



The Independent Republican.

C. F. READ & H. H. FRAZIER, EDITORS.

MONROSE, PA.

Thursday, February 14th, 1856.

The Election of Banks.

The election of Mr. Banks is justly regarded by the friends of freedom as a very great triumph, and as the harbinger of a new and brighter era in the history of the Slavery question. Almost for the first time in our history, certainly for the first time in many years, the North has taken up the gauntlet so contemptuously thrown down by the South, and won the field. In other words, for the first time the South has failed to secure the aid of enough doughfaces to enable her to win. Nor was this defeat of the South caused by any division in the Southern ranks; for, as usual where the Slavery question is concerned, the Southern members forgot their quarrels among themselves, and voted in a solid body for the institution. Slavery Democrats and Twelfth-Section Know-Nothings, who at the time they were elected were so bitterly opposed to each other that hostile collisions and bloodshed were the consequence, now stood side by side in the support of Aiken—the aristocratic South Carolina Slaveholder.

The result of this protracted struggle shows the youngest of three great parties, not only stronger than either of the others, but stronger than both united. It is true that a few of the Fuller string of Northern Americans declined on the final vote to support Aiken, and so did a few anti-Nebraska men refuse to support Banks; but the great body of the three parties acted in concert, the Free Soil men voting for Banks, and the pro-Slavery men, whether called Democrats or Know-Nothings, voting together for Aiken.

This course of the Southern Americans in this contest, must destroy all hopes, if any were entertained, of their ever uniting with any Northern men in a "national party" that should ignore the Slavery question.

Like the Southern Whigs of the last Congress on the passage of the Nebraska bill, they will always desert their Northern allies and act with the Slavery Democracy, whenever the interests of their cherished institution are in danger, thus emphatically proclaiming that with them Slavery is paramount to all questions—and that their real doctrine is, "Slavery must rule America."

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Did Fuller vote for Aiken?

We stated in our last that Henry M. Fuller had voted for William Aiken, the South Carolina Nullification, Free-Trade, Slavery Democratic candidate for Speaker, and asked whether the Philadelphia Daily News would longer defend Fuller's course. The gentlemanly editor of the News appears terribly disturbed by the question, and by escape from the necessity of answering it, vehemently pronounced our statement that Fuller so voted, a "lie."

If a palpable misstatement of fact constitutes a "lie," it is only necessary to refer to the record to show to whom that character belongs. Among the proceedings of the House, on Friday the 1st inst., we find the following, as published in the Washington Globe, the official organ of Congress: The following resolution was presented by Mr. Cobb: Resolved, That the Hon. William Aiken, a Representative from South Carolina, be, and he is hereby, chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives.

After motions to adjourn, to lay on the table &c., the main question, being the adoption of this resolution, was ordered and put, with the following result—yeas 103, nays 110. The yeas were as follows: YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Barksdale, Bell, Hendley, S. Benton, Boone, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Brooks, Brown, Burnett, Caldwell, John P. Campbell, Callahan, Caruthers, Caskie, Barard Clark, Cleggman, Howell Cobb, Williamson B. W. Cobb, Cox, Crawford, Buchanan, Devereux, Daniel, Edmondson, Elliott, English, Eldridge, East, Evans, Florence, Foster, HENRY M. FULLER, Tho' J. D. Fuller, Good, Greenwood, Augustus Hall, J. Morrison Harris, S. W. Harris, Tho' L. Harris, Herbert Hoffman, Houston, Jozett, George W. Jones, J. G. Jones, Kelley, Kennett, Kidwell, Lake, Leitcher, Lindsey, Lumpkin, Humphrey Marshall, Maxwell, S. S. Marshall, McCallin, McQueen, Smith Miller, Milburn, Moreland Oliver, Orr, Paine, Peck, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Purser, Quimman, Reade, Ready, Richard, Richardson, Rivers, Ruffin, Ross, Savage, Shorter, Samuel A. Smith, William Smith, William B. Smith, Speed, Stephens, Stewart, Swopes, Talbot, Trippe, Underwood, Vail, Vank, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wells, Whelpley, Whitney, Williams, Winslow, Daniel B. Wright, J. V. Wright, and Zollikoffer—103.

