

# Rocky Mountain

BY S. B. ROW.

CLEARFIELD, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1856.

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## THE UNION FOREVER.

Perish the hand that would destroy  
The temple of our sires!  
Perish the heart that hopes for joy  
In its consuming fires!  
Let not the monster be forgot,  
Who dares to light the flame,  
But curse him with a traitor's lot,  
And with a traitor's name!  
Our fainting hopes refuse to die,  
Our tottering bulwarks stand,  
And Freedom's banner still floats high  
O'er a united land!  
The stars that lend the azure fold  
May cease awhile to shine:  
But tremble not, the arm that holds  
The flagstaff is Divine!

While the dark raven bodes despair,  
And still our fear renews,  
The noble eagle, high in air,  
His onward way pursues.  
He dreads not there the tempest's wrath,  
Though all its thunders roll;  
But soars above the tempest's path,  
Exulting to the goal.

## THE DOG NOBLE, AND THE EMPTY HOLE.

BY HENRY WARD BEECHER.

The first summer which we spent in Lenox we had along a very intelligent dog, named Noble. He was learned in many things, and by his dog-lore excited the undying admiration of all the children. But there were some things which Noble could never learn. Having, on one occasion, seen a red squirrel run into a hole in a stone wall, he could not be persuaded that he was not there forevermore. Several red squirrels lived close to the house, and had become familiar, but not tame. They kept up a regular romp with Noble. They would come down from the maple trees with provoking coolness; they would run along the fence almost within reach; they would cock their tails and sail across the road to the barn; and yet there was such a well-timed calculation under all this apparent rashness, that Noble invariably arrived at the critical spot just as the squirrel left it.

On one occasion, Noble was so close upon his red-backed friend, that unable to get up the wall, ran through the chinks, emerged at a little distance, and sprung into the tree. The intense enthusiasm of the dog at that hole can hardly be described. He filled it full of barking. He pawed and scratched, as if undermining a bastion. Standing off at a little distance, he would pierce the hole with a gaze as intense and fixed as if he was trying magnetism on it. Then, with tail extended, and every hair thereof electrified, he would rush at the empty hole with a prodigious onslaught.

This imaginary squirrel haunted Noble night and day. The very squirrel himself would run up before his face into the tree, and, crouched in a crotch, would sit silently watching the whole process of bombarding the empty hole, with great sobriety and relish. But Noble would allow of no doubts. His conviction that that hole had a squirrel in it, continued unshaken for six weeks. When all other occupations failed, this hole remained to him. When there were no more chickens to hurry, no pigs to bite, no cattle to chase, no children to romp with, no expeditions to make with the dog-folks, and when he had slept all that his dog-skin would hold, he would walk out of the yard, yawn and stretch himself, and then look wisely at the hole, as if thinking to himself, "Well, as there is nothing else to do, I may as well try that hole again!"

We had almost forgotten this little trait, until the conduct of the New York Express, in respect to Col. Fremont's religion, brought it ludicrously to mind. Col. Fremont is, and always has been, as sound a Protestant as John Knox ever was. He was bred in the Protestant faith, and has never changed. He is unacquainted with the doctrines and ceremonies of the Catholic Church, and has never attended the services of that church, with two or three exceptions, when curiosity, or some extraneous reason, led him as a witness. We do not state this upon vague belief. We know what we say. We say it upon our own personal honor and proper knowledge. Col. Fremont never was, and is not now, a Roman Catholic. He has never been wont to attend that church. Nor has he in any way, directly or indirectly, given occasion for this report. It is a gratuitous falsehood, utter, barren, absolute, and unqualified. The story has been got up for political effect. It is still circulated for that reason, and, like other political lies, it is a sheer, unscrupulous falsehood, from top to bottom, from the core to the skin, and from the skin back to the core again. In all its parts, in pulp, tegument, rind, cell, and seed, it is a thorough and total untruth, and those who spread it bear false witness. And as to all the stories of Fulmer, &c., as to supposed conversations with Fremont, in which he defended the mass, and what not, they are pure fictions. They never happened. The authors of them are slanderers; the men to believe them are dupes; the men who spread them become endorsers of wilful and corrupt libels.

