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TOWANDA:

fhursday Morning, May 13, 1858.

REMARKS OF

HON. HENRY WILSON. OF MASSACHUSETTS.

the Senate, Thursday, April 29, 1858.

muittee of Conference on the disagreeing votes two Houses on the bill for the admission of the (Kansas into the Union.

Mr. WILSON : Mr. President, the Senafrom Georgia [Mr. Toombs] tells us that of cramming the Lecompton Constitudown the throats of the people of Kansas an end. It is to go down by another This measure is a conglomeraof bribes, of penalties, and of meditated Lecompton is not to be crammed down is to be bribed down, and to be cheated and this proposition provides for both hese alternatives. It goes to the people of ass with a bribe in one hand and a penalin the other; and if, bribes and threats

But the Senator from Georgia starts a new salmitted Kansas into the Union un- paid for. Senate Lecompton bill, that we fought

ho vesterday addressed the Senate ty two hours upon matters pertaining

for a barrain -- a proposition made by elded by Congress, and never would be

The Said:
as of one of the States of this Union taxing
by of the Government of the United States
imits is one which has been frequently advances
states with a view to extort from Congress
as grant of land. It never yet has been con-

there was not a man here in the Senone who claimed that if Kansas was under the Lecompton constitution. ld have the seventeen million acres of lands. The Senator from Missouri REEN offered an amendment, and it opted without division by the Senate: expressed the unanimous judgment of

othing in this act shall be construed as an as agrees to any or all of the propositions of

was a special provision put into the octrine avowed here to-day for a spe-States, or on the soil of this Republic.

roposition that comes to us from the en to stand by the proposition made putting this penalty upon them.

Well, Mr. President, I believe the people honerable Senator from Kentucky, to From the adoption of the Lecompthere was not a man in America ruption will not win, fraud is to win.

who believed that there was anything in this ordinance but a mere proposition for a bar-gain. Nobody believed the Congress of the gain. Nobody believed the Congress of the United States would accept it, and if Congress rejected it, there was an end of it, for Congress has never put, until this proposition was made, the question in controversy of the right of the States to tax the public lands of the United States. It has been settled by the the power we would have voted it down and entatives, could not do business, and it was pose of making Kansas a slave State-do you have voted to elect delegates to the Lecomp decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have no right to tax given an enabling act to the people of Kansas board. Then why did you not give it to the have their final gripe upon the people, when the property of the United States. That principle is almost as old as this Government, mit it to the popular vote, and then come here and yet this well defined and settled principle and ask for admission into the Union." But, United States. The President of the United States. The President of the United States. The President of the United States.

to the Union now under the Lecompton conont win, you have provided that fraud tlers. Your Government has advertised hundreds of thousands of acres to be sold in July next. The best of the lands of the Territory on here to-day, one we shall all give of Kansas have been taken up under your