The editor of the News must not attempt to escape so. He has got to face the music, and show himself either for or against us. While he claimed to be a Whig he was generally helping the Slavery Democracy, to the best of his ability; and now that he professes Americanism, he is doing the same thing. Belonging to the numerous body of Philadelphia Doughfaces, he appears to think the only way to succeed against the Slavery Democracy, is to suppress them in subserviency to the slave drivers.

We expect soon to see him, like Fuller, go over openly to the Slavery, unless he thinks he can do his opponents more harm where he now is. The sooner such as he find their proper places, the better for the cause of freedom. "Let him slide."

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The Scalpel: An entirely Original Quarterly.

Dr. Dixon has our thanks for the January number of his valuable Quarterly, and we hope to be entitled to receive it regularly hereafter. The Doctor is a bold and somewhat eccentric writer, but he wields a powerful pen, that when he chooses, cuts as keenly as a surgeon's knife, and he is a great foe to humbug, cant, fashionable follies, and hypocrisy, and although we cannot agree with him in all things, we find much to admire in his character as exhibited in the pages of his Quarterly.

The Scalpel not only instructs us concerning the laws of health, in language that all can understand; but also draws with a daring hand vivid descriptions of life among the rich and the poor in city and country. Published by Dewitt & Davenport, New York, at twenty-five cents a number.

For the Independent Republican. SELF-GOVERNMENT—POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY—NON-INTERVENTION—SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY—EQUALITY OF RIGHTS OF PROPERTY. Of what do these arbitrary terms consist? What is their just interpretation?

The solution of these questions at this time, so as to obtain universal acceptance by the common mind, would seem to be a matter of the first importance, involving no less consideration and consequence than the continuance of this "Federal Republic."

Messrs. Editors:—I propose, with your permission, to examine this subject through the medium of your columns with a view to present to the readers of the "Republican" the different interpretations which have been put forth recently by those who have examined the subject in its practical operation upon our system of government for the Territories.

1st. The Synonymes—Self-Government, Popular Sovereignty, Non-intervention, and Squatter Sovereignty.

2. The basis of American institutions.

3. The democratic principle of equality among men.

4. The constitutional power of government to extend and protect the blessings of free government, in all, and to all Territory opened or acquired, with the right to govern themselves, by an independent exercise of all the inalienable rights of man.

5. No constitutional right to legalize Slavery by act of Congress in any section.—Banks. Equality of rights of property.

6. The right of property does not extend to man.—a man.

7. A man, as man, is more than his circumstances; as freedom is better than wealth, rights are more important than institutions. Consequently no rights of property in man can be exercised, without a practical subversion of the fundamental principles of a free government.

8. The privilege of the minority, to place man as property upon any section of the Union held as the common property of the Union.

9. Equality to all universally recognized property, just no constitutional right to plant man as property upon any of the Territory of the United States.

10. As the foregoing does not include all of the late definitions, I will enquire further, and if permitted will appear in your next number.

At a meeting of the Susquehanna County Agricultural Society on the 22d ult., the following resolution was adopted and the undersigned appointed a committee to carry it into effect.

Resolved, That the President appoint a Committee to take such measures as they may deem expedient to obtain a permanent place to hold our annual exhibition, and ascertain what amount can be obtained by subscription from the inhabitants of the Township or Borough where it can be located, and report to our next meeting.

Agreeable to the foregoing resolution the undersigned would respectfully call the attention of the citizens of the several Boroughs and Townships in the County, who may desire to have the annual exhibition located permanently in their midst—that is to say, what sum can be raised towards procuring and fitting grounds for the Fair of the Society.

For the Independent Republican.

