The Independent Republican.

"FREEDOM AND RIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY AND WRONG."

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Poet's Corner.

THE FINE OLD FOSSIL BACHELOR.

TUNE—"*Fine Old Irish Gintleman.*"

I'll sing you a fine old ballad, made by a fine old pate.
Of a fine old fossil bachelor—the doughface candidate;
Who in the White House wished to dwell—but as he had no mate,
The people thought for one lone man, the mansion was too great.
For the fine old fossil bachelor,
Who was put up too late.

This fine old fossil bachelor to anything would swear,
And if the party told him to, would vow that round was square;
And to his principles was false, and changeful as the air,
But faithful to ambition for the Presidential chair.
Like a fine old fossil bachelor,
Who never *could* get there.

For while this fossil bachelor abode 'neath other skies,
The vandals of his clique tore down a solemn compromise;
And built a structure black and foul in all the people's eyes,
And placed a platform on its top that was made up of lies,
Where the fine old fossil bachelor
Might stand and show his size.

And the fine old fossil bachelor was to the platform led
And then they placed the party noose just underneath his head.
But the platform was a gallows-drop, and yielded to his tread,
And kicking off his boots, he hung politically dead.
That fine old fossil bachelor,
From the platform stained blood-red.

Communications.

For the Republican.

"CHURCH AND STATE."

MESSRS. READ AND FRAZIER:—The above caption is made the signal of an attack upon the Christian Ministry, in "the Montrose Democrat" of the 14th, ult. Under it we find the following passage:—

"Men professing to have received a call from Heaven to go forth and preach repentance to a fallen race, and point the anxious traveller to the straight and narrow path that leads to eternal bliss beyond the grave, have descended from that high position which they should occupy and plunged into the filthy slough of party politics. They whose business it is to look to the welfare of the immortal soul, have left it to the mercy of the prowling enemy, and gone to electioneering for paltry office, have told their "call" for filthy lucre!"

Grant me, if you please, as one among the number aimed at in the above charge, the privilege of putting into the court of public opinion the following plea: NOT GULLTY—neither in *firm* nor *spirit*, as the following reasons most conclusively show;—

1. POLITICS is not a "filthy slough."—Webster, who is acknowledged to be the standard philologist of our country, defines the term thus—

"The science of government; that part of ethics which consists in the regulation and government of a nation or state, for the preservation of its safety, peace and prosperity; comprehending the defence of its existence, and rights against foreign control or conquest, the augmentation of its strength and resources, and the protection of its citizens in their rights with the preservation and improvement of their morals. *Politics*, as a science or an art, is a subject of vast extent and importance."

There is no "filthy slough," here, into which ministers could, if they would, 'plunge.' The *protection* of "*rights*" and "*improvement of morals*," is no mean employment for them.

To this agrees the almost universally received opinion, that civil Government is "ordained of God" and the express declaration of the Bible that the "powers that be,"—the powers of civil Government,—"are ordained of God." Hence the scriptural command "put them in mind to obey magistrates." Why? Because magistrates are by the ordinance of God to be "*a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well.*"

In point, also, is the opinion of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, delivered by Judge Duncan in the case of Updegraph *vs.* "the Commonwealth," 11 S. and R., 400.—In this it is formally decided, that—

"Christianity, general christianity, is and always was a part of the common law of Pennsylvania, christianity without the spiritual artillery of European courts: for this christianity was one of the considerations of the royal charter, and the very basis of its great founder, Wm. Penn. Not christianity founded upon any particular tenets; nor christianity with an established church and tythes, and spiritual courts, but christianity with liberty of conscience for all men."

Judge Duncan, quotes, in point, the declaration of Lord Raymond, Chief Justice of England, as saying:

"The true principles of natural religion are part of the common law; the *essential* principles of revealed religion are part of the common law. I would have it taken notice of. We do not meddle with differences of opinion, and we interfere only where the root of Christianity is struck at."

