter into a full hisaccount of the leading events. I shall of our fathers we would not have been parta-black with unpunished crimes. Nor is their when upon those points which serve to kers with them in the blood of the *patriots*." Violence confined to the soil of Southern States.

Fourthly. It is attempting to legalize slavein the free states by corrupt judicial decisions.

A

Fifthly. It is waging a cruel and vindictive war against citizens of the North in Kansas, for the purpose of making that territory a slave state. various forms during a period of twelve years.

To accomplish these purposes the great oli-Arguments were held in shops, on street cor garchy has used, and is still using the whole ners, and in public halls, and kindled animosi ty between neighbors and friends. The party power of the National Government, and the well-tried machinery of a great party. of freedom, however, gained steadily in strength,

I shall touch briefly upon each of the points alluded to. The second section of the fourth article of the Constitution declares, "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizen in the several States." This provision of the Constitution is openly violated by the laws of many, if not all, of the Southern States.

In Massachusetts, and in several other Northern States, colored men are citizens, and as such entitled to all the privileges and immunities of other citizens. Yet, these men are completely proscribed in the South. If by chance one is found there, he is at once seized and put in jail. In South Carolina they even seize them on board of vessels in their harbors .-They are placed in jail and there they remain until the vessel gets ready to sail, when by paying the expense of this unconstitutional imprisonment, they can be released ; but if they are not able to pay their jail fees, they are sold as slaves. This is an old offence ; and the Legislature of Massachusetts once sought to try the legality of it in the Courts of South Carolina. An able and learned lawyer was sent there to commence a suit ; but he was driven from the State with threats of personal violence. So the law now stands. Be it re-

membered, that on this fourth day of July, 1856, almost every Southern State has laws upon its statute books which are openly and plainly in violation of the Constitution ; and under these laws citizens of the north may be, and often are, made slaves. The same provis ion of the Constitution is also violated in their treatment of white citizens of the North. Any citizen of the North who dares to express his opinions against slavery in a slave state is in langer of his life. A New York Tribune found in one man's trunk entitled him to a coat of tar and feathers ; an avowal of freesoil sentiments cost another man a ride upon a rail ; and a suspicion of abolitionism brings the bowie-knife or the halter. The destruction of printing presses and mob violence of every kind have become so common that they do not excite such indignation as they justly merit .-Personal freedom, the freedom of speech, the freedom of conscience, and the freedom of the 56, I desire to call your attention to the fact press are the chief points gained by freedom that this Declaration was fought inch by inch in the contests of a thousand years ; they are by the conservatives in the colonies. Every man of that class now assumes that if he had manded by the common law; but the South

lived in those days, he would have been a pa-triot. They say "If we had been in the days with the blood of martyrs, their annals are

mand of God to feed that hungry man ; to clothe that naked man ; to visit that sick and afflicted man. The laws of your country forbid it. Seize the poor trembling wretch who

seeks for liberty; send him back rumbling over the railroads, to perish at the stake as an example for his fellow bondsmen : or to wear away a short life in repinings for freedom among the swamps of Georgia. Send them back ! the laws of your country command it. A thousand dollars fine for giving a crust of bread-a thousand dollars more if the fugitive escapes. These are the punishments if

you fail to do your duty. Never falter at the groans and tears of the poor slave mother never shudder if she in her despair sheds the blood of her innocent babe to save it from a life of Slavery. Your duty to the "Union' demands this service as you will be told : the South will destroy the "Union" if you refuse. Oh, what a glorious Union ! The South breaks every fundamental article in the Constitution, and all is well; but if the North only talk about modifying an act of Congress which is not required in the Constitution and abhorent to justice, the South declare they will destroy the Union. If they do so, they will be the traitors ; theirs the guilt ; and upon their heads will fall the burden of the calamity.

Akin to the law which makes us slave catch ers, is the bold attempt to force Slavery into the Northern States. They do not attempt this by legislative enactment, oh no! They even assert that the Legislature of Pennsyl vania has not the power to prevent slaves from being carried through the State. Sla very claims a kind of Divine right to go where t pleases, and treats with contempt all human laws that come in its way.

