The Press.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1857.

FORNEY'S CALIFORNIA PRESS

Will be Ready at the

OFFICE OF THE PRESS,

No. 417 CHESTNUT STREET,

At 1 o'clock To-Morrow, (Saturday.)

This paper is published expressly for

CALIFORNIA CIRCULATION,

And contains a complete summary of what has transpired in our City, State, and the Atlantic States, since the departure of the last steamer for California.

Price Five Cents per copy, in strong wrappers, and stamped, ready for mailing.

All advertisements intended for the

STEAMER PRESS

Must be handed in before 10 o'clock on SATURDAY MORNING.

FIRST PAGE.—Lord BACON; FORREST and the Californians; Public Entertainments; Message of Gov. STANTON; Very Late and Interesting from Kansas; Ten Reasons why every Democrat should vote against the admission of Kansas unless the whole Constitution is submitted to the People; The President's Message; The Kansas Constitution; The Position of WALKER and DOUGLAS; The Utah Expedition; The Double Murder in Lancaster county; Havana Correspondence; U. S. Court; General News; The Courts.

☞ We make no apology for publishing a paper, this morning, so filled with the Kansas question. It is the exciting topic of the day, and therefore ought to be acceptable to all classes of readers.

GOVERNOR WALKER'S GREAT LETTER.

ROBERT J. WALKER wrote, probably, the most forcible letter in favor of JAMES BUCHANAN in 1856. Its style and its facts made a profound impression on the public mind. It was translated into German and French, and even into Spanish, Italian, and Welsh. He wrote then as if he felt that upon the issue depended the preservation of the Union. The principle which inspired his eloquence was the principle of popular sovereignty, which he regarded as the surest protection against a sectional or geographical party. This masterly letter was published in nearly every Democratic paper of the Union, and gave to Mr. WALKER a new hold upon the confidence and the affections of his countrymen.

To-day, however, we print another letter from ROBERT J. WALKER, being nothing more nor less than his letter of resignation as Governor of Kansas. At this hour of writing we have no time and no room to say more than that it is equal to his fame, and nobly consistent with his record as a statesman who always follows the right, no matter at what hazard to himself. No citizen can read what he has to say without feeling convinced that he is sincere and patriotic, and the array of facts and arguments which he presents will go far to establish, on enduring foundations, the injustice and oppression of the rule of the minority in Kansas. There is not a Democrat—not a Republican—not an American, who will not realize in this statesmanlike production the palpable outrages which the Lecompton Convention has sought to practice upon the people of Kansas.

The tone and temper of Governor WALKER'S letter is not the least part of its merits. He addresses the President as a friend and a compatriot, and never for a moment fails in respect to the Chief Magistrate of the Republic.

We give the whole of Gov. WALKER'S letter, by telegraph, corrected carefully by a copy received last night, by mail, from Governor W:

ACTING-GOVERNOR STANTON'S MESSAGE.

As a most appropriate companion of Governor WALKER'S letter, we this morning print the message of Acting-Governor FREDERICK P. STANTON to the Legislature of Kansas. This calm, considerate, and conciliatory state paper will be perused with intense interest; and not the less so because it bears out all, and more than all, our apprehensions as to the rule-and-ruin policy of the minority in Kansas. Mr. STANTON is a native of the South, and has served with great distinction, and *for many years, as a representative* in Congress from Tennessee. He was one of the ablest defenders of President POLK'S Administration, and while Mr. BUCHANAN and Mr. WALKER were in his Cabinet, was their earnest and devoted champion. His clear and comprehensive message dissipates a thousand fallacies, and places the cause of the majority in Kansas on enduring foundations. HE IS THE LAST AND THE BEST WITNESS OF THE JUSTICE OF GOVERNOR WALKER'S POSITION.

OBJECTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The President pointedly asserts that the whole Constitution of Kansas should have been submitted, by the Convention, to the people, because, as he well remarks, that is the only true principle. The bogus Convention of Kansas did not look at the principle; they doubted whether that would suit their policy, and hence they took the trick; thus violating the cardinal policy of the Democratic party. Their defenders here admit that our *principles* have been thus broken down, but they exclaim: What matters that? it will only be for a time; let the wrong be done, sanction it for a brief period, admit Kansas as a State, and then the people may at once do themselves the justice which it would not be politic for Congress now to do them. True, gentlemen, the error will be a brief one, and truth, though crushed to earth, will rise again; but it has not been thus that the Democracy of the North or South have hitherto been taught to act. They have inherited the spirit of their fathers, with whom, as Mr. STEPHENS of Georgia well said, (February 17, 1854,) in reply to the same Republican argument, "The question was not so much the amount of taxation; it was not the small duty on tea; that was far from being oppressive; but it was the *principle* on which it was placed; it was the principle asserted and maintained in the "*preamble*," that our fathers resisted by arms. And Mr. WEBSTER well said, on some occasion, "That the American Revolution was fought against a *preamble*." And Mr. STEPHENS then added: "It is in vindication of that *new principle*, then established for the first time in the history of our Government, in the year 1850, the middle of the Nineteenth century, that we, the friends of the Nebraska bill, whether from the North or the South, now call upon this House and the country to carry out in good faith, and give effect to the spirit and intent of those important measures of territorial legislation." On February 18, 1854, Senator BRODHEAD said: "The question at present, (viz: the question involved in the Kansas-Nebraska bill,) is of no *practical* importance whatever. It is only important as establishing a permanent rule." It was for a principle, then, that the country was agitated by the Compromise measures of 1850; and it was to apply that principle, although then of no practical importance, that the Missouri Compromise was repealed and the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed. But then, reply the friends of the bogus Convention, you, Messrs. WALKER and DOUGLAS, are agitators; you might let the little fraud, and wrong, and violation of principle pass for the present, it will afterwards be corrected by the people; why, then, do you agitate it now? That is exactly what the Republicans said to the Democracy in 1850 and 1854. They said the country was then quiet; truly the Missouri Compromise was a violation of an abstract principle, but it was so old, it was so venerable, that the wrong had become a compact, and sacred. What was our reply then? It was this, that the acts of 1850 established the *principle*; that the Missouri Compromise was in conflict with that principle, and that, old and sacred as it was, it should be repealed, and it was repealed, and that, too, by the Democracy of the North, *simply because it was not in accordance with a principle*; and when these same Republicans said: If, then, slavery can *not* be practically established in Kansas, why do the South require this *compromise repealed?* Because, answered the South, *it violates a principle*; and the Democracy of the North and South united and maintained that abstract principle. What, then, if agitation shall again follow our attempt to stand by the principles of our party? Let Mr. STEPHENS, of Georgia, answer such men. He said, (Feb. 17, 1854):

"It remains for me to say something about the great excitement which it is said this measure will produce. Well, sir, who raises any excitement now? Whence does the opposition come? What are the reasons for it? The North (now the Democracy) is to be excited, and about what?

"Why, because Congress by this bill recognises the territorial principle established in 1850. And what is the harm or mischief to be done? Why, nothing but extending to the freemen of Kansas and Nebraska that privilege which ought to be the birthright of every American citizen, to have a voice in forming the institutions and passing the laws under which he is to live. Who, then, is to be agitated by this outrage? Why, nobody but *those who deny to their fellow-citizens the capacity for self-government.*"

That was then the answer of a Southern Democrat to the objection of a Northern Republican. Certain Democrats are now so much afraid of our agitation for a principle, that they exclaim, Oh! you are distracting the party in the pursuit of a principle. Who are the men in our party whom it will distract? Why, our assertion of the same principle in 1850 and 1854 distracted a great many other Democrats—aye, some of them among the veterans of the party; but did this now-denounced Senator Douglas and the Young Guard faint or falter because of that?

Did we then fear to insist on the principle because it might agitate, and even distract the party? Far from it; and to the Democrats, who then feared to be just, Mr. W. H. WITTE well replied:

"Gentlemen assert that by the adoption of this measure you will divide and distract the Democratic party. I ask them to remember Democratic party. I ask them to remember that the history of that party clearly attests that the history of that party clearly attests that its purpose and function is one of trial and difficulty. It was cradled in storm and reared amid tribulation. It has ever been the advance-guard of all those great measures of progress that have made our country powerful and glorious. It was created for that purpose, and whenever danger has threatened, from traitors at home or foes abroad, it has always, in the hour of peril, been called upon to exercise its highest and holiest function. I care not if, to promote a great principle, it distract the party for a time. When its highest attribute shall have been exercised, and its highest mission performed, it will then, by the involuntary tribute of a free people, be knit together in bonds so strong and irresistible, that the forces of all the factions and isms, placing Abolitionism at the head, cannot break them. They must remember that the Democratic *party is not one of expediency*; and if it be now called upon, by the enactment of this bill, to make sacrifices at the present moment, in order that great good may flow from its *principle* in time to come, I repeat, *it is the solemn duty of every Democrat*, be he in or out of Congress, to make such sacrifice, with a patriotism and chivalry which becomes a true national man. I do not therefore fear the result. I am ready to go before the people and meet this question. It requires but little intelligence to comprehend a proposition so simple as the one embraced in this act. To the people I submit it, conscious that their instinctive perception of man's right to self-government will carry it safely through the storm of partisan agitation, and lead them to a just conclusion as to its merits."

To these sound views we then bore and we now bear assent, and we commend their application now to every Democrat, be he in or out of Congress.

