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AMERICA FREE—OR AMERICA SLAVE.

AN ADDRESS

ON THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

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JOHN JAY, esq.,

AT BEDFORD, WESTCHESTER COUNTY, NEW YORK.

OCTOBER 8th, 1856.

"Let it ever be remembered that the rights for which we have contended are the rights of human nature."—Address of the first Congress.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF WESTCHESTER.

WHATEVER local incentives may be found in other parts of our country, arising from historic association, or the memory of the departed, to keep alive a spirit of patriotism and a love of freedom, no spot in America has more of such associations than this, our native county of Westchester. During the first year of our Revolutionary struggle—the memorable year of the Declaration of Independence!—Seventy-Six—the active operations of the war were confined to this region, and the two hostile armies were constantly on the alert under their respective commanders-in-chief. The British, with a numerous army, and a powerful marine, in possession of New York—Washington, with an inferior and badly supplied army, endeavoring to keep them in check—and "the battle of WHITE PLAINS, on the 28th of October," says the historian, "will long be remembered, as well as the dismal prospects of that year, when the patriot fathers of America had still the courage to declare their own independence, and to assert the rights of nature and of nations."

WESTCHESTER was subsequently known—as those of you remember, who have read "The Spy," of Fenimore Cooper, himself a Westchester man—as "the Neutral Ground;" and its citizens were exposed to the marauding bands of "Cowboys" and of "Skinners"—their homes plundered, their fields laid waste, their enclosures burnt, their families outraged and insulted by brutal deeds, such as are to-day announced to us by telegraph as being re-enacted on the plains of Kansas; but, in the patriotism of the farmers of Westchester, there was no neutrality. It breathed in the state

papers of the First Congress, which compelled the admiration of the British Senate—it fought and bled on the battle-field of White Plains, and the other battle-fields of America—and it exhibited its incorruptibility and its "backbone" in the three captors of Major André, whose virtue—proof against all temptations—saved the country from the treachery of Arnold, when that traitor's plot for the betrayal of our liberties was on the verge of completion.

The integrity of PAULDING, WILLIAMS, and VAN WART—whose descendants are yet among us—is a matter of history, familiar to every school-boy from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and remembered with pride by every American, wherever the story is recalled,—whether he visit the familiar spots, or chances upon a volume in which it is alluded to, or treads the aisles of Westminster Abbey, where the remains of André repose, and a sculptured monument to his memory reminds the American traveller, that, in the darkest period of the Revolution, his country was saved from treachery and ruin by the incorruptibility of Westchester farmers.

You are not unmindful of that memorable event, or of the other Revolutionary associations that cluster about the Hudson on our west, Long Island Sound upon our south, the Harlem River, the Bronx, the Croton, and the hills and valleys and streams that add so much of beauty to Westchester. They are memories that cannot and ought not to be forgotten. Year by year our National Anniversary revives them in all their greenness; and at all times they may be invoked to quicken our love of liberty and the common law, if we cherish the principles

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ples of the founders of our Republic—or to reproach us if we are unfaithful guardians of that heritage of freedom which they bequeathed to us, that we might transmit it, unimpaired, to our children.

This guardianship of American principles—I say *American principles*, because, although eternal in their origin and their character, they are *American* in their national development, *American* as contra-distinguished from European theories and modes of government—this guardianship of American principles devolves upon us at every election of our rulers, legislative or executive; but never was the responsibility deeper or more solemn than at this moment, when a sectional and aristocratic oligarchy, trampling upon faith, and encroaching on our rights, aspires to rule the American people, and when the Federal Government, converted into a military despotism, is engaged; in the language of its master spirit, in “crushing out” Freedom from our youngest territory.

I have not hesitated to recall to you the memories of the past, familiar as they are to all of us; for I believe we are entering upon a contest involving the same great principles as those for which our fathers fought for seven long years. “Let it ever be remembered,” was their language, “that the rights for which we have contended are the rights of human nature;” and changeable as we are said to be—immersed in active pursuits as we undoubtedly are—I believe there are comparatively few among our countrymen—not one, I trust, among those whom I address—who do not cherish a love for the land of their birth—who do not remember, with emotion, its Revolutionary history—who do not contemplate with pride its progress in all that contributes to a nation’s greatness, or who do not sometimes recall and dwell upon the glorious mission of the Republic among the nations of the earth, as foreshadowed by her founders. I trust there are, comparatively, but few, in our free States, at least, who do not hope and pray that while in the Old World we may witness, in a single generation, the rise and fall of dynasties and of empires, this Federal Union may stand till the rights of human nature, proclaimed in our “Declaration of Independence,” are practically acknowledged throughout our own borders, and throughout the world.

At this time, it will hardly be contended by any one, that the Federal Government, whether we look to the scenes recently enacted in the Capitol, or to the outrages now being perpetrated in Kansas, is advancing in that course of wisdom and equal justice in which its first movements were directed and in which its founders trusted it would for ever continue. Some will attribute this retrograde course to a general corruption of the American people.

I am unwilling so to regard it. The address of the First Congress to the people of Great Britain, drafted by a citizen of Westchester, commenced with words so signally appropriate to the present time, that they sound like a voice from the dead—the voice of the Fathers to their Sons.

“When a nation, led to greatness by the hand of liberty, and possessed of all the glory that heroism, munificence, and humanity can bestow, descends to the ungrateful task of forging chains for her friends and children, and instead of giving support to freedom, turns advocate for slavery and oppression, there is reason to believe that she has ceased to be virtuous, or has been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.”

Let us not believe, despite of all the apparent evidence to the contrary, in the present character and conduct of our Federal Government, that the virtue which raised us from feeble colonies to a mighty Republic, clasping a continent in its embrace, has ceased out of the land. Let us accept the alternative explanation of the crimes and inconsistencies that are at this moment startling the world, that “we have been extremely negligent in the appointment of our rulers.” Dwelling peacefully in free homes—enjoying quietly the reward of labor—acting generously towards our neighbors of the South, resting trustfully on ancient compacts, our people have slumbered in a false security. But there is, at last, an uprising throughout the land, that shows that the slumber is broken, and they find their security was a dream.

And now that another Presidential election approaches, compelling the nation to look its destiny in the face—an election that involves a principle, and an issue, more momentous than any which have been submitted to this people since we became a nation—an election that is to pronounce the solemn judgment of the people on the conduct of the Pierce administration—an election that is to shape, for weal or woe, for Freedom, with its boundless blessings, or slavery with its untold curses, the territories of the great West, and the mighty future of this continent, possibly to the end of time;—we are so searchingly to consider, and so advisedly to act, that the picture drawn by the First Congress of the Mother Country shall no longer be applicable to ourselves; “that, led to greatness by the hand of liberty, and possessed of all the glory that heroism, munificence, and humanity can bestow,” our country shall no longer “descend to the task of forging chains for her friends and children;” that from giving support to freedom she shall no longer turn advocate for slavery and oppression. We are so to act, and so to vote, that neither the people of Kansas, and the farther West, nor the future historian, may have occasion to declare, that we had either ceased to

be virtuous, or had been extremely negligent in the appointment of our rulers.

But gentlemen, admissible as the plea of negligence may be for the past, it will not avail you for the future. If you endorse the conduct of the Pierce administration, as the Democratic party at Cincinnati have endorsed it—or if, by the adoption of any side issue, you permit that policy to continue, then the crime of the administration will become your own, and its future consequences will rest upon your heads.

