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MISCELLANEOUS.

THE QUAKER PATRIOT.

BY ARCHOLA.

Throughout the land sounded the loud summons—to arms! Hunder's of our countrymen were flocking to the standard thrown boldly to the breeze, by those leaders whom the minnows of the King had denominated "Rebels." The battle of Dunker Hill, with all its honors, was fresh in the minds of the daring few who had staked their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor in their country's cause—yet no feeling of intimidation came to the breast of a single man, for all felt that they had a personal interest in the struggle. The bar, the pulpit, the factory, the farm—all contributed their stalwart sons to do battle for the right. Age formed no exemption! Youth assumed the power of manhood, and joined the tide setting towards the bloody field. There was but one class that seemed to be regarded as non-combatant. They were the "friends" or "Quakers."

Peteliah Payne had settled in early life upon a farm in the town of Cold Spring, Long Island. Here he had married, and here he had seen falling from his side, one by one, the children God had given him, until, in his old age, he stood alone with the partner of his youth and matron years, a childless man. He was one of the leaders in the society of Friends—and in a pure worship of his Master his days were drawing to an honorable end.

The messengers of Washington, who were then supposed to be near at hand, were flying through that section, and calling recruits to join him. Old Payne stood at his gate-way as the Courier, approached.

"What news from the camp?" he inquired.

"The enemy is growing more formidable daily," was the reply, as the rider drew up his pattering steed, and we are seeking men in every direction. Pity you hadn't a son to represent you in the struggle!"

The aged Quaker bowed his head, as the memory of the lost ones was thus rudely awakened.

"But you are a 'Friend,'" continued the courier, "and don't believe in resistance."

"Who says that Peteliah Payne does not advocate resistance to oppression?" cried the old man with animation. "Who can charge him with the baseness of inaction, when the foes of his country stand at the threshold of that country's honor? I am a Friend, in the sense that this puts upon the word, but I am no friend to the enemies of my native land."

"I am glad to hear you say so! I would that youth and strength were yours. As it is, we are often grateful for your good wishes."

The courier rode onward upon his mission.

"Youth and strength!" soliloquized the Quaker. "Ay, I would they were mine, indeed! But they have left me, as a withered tree, almost useless. Yet not so! Why may I not join the forces of Washington? Why not stand beside my neighbors—! My wife! Yet she will not bid me pause! We must see!—we must see!" The gate was closed, and Mr. Payne retired to the duties of his farm.

Gloriously and brightly arose the sun on the succeeding morn, as our Quaker friend led his horse, already saddled, to the gate. At the same moment his wife came from the house, bearing a gun. With tearful eyes she handed the weapon to her husband as she said:

"May that God who has watched over me and thee, be with thee still, and it be His will to return thee to me—"

Sobs checked her utterance. The old man stooped from his saddle and imprinted a kiss upon her upturned cheek.

"And what matters it, Judith, whether I return or not. Better to die in such a struggle than live for years in the recollection that I bore no hand in the contest,

of good cheer! I will return if spared! If not, thee will be proud to know that I fell in my country's service! Cheer up, wife! God bless thee!"

Onward to the fight rode the noble man. Joining the leader he had come to meet, he bore bravely and well his position in the front of battle. O'er many an ensanguined field he strode with others to conquest, and no one amid the dauntless host who have by their deeds enrolled their names upon Fame's scroll, were deserving of a prouder position than the old "Friend." Nor did he turn back, until Washington had bade adieu to his army, and victory was ours.

Leaning on the same gate we have spoken of before, stood the wife of the veteran, watching the return of her neighbor from the war. She had waited long and patiently for the coming of her only earthly treasure, but he came not. Day after day passed, and yet no news of the absent one. Hope had nearly died in her anxious heart. A horseman approached! Mechanically she enquired of her husband.

"I reckon he died at King's Bridge," was the answer. "I know he was badly wounded. But we will hear the particulars in about a month."