Ministers who let alone, therefore, politics, in its appropriate place, and at the appropriate time, neglect "the true principles of natural religion," the *essential* principles of the *revealed* religion, and "liberty of conscience," and refuse to interfere "when the root of *christianity is struck at.*" They are guilty.

Again. Thomas Jefferson the great apostle of Democratic Freedom, in his "Notes on the State of Virginia," a copy of which, published in 1801, now lies before me, has given posterity a chapter upon the subject of Slavery, which should forever silence the outcry of professed Democrats, against the friends of freedom whether they be ministers of the Gospel or not. It is worthy of a careful perusal, by every lover of his country.

The Jews said "we have Abraham for our father," and yet falsified their saying by not doing "the works of Abraham." I give the chapter of Jefferson's notes, to which I allude, that Democrats may see whether or not they are alike false to their professed father, Thomas Jefferson. The following is a copy:—"*Notes*" page 140-2.

QUERY XVIII.

"The *particular* customs and manners that may happen to be received in that state.

"It is difficult to determine on the standard by which the manners of a nation may be tried, whether *catholic or particular*. It is more difficult for a native to bring to that standard the manners of his own nation, familiarized to him by habit. There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boistrous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion toward his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one half the citizens to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroy the morals of the one part, and the amor patriae of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another: in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavors to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed.—For in a warm climate no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever: that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest. But it is impossible to be temperate and to pursue this subject tho' the various considerations, of policy, of morals, of history natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave is rising from the dust, his condition is mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extipation."

More than half a century ago the above was written. None can charge the writer with biased feelings. It contains the words of truth written in philosophical soberness.—Who, professing democracy, dare say to the contrary? Who professing morality, or patriotism, or christianity, dare say to the contrary? And who professing either, after reading can, without a blush of shame, raise an out cry against Ministers of the Gospel, for attempting, with their fellow citizens, to overthrow the system it so graphically describes?

2.—Party Politics, is not necessarily "a filthy slough." A party of Freedom, of humanity, of common law christianity, as opposed to any other party, is not "a filthy slough." A party which would take the administration of Government out of the hands of the propagandists of "the sum of all villainies," and place it in the hands of men or magistrates who "are a terror to evil doers" and "praise to those who do well," is a party to be respected and honored in any country. For ministers of the Gospel to vote with, and defend such a party, is to act the part of christian patriots.

A party of Slavery propagandism, of congressional bludgeonism, of border ruffianism, of hypocritical pretensions to democratic principles, may be and doubtless is "a filthy slough," into which Ministers should not "descend," and for which if they should "electioneer" for paltry office, there would be lamentable evidence that they had "sold their call for filthy lucre." Thank Heaven such ministers are very "few and far between." They, like the "Rev. Theophilus Fisk," Editor of a Buchanan Campaign paper, in Philadelphia, are exceptions to a general rule.—The Christian Ministry of the North have generally abandoned such a party, and this is the secret of the outcry against them.—Many finding themselves in such a "filthy slough," have like men, christian men, ministers of truth and righteousness, walked out of it, and are now trying to get others out of it, and this is the hight of their offending. They have repented and now preach repentance to those who are involved in the guilt of defending and propagating slavery.

3. Ministers of the Gospel are called of God, to take part in the present contest, because religion, religious liberty, the fair fabric of Christianity itself is endangered.—This is so, even their enemies and traducers being judges. Witness the following extract from a tract issued by the national Buchanan Committee of which C. L. Ward Esq. as reported in this region is Chairman:

"Infidelity is no less eager in its desire to overthrow religion; and to this end Disunion will contribute the only swift and needy weapon!"

What is Liberty without the Union?—What would Religion be without a Constitution? *Both would be a mockery and a desolation.*

Oppression and Tyranny would follow after the dissolution of the Union, *and religion would expire* amid the clang of arms, or *become the slave* of the military despot."