But these friends of expediency further object, that even if the Democratic party do now carry out their principles and pledges, yet the Republicans will not be at peace, that they will again refuse to vote, and where then they ask is the security that their objections will cease? That also is a Republican argument, and was urged by them against the Democratic party. Mr. SUMNER urged it in 1854, and on February 23, 1854, Mr. TOOMBS, of Georgia, thus replied to it:

"Sir, there is another story of ancient history by which the gentleman might have profited. A minister once came to the Roman Senate *to sue* for peace. They asked him, 'what security do you offer us that if we grant you this peace it will last and be observed?' He replied, 'grant us a just peace, on fair terms, and it will be durable and permanent; but give us an unjust one, and it will not last long.'

"You should stand upon a broad, national *principle*—then you will have peace. The great pacification of 1850 adopted this basis, and if that be *carried out*, we shall have a permanent peace."

That was then Mr. TOOMBS'S reply to the objection of the Republican, CHARLES SUMNER, and we adopt and re-assert it in answer to the expectancy Democrats who now follow him, and who seek for peace through a temporary expediency, instead of basing it on an eternal principle.

But again, say these gentlemen, we have *now the power* to settle this question—not on principle, to be sure, but to *settle* it, whether on principle, or against principle. Perhaps you have the power, gentlemen, but to *that* Republican argument, let Mr. TOOMBS again reply, as he did in 1854: "The Senator from Massachusetts, not contented with perverting the history of his own country, misapplies even the ancient and familiar story of THEMISTOCLES and ARISTIDES.

"THEMISTOCLES wished to take an unjust advantage of the *enemies* of Athens, or those who were expected shortly to become so. *Forgetful of justice and right*, he desired the Athenians, under *prospect of advantage*, to destroy the fleets of their friends and allies.

"The scheme was referred by the Athenians to ARISTIDES. He said, 'True, you *can* do it; you have got the power; but, Athenians, it is *unjust*.'

"We, continued Mr. TOOMBS, appeal to the true and honest men of the North, as ARISTIDES did to the Athenians; gentlemen, you can do this, for you have the physical power, *but it is unjust*. We said that in 1850; and in spite of the Senator from Massachusetts, and all his coadjutors here, the free North, the honest North, took the same course which the honest Athenians did under the advice of ARISTIDES. They said: 'It is unjust, and we will not do it.'" Democrats of the North, these were the sentiments of an honest and high-minded Southron in 1851. You followed him then. You then scorned the petty by-ways of policy and a time-serving expediency, and walked in the broad highway of principle and justice. Will you not do so now? Will you not walk in the old ways, the tried ways, the ways in which you and your fathers have trod? Will you take the advice of the THEMISTOCLES in our party, who advise you to take an unjust advantage of the enemies of the Democratic party, and who, "forgetful of justice and right, desire you, under prospect of *advantage*, to destroy even your enemies?" "True, you can do it; you have got the power; but; Democrats, *it would be unjust*." In 1850, in 1854, the free North, the honest North, pursued the same course which the honest Athenians did under the advice of ARISTIDES—they said then, and in 1857 they will say again, "It is unjust, and we will not do it."

"HOUSEHOLD WORDS."

Many of our readers will thank us for informing them that the Christmas number of "Household Words," (most of which will be written by CHARLES DICKENS himself,) will contain "The Perils of Certain English Prisoners, and their Treasure in Women, Children, Silver, and Jewels." It will occupy thirty-six octavo pages, or the amount of a regular Number and a Half. Of course, Mr. T. B. PETERSON will reprint and republish it, the day after a copy reaches Philadelphia. He has a very *taking* way as regards DICKENS' works.

☞ The Pittsburgh *Daily Union* is making up a list of papers, with evident satisfaction, that have taken ground in favor of allowing Congress to compel the people of Kansas to accept the minority Lecompton Constitution. The *Union* omits itself in this list, which is wise, considering that it was one of the first to take ground against this minority Constitution.

☞ The announcement of a series of Lectures, on the Philosophy of the Bible, by Professor JACOBS, will attract general attention. It is an interesting subject, and will be ably treated.

THE SALE OF MR. ROBINSON'S PAINTINGS will be continued this morning. Some of the most valuable pictures will be included.

The sale of elegant books, suitable for Christmas presents, will be continued this evening, at the auction rooms. See Thomas & Sons' advertisement.

REAL ESTATE SALE.—James A. Freeman's sale on Wednesday evening next includes several properties by order of the Orphans' Court; also, a property in Coates street. All to be sold without reserve. See advertisement under auction head.

The Splendid new Marble Store, erected for Henry Korn, Esq., 28 North Third street, by Mr. Rubincam, the eminent builder, is so nearly ready for occupation, that we find it advertised in THE PRESS, of this day, to be rented. It has a frontage of thirty, a depth of one hundred and forty-seven, and a side extent of sixty-four feet, and is one of the most handsome and convenient stores in the city.

Fire.—The alarm of fire about five o'clock yesterday morning was caused by the partial burning of the lumber-yard of Mr. Nicholson, at Seventh street and Marriott's lane, which was set on fire, and damaged to the amount of about fifty dollars.

BY MIDNIGHT MAIL.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Governor Walker's Letter—Intelligence from Kansas—Treasury Notes, &c., &c., &c.