The speaker spurred on his horse, impatient to greet his own expectant family.

"Dead! dead!" murmured the sorrowing wife, as she sank overpowered upon the green sward at her feet.

"Judith, I am here! Judith, arouse thee!" cried the veteran, clasping the form of his aged wife in his arms. "The battles are done! The victory is ours! I have come to thee alive!"

With the passion of earlier years he impressed kisses upon her quivering lips. Longingly she raised her dimmed eyes and gazed upon the returned hero.

"Is this a dream?" she sighed.

"Nay, Judith! rouse thee, wife! The God of battles heard thy prayers, and his arm was over and around me. I am safe."

The veteran and his wife rest in an old burying ground near their former home. There were no children to mourn their dying, yet the memory of their worth is treasured by many a heart, and many a tear has been shed upon their grave. The name of Peteliah Payne occupies no place on the historic page, but there are those, yet living, who will smile for even this mention of the "Quaker Patriot."

President Buchanan's Message ON SUBMITTING THE "Lecompton Constitution."

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2.—The following Message was submitted to both Houses this afternoon:

I have received from Gen. Calhoun, the President of the late Constitutional Convention of Kansas, a copy, duly certified by himself, of the Constitution framed by that body, with the expression of a hope that I would submit the same to the consideration of Congress, with the view of securing the admission of Kansas into the Union as an independent State. In compliance with this request, I herewith transmit to Congress, for its action, the Constitution of Kansas, with the ordinance respecting the Public Lands, as well as the letter of Gen. Calhoun, dated Lecompton, 14th ult., by which they were accompanied.

Having received but a single copy of the Constitution and Ordinance, I send this to the Senate.

A great delusion seems to pervade the public mind in relation to the condition of parties in Kansas. This arises from the difficulty of inducing the American people to realize the fact that any portion of them should be in a state of rebellion against the Government under which they live. When we speak of affairs in Kansas, we are apt to refer merely to the existence of two violent political parties in that Territory, divided on the question of slavery, just as we speak of such parties in the States.—This presents no adequate idea of the true state of the case. The dividing line there is not between two political parties, both acknowledging the lawful existence of the Government, but between those who are loyal to this Government and those who have endeavored to destroy its existence by force and usurpation—between those who sustain and those who have done all in their power to overthrow the Territorial Government established by Congress. This Government they would long since have subverted, had it not been protected from their assaults by the troops of the United States. Such has been the condition of affairs since my inauguration. Ever since that period a large portion of the people of Kansas have been in a state of rebellion against the Government, with a military leader at their head of the most turbulent and dangerous character. They have never acknowledged, but have constantly renounced and defied the Government to which they owe allegiance, and have been all the time in a state of resistance against its authority. They have all the time been endeavoring to subvert it, and establish a revolutionary Government under the so-called Topeka Constitution in its stead.—Even at this very moment, the Topeka Legislature is in session. Whoever has read the correspondence of Governor Walker with the State Department, recently communicated to the Senate, will be convinced that this picture is not overdrawn. He always protested against the withdrawal of any portion of the military force of the

United States from the Territory, deeming its presence absolutely necessary for the preservation of the regular government and the execution of the laws. In his very first despatch to the Secretary of State, dated June 24, 1857, he says:

"The most alarming movement, however, proceeds from the assembling of the so-called Topeka Legislature, with the view to the enactment of an entire code of laws. Of course, it will be my endeavor to prevent such a result as would lead to an inevitable disastrous collision, and, in fact, renew civil war in Kansas."

This was with difficulty prevented by the efforts of Governor Walker, but soon General Harney was required to furnish him a regiment of dragoons to proceed to the City of Lawrence; and this for the reason that he had received authentic intelligence, verified by his own actual observation, that a dangerous rebellion had occurred, "involving open defiance to the laws, and the establishment of an insurgent government in that city."