From this responsibility no citizen can exempt himself. By the Constitution of our country, every voter is one of its sovereigns—and is charged with the sacred duty of exercising his right of suffrage. A single vote, a few years since, elected a governor of Massachusetts. Frequently, a single vote in Congress has had an important bearing upon the politics of the country; and, at a moment like this, when the destiny of our country—the character of the Great West—our domestic policy among ourselves—our foreign policy towards other nations, all depend upon the coming election, it is the duty of every man, whatever his party ties, whatever his personal preferences, to examine for himself carefully, truthfully, and impartially, the real issues involved in the contest—the conduct of the Pierce administration—the platform of the rival parties, and the claims to confidence of the rival candidates.

I propose, now, not to institute the thorough searching examination which I ask you to make—for, to do this, time would fail us—but I propose to direct your attention to the great facts of the case, and then to glance at the platforms and the candidates that are offered for your support; and while I confess an interest in this great subject, that dates from my boyhood, and has strengthened with my strength, I will endeavor, as far as possible, to let my remarks be calm, careful, truthful and impartial.

PRESENT ASPECT OF THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

The Slavery Question, as now presented to us by the administration of Mr. Pierce, and the platform of Mr. Buchanan, however it may hitherto have been regarded, is certainly not, at this moment, a remote theoretical abstraction, but a stern present practical reality.

Great as are the wrongs which slavery inflicts upon the blacks, it is not these wrongs that have aroused the country. Fearful as may be the consequence both to the soil and the people of the South, of that domestic system, which Jefferson declares to be an "unremitting despotism on the one part," and "degrading submission on the other," it is not with the evils of slavery in the States, that the

nation has now to do. What the Republican party propose, is not interference with the constitutional rights of the slave-holders, but resistance to their aggression upon our rights, and such a reform in the administration of the Federal government; that whatever policy the slave-masters may think proper to pursue on their own plantations, and within their own State limits, they shall no longer monopolize the control of the nation—no longer use the Federal government to extend and support their sectional interests—no longer interfere as they are now interfering with the rights of free laborers, and with the peace, prosperity and fair fame of the Republic.

THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

It is admitted by all—for the fact is too plain for denial, that the quiet pervading the country when Mr. Pierce was inaugurated, and which he called Heaven to witness should not be disturbed by him, was interrupted, not by any efforts of the Abolitionists, but by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. That repeal was THE HEAD AND FRONT of all the crimes against Kansas and against freedom, which have since aroused the people of the Free States to such intense and absorbing indignation; and as such, you will allow me, I trust, to recall to you the prominent features of that compact, now violated and broken.

In 1802, the Louisiana Territory, embracing an area of 899,579 square miles—larger than all the then existing States, including the State of Missouri and the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, was purchased from France. In 1820, Missouri having applied for admission as a State, with a Constitution sanctioning slavery, and having been refused admission by the House of Representatives, on that account, was admitted on the 20th of March of that year, by the adoption of the Missouri Compromise. That Compromise was proposed by the Slave States to the Free States. They said to the Free States, Admit Missouri with slavery, and we will agree that slavery shall never go into the remainder of the Territory North of 36° 30'. The Free State Representatives yielded, and the compact was embodied in the Act preparatory to admitting Missouri, in these words:

"Sec. 8. Be it further enacted, that in all that Territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies North of 36° 30' of North latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this Act, Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than as the punishment of crime, shall be, and is hereby FOREVER PROHIBITED."

It has been said that this was simply an agreement made by one Congress, which any subsequent Congress had the right to repeal. Such was not the view taken of it by the

Mr. Aug. 16, 1905.
 Wm. W. Pierce

Southern statesmen, who urged its adoption on the North. They declared it to be, in the language of Mr. Louis McLane, of Delaware, "A compact which shall be binding upon all parties and all subsequent Legislatures—which cannot be changed, and will not fluctuate with the diversity of feeling and of sentiment to which this empire in its march must be destined."

The character of the compromise as an honorable and irrevocable compact, as binding upon the sons as upon the fathers, was recognized by the Southern press.

"It is true," said "Niles' Register," published at Baltimore, "it is true the compromise is supported only by the letter of the law, repealable by the authority which enacted it; but the circumstances of the case give this law a moral force equal to that of a positive provision of the Constitution; and we do not hazard anything in saying that the Constitution exists in its observance."

You probably know that it has been said by the facile demagogues of the day, that the compromise was unconstitutional, that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the Territories, and that every man who contends for such a power, is a traitor to the country.

I shall not respond at length to this arrogant assumption. It has been most ably disposed of by our own Senator SEWARD, foremost among the statesmen of our land; by CHASE, whose clear tones aroused the country to its danger, and who has animated with his brave spirit the great State over which he presides; and by CHARLES SUMNER, at whose name your pulses quicken, and around whose couch cluster the sympathies of the Christian world, listening to a silence more eloquent than speech. Whether he shall rise from that couch, which may God soon grant, to resume the vacant chair that is now teaching the Senate and the nation so profound a lesson, or whether he shall descend to the grave in his early manhood, he will live on the page of history, and in the hearts of his countrymen—among those who, in the language of Burke, are the guide-posts and land-marks of a State.

I need not repeat the elaborate exposures by these Statesmen of the fallacy of "popular sovereignty" in the Territories, as opposed to Congressional legislation, on the subject of slavery; but let me remind you that the very first Congress under the Constitution, in the year 1789, recognized and affirmed this doctrine, embodied by Jefferson in the great western ordinance of 1787, which forever excluded slavery from the Territory that now embraces Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Remember that this doctrine was then sanctioned and approved by Washington; that in 1800 it was approved by John Adams, in the Territorial Act for Indiana; in 1805, and again in 1804 by

Thomas Jefferson, in the act for Michigan and Illinois. In 1834 by Andrew Jackson, with reference to Wisconsin and Iowa. In 1836 and 1838 by Martin Van Buren, in reference to the same Territories. In 1848 by James K. Polk, as regards the whole of Oregon, and in March, 1853, by Millard Fillmore, in reference to the Territory of Washington. In all of these acts slavery was expressly prohibited by Congress.

The right of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories is as well settled as any doctrine can be by the contemporaneous authority of the framers of the Constitution; by its unquestioned and practical recognition by successive Congresses for nearly 70 years, and by the uniform unbroken acquiescence of the American people. Whose are the *dicta* that are to outweigh the recorded judgment and will of the nation, of its Legislatures and its Presidents, from Washington to Fillmore?

The Missouri Compromise, when adopted, was hailed by the South as "a great triumph," in the language of Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, and at the North was accepted as a defeat, and most of the Free State men who voted for it, were repudiated by their constituents and retired to private life. The compact, however, was regarded as an eternal landmark, never to be removed, and none dreamed of questioning, in regard to its observance, the good faith of the Southern people.

If ever men were bound in honor to abide by a bargain, the people of the Slave States were bound religiously by that compact. We had yielded to them an organized State, adding on the instant to their political strength; taking in return only a future and distant right to an unsettled Indian Territory, that was likely to remain unsettled for, at least, another generation.

Years rolled on; the generation of that day pass from the stage; their successors repeatedly approve the principle of the compromise made in the division of the Louisiana Territory. They establish the line of 36° 30' as the limit to slavery in New Mexico. They even propose to us to make a similar bargain in reference to the Territory ceded by Mexico, and to extend the line to the Pacific, and having thus estopped themselves from ever questioning its constitutionality, or binding force, these very men, when the time comes for us to occupy our share of the Louisiana Territory, consecrated to freedom, repudiate the bargain; violate their compact, break their faith, and open wide the doors to slavery.