[Correspondence of The Press.]

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17, 1857.

In another column will be found the letter of resignation sent to Mr. Buchanan by Governor Walker. Regard for the harmony of the Democratic party at the same time that he stood firmly upon the ground of popular sovereignty, induced Governor Walker, after consultation with friends from every section, to pursue this course. The Administration had last night an extraordinary Cabinet council, to take into grave consideration the present aspect of Kansas affairs, and to determine upon some fair mode of adjustment. I am inclined to the belief, however, that they will reply to Governor Walker's letter, sustaining, with whatever of argument at their command the position which on this vexed question they are understood to assume.

Mr. Dexter has just arrived here from Kansas. This gentleman is known all through the Territory as an indomitable National Democrat. He reports that not only all the press of Kansas, even proslavery papers, excepting always the Lord President's pet organ, are in opposition to the Lecompton contrivance, and that ninety-nine-hundredths of the people are of the same way of thinking. National Democrats, he says, will be thunderstruck when they learn that the Administration, contrary to their expectations, favor what they determinedly set their face against. Col. Hazard, of Kickapoo, which gave 500 majority for the Democratic ticket, is with Gov. Walker, and opposed to the Lecompton Constitution. So are his constituents, with very rare exceptions.

A Democratic Senator in the State Legislature of Wisconsin, informs me that the Democratic members of the Senate, and of the House composing that body, have had an understanding for some time, that previous to the opening of their sessions they will meet in caucus, and pass resolutions of approbation of the course of Walker, Stanton, Douglas, and THE PRESS. I give you his words as he gave them to me. Furthermore, he states that there is *not a single dissentient*.

Hon. John Hickman, of the Chester district, was one of the first from Pennsylvania, in the last House of Representatives, to raise his voice in favor of the nomination and election of Mr. Buchanan. You know how he worked during the last campaign for the success of our cause. Now he prepares himself for continued advocacy of the great principle that the will of the majority, as fairly expressed, shall prevail, and will speak in the, House on the first opportunity, in opposition to the Lecompton Constitution.

Mr. Hunter, from the Finance Committee of the Senate, reported a bill to-day, authorizing the issuance of treasury notes to make up the deficit in the revenues of the country for the ordinary expenditures of the Government. It is very lengthy, but in its main features is as I have heretofore *stated it*.

An old gentleman, who was sojourning in Europe, during the last Presidential campaign, for the benefit of his health, says that of all the documents which were sent to him favoring the object of his desire—the election of Mr. Buchanan—none were more grateful than the speeches of a young Philadelphia lawyer, named Dougherty.

The decease of the late Hon. J. G. Montgomery, from the Luzerne district, was announced this morning in the House by Hon. Paul Leidy, his successor. The remarks, both of Mr. Leidy and Colonel Florence, who seconded the resolutions, were appropriate, and touching in their expression of sorrow for their loss and the loss of their beloved State, *Pennsylvania*.

Acting Commissioner Mix has received a letter from Brigham Young, dated October 7, 1857. He writes:

"I improve the opportunity by first succeeding mail via Panama to inform you that I forwarded my report and accompanying papers for the quarter ending September, 1857, by the hands of the Hon. J. M. Bernhisel, our delegate to Congress, who accepted of the polite courtesy invitation from Captain Van Vliet, U. S. A., to cross the plains with him *en route* to Washington, and notwithstanding the quarter was not quite ended, I deemed that course all the more proper from the fact that the mail to this Territory from Independence, Mo., had been stopped by the Post Office Department, and it was not known how soon the mail from California might, also, be stopped.

"I have also the honor to inform you that Dr. *Garland Hurt*, a United States Indian agent, in this superintendency, saw fit to leave the field of his official duty, on the 26th of September last, in company with some Indians, whom it is said he hired to escort him to the United States troops, and without having made any report to me of his doings and designs, or of the disposition he had made of the affairs of his agency.

"Such an occasionless and unwise movement on his part, altogether needlessly exposing himself to sickness, hardship, and danger, I did all in my power, upon the earliest intimation of his plans, to prevent, as will be seen by a letter addressed to him, (a copy of which I enclose,) but which, unfortunately, did not reach his place of residence until a few hours after his departure.

"Trusting that my official course, as above indicated, will meet the cordial approval of your judgment, I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

BRIGHAM YOUNG,

"Gov. and *ex officio*. Supt. Indian Affairs, U. T.

THE LATEST NEWS BY TELEGRAPH.

Non-Arrival of the Canada.

HALIFAX, Dec. 17.—11 o'clock, P. M.—The steamship Canada has not yet been signalled below. The weather is calm, but slightly hazy.

FROM WASHINGTON.

The Pacific Railroad--Nominations Confirmed The Resignation of Governor Walker.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.—The following named Senators compose the committee to whom was referred that part of the President's Message relative to the railroad to the Pacific: Messrs. Gwin of California, Douglas of Illinois, Bright of Indiana, Davis of Mississippi, Hunter of Virginia, Seward of New York, Bell of Tennessee, Foot of Vermont, and Iverson of Georgia.