Making due allowance for the hyperbole of a heated imagination, the passage quoted contains a truthful acknowledgment of the intimate relation between civil and religious Liberty, christianity and fundamental, common and constitutional law. Although we may not be prepared to go so far as to say in the language of this professed Democratic National Committee—that, "Religion without a constitution" would "be a *mockery*! and a *desolation*," that after "a dissolution of the Union" that "Religion would *expire*" &c, we certainly may go so far, as to admit that christianity would be endangered, by the destruction of constitutional law. This is all we need to ask in justification of the interest which ministers of the Gospel do, and ought to feel, in defence of the constitution, identified as it is with the progress of christianity.

But I have not quite done with this remarkably religious this "Church and State" Democratic tract. One more quotation will show the true nature of the *pious* cant of the day against ministers meddling with politics.—It reads as follows:—

"We appeal finally to the humane and honest classes of our countrymen. If you regard the Southern people as your brothers, and not your enemies, if Southern men are not accursed of heaven in your eyes, if you believe this constitution of ours worth preserving, if you think your christian churches worth protecting, even those of the Free States; if in a word you have any veneration remaining for those who lived and died to serve and save the Republic, put your heel upon this double headed serpent, this monster of infidelity and of Abolition. There is but one way left to do it, and that is to oppose John C. Fremont's election to the presidency."

And what is the meaning of this *patriotic* and *pious* effusion? Evidently nothing more nor less, than this. If John C. Fremont is elected President, "the Constitution," the "Christian Churches," and "the Republic" itself will be destroyed. The salvation, then, of the Christian Churches, of this country, even the Northern churches, is suspended upon a political action, a political result, the election of a President!

That action or result, being *political*, must not be "meddled with," or participated in by Ministers of the Gospel! They whom the Saviour of mankind has "set for the defence of the Gospel," must look quietly on while the churches are tottering, and trembling in ruins around them! The watchmen must not lift up their voices, however, the danger threatens! all "dumb dogs," not that can not, but who must "not bark!"—And is this it! Is this keeping out of "the filthy slough of party politics?" "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" The honest response is, "O no. It would be quite appropriate in this case for the ministry to aid in doing the only thing which can save the churches, to wit, in preventing the Election of John C. Fremont to the Presidency! This would not be "dabbling in politics"—this would not be "descending into the filthy slough" not selling their "call for filthy lucre!" because "our craft is endangered."

But, suppose the sad catastrophe contemplated, should be the result of the election of James Buchanan to the Presidency? Suppose, in Border Ruffianism, Slavery aggressions in and out of Congress, indorsed by the Cincinnati platform, and the platform indorsed by Buchanan, there should be seen signs of danger, to both civil and religious liberty? What then? "Ah! that alters the case!" Yes; and "*Hypocrisy*, says the 'Rambler,' "*is the necessary burden of villany.*"

Ye who desecrate God's ordinance of civil government, pollute the waters of party politics, and flatter the ministry when they support your fugitive slave laws, apologize for, or justify your platforms, Pierces, Brooks, Border Ruffians, and all; and prove Slavery to have been a Heaven born, Patriarchal Institution, by the Bible, rail on now that the ministry have, in the fear of God, in the love of freedom and humanity, abandoned you!—They are past heeding your railings now.—They will "open their mouths for the dumb." They will heed what the "Rock of Israel," said to David, her king. "He that ruleth over men must be just ruling in the fear of God;" and give a firmer and bolder utterance to the, "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed, To turn aside the needy from Judgment and to take away the right from the poor of my people." They will speak, and what you dread more than all, they will use the sovereignty of a ballot, in toppling down around despots, the old citadel of oppression itself.

A. L. POST.

Montrose, Pa., Sept. 1856.

RUSSIA is forty times the size of France, and over a hundred that of England.

Miscellaneous.

Bold Avowals—The Election of Buchanan to be a Step Towards Disunion.

The Southern political Press has never been more open and frank in its avowal of political purposes and plans, than it is during the present canvass. The triumphs of Slavery during the past four years,—the successful repeal of the Missouri Compromise, a measure for which even Mr. CALHOUN never dared to hope,—and the ready, eager promptitude with which the Democratic Party at Cincinnati yielded to the exactions of the Slaveholding power, seem to have inspired the political leaders of the South with the belief, that the time has come when they can safely and even with advantage to themselves, make open proclamation of the projects they have in store for the future.