For that deed of infamy, history has no precedent, and language no fitting name.

Of the probability of accomplishing so immense a fraud, the chief perpetrators themselves entertained, at one time, the greatest doubts. The very author of the bill declared the hand

"ruthless" that should attempt to disturb the Missouri Compromise. Even Atchison, the Senator from Missouri, and the arch leader in the scheme of perfidy, declared but the session before, on the floor of the Senate, that much as he regretted the ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri Compromise, "they are both irremediable. There is no remedy for them. We must submit to them. I am prepared to do it. It is evident that the Missouri Compromise cannot be repealed. * * I have no hope that the restriction will ever be repealed."

The attempt, however, was resolved to be made, and the instrument of the slave power, selected for the purpose, was STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS, a Senator from Illinois, and it was then pretended that the Freemen of the North volunteered by this Free State Senator, to surrender their rights to this mighty Territory, and that the South were guiltless of violating their compact in accepting such voluntary surrender.

As reasonable would it have been for the British spy to have claimed that the American Colonist had commissioned Benedict Arnold to surrender West Point to Hessian troops, as for the slave masters to pretend that the freemen of the North had commissioned ARNOLD DOUGLAS, or any other ARNOLDS, either in the Senate or the House, to surrender to slave labor and slave policy that noble Territory, the "West Point" of our Northern and Eastern States, and yet destined to stand, as I firmly believe, in despite of treachery, and of traitors, the strong hold and citadel of American freedom.

The idle pretence was disposed almost as soon as it was uttered. The Free States at first utterly incredulous, unable to believe in the possibility of such bad faith on the part of their Southern brethren, were soon convinced that the treachery was real, and there arose from every Free State, from cities, towns and villages, from mass meetings and the public press, from the stump and from the pulpit, one indignant shout of reprobation, and of warning. But the slave power, conscious of its waning political and essential strength, and dreading the sight of Free States prosperous and happy on the plains of Kansas, hazarded all upon this die. The hesitating confederates of Arnold Douglas, startled by the bursts of thunder that reverberated through the Northern skies, were yet in the hands of masters accustomed to wield the lash and enforce obedience. Backed by a pliant executive, whose inaugural promises were as chaff scattered by the wind, the rules of the House of Representatives were violated; the proper business of the nation was suspended, and at midnight, on the 30th of May, 1854, the deed was done, and the fact recorded on the page of History, never to be forgotten, never to be

effaced, that while there may be faith among savages, and honor among thieves, the slave masters of America, their tools, aiders, and abettors, know not honor and keep not faith.

That day changed the relation in which the freemen of the North and the slaveholders of the South had before stood to each other. For faith, the great ligament of society, had been broken and confidence was at an end. Freedom had before been yielding to and confiding, ever more generous to the South than just to herself; ready to give and take, and ever giving more than she received, but never expecting to be swindled out of the whole. The settlement of disputes by compromise had frequently been resorted to, and had been regarded with favor; but now that a time-honored and solemn compact had been ruthlessly violated, and the too credulous North had been cheated out of her allotted portion, the sentiment of the Free States, applauded to the echo in public assemblies, has been and will continue to be "*no more compromises with slavery.*"

The repudiation of good faith by the slave power has been followed by the consequences that might in part have been expected by those who remembered the olden maxim, "false in one thing, false in all," or that other maxim which teaches us that "where law ends, tyranny begins."

TREATMENT OF KANSAS.

The treatment of Kansas from that day by the Pierce Administration, surpasses, in audacity and in crime, anything heretofore recorded in the history of America, and were not the facts proven by the sworn testimony of a host of witnesses, and recorded by a Congressional Committee of the House of Representatives, in a volume, swelled to nearly 1,200 pages, they would hardly be credited. Austria and Russia will afford no grosser instances of fraud and despotism; the Middle Ages may be ransacked in vain for more lawless outrages by a more insolent banditti.

Let me briefly remind you of dates and facts. The doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty," or, as Gen. Cass calls it, "Squatter Sovereignty," was the "artful dodge" resorted to by the compact-breakers to justify the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. This novel doctrine, which has been practically repudiated, as you have seen, by the government and the people of the Republic, from the day when we became a nation, denies the right of Congress to exclude slavery from a territory, on the ground that the first "squatters" on the soil, have an inherent and sovereign right to shape their own institutions, without interference on the part of any other persons whatsoever; not even the Congress of the United States, under whose guardianship the Territories are placed by the

Constitution, and who by that instrument are empowered to make all needful rules and regulations for their government. The Kansas-Nebraska act, as finally passed, after several alterations in its phraseology, called forth by the progress of the plot, contained a clause declaring the object of the bill to be "to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution." Southern senators, who repudiated "squatter sovereignty," voted for this clause, declaring that the Constitution itself allowed slaveholders to carry their slaves into the territories, and hold them there independently of the will of the people of the territories; thus attempting to make slavery national, instead of sectional; to make slavery the rule, and freedom the exception, and ignoring the ancient principle of law, that slavery, being in violation of natural right, can only exist by virtue of positive local statutes.

But, apart from the sophisms and assumptions of these slavery extensionists, the popular sovereignty clause in the bill was a pledge given by Congress to the people, that the people, whether from the North or the South, who might seek homes in Kansas, should be left "perfectly free" to regulate their own institutions in their own way. Gentlemen, the Federal Government, adding perjury to treachery, have violated also this pledge.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed the 30th May, 1854, and on the 29th November, 1854, the young territory was to elect a delegate to represent it in Congress. The administration were forewarned that attempts would be made by parties from Missouri to violate the purity of the franchise, and to defraud the people of a fair election.

A year before, in the autumn of 1853, Mr. Senator Atchison had made a speech at a meeting in Western Missouri, the proceedings of which were publicly reported, and one of the resolutions declared "that if the territory (Kansas) be opened to settlement, we pledge ourselves to co-operate to extend the institutions of Missouri over the territory, at whatever cost of blood and treasure"—and similar resolutions had been passed by "a blue lodge" in Missouri, the proceedings of which are before me, published on the 10th June, 1854, at which time it may be well to remember, not a single emigrant from a New England Aid Society had entered Kansas.

Did the administration, thus forewarned, take measures to protect the sacredness of the ballot-box, and to preserve intact the "popular sovereignty" of Kansas? They took no such steps; and, when the election came, invaders from Missouri, with arms and ammunition, with bowie-knives, revolvers, and two field-pieces, in an organized body, with trains

of wagons, horsemen, munition, tents, and provisions, as though marching upon a foreign foe, surrounded the polls, and, with drums beating and banners flying, they drove off many legal voters, and stuffed the ballot-boxes with illegal votes. Of 2,871 votes cast, the Congressional Committee report that 1,142 were fraudulent; and, on their evidence, Whitfield, who claimed to have been then appointed a delegate to Congress, was refused his seat by the House of Representatives.

On the 30th March, 1855, the people of Kansas were to elect a Territorial Legislature. A similar invasion took place, without the slightest opposition from the Pierce administration, and of 6,320 votes, 4,908 were found by the Congressional Committee to have been illegal; leaving only 1,412 legal votes; less than one third of the whole number. Such was the election of that counterfeit Legislature which re-enacted, in a body, a great part of the Missouri code, simply substituting the word "Territory" for "State," with enactments for the establishment, advancement, and support of slavery; so utterly unconstitutional and barbarous, that even Southern senators could not forbear to pronounce them infamous.