In Executive Session to-day, the Senate confirmed M. B. Lamar of Texas, as Minister to Central America, and Austin R. Smith as Naval Agent in California.

The nomination of Judge Clifford to supply the vacancy on the Supreme Bench was warmly debated by the Senate, and then referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

*Governor Walker has printed his letter re*signing the Governorship of Kansas, designing to supply the press with copies. Some of his friends confidently assert that the President will refuse to accept the resignation, so that by returning the letter to him, it will not appear on the public archieves. It is also further said by his friends, that they anticipate the President will dismiss him.

U. S. Supreme Court.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.—The Supreme Court today was occupied with case No. 15, (before reported.) The argument for the plaintiff was continued, and the argument for the defendant was commenced.

Later from Kansas.

ST. LOUIS, Dec. 17.—The *Republican* has received Kansas dates to the 10th inst. The Legislature had done nothing toward carrying out the recommendations of acting Governor Stanton's message.

The election returns from Kickapoo have been declared fraudulent by the Committee of Investigation, and the Republican members admitted to their seats in the House.

John Calhoun, the President of the Constitutional Convention, had been nominated for Governor by the Democratic Convention, but he declined, and Frank Marshall was nominated instead. W. G. Matthews was nominated for Lieut. Governor.

Mr. Carr was nominated for Congress; District Attorney Weir was offered the nomination, but declined.

Gen. Denver, the newly appointed noting Governor, had not yet arrived in the Territory.

Nothing was yet known as to the character of the intelligence brought by the last messenger from Utah.

ST. LOUIS, Dec. 17.—The Kansas letters to the *Democrat* say that an attempt is being made along the border counties of Missouri to form companies of voters, to control the election to be held in the Territory on the 21st inst.

At a mass convention held at Lecompton on the 7th inst., resolutions were passed, endorsing the proceedings of the delegate convention, held at Lawrence on the 2d, and pledging themselves individually and collectively to oppose to the utmost the Constitution adopted at Lecompton, and to resist every *attempt made to put into operation* a State Government under the same.

The Death Warrant.

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 17.—The Governor has issued warrants for the execution of the McKeesport murderers, Henry Fife and Charlotte Jones, to take place on the 12th of February, 1858; also of Monroe Stewart (who, by the confession of Charlotte Jones, is exonerated from complicity in the murder) to take place a fortnight later.

On the Way to Washington.

BALTIMORE, Dec. 17.—Hon J. C. Breckinridge, Vice President of the United States; Senator Mallory of Florida, General Gonzales, and Dr. Smith, of New Orleans, came up to this city in the Norfolk boat. They are on their route to Washington.

Administration Meeting at New York—An Accident.

NEW YORK, Dec. 17.—An immense Democratic meeting congregated in the City Park this evening, to respond favorably to the views expressed in the message of Mr. Buchanan. Hon. Richard Schell presided. The speakers' platform broke down while Mr. Schell was speaking, and great excitement ensued among the crowd. Fortunately no person was injured. The meeting then proceeded to the vicinity of the City Hall, from the steps of which they are being addressed.

The Southern Banks.

AUGUSTA, Dec. 17.—The Legislature of South Carolina has refused to legalize the suspension of specie payments by the banks. The Georgia Legislature has done nothing yet.

The Governor of Florida has directed the tax collectors to receive the ordinary currency in payment of taxes due the State.

Rain commenced falling here last night, and there is every prospect of a deluge similar to that of last week.

Markets.

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 17.—Flour dull; no sales from first hands; prices is still unchanged; wheat dull; 80a90c for red and white; rye 55c; corn 40c; oats 30c. Nothing doing in provisions; whiskey, raw, 17c.

BALTIMORE, Dec. 17.—Flour is firm. Whiskey 21a22c. Exchange on New York 41 per cent. premium.

CHARLESTON, December 17.—Sales of 400 bales of Cotton to-day, and for the week, 9,000 bales. The market closes with an advancing tendency; sales 10¦ for middling. Gunny bags are selling at 11 cents for time.

Hon. Robert J. Walker's Resignation of the Governorship of Kansas.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.—The following is the letter of Hon. Robert J. Walker, resigning the office of Governor of Kansas:

[CORRECTED FROM GOV. WALKER'S OWN COPY.]

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 15, 1857.

Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of State:

SIR: I resign the office of Governor of the Territory of Kansas. I have been most reluctantly forced to this conclusion, after anxious and careful consideration of my duty to the country, to the people of Kansas, to the President of the United States, and to myself. The grounds assumed by the President, in his late message to Congress, and in recent instructions, in connection with the events now transpiring here and in Kansas, admonish me, that as Governor of that Territory, it will no longer be in my power to preserve the peace or promote the public welfare.