In proof of this, and as an indication of what those projects are, we invite attention to the following leading editorial from the Richmond (Va) *Enquirer* of Friday, Aug. 29:

LOOK THE FUTURE IN THE FACE.

"Every one's experience attests the truth of the maxim that, very often, the way to arrest danger is to meet it half way. To prepare for it is often to avert it. The ostrich, by concealing its head in the sand, does not elude or disarm the huntsman. To close our eyes to impending danger, will but increase that danger, and precipitate our ruin. To yield to Black Republicanism will neither mollify its anger, nor satiate its hungry rapacity. Give up Kansas to them; give them all the territories; and, like the horse-leech, their thirst for blood will increase by its gratification. Teach them that *they* can conquer, and *we* can submit, and the flush of victory will stimulate their new-born courage for fresh pretensions and further victories. Tis treason to cry "Peace! peace! when there is no peace." There is, there can be, no peace, no lasting union between the South and Black Republicanism. *Either that political heresy must be effectually and forever put down, or disunion is inevitable.* If come it must, the sooner it comes the better, for our enemies increase by the half million annually, whilst our own numbers are almost stationary.

"A multitude, like which the populous North
Pour'd never from her frozen loins, to press
Rhine or Danube, when her barb'rous sons
Came like a deluge on the South,
And spread beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian sand."

"The multitude ready to rush down on the South is greater, hungrier, more rapacious than them. The actors are the same. The prolific Teuton or Gothic race, seeking homes and food, on the one hand; the descendants of Southern Europeans attempting to repel them on the other. The scene only changed from the banks of the Rhine and Danube to those of the Ohio and Missouri.

"Forewarned, forearmed." We see the numbers, the character, the designs of our enemies. *Let us prepare to resist them and drive them back.* To yield to them, to concede to them, to subsidize them, as the Romans did, will but increase their rapacity and encourage their aggressions. Give them all the unsettled territory north of 36 deg. 30 min. to-day, and to-morrow, as Free-Soilers, they will claim all south of 36 deg. 30 min. Yield that too, and the next day they will invade the States, expel the slaves, and seize upon our lands; for agrarianism is already a part of their programme—the ballot-box their sword of Brennus.

"*The election of Mr. Buchanan may, and probably will originate a reaction in public opinion that will encourage the extension of the conservative institution of Slavery*, and the extension of the British and Southern European races, for the very purpose of stemming and turning back the torrent of infidelity, materialism, sensuality, agrarianism, and anarchy, that threatens to overwhelm us from the prolific hive of Northern Europe.

"*The election of Mr. Buchanan would be a reactionary movement in favor of Slavery and conservatism.* The election of FREMONT, certain and immediate disunion. The election of FILLMORE would subsidize the Barbarians, by yielding them the lands north of 36 deg. 30 min., increase their numbers and their rapacity, and only postpone disunion to a period when it would be more perilous than at present. Besides, his election might go far to wean the affection, confidence and attachment of the Catholics from our institutions, who are now their best stay and support.—They might then think that the rule of the Pope would be better than no rule—the government of pirates better than the anarchy of infidelity. Conservative, as Mr. FILLMORE and most of his friends pretend to be, the compromise which they propose is but a step towards Black Republicanism, a subsidy offered to the Goths. The South must not yield one inch—the religious, patriotic and conservative North must not yield an inch, but to vote for Mr. FILLMORE will be to yield an ell.

"Let the South present a compact and undivided front. Let her show to the barbarians that her sparse population offers little hopes of plunder; her military and self-reliant habits, and her mountain retreats, little prospects of victory; and her firm union and devoted resolution, no chances of conquest.—LET HER, IF POSSIBLE, DETACH PENNSYLVANIA AND SOUTHERN OHIO, SOUTHERN INDIANA AND SOUTHERN ILLINOIS, FROM THE NORTH, AND MAKE THE HIGHLANDS BETWEEN THE OHIO AND THE LAKES THE DIVIDING LINE. LET THE SOUTH TREAT WITH CALIFORNIA, AND, IF NECESSARY, ALLY HERSELF WITH RUSSIA, WITH CUBA AND BRAZIL.