But the Express, like Noble, has opened on this hole in the wall, and can never be done barking at it. Day after day, it resorts to this empty hole. When everything else fails, this resource remains. There they are, indefatigably the Express and Noble—a church with-

out a Fremont, and a hole without a squirrel in it!

In some respects, however, the dog had the advantage. Sometimes we thought that he really believed that there was a squirrel there. But at other times he apparently had an inkling of the ridiculousness of his conduct, for he would drop his tail, and walk towards us with his tongue out, and his eyes a little aslant, seeming to say, "My dear sir, you don't understand a dog's feelings. I should, of course, much prefer a squirrel; but if I can't have that, an empty hole is better than nothing. I imagine how I would catch him if he was there. Besides, people who pass by don't know the facts. They think I have got something. It is needful to keep up my reputation for sagacity. Besides, to tell the truth, I have looked into this hole so long, that I half persuaded myself that there is a squirrel there, or will be, if I keep on."

Well, every dog must have his day, and every dog must have his way. No doubt, if we were to bring back Noble now, after two summers' absence, he would make straight for that hole in the wall, with just as much zeal as ever. We never read the Express now-a-days, without thinking, involuntarily, "Goodness! the dog is letting off at that hole again!"—New York Independent.

## SPEECH OF GOV. REEDER:

Delivered at the Tabernacle, New York, Aug. 26.

Gov. Reeder said: I thank you sincerely, fellow citizens, for this demonstration. It pleases me to know that at least here, in this thronged audience there is some sympathy for the men who are struggling for their dearest rights upon the plains of far-off Kansas. If there is no sympathy for them among those who occupy high places in our Government, there is at least sympathy for them among the masters of our officials—among those who have given them the little brief authority which they have so prostituted in the face of high heaven and before the eyes of this Republic. [Applause.] I come before you upon a mission from the Free-State men of Kansas to tell their tale of wrongs and to appeal to you for that aid, which, as citizens of one common Government you are pledged by the Constitution and the laws you have adopted to grant them. I come to you not as a politician to urge the claims of any candidate for office.— I represent a party who have but one article in their creed—the making a Free State in Kansas. As citizens of a Territory, we have no vote in the coming election, and I shall not therefore undertake to canvass, or name, or name here to speak in behalf of any one, or to name the candidate of any special party. [Applause.] I shall not disclose what I have to say to the ear of any man, nor repel the confidence of any man or set of men by asking who is his candidate, or what is his party; and if any man has come here to night expecting from me an eulogy upon President, or any party, or any party speaking with reference to the election alone, I shall be compelled to disappoint him. [Cheers.] But if, on the other hand, any man has come here expecting me to omit what bears on the condition or destiny of our poor down-trodden people, he will be equally disappointed. [Cheers.] I shall go as straight to my object, as my intellect will admit, and I shall devote neither to the right nor the left for the sake of any candidate or any party. If however, the truth that I shall have to tell, and the remedy that I shall suggest, incidentally help any political party in the land, it is their due; and I shall have no word to take back. If, on the other hand, those truths shall injuriously affect any party, the responsibility is upon them, not upon me; and I shall have no regrets for my own actions whatever I may have for theirs. [Cheers.] I come to you, not upon a mission of partisanship. I come before you to discuss a question that rises far above the common aims of politicians, and involves the character of the Republic, and that is, the question whether we can call it this model Republic, not in any minor or secondarily important matters, but in that which constitutes its great strength and essence. I have come to discuss no less a question than whether the character of this great model Republic, that rears itself in all the panoply of self complacency, pride and gratulation upon its past achievements, shall be a subject of admiration to the admiration of all the nations of the earth, whether it has the ability to protect its own citizens in the essential right of Republicanism—that of self government itself. It had been customary with us to challenge the admiration of the world to the fact that during the 6,000 years which have rolled around since the creation of the globe, it was reserved for us to demonstrate the problem of self-government, and prove to the world that it has never been accomplished before what has been demonstrated in our experience. [Applause.] It has been the fashion for us to claim that self-government was no longer a problem, but that it had been reduced to a positive and absolute certainty. I tell you, my fellow citizens, that events have been transpiring within the last few years that cause every thinking man to stop and inquire whether we have indeed demonstrated that problem. Let us see, in looking over our past history, whether there are any events that may lead the monarchs of Europe to shake their heads in joyous doubts, that probe their heads in joyous doubts, and look over the face of this land. You see one of the States of this Union, that for the last six years, with a Constitution such as your's, has been struggling to sustain itself, and to grant to every individual under the shadow of that Constitution his legal and constitutional rights, but failing in this experiment, they have been obliged to resort to an absolute revolution in order to protect their citizens in their social, civil, and legal rights. The Government of California has at least proved a failure, and it needs the corrective of revolution in order to bring it back to its original purity. This is not the only instance that should teach every man to address himself to the solemn consideration of the present state of our country. Look upon the plains of Kansas, and who is there with burning eloquence sufficient to depict the state of things that exist there? Baffled and defeated before you, I confess my total inability to convey to you a