By this bloody code, any person assisting a slave to escape, in obedience to the golden rule, may be punished by death, or ten years' imprisonment. Any person expressing the opinion that persons have no right to hold slaves in the territory, or bringing into the territory any book, pamphlet, or newspaper that maintains such an opinion, shall be deemed guilty of felony, punishable with two years imprisonment at hard labor.

To secure conviction under these acts, unconstitutional tests are introduced, and no person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in the territory, is allowed to sit as juror on the trial of any prosecution under the act.

Novel test-oaths are prescribed for civil officers and attorneys, compelling them to swear to support and sustain the Fugitive Slave Act, which the ablest jurists in the country reject, and the Supreme Court of Wisconsin has adjudged unconstitutional and void. For the punishment of felons, it is provided that convicts may be placed under the charge of other persons than the keepers of the prisons, with chain and ball attached to their ankles, and so kept at hard labor—a convenient mode of enabling the pro-slavery gentry of Kansas to retain in slavery, side-by-side with their negroes, the free-spoken emigrants from the Free States who, in defiance of the enactments of this sham Legislature, shall dare to utter the sentiments of Washington and Jefferson, or carry with them to their new homes in the wilderness, the writings of American statesmen,

from the times of Hamilton and Henry to those of Webster and Clay.

Those laws, gentlemen, unsanctioned by reason, and baseless in authority, the Free-State men of Kansas, with a spirit worthy of our Revolutionary fathers, steadfastly refused to recognize or obey, although backed by Mr. Pierce and the army, and by all the ruffians in Missouri.

At length the people of Kansas, awakened from the delusion that they might expect justice or protection from the Federal Government, and forced to recognize the fact that the frauds and outrages of which they were the victims were complacently regarded—if, indeed, they were not secretly instigated—by the Cabinet at Washington, assembled in their sovereignty, at Topeka, and framed a State Constitution.

That Constitution your House of Representatives—the popular branch of Congress, representing immediately the people of the United States—recognized as embodying the will of the people of Kansas, legitimately and constitutionally expressed. Under that Constitution a State Legislature was elected; and when that Legislature assembled, to consider the affairs of their unhappy Territory, their deliberations were interrupted by an armed force, by order of Mr. Pierce, acting as Commander-in-Chief of the army of the United States. They were interrupted by Col. Sumner, at the head of a detachment of federal troops, and *ordered to disperse*. That single act, did it stand alone, unsurrounded as it is by a host of crimes, were enough of itself to arouse the country. There was a *coup d'état* worthy of Cromwell or Louis Napoleon. We need not go to Paris or Vienna to study the feats of a military despotism: Mr. Pierce sits in the White House, attended by his Secretary of War—Mr. Jefferson Davis, a Southern disunionist—the Constitution, described by a Southern statesman as “that blurred and tattered parchment,” is trampled under their feet; the imperial motto, which is also that of the plantation, *Sic volo, sic jubeo* (my will—that is law), supersedes the limitations of constitutional power, and the President gives the order to his Secretary that a legitimate legislative assembly of the people of Kansas—that people for whose popular sovereignty he had professed to be so solicitous—should be dispersed, if necessary, at the point of the bayonet!

Is that the object, my fellow-countrymen, for which we maintain a standing army, and place it at the control of the Executive! Was it to establish this central and despotic oligarchy, that treats the freemen of a Territory like slaves—deluding them with pledges but to weaken and betray, and substituting the bayonet for the lash! Was it, I ask you, to establish this central oligarchy that our fathers

fought the battles of the Revolution, and ordained the Constitution of these United States! Recall, I pray you, the memories that cluster around our valleys, and respect to the question, with your ballot, on the fourth of November.

The history of Kansas from that day to this has been a dreary record of outrage, crime, and murder. The Report of the Congressional committee gives a fearful picture of what occurred during the brief period of their stay, and of the bombarding and burning to the ground of houses—the property of private individuals—the destruction of printing-presses and materials; the sacking, pillaging, and robbery of houses, stores, trunks, even to the clothing of women and children. “All the provisions of the Constitution of the United States,” they remark, “securing person and property, are utterly disregarded. The officers of the law instead of protecting the people, were, in some instances, engaged in these outrages, and in no instance did we learn that any man was arrested for any of these crimes. While such offences were committed with impunity, the laws were used for indicting men for holding elections preliminary to framing a constitution and applying for admission to the Union as the State of Kansas. Charges of high treason were made against prominent citizens upon grounds which seem to your committee idle and ridiculous; and, under these charges, they are now held in custody, and are refused the privilege of bail.”

Recently, a slight concession was made by the new governor, Gov. Geary, in admitting to bail those gentlemen who had been indicted for treason at the instigation of Judge Lecompte, who occupies the same relation to Mr. Pierce that Judge Jeffries did to James II., and who delivered a charge on the law of treason every way worthy of his prototype; but the “pacification of Kansas” by Gov. Geary, which some newspapers would have you believe has removed all its evils and left no subject for complaint, amounts to naught.

Bad laws are the worst of tyranny—and the bad laws of a bad legislature remain; and Gov. Geary, backed by Mr. Pierce and the army, declares that he is there to compel the people to obey them.

This were enough—but it is not all. Chief Justice Lecompte is left, ready to charge proslavery juries, and to hang for treason or felony the Free-State leaders. The marshal and other officers—who have been, as the Congressional Committee advise you, the abettors of border-ruffianism, the instigators and perpetrators of lawless outrages—are all left, a standing insult to the people, as continuing to wield the sham authority of a counterfeit legislature. The Missouri border is closed to the Free-State men for ingress or egress, and Kan-

sas, in a word, is a conquered territory. The Federal Government, with the border-ruffians at its call, and the army at its back, have vanquished its people—have extinguished their sovereignty, dispersed their legislature, imprisoned their leaders, and now grinds them in the dust with the iron hoof of a military despotism!

This is the only pacification of Kansas which has been or will be made by the slave power that now governs the country.

“It is silly to suppose,” says the “Squatter Sovereign”—a paper supported by government advertising, and bearing the banner of “Buchanan and Breckinridge”—“it is silly to suppose for an instant that there can be peace in Kansas as long as one enemy of the South lives upon her soil, or one single specimen of an abolitionist treads in the sunlight of Kansas Territory.”

This is the Pacification of Governor Geary. Order reigns in Kansas, as once in Warsaw. They would make a solitude, and call it peace.

Such, gentlemen, is the Kansas question as it is now presented for your solution. That brave and long-suffering people, whose devotion to the Federal Union has continued unshaken, even when the bayonets of its soldiery dispersed their legislature or carried away captive their chosen leaders, await your decision. They have appealed from Franklin Pierce to the American people. They appeal from the Executive servant whose brief authority is expiring, to you his master. They appeal to you, the permanent sovereigns of this land; and if the American people, or a majority of them, shall approve and confirm the conduct of the present Administration in crushing out their liberties, and forcing upon them, by fraud and violence, the curse of slavery, then I believe they will appeal to their own strength and to the God of right, to resist the bloody enactments of their mock legislature, though backed by a perjured Executive and willing officers—by convenient judges and packed juries, and all the solemn mockery of pro-slavery law. I believe they will defend their rights and their homes as their fathers before them, and fight as their fathers fought for the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the everlasting rights of human nature. It is impossible that the sons of New-England and New-York, and of those Western States that have grown to greatness under the protecting shade of the great Ordinance of freedom—men in whose veins flows the blood of the Pilgrims and the Huguenots that in other ages refused to bow

to the tyrants of Europe, and in the last century, true to the principles of English liberty, defied the power of the British Empire, and laid deep the foundations of a free republic. It is impossible that the descendants of such men, in the nineteenth century and in the heart of our continent, should tamely submit to be defrauded of their heritage, and yield themselves meekly to the yoke of slavery.

