Independent Republican.

66 FREEDOM AND RIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY AND WRONG."

CHARLES F. READ & H. H. FRAZIER EDITORS.

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Eampaign Song.

The Homesick Candidate AIR-Carry me Back, de.

play P And while the Feds, remained in power I worked as hard as I could,

O carry me back" to Pennsylvania to Pennsyl-And leave me there for the rest of my days

I'll ne'er see the White House doo If I was only young again I'd lead a different life, I'd save my honor and sell it not, and haste to get

But now old age it holds me fast, and I am bach Then carry me back to my Wheatland House, for I'll ne'er ope the White House door. "O carry me back," &c.

Ah soon I'll be dead, and in my grave, and what account shall I make,
of all my misdeeds and base intrigues, office's sake-Then in sweet repose I'll lay me down

have changed so sare,
Then carry me back to mk. Wheatland

give FREMONT the floor carry me back" to Pennsylvania, to Pennsylvania's shore, And leave me there to end my days, while Fre-

MONT has the floor.

Political Miscellany.

PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS. HARRISBURG, Sept. 19, 1856.

The Antecedents of Pennsylvania on the Slavery Question-The Policy Till Latethe People-Avalanche for Fremont.

Since the excitement of this campaign has brought forward all of the old politicians whose fossil remains have for a long time and show the glaring inconsistency of the of the Governor on the 22d of the same moderate democracy, as well as add interest month in the year 1819. w the campaign.

ioninals and archives of the State, tracing up the public "laws and resolutions" that conchanan party have departed from all the Pennsylvania, would now be sufficient evi- would be a dereliction of public duty. dence for Frank Pierce and his Kansas Judge to indict them for Cheason. Even Massa-

Notwithstanding these facts and records. that do not lie, the modern democracy would the footsteps of their illustrious predecessors,

upon a nation, and a stain upon the Amerithe District of Columbia, as well as to prevent any new Territory from being cursed "Bigler," when it appears that a new vision ers has the mantle of the ancient democracy to refuse to covenant with crime, and to lim-

In March, 1780, the Legislature of this State passed an act for the gradual emancipersons born in the State, whether negro or mulatto, after the passage of that act, free at tures of that law were easily evaded, and of the few slaves remaining in servitude that subject. Accordingly, in March, 1788, the Legislature passed an act to explain and them to answer the purpose of their Creator; amend the act of 1780. In the amendment and, above all, they may boast that they passed 1788, they declared that all slaves brought into the State, by persons intending to reside therein, should be free. Also that persons that were held as slaves for a term of years under the old act, should not be removed from the State, making it a severe penalty on those who sent the slaves out of the State; also fineable for separating man and wife. Those, with a number of other amendments, passed both houses and became laws. Those acts gradually paved the way for subsequent legislation upon the subject, which, by referring to, we shall see how the democracy looked upon the institution of

Annually petitions were sent to the Legislature upon the subject of slavery, but no action was taken as the institution outside of the limits of the State until 1807, when the following passed the Legislature:

"PROHIBITING THE IMPORTATION OF SLAVES." "Resolved. That our Senators in the Congress of the United States be instructed and be earnestly requested, to use legal and confords none of the pretexts urged for resort firmly yet respectfully, our detestation of gress on the subject of slavery. She regards tions to prohibit the importation of slaves in—such a Territory has no right inherent or Be it resolved by the Senate and House the dangerors geographical conflict, and will

Next we come to the message of Governor | home, that on the 18th day of July, 1787, | Keystone State took of the subject of slavery | islate it there, but takes the fillibustering | Snyder upon the subject. Let all democrats that body unanimously declared that slavery in the District of Columbia in 1828—far ition in this state, sent in his message to the Legislature, and used the following language

regarding slavery :--

"Elevated as is her (Pennsylvania) character for humanity, there is yet permitted to remain one other stain on the otherwise fair and benign features of her policy. The galling yoke of slavery is still felt by some of our fellow creatures in different parts of this Comonwealth, and the pressure is made more severe by witnessing the happiness and freedom of surrounding multitudes. A recent act of cruelty which came under my observation, and which awakened feelings of a painful and distressing nature, will I trust excuse the intrusion to your notice of a subject so very interesting to the whole human family and embracing facts and practices palpably inconsistent with the tenor and spirit of that fundamental and immutable law and

A joint committee was appointed to take under consideration that portion of the Governor's message. That committee reported a bill to amend the act of 1787, to abolish slavery in the State, which like scores of other bills passed the first and second reading, and there dropped without any further ac-

The subject was brought before the Legislature in 1815 and 1816, but without any decisive action. Yet all that was done had the same tendency as former acts.

