

S. B. ROW, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

CLEARFIELD, PA., SEPT. 16, 1857.

BUCHANAN AND SLAVERY .- We publish in another portion of our paper the Memorial of Prof. Silliman, and forty-two others, addressed to President Buchanan, relative to Kansas affairs, and the reply of the latter. The President takes the position that slavery exists in the Territories under the Constitution of the United States, and after saying that this point had finally been decided by the highest tribunal known to our laws, thinks it a mystery that it could ever have been seriously doubted. In order to place his meaning beyond all doubt, he goes on to explain that if a confederation of sovereign States acquire a new territory at the expense of their common blood and treasure, one set of partners can have no right to exclude the other from its enjoyment by prohibiting them from taking into it whatsoever is recognized to be property by the common constitution, and that when the bona fide residents of such territory proceed to frame a Constitution, then it is their right to decide the important question for themselves, whether they will continue to modify or abolish slavery. These are important admissions on the that the object of the Dred Scott decision was to establish slavery in Kansas, and that the present National Administration is willing to lend its influence, by countenancing that decision, in making a Slave State out of Kansas.

"Bonning Around."-Our neighbors of the Clearfield Republican are funny fellows, if we are permitted to judge of their characters by a long article, on "The Journal," in their last reads it. It is really amusing to see how they "bob up and down" in the current of argument, and it would keep us busy, indeed, to "hit their head" every time it appears in an erroneous position in passing through the various meanderings of our neighbors' article, even though they could occasionally dodge behind their "compositor" whilst he was inserting "a period in the place of a comma." e will, however, retrain from such the sport at this time, as there is nothing special to be accomplished by it. There is, nevertheless, one point in their article to which we wish to direct attention. The editors of the Republican say they "hold Mr. Wilmot to be an abolitionist, and that he advocates their doctrines." This declaration is made boldly and unqualifiedly. They make a direct charge, and hence it devolves upon them to substantiate what they assert. Now, we ask them to produce the evidence that Mr. Wilmot advocates "the monstrous doctrines of abelitionism." Come, gentlemen, bring forth your proof. Mere assertions wont do. Mr. Wilmot is strongly opposed to the extension of slavery; but the asseveration that be is in faver of "abolishing" it in the States where it exists, does not square with the truth. We again ask the editors of the Republican to produce the evidence to substantiate their charge.

SELAH! - WILL WONDERS NEVER CHASE ? - The last Clearfield Republican, the nominal organ of the Democratic party in this county, in its last number, has a lengthy editorial defence of the notorious H. Butcher Swoope, chairman of the Hazlehurst State Committee, an individual, like Ralph, the squire of Hudibras,

"for profound And solid lying, much renown'd." as well as for several other things, some of which were set forth in a letter published in the Philadelphia Sun of the 1st Sept., and which letter was the cause that drew forth the article in the Republican of last week. It matters little to us what indiscretions the skunk. as the virtuous 'Chairman' is sometimes called here, has been guilty of, or how often he has been cowhided, tho! it may not have been as often as he deserved-these are matters which concern us not-they are none of our business, notwithstanding every good citizen we have heard speak of it, objects to having him represented as a specimen-of the morality and decency of our quiet town. We wish only to point out the fact that the Chairman of the Hazlehurst State Committee is the subject of the most fulsome and "unwarrantable" praise on the part of a Democratic paper, one, too, that a couple years ago denounced him bitterly, and even made one of the charges against him, we are told, which is contained in the letter in the Sun. Then, however, he was laboring against the Democracy-now he is, indirectly, working for them. As a matter of course, "the case being altered, it alters the case." Can any doubt, as to the object of the or" movement, be longer entertained when a rempent Democratic paper comes out, not only in defence of one of the leaders of

LETTER FROM NEBRASKA.

Correspondence of the "Raftsman's Journal." NEBRASKA CITY, N. T. August 28, 1857. FRIEND Row :- Last night I returned to Nebraska City, from which I have been absent four or five days on a jaunt across the prairies. On my return I found several letters from vourself and others, and also the "Journal," some of which made the trip through in eleven days. I was, of course, delighted to hear so much, and so many good things, from my late "abiding place."