The Party Man. The Party Man has associated his ambition, his interest, and his affection with a party. He professes doubtless that his side should be victorious by the best means and under the championship of good men; but rather than lose the victory, he will consent to any means, and follow any man. Thus, with a general desire to be upright, the exigency of his party pushes him constantly to dishonorable deeds. He opposes fraud by craft, lies by lie, slander by counter slander. To be true it is wrong to misstate, to distort, to suppress, or color facts; it is wrong to employ the evil passions, to set class against class, the poor against the rich, the country against the city, the farmer against the mechanic, one section against another section, but his opponents do it, and if they will take advantage of men's corruption, he must not lose by his virtue. He gradually adopts two characters, a personal and a political character. All the requisitions of his conscience the obeys in his private character; all the requisitions of his party he obeys in his political conduct. In one character he is a man of principle, in the other a man of mere expedients. As a man he means to be honest, as a politician he is deceitful, anything for party; as a man he abhors the slippery demagogue, as a politician he employs him as a scavenger; as a man he shrinks from the flagitiousness of slander; as a politician he permits it to smile upon it in others, rejoices in success gained by it, as a man he respects no man who is rotten in heart, as a politician no man through whom victory can be gained, can be too bad; as a citizen, he is an apostle of Temperance, as a politician he unites with those who deluge their track with whiskey, marching a crew of brawling patriots too pugnaciously drunk to exercise the freedom's noblest franchise—the vote. As a citizen he is considerate of the young and counsels them with admirable wisdom; then as a politician he votes for tools, supporting for the magistracy worshipful aspirants scraped from the ditch, the grog-shop, and the brothel, thus saying by deeds, which the young are quick to understand, I jest when I warned you of bad company, for you perceive none worse than those whom I delight to honor.

For his religion he will give up his secular interest, but for his politics he will give up his religion. He adores virtue, and rewards it. Whilst bolstering up unrighteous measures and unrighteous men he prays for the advancement of religion, justice and honor.

I would to God that his prayer might be answered upon his own political head, for never was there a place where such blessings are more needed. I am puzzled to know what will happen at the death of this public christian, but most unchristian politician.

For the Republican. LYNN, Susquehanna Co., Feb. 5, 1856. Messrs. Editors:—The President's message of January 24th, clearly indicates that the North need look to him for nothing, not even for justice in the late Kansas outrages—to the friends of the murdered man, murdered in cold blood and without the least offense on their part. When the Missourians are upheld in all sorts of devilry by the President, and the Free-State men are threatened with a siege by Missourians and the United States troops and armies, if they make any demonstrations towards preserving their rights, it is not time we should assert our rights and not be bullied into acquiescence and submission to such outrages against our liberties and human nature?

The men of Lawrence have held out nobly. They have shown themselves worthy of the cause for which they fought; and shall we sit listless, motionless, see them butchered for their own private opinion, and then raise a hue and cry that such a calamity has befallen them? No; let us organize companies to start for Kansas as quick as spring shall open. Let us take possession of its alluvial plains and crystal waters and not have it deserted by slave labor.

Let those who are willing to start for the scene of action in the spring make it known, and make preparation for a defence of their adopted homes if necessary.

Recollect, Kansas is the battle ground on which Slavery's progress is to be checked, or on which it will assert its right to all the remaining territories and finally the free states themselves.

Another Fire.—On Sunday night last the dwelling house of John Brown, in Forest Lake township, this county, was destroyed by fire. Very few of the contents were saved. The fire is supposed to have originated from a barrel of ashes.

The Louisville Journal makes the following acknowledgment: Jefferson was a great man and an undoubted patriot, but a Southern editor would be exposed to the danger of mob violence if he were to use at this time such language as Mr. Jefferson used.

Very true, adds, the Cincinnati Commercial, and if Jefferson were living in Kansas, and presumed to express the sentiments on the slavery question, that are found in his writings, the Border Ruffian laws of that Territory would confine him to the penitentiary.

A private letter written by a Western gentleman who is at Washington on business, speaks with some severity of Mr. Thornton's ill-advised motion to make Mr. Lewis D. Campbell Speaker by resolution, more especially as Mr. Thornton's favorite candidate thus far had been Nathaniel P. Banks. He says: "The North will one day call these men to a stern account who, like the Scribes and Pharisees, strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

The Difference.—The South claims the right to go into the territories with her property. They deny, however, the right of the people of the North to go into the territories with their opinions.