"A common danger from without, and a common necessity (Slavery) within, will be sure to make the South a great, a united, a vigilant and a warlike people. Outside pressure and inside necessity, are the only parents of true national greatness. Greece, Rome Judea, Carthage, Phœnicia, all owed their greatness solely to these causes. Their removal introduced laxity of morals, effeminacy, misrule, anarchy and final ruin.

"The North will have no principle of cohesion within, no common danger binding together from without. The situation and struggling extent of her territory, will render union difficult. The predominance of different European races will make it impossible. One half her territory, (that in the East,) will starve in a year if divided from the Western half; and yet the division is sure to take place. Socialism, communism, infidelity, licentiousness and agrarianism, now scarcely suppressed by union with the conservative South, will burst forth in a carnival of blood. The social system of the South is sure to beget strong and permanent governmental institutions and a lasting confederation.—That of the North, will beget revolution with more rapid iteration, more bloody execution, and more direful consequences, than the same system has brought forth for seventy years in Western Europe.

"May abolition be put down, infidelity banished from the land, sectional hatred appeased, and the Union preserved! If not, let the South be prepared for the worst."

Here is a programme for the Presidential campaign, set forth by the leading organ of the dominent wing of the Buchanan party, and boldly avowing the secret motives and cherished objects of that section, which deserves attention. The great object of the South in supporting BUCHANAN is to promote the extension and perpetuation of the "conservative institution of Slavery." And the votes by which it is hoped he may be elected, *are to become the basis of a secession movement and the formation of a Southern Slave Confederacy.* The South has abandoned all hope that BUCHANAN can carry the Northern States. In all the estimates that have been made by his supporters of the votes that are to give him the election, Pennsylvania and the southern portions of Illinois and Indiana are relied upon with no more confidence than any other sections of the North. The *Enquirer* gives us at once the reason and the object of this reliance. It proposes to detach those sections from the North; to bind them in sentiment and interest with the Slave States, and to secure their adhesion in the formation of a Southern Confederacy. *The line which bounds the Buchanan vote is thus to be made the line of Disunion.* The States which BUCHANAN carries, it is hoped, may be relied upon as seceding States.

The South, moreover, is to enter into negotiations with other States and Nations for the promotion of this great design. California, it is believed, may be seduced into it:—and if necessary, the South is also to treat with *Russia, Cuba and Brazil.* These schemes come from the party by which the Republican movement is stigmatized as *sectional.*—And these avowals of them show conclusively that while, for the purpose of gaining favor, the controlling leaders of the Buchanan party,—those men and those sections by which his nomination was acheived, by which his election is to be accomplished at all, and by whom his administration will be as thoroughly shaped and directed as that of FRANKLIN PIERCE has been, *aim at disunion* as the ultimate object of their endeavors. The power and patronage of Mr. BUCHANAN, if he is elected, will be used to strengthen them for such a consummation whenever the time for it shall, in their judgment, have arrive!.

Who are Responsible.

In noticing the charges that the Fremont party and Emigrant Aid Societies, were responsible for the blood shed in Kansas, we had marked extracts from an article in the N. Y. Daily Times of August 22d, but could not find room for them last week. Here they are. Read.

FACTS ABOUT KANSAS VOTING.

We heard a gentleman assert yesterday, in the most positive and emphatic manner, that all the troubles in Kansas had grown out of the action of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society:—that they were the first to send men into the Territory to vote; and that the invasion of the Border Ruffians from Missouri was in consequence of this interference, and for the purpose of resisting and defeating it. This is the old story of the Wolf and the Lamb,—as a glance at *facts* and *dates* will show. This whole matter was fully investigated by the Committee appointed by the House of Representatives:—and the facts ascertained upon evidence of the most indisputable character.