At the earnest solicitation of the President, after repeated refusals, the last being in writing, I finally accepted this office, upon his letter showing the danger and difficulties of the Kansas question, and the necessity of my undertaking the task of adjustment. Under these circumstances, notwithstanding the great sacrifices to me, personal, political, and pecuniary, I felt that I could no more refuse such a call from my country, through her Chief Magistrate, than a soldier in battle, who is ordered to command a forlorn hope. I accepted, however, on the express condition that I should advocate the submission of the Constitution to the vote of the people, for ratification or rejection. These views were clearly understood by the President and Cabinet. They were distinctly set forth in my letter of acceptance of this office, on the 26th of March last, and reiterated in my inaugural address on the 27th of May last, as follows: "Indeed, I cannot doubt that the Convention, after having framed a State Constitution, will submit it for ratification or rejection by a majority of the then actual bona fide resident settlers of Kansas. With these views well known to the President and Cabinet, and approved by them, I accepted the appointment of Governor of Kansas. My instructions from the President, through the Secretary of State, under date of the thirtieth of March last, sustain the regular Legislature of the Territory, in assembling a Convention to form a Constitution; and they express the opinion of the President, that when such Constitution shall be submitted to the people of the Territory, they must be protected in the exercise of their right of voting for or against that instrument; and the fair expression of the popular will must not be interrupted by fraud or violence.' I repeat, then, as my clear conviction, that *unless the Convention submit* the Constitution to the vote of all the actual resident settlers in Kansas, and the election be fairly and justly conducted, the Constitution will be, and ought to be, rejected by Congress." This inaugural distinctly asserted that it was not the question of slavery merely, (which I believed to be of little practical importance then in its application to Kansas,) but the entire Constitution which should be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection. These were my words on that subject in my inaugural: "It is not merely, shall slavery exist in or disappear from Kansas, but shall the great principles of self-government and State sovereignty be maintained or subverted." In that inaugural I proceed further to say, that the people "may by a subsequent vote defeat the ratification of the Constitution." I designate this as a "great constitutional right," and add "that as the Convention is the servant, and not the master, of the people."

In my official despatch to you of the second of June last, a copy of that inaugural address was transmitted to you for the further information of the President and his Cabinet. No exception was ever taken to any portion of that address. On the contrary, it is distinctly admitted by the President in his message, with commendable frankness, that my instructions in favor of the submission of the Constitution to the vote of the people were "general and unqualified." By that inaugural, and subsequent addresses, I was pledged to the people of Kansas to oppose, by all lawful means, the adoption of any Constitution which was not fairly and fully submitted to their vote for ratification or rejection. These pledges I cannot recall or violate without personal dishonor, and the abandonment of fundamental principles, and therefore it is impossible for me to support what is called the Lecompton Constitution, because it is not submitted to the vote of the people for ratification or rejection.

I have over uniformly maintained the principle that sovereignty is vested exclusively in the people of each State, and that it performs its first and highest function in forming a State Government and State Constitution. This highest act of sovereignty, in my judgment, can only be performed by the people themselves, and cannot be delegated to Conventions or other intermediate bodies. Indeed, the whole doctrine of the sovereignty of the people was distinctly recognised by the "divine right of Kings;" and the blasphemous doctrine was, that Sovereigns, in legitimate succession—although stained with crimes and blackened with infamy—were clothed by Deity with absolute power to rule their subjects, who held nothing but privilege granted by the Crown. Such were the absurd and impious dogmas to which the people of Europe, with few exceptions, have been compelled to submit by the bayonet—sustained by the more potent authority of ignorance and superstition. Under this theory, the people were mere chipmonks, and crowned heads sub-deities—the sole representatives on earth of the governing power of *the Almighty. Our doctrine is just the reverse*, making the people the only source of sovereign power. But what people? With us "sovereignty rests exclusively with the people of each State." By the Revolution, each colony, putting by itself alone, separated from Great Britain, and sanctioned the Declaration of Independence. *Each colony* having thus become a State, and each adopting for itself its separate State Government, acted for itself alone under the old Continental Congress. *Each State acted for itself alone* in acceding to the Articles of Confederation in 1778, and each State acted for itself alone in framing and ratifying each for itself the Constitution of the United States. Sovereignty, then, with us, rests exclusively with the people of each State. The Constitution of the United States is not sovereign, for it was created by the States, each exercising for itself that highest political power called sovereignty.