Yet we have such old fogies as Gen. Cass prating about "the continued assaults upon the South."

The cold weather has proved quite fatal to birds of every kind. It is stated that at least five hundred dead snow birds have been found on a section of the railroad embracing a distance of nine miles, below Charlottesville, Va., and partridges and other birds have perished in considerable numbers.

Resistance to Border Ruffianism.

CHAS. OF KANSAS. From the Statesman, Feb. 6. The following Message was received from the Governor, containing a communication from certain civil officers in Kansas, which was read at the Clerk's desk: WAR—MESSAGE OF GOV. CHASE.

To the General Assembly of the State of Ohio: I transmit for the consideration of the General Assembly a communication from certain gentlemen holding official positions in Kansas.

The urgency of the appeal, made by the communication herewith transmitted, induces me to lay it before the General Assembly without delay.

It is authenticated by the signatures of James H. Lane, Chairman of the Executive Committee of Kansas Territory; Charles Robinson, the Governor, and George W. Deitzler, the Secretary elected by the people under the recently adopted State Constitution.

It represents that an overwhelming force of citizens of Missouri is organizing upon the borders of Kansas; with the avowed purpose of invading the Territory, demolishing its towns, and butchering its Free-State citizens.

It appeals for prompt assistance in terms which cannot fail to command your most earnest attention.

The object of the contemplated invasion of Kansas is to compel its inhabitants to submit to the establishment of Slavery.

In 1820 the Slave Power insisted on the admission of Missouri as a Slave State, and effected its purpose by engrafting on the bill for its admission a perpetual prohibition of Slavery in all the remainder of the territory acquired from the British, north of the southern limit of Missouri, extending westward to our frontier.

In 1854 the Slave Power demanded the repeal of the Prohibition of 1820, and effected its object by engraving on the Nebraska-Kansas bill, which provided for the repeal, an express declaration that the people of the Territory should be left perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions, subject only to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

In 1856, the Slave Power insists that under this declaration the people of the Territory have no power at all to exclude Slavery until, under an enabling act of Congress, they proceed to form a State Constitution preparatory to admission into the Union.

This pretension would be advanced were foreseen and predicted, when the Nebraska-Kansas bill was under discussion; and it was, indeed, indirectly sanctioned by the refusal of its supporters to adopt an amendment to the bill, expressly recognizing the right of the people to exclude Slavery.

Whatever construction, however, may be made by the slaveholding supporters of the bill, and whatever contumacious construction may be afforded by the phraseology of the act itself, it is certain that throughout the Free States the conviction is nearly universal that the people of Kansas, deprived of the protection of the prohibition of 1820, have a right to have complete right and full power to protect themselves against the evils of Slavery.

To prevent the people from exercising this right and power, armed bands from the neighboring State of Missouri, invaded the Territory at the time appointed for the first election of members of the Territorial Legislature, (March 30, 1855), and, having taken possession of the polls, excluded the legal voters, selected themselves the persons who were to constitute the Legislature, without regard to their place of residence, whether in Missouri or in Kansas.

The acts of this spurious Legislature were worthy of its origin. Having excluded the free Free-State members who held certificates of election, they proceeded to promulgate, in the name of law, a series of pretended statutes which have paralleled in the abuse of legislative usurpation. The Governor of the Territory, who attempted, inefficaciously, to restrain their excesses by his executive veto, was removed from office by the President of the United States; and this full scope was given to the utmost extravagance.

As if disposing of a conquered province they proceeded to deprive the establishment of Slavery, and to secure it against popular opposition by providing for the appointment of Sheriffs, and other officers, by commission from the State of Missouri, and to compel the people any voice whatever in their selection, and by imposing on the exercise of the right to vote at future elections of members of the Legislature, conditions with which none but the supporters of Slavery could comply.

It was impossible for men, not themselves prepared to be slaves, to admit the validity of this spurious legislation. The people of Kansas refused to submit to disfranchisement by the usurpers. Left without valid laws, and renounced to the original right inherent in every community, to elect their own officers in safety and good order, they proceeded, in regular Convention, to appoint a day and prescribe the manner of electing a delegate to Congress, and to provide for holding a Convention to frame a Constitution, preparatory to application for admission into the Union as a State.

