

Hon. G. A. Grow. It is not for the purpose of vindicating the character or political consistency of the gentleman whose name stands at the head of this article, that we reply to the attack upon him in the last Montrose Democrat. His course in both his and the last Congress, we have no doubt is most heartily approved by more than nine tenths of the voters of this Congressional district; and when the time shall arrive for a popular expression of their opinion upon the subject, pro-Slavery Hunkery will hardly mistake the verdict of the people. But our design is to expose some of the errors—to call them by no harsher name than the article in the Democrat was designed to promulgate as facts.

Since 1848, there has been a schism in the Democratic party of this Congressional district. From the time of the introduction into Congress of the resolution called the "Wilmot Proviso," which provided that all after-acquired territory should be free, there has been an anti-Proviso, or pro-Slavery party. In 1848, the Hon. David Wilmont was nominated for the third term. The feeling in the District in favor of freedom was so strong that a large portion of both parties felt that he could, from the position he occupied, more fully represent the people of this district than any one else who could be nominated; but although he received the regular nomination of the Democratic party, the same set of pro-Slavery Hunkers were "after him" that are now opposed to Mr. Grow. Urole Johnson was brought out as an independent candidate, "a National Democrat," and the same men who are now crying Democracy so loudly, were urging the Whigs to push Tracy with all their power, promising that they, the Brewster Democrats, would lead enough votes from Wilmont to bring about the election of the Whig Candidate. The result showed that although Brewster polled near 1000 votes, yet Wilmont's majority was more than four times as large as in 1848. The old Hunkers tried the same thing again in 1850, and so far succeeded as to produce a split in the Nominating Convention, and Wilmont and Lowry were both in the field as Democratic Candidates. Judge Wilmont declaring that he was not in the field for the sake of the office, but to sustain a principle; that whenever the Hunker leaders would withdraw Lowry and nominate Mr. Grow, or any other Free-Soiler, he would no longer be a candidate. The leaders became frightened and withdrew Lowry, and Mr. Grow was adopted as the Candidate of the Democratic party and was claimed to be a Free Soiler.

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leaders in this County, have been guilty of a most horrid apostasy, or Mr. Grow has. In the Summer and Fall of 1854, all moved on in order and harmony, and Mr. Grow was fighting the Slaveholders and the "unfortunate" administration of Mr. Pierce, with all his eloquence and power; and Mr. Chase, through his paper, was professedly sustaining both Mr. Grow and the cause that he was so faithfully struggling to maintain; but now they are as far apart as the Poles. Who has changed, Mr. Chase or Mr. Grow?

In the Fall of 1854, after the election, Mr. Chase hoisted the name of BEXROS as his candidate for President in 1856. He now supports Buchanan, who is the antipodes of Benton on the question of Freedom in the Territories. Who has changed, Mr. Grow, or Chase? They were together then, but now are as far apart as it is possible to conceive.

In the Summer of 1855, Mr. Chase made free war on the Know Nothings, and the burden of his charge was that the Know Nothings were pro-Slavery, while he was Free-Soil. Now the Democracy and the pro-Slavery Know Nothings in Congress form a coalition, and for nine weeks prevent an organization of the House, and at last unite upon a pro-Slavery, South Carolina Nullifier, with Know Nothing pledges; and Mr. Grow is now denounced by Mr. Chase because he refused to join the coalition of Nullifiers and Know Nothings, but preferred to fight, with his old companions in arms, Mace, Banks, and hosts of others of the free Northern Democracy, on the side of Freedom. Really, it does look as though some one had changed. We wonder who it is.

In the call of the Democratic County Committee in August, 1855, for the election of delegates to the County Convention, the platform of the party was laid down, and the principles to which voters must subscribe before casting their votes, were clearly set forth. We then thought, it a pretty good Free-Soil document; and we know that at the time it was claimed by some of its friends as having taken the platform from under the Republicans. So anxious were the leaders of the Democracy to "steal the Republican thunder," that the whole four men on their County ticket were said to have been opponents of Bigler in 1854, and the great effort of the party during the canvass was to convince the Free-Soil Democracy of the County, that they occupied the same position on the question of Freedom in the Territories that the Republicans did. Mr. Chase had before that time defined his position, that he would support the State and County tickets, but both the National; and during the whole session, the State ticket was not raised at the head of the Democrat, because the Convention by whom Plumer was nominated was pro-Slavery; and its editor's resolutions denouncing the Border Ruffians and approving Reeder's course were laid on the table.