In 1819 resolutions passed both branches of the Legislature and received the sanction of the Governor, William Findlay, demo-erat. The resolutions are of decisive character, expressing what the members of the lu of the Democratic Party - Opposition of Legislature considered the sentiment of the Buchanan, Forney & Co., to the Wishes of people of Pennsylvania regarding the introduction of slavery into new territory. As these resolutions apply well to the issues of the free, but may be held to service until the the present campaign, it will be well for the age of twenty-five years. The democrats, who are boasting of their consisting of the consisting of the consistency of the consis been laid upon the shelves to dry. I have tency, to read and ponder upon them. The hereby requested to cause a copy of the fore-concluded to spend some time amongst the resolutions passed both houses without a disrecords of this commonwealth, and see if I senting voice. They passed the lower house could not there find deeds recorded that on the 16th day of December, and the Senwould astonish these resurrected politicians ate on the 20th, and received the approval

Amongst those that voted for the resolu-After spending three days amongst the tions I see the name of William Wilkins, of

racy of this State on that all absorbing ques- whilst they cherish the right of the individuof slavery, which show conclusively al States to express their opinions upon all landmarks and test words laid down by their in a great degree depend upon the discretion existence, subjected to the tyranny and capredecessors; that they have abandoned the with which it is exercised. They believe that pricious cruelty of their masters; and position of the founders of their party, and the right ought not to be resorted to upon are now following false gods. I have been trival subjects or unimportant occasions;

"Such an occasion as, in their judgment, demands the frank expression of the sentichiisetts has not equalled the democrats of timents of Pennsylvania, is now presented. this State in their denunciation of the insti- A measure was ardently supported in the last Congress of the United States, and will probably be as carnestly urged during the existing session of that body, which has a have us believe that they are following in palpable tendency to impair the political relations of the several States, which is calcuand that they have not departed one jota lated to mar the social happiness of the presfrom the principles laid down by the found- ent and future generations, which if adopted would impede the march of humanity and The record shows that the democrats of freedom throughout the world, and would poses to spread the crimes and crucan name; and that they considered it the elties of slavery from the banks of the Missmeasures of this character are seriously advocated in the republican Congress of Amerwith it. That policy the democrats of this ica, in the nineteenth century, the several State pursued up to the administration of States are invoked, by the duty which they owe to the Deity, by the veneration , which came over their dreams, and they have found they entertain for the memory of the foundit to be their duty to become nigger-drivers. ers of the republic, and by a tender regard Well may we exclaim, "Upon whose should- for posterity, to protest against its adoption,

ful boding over so large a portion of the Un-"Nor can such a protest be entered by any pations of slaves in the State; making all State with greater propriety than by Pennsylvania. This commonwealth has as sacredly respected the rights of other States as it the age of maturity. After the lapse of a has been careful of its own; it has been the wew years it was found that many of the fear invariable aim of the people of Pennsylvania to extend to the universe, by their example, that it was necessary for the accomplishment the unadultered blessing of civil and religious they have not only the right, but power, to of their object, as well as for the protection freedom; it is their pride that they have abolish it. The natural and civic rights of been at all times the practical advocates of there should be further legislation upon, the those improvements and charities amongst