In the Governor's despatch of July 15th, he informs the Secretary of State "that the movement at Lawrence was the beginning of a plan, originating in that city, to organize an insurrection throughout the Territory, and especially in all towns, cities and counties, where the R-Republican party have a majority. Lawrence is the hot-bed of all the abolition movements in this Territory. It is the town established by the Abolition Societies of the East; and whilst there are respectable people there, it is filled by a considerable number of mercenaries who are paid by the Abolition Societies to perpetuate and diffuse agitation throughout Kansas, and prevent the peaceful settlement of this question. Having failed in inducing their own, the so-called Topeka State Legislature, to organize this insurrection, Lawrence has commenced it herself, and if not arrested, the rebellion will extend throughout the Territory."

And again: "In order to send this communication immediately by mail, I must close, assuring you that a spirit of rebellion pervades the great mass of the Republicans of this Territory, instigated, as I entertain no doubt they are, by Eastern Societies, having in view results most disastrous to the Government and the Union. And that the continued presence of General Harney is indispensable, as originally stipulated by me, with a large body of dragoons and several batteries."

On the 20th of July, 1857, General Lane, under the authority of the Topeka Convention, undertook, as Governor Walker says, "to organize the whole so-called Free State party into volunteers and take the names of all who refuse enrollment.—I he professed object was to protect the polls at the election in August, of the now insurgent Topeka State Legislature. The object of taking the names of all who refuse the enrollment is to terrify the Free State conservatives into submission. This is proved by the recent atrocities committed on such men by the Topekaites. The speedy location of 12 regiments of regular troops with two batteries is necessary. The Lawrence insurgents await the development of this new revolutionary military organization."

In General Walker's despatch of July 27th, he says: "General Lane and his staff everywhere deny the authority of the Territorial laws, and counsel a total disregard of these enactments." Without making further quotations of similar character, from other despatches of Governor Walker, it appears by reference to Acting Governor Stanton's communication to Secretary Cass, under date of the 9th of December last, that "the important step of calling the Legislature together was taken after Governor Walker had become satisfied that the election ordered by the Convention on the 21st inst. could not be conducted without collision or bloodshed." So intense was the disloyal feeling among the enemies of the Government established by Congress, that an election which afforded them an opportunity, if in the majority, of making Kansas a free State, according to their own professed desire, could not be conducted without collision and bloodshed. The truth is, that until the present moment, the enemies of the existing Government still adhere to the Topeka Revolutionary Constitution and Government. The very first paragraph of the message of Governor Robison, dated the 7th of December, to the Topeka Legislature, now assembled in Lawrence, contains an open defiance of the Constitution and laws of the United States. The Governor says: "The Convention which framed the Constitution at Topeka originated with the people of Kansas Territory. They have adopted and ratified the same twice by a direct vote, and also indirectly through two elections of State officers and members of the State Legislature, yet it has pleased the Administration to regard the whole proceedings as revolutionary." This Topeka government, adhered to with such treacherous pertinacity, is a government in direct opposition to the existing government as prescribed and recognized by Congress.—It is an usurpation of the same character as it would be for a portion of the people of any State to undertake to establish a separate government within its limits for the purpose of redressing any grievances, real or imaginary, of which they might complain, against the legitimate State government. Such a principle, if carried into execution, would destroy all lawful authority, and produce universal anarchy. From this statement of facts, the reason becomes palpable why the enemies of the government authorized by Congress have refused to vote for Delegates to the Kansas Constitutional Convention, and also after-

wards, on the question of slavery submitted by it to the people. It is because they have ever refused to sanction or recognize any other Constitution than that framed at Topeka. Had the whole Lecompton Constitution been submitted to the people, the adherents of this organization would doubtless have voted against it, because if successful they would thus have removed an obstacle out of the way of their own revolutionary Constitution. They would have done this not upon consideration of the merits of the whole or part of the Lecompton Constitution, but simply because they have ever resisted the authority of the government authorized by Congress; from which it emanated.