realizing sense of the true state of affairs in Kansas. No man can realize it unless he has actually had a part in the troubles there, and as witnessed for himself the outrages which have been there committed. I can only say that upon the plains of Kansas, under the shadow of the stars and stripes, and under the protection of the Constitution of this model Republic, there is to be found a people whose condition, civil and political, you would improve if you were to transfer them to the government of the Czar of Russia, the Emperor of Austria or France. [Applause.] Is this true? Why, it is capable of the plainest and surest demonstration to any man who knows all the facts in the case, or even a few of them. It is an admitted, unquestioned, and undeniable truth that the people of that Territory have no act or part in their own Government, and they have no laws of their own making. They have no taxes of their own levying; they have no officers of their own electing; they are slaves, political slaves, subjugated by a foreign power with no shadow or semblance of self-government—the complete subjects of the Border Counties of the State of Missouri, who dictate to their laws, institutions and officers. Are the subjects of France, Austria or Russia, less free, politically, than these? I tell you their condition would be improved if you could spread over them such a government as that of France, Austria or Russia. If you did that they would at least have security for life, liberty and property, and they would have their judicial tribunals, to which they could appeal for redress of their wrongs, for indemnity for property destroyed, houses rifled, and for punishment for robberies and murders.—Lawlessness, outrage, rapine and crime run riot over the beautiful prairies of Kansas, and there is no arm of law to stay their course.— On the contrary, the robbers, ravishers and murderers of Kansas have in their own hands the arms of the law, and they have made the ministers of this awful and horrible system of civil, political and social oppression. Suppose, for a moment, that some man, gifted with the spirit of prophecy, had walked into the hall where the sages sat who drew your Declaration of Independence, or still later into the hall where were convened those patriots who framed your glorious Constitution, and had there undertaken to prophesy that before three quarters of a century had passed by, such a state of things would exist as now prevail in Kansas, what would have been the feelings of those noble and patriotic men? Let me, in consideration of the time which I must occupy to night, come down to something like details, in the hope that they have afforded to you some sort of a realizing sense of the true state of things existing in the Territory.