THE SLAVE POWER.

Let us see, gentlemen, what this slave power is, which, trampling upon compacts, and defying the Constitution, controls the federal government, and employs its army and its treasury to force slavery upon an unwilling people.

It has long been believed by those who have carefully scrutinized the institutions and policy of the slave-holding States, that but a small proportion of their citizens were holders of slaves; but until the publication of the last census of 1850, the statistics were wanting to confirm this belief. That census disclosed the astounding fact that the slaveholders of the South, men, women, and children, including the hirers of slaves, all told, numbered only 347,820—about half the number of persons residing in the city of New York and its immediate vicinity; that of these 68,820 own but a single slave, and 105,683 less than five slaves each. So that, deducting those who have only a few home-servants for convenience, and are not specially interested in the perpetuation and extension of the system, there remain but about 200,000 slaveholders composing that slave power which rules as with a rod of iron not only the 6,000,000 of non-slaveholders at the South; but the 20,000,000 of the whole nation.

It has been said with truth that the privileged aristocracy of England is far less powerful, and infinitely less arrogant, than this aristocratic oligarchy of slaveholders.

The census further discloses the relative proportion between the slaveholders and non-slaveholders in each State, and shows us that there is not one slaveholding State in the Union where the slaveholders constitute one-tenth of the white population, and in some of them not a thirtieth part.

The following table, taken from the census, and which I find ready to my hand in an able speech of the Hon. Mr. TAPPAN, of New Hampshire—but to which I have added the proportion of the white population to the slaveholders in each State, is enough to surprise the country:

| States. | Slaveholders in each. | White Population. | Proportion of White Population to Slaveholders. |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---|
| Alabama | 29,295 | 427,513 | 11-19 |
| Arkansas | 5,999 | 162,189 | 27-38 |
| District of Columbia | 1,477 | 37,941 | 25-68 |
| Delaware | 809 | 71,169 | 87-97 |
| Florida | 3,520 | 47,203 | 13-40 |
| Georgia | 38,456 | 521,592 | 13-56 |
| Kentucky | 38,385 | 761,413 | 19-70 |
| Louisiana | 20,670 | 255,491 | 12-34 |
| Maryland | 16,040 | 417,943 | 25-43 |
| Mississippi | 23,116 | 394,718 | 17-07 |
| Missouri | 19,189 | 692,006 | 35-05 |
| North Carolina | 28,303 | 553,028 | 19-50 |
| South Carolina | 25,596 | 274,563 | 10-72 |
| Tennessee | 23,864 | 756,836 | 30-29 |
| Texas | 7,747 | 164,634 | 19-08 |
| Virginia | 55,063 | 894,800 | 16-30 |
| Total | 347,525 | 6,222,318 | |

The value of the slaves held by this handful of men, from whose lawless ambition come all the disturbances to our peace, is estimated by Mr. Shater, of Alabama, at two thousand millions of dollars—a large advance on Mr. Clay's estimate, a few years ago, of twelve hundred millions; but, whether the amount be correctly estimated or not, it constitutes an immense capital, hardly to be realized and comprehended without some mental effort; a capital which, firmly united and skillfully wielded, is now waging so fierce a war with the free labor of the Northern States.

Discarding for the present all those considerations of right and justice which instinctively occur to every right-minded person when slavery is mentioned—foregoing, on this occasion, all expression of sympathy for the millions of beating hearts that in the arithmetic of slavery count but as units under the sign of dollars—dispensing with aught that might seem to savor of philanthropy, or, as some style it, fanaticism, and leaving the entire question of slavery in the States to the people of those States, who, in the language of Mr. Faulkner, of Virginia, “have a right to demand its extermination,” let me direct your attention to the bearing of the question upon *yourselves*, to the direct, permanent, practical, and pecuniary interest which you and your children have in the rescue of Kansas from the grasp of slavery.

I need not remind you that slave labor and free labor are antagonistic. They cannot flourish, they hardly co-exist together. This fact was declared in the strongest terms by the ablest statesman of Virginia in the Constitutional Convention of 1830.

The Hon. O. J. FAULKNER said, “Slavery is an institution which presses heavily against the best interests of the State. *It banishes free white labor*, it exterminates the mechanic, the artisan, the manufacturer; it deprives them of occupation, it deprives them of bread; it converts the energy of a community into indo-

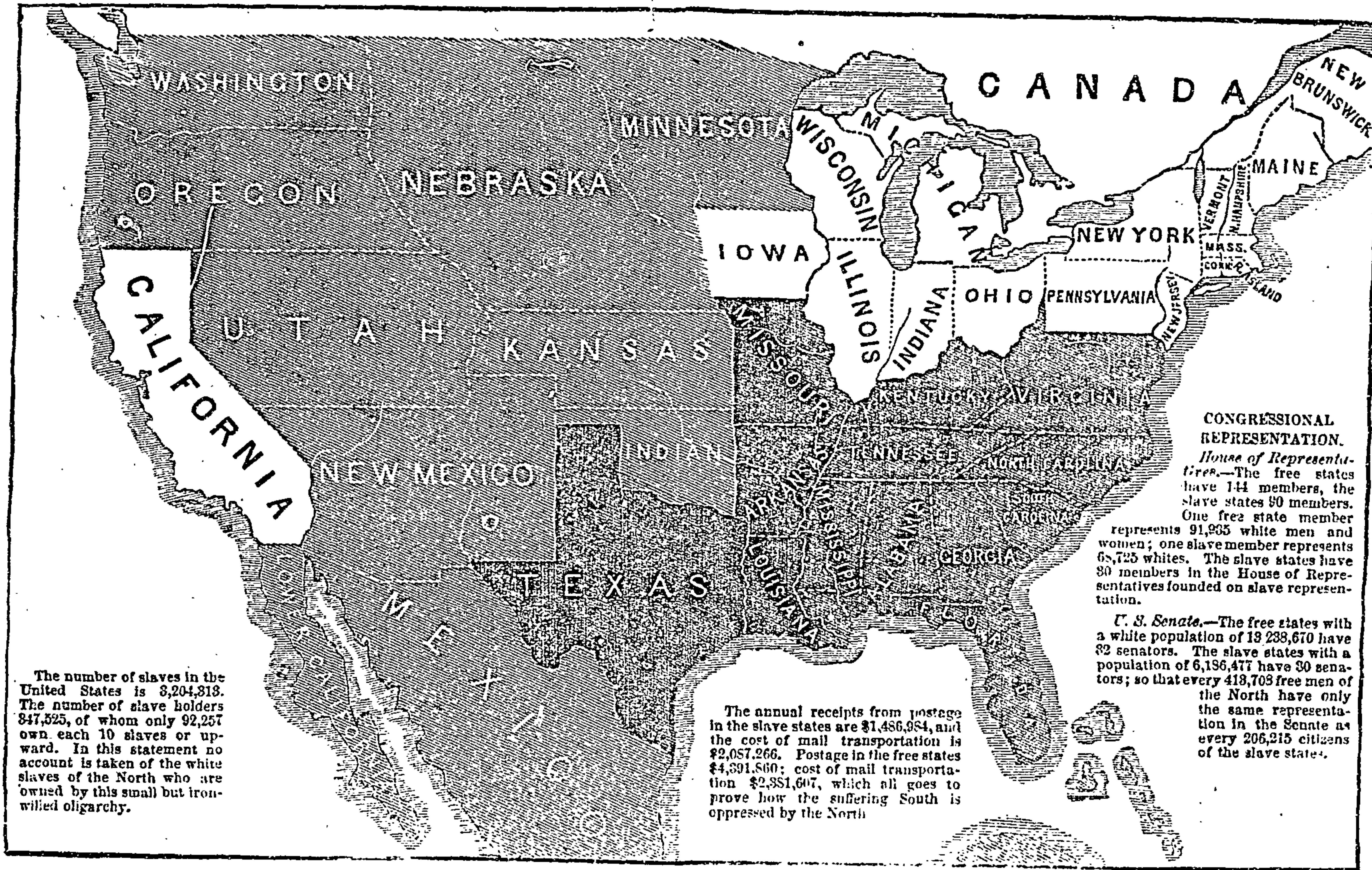
lence, its power into imbecility, its efficiency into weakness. Sir, being thus injurious, have we not a right to demand its extermination? Shall society suffer that the slaveholder may continue to gather his crop of human flesh? Must the country languish, droop, and die that the slaveholder may flourish?” Shall all interests be subservient to one, all right subordinate to those of the slaveholder? Has not the mechanic, have not the middle classes their rights—*rights incompatible with the interests of slavery?*