Such being the unfortunate condition of the affairs of the Territory, what was the right, as well as duty, of law-abiding people? Were they silently and patiently to submit to the Topeka usurpation, or adopt some necessary measure to establish a Constitution under the organic law of Congress? That this law recognized the right of the people of the Territory, without the enabling act of Congress, to form a State Constitution, is too clear for argument. For Congress "to leave the people of the Territory perfectly free," in framing their Constitution, "to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States," and then to say they shall not be permitted to proceed and frame a Constitution in their own way, without the express authority from Congress, appears to be almost a contradiction of terms. It would be much more plausible that the people of a Territory might be kept out of the Union for an indefinite period, and until it might please Congress to permit them to exercise the right of self-government. This would be to adopt, not "their own way," but the way which Congress might prescribe.

It is impossible that any people could have proceeded with more regularity in the formation of a Constitution than the people of Kansas have done. It was necessary first, to ascertain whether it was the desire of the people to be relieved from a Territorial dependence, and establish a State Government. In this purpose, the Territorial Legislature in 1855 passed a law "for taking the sense of the people of this Territory, upon the expediency of calling a Convention to form a State Constitution," as the general election to be held in October, 1856. The "sense of the people" was accordingly taken, and they decided in favor of a Convention. It is true that at this election, the enemies of the Territorial Government did not vote, because they were then engaged at Topeka, without the slightest pretext of lawful authority, in framing a Constitution of their own, for the purpose of subverting the Territorial Government.

In pursuance of this decision of the people in favor of a Convention, the Territorial Legislature, on the 27th of February, 1857, passed an act for the election of delegates on the third Monday of June, 1857, to frame a State Constitution. This law is as fair in its provisions as any that ever passed a Legislature for a similar purpose. The right of suffrage at this election is clearly and justly defined—"Every bona fide inhabitant of Kansas," on the third Monday of June, the day of the election, who was a citizen of the United States, above the age of twenty-one, and had resided therein for three months previous to that date, was entitled to vote. In order to avoid all interference from neighboring States or Territories with the freedom and fairness of the election, a provision was made for the registry of qualified voters, and pursuant thereof, nine thousand and fifty-two voters were registered. Governor Walker did his whole duty in urging all the qualified citizens of Kansas to vote at this election.

In his inaugural address on the 27th of May, he informed them that "under our practice the preliminary act of passing a State Constitution is uniformly performed through the instrumentality of a Convention of Delegates chosen by the people themselves; that the Convention is now about to be elected by you under a call of the Territorial Legislature, created, and still recognized, by the authority of Congress, and clothed by it, in the comprehensive language of the organic law, with full power to make such an enactment." The Territorial Legislature, then, in assembling this Convention were fully sustained by the Act of Congress and the authority of the Convention is distinctly recognized in the instructions from the President of the United States.—The Governor also clearly and distinctly warns them what could be the consequences if they did not participate in the election. "The people of Kansas, then," he says, are invited by the highest authority known to the Constitution to participate freely and fairly in the election of delegates to frame a Constitution and State Government. The law has performed its entire and appropriate function when it extends to the people the right of suffrage, but it cannot compel their performance of that duty. Throughout the whole Union, however, and wherever free government prevails, those who abstain from the exercise of the right of suffrage, authorize those who do vote, to act for them in that contingency, and absentees are as much bound by the law and the Constitution, where there is no fraud or violence, by the act of the majority of those who do vote, as if all had participated in the election. Otherwise, as voting must be voluntary, self-government would be impracticable, and anarchy and despotism would remain as the only alternative." It may also be observed that at this period, any hope of such had existed, that the Topeka Constitution