Now, this scheme offers to Kansas, if it comes into the Union under the Lecompton constitution, five per cent. of the proceeds of we, as liberty-loving men-the friends of when the October election came, the little your bribe, they will will vote down your con- Jefferson and Madison called citizens, cannot all the lands that may be sold. If she comes making Kansas a free State-hesitate to ac- town of Oxford, which had about forty-two stitution, and they wil' not come in under it, live there. The descendants of the men who into the Union between now and the 1st day cept this proposition made in good faith by the legal voters, gave over one thousand six hun- unless you count them in by counting fraudu- fought with Andrew Jackson before the blazdid we not hear of this when the of July next, she has five per cent. on the proefore the Senate? For more ceeds of the immense quantities of the public the we have sat here babbling lands to be sold in that Territory. That will amount, I think, to millions of dollars; and the creature of frand, come into the Union but inhabitants at all, gave one thousand three or the people of this country will regard as of lican name. The Senator says they are exclud-Senate or the House of Representatives that poor Territory, without money, without money, without money, without money, without money, without money without money any force your declaration that she shall not ed from voting by the Lecompton constitution, nablic press of the country, no public means, is offered five per cent on the sales of Kansas were against it, and that if they had a out; and for these acts a howl went up from make a constitution, and come into the Union, all the public lands if she will come into the Union with the Lecompton constitution; and a crushing majority. Our friends in that Ter- Union if you do admit Kansas under the Le- No, sir; I think the intelligent people of Kan- delegates! Could they not have voted on the and not be a member of this if not, she is to stay out, these lands are to be ritory have the county officers. We have the county officers. We have the county officers. sold, and she is to have no five per cent. of sheriffs ; we have the ballot-boxes ; they are ernor Walker had the right to throw out these will not accept it, unless you count them in was submitted before they were excluded by their proceeds. Here is a positive, direct all in the hands of the free-State men. The bribe offered, amounting to hundreds of thou Senator from Kentucky knowing that we did these frauds although the correction of the reject it, they will make another constitution, they are citizens of the United States they sands of dollars, for Kansas to come into the not desire to avail ourselves of this advantage frauds was vital to the just expression of the and a free constitution. You have settled it would do so. There is a provision in the Lea Union at once, before her public lands are of having the territorial officers made this pro- public sentiment; for these frauds gave the that Kansas has inhabitants enough to come venworth constitution that the first Legislabrought into the market, and sold at all; and position—and a fairer proposition could not Legislature to the minority of the Territory. in as a slave State. Yes, northern men, rep ture shall submit the question of universal sufee claiming these lands yet the Senator from Georgia recklessly as be made—that the Governor and Secretary,

abhorred constitution. tion did not stand in the form of a bribe. It organized for dishonest purposes. We believed recting a gigantic fraud upon the people don of Ohio to this day, in which applied to the Lecompton constitution, if they took that; it applied to the new constitution appoint a proper time, and fix upon proper appointed marshall of the Territory by Mr. trayed people; we will hunt them down, and as he is pleased to call us never had any doubts to be made, if they took that. It was a fair, honest proposition, and could have had no effect whatever on the decision of the people .id that this proposition was only a pro- It was a proposition that came from an honest man, and was supported by honest men, and met the approbation of honest men.— ted us at Kickapoo, at the Delaware Crossing of the Territorial Legislature and he te tified let us see these men keep her out as a free menace, and fraud, we spurn it, and we defor it is, "have this land if you take Lecompton ;" and if they do not take Lecompton, it added names by hundreds to the returns ; the two hundred and fifty votes were given there under your new scheme, except by stupendous does not say a word about what they shall men who have spent many of the winter months on that day, when they counted out nearly and gigantic frauds. You can do it that way; have when they make another constitution .-It is a temptation to the public men of that Territory to come in now and have the con- they have betrayed and defrauded; we knew gating committee, and the President of the a constitution; they will come here asking ad- it has become an instrument, not only of great trol of these public lands, and everybody knows that these corrupt creatures who have defrau- United States removed him. Yes, sir, Mr. mission. You can keep them out if you choose utility, but of absolute necessity in the arts.-how anxious men in this country, especially in ded the people at the ballot-box, and taken Dennis was sacrificed for exposing the frauds to do so; but you keep them out at your While its adaption and application to agriculthe new States, are to obtain control over im- false oaths in regard to election returns; who of the friends of Lecompton by a willing Ex- peril. mense tracts of public lands.