I shall not undertake to-night to enter into details about the outrages there committed.— I shall not undertake to give you a catalogue of the robberies, the house-burnings, the plunderings, the horse-stealings, the murders and outrages that have been perpetrated upon the soil of Kansas, for I did undertake to do such a task, I should request you to camp here a week. I should undertake to give you any portion of the details, where the acts of our oppressors were stained with blood, and with every attribute that could disgrace humanity. I should not know where to begin or end. I must therefore be permitted to control, start, then, with the proposition that a scheme has existed there, and has been in progress since 1854, to make Kansas a Slave State by force—in other words, to force, by violence, a pro-slavery constitution upon an unwilling people. That is plain, and that scheme has been progressing, step by step, before the eyes of this nation, and has been going on unchecked. That this is so, I suppose needs very little demonstration. I shall, however, trace the successive steps, of this project as they have developed themselves, and then with what ingenuity they have been prosecuted and carried out. I shall show how the oppressors have gone on until their work has been almost completed. I shall show that they have set out a few finishing strokes, and then proceed to demonstrate the consequences of success in this scheme to the North. [Cheers.] You know already that no election has ever been held upon the soil of that Territory where the men who have been the originators of this scheme did not attend in numbers, and control such elections. In November, 1854, they came in large numbers from Missouri to elect a delegate to Congress, and in March, 1855, they sent in thousands to elect a Legislature, which went on to enact laws for that Territory that are still in force. You know that on the 30th of March, 1855, one poll after another fell into the hands of those men. You have seen the report of the Congress and the Committee, and from that you know that these are conceded facts. [Cheers.] After that election they proceeded at once to take away from the Territory of Kansas every vestige of civil liberty which they could grasp. In the first place they closed every box within their reach, and refused to allow the people to elect a territorial officer. They have in their hands with the aid of the President of the U.S. in part, the legislative, executive and judicial powers of the Territory, and have secured every office, from the highest to the lowest. This power they fondly hope cannot be rescued from them excepting by a revolution. They have left us nothing but that which they cannot take away from the physical power which we happen to have. That, thank God, is beyond their reach [cheers] and the time may come when the laws of God and man, and every consideration that can influence an honest man, a Republican man, and a religious man, will dictate to him that physical power must be made the means, the only means, of recovering the political power which has been taken from him. [Applause.] The ballot-boxes were closed, and the laws of that Legislature were most shamefully sought to be enforced upon the people there, and the object of their oppressors, in assuming the appointment of every officer in the Territory, was to deprive the people of the right to elect their own rulers. They declared upon the floor of the House that if the people were allowed to elect their own officers, that all their labors and pains would prove unavailing, that the money they had invested would be lost, and the result would be, placing in power men of wrong political sentiments, and finding the numerical power to be in the hands of the men whose interests, as these, they declared that numerical power should not govern itself. I need not go into a detailed history of these things, for you are all familiar with them. You know that partisan judges were appointed over these polls with a large discretion for the purpose of enabling them to receive every vote that could be procured from Missouri, and to reject