In company with Wm. M'Lennan, Esq., of Nebraska City, who, by the way, our eastern friends who desire information in regard to western lands will do well to call on, I started with horse and buggy to see the southern part of Nebraska. The most that I can say of the country back from the River is, that it is rich and surpassingly beautiful. It is useless, and even vain, for any one to attempt to describe its beauty-for no one can describe it correctly-words fail to convey the idea, and even imagination itself, when in its wildest form, can scarcely picture to itself the beauties of this far famed land. There is timber enough, for ordinary purposes, scattered through the country. Lime-stone, of a superior quality, is abundant and easy to be procured. Water is good-springs numerous and never failing .-The country is sparsely settled as far as fifty or sixty miles back from the Missouri river.

in the town of Archer, Richardson County,

Nebraska Territory, where I shall be happy to give any information in my power, in regard to the West, to those who are seeking after "light and knowledge." This county is bounded on the South by Kansas, and on the East by the Missouri river. On our return from Archer to Nebraska City, we had the misfortune to break a spindle off the buggy. We were, at the time, about six miles "from any place;" but we tied up the buggy and dragged it along till we "turned up" at Nebrasky City. part of Mr. Buchanan, and show conclusively Hunger began to stare us in the face and we were thinking seriously of what we should do for the "inner man." We "turned up" at the first house convenient. The family, consisting of husband and wife, babies, cats, dogs, pigs and chickens, lived, to all appearances, harmoniously together. Discord was banished from amongst the inmates, and peace exerted its mild dominion over that happy family .-They had evidently learned that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." I bolted number, and which doubtless will provoke a into the house to see what chance there was smile on the countenance of every one who for "bread." The lady of the house was absent. We had not waited long until we heard the rattling of "wheels," not far distant. On looking around to see from whence it came we espied our hostess seated in a heavy lumber wagon driving a pair of spirited horses, at full speed. She soon "reined up" at her mansion and alighted in "double quick time." Then Second Controller. Secretary Cobb urges we commenced, "Madam, you drive fast hor- Hillyer of Georgia as Solicitor of the Treases here in Nebraska." "Indeed Sir! I'm a sury, while the Secretary of the Interior backs imposed upon." "But good lady, I neither intended to flatter or impose upon you." "No apology, sir, no apology. I hate apologies. I'm a Nebraskian." I saw at once that the lady was in cause bello, and so I did not attempt further explanation. I began to despair of getting "bread" there, but finally martialed all of my courage and asked her "whether she would be good enough to provide us something to eat," expecting, at the same time, to receive a preremptory "no." "Certainly, with pleasure," she replied, very much to my surprise. She then prepared us a very homely but substantial meal, clean, I presume as the circumstances would warrant. When we asked for the bill the lady very politely informed us that she thought one dollar and 25 cents each would be enough. We paid our bill and started "on our way rejoicing." We came to the conclusion that that woman would live, even in Nebraska, and that a few like her would in a short time make the vast prairies "bud and blossom as the rose." This one la-

> MR. WILMOT .- From all parts of the State, we have the most cheering intelligence of the impression making by our friend Mr. Wilmot on the minds and hearts of the people. His rare argumentative ability, his vast fund of politico-historical facts, his intimate acquaintanceship with distinguished gentleman, on all sides of politics-his possession of folios of interesting personal reminescences-his simplicity of manner and wonderful urbanity of disposition-his frank, outspoken way with the people, all, in harmonious combination, render him one of the most remarkable men of the day.

> dy is but a fair specimen of the female adven-

turers out here.

Pennsylvania may well be proud to claim such a man as Wilmor as her son, and happy will the State be, when she can point to him as her Governon-as the worthy successor of James Pollock, whose excellent administration of State affairs will be continued by Go-VERNOR WILMOT.

The people's nominee is treated with marked respect in the country, aye even by the friends of Mr. Packer. His political enemies know the worth of the man, whom party duty compels them to oppose.

But, what shall we say of the opponents of Democracy who are doing their little worst against Wilmor? Why nothing, simply because no language we are acquainted with has words which can commensurately express our contempt for them .- Sun.