would ever be recognized by Congress must have been abandoned. Congress had adjourned on the third of March previous having recognized the legal existence of the Territorial Legislature in a variety of forms, which I need not enumerate. Indeed, the delegate elected to the House of Representatives under a Territorial law, had been admitted to his seat and had just completed his term of service the day previous to my inauguration. This was a propitious moment for settling all the difficulties in Kansas. This was the time for abandoning the Revolutionary Topeka organization, and for the enemies of the existing government to conform to the laws and unite with its friends in framing a State Constitution. But this they refused to do, and the consequences of their refusal to submit to lawful authority, and vote at the election of delegates, may yet prove to be of the most deplorable character.—Would the respect for the laws of the land, which so eminently distinguished the men of the past generation, could be revived! It is a disregard and violation of the laws which have for years kept the Territory of Kansas in a state of almost open rebellion against the Government; it is the same spirit which has produced actual rebellion in Utah. Our only safety consists in obedience and conformity to the law. Should a general spirit against its enforcement prevail, this will prove fatal to us as a nation. We acknowledge no master but the law. And should we cut loose from its restraints, and every one do what seemeth good in their own eyes, our case is indeed hopeless.

The enemies of the Territorial Government are determined still to resist the authority of Congress. They refused to vote for delegates to the Convention, not because, from circumstances which I need not detail, there was an omission to register comparatively few voters who were inhabitants of certain counties in Kansas, in the early spring of 1857,—but because they had predetermined, at all hazards, to adhere to their revolutionary organization, and defeat the establishment of any other Constitution than that which they had framed at Topeka. The election, therefore, was suffered to pass in default. But of this result the qualified electors, who refused to vote, can never justly complain.

From this review, it is manifest that the Lecompton Convention, according to every principle of Constitutional law, was legally constituted, and invested with the power to frame a Constitution.

The sacred principle of popular sovereignty has been invoked in favor of the enemies of law and order in Kansas. But in what manner is popular sovereignty to be exercised in this country, if not through the instrumentality of established laws.—In certain small republics of ancient times, people did assemble in primary meetings, passed laws, and directed public affairs.—In our country, this is manifestly impossible. Popular sovereignty can be exercised here only through the ballot-box, and if people will refuse to exercise it, in this manner, as they have done in Kansas at the election of delegates, it is not for them to complain that their rights have been violated.

The Kansas Convention, thus lawfully constituted, proceeded to frame a Constitution, and having completed the work, finally adjourned on the Seventeenth of November last. They did not think proper to submit the whole of this Constitution to the popular vote, but did submit the question, whether Kansas should be a Free or a Slave State, to the people. This was the question which had lighted the flames of civil war in Kansas, and produced dangerous sectional parties throughout the Confederacy. It was of a character so paramount in respect to the condition of Kansas, as to rivet the anxious attention of the people of the whole country upon it alone. No person thought of any other from his own part, when I instructed Governor Walker in general terms, in favor of submitting the Constitution to the people, I had no object in view except the all-absorbing question of slavery. In what manner the people might regulate their own concerns was not the subject which attracted my attention. In fact, the general provisions of the recent State Constitutions, after an experience of eighty years, are so similar and excellent that it would be difficult to go far wrong at the present day, in framing a new Constitution.

I then believed, and still believe, that under the organic act, the Kansas Convention were bound to submit this all important question of slavery to the people. It was never, however, my opinion, that, independently of the act, they would have been bound to submit any portion of the Constitution to the popular vote, in order to give it validity. Had I entertained such an opinion, this would have been in opposition to many precedents in our history, commencing in the very best age of the Republic. It would have been opposition to the principle which pervades our institutions, and is every day carried into practice, that the people have the right to delegate to representatives chosen by themselves, their sovereign power to frame Constitutions, amend laws, and perform any other important acts, without requiring that these should be subjected to their subsequent approbation. It would be a most invidious limitation of their own power imposed by the people upon themselves, to exclude them exercising their sovereignty in any lawful manner they may think proper. If it were the people of Kansas might, if they had passed, required the Convention to submit the Constitution to the popular vote. But this they have not done. The only remedy, therefore, in this

case, is that which exists in all other similar cases. If the delegates who framed the Kansas Constitution, have in any manner violated the will of their constituents, the people always possess the power to change their Constitution or laws, according to their own pleasure.