For the same reason the Government of the United States is not sovereign, nor does it exercise any sovereign powers. It exercises only "delegated powers," as declared by the Constitution, and those powers only which are granted by that instrument. Delegated powers are not sovereign powers, but are powers granted by sovereignty. Sovereignty being this highest political power, cannot be delegated. It is indivisible. It is a unit, incapable of partition. Hence the great error of supposing that sovereignty is divided between the States and the United States. The Constitution of the United States is the 'supreme law,' and obligatory as such. But a law is not sovereignty, but an act of sovereignty. All laws imply law-makers, and in this case those who framed and ratified this "supreme law" were those sovereignties called the States, each acting exclusively for itself, uncontrolled by any sister States, except by the moral force of its influence and example. The Government of the United States, possessing, as we have shown, no sovereignty, but only delegated powers, to them alone it must look for the exercise of all constitutional authority in Territories, as well as States; for there is not a single power granted by the Constitution to this Government, in a Territory, which is not granted in a State, except the power to admit new States into the Union, which, as shown by the Madison Papers, the framers of the Constitution, as first demonstrated in my first Texas letter, refused to limit to our then existing Territories

"In the Territories then, as well as the States, Congress possesses no sovereignty and can exercise only the powers delegated by the Constitution, and all the powers not thus granted are dormant or reserved powers, belonging in common territory to all the States as co-equal, joint tenants there of that highest political power called sovereignty."

It will be perceived that this doctrine that "sovereignty makes Constitutions," that "sovereignty rests exclusively with the people of each State," that "sovereignty cannot be delegated;" that "it is inalienable, indivisible," a "unit incapable of partition," are doctrines ever regarded by me as fundamental principles of public liberty, and of the *Federal Constitution*. It will be *seen that these* views, which I have ever entertained, were not framed to suit any emergency in Kansas, but were my life-long principles, and were published and promulgated by me in an elaborate argument over my own signature, twelve months before my departure to that Territory, and when I never *thought of going to Kansas*. Those rights I have ever regarded as fully secured to the people of "all the Territories" in adopting their State Constitution by the Kansas and Nebraska bill. Such is the construction given to that act by Congress, in passing the Minnesota bill, so justly applauded by the President. Such is the construction of this Kansas act by its distinguished author, not only in his late most able argument, but in addresses made and published by him long antecedent to that date, showing that this sovereign power of the people in acting upon a State Constitution is not confined to the question of slavery, but includes all other subjects embraced in such an instrument. Indeed, I believe the Kansas and Nebraska bill would have violated the rights of sovereignty reserved to the people of each State by the Federal Constitution, if it had deprived them, or Congress should now deprive them, of the right of voting for or against their State Constitution.

The President, in his message, thinks that the rights secured by this bill to the people, in acting upon their State Constitution, are confined to the slavery question; but I think, as shown in my address, before quoted, that "sovereignty is the power that makes Constitutions and Governments," and that not only the slavery clause in a State Constitution, but all others, must be submitted.

The President thinks that sovereignty can be delegated, at least in part. I think sovereignty cannot be delegated at all. The President believes that sovereignty is divisible between conventions and the people, to be exercised by the former on all subjects but slavery, and by the latter only on that question. Whereas, I think that sovereignty is "inalienable," "indivisible," "a unit incapable of partition," and that it cannot be delegated in whole or in part. It will not be denied that sovereignty is the only power that can make a State Constitution, and that it rests exclusively with the people; and if it is inalienable, and cannot be delegated, as I have shown, then it can only be exercised by the people themselves. Under our Government, we know no sovereign majority of the people. Conventions are composed of "delegates"—they are mere agents or trustees, exercising not a sovereign but a delegated power, and the people are the principals. The power delegated to such Conventions can properly only be extended to the framing of the Constitution; but its ratification or rejection can only be performed by the power whose sovereignty alone rests—namely, the people themselves. We must not confound sovereign with delegated powers. The provisional authority of a Convention to frame a Constitution and submit it to the people is a delegated power; but sovereignty alone, which rests exclusively with the people, can ratify and put in force that Constitution. And this is the true doctrine of popular sovereignty; and I know of no such thing, nor does the Federal Constitution recognise it, as delegated or conventional sovereignty.

The President, in a very lucid passage of his able message, gives unanswerable reasons why the people, and not Conventions, should decide the question of slavery in framing a State Constitution. He says, very truly, that from the necessary division of the inchoate State into districts a majority of the delegates may think one way and the people another; and that the delegates (as was the case in Kansas) may violate their pledges, or fail to execute the will of the people. And why does not this reasoning apply with equal force to all other great questions embodied in the State Constitution? and why should the question of slavery alone override and extinguish the doctrine of popular sovereignty and the right of self-government? Most certainly it is not a sectional question, for it belongs alike to the States admitted, or inchoate, of the South as of the North. It is not a question of slavery, but of State rights and of State and popular sovereignty; and my objections to the Lecompton Constitution are equally strong, whether Kansas, under its provisions, should be made a free or a slave State. My objections are based upon a violation of the right of self-government, and of State and popular sovereignty, and of forcing any Constitution upon the people against their will, whether it recognises slavery or freedom. Indeed, the first question which the people ought to decide, in forming a Government for an inchoate State, is whether they will change or not from a Territorial to a State Government. For, now, as on one occasion, when the Federal or Territorial sovereignty, will contend that a Territorial Legislature is sovereign, or represents sovereignty, or that such a Legislature, a mere creation of Congress, can exercise any of the rights of sovereignty possess, to a Territorial Convention. This change from a Territorial to a State Government can only be made by the people themselves, in their sovereign capacity. Yet a State Government is forced upon the people of Kansas by the Lecompton Constitution, whether they will or not, for they can only vote for the Constitution with slavery, or they can only vote for it without it. But believe the right of sovereignty to change from a Territorial to a State Government, which the people alone have the right to make in framing a State Constitution, there are many momentous questions included in that instrument. It involves all the *powers of State Government*. There is the bill of rights, the *Magna Charta* of the liberties of a free people, the legislative, executive, and judicial functions, the taxing power, the elective franchise, the great question of education, the sacred relations of husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, and all the rights affecting life, liberty, and property. There is also the question of State debts, of banks, and paper money, and whether they shall be permitted or prohibited. As all laws of government, as stated by Mr. Jefferson, in the Declaration of Independence, depends upon "the consent of the governed," how can it be known whether the people would assent to the Constitution unless it is submitted to their vote for ratification or rejection?