The Hon. T. J. RANDOLPH: “*Slavery has the effect of lessening the free population of a country.* * * * Those who remain, relying upon the support of casual employment, *often become more degraded in their condition than the slaves themselves.*”

The Hon. JAMES MARSHALL said: “Wherefore, then, object to slavery? *Because it is ruinous to the whites*, retards improvement, roots out an industrious population, banishes the yeomanry of the country, deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter of employment and support. The evil admits of no remedy; it is increasing, and will increase, until the whole country will be inundated by one black wave, with a few white faces here and there floating on the surface. The master has no capital but what is invested in human flesh; the father, instead of being richer for his sons, is at a loss to provide for them. There is no diversity of occupation, no incentive to enterprise. *Labor of every species is disreputable, because performed by slaves.* Our towns are stationary, our villages everywhere declining, and the general aspect of the country marks the course of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished.”

We may assume, therefore, that if Kansas is given up to Slavery, it will be thereby closed to the better class of free-laborers not only of our own country, but of Europe. The great body of emigration westward-bound from our Atlantic States, never seeks, and never will seek slave soil where not labor but the laborers themselves are bought and sold, and where labor is stripped of the dignity that belongs to it, and is treated with contempt.

Now look on the map, blackened by slavery, and you will see that Kansas is the key to the large territory lying to the west of it, the boundless regions of Utah and New-Mexico, extending hundreds of miles till they meet the eastern boundary of California. Is it not clear, that if we lose Kansas we shall in all probability lose not only the Indian Territory lying to the south of it, but those vast territories stretching to the westward, and large enough to make more than six States of the size of Pennsylvania? Go-



The number of slaves in the United States is 3,204,313. The number of slave holders 847,525, of whom only 92,257 own each 10 slaves or upward. In this statement no account is taken of the white slaves of the North who are owned by this small but iron-willed oligarchy.

The annual receipts from postage in the slave states are \$1,486,984, and the cost of mail transportation is \$2,057,266. Postage in the free states \$4,391,860; cost of mail transportation \$2,981,607, which all goes to prove how the suffering South is oppressed by the North

CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION.

House of Representatives.—The free states have 144 members, the slave states 80 members. One free state member represents 91,935 white men and women; one slave member represents 68,725 whites. The slave states have 80 members in the House of Representatives founded on slave representation.

U. S. Senate.—The free states with a white population of 19,238,670 have 32 senators. The slave states with a population of 6,196,477 have 30 senators; so that every 418,703 free men of the North have only the same representation in the Senate as every 206,215 citizens of the slave state.

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY, AND THE COVETED TERRITORIES.

vernor REEDER, in a speech at New-York, put this grave question in the clearest light. He said: "With Kansas a slave State—and you will remember that Kansas is 900 miles long—I will thank any one to tell me how he is going to save the second, the third, or the fourth, each one further and further out of reach—each one with more slave States intervening." If Kansas is lost to Freedom, those territories are all lost. We are fighting the battle once for all. Now or never—now and forever. Secure Kansas and all the blessings of Freedom—free-labor, free-schools, free-speech, a free press, enlightened legislation, humane institutions, and that priceless heritage, the common law, are secured for our children. Lose Kansas, and what will be the result? Not only will the curse of Slavery fasten like a cancer upon that beautiful territory—spreading desolation physical and moral in its extending course, but the vast emigration from abroad that is now poured into our midst and overflows westward, stopped suddenly by a line of slave States, will fall back upon our free States, giving us a surplus population that we do not want, and which will necessarily interfere with the employment and the wages of our own citizens. This is a practical view of the case which every farmer, every mechanic, and every laborer in the free States should carefully consider.

Compare again, the relative addition made to the commercial prosperity of the Atlantic States, and particularly of the city of New York, by Ohio and Kentucky, and then glancing forward to the future, if but for fifty or an hundred years hence, endeavor to estimate the superior benefits to accrue to the Atlantic States, from these western territories if organized as free States, over those to accrue from their establishment as slave communities. Think, too, of the difference it will make to your children and grandchildren if they wish to emigrate to those territories whether they are to enter a State on an equal footing with the highest citizen, or as one whose condition is regarded as inferior to that of the Southern slave.

Of its hatred to free society, the democratic party at the South do not pretend to make a secret. "Free society," says the Muscogee (Ala.) Herald, a Buchanan organ—"we sicken at the name. What is it, but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small-fisted farmers, and moon-struck theorists? All the Northern, and especially the New-England States, are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen. The prevailing class one meets with is that of mechanics struggling to be genteel, and small farmers who do their own drudgery, and yet who are hardly fit for association with a Southern gentleman's body servant."

Contrast, gentlemen, with that sentiment,

now reiterated by the Buchanan organs at the South, the sentiment expressed by the leader of the Republican party:—"Free labor—the natural capital which constitutes the real wealth of this great country, and creates that intelligent power in the masses alone to be relied on as the bulwark of free institutions."

You have in these rival sentiments the gist of the issue now submitted to the American people. It is a struggle between Slavery and Freedom—between the small oligarchy of slave masters with its capital of \$2,000,000,000 invested in human flesh, and the great body of free laborers who constitute the bulk of the nation for the possession of the unorganized territories of the United States. These territories exceed in extent by some thirty-three thousand square miles all of the United States both free and slave States; and whose area is more than twice as large as that of the Free States now admitted to the Union.* The Slave States have already secured for Slavery an area of 857,508 square miles, while the free States embrace only 612,596 square miles, and with this immense preponderance in their favor, with millions of acres yet unoccupied, they seek to defraud us of Kansas and Nebraska territories, doubly ours by divine right and by human compact, and to force Slavery into every part of the continent where the flag of our Union waves, and Federal authority has sway.