The question of slavery was submitted to the election of the people of Kansas on the 21st of December, last in obedience to the mandate of the Constitution. Here again a fair opportunity was presented to the adherents of the Topeka Constitution, if they were in the majority, to decide this exciting question "in their own way," and thus restore peace to the distracted Territory. But they again refused the right of popular sovereignty, and again suffered the election to pass in default.

I heartily rejoice that a wiser and better spirit prevailed among a large majority of these people on the first Monday in January, and that they did that day vote under the Lecompton Constitution for Governor and other State officers, member of Congress, and members of the Legislature.—This election was warmly contested by both parties, and a larger vote was polled than at any previous election in the Territory. We may now reasonably hope that the revolutionary Topeka organization will be speedily and finally abandoned, and this will go far towards the final settlement of the unhappy differences in Kansas. If frauds have been committed at this election by one or both parties, the Legislature and the people of Kansas, under the Constitution, know how to redress themselves, and punish these detestable, but too common crimes, without outside interference.

The people of Kansas have then, "in their own way," and in strict accordance with the organic act, framed a Constitution and State government, have submitted the all-important question of slavery to the people, and have elected a Governor, member of Congress, members of the State Legislature, and their State officers.—They now ask for admission into the Union, under this Constitution, which is republican in its form. It is for Congress to decide whether they will admit or reject the State which has thus been created. For my own part, I am decidedly in favor of its admission, and thus terminating the Kansas question. This will carry out the great principle of non-intervention, recognized and sanctioned by the organic act, which declares in express language in favor of the non-intervention of Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, leaving "the people perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

In this manner, by localizing the question of slavery and confining it to the people who are immediately concerned, every patriot expected this question to be banished from the halls of Congress, where it has always excited a baneful influence throughout the country. It is proper that I should refer to the election held under the act of the Territorial Legislature, on the first Monday in January, on the Lecompton Constitution. This election was held after the Territory had been prepared for admission into the Union as a sovereign State, and when no authority existed in the Territorial Legislature, which could possibly destroy its existence or change its character. The election, which was peacefully conducted under my instructions, involved a strange inconsistency. A large majority of the persons who voted against the Lecompton Constitution, were, at the same time and place, recognizing its valid existence by voting under its provisions. I have as yet received no official information of the result of this election.

As a question of expediency, after the right has been maintained, it may be wise to reflect upon the benefits to Kansas and to the whole Union, which would result from its immediate admission into the Union, as well as the disasters which may follow its rejection. Domestic peace will be the happy consequence of its admission, and that fine Territory, hitherto torn by dissensions, will rapidly increase in population, and wealth, speedily realize the blessings and comforts which follow agricultural and mechanic industry. The people then will be sovereign, and can regulate their own affairs in their own way. If the majority of them desire to abolish domestic slavery within the State, there is no other possible mode by which it can be effected so speedily as by its prompt admission. The will of the majority is supreme and irresistible, when expressed orderly and in a lawful manner. It can unmake Constitutions at pleasure. It would be absurd to say they can impose fetters upon their own power, which they cannot afterwards remove. If they could do this, they might in their own hands for a hundred or a few ten years. These are the fundamental principles of American freedom, and recognized in some form by every State Constitution, and if Congress in the act of admission should think proper to recognize them, I can perceive no objection. This has been done emphatically in the Constitution of Kansas. It declares in the Bill of Rights, that "all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit, and therefore, they have at all times the inalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform or abolish their form of government, in such manner as they may think proper." The great state of New York is at this moment governed under a Constitution framed in direct opposition to the mode prescribed by the previous Constitution. If, therefore, the provision changing the Kansas Constitution after the year 1864, could by any

possibility be construed into the prohibition to make such changes previous to the period of prohibition, it would be wholly unavailing. The Legislature already elected, may at its first session, submit the question to the vote of the people, whether they will or not, have a Convention to amend their Constitution, and adopt all necessary means for giving effect to the popular will.