the vote of every Free-State man by the enforcement of political test oaths. Thus have they seized upon political power in that Territory, and they have determined that they shall exercise no right of self-government. They have placed above us a set of men of their own making, and they have appointed by name a prosecuting attorney for each District, Sheriff, County Clerks, Probate Judges and Commissioners for each county; but being unable to appoint Justices of the Peace and Constables, because of their ignorance of the people of the Territory, they took care to provide that all other officers provided by law who had not been appointed by the Legislature, should be appointed by the County Commissioners.—These County Commissioners have absolute control over the election. They have the right to fix the places where the elections are held. They appoint their own officers to preside over the ballot-boxes, taking care to select them with especial reference to the unscrupulous manner in which they would discharge their duty. Having done all this they felt reasonably secure against everything except absolute revolution. They then proceeded to disorganize the Free-State party, and prevent them from having any meeting, and they proceeded to deprive that party of its leaders. Indictments for treason were originated, some leaders of the party were thrown into prison, others were obliged to leave the territory to avoid sharing the same fate, and now some eight of our men are confined in a hospital, and the plains of Kansas, in tents, guarded by United States Dragoons, and are rendered, in consequence, entirely inactive, helpless and inefficient. The Free-State party was thus deprived of its leaders, and the next step was to strip them of their presses. Thirteen of these have been destroyed, one at Leavenworth, one at Lawrence, and the remainder at various places. They began to cast their eyes to see where the next blow must be struck. They saw that in the city of Kansas in the State of Missouri immediately on the edge of the Territory, was a hotel kept by a Free-State man from Massachusetts. It was a sort of asylum, a home for the Northern emigrant. Meeting there, he found a warm and cordial reception, and could remain there, meeting men from the Territory every day, and acquiring such information as he desired previous to purchasing his horses, cattle, and all farming implements. He remained there comfortable, unmolested and undisturbed until he was ready to depart to the Territory, acquiring information every day, and call his friends to defend his house, until he had selected his land and built his cabin.— He saw this was a facility for Northern emigrants which was of great assistance to the Free-State men of Kansas, and they determined that they must be robbed of that. The landlord of the hotel, after having been ordered to call his friends to defend his house from destruction, is finally informed by a committee of citizens formed at a public meeting that his house could be preserved no longer, and that it must be torn down over his head, or must be sold out to pro-slavery men. Sixteen prominent men were on that committee, and the landlord was compelled to have his house destroyed, and at last fire is kindled and all its gorgeous furniture reduced to a heap of smoking ruins. I need not tell you of the outrages that followed the destruction of the hotel; I could not picture to you the infuriated band of robbers and thieves breaking into every house except two, robbing the trunks, carrying away the goods of every citizen, taking money, clothing, provisions, arms, horses, cattle, everything that this plundering horde could lay its hands on. One citizen was robbed of about two thousand dollars, another of five or six hundred, and so on down to a poor mechanic, who was met on the streets and ordered to stand and deliver, and whose pocket was picked, and his watch and watch-chain stolen, and his quarter eagle he had. Wardrobes were carried off, and clothing which could not be worn by those ruffians was torn in stripes, and the house of a private individual, with all his furniture, books and papers, was consigned to the flames. This was the scene which was witnessed in the town of Lawrence on the 21st of August, and this, my fellow-citizens, was not a sudden outbreak, nor due to any sudden excitement, nor the work of infuriated men, nor the suggestion of a moment; but it was one of the steps in the progress of this enterprise towards its consummation. The election on the 30th of March, the laws passed by the Legislature, the closing of the ballot-boxes, stripping the powers of its leaders, the destruction of the printing presses—all these were predetermined, pre-arranged, and prepared, in order to consummate the great leading plan of making Kansas a Slave State by violence and force of arms against the wishes of its people. Then in the spring of 1855, a large number of men, armed with rifles, shot-guns, knives and pistols, and equipped with licenses upon the plains of Kansas, enlisted under the command of Southern leaders, taken there under military organization, and turned loose upon our soil to live in camps and rob, plunder and murder our people, take away our arms, and use the weapons of political action to drive those who could be intimidated, in order to murder and plunder at will. These men landed there in the spring of 1855, the first detachment under the command of Col. Buford. Gentlemen in the South at the time, told me that these men were among the idle vagabonds of the Southern cities. With drum and fife and promises of free expenses and free living on the plains of Kansas, they were brought to that State; they were marched from the steamboat to the shore in military array; the articles were read to them, and by these articles they were bound to live under military organization; bound to fight their battles; bound to vote the pro-slavery ticket. From that time on the plains of Kansas, these men lived in camps, making no attempt at settlement, with a purely military life, roving over the face of the Territory, attacking men alone in their cabins, depriving them of their arms, and waylaying them, allowing no man to travel back and forth except he has a pass from the leaders, or from some friend whom their leaders recognize. The citizens were not even allowed to procure the necessaries of life, and no industrious settler could pass down to the