To come directly to the point, the claim is now made that slaveholders have the right to travel through the North, taking with them as many slaves as they please ; and further have the right to carry on the commerce in slaves between Virginia and the far south by way of Philadelphia and New York. Judge Kane first became the instrument of promulgat ing this doctrine. He said he was not aware that any law existed preventing the transit of slaves, and he doubted the Constitutionality of such a law if it was made. The Judiciary Committee of the State Legislature, following up this opinion, openly assert that no such law exists ; and add that " they have come to the conclusion that the right of transit through Pennsylvania with their slaves, is already se cured to the citizens of the slaveholding States by the Federal Constitution, and that no law of this State can disturb that right." So the matter now stands-decided as far as the ques tion has gone in favor of the South ; and Mr Toombs may pass through Pennsylvania, with all of his slaves, if he chooses, on his road North, to fulfill his boast of calling the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill.

This doctrine was never heard of a year ago -it is the growth of a single year. In the

er was appointed as a popular sovereignty man, and he determined that the doctrine of went up to God ; the stern puritans gathered popular sovereignty should be carried out ; but President Pierce had no such intentions. When he found Reeder in the way of Slavery advanced to the conflict with psalms, they he removed him in the most shameful manner ; on a charge utterly false, and that too after

Reeder had asked for time, in the most respectful manner, to prove himself innocent .-Reeder's place was filled with a weak and supple tool of Slavery.

Having now a Governor, the bogus Legislature proceeded to frame a law to smother freedom. This law will be remembered in history as one of the vilest laws ever put upon a statute book.

I hold in my hand a copy of this act. When it is remembered that Slavery had no legal existence there, and never had, it will be seen that every section is an outrage. No section establishes Slavery, but the first eight sections forbid the aiding of slaves, and in six cases mains a monument to the faith and bravery out of eight, the punishment of death is prescribed. The next two sections command the assistance of all officers in catching slaves : the 12th and 13th sections, I will read-

SEC. 12. If any free person, by speaking or by writing assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Terri-tory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be in-troduced into this Territory, written, printed, published, or circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, maga-zine, pamphlet or circular containing any denial of the of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punish-ed by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years.

than two years. SEC. 13, No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory shall sit as a juror on the trial of any slaves in this Territory shall sit as a juror on the trial of any ecution for any violation of any of the sections of th

This act to take effect and be in force from and after the anth day of September. A. D. 1855.

No one doubts that these laws are in utte violation of the most sacred principles of the Constitution ; but the Constitution is a dead letter when it interferes with the desires or designs of Slavery. The oligarchy said " those laws must be enforced." The President re peated "those laws must be enforced." Wil son Shannon re-echoed "those laws must be enforced."

The friends of freedom were in the midst of langer-if they submitted, it was, to become the Statesman of Penusylvania. This fact inslaves ; if they resisted, they must resist Unit- duced General Armstrong subsequently to tell ed States troops. They resolved to proceed with Jackson that he had given Polk a rather hard caution. They declared they would submit to rub, as Buchanan had already been selected United States authority but would resist the for Secretary of State. "I can't help it," said execution of the unconstitutional laws, made the old man ; "I felt it my duty to warn by Missourians. A scene of Anarchy ensued. him against Mr. Buchanan, whether it was Bloody murders were committed by pro-slavery agreeable or not. Mr. Polk will find Buchanmen, and the officers of the territory refused an an unreliable man. I know him well, and to bring them to justice. Gov. Shannon him- Mr. Polk will yet admit the correctness of my self boarded with a murderer a long time ; and prediction." made no effort to procure his punishment.

On the other side, free state men were con- to the old hero when this unavailing remon demned for offenses never committed-con- strance was delivered, but the new President demned unheard, and oftentimes before they

Base treachery, bloodthirsty violence, deep that period, may still be read a most emphatic middle of July , 1855, Col. Wheeler brought burning wrongs have been inflicted upon the declaration of his distrust of Mr. Buchanan

#### Gen. Jackson on Mr. Buchanan.

We find in the Washington correspondence of the New York Evening Post, an anecdote which proves that Gen. Jackson, who was a pretty good judge of human nature, fully under stood and appreciated Mr. Buchanan's charac ter as a political trimmer. The writer says the truth of the following can pe proved by unques tionable evidence :

"On the night before leaving Nashville to ccupy the White Honse, Mr. Polk, in compa with Gen. Robert Armstong, called at th Hermitage to secure some advice from the old hero as to the selection of his Cabinet. Jackson strongly urged the President elect to give no place in it to Buchanan, as he could not be relied upon. It so happened that Polk had al ready determined to make that very appoint. ment, having probably offered the situation to

"It was the last visit ever made by Mr. Polk long before the end of his Administration, had were arrested. I cannot enlarge upon the reason to acknowledge its propriety and jusreign of terror, which has existed for months. tice ; and in the diary kept by him during