were foremest in removing the pollution of slavery from amongst them. "If, indeed, the measures against which Pennsylvania considers it her duty to raise her voice, were calculated to abridge any of the rights guaranteed to the several States -if, odious as slavery is-it was proposed to hasten its extinction by means injurious to the States upon which it was unhappily entailed. Pennsylvania would be amongst the first to insist upon a sacred observance of the constitutional compact; but it cannot be pretended that the rights of any of the States are at all affected by refusing to extend the deep interest which is experienced, and the mischiefs of human bondage over boundless strong and powerful excitement felt by our regions of the West-a territory which form. Southern brethren when even distant allusion. ed no part of the confederation at the adop- is made to the abolition of slavery. We do tion of the constitution, which has been but not desire to awaken bitter feelings, or to lately purchased from a European power by arouse sectional jealousies, but as the legislathe people of the Union at large, which may or may not be admitted as a State into the and which view with apprehension the in-Union at the discretion of Congress, which creasing danger incident to such a state of must establish a republican form of govern- things we regard it as a duty we owe to the execute, in lefter and spirit, the several adthe representative of this State in Congress ment, and no other, and whose climate af citizens of this commonwealth to express justment measures, as passed by the late Constitutional measures and their utmost exer- ing to the labor of natives of the torrid zone this odious feature of our general government. These measures as a permanent settlement of the without the owners having an opportunity to prominent and wealthy citizens of the State.

to the United States from any quarter of the globe."

Again, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1808, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1809, another supplement of the act of 1788 was passed, in 1809, another supplement of the subject before the Legislature, and all the concession that three-follihis of the slaves of this States in the Original State in the Original State in 1809, another supplement of the which catched to entertained by Senator of the United States to use their open and down trodder whites of the South from the degrading and debasing tyranny to in the Original State in 1809, another supplement of the subject of the States then existing constitution of the extention of the contrast of the United States to use their open and the craft of the States then existing constitution of the subject of the States in plules induced me to deny the true this report, and I could not believe it true that the pauper laborare of future agitation of the search of the States in power, which is the concession of the them."

A test is proceedings of the Governor, and the contrast, and all the craft of waiting for Congress to leg them."

A test is the representatives of the States then content of the contrast of the contrast of the Commonwealth of the craft of which the craft o

le instance of the admission of a Territory to the rank of a State, in which Congress have not adhered to the rights vested in them by the constitution, to stipulate with the Territory upon the conditions of such admis-

"The Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, therefore, cannot but deprecate any departure from the humane and enlightened policy pursuel, not only by the illustrious Congress of 1787, but by their successors, without any exception : they are the West to a servile race would tend to inreason "that all men are born free and crease their numbers beyond all past examole, would open a new and steady market for lawless venders of human flesh, and would render all schemes for obliterating this most foul blot upon the American character useless and unavailing.

"Under these convictions, and in full persuasion that upon this topic there is but one opinion in Pennsylvauia, be it "Resolved, by the Senate and the House

Pennsylvania, That the Senators and Representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States, be, and they are hereby, who, after mature deliberation, reported as requested to vote against the admission of any Territory as a State into the Union unless the further introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime whereof the party-shall have been convicted, shall be prohibited; and all children born within the said Territory after its admission into the Union as a State shall

mitted, &c."

Again, on the 8th of February, 1822, the Legislature had under consideration the subject of buying and selling slaves, and adopted the following, which received the signature of Gov. Heister:-

the former land marks laid down by the de ly resurrected and become a Union saver; fellow creatures of the African race, and in who was the pride of the democratic party, mocracy, I have succeeded in bringing before but here they are to speak for themselves :- | the prosecution of this in quitous traffic of hu- and was considered by them one of their mod-"The Senate and House of Representational flesh many of the people of color have el men: tained the former watchwords of the democ tives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, been torn from their nearest and dearest connections in life, bound in chains, and driven through this State like droves of cattle to the Union; and whereas, measures are now that this new school Pierce, Forney and Bu- public measures proposed in the Congress of some one of the slaveholding States, there to the Union, are aware that its usefulness must | be doomed to drag out, in bondage, a weary

"Whereas, the buying and selling or trading in human flesh is not only a direct violaable to bring forward facts which show that but they are also persuaded that there are tion of the Divine law, but is at variance with what once constituted a good democrat in moments where the neglect to exercise it every principle of our free institutions, and revolting to the feelings and humanity of our citizens; and

"Whereas, the object of all good government is to protect every man in the enjoyment of his life and liberty-therefore;

"Resolved That the Judiciary Committee be instructed to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill prohibiting the transportation of any slaves bound in chains or otherwise, through this State or any part of it."