city of Kansas for the purpose of buying provisions, without being arrested and robbed by these men. Man after man was robbed of his load of provisions, of his horses, and all the money he happened to have in his pocket, and too frequently his body left cold and dead upon the ground. A gentleman who passed the camp of these ruffians at Battle Creek, on the California road, saw seven bodies lying on the ground. Lieut. Drum, of the U. S. Army, communicated to a friend of mine that in another place he found five murdered men, and buried them. Add to this, that the bodies of men, murdered by those ruffians, are found everywhere, then you may have some idea of the state of things that existed when these men held the keys of the Territory. Thus they hoped by this sort of process, that having taken away all the political and civil rights, by closing against us the courts of justice, by refusing to allow Free-State men to serve upon grand or petit juries, by denying them all judicial remedy for all judicial wrong, using the law to press and grind them down, by depriving them of their leaders, of their presses and of their hotels, as rallying points, and by depriving them of all political excitement, as our arms were taken at the cities of Lexington and Kansas, and still further on, at the towns of Westport and Franklin, as well as at the sacking of Lawrence; and, finally, arms were stolen from the settlers' cabins and bodies by mobs of party, thus that this Free-State party, deprived of everything by which they could carry out their concerted plans, would be broken down, intimidated, disorganized and crushed, and the gates of the Territory must be closed against great highways of the nation was commanded by its banks, and free citizens from your midst are three plundered of their arms, and compelled to return whence they came. This work goes on, as I tell you, step by step, and I am afraid that it has been too much the case. States to look upon these outbreaks as events to be deplored, and to be regretted, as you would look upon an affray upon your own streets, happening out of some immediately surrounding circumstances, having its origin there upon the spot, and having its end when the immediate violence was over. I tell you, my friends, if you have entertained such an opinion of the state of things in Kansas, you have been grossly mistaken. All these outrages are due to premeditation, they have all been resolved upon in council, and all form a part of this great plan. They have been pushing that plan step by step towards its consummation. How near has it arrived to that consummation? On the first Monday of October, 1856, we are to have another election, and you will be asked to vote for or against the pro-slavery ticket, and will probably acquire but six or eight months more, before a Slave Constitution will be adopted by Kansas, to be submitted to the Congress of the United States. It is so, nevertheless. [Cheers.] On the 1st Monday of October, 1856, an election is to be held under the authority of the bogus Territorial Legislature, at which the people are to vote, Convention, or No Convention. Every preparation has been made to carry that election as they have carried all the previous ones. The men who are to conduct that election are all elected and picked expressly for the purpose. They are picked by the Board of County Commissioners, and they will be picked with especial reference to the work which they are required to do. Large bodies of armed men will be sent from the State of Missouri to surround the polls at this election, and to control them; but observe, my friends, the ingenuity with which this thing is managed. They don't like to risk the shock which public opinion might receive in the South, as well as around the polls in the same manner in which it was done on the 30th of March, 1855. They have taken care to provide that those bands of armed ruffians who are to control our polls on the first Monday of October shall be there according to law. This may seem strange to you; but men who can burn houses according to law, who can steal arms according to law, who can murder men according to law—can find little difficulty in arranging this part of the programme. [Applause.] They have accordingly provided that on the first Monday of October, 1856, there shall be a great militia training in every County in the Territory. How often, when we complain to our brethren of the States that on the day of this election each poll will be surrounded by bodies of armed men, will be told by the ruffians at home and by their apologists here that it was a legal militia training? [Cheers.] That election will be held. Does some one say to me that this can be prevented by the arms of the United States?—that the troops of the United States will be sent out there to prevent this invasion. Without stopping to discuss the question whether they will or will not, it is enough for me to say that no matter whether the army is there or not, that election will be carried. No army officer can interfere between corrupt and perjured judges in the subjugation of the Free-State men—a heavy officer, whether he be General Smith or Col. Sumner, can interfere between the Judge and the voter, in putting a stop to the corruption that will control that election. I tell you that in the present state of things our people will not approach these polls, because it will be a hopeless effort. This whole work is performed with the election of the last grand act. The Legislature meet; they order one more election of delegates to a Constitutional Convention. Those delegates are elected in the same way, and the work is done; and it only remains for them to come together to adopt a Slave Constitution and send it to Congress for admission into the Union. This contest is transferred from the plains of Kansas to the halls of Congress, and it will there be battled by you. Then comes the issue about December, 1857, upon the admission of Kansas into the Union, before the next Congress. I would that I had a trumpet voice to proclaim to every man in this land that the man he votes for Representative in the House in the Fall of 1856, will be the man who must choose between the Free-State Constitution adopted at Topeka and between the Slave-State Constitution which will be adopted some where else. [Applause.] I want the country to see that this issue will come, and I want every man to fix his eye upon this event which is coming, and just as certainly as the sun will rise to-morrow, I want him to see the time and the place where it will come. I want him to be faithful to his duty in the premises, and to see that when it comes it will be properly

met. [Applause.] When that does come, every man, every Member of Congress, and every political party in this Union must meet that issue, and must take ground in favor of the admission of Kansas as a Free State under the Topeka Constitution, or its admission under a Slave-State Constitution. When this issue comes in December, 1857, you will find some men going for a Slave-State Constitution, and you will find a set of men half-way, men who will be seeking places of refuge between the two sides of the question, who will want to set those Constitutions aside and adopt some measure which will require the people of the Territory to vote upon that question again. I was in hopes that that question would be tried now—that that question would be out of the way, and by December, 1857, that bill would come back in the way which we predicted, and bring this issue square out before the American people, before every man in office. I have nothing further to say on that question.