Consider, now, sir, the penalties you propose to inflict upon these people. Every memper of the Senate who has studied the affairs of Kansas, knows that there is a sentiment in that Territory, approaching unanimity, in fathat Territory, approaching unanimity appr vor of coming into the Union at once. The where rascals have recently so much congre- Jack Henderson, who took the vote at Dela- compton constitution. It would have been the more uniform the temperature the less liasentiment of all the people of that Territory is, to come into the Union now, to be a member of this Confederacy. Their interests, all they have and they have a sentiment of all the people of that Territory gated, would not be appointed by the board is, to come into the Union now, to be a member of this Confederacy. Their interests, all they have and they have a sentiment of all the people of that Territory gated, would not be appointed by the board ware Crossing, and who was implicated in that support of the proposition and who was implicated in the people of that Territory gated, would not be appointed by the board support of the more union in the temperature the less flater of the more union in the flat they have and they hope to be, prompt them at nothing in the act should be deemalso maken as an assent to any of the provialso maken as an assent to any of the brovialso maken as an assent to any of the brovialso maken as an assent to any of the Senate of
the unanimous voice of the Senate of
as repudiation by the Senate of
as repudiation by the Senate of
as repudiation by the Senate of
the public lands. I declare here and now
also preferse that Kansas would not be a
list proposition would choose as election offito come into the Union now to share its blessings and its benefits. But what do you proslight may not the provideer should be deemshould be deemshould an an assent to any of the provisings and its benefits. But what do you proslight may not the Union now to share its blessings and its benefits. But what do you proslight may not the Union now to share its blessings and its benefits. But what do you proslight may not the Union now to share its blessings and its benefits. But what do you proslight may not the Union now to share its blesslight under a wood-pile, two feet under
the analytic may would have been a sister of
all parties in whom the people would have onall parties in whom the people would have been a sister of
all parties in whom the people would have been a sister of
all parties in whom the people would have been a sister of
all parties in whom the people would have consleen the Canfean from Kentucky, and accepted by
us in both Houses promptly, would have close
at night under a wood-pile, the Senate under
the Senate and that the President would have be and they get no benefit from the sales. Then you offer them four and a half million acres of land. This proposition addresses itself with the Confederacy if the original Se- and they get no benefit from the sales. Then had passed Congress, is an aftertho't. you offer them four and a half million acres of immense force to the governing men of that and there is not a man in the Senate laids of the latter of the lands of the latter of given at some future time when they do come eves there is anything in it. It is the in ; but the operating force of this proposition bribe in their faces now, and appeal to them of conference had its origin with to accept it; but if they do not come in now, for four months have sat in council they are to be kept out. They want to be in here in resisting this attempt of the the Union; you keep them out unless they ration to force the Lecompton con- will come in under the Lecompton constituthrough Congress. It comes from tion, that they have condemned by ten thouwere pledged by all that binds hono- sand popular majority. You punish them by

Sustain that proposition, to resist a of Kansas will vote down this Lecompton con and a half million acres; and then unless is in their hands. He is their instrument and depend upon that. It is a proposition you extreme cold weather.—Life Illustrated. of conference, and to defeat the stitution by an overwhelming majority. I do for the admission of Kansas into the not believe you can buy that people with this ader this Lecompton swindle. Sir, five per cent. on their public lands, or by four " Holy Writ that " the ox knoweth and a half millions of her eighty million acres and the ass his master's crib," and of lands. You have tried to force them-you and these words illustrated in this have failed. Now you propose to bribe them. e asses have found their master's I have the fullest confidence that you will igthe oxen have recognized their own- nominiously fail in that. You believed it .report comes to us under a false The man who framed this measure believed spretense. Yes, sir, a false and ly- the people would reject it, and he prepared There is no controversy in re- this measure to oarry it through by fraud, and public lands between the Federal he intended that. Yes, sir, I charge it directand the Territory of Kansas, none ly that the getters-up of this proposition expected the people of Kansas to defeat it, and ution by the convention on the 7th | they intended to put it in the power of the ther last, up to the framing of this Lecomptonites to carry it by fraud. If cor-

our ready support. We Republicans believe in the power and duty of this Government to constitution, and on proclamation of the Presi-dent, they were come into the Union. Could You will remember, Mr. President, that this controversy; for the people will spurn the Chesapeake before the war of 1812, whom

Senator from Kentucky? that a board thus constituted would promptly

Senator from Missouri [Mr. GREEN] gave for their own purposes. would answer in his own time. He followed tained the sacking of Lawrence in May, 1856; no peace on this question, or any other ques- sauce."