The first election held in Kansas was on the 29th of November, 1854,—for a delegate to Congress. The Emigrant Aid Society received the charter under which all its action has been performed on the 21st of February, 1855: and its first company of emigrants left Boston on the 13th of March, 1855. It is not pretended, of course, that they took any part in the first election.

The second election, and the one of chief importance, being for members of the Territorial Legislature was held on the 30th of March, 1855. It is at this election that the emigrants sent out by the Aid Society are accused of having taken part. As they were to become actual residents, they of course had a right to vote. But of the whole number, which amounted to 169, of whom 67 were women and children, *thirty-seven* only voted. The Aid Company did not pay the passage of a single man,—did not inquire how a single man was to vote nor exact any condition, have any understanding or express any opinion whatever, in regard to their votes,—never invested a single dollar in guns or ammunition, nor did anything else in the least degree calculated to excite or alarm the slaveholders of the South. All they did was to make arrangements with Railroad and Steamboat Companies for transportation at reduced rates, and to assist the settlers in making locations and commencing business in the Territory. Settlers had gone in from Massachusetts in the Fall of 1854, but not under the auspices of the Aid Society, nor with any reference to the elections.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed 30th May 1854. At a meeting held at Salt Creek on the 10th of June, by citizens of Missouri, the following Resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That we recognize the institution of Slavery, as *already existing in the Territory*, and recommend to slaveholders to introduce their property as fast as possible.

Resolved, That we *afford protection to no Abolitionists as settlers* in Kansas Territory.

So they decided that slavery already existed in Kansas, and of course deemed *popular sovereignty* in the Territory the right to say to the contrary. On the 24th of June, at Whitehead, and on the 8th of July, at Stockbridge, the same Resolutions were adopted. Secret societies were formed to extend slavery into Kansas.

Jordan Davidson, who was a member of this Society, testified under oath before the Committee that he "was first in a lodge of the Order in the latter part of February, 1854, at Pleasant Hill, Cass County, Missouri;"—that he had been told the Society "existed in other States," and that one gentleman told him he had "belonged to it in Virginia." This shows that there was *a systematic, organized movement*, formed in advance of the passage of the Kansas bill, by the slaveholders of the Southern States and especially of Missouri, the object of which was, in Mr. Davidson's words "to extend Slavery into Kansas Territory *as well as elsewhere.*" The members were obliged to take an oath that they would labor "for the extension of Slavery."

Here was a grand deliberate conspiracy against the rights and liberties of the people of Kansas, formed outside of the Territory and having its agencies and auxiliary societies in other Slaveholding States. It is absurd to say that it was prompted by the action of the Emigrant Aid Society,—for it originated before that Society had an active existence, and was in full operation long before the first company of Emigrants from the East arrived. Its secrecy, discipline and admirable machinery show that it was not got up on the spur of the moment, to ward off an apprehended evil, but was deliberately and carefully planned for the accomplishment of a specific object. And at the very first election held Nov. 29, 1854, its efficiency was made apparent,—for 1,729 illegal votes were cast.

Our readers have seen the Kansas report, and know how the Bogus Legislature was elected for Kansas March 30, 1855.

Well may the *Times* conclude:

Now, in the face of these facts none but the most reckless defenders of the Pro-Slavery fanaticism of the day, can assert that this Border-Ruffian crusade against Kansas was in any degree, or to any extent, prompted by the action of the Emigrant Aid Society. The pretence that this was so, is merely the plea of men conscious of wrong, and driven to the extremity of inventing an excuse for acts which admit of no defence.

From the Richmond Inquirer, (Buchanan,) Aug. 29 1856.

The School Required to Support Slavery.