Now to return to the subject of this country in the selection of their representatives in the lower House of Congress. They must be selected with a view to the question which they will inevitably have to vote upon. I have shown you that this work is almost consummated, and so far as I have followed it in its political aspects, passing over, for the time, the condition of the people in the Territory, it is for you to look on and see the two remaining acts in this drama. I undertake to predict here, and do so fearlessly, that you will see the election carried in October by an invasion from Missouri; you will see the delegates adopt a pro-slavery Constitution, and you will go to the halls of Congress, and watch the result, and you will find these predictions verified, and it is for you to shape your course with reference to them. Will this state of things affect Kansas alone? Let any man take the map of his country, and he will perceive that the territory of Kansas is only 200 miles wide north and south, and extending nearly 600 miles to the east and west. It is bounded to the west by the Rocky Mountains, but beyond that to the shores of the Pacific he will find that there is territory enough to make six States as large as Pennsylvania. With a minority of free men upon the plains of Kansas, and it a Slave State, I will think any man to tell me how he is going to save the Territory, that or furnish such an example, as you would look upon an affray upon your own streets, happening out of some immediately surrounding circumstances, having its origin there upon the spot, and having its end when the immediate violence was over. I tell you, my friends, if you have entertained such an opinion of the state of things in Kansas, you have been grossly mistaken. All these outrages are due to premeditation, they have all been resolved upon in council, and all form a part of this great plan. They have been pushing that plan step by step towards its consummation. How near has it arrived to that consummation? On the first Monday of October, 1856, we are to have another election, and you will be asked to vote for or against the pro-slavery ticket, and will probably acquire but six or eight months more, before a Slave Constitution will be adopted by Kansas, to be submitted to the Congress of the United States. It is so, nevertheless. [Cheers.] On the 1st Monday of October, 1856, an election is to be held under the authority of the bogus Territorial Legislature, at which the people are to vote, Convention, or No Convention. Every preparation has been made to carry that election as they have carried all the previous ones. The men who are to conduct that election are all elected and picked expressly for the purpose. They are picked by the Board of County Commissioners, and they will be picked with especial reference to the work which they are required to do. Large bodies of armed men will be sent from the State of Missouri to surround the polls at this election, and to control them; but observe, my friends, the ingenuity with which this thing is managed. They don't like to risk the shock which public opinion might receive in the South, as well as around the polls in the same manner in which it was done on the 30th of March, 1855. They have taken care to provide that those bands of armed ruffians who are to control our polls on the first Monday of October shall be there according to law. This may seem strange to you; but men who can burn houses according to law, who can steal arms according to law, who can murder men according to law—can find little difficulty in arranging this part of the programme. [Applause.] They have accordingly provided that on the first Monday of October, 1856, there shall be a great militia training in every County in the Territory. How often, when we complain to our brethren of the States that on the day of this election each poll will be surrounded by bodies of armed men, will be told by the ruffians at home and by their apologists here that it was a legal militia training? [Cheers.] That election will be held. Does some one say to me that this can be prevented by the arms of the United States?—that the troops of the United States will be sent out there to prevent this invasion. Without stopping to discuss the question whether they will or will not, it is enough for me to say that no matter whether the army is there or not, that election will be carried. No army officer can interfere between corrupt and perjured judges in the subjugation of the Free-State men—a heavy officer, whether he be General Smith or Col. Sumner, can interfere between the Judge and the voter, in putting a stop to the corruption that will control that election. I tell you that in the present state of things our people will not approach these polls, because it will be a hopeless effort. This whole work is performed with the election of the last grand act. The Legislature meet; they order one more election of delegates to a Constitutional Convention. Those delegates are elected in the same way, and the work is done; and it only remains for them to come together to adopt a Slave Constitution and send it to Congress for admission into the Union. This contest is transferred from the plains of Kansas to the halls of Congress, and it will there be battled by you. Then comes the issue about December, 1857, upon the admission of Kansas into the Union, before the next Congress. I would that I had a trumpet voice to proclaim to every man in this land that the man he votes for Representative in the House in the Fall of 1856, will be the man who must choose between the Free-State Constitution adopted at Topeka and between the Slave-State Constitution which will be adopted some where else. [Applause.] I want the country to see that this issue will come, and I want every man to fix his eye upon this event which is coming, and just as certainly as the sun will rise to-morrow, I want him to see the time and the place where it will come. I want him to be faithful to his duty in the premises, and to see that when it comes it will be properly