Mr. President, the veteran Senator from the Senator from Ohio, but he did not conde- who justified the bloody scenes of the summer | tion growing out of slavery, in America, un-Ketucky proposed a measure to which we give scend to allude to this very pertinent question and autumn of 1856; who have denounced til the whole controversy is settled upon put by the Senator from Ohio. Sir, the other Senator from Ohio [Mr. Pugn] yesterday unthe frauds of October, of December, and of The Senator from Ohio [Mr. Pugn] is prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States. We believed the Lecompton reason is this: that the board made of four have incurred all the odium of sustaining these day to cast odium on our friends in Kansas, by constitution was not the sentiment, the will, of men, Governor, Secretary, President of the acts, which have brought disgrace and discharging that they intended "to stuff the balthe people of Kansas. If we had possessed Council, and Speaker of the House of Repres- honor upon our common country, for the pur- lot-boxes with negro votes." A negro could and said to them, "frame a constitution, sub- people? I will tell you why you have put that they have three commissioners who can count can vote by that constitution, if he is a citiis now to be submitted to the decision of the people of Kansas; a doubt for the first time is raised, and this is the basis on which you have trumped up this proposition!

I have a said that the people and ask for admission into the United States. The President of the United States, and this proposition and to this proposition was like the law for the election of affairs, may make even these men act with delegates to the Lecompton constitution. The provisions of both declared that the bena fide the United States and this is the basis on which you have a said that this is a proposition of the United States. The President of the United States. The President of the United States and the United States and the United States are united to this proposition and to this proposition and to this proposition was like the law for the election of affairs, may make even these men act with the people should have an opportunity to vote common housesty. Nothing else will baffle the Lecompton constitution; we had no doubt on their constitution on its adoption or re-I have said that this is a proposition to of that. We believed that if they could have jection. I went up Missouri river with Gover- United States, if this measure passes, as I ed to vote. The word "white" was not in bribe the people of Kansas. The Senator from Georgia tells us that it is no bribe.—

Now, I say to the Senator that it offers a positive and direct bribe of hundreds of thousands of dollars to the People of Kansas, to come into the Union pow grade the Lecompton constitution are exactly like the proportion. I went up Missouri river with Governor Walker, and he everywhere proclaimed it. I heard his speech to the people assembled at Lawrence. He told them that they should have about us, nothing can save Kansas from being safer opportunity to vote. He pledged himself to the People of Kansas, to come into the Union by fraudulent visions of the Lecompton constitution are exactly like the proclaimed it. I heard his speech to the people assembled at Lawrence. He told them that they should have about us, nothing can save Kansas from being safer opportunity to vote. He pledged himself to the Union by fraudulent visions of the Lecompton constitution, in respect to the people of Kansas, to come interest the Union by the pool of Kansas, to come into the Union by the visions of the Leavent visions of country-men who differ from him in sentiment constitution was not fairly submitted, he him- the public judgment of the people of the Uni- have given notice of an intention to become stitution. There are eighty millions acres of land opinion—a speech that has won their love land in the Territory of Kansas. We have sold none of those lands, or next to none of their affectionate regards, and when he sleeps that he was backed in this by the President want Kansas to come into the Union as a There is a provision in the Lecompton conthem. Hundreds of thousands of acres of beneath the soil of his own Kentucky he will of the United States; that he represented the slave State. Failing in all efforts to force stitution that is a disgrace to the American these lands have been taken up by actual set- live in their memory. He made a fair prop- President and his Cabinet; that he spoke for her in the Union, you now propose to bribe name: and that is that a free negro shall not osition; that proposition was, to submit the the Government. Sir, these assurances had her in by rewards, by penalties; and if these live in Kansas. Sir, the descendants of the Lecompton constitution to a direct. fair, their weight. Men said, "we shall be cheated will not do, you have got the power in this man who, on Bunker Hill shot down Major and honest vote of the people. If they wan- if we go to vote under the partial enrollment; scheme to bring her in by fraud. ted it they would take it, and they were in the they will give us a chance to vote on the con- I tell you frankly, this bill will not make Lexington, if he has any, cannot live in Kanstion here to-day, the did not want Lecompton, stitution, and then we will vote down the corpeate unless you mean to use frand. That will sas under this Lecompton constitution. The they were authorized to make, at once, another rupt and dishonest thing and make a constitution. The descendants of two of the three men, if they