In 1826 through the recommendation of a democratic Governor, (J. A. Shultz,) the Legislature passed a law to prevent kidnapping, and in 1827 resolutions were again rethis State once looked upon the institution affix and perpetuate an odious stain upon the ported in both houses, instructing the Congressive as the greatest curse ever inflicted present race—a measure, in brief, which progressmen to do all within their power to upon a nation, and a stain upon the American affix and perpetuate an odious stain upon the gressmen to do all within their power to abolish the stain of slavery from the land .-In 1828 the democrats of the State out Herfirst duty of Congress to abolish slavery in issippi to the shares of the Pacific. When oded Herod. They had sore misgivings about slavery in the District. Hear them.

The following is a portion of the preamble and resolutions adopted by the Legislature of 1828, with a democratic majority, and signed by Governor Shultze, democrat:-That the existence of slavery in the Dist-

rict of Columbia-within a territory over which Congress have exclusive jurisdictionis a stain upon our name and character as a fallen?" But to the facts, as the records re- it the range of evil that already hangs in aw- free people, no citizen of Pennsylvania will presume to deny-the first to proclaim freedom to the slave. While the Congress of the United States declare it piracy, and punish with death those found engaged in the slave trade, and while they carry on negotiations with other governments to adopt a universal system more effectually to abolish this inhuman traffic, it seems inconsistent with such profession to sauction slavery where the enslaved are the same, whether he be held in bondage on the land or water, on men which are so well calculated to enable board a slave ship or in the tenement of his master; and the metaphysical distinction a. Pennsylvania-a, refusal by them of the use while it punishes with death the former, is tives. principles of republican institutions. It is very in California: true under existing laws the master has a property in his slave, of which he ought not be instructed and our representatives requeswould your committee recommend an interference with the mode or manner of abolition, it to the wisdom of Congress.

Your committee are aware of the diffi culties which surround this subject, of the tors of a State which has abolished slavery,

acquired, such as those States possessed of Representatives of the Commonwealth of discountenance, to the full extent of her influ-

read. On Dec. 11, 1811, Governor S., twice of involuntary servitude should not exist in stronger grounds against slavery than the elected by the democratic party to that post the Territories bounded by the Ohio, the republican party to-day dare to take.—
ition in this state, sent in his message to the Mississippi, Canada and the lakes; and in Need it be wondered that such men as Simon the ninth section of the first article of the con- Cameron, David Wilmot, Judge Kelly, and nouncing the repeal of the Missouri comproor two more pills for them to swallow. In-December 1836, Gov. Ritner, in his annual

> "Opposition to slavery at home, opposi-tion to the admission into the Union of new slaveholding States, and opposition to slavery in the District of Columbia, the very hearth and domestic abode of the national honor, have ever been and are the cherished persuaded that, to open the fertile regions of doctrines of our State; let us, fellow-citizens, stand by and maintain them, unshrinkingly and fearlessly, while we admit and scruputhe democratic party of this State, as now lously respect the constitutional rights of led by Forney, Buchapan and others, have

acterized our beloved commonwealth." During that session of the Legislature, reslutions were received from North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, Kenof Representatives of the Commonwealth of tucky and Mississippi, complaining about the interference of the Northern States, which were referred to the Judiciary Committee, following new and false gods. follows :--

"That the slaveholding States alone have the right to regulate and control domestic sla-"That Congress does possess the constitu-

tional power, and it is expedient, to abolish slavery and the slave-trade within the District of Columbia." Another avowal similar to that of 1828 .-

This has been the unanimous feeling of the Legislature on the subject; no opposition has been made to that position; all of the members of every legislature in which that subject has been brought up have coincided in their views on that question.
In 1847, the subject of giving fugitives the

right of trial by jury was discussed, but no positive action was taken on the subject.— No act of importance was taken until 1848, "Whereas, some of our sister States have when the following passed both houses, and and selling their received the approval of Francis R. Shunk "Whereas, the existing war with Mexico

may result in acquisition of new territory to direction of the policy of the country. pending in Congress, having in view the appropriation of money, and the conferring authis end-therefore.

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met. that our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to vote against any measure whatever, by which territory will accrue to the Union, unless as a part of the version. fundamental law upon which any compact or involuntary servitude, except for crime, shall the advocates of slavery the use of the revol- sion in all their naked deformity overwhelmbe forever prohibited."