Democrats of Susquehanna County, read the Montrose Democrat published last August containing the call and Address of the County Central Committee, C. M. Gere, Chairman, then read the same paper of last week, and tell us if it does not look as though somebody had changed.

Says last week's Democrat, of Mr. Grow "He does not seem to appreciate that his constituents can have any other idea than Slavery, or how they can think that their Representative should during at least a small portion of his time give his attention to something besides niggers."

Now, in whose respect, our views entirely coincide with those of the editor of the Democrat. We think—and have no doubt that Mr. Grow entertains the same views—that the whole Legislature of the country has too long been directed for the benefit of three hundred thousand Slaveholders and their three millions of negro Slaves, instead of the twenty millions of free white men. We don't believe that more than one half of all the fertile lands of this Republic should be given to Slavery, where the twenty millions of free whites could not settle and labor without being reduced to the social level of the negro—the slave. And for this reason we desire to see Kansas made a Free State, that when the free men of the North settle on its plains and in its valleys, and by their industry build up homes for themselves and their families, they will not be compelled to labor side by side with a slave. We believe that the vast fertile Territory of Kansas—large enough to contain a population of more than five millions of inhabitants—should be the home of free white men, men who will have an interest in the soil, feel a laudable interest in seeing it wilderness and blossom as the roses—and it is because Mr. Grow prefers Freedom to Slavery—the interests of the great body of white freemen to those of a few Slaveholders with their slaves—that he is now denounced by the Democrat and the pro-Slavery leaders in this county.

In the column of the Democrat devoted to the condemnation of the course of Mr. Grow, not one word is said as to the nature of the principles he has abandoned, and in that we think the editor shows good judgment, for in fact the Bogus Democracy are about in the position of a bankrupt gambler, who has staked his last dollar on some desperate throw to retrieve his ruined fortunes. This party now calling itself Democratic is as far from what Jefferson's days was called Democracy as can well be imagined. It has thrown overboard one principle after another, while its best men have been leaving it until its only real principle is Southern Servitude, and the main body of its members are Southern Slaveholders, Northern dough-faces, and the cotton aristocracy of the old Whig party. Verily, Mr. Grow must feel to be read out of such excellent company.

The Speakership. Nine weeks of the Session, and hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent in a fruitless attempt to elect a Speaker and organize the House, and it was not until the allies of the Border Ruffians in the House supposed that they could elect a Speaker of their own faith, that they permitted one to be chosen.

On the assembling of Congress the old Hunker Democracy held their caucus, nominated Richardson, who had been the champion of the Nebraska Bill and Slavery in the last Congress, as their candidate for Speaker, and constructed the most ultra pro-Slavery and Anti-Know Nothing platform, and resolved that they, with their candidate, would stand upon this platform and fight the battle to the "bitter end." After a few days of unsuccessful balloting, it became apparent to every one that a Speaker could not be chosen unless the plurality rule were adopted, and a proposition to that effect was soon brought forward by one from the Republican side of the House, but was voted down by the combined votes of the pro-Slavery Know Nothings and the old Hunker Democracy. These interesting parties could not agree to vote for the same man, because of the effect it would have upon their constituents at home, but they could prevent an organization of the House, and chance might open the way for a union by one of the pro-Slavery Speakers might be elected and neither party materially damaged in its consummation. The difficulty in the way of uniting the pro-Slavery Know Nothings and the Pierce Democracy, was the Anti-Know Nothing plank in the platform upon which Richardson stood—they had no objections to the principles of Richardson in the main, but they were not willing to give their votes to stultify themselves and their party before the country. After a great deal of billing, and cooing between Humphrey Marshall, Whiteley, Valk, Bunge, Fuller & Co., on the one side, and the leaders of the Pierce Democracy, on the other, Richardson withdrew his name as a candidate for Speaker, and Orr, an old South Carolina nullifier was substituted in his place, and although Orr obtained the votes of a few Southern Know Nothings, yet the old Richardson platform on which some of his friends insisted upon his standing still repelled the great body of the pro-Slavery Americans—and after repeated balloting, Orr was abandoned and given up as impracticable. Upon the abandonment of Orr, the union between the Pierce Democracy and the pro-Slavery Know Nothings was nearly complete, and the only difficulty in carrying out the object of the union, was in the selection of the man, and that they might meet upon a common platform where neither would have the advantage. Mr. Oliver was a suitable man for the party and the occasion. He was a resident of a Slave State, was the legitimate representative of the Missouri Border Ruffians, might in fact be said to be 'one of 'em,' and he belonged to a party of the past, his election would produce no jealousies or heart-burnings between the different wings of his supporters. But, as it often happens that the most carefully concocted schemes fail of success, so in this case, although Oliver's vote reached 101, yet a few hard-hearted Know Nothings still held out, and Mr. Oliver's old-line Whig and the candidate of the old Hunker Democracy and the pro-Slavery Know Nothings, lacked a very few votes of an election, and he was pronounced unavailable.