On the 10th of October last, the day designated for election of a delegate to Congress, Andrew H. Reeder was chosen to that office; and on the 23d of the same month a State Constitution was promulgated by the Convention elected for that purpose. On the 15th December, this State Constitution was ratified by the people, and on the 15th of January, just passed, an election was held for State officers and members of the State Legislature. The Governor and Secretary, whose signatures are affixed to the appeal herewith transmitted, were chosen at this election.

While these things were in progress, the Territory was again invaded, early in December, by armed bands from Missouri, now called into action by an extraordinary proclamation from Wilson Shannon, who had been appointed Governor of the Territory in place of his removed predecessor. The town of Lawrence was actually beleaguered and its destruction fiercely threatened. The people of the Territory rallied to its defense, and for many days civil war was imminent. At length, however, the Governor became sensible of the error he had committed, and succeeded in inducing the invaders to retire.

Their presence had been marked by outrage, rapine and murder. Their withdrawal was angry and reluctant. It indicated a remission of hostilities—not a peace.

sources confirms the opinion that this apprehension is not groundless.

It is impossible to contemplate these things without deep feeling. They are the legitimate fruits of the repeal of the Missouri prohibition. It may not be possible at present to repeal that prohibition. It may perhaps be possible that Congress, as at present constituted, will consent to the admission of Kansas into the Union under her Free-State constitution.

The General Assembly can express the sense of the people of Ohio, in resolutions addressed to their Senators and Representatives in Congress. They can recommend the admission of Kansas as a Free State—the enactment of a suitable law securing the non-interference of the General Assembly of Ohio, not to be superseded; and, what perhaps is of more importance still, the prompt admission of the delegates of the people to a seat in Congress, that he may have the most favorable opportunity of gaining the attention of the National Legislature to their wants and their wrongs.

The General Assembly may also, by suitable resolutions, commend the cause of Kansas to the warm sympathies and liberal tribunes of their constituents. They will not, I am sure, invoke the prompt action of the people in vain.

Having thus performed what seemed to me to be my duty, in transmitting to you the communication of the popular authorities in Kansas with such observations as the occasion appeared to demand, I cheerfully submit the whole matter to the superior wisdom of the General Assembly.

LAWRENCE CITY, K. T., Jan. 21, 1856. To His Excellency the Governor of Ohio: We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your overwhelming force of the Citizens of Missouri are organizing upon our border, applied with artillery, for the avowed purpose of invading our Territory, demolishing our towns, and butchering our unoffending Free-State citizens.

We hope to be able to hold out until assistance can reach us. We respectfully request, on behalf of the citizens of Kansas, that such help may be taken by the people of the States as humanity suggests, to prevent the successful carrying out of so inhuman an outrage.

JOHN H. LANE, Chairman Ex. Com. K. T. C. ROBINSON, Governor Elect of Kansas. GEO. DEITZLER, Secretary.

One Week Later from Europe. Peace Prospects Improving—Returned Armies for Three Months—Littlesies Suspended in the Crimea.

The new steamship Persia, of the British and North American Line, arrived at New York, on Saturday, with European news to the 25th of January. Previous to her leaving Liverpool, a banquet was given on board to a select company, Mr. Donald Currie, of the Comrad line, occupying the chair, in the absence of Mr. Charles MacIver, the Liverpool manager of the Company.

The Belgian Transatlantic Navigation Company's new steamship Belguic, Captain Thiel, put back to Southampton, at which port she arrived on Thursday night, the 24th of December, but, in consequence of a disarrangement in her machinery, was detained at Southampton until January 6th, on which day she left, but owing to a second accident, was compelled to put into Plymouth Sound, from which she again sailed for New York on the 10th. After making about 700 miles west of the Lizard, one of her boilers was found to be burnt out, and the ship leaning to a considerable extent. The main-mast had also sunk. Finding that a continuance of the voyage would be dangerous, the Belguic was forced to put back, and it was only by the united efforts of the passengers and crew that she was kept afloat, the pumps having kept going night and day. She had four tons of water in her hold, and, on reaching Southampton, she has been taken into dock for repairs. The weather was good after she left Plymouth.