The conduct of Gen. Packer in follow the footsteps of Judge Wilmot—a man he is afraid to meet in open discussion the people of Pannaylyania, should co also own party, prejudiced as the most members are, that its cause is a weak on

SUMMARY OF NEWS.

On the 8th, Judge Peabody, of New York city, delivered his decision on the writ of habeas corpus in the case of Mrs. Cunning ham, admitting her to bail in the sum of \$5000. By the explosion of a portion of Russels powder mill at Pennington, Vermont, on the 9th, two boys were killed.

On the 5th, Mr. Samuel Davis, of Gloncester, Massachusetts, shot his wife dead with a pistol, after which he placed the pistol to his own breast, fired and killed himself. There are many rumors as to the cause of the murder and suicide. It is said they lived unhappily together.

The Grand Jury on the 10th, found a true bill against Mrs. Cunningham, on the charge of producing a fictitious heir to the Burdell estate.

A Mrs. Drummond has been convicted, before the Circuit Court of Shenandoah county, Va., of stabbing and killing a deputy sheriff of that county, named Hutchinson, while he was in the act of arresting her for shooting one of her neighbor's cows. She was sentenced to the penitentiary for four years.

In a letter dated Travers des Sioux, Minne sota, Aug. 29, the following important statement is made. - The Sissitons have succeeded in killing the whole of Ink-pa-du-tah's band except one Indian, who fied to a band of Yank tons, to which he was pursued by the Sissitons, I have made arrangements to pitch my tent Here an engagement took place between the Sissitons and the Yanktons. Twenty five of the former and a large number of the latter were killed.

The Hon. Henry J. Gardner was nominated for Governor of Massachusetts, on the 10th by Conventions, which met as two-the one representing the so-called National American party and the other the so-called American party of Massachusetts-but which soon practically fused into one. Gov. Gardner accepted the nomination in a characteristic speech, in the course of which he placed himself upon the Springfield Platform of 1855. Alexander De Witt of Oxford was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor, and John H. Clifford of New Bedford for Attorney-General.

The municipal election held at Leavenworth Kansas, on Monday the 5th, resulted in the election of the Free State ticket by 290 majority. The Constitutional Convention convened at Leavenworth on the 7th inst.

Dispatches to the Tribune, from Washingon, say the strife over the bureaucratic appointments is intestine and terrific. Faulkner protests against the appointment of Tate of Virginia as Sixth Auditor, because Faulkner's district has but six Federal officers, while Floyd's has twenty, including Gov. McMullin. The Presedent calms the fury of the combatants by retaining Phillips, the present Anditor. Sherman of Michigan is pressed for what vexed by a pamphlet-defense of its Kansas policy, written by a flery Anti-Northern States Rights Democrat, but attributed to the dictation of the President.

By the arrival of the steamship Europe, at Halifax, on Wednesday last, we have Liverpool dates to the 29th ult. The cotton market has been active, and all the qualities had slightly advanced. The weather continued favorable for the crops. No further intelligence had been received from India. It was thought that the Atlantic Telegraph cable would be sold to Government, for a line to India. Strong hopes are entertained by many, however, that the enterprise will yet be carried through.

Rev. James B. Finley, the pioneer Methodist preacher, died at Eaton, Ohio, on the 6th. of paralysis, aged 77. He was much beloved by the Methodist community, among whom he has labored for nearly fifty-years

W. H. Greenman, a lawyer of Canton, Bradford county, Pa., committed suicide by cutting his throat. Mr. Spaulding, the proprietor of the hotel, on seeing the corpse, fell in a fit and died immediately.