Then, as the Mountain would not come to Mahomet, Mahomet resolved to go to the Mountain; and the Democracy, to conciliate their Know-Nothing brethren, had abandoned Richardson and taken up Orr, and then to still further conciliate them had thrown overboard both Orr and their platform, and met them with Oliver, on neutral ground; but still failing of success, the Pierce Democracy resolved to take the final step, and if the Know Nothings would not come to them, they would go to the Know Nothings. Consequently, "Extra Billy Smith," a Virginia Know-Nothing, was the next candidate, but here a renouveau took place, a few of the Democrats refused to be transformed to the Know Nothings, and refused to vote. So "extra Billy" shared the fate of those who had gone before—failed for the want of votes.

The next last candidate of the Coalition was Hon. William Aiken of South Carolina. He did not belong to the regular Pierce Democracy; at least did not attend the Democratic caucus, but was a nullifier—one who believed that the Republic existed only for the purpose of upholding and extending Slavery. He was himself the owner of more than a thousand Slaves, and therefore Border Ruffianism could have nothing to fear from him. He was not a Know-Nothing, but had made pledges to that party, till they were satisfied. They made an attempt to elect him by resolution, and came so near succeeding that they thought with the plurality rule success would be certain. Consequently an administration Democrat from Tennessee proposed the Plurality rule, giving as a reason that he thought a sound, conservative, national man might be elected, and when the measure was proposed from the administration side of the House, it was carried, and the result is before the people.

But what a degrading and loathsome spectacle does it exhibit, to see the great Democratic party of the country throwing overboard its own platform, and entering into coalitions with Whigs, Know Nothings, and the founders of all parties and factions, that it might enjoy the exalted privilege of playing second fiddle to 300,000 slaveholders, and spreading the curse of Slavery over territory now free.

The hypocritical cry of Know-Nothingism can no longer be used by the Bogus Democracy with success; if the thing should be attempted, just point them to the vote for Oliver, a Whig, Smith, a Know-Nothing, and Aiken, a man pledged to the Know-Nothings; and if they do not hang their heads with shame, it will be because there is not sensibility enough left in them to appreciate the contemptible position they occupy.

At a meeting of the Bogus Democracy, in this County, a resolution was passed, denouncing the Hon. G. A. Grow for the course he had taken in the election of Speaker, and requesting him to vote for some anti-Know-Nothing Democrat; but we presume that the dictation of Southern Slaveholders will have about the same influence over the action of Mr. Grow, as that of their dough-faces allies in this County. Since the question of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise has been agitated in Congress, the course of Mr. Grow has been one which nine-tenths of his constituents most heartily approve; and during the late contest for Speaker, we have not a doubt, could the qualified voters of this Congressional district have been consulted, they would have answered by ten thousand majority—"Stick to Banks till the 4th of March 1857, if he is not sooner elected."

In the Fall of 1854, Mr. Grow was elected for a third term, without opposition, for the reason that he had faithfully represented the views and feelings of the mass of the citizens of this Congressional district on the great question of human freedom. His subsequent course has but confirmed the people in their belief that he was the man to represent them in the present crisis, and that course will be by the people most triumphantly sustained.