But if acquiescence can be presumed in any case, *surely* it cannot be in that of Kansas, where so many of the delegates have violated their pledge to submit the Constitution itself to a vote of the people, where the delegates who signed the Constitution represented scarcely one-fourth of the people, and where nearly one-half of the counties of the Territory were disfranchised (by the fault of theirs) did not, and could not, give a single vote at the *election for delegates to the Convention*.

I have thus briefly presented this subject, mainly on the question that Conventions are not sovereign, and cannot rightfully make a State Constitution, without its submission to the vote of the people, for ratification or rejection. And yet, surely, even those who differ with me on this point must concede, especially under the Kansas-Nebraska bill, it is only such Conventions can be called sovereign as have been truly elected by the whole people of the Territory, that is, as have been, by no address of the 16th of September last, on the tax qualification, (a copy of which was immediately transmitted to you for the information of the President and Cabinet,) it is evident that the Lecompton Convention was not such a body. That Convention had vital, not technical defects, in the very substance of its organization, under the territorial law, which could not be cured, in my judgment, as set forth in my inaugural and other addresses, by the submission of the Constitution, for ratification or rejection by the people.

On reference to the census law, under which the Convention was assembled, thirty-four regularly organized counties were named as election districts for delegates to the Convention. In each and all of these counties it was required by law that a census should be taken and the voters registered; and when this was completed, that delegates to the Convention should be apportioned among the districts, according to the densities there was no census, and therefore there could be no such apportionment there of delegates, based upon such census. And in fifteen of these counties there was no registry of voters. In each and all of these counties it was required by law that a census should be taken and the voters registered; and when this was completed, that delegates to the Convention should be apportioned among the districts, according to the densities there was no census, and therefore there could be no such apportionment there of delegates, based upon such census. And in fifteen of these counties there was no registry of voters. The whole population, including many of the oldest organized counties of the Territory, were entirely disfranchised, and did not give, and by no fault of their own, could not give, a solitary vote for delegates to the Convention.

This result was superinduced by the fact that the Territorial Legislature appointed all the sheriffs and Probate Judges in the three districts, and these officers assigned the duty, by law, of making this *census* and registry. These officers were political partisans, dissenting from the views and opinions of the people of these counties, as proved by the election of October last. These officers, from want of funds, as they allege, neglected or refused to take any census or make any registry in these counties, and therefore they were entirely disfranchised, and could not and did not give a single vote at the election for delegates to the Constitutional Convention. And here I wish to call attention to the distinction, which will appear in my official address, in reference to those counties where the voters were fairly registered and did not vote.

In such counties, where a full and free opportunity was given to register and vote, and they did not choose to exercise that privilege, the question is very different from those counties where there was no census or registry, and no vote was given or could be given. I am very anxious the people might be to participate in the election of delegates to the Convention. Nor could it be said that these counties acquiesced, for when they were disfranchised by a subsequent census or registry of their own to supply this defect occasioned by the previous neglect of the Territorial officers, the delegates thus chosen were rejected by the people. Thus, in all the thirty-four counties, with an aggregate of 75,000 inhabitants, there was no census. In fifteen counties out of thirty-four there was no registry, and without a registry no vote was given or could be given for delegates to the Convention in any one of these counties. Surely, then, it cannot be said that such a Convention, chosen by sources, by mere fraud, and violence, will constitute the people of the Territory, to whose people my first obligations were due. I endeavored to secure to them these results. The entertained the opinion that I should see the Federal Constitution and the Kansas-Nebraska bill overthrown and disregarded, and that, playing the part of a mute in a pantomime at ruin, I should acquiesce by my silence in such a result, especially where such acquiescence involved, as an immediate consequence, a disastrous and sanguinary civil war, seems to me to be most preposterous. Not a drop of blood has been shed by the Federal troops in Kansas during my administration. But ins