DAVID WILMOT SOCIALLY .- We do not know when we have met with a gentleman, holding the position that Judge Wilmot does at the present time, who has given us such a pleasing evidence of his social qualities. It often hap-pens that men identified with the political history of our country, so clearly as David Wilmot is, preserve or assume a dignity that Wilmot is, preserve or assume a dignity that renders them difficult to approach. There is none of this about our worthy candidate; he is at once pleasing and affable in his manners; his very features, although indicative of a firm and determied spirit, give evidence of good nature and social qualities of heart. There is no man, even the humblest of our race, who no man, even the numbers of our supercach need have the least hesitancy to approach Judge Wilmot; his hand is ever ready to grasp that of his fellow man with the utmost cordi-

David Wilmot is now, and has ever been the poor man's friend, and it is this sentiment of aumanity, so striking developed in his charac-ter—this social quality of his nature—and his etermined purpose to carry out the principles e conceived to be right, that has rendered him the special favorite of his district. There is no man in the State who has exercised such an influence over the minds of his constitu-ents as David Wilmot. At the time when he was elected to Congress as a Simon Pure Demwas elected to Congress as a Simon Pure Dem-ecrat, he carried his D strict by some six thou-sand majority; the same District, in 1856 gave Fremont une thousand majority. We think these who know David Wilmot personal-ly, and who have watched his career from his youth, can give us no better evidence of their appreciation of his honesty of purpose and goodness of heart, than the sweeping majorities they have given him and the principles ha has seen fit to advocate. This alone should speak volumes in favor of him as a candidate efore the people for the Chief M

On last Saturday a week, Judge Contact see onged a man named Rump to prison for two

Evidence of the most conclusive kind is afforded by the letters of our Kansas correspondent, which we publish to-day, that the pre-tense under which Gov. Walker occupied Lawrence with a large military force was just as false as all his other professions and public announcements have proved to be. The pre-tense under which Walker, like a second Governor Gage, assembled at Lawrence not only all the regular forces properly appropriated to Kansas, but the troops of the sham Utah expedition, and those which ought to have been employed in repressing Indian outrages in Minnesota, was that the people of Lawrence were about to put into operation a local municipal government agreed upon by themselves-an ploying through him an army, one purct which the Governor stigmatized as nothing pose of which is to force the people of less than treason, and which he declared his intention and determination to prevent and the United States, but laws which it is nosuppress by the strong hand, if the citizenswarned in season, and frightened by the appearance of the Governor, his soldiers, and his proclamation-did not desist of their own accord. Nevertheless, under the very noses of Governor Walker and his troops, and in spite of his proclamation, this voluntary municipal, or as Walker would have it, treasonable and rebellions Government has organized itself, and is in full blast, not only enacting ordinances and publishing them in their papers, and raising money by voluntary subscription in advance of taxes, but even going so far as to arrest murderers-a business which the bogus authorities have no leisure to attend to-all their time and thoughts being devoted to prosecutions of Free State men for treason and usurpation of office, and in laying and projecting plans for the election of a new bogus Leg islature. And what is more, the acts of the Lawrence Municipal Government in this behalf seem to be recognized and ratified by the Deputy United States Marshal at Lecompton. whose letters to the Lawrence authorities requesting them to forward the prisoner, afford a fine specimen of Border-Ruffian literature.

Lawrence, and the new troops which are daily being marched into the Territory, evidently have some other object in view than to preven the Free State men from organizing local municipal governments. These troops are doubtless marched thither with a view to the ap proaching October election, and to assist in perpetuating power in the bogus hands by which it has been exercised for the last two vears. To effect this purpose, intrusive ruffians from Missouri-though the Territory has been districted with an exclusive view to their convenience-cannot any longer be implicitly relied upon. There is in Missouri itself a good deal less of the Border-Ruffian spirit, and the volunteers organized by Gen. Lane to defend the polls against invasion from abroad, must doubtless have tended to abate a good deal the ardor of that spirit. The Missonri invaders have had some experience of Lane. He drove them out of the Territory once before, and he might be apt to do so again. is pretty clear that those numerous bodies of regular soldiers are intended to supply the place occupied by armed invaders from Misouri during the former elections. Kansas will present what this country has never yet seen, and what is totally inconsistent with the small est remnant of freedom, every voting-place occupied by an armed guard of mercenaries, and the votes given, as it were, at the point of the bayonet. These mercenary soldiers will not, perhaps, attempt to vote themselves, though that is not by any means certain, but they will at least sustain and defend the bogus officers of the polls in rejecting or admitting whatever votes they please. A wholesome terror of the indignation of their outraged fellow-citizens might otherwise have kept those bogus officials within certain bounds; but, with a guard of regular soldiers to back them, they will feel encouraged to carry out boldly the programme of fraud embodied in the bogus apportionment.