dred votes. Governor Walker went down lent votes. Suppose you are not able to do ing lines of New Orleans, and whom Jackson I admit, sir, that we subjected ourselves to there, examined the case, and threw out the that, and Kansas rejects your Lecompton conthe risk of letting a slaveholding constitution vote. McGee county, that had hardly any stitution: do you think the people of Kansas say that proposition is a disgrace to the Amer

serts here in the face of this fact, before the appointed by the President and removable at breezes to the White House, Governor Wise sylvania, Indiana, Ohio, Iowa-these men, in and a Senator calling himself a Democrat A brief debate sprang up upou Senate and the country, that there is no bribe his will, and the President of the Council, and came to Washington, saw the President, told this House and in the other, are voting here comes into the Senate of the United States, The Senator from Ohio, (Mr. offered to the people of Kansas to take this the Speaker of the House of Representatives the President that he would write a letter susrepresenting the popular will of the Territory, taining his policy and draw this fire upon him- ton constitution, which forbids any future Le- charging its friends with attempting to stuff That is not all. You are offering this peo- should be appointed a board of Commissioners self. He did so; and a day or two after that gislature ever to abolish slavery; that she may the ballot-boxes with negro votes. That Sensle something like four million five hundred and that three of this board thus constituted very letter was written, the President deser- come in under that slave constitution with her tor well knows that there are not one hundred ousand acres of land to come into this Un- shall form a quorum. We knew that the ap- ted the Governor and left him to be shot down. present population, be they few or many; but free negroes in the Territory; and this assault ion under this constitution. In answer to pointees of the President could not control He deserted Walker. The moment Walker she cannot come in until she has ninety-four upon the framers of the Leavenworth constithat, we are told that the honorable Senator that board ; we knew that the men who had corrected those frauds the demand went forth thousand if she will not come in under this tution is unjust grossly unjust. from Kentucky (Mr. Criffender) made the defrauded the poople of Kansas could not conthat he should be sacrificed, and the President constitution. Sir, we will charge this upon same proposition. He did, but his proposition; trol it; we knew that the board could not be was the willing tool to sacrifice a man for cor- these men in every school district of the free this proposition; and I assure the Senator

We knew that under a board thus constituted at one election, thirteen hundred at another, to the popular will; bring it here as a free your Lecompton constitution. under the shadow of the Capitol, away from thirteen hundred votes. He gave this testithe bitter condemnation of the people whom mony, exposed these frauds before the investi-

Territory, we knew that those corrupt and were stricken down for exposing these frauds ple would have taken a fair vote under men ture in winter, where a person is at rest (or House of Representatives, under the lead of fidence, and is to be sent up into Nebraska per- people now want to come into the Union, that ed to this temperature before applying the