About that Indictment. As usual, E. B. Chase glories in his own shame when he exultingly asks the Bradford Reporter and the Tioga Agitator to tell their readers how he escaped being indicted, at our last Court, for a libel on Judge Wilmont. He owes his escape to William C. Ward, of New Milford, the Foreman of the Grand Jury. When the bill was brought before the Grand Jury, it was soon discovered that enough were in favor of finding a true bill to carry it, although the Foreman aid one or two others, who perhaps did not understand the nature of the oath they had taken, tried hard to have it ignored. After a much longer time than is usually spent in considering a bill, twelve or more still being in favor of indicting Chase, a Jurymen called for the vote, and was recorded, but Ward refused to put the vote. The Foreman then urged an adjournment till the next day, but was answered that a vote might be taken now as during the night Jurors would probably be tampered with, and some might be induced to change from their present position. Considering more time was consumed in discussion, when another Juror demanded a vote, and was seconded, and Ward again refused to put it. As nothing else could be done with such a Foreman, and it was getting late, the Grand Jury finally agreed by one majority, to adjourn. When they met again, next morning, the Foreman was accused of having refused to put the question to vote, when called for and seconded, and he then denied it, although every other Jurymen admitted that it was true. The voters then taken, and, as was foretold, enough votes had by some means been changed, over night, to produce a 'tie,' and then the bill was withdrawn from the consideration of the Grand Jury by the Prosecuting Attorney, but not ignored, as Chase falsely asserts.

For the credit of Susquehanna County, we are sorry to have these facts known, but they are facts nevertheless; and, since Chase seems determined to bring the matter before the public in the newspapers, the Reporter and Agitator may, if they choose, lay them before their readers, for their satisfaction.

Mr. Ingham's Anti-Nebraska Resolutions. The following is a copy of the Resolutions relating to the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, introduced into the Pennsylvania House of Representatives by our member, Mr. Ingham:

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States. And that equality and disorder to the great injury of the people, and the dignity of the nation, and the attention of Congress, and demanding the immediate action of Congress, therefore Resolved, That our Senators be instructed, and the Representatives in Congress be authorized, to support such laws for the government of Kansas and Nebraska, as shall protect the inhabitants from armed incursions, and secure them in "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

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A telegraphic dispatch from Washington states that civil war in Kansas is now looked upon by all parties as imminent. Gov. Shannon has had the United States force placed at his command by the President.

Reason for Parting Company. E. B. Chase in the last Democrat, speaking of Mr. Grow, writes:—"We have been accustomed to take the pen in eulogy, not in condemnation, in defense, not in rebuke, that we would now gladly escape what we feel a duty. But we (now) cannot (any longer) escape it."

The administration has paid us our price, in the shape of material aid, to the tune of some four or five hundred dollars for the small job of printing a few 'Extra Democrats,' and we should be false to every principle of honor should we hesitate to show our devotion to certain nigger-catching officials. But here my dear Grow and we part, ungratefully (as we say) on his part, because having been nursed, as we allege, and trained, as we supposed, for Southern service, instead of quietly resigning himself to their management (as we feel bound to do) in subjecting Northern white citizens to catch and watch runaway niggers, without expense to their owners; he, with curled lips, spurns this claim, and in his youthful ardor becomes absolutely 'fanatical' over the subject, as if the tax and degrading service (as some foolishly regard it) of catching and keeping Southern 'niggers' at the expense of Northern freemen was the least importance whatever! No! we part here—my Political importance, as the public know, lies chiefly in the fact that I am possessed by the nature of keen 'nigger'-scenting qualities (alas! too rare herabouts) and which alone commend me to Southern uses and patronage. Nor shall we forego the effort to suppress any and all investigation of 'Niggerism' till our National Government is immovably installed to protect the 'nigger' holder, wherever its flag signifies dominion. Then 'nigger' hunts will be made easy, and our occupation relieved of scandal, and its rewards in our own pocket. We shall be enabled to retire with 'nigger' scented laurels, and the odors of which may I ever live and on this platform be at peace with our Southern brethren, and I die content!