As our correspondent observes, the prospect is not likely that there will be any hesitation on the part of Walker and the bogus authorities, at any trick or any fraud necessary to obtain a nominal majority. President Buchanan, in his recent letter on Kansas affairs, has laid down the doctrine that possession is not only nine points of the law but a perfect title. On advantage, however, is certain—the bogus rulers of Kansas will be driven to the necessity of giving a new test of their quality—one sucl as possibly may startle even Mr. Buchanan him self .- N. Y. Tribunc.

> For the Raftsman's Journal. GRAHAM TOWNSHIP, Sept. 9th, 1857.

Mn. Row: Dear Sir: In perusing the Repurporting to be written by Dr. G. F. Hoops of Morris township, in which he says, "having never learnt to play wooly-head, he would make but a poor member of the zigzag party." After a great many spicy remarks, he proceeds to assert that "the laboring portion of the De mocracy of Morris are not willing to dance t the tune of the Crawford county system of nominations." Now, I think any party that can dance to the tune of the Cincinnati plat-form, popular sovereignty, extension of slavery over free territory, can certainly dance to the tune of the Crawford system. But here permit me to say, that his great boasted parpermit me to say, that his great boasted par-ties' practice does not correspond with their precepts. The democratic press from Maine to Louisiana are resounding with the cry of popular sovereignty, at the same time their great, boasted champion in the Presidential chair has already sent an army to subdue Utah, for the believes come of the presidential or the heinous crime of governing their own focal affairs. I have never yet conformed to the teachings of the Cincinnati platform, or the teachings of the Cherman platform, or the dectrines of popular sovereignty or polyg-amy; but, according to that doctrine, if a slaveholder in Kansas has a right to have fifty "wooly-heads," Brigham Young has a right to have fifty wives. It is all popular sovereignty. This Morris township "Pill," as he sees proer to style himself, says he enever bough ont a pop-gun battery, or voted a shangh ticket in his life, thank god." I suppose th doctor was right, for "a pop-gun battery would not be capable of containing the amount of gas blowed out by him in his letter must have been a Packer or a Pill batto which will certainly explode at the Octo election and carry him and his party so far balt River that they will never by able to Salt River that they will never be able to g back till they turn shanghai. At the close his letter, the doctor states that at the Octob election Morris will present an unbroken fro for Packer and the whole Democratic ticke With all respect to the Doctor, I beg leave differ with him, from the fact that I heard he next door neighbor not long since declare or phatically that, from a personal acquaintam he had with Mr. Packer and his past offici career, he could not support him, under at consideration, although he had always vote that ticket, and is a very influential Democra by of his party are not willing to swallow, or if well sugar-coated with Democracy. The very appropriately rhymes in, "Tis not so much for men as measures

Goz. Burrow is lying critically ill in Wash

THE MEMORIAL OF PROFESSOR SILLIMAN, AND THE REPLY OF

"The undersigned, citizens of the United States, and electors of the State of Connecticut, respectfully offer to your Excellency, this their memorial. The fundamental principle of the Constitution of the United States, and of our political in-stitutions is, that the people shall make their own laws, and elect their own rulers. We see with grief, if not with astonishment, that Governor Walker, of Kansas, openly represents and proclaims that the President of the United States is em-Kansas to obey laws not their own, nor of torious and established upon evidence that they never made, and rulers they never foregoing, your Excellency is held up and proclaimed, to the great derogation of our National character, as violating in its most essential particular the solemn oath which the President has taken to support the Constitution of this Union. We call attention further to the fact that your Excellency is held up to this nation, to all mankind, and to all posterity, in the attitude of "levying war against a portion of the United States, by employing arms in Kansas to uphold a body of men and a code of enactments purporting to be legislative, but which never had the election, nor sanction, nor consent of the people of the Territory. We earnestly represent to your Excellency that we have also taken the eath to obey the Constitution, and your excellency may be assured that we shall not refrain from the prayer that the Almighty will make your Admin-This concentration by Walker of troops at awrence, and the new troops which are daily

> THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.
> Washington, Aug. 15, 1857. Gentlemen:-On my recent return to his city, after a fortnight's absence, your memorial without date, was placed in my hands, through the agency of Mr. Horatio King, of the Post Office Department, to whom it had been entrusted. From the distinguished source from whence it proceeds, as well as its peculiar character. I have deemed it proper to depart from my general rule in such cases, and to give

tect our people and our Constitution.

it an answer. You first assert that "The fundamental orinciple of the Constitution of the Unied States, and of our political institutions laws, and elect their own rulers." You and through Gov. Walker, have employed an army "one of the purposes of which is to force the people of Kansas to obey laws, not their own, nor of the United States, but laws, which it is notorious, and established upon evidence, they never made, and rulers they never elected." And as a corollary from the foregoing, you repthat I am "openly held up, and proclaimthe President has taken to a Constitution of this Union."

These are heavy charges proceeding from gentlemen of your high character, and if well founded ought to consign my before making them you should have clearly ascertained that they were well founded. If not they will rebound with withering condemnation upon their author. Have you performed this preliminary toward the man, who, however unworthy, is the Chief Magistrate of your country? If so, either you or I are laboring under a strange delusion. Should this prove to be your case, it will present a memorable example of the truth that political prejudice is blind, even to the existence of the plainest and most palpable facts.

To these facts let us refer. When I entered upon the duties of the Presidential office, on the fourth of March last, what was the condition of Kansas?

This Territory had been organized under an act of Congress, passed the 30th May, 1854, and the Government in all its branches was in full operation. A Governor, a Secretary of the Territory, a Chief Justice, two Associate Justices, a Marshal and District Attorney, had been appointed by my predecessor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and were all engaged in discharging their respective duties. A code of laws had been enacted by the Territorial Legislature, and the Judiciary were employed in expound-ing and carrying these laws into effect. It is quite true that a controversy had prison, respecting the election of members to the Territorial Legislature, and of the laws passed by them, But at the time I entered upon my official duties, Congress had recognized the Legislature in different forms and by different enactments .-The Delegate elected to the House of Representatives under a Territorial law, had just completed his term of service on the day previous to my inauguration. In fact I found the Government of Kansas as well established as that of any other Territory. Under these circumstances what was my duty? Was it to sustain this Government; to protect it from the violence of lawless to prevent it from being overturned by force; in the language of the Constitution to "Take care that the laws be faithful-

It was for this purpose, and this alone, that I ordered a military force to Kansus as a posse comitatus, aiding the Civil Magistrate to carry the laws into execution. The condition of the Territory at the time, which I need not portray, rendered this precaution absolutely necessary.

In this state of affairs would I not in

en justly condemned, had I left the acter, impotent to execute the process and judgments of a Court of Justice estabfished by Congress, or the Territorial Le-gislature, under its express authority—and thus have suffered the government itself to become an object of contempt in the eyes of the people? And yet this is what you designate as forcing "the people of Kansas to obey laws, not their own, nor of the United States." And for doing which you have denounced me as having violations of the united States. Yours, very respectibility

what else could I have done? or ought I to have done? Would you have

litter stones despised to the makes as a destruction of the state with the state of the state of

desired that I should abandon the Territorial Government sanctioned as it has been, by Congress, to illegal violence, and thus renew the scenes of civil war and bloodshed, which every patriot had de-plored? This would indeed have been to violate my oath of office, and to fix a damning blot on the character of my administration.