"Every school and college in the South should teach that *Slave Society is the common, natural, rightful and normal state of society.* Any doctrine short of this contains abolition in the germ; for, if it be not the rightful and natural form of society, it cannot last, and we should prepare for its gradual but ultimate abolition. *They should also teach that* NO OTHER *form of society is, in the general,* RIGHT *or expedient.* There are exceptional cases, such as desert or mountainous countries, where the small patches of fertile land are inadequate to support a larger family than husband, wife and children—such as Lapland, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, and parts of Arabia—such also as New-England, and Eastern New-York and Eastern Pennsylvania, which, though admirably adapted for commerce, manufactures and fishing, are little fitted for farming or grazing.—Freemen are required in the former pursuits—slaves in the latter. Hence, *negro Slavery is found to be the best form of Slavery.*

"But our schools should also teach that the slaves should be of a different race or nation from the masters; and the wider the distinction the better, as in *such case the slave is less apt to feel degraded, or wish to assert his freedom and equality.*

"To teach such doctrines we must have Southern teachers and Southern school books. It is from the school that public opinion proceeds, and the schools should be set right.

"*No teacher should be employed in a private family or public school at the South, who is not ready to teach these doctrines.* Parents, trustees & visitors should look to this thing."

"Beautiful doctrine this! What heart, exulting in the proofs and hopes of human progress, does not leap with joy at meeting such a paragraph as this, in the leading organ of Southern opinion,—the oldest and most powerful newspaper in the Southern States,—the foremost champion of the Democratic Party in the year of grace 1856! While the whole world has gazed upon those brilliant pages of history which record the struggles of nations to be free;—while the last century has been made renowned and glorious by the uprising of the masses of the people against their oppressors;—and while the gaze of the world is fixed upon this great Republic,—the first Government founded on the doctrine that "ALL MEN are created EQUAL"—the first in which the inalienable right of every man to "life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness" is clearly recognized and made the basis of its law,—there comes up a demand from the leading representative and organ of one great section of this same Republic,—that its Schools and Colleges should teach that *Slavery* is the "*common, natural, rightful and normal state of society*,—and that "*no other form of society is in the general* RIGHT *or expedient!*"

What a relapse in public sentiment is indicated by the short paragraph we have quoted above! What would WASHINGTON, PATRICK HENRY, JEFFERSON, GEORGE MASON, or any of the great men of Virginia in the early days of her history, have said to the utterance of such a sentiment? Nay, what would the worst tyrant in Europe to day say of the principle which it embodies? There is not a country on the face of the earth where it would be received for a moment as just and true. In Austria, in Russia, in the most degraded despotisms of the old world, where Slavery exists, it is maintained not as the "best form of society,"—not as the "only right and expedient form,"—not even as a form in support of which a single reason, based on justice and right, can be adduced—but only as a hard necessity. The youth of Virginia—the children of the Old Dominion, of the State which gave birth to WASHINGTON—out of whose soil sprang the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States—must be taught to regard the slavery of the laboring classes as the only natural and the only right condition of Society.

This paragraph illustrates the complete ascendency which Slavery seeks to establish over the Southern mind, and, so far as possible, over the mind of the whole country.—Men at the North find it difficult to understand the completeness and exclusiveness of its sway. Here everything is so free—men think and speak, and write and print and teach so freely what they believe to be true, that it is hard to realize the actual tyranny which Slavery has established over our Southern brethren. How thoroughly it rules all political action, we know from incidents of daily occurence. But without careful study we cannot credit the absolutism of its sway over the literature, the education, the social life, the religion even, of the Southern States. No man there dares to write or print or speak a word in reprobation of Slavery.—The editor in his chair, the writer at his desk,—the clergyman in his pulpit, receive their orders from Slavery and must do its bidding. Whatever logic and reason may say,—whatever lessons History may teach,—whatever the principles of Christian brotherhood may require,—all must be subordinate and secondary to the higher law of Slavery.

This is the position of the slaveholding interest at the present day. To this point have its exactions risen. Whether they will be conceded, or resisted,—whether Slavery shall be thus indorsed by the nation as a blessing,—as the "only natural and rightful form of Society," remains to be seen.

Facts are Stubborn Things.

It is a fact, that Franklin Pierce came into power upon a pledge not to renew the slavery agitation or disturb the compromises on that subject.