This for friend Chase is going to rather strong! A SUBSCRIBER TO THE DEMOCRAT. For the Independent Republican. Modern Definitions. Messrs. Editors:—In the article upon the "modern definition of the terms 'Self-Government,'" "Popular Sovereignty," &c., which you did me the favor to publish your issue of the 14th of February, you make "Banks" the author of definition 3d, when it should be "Richardson." Will you please make the correction in your next paper, by giving the postulate, and credit the definition to "Richardson," as I would not willingly subtract from Mr. Mace, much less from Richardson, his right of authorship to such principles, neither would I desire to burden "Banks" with the necessity of reconciling inconsistencies.

I will now proceed to give the result of further examination of the subject of progress in practical application of the principles of Self-Government, &c. Definition 5th. The right to use the authority and power of the General Government to force submission to laws which deprive the "Squatter Sovereigns" in the Territory of Kansas, of the right to vote, to speak, to read, or to think about anything else than the plantations in the Territory, with Territorial limits.—Franklin Pierce.

The right to approach to the ballot-box, without let or hindrance, and the free exercise of the right of suffrage by the resident settler to the exclusion of non-residents, and nullification of any elections which they (the Missourians) might profess to have carried.—Reeder.

Free permission to Missouri Border Ruffians to commit "some irregularities," such as destruction of the Press, the Ballot-box, the use of Tar and Feather, the commission of Murder, Arson, and such other light offenses as praiseworthy acts of retaliation.—Pierce.

The right of Self-Defense against all incursions from without the Territory, and the right to equip with Sharp's Rifles.—Reeder Yours, truly, C.

The compositor followed copy. There was no signature to definition No. 3. However, the desired correction will be made by reading as follows:

The abrogation of a solemn compact, to permit the extension of Slavery into Free Territory, and deprive all population of a particular color of any right to themselves.—Richardson.

The Sham Democratic seems fast becoming an oath-bound party, as well as its Southern ally, pro-Slavery, Know-Nothingism. At a recent Democratic Convention an oath was administered to all the members before they were permitted to take their seats, and the candidates for delegates elected to the State Convention were again sworn before being voted for. What has become of all their virtuous indignation against extra-judicial oaths?

The House Committees. The Standing Committees of the House were announced yesterday by the Speaker. Mr. Banks has worked long and earnestly to render them efficient and acceptable, and we think he has generally succeeded, though there must of course be some mistakes in placing 230 men, two thirds of them new to public life.

Of the Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. L. D. Campbell of Ohio is the Chairman, with Messrs. Howard, Sage, Campbell of Penn., and De Witt, Republicans, and Messrs. Howell Cobb, and Jones of Tenn., Democrats. Extensionists, and Davis of Md., South American, as members.

The Committee on Elections has for its Chairman Mr. Washburne of Mo., a staunch Republican; and the other members are Messrs. Watson, Colfax and Bingham, Republicans; Mr. Spinner, elected as a Democrat, but who steadily voted for Banks; Messrs. Hickman Democrat, who did not vote for Aiken; Stephens of Ga., Dem. Slavery Extensionist, and Oliver of Mo., South American. On this committee there are five, and probably six votes sure for Freedom.

The Territorial Committee is composed of Messrs. Grow, Giddings, Purviance, Granger, Morrill, and Perry; Republicans; and Messrs. Richardson and Houston, Democrats; Slavery Extensionists, and Mr. Zellerbach, South American. Some disappointment will naturally be felt that Mr. Giddings was not placed first instead of second on this Committee, as it has been reported was the Speaker's original intention; but it is quite evident to us that the change was made with a single eye to the triumph of Freedom in Kansas. The general position of Mr. Giddings, and his standing in the House, certainly entitle him to any honor it may be in the power of the party to bestow; but we are confident no man can more heartily than he prefer the good of a great cause to any complaints to himself. We have not a strong working majority in the House, and there may possibly be two or three weak brethren who might be deterred from voting right by the taint that they were only following the lead of Giddings. Such votes, as these we cannot risk where it can be avoided. At the same time Mr. Grow's probity and fearlessness are beyond the possibility of doubt. On the whole we regard this most important Committee as being judiciously and wisely composed.