It is idle to talk of pacification or compromise; it is idle to speak of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as a thing to be regretted, but at the same time to be acquiesced in. That repeal has not yet made Kansas a Slave State, and if we are true to ourselves it never will make Kansas a Slave State. It was but the commencement, not the end of the battle. Its passage shows, not that we have lost Kansas, but only that slaveholders have lost their honor. It shows that henceforth against the slave power which mocks at faith and tramples

* The following interesting and important table is taken from the New-York Herald:—

WORTHY OF NOTE.—Since the peace of 1783, our territorial expansion has been uninterruptedly progressing. We give a tabular statement showing the date and amount of each addition:—

| | <i>Square Miles.</i> |
|--|----------------------|
| 1783 Area of the Union at the Peace. | 820,680 |
| 1803 Purchase of Louisiana | 899,579 |
| 1819 Acquisition of Florida | 66,250 |
| 1845 Admission of Texas | 348,000 |
| 1846 Oregon Treaty | 803,052 |
| 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, } | 550,445 |
| 1853 With Mesilla Valley, } | |
| 1855 Whole Area of the United States | 2,958,608 |
| 1655 Area of the Slave States | 857,508 |
| " " Free " | 612,596 |

Total Area of the States 1,464,105
 Total Area of the Territories 1,497,561
 The Territories exceed the States in extent, by 33,456 square miles, and the real issue of the present contest is, shall those which remain unsettled be seized by the Southern slaveholders by force of arms,

on compacts; which glories in the brutality that struck down a defenceless Senator, and insulted at one blow the sovereignty of Massachusetts, and the right of the people, and which now holds Kansas by the throat—that against this power our only safety is in the rescue of the Government from its control, and its absolute restriction of Slavery to the States where it now exists. With a foe that treaties cannot bind, and that glories alike in national perfidy, and social treachery, eternal vigilance must be the price of liberty,—vigilance to protect the people from the betrayal of their dearest rights; vigilance to shield their representatives in Congress, in unsuspecting moments, from the stealthy blow of the assassin.

Without lingering gentlemen upon the pro-Slavery despotism that is now enthroned in our Federal Government, let me remind you that it has grown to its present fearful strength not through the actual power of the slaveholders, but by our neglect of the warning of Washington, "Let there be no change by usurpation. * * Resist with care the spirit of innovation upon the principles of the Constitution. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the power of all departments in one, and thus to create a real despotism."

And now with the principles of the Constitution as our guide, and the appeal of Kansas in our ear, and the day fast approaching when the vote of each of us is to be cast for a successor to Mr. Pierce, let us look at the candidates and the platforms that are offered for our suffrages.

AND FIRST, THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM AND MR. BUCHANAN.

Were Mr. Buchanan to be judged only by his recorded sentiments on the subject of the Missouri Compromise, even so recently as 1848, he might be regarded, perhaps, as a fitting candidate, in that regard, for those who hold the doctrines of the Republican party; but as he has found it convenient to disclaim his identity, and to exchange his principles for those now current with his party, his former record is only useful as affording whatever weight may once have belonged to his character as an independent statesman to the truth and soundness of the doctrines to which his party and himself are now in opposition.

In a letter to Mr. Sandford, dated August 21, 1848, reproduced in the *Mobile Advertiser*, after referring to his advocacy and approval of the Missouri Compromise, he said—

"Having urged the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, the inference is irresistible that Congress, in my opinion, possesses the power to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the territories. What an absurdity would it then be, if whilst asserting the sovereign

power in Congress, which power, from its very nature, must be EXCLUSIVE, I should in the same breath also claim the identical power for the population of a territory in an unorganized capacity. * * * I cling to the Missouri Compromise with greater tenacity than ever."

But Mr. Buchanan has recently advised his countrymen that he "is no longer James Buchanan." He has been nominated by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, which endorsed with its approval the Administration of Franklin Pierce, and embodied the principles of that Administration in its platform. Mr. Buchanan says, "I have been placed on a platform of which I heartily approve, and I must square my conduct by that platform, and insert no new plank, nor take one from it."

It may be remarked in passing that, apart from the principles and policy thus swallowed in a lump, this extreme concession to his party, this humble merger of individuality, past and future, in a platform patched together to serve the purposes of a campaign, has not been regarded with too much favor, even by his own friends. A certain degree of dignity, of self-restraint and of self-respect, is desirable in a presidential candidate. His past character and services, his antecedents, his principles, his opinions, are all viewed with interest by his supporters, as reflecting credit upon their choice, and it is hardly flattering to their pride to see their candidate so extremely "willing" as to condescend to such entire abnegation; to forego, from the moment of his nomination, his independence of thought, and speech, and principle, and, in a word, to merge his individuality in the planks, rotten or sound, of a temporary platform. It is a characteristic that contrasts unfavorably with the manly independence and resolution which our people admire in their Presidents, whether exhibited in the calm defiance of popular tumult shown by Washington, or in the impetuous and immovable will of Jackson. Mr. Buchanan's letter will not dispel the impression given of his character by Col. Benton, in his Congressional history, where he styles him, "the facile Mr. Buchanan;" nor will it encourage a belief on the part of those who hope he may be inclined to deal fairly towards the people of Kansas, that he will be permitted to counteract the designs of the men into whose hands he has resigned himself, that they will allow him to resume the manhood which he has voluntarily abandoned, instead of compelling him to fulfill his pledge of fealty, and to square his conduct by their platform.

What that platform is you may learn somewhat from Mr. President Pierce, who said at Washington, "I congratulate you that your choice has fallen on a man who stands on the identical platform that I occupy, and that he will take the same with the standard lowered

never an inch!" Next hear *Arnold Douglas*. He said in New York, "Buchanan and myself have for several years back held the same position on the slavery question from beginning to end."

The language of the pro-slavery press and pro-slavery men at the South, has been:—"Mr. Buchanan is as sound on the question as was Mr. Calhoun, and the Northern Democrats are better Southerners to-day than many Democrats even at the South."

I will not multiply authorities to prove Mr. Buchanan's readiness to do everything that the South may demand. Look at his pledges, look at his supporters. A man is known by his friends, and Mr. Buchanan is the candidate not only of Pierce and of Douglas, but of Herbert, who shot the Irishman, of Brooks who assaulted Sumner, of Keitt, who proposes, if Fremont is elected, to march to Washington and rob the Treasury. His election would be an endorsement of the policy of Pierce; his administration would be a continuance of the administration which is so widely repudiated and despised for its broken pledges, its faithlessness to freedom, its abject subserviency to the slave power, its treachery to the confiding settlers in Kansas, its audacious establishment of a military despotism, its tolerance, if not encouragement, of fraud, outrage, robbery, and murder.

The attempt to discover from platform manifestoes the actual policy and intent of the Democratic party, is not always as easy as you might suppose. The Democratic leaders are accustomed to act on the motto of Louis XI., which has been the guiding rule of a good many rulers before and since the times of that monarch—that "he who knows not how to dissemble, knows not to govern." Arnold Douglas, it would seem, in stumping some anti-slavery district, represents himself as an anti-slavery statesman, but in the present campaign the universal agitation of the slavery question has led to frequent and frank avowals both at the North and the South, by whose aid we may read with clearness the platform with which Mr. Buchanan is to square his conduct. One of the resolutions declares "that by the uniform application of the Democratic principle to the organization of Territories and the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery as they may elect, *the equal rights of the States* will be preserved intact."