During the same session of the Legislature

and seven :--"Sec. 6. It shall not be lawful to use any iail or prison of this Commonwealth for the detention of any person claimed as a fligitive from servitude or labor, except in cases where Judge under the provisions of this act; and any jailor or keeper of any prison, or other person, who shall offend against the provisons of this section, shall, on conviction thereof, pay a fine of five hundred dollars; one-halfthereof for the use of the commonwealth, and other half to the persons who prosecute, and

shall, moreover, thenceforth be removed from office, and be incapable of holding such office of jailor or keeper of a prison at any time dung his natural life. "Sec. 7. That so much of the act of the ring his natural life. and eighty, as authorizes the masters or own-

General Assembly, entitled "An act for the gradual abolition of slavery," passed the first day of March one thousand seven hundred ers of slaves to bring and retain such slaves. within the commonwealth, for the period of six months, in involuntary servitude, or for any period of time whatshever, and so much of the said act as prevents a slave from giving testimony against any person whatsoever, be, and the same is hereby repealed." This is the consolation that the southern

democracy have got from their brethren in bout human rights, which sanction the latter, of the jails for the purpose of detaining fugi-

more in accordance with the expedience of Again: The Senate in 1849 passed the following despotic governments than the undisguised lowing, by a vote of 30 to 2, relative to sla-

Resolved. That our Senators in Congress to be deprived without compensation, nor ted to vote, at all times and under all circumstances, in favor of extending the principles of the ordinance of seventeen hundred out leave the adoption of a plan to effectuate | and eighty-seven to the newly acquired Ter-

> Amongst the year are the names of J. Porter Brawley, one of the delegates to the Cincinnati Convention, and Maxwell McCaslin. an ardent supporter of the Cincinnati platform. These are the men who never change their political principles! But let us see what William Bigler thought on the subject of slavery at his inauguration as Governor. Speaking of the subject in his inaugural address, he used the following language:-

"She (Pennsylvania) will maintain and

platform, and goes it, niggers, border ruffians and all. But still he never changes his principles—oh, no—on the same platform! In 1854, resolutions passed the Senate de-

stitution itself, the power of Congress to pro-hibit the migration of service persons after they desert the issues of the founders, and of olutions was Senator Piett, democratic Speakthe year 1808 is expressly recognized, nor is those who rocked the cradle of the party in |er at the last session of the Senate. Those there to be found in the statute books a sing- its infancy, and go and swallow the Kansas resolutions failed to pass the House. This iniquities, and turn to nigger driving? But is the first time on record when resolutions we are not done with them yet : we have one denunciatory of slavery or instructing the Congressmen to vote against the extension of slavery, but what they were passed, and most message after referring the Legislature to the action of former barres, said:—

of the time without any opposition. During the session last winter resolutions to instruct the Congressmen were brought up, but voted down on the plea that it was no part of the business that they were sent to the Legisla-

ture for; but not a word was said by the speakers against the doctrine of voting against the extension of slavery.

Such is the record of Pennsylvania on the subject of slavery, which clearly proves that

other States on this momentous subject; let abandoned all the landmarks laid down by us not either by fear or interest be driven the founders of their party. Is it a wonder, from aught of that spirit of independence and then, that the northern and western portions veneration for freedom which has ever char- of the State-the very localities where the unterrified always polled heavy majorities—are now going with perfect avalanche to the peoples candidate, Col. Fremont? In doing this, they are but clinging to their old established principles; whereas the followers of the Pierce, Jeff. Davis and For ney party are

If Pennsylvania holds true to the position that she has always taken on the slavery question, she will not fail of routing the borhorse, foot, and dragoon.

Reasons for Supporting the Republican Party.