proposition. Senators tell us that does not right to say that this change in the board of that they will make a constitution and come superior richness it does not detract from the abmit the Lecompton constitution to the peo- commissioners could be made for no honest here and ask admission. If you admit them weight, thereby giving a better article, in the presses upon them now. You hold up the ple of Kansas, that it only submits certain purpose. These three men may be removed, you may then close it greatest quantity and uniformity of the whole propositions in regard to the public lands. It is their removal be necessary to affect the purbulants the inducements to come into the pose of the men who have sustained the Missian dimitted until they have a certain number of instrument, if applied immediately after dip-Union, it holds out the glittering brice in the one hand and the threat in the other, and as if this would not accomplish their purpose of the men who have sustained the Missian inhabitants. You may admit them in spite of this restriction and close the controversy; but if you mean to adhere to the provisions of this "water boils." For scalding hogs or fowls, they have added the district attorney to the board of Commissioners. They offer to the people of Kansas five per cent, of the proceeds of all the lands to be sold, they offer them four hat people take Lecompton they propose to if they demand it, he will see to it that the cannot defend here-you cannot defend it anythem out of the Union under any con- three men he appoints who have the control where. I listened to the Senator from Virtitution, without these lands until they have of this board of commissioners, who can fix the ginia the other day; and if any man can deninety-four thousand inhabitants, and they day of election as far off as they please to pre- fend this measure he can do it; I listened to onstitute a board of commissioners to have side over the ballot boxes, who can count in the Senator from Missouri ; I listened yesterharge of the elections a majority of whom the Oxford, Kickapoo, and Shawnee frauds, day to the speech of the Senator from Ohio, are to be appointed by the President of the who can decide this whole question-he can [Mr. Pugh ;] I have listened to-day to the United States, mere executive instruments men remove them at his will, and they are but his Senator from Mississippi, [Mr. Brown.] and who can be removed at any time it his will. tools and his instrument, and he is the tool the Senator from Georgia, [Mr. Toombs.] Why is this change made? Answer, if you and instrument of the slave propagandists have not yet heard within these walls, or becan. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. Wade] and disunionists. They must obey him, and fore the people, men of talent, of capacity, laasked, the other day, why it was made and the he will obey the imperious men who rule him bor as they have labored, and come to such

impotent and illogical conclusions. Sir, there what Major Jack Downing was wont to call a Do you believe, Mr. President, that the men is no peace in this scheme. You talk about sharp knowing look, as though he would answer who sustained, in Congress and out of Con- peace in regard to Kansas. Deal fairly and a roasted lamb-tender and nicely dressedhe gave two very significant nods that be gress, the invasion of March, 1855; who sus- honestly, and you can have it. There will be Somebody else wickedly adds "and without

Pitcairn, who fired upon our countrymen at the power to close it; and that alone will close have left any, who were captured on board because they cannot live in the State under it While these threats were borne on southern resenting Rhode Island, New Jersey, Penn-frage to the people-that is all there is in it; and undertakes to prejudice a great cause by

But, Mr. President, we shall vote against States; we will hold them up to the indignant from Georgia, who hints that we were in doubt places to hold the election, and that proper Buchanan, attended the polls at Oxford, this dance on their political graves. Let the peo- as to what we would do in regard to this men would be selected to conduct the election. very precinct that gave sixteen hundred votes ple of Kansas make a constitution; submit it scheme. Sir, we could not accept the bill for your Hendersons, your Diefendorffs, your seven or eight hundred at another. He was State. You have voted that she has inhabi- that the embodiment of a gigantic fraud; and retended right of taxation had never This a proposition put in the form of a bribe, at Oxford, and at Shawnee; that the men that there were less than one hundred and State, if they dare. Yes, sir, we give you no nounce the men who originated it, and who who took the returns over into Missouri and fifty voters in the precinct, and that not over tice now that you cannot close this question give it their support, in and out of Congress.

> tural and domestic purposes, has rendered it If the proposition made by the Senator from almost as indispensable as a clock or a watch. have buried returns by night in candle-boxes, under a wood-pile and under the ground, and then swore that they had sent them out of the
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> While Walker and Stanton and Dennis
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> While Walker and Stanton and Dennis
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> If the proposition made by the Senator from Kentucky had been adopted, this whole question would have been settled to-day. The peout number of the slave propagandists.

> > It may be said generally of husbands. as the woman said of hers, who had abused, her, to an old maid who reproached her for marrying him, " To be sure he's not so good a husband as he might be, but he is a powerful sight better than none."

> > A young lady on being asked if she intended wearing that finger-ring to church, said she didn't intend to wear anything else.

> > Someboly says a wife should be like