I most cheerfully admit that the necessity of sending a mititary force to Kansas, to aid in the execution of the civil law, reflects no credit upon the character of our country. But let the blame fall upon the heads of the guilty. Whence did this necessity arise? A portion of the people of Kansas, unwilling to trust to the bellot box. the certain American remedy for the redress of all grievances, undertook to create an independent government for themthey never made, and rulers they never selves. Had this attempt proved success-elected. We represent, therefore, by the ful, it would, of course, have subverted the existing Government, prescribed and recognized by Congress, and substituted a revolutionary government in its stead --This was usurpation of the same character as it would be for a portion of the people of Connecticut to undertake to establis separate government within its own limits, for the pupose of redressing any grisvance, real or imaginary, of which they might have complained against the legit mate government, Such a principle, if carried into execution, would destroy all lawful authority and produce universal anarchy.

I ought to specify more particularly a condition of affairs which I have embraced only in general terms, requiring the prosence of a military force in Kansas. The Congress of the United States had most wisely declared it to be the true intentand meaning of this act-the act organiizing the territory was not to legislate sla very into any territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the pegulate their domestic institutions in thoir own way, subject only to the constitution of the U.S. As a natural consequence Congress has also prescribed by the same act, that when the Territory of Kansas shall be admitted as a State, it shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission.

Slavery existed at that period and still exists in Kansas, under the Constitution of the United States. This point has at last been finally decided, by the highest tribunal known to our laws. How it could ever have seriously been doubted is a mysis, that the people shall make their own tery. If a Confederation of Soverage States acquire a new territory at the exthen express your grief and astonishment pense of their common blood and treathat I should have violated this principle, sure, surely one set of the partners can and through Gov. Walker, have employ- have no right to exclude the other from its enjoyment by prohibiting them from taking into it whatsoever is recognized to be property by the common constitution, But when the people—the bona fide residents of such territory proceed to frame a State Constitution, then it is their right to decide the important question for them-selves, whether they will continue to moed, to the great derogation of our Nation- dify or abolish slavery. To them and to al character, as violating in its most est them alone does this question belong, free sential particular, the solemn oath which from all foreign interference. In the opinion of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, the time had arrived for entering the Union, and they accordingly passed law to elect delegates for framing a State Contsitution. This law was fair and just name to infamy. But in proportion to in its provisions. It conferred the right their gravity, common justice, to say no of suffrage on every bona fide inhabitant for the Free-State men is gloomy enough. It is not likely that there will be any hesitation before making them you should have preventing fraud, and the intrusion of oitizens of near and distant States, most properly confined this right to those who had resided therein three months provious to the election. Here was a fair opportunity for all qualified resident citizens of the territory, to whatever organization they might have previously belonged, to participate in the election, and to express their opinion at the ballet box on the question of slavery. But numbers of lawless men still continued to resist the regular territorial government. They rofu sed to be either registered or to vote, and members of the convention were cleeted legally and properly without their inter-

The Convention will soon assemble to perform the solemn duty of framing . Constitution for themselves and their posterity, and in the state of incipient rebellion, which still exists in Kansas, it is my imperative duty to employ the the troops of the United States. Should this become necessary in defending the Convention against violence, while framing a Constitution, and in protecting the bons fide inhabitants qualified to vote under the provisions of this instrument, in the free exercise of the right of suffrage when it shall be submitted to them for their spprobation or rejection, I have entire confidence in Governor Walker that the troops will not be employed, except to resist actual aggression, or in the execution of the laws; and this, not until the pow-ers of the Civil Magistrate shall fail, the wise example of Mr. Madison towards the Hartford Convention, illegal and dangerous combinations, such as that of the Topeka Convention will not be disturbed, unless they shall attempt to perform some act which will bring them into actual col-lision with the Constitution and the laws. In that event they shall be resisted and put down by the whole power of the government. In performing this duty, I have men who were determined to rule or rain; the approbation of my own conscience, and as I humbly hope, of my God.

I thank you for the assurance that yo

will not refrain from prayer that the Al-mighty God will make my administration an example of justice and beneficene. You sed consummation, by exerting your influence in allaying this sectional excite-ment on the subject of slavery, which has been productive of much evil and no good; bject, would rain the slave as well as # brophy. Every day of my life, I feel he inadequate I am to perform the duties my high station, without continuing

the support of Divine Providence.

Yet placing my trust in Him, and in Himalone, I entertain a good hope that

Yours, very respectfully,
JAMES BUCHANAN.