The following article is from the pen Henry C. Carey, Esq. Twenty four reasons mixing among the people of both parties for acting with the Republican party. These was at beavenworth City, Lawrence, Lecomp reasons will receive the calm and careful conton and in some smaller places in the Terrisideration of reasonable, reflecting men.

opposed to the policy which fills our makerts most likely leave the Territory, entertainwith the products of foreign workshops, while | ing the views prompted by inclination, and he | cold blood, and otherwise tortured and opour own workmen, their wives and children. would thus return whence he came, giving his pressed in almost every conceivable manner,

III.—Because it is in favor of free men, and opposed to the system which gives to 60,000 I did the same thing myself and was honoligarche, owners of hosts of slaves, the sole est in my conclusions, and it was not until

braska, sufficient to make twelve such States science. I was born and raised to near manthority upon the treaty making power, to as Pennsylvania, should be divided among hood in the State of Kentucky, and have ever the free men of their country, their wives and children. VI.—Because it desires to secure the liber-

ment, and corrupt judges, now seek their sub-VII.—Because it desires to settle all questreaty for this purpose is based, slavery or tions by means of the ballot box, leaving to resistible, followed by repeated acts of oppres-

ver and the bowie knife. VIII.—Because it has no affinity with the an act passed to prevent kidnapping, and to party whose leading organs teach their readpreserve public peace, &c., which received ers that "slavery," whether for the black man the approval of the model democrat, Gov. or the white, "is a legitimate, useful and ex-Shunk, of which the following are sections six pedient institution," and that, therefore, they bill that "Kansas should at all hazards be slavery upon Kansas. should seek, "not merely to retain it where | made a slave State." If it is true that such

unknown." tional property from the defilement of slave- informed the people of Illinois of the fact. jurisdiction may lawfully be taken by any ry, it acts in strict accordance with the prin- But the course pursued by the Administrahundred and eighty-seven, which, with the single exception of one northern member, re- been endeavoring to carry them out. ceived the unanimous vote of Congress, and has since been confirmed by acts of Congress, bearing the signature of every President from

Washington to Polk. X.—Because in advocating the cause of ree labor in Kansas, it acts in full accordance with that Compact of Peace which sets limits beyond which slavery should not be extended, and within which it was not to be interered with.

XI.—Because it is purely national and ani-sectional-holding that the North has rights as well as the South, and that those of ALL should be equally respected.

XII.—Because it is emphatically the party of the Union-being the only one that has never threatened dissolution of the connection. because of success or failure in the approaching election.

XIII.—Because it has incurred the hatred of all secessionists; as well those living north of Mason and Dixon's line as those living south of it. XIV.—Because it is the party which fol-

lows in the track of the patriots of the revolution, all of its doctrines on the subject of free and slave labor being those derived from Washington, Jefferson and other eminent men XV.—Because it stands by the Constitu-

tion as interpreted by Washington, Adams, er, Polk, Taylor-and by Mr. Buchanan himself, until the passage of the infamous Kansas-Nebraska act-all of them held that Congress had full power for the government of the na- whole horde of government officials and emtional territory, and might exclude slavery at ployees in Kansas, have exerted their whole its pleasure.

XVI.- Because it is the peace party-reoudiating altogether the highwayman's plea embodied in the Ostend circular.

that will cause to be retained at home the gold at Washington. now sent abroad to be applied to the maintenance of the currency of other countries. XVIII.—Because it is the high wages pary-wholly opposed to the idea that reduc-

of either Slavery or polygamy into the Territories of the Union.

XXII.—Because it has for its chief standfirmness; one fully worthy to be the successor of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison and Jackson, in the Presidential chair. XXIII.—Because that standard-bearer is an advocate of "free labor" as "the natural

the bulwark of free institutions." XXIV.—Because in him we have a MAN, and not a mere pro-slavery platform.

From the Warsaw Bulletin. An Address delivered before the Fremont Club, of Warsaw, Ill., Sept. 16, 1856,

BY WM. H. RALSTON, ESQ.

Mr. President and Fellow citizens:-At the solicitation of numerous friends and old acquaintances, I will endeavor to describe to you some of the scenes recently enacted in

Kansas-accounts of which most of you have doubtless read; but it was my misfortune to be an observer and an eye-witness of the perpetration of some of them-acts revolting alike to the feelings as well as the sober judgment of all good men. · I emigrated with my family to Kansas in

June last,-landing at Leavenworth City on the 25th of that month. A few weeks previous to that time, I had visited the Territory, with a view of seeking a home there. Being der ruffian nigger driving party, headed, by highly pleased with the country, and believ-Buchanan and Forney, in November next, ing that peace and quiet would soon be restored. I resolved to settle there at once, and with that view, purchased a comfortable dwelling house to shelter my family.