The Judiciary Committee consists of Messrs. Simmons, Barbour, Galloway, Wakeham, Tappan and Emrie, Republicans; Humphrey Marshall and Lake, South American; and Harris of Ala., Dem., Slavery-Extensionist.

The affairs of the District of Columbia are intrusted to Messrs. Meacham, Dodd, Cullback, Dick and Trafton, Republicans; with Gowde, Harris of Ill. and Bell, Dem. Slavery Extensionists.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs is composed of Messrs. Pennington, Matteson, Sherman, Burlingame, Thurston, Englehart, Bacon, Chittenden and Aiken; Dem. Slavery Extensionists, and Fuller, South American.

The public Lands are in the hands of Messrs. Bennett of New-York, Larkin, Walbridge, Brenton and Thorington, Republicans; Cobb of Alabama and Maxwell, Dem. Slavery Extensionists; and Lindley, South American.

Of the Military Committee Gen. Quitman is the chairman; the other members are Messrs. Allison, Sapp, Stanton, Bullfinch, Feather and Denver, Dem. Slavery Extensionists; and John Williams, New-York Democrat.

The other Committees are similarly composed, all of the more important among them being formed with Republican majorities, as is right and proper. Besides Gen. Quitman, we notice a few opponents of Mr. Banks who are not in the position of Chairman. They are Messrs. Porter, (Private Land Claims); Boyly, Chittenden and Aiken; Dem. Slavery Extensionists; and Fuller, South American. (Military Affairs); Brooks, (Expenses of State Department); Harris of Ill. (Naval Expenses); and McMullen, (Public Buildings.) These gentlemen are either South American or Slavery Extensionists of the other sort, and we are not aware that any objections can be brought to their appointment.—Tribune, 14th.

The Laws that are to be Vindicated. Entertaining these views, it will be my imperative duty to exert the whole power of the Federal Executive to support public opinion in the Territory. (of Kansas) to vindicate its laws, whether Federal or local, against all attempts of organized resistance.—Pierce's List Message.

It is proven beyond all possibility of successful denial, that the laws made for the Territory of Kansas, were made by an armed mob from Missouri, under the name and title of a Legislature, in which the people of Kansas had no part, and in the absence of which have no binding force upon them. We have before published the infamous statute in relation to Slavery; as it came from the hands of the Border Ruffians; but we cannot resist the opportunity here offered, to again remind our readers of the real character of the laws which the President will enforce with the whole power of the country. We quote a few sections from

AN ACT TO PUNISH OFFENSES AGAINST SLAVE PROPERTY. Sec. 4. If any person shall enter, convey or carry out of Kansas, any slave belonging to another, with the intent to deprive the owner thereof of such slave, he shall suffer DEATH or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years.

Sec. 5. If any person shall assist in enticing, &c. (as above), shall suffer DEATH or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years.

Sec. 6. If any person in this territory shall aid or harbor any escaped slave from another State, &c. such person shall be punished in like manner as if such slave had escaped from his master in the territory.

Sec. 11. If any person print, write, introduce into, publish or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published or circulated, or knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing or circulating, or causing to be introduced into, printed, written, published or circulated, any book, paper, or tract, containing any statement, doctrine, or teaching calculated to produce a disaffection among the slaves of this territory, he shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not less than five years.

Sec. 12. If any free person by speaking or writing assert or maintain, that persons have not the right to hold slaves in the territory, or shall introduce into Kansas any printed, written, circulated, or otherwise introduced into this territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet or circular, containing any denial of the rights of persons to hold slaves in this territory, SUCH PERSONS SHALL BE DEEMED GUILTY OF OBEDIENCE TO THE LAWS OF THE TERRITORY, AND SHALL BE IMPRISONED AT HARD LABOR FOR TWO YEARS.

We submit, if laws like these, enacted under the circumstances that we have related, are to be enforced by the Army and Navy of the Union, that the efforts of the Nullifiers to overthrow the Government, will not long be resisted in the North, where so much has been sacrificed that the Union might be preserved.

We find in the St. Louis Herald a grand scheme proposed by a young man in that city. He calls it "A Leap Year Scheme," in which he proposes to raffle himself off at \$5 a chance—the number of chances to be limited to 500.