The Persia brings intelligence of further progress towards peace. Orders have been transmitted from St. Petersburg to the Russian army in the Crimea, to cease all further hostilities until the results of the approaching negotiations be known. It is also stated that the French and English Cabinets have come to a perfect agreement as to the mode in which the negotiations are to be carried on. At the same time the belligerent powers continue their preparations for an earnest continuance of the war, should peace not result from the present endeavors. It was stated, but afterwards contradicted, that Generals Pelissier, Codrington and Orme Pacha had, like Gortschakoff, received orders from their respective governments to stop hostilities; and superiors will not be sent till an armistice be formally concluded.

It is hoped that such armistices may be signed, on or about the 2d February. These favorable indications have given increased advance and firmness to the funds, English and Continental. In Turkish, especially, speculation has been extremely active. Continental exchanges remain steady. At Paris the rate for money is 5 1/2 a per cent. Telegraphic accounts from St. Petersburg describe an animated demand for produce, and a rise of nearly 10 per cent in prices; the rate of exchange having also experienced an advance from 55 1/2 to 57d.

White Slavery. The Richmond Enquirer has thrown off all disguise, and now openly contends that white Slavery is right, and that freedom is a failure. Free-laboring men and women, read this demagogic argument, and say whether you will not this contemptible slave-oligarchy to convert you into cattle, and your children into brutes.

NEGO SLAVERY AND THE CONSTITUTION. Until recently, the defence of Slavery has labored under great difficulties, because its apologists (for they were innumerable) took half-way grounds.

They confined the defence of Slavery to mere negro Slavery; thereby giving up the Slavery principle, admitting other forms of Slavery to be wrong and yielding up the authority of the Bible, and of the history, practices, and experience of mankind. They almost admitted the Bible to be false, because it ordained, authorized, and enforced white Slavery, which they asserted was morally wrong. Human experience, showing the universal success of slave society, and the universal failure of free society, was unavailable to them, because they were precluded from employing it by admitting Slavery in the abstract to be wrong. The Territory was mere negro Slavery involved them in a still greater difficulty. The laws of all the Southern States justified the holding white men in Slavery, provided, through the mother, they were descended, however remotely, from a negro slave. The bright mulattoes, according to their theory were wrongfully held in Slavery.

The lines of defence, however, is now changed, and the North is now completely cowed, and dumb as an oyster. The South now maintains that Slavery is right, natural, and necessary. It shows that all divine, and almost all human authority justifies it. The South further charges, that the little experiment of free society in Western Europe has been, from the beginning, a cruel failure, and that symptoms of failure are abundant in our

North. The abolitionists cannot be brought to deny the charge, or to acknowledge that it is sustained; nor will they answer the question so often put to them, "What have been the results of the experiment of free society?" They are wholly unwilling to institute a comparison of the two systems of society, and admitting that to be right which but promotes human well-being, and that which is most of the human and divine welfare. To deal with the subject in this way, would, they know, be to surrender their cause. They begin to reason by assuming Slavery to be morally and religiously wrong; and the South, hitherto, has granted their premises, and attempted to justify negro Slavery as an exception to a general rule, or, if wrong, as a matter of bargain between the North and South. The laws of God and nature are immutable, and may not be bargained away. Whilst it is far more obvious that negroes should be slaves than whites, for they are only fit to labor, not to direct, yet the principle of Slavery is itself right, and does not depend on difference or complexion. Difference of race, of lineage, of language, of habits and customs, all tend to render the institution more natural and durable; and although slaves have been given to whites, still the masters and slaves are racially white, and are of different national descent. Moses and Aristotle, the earliest historians, are both authorities in favor of this difference of race, but not of color.

[The above extract from a good Democratic paper in Virginia, is so offensive to the Democracy of Pa., that the Editor of the Register refused to insert it as an advertisement. What will the Southern lords say to the Orthodox of the Register?—Ed. Northern Olive Branch.]

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