On my first visit I spent about ten days in the Territory, visiting from place to place, And a legislature thus composed and elected, tory, and at Kansas City and Westport in Missouri. In this visit I learned very little I.—Because it is in favor of free speech, Missouri. In this visit I learned very little and opposed to club law on the floor of Con- of the true condition of affairs in Kansas. gress, and to border ruffian law on the soil of Both parties would tell their story of sufferings endured by them, and wrongs perpetrated by them, and stranger would

expose of Kansas affairs, favoring the position held by his party. after I had remained there for some weeks IV. -- Because it is in favor of free soil, and that the enormity of the outrages perpetrated desires that the vast plains of Kansas and Ne- in Kansas took hold of my mind and consupported the Democratic party, and was, when I went to Kansas a supporter of the Administration. It may not be surprising, then,

ties of the citizen, and is therefore opposed to that I should have been reluctant to believe tempts by means of which a corrupt govern- that portion of the citizens of Kunsas known as the Free State party or people had been subjected. Outrage heaped upon outrage, and the facts being sustained by evidence ir-

ed me with astonishment. It has been reported in Kansas by some of the friends of Douglas and Richardson in that tion to law and order becoming a dead letter, region, that it was the understandig at the except so far as they may be able to torture t is, but to extend it to regions where it is an understanding existed with the leaders of the Administration, I do not believe that IX.—Because, in seeking to protect the na- either Col. Richardson or Judge Douglas ever I wish I could say as much for the other citi ples of that great ordinance of seventeen tion favors the conclusion that such pledges

It has been admitted by reasonable men of both parties, with whom I have conversed, vaded Kansas, and stuffed her ballot-boxes that a very large majority of the actual citi- with foreign votes. Many of those who have zens of Kansas are Free State men, and that come to an untimely, end, and been murdersuch was the case at the time of the election | ed in the most barbarous manner, would still of the Territorial legislature. Yet the fact live to cherish and comfort their families : all has gone forth to the world, that their electithe rights of the citizen, in the enjoyment of tions have been controlled and carried by an life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, armed invasion from the State of Missouri. - would be respected in Kansas. Their invaders far exceeding in numbers the whole of the actual voters of Kansas, and they come with banners flying as an army of conquest, with cannon, muskets and bayonets, that they were all, except three, kept by prorevolvers and long knives, with ammunition and provision for the occasion. Thus on they came over-riding every obstacle to their complete triumph. Judges and clerks of the election who had the audacity to refuse their votes, were forcibly displaced—thrust out of the window, and their own men installed in their stead. Thus have the libertles of the people of Kansas been ruthlessly snatched from them and it is against such wrongs as these and others equally unjust that the Free State people of the territory complain. The time was when the Democracy of the whole country raised their almost united voice against the truth of these things-and they were denounced as "abolition lies." But truth, irresistible and conclusive, has already riveted these facts upon the pages of the history of our country, and it seems to me that Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Adams the tory of our country, and it seems to me that younger, Jackson Van Buren, Harrison, Tyregard for truth, that will venture a denial

It cannot be defied, but that almost the energies to engraft slavery upon Kansas, and to this end-they have not scrupled in the least one who had on board a steam engine and to prostitute the office and position they hold fixtures for a mill, but he was not permitted as a means to crush out the spirit of freedom to land it. And another company after XVII.—Because it is the sound currency that had been transplanted within its borders. party—advocating the adoption of measures and thus carry out the will of their masters as prisoners until the whistle of a descending

On my way to Kansas, I first heard of the destruction of the Hotel and the Printing presses at Lawrence, and that they had been in obedience to a mandate of a United States tion in the price of human labor, or the reduc- Judge-abated at nuisances-and that too slave, is the measure required to enable us to be heard in defence of their property. My first impulses induced me to deny the truth in the pauper laborers of Europe.

XIX.—Because it is the party of freedom of this report, and I could not believe it true and effectually blockaded against citizens from

Hill." ment in the employment of men even to per.