It is a fact, that, in violation of that pledge he has given sanction to and made the repeal of the Missouri Compromise the leading measure in his administration.

It is a fact, by that repeal the slavery agitation has been renewed and slavery extended into Kansas, a Territory heretofore consecrated to freedom by a solemn compact.

It is a fact, that the Democratic party has not only endorsed the repeal of that compromise and the doctrines upon which the repeal was based, but it has also fully endorsed the policy pursued by the Pierce administration.

Here are the resolutions;

"Resolved, That claiming fellowship with, and desiring the co operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue—and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seeks to embroil the States, and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion—the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question," upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—non interference by Congress with slavery in the States & Territories, or in the District of Columbia.

"Resolved, *That the Administration of FRANKLIN PIERCE has been true to Democratic principles and therefore true to the great interests of the country; in the face of the violent opposition he has maintained the laws at home, and therefore we proclaim* ☞ *OUR UNQUALIFIED ADMIRATION OF HIS MEASURES AND POLICY.*"

It is a fact, that James Buchanan endorses all the doctrines and principles above referred to, as follows:

"Gentlemen, two weeks ago I would have made you a longer speech, but now *I have been placed upon a platform of which I most heartily approve, and that can speak for me. Being the representative of that great Democratic party, and not simply James Buchanan, I must square my conduct according to the platform of that party, and insert no new plank nor take one from it.* That platform is sufficiently broad and national for the whole Democratic party. This glorious party now, more than ever, has demonstrated that it is the conservative party of the Constitution and the Union."

It is a fact, that under the policy of the Pierce administration, which Mr. Buchanan has so fully endorsed, slavery has gone into Kansas, and with it, civil war, Border Ruffianism, robbery and murder, besides despotism as black and damning as slavery is odious.

It is a fact, that under this Kansas Act so fully endorsed, laws have been passed which would disgrace the most despotic nation of the Old World.

Here is one section of the law of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, approved Sept. 15th, 1855.

"SEC. 12. If a 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 Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into this Territory, written, printed, published, or circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years."

Here, freemen of Wisconsin, is "squatter sovereignty" practically carried out, which means *Slavery* in all its most odious forms. Here you have a man pledged to sustain this same doctrine.

That man is JAMES BUCHANAN.

On this subject what does John C. Fremont say,

☞ "I heartily concur in all movements which have for their object "To repair the mischiefs arising from the violation of good faith in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise." I am opposed to Slavery in the abstract, and upon principles sustained and made habitual by long settled convictions.—While I feel inflexible in the belief that it ought not to be interfered with where it exists under the shield of State sovereignty, I am as inflexibly opposed to its extension on this continent beyond its present limits."

☞ Free labor—the natural capital which constitutes the real wealth of this great country, and creates that intelligent power in the masses alone to be relied on as the bulwark of free institutions.—*John C. Fremont's Letter of Acceptance.*

Who, then, will hesitate between the two men. The issue is, Fremont and Freedom, or Buchanan and SLAVERY!—*Fond du Lac Herald.*

THE DESIGN IN RUNNING MR. FILLMORE NORTH.—The Savannah Georgian and Journal says:—Time once was when we regretted Mr. Fillmore's candidacy; but that was before the elections in Missouri, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Kentucky, convinced us that he is likely to carry *no* Southern State.—Each of these was claimed by his friends.—In each, his friends have been vanquished.—Our fear, a month since, was that he might, by obtaining a few Southern electoral votes, carry the contest into the House of Representatives. That fear has ceased to exist.

"Assured *now* that the whole South is SAFE for BUCHANAN, we join our Northern friends in approving the candidacy of Mr. Fillmore. It is likely to do no harm, It may do some good, by contributing to the overwhelming defeat which awaits black Republicanism at the hands of Democracy."

ADDRESS AT THE STATE FAIR.—The *Rural New Yorker* says the Hon. Wm. Jessup, of Montrose, Penn., will deliver the annual address at the State Fair, Watertown, N. Y.