It has been solemnly adjudged by the highest Judicial Tribunal, that slavery exists in Kansas, by virtue of the Constitution of the United States. Kansas is therefore, at this moment, as much a slave state as Georgia or South Carolina. Without this, the equality of the sovereign States composing the Union would be violated, and the use and enjoyment of territory, acquired by the common treasure of all the States, would be closed against the people and property of a large half the members of the Confederacy. Slavery can therefore never be prohibited in Kansas, except by means of a Constitutional provision, and in no other manner can this be obtained so promptly, if the majority of the people desire it, as by admitting it into the Union under the present Constitution.

On the other hand, should Congress reject the Constitution, under the idea of affording the disaffected in Kansas a third opportunity to prohibit slavery in a State which they might have done twice before if in the majority, no man can foretell the consequences. If Congress, for the sake of those men who refused to vote for delegates to the Convention, when they might have excluded slavery from the Constitution, and who afterward refused to vote on the 21st of December, when they might as they claim, have effected slavery from the Constitution, should now reject a State, because slavery remains in its Constitution, it is manifest that the agitation upon this important subject will be renewed in a more alarming form than it has ever assumed.

Every patriot in the country had indulged the hope that the Kansas Nebraska act would put a final end to the slavery agitation, at least in Congress, which had for more than twenty years convulsed the country, and endangered the Union. This act involved great and fundamental principles, and if fairly carried into effect, will settle the question. Should the agitation be again revived, should the people of the sister States be again estranged from each other with more than former bitterness, this will arise from a cause, so far as the interests of Kansas are concerned, more trifling and insignificant than has ever stirred the elements of a great people in a common bond. To the people of Kansas the only practical difference depends upon their admission or rejection, depends simply upon the fact whether they can themselves more speedily change the present Constitution, if it does not accord with the will of the majority, or frame a second Constitution to be submitted to Congress hereafter. Even if this were a question of mere expediency, and not of right, the small difference of time, one way or the other, is not of the least importance when contrasted with the evils which must necessarily result to the whole country from the removal of the slavery agitation. In considering this question, it should never be forgotten that in proportion to its insignificance, let the decision be what it may, so far as it affects the few thousands inhabitants of Kansas, who have, from the beginning, resisted the Constitution and the laws, for this very reason of the rejection of the Constitution will be so much more keenly felt by the people of fourteen States of the Union where slavery is recognized under the Constitution of the United States. Again, the speedy admission of Kansas into the Union, would restore peace and quiet to the Territory have expressed an undue proportion of the public attention, have sadly affected the friendly relations to the people of the States with each other, and alarmed the fears of patriots for the safety of the Union. Kansas once admitted, the excitement here localized and will soon die away for want of outside aliment; then every difficulty would be settled at the ballot box, besides—and this is no trifling consideration—we shall then be enabled to withdraw the troops from Kansas and employ them in service where they are much needed. They have been kept there on the earnest importunity of Governor Walker to maintain the existence of the Territorial Government and secure the execution of the laws. He considered at least two thousand troops under the command of Gen. Harney necessary. Acting upon his reliable information, I have been obliged, to some degree, to interfere with the expedition to Utah in order to keep down the rebellion in Kansas, which has involved a very heavy expense to the Government. Kansas once admitted, it is believed there will no longer be any occasion, there for the troops of the United States.

I have thus performed my duty on this important question, under a deep sense of my responsibility to God and to my country. My public life will terminate within a brief period, and I have no other object of earthly ambition than to leave my country in a peaceful, prosperous condition, and live in the affections and respect of my countrymen.

The dark and ominous clouds now impending over the Union, I conscientiously believe, will be dispelled with honor to every portion of it, by the admission of Kansas during the present session of Congress, whereas if it should be rejected, I greatly fear that these clouds will become darker and more ominous than any that have never yet threatened the Constitution and the Union.

JAMES BUCHANAN.