XXI.—Because it is the party of sound form common labor, and that test requires morals-being opposed to the introduction that the applicant for work, by which he may earn an honest livelihood, shall favor slavery, and a promise is exacted that he will vote for it in Kansas. I witnessed the application of ard-bearer, John C. Fremont, a man of high this test in one instance, by a government intellect, spotless integrity, and unshrinking employee, who necessarily has to keep constantly employed, a large number of men, to enable him to perform his engagements with the government. I was seated in his officea young man came in seeking employment: -after some preliminary questions as from capital which constitutes the great wealth of whence he came &c., he was informed by the this great country, and creates that intelligent U.S. Government employee "that if he was power in the masses alone to be relied on as in favor of slavery, and would promise to vote for it in Kansas he would furnish him employment, otherwise his services were not wanted. The young man, evidently anxious tor employment, sought to evade the question without compromising his principles and said that it made no difference what might be his sentiments in regard to slavery. as he was not twenty-one and therefore had no vote: this was not, however, satisfactory; and the young man left, being thus found unworthy to drive government cattle, and too

honest to forswear the dictates of conscience. I mention these things to illustrate the exent and manner in which these public functionaries and employees of the government, have exerted themselves to carry out the will of their masters at Washington, in endeavoring to "establish slavery in Kansas at all

hazards." It is represented that some of the members of the Territorial Legislature, were at the time actual citizens of Missouri, one of them I know to have been, from his own declaration. In a conversation with him he ad! mitted to me in substance, that he was not then nor ever had been a citizen of the Territory; he said he had taken a claim and spent a portion of his time there, but his family all the while remained on his farm in the State of Missouri. And thus, Missouri furnishes & portion of the legislators as well as voters. made a large volume of laws to govern the people of Kansas, and among them are laws. indicating the character of the men who made them—tyrannical and oppressive—laws abridging the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press and requiring obnoxious and unusual test oaths, as a qualification to exercise the elective franchise, which were imposed upon-

the people without their consent. Citizens have been repeatedly murdered in without being charged with the commission of crime, or the violation of any known law. but merely because they prefer freedom to

slavery. The pro-slavery party at Leavenworth, had, about the time I went to the country, an organization styled a vigilance committee, composed of fifty men, by means of which they tried citizens for their political sentiments, and if not found to be "be all right on the goose," a decree of expulsion was entered against them, which they enforced at the point of the bayonet, with United States arms. the doctrine of constructive treasons and con- the story of oppression and wrong to which And thus, men of the worst passions, armed with whiskey, and becoming desperate in their hopes of permanently establishing slavery in the territory, and upheld by the government, are led and encouraged to the commission, with impunity, of all manner of outrages upon innocent and unoffending persons. These are some of the acts and proceedings of the so-called law and order party. Their devo-

The Free State people of Kansas will compare favorably with the most intelligent. so ber and industrious communities of Illinois. zens from Mo., who have interfered in Kansas affairs. If they had possessed the same spirit of justice and right, so prevalent among were made, and that they are now and have the Free State people, I most firmly believe the country would have been saved this excitement-no ruthless mob would have in-

> Leavenworth City has within its limits. 25 licensed liquor shops, where whisky is dealt out profusely, and upon inquiry, I learned slavery men. A large emajority of the citizens of that place are Free State men. yet I have never seen one of them drunk, but not so with the others, at any hour of the day or night, men may be seen in the streets and about those drinking houses, which are also gambling shops. It is a proverbial fact, which I believe will hold throughout the territory, that whenever you find free state menyou find sober and industrious people, but directly the reverse is generally true with the other party, so far as my observation has extended.

I have witnessed the most unjust and cruel reatment shown to emigrants from the Free States to Kansas, who came by way of Missouri river. In one instance a boat landed at Leavenworth city, having on board two companies, one from the South and the other from the North, those from the South received a hearty welcome on their arrival, but not so with those from the North,—even after they had been deprived of their arms, by the searchers below, they were not permitted to put their feet upon the soil, and among them was landing were ruthlessly seized and detained boat was heard, when they were marched to the landing and forced aboard of the boat like so many sulprits, and then expelled from the country at the point of the bayonet.

This latter company was from Ills., and some of them it is understood are the sons of