We have already seen that they claim the right for slavery to overrun all the Territories, whether at the North or the South, and by their endorsement of Mr. Pierce's administration they have approved the forcing of slavery upon a Territory by election frauds, by border violence, and a corrupt judiciary. Now let us see what they mean by "*the equality of*

States," which they pledge themselves to observe intact.

The *Charleston Mercury* thus defines it:

"If the North really entertains that affectionate regard for our property, of which it makes occasional professions—if it is willing to place our system of political economy upon AN EQUALITY with its own, and allow the conditions of our form of society to be pushed to their logical results, then let us import our labor from such sources and in such quantities as pleases us. LET US HAVE THE SLAVE TRADE."

But the mere re-opening of the African Slave Trade from Southern ports, revolting as is the thought, does not embrace the full idea which begins to possess the Slave Power of the *Equality of the States*. It is argued, with a certain sort of plausibility, that if the African Trade is again legalized, every port on the coast would be in the same degree open to it, for the reason that the Constitution provides that "no preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State over another;" and New York and Boston are looked to as the ports from which the slavers are to be fitted for the African coast, and from which they are to return freighted with cargoes of despair.

As regards the general extension and establishment of slavery, the aims of the Buchanan party are clear and definite.

The *Richmond Enquirer*, in an article, "THE TRUE ISSUE," says:—

"The Democrats of the South, in the present canvass, cannot rely on the old grounds of defence and excuse for slavery—for they seek not merely to retain it where it is, but to extend it into regions where it is unknown. * * * We propose to introduce into new territory human beings whom we assert to be unfit for liberty, self-government, and equal association with other men. We must go a step further. We must show that African slavery is a moral, religious, natural, and—probably in the general—a necessary institution of society. This is the only line of argument that will enable Southern Democrats to maintain the doctrines of State equality, and slavery extension."

Of KANSAS, the *Squatter Sovereign* says:—

"We are determined to repel this Northern invasion, and make Kansas a Slave State, though our rivers should be covered with the blood of their victims, and the carcasses of the Abolitionists should be so numerous in the territory as to breed disease and sickness, we will not be deterred from our purpose."

Of CUBA, the design to annex it, is intimated in the last resolution of the Cincinnati platform, where it is declared that "the Democratic party will expect of the next administration, that every proper effort be made to ensure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico." And Mr. Keitt recently declared, in public, that Cuba would be taken, and that "the Democratic party would take it."

"The proper efforts," to this end, which are expected of Mr. Buchanan, should he be elected to the Presidency, were disclosed by him, in advance, in the Ostend Manifesto. A price is to be offered to Spain for Cuba far beyond its present value; when that has been refused, as it has been, and as in all probability it will be again, then the question is to be considered—"Does Cuba, in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our peace and the existence of our cherished Union?" "Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, IF WE HAVE THE POWER!"

This is the "proper method," approved by Mr. Keitt, and which, in a certain contingency, he proposes to apply not only to the gem of Spain, but to the Treasury of the United States.

—————"the good old plan,
That they shall take who have the power,
And they shall keep who can."

It was to the credit of Mr. Marcy that this proposal was repudiated, and its morality denied. But, if Mr. Buchanan shall become the President of the Republic, and his piratical doctrines, avowed at Ostend, become, as Mr. Keitt expects, a leading principle of his administration, we may live to see our once gallant navy manned with lawless bucaners, setting forth to seize Cuba—"if they have the power"—with the black flag of slavery and the death's head and cross-bones of the pirate flaunting defiance to the world, above the star-spangled banner of our country.

On the question of *disunion*, as on that of the Missouri Compromise, the fact that the candidate of the Democratic party is "no longer James Buchanan," is evident, when we recall his former sentiments on the subject, and compare them with that of the platform which he has now adopted as "his guide, philosopher, and friend." "Disunion," said Mr. James Buchanan, "is a word which ought not to be breathed even in a whisper. The word ought to be considered one of direful omen, and our children taught that it is sacrilege to pronounce it."

Mr. A. G. Brown, one of the committee who announced the Cincinnati nomination to Mr. Buchanan, in anticipating the possible success of the Republican party, said, in a recent speech, "If, indeed, it has come to this, that the Union is to be used for these accursed purposes, then, sir, by the God of my fathers, I am against the Union; and, so help me Heaven, I will dedicate the remainder of my life to its dissolution."

Mr. Keitt frankly avows that he "has been a disunionist since he began to think."

The *Richmond Enquirer* declares, after enumerating the preparations of Virginia for war:

"Virginia makes no boast of these preparations, but, sure as the sun shines over her beautiful fields, she will treat the election of an abolitionist candidate as a breach of the treaty of 1789, and a release of every sovereign State in the South from all part and lot in its stipulations."

The Southern Democracy are aware, in the language of the *Nashville Banner*, that if the Republican party succeeds, they "can have no more fortunate wars—no more judicious purchases of territory—no more annexing of independent States on the southern border."

They are using every effort to secure Kansas and our other territories; with Cuba, Nicaragua, and a part or the whole of Mexico, as also Southern California, with the view of forming an independent Southern Empire. The thought of disunion, to some of them, is an ever-present thought. The *South Carolinian* declares that "the success of Buchanan might stave off the dissolution of the Union for a time, but that the event is inevitable."

Another South Carolina paper exultingly declares that "the Southern skies are looking bright, and all the auguries foretell Southern union, Southern independence, and the coming greatness of a Southern Republic."

"Disunion," a word that Mr. Buchanan would not have spoken in a whisper, the candidate of the Democratic party hears shouted exultingly in crowds; and he has added fuel to the treasonable flames that his partisans are kindling in the South, by unjustly intimating that the people of the North are "intermeddling" with the domestic concerns of the South when they resist pro-slavery aggression upon rights secured to them by compact.

I have detained you too long upon the Cincinnati platform, and we will pass from Mr. Buchanan, slavery extension, piracy, and disunion, to

THE AMERICAN PARTY AND THEIR CANDIDATE, MR. FILLMORE.

The American party and its candidate have, as I am advised, many supporters in this town, and some, perhaps, in this assembly. I will assume, as I think I have a right to do, that being Westchester men, they are opposed to treachery and to traitors—that they are in favor of Kansas being free, of equal justice to the Free States, and of a stop being put to those aggressions of the slave power, which, in the violation of the Missouri compact, and the results that followed it, have so wantonly disturbed our national repose and our national harmony. Assuming these to be their sentiments and this their object, let me ask you whether Mr. Fillmore is the man to accom-

plish their objects; and, further, if Mr. Fillmore has even a probable chance of being elected; for, as practical men, if he cannot be elected, they will hardly desire to throw away their votes, and lose their influence in determining this tremendous issue.

The platform of the American (sometimes called the Know-Nothing) party practically ignores the one great issue now agitating the country; and, as regards the rights of Kansas on the one hand, and the schemes for proslavery extension on the other, preserves so significant a silence and so positive a neutrality, that those entertaining the most opposite opinions on these points are expected to meet in harmony and elect a President upon the ground of proposed reforms in the naturalization of aliens, with neither pledges nor principles on the one question of the day. The Northern members of the National Convention at which the platform was adopted, offered a resolution to the effect "that we will nominate no candidate for President or Vice-President who is not in favor of interdicting the introduction of slavery north of 36° 30'." The resolution was laid on the table, by a vote of yeas 141 to nays 52; and Mr. Fillmore was nominated on this neutral platform, which offers no opposition whatsoever to the extension of slavery. Mr. Fillmore himself stands before the country, a perfect cipher on the question of Kansas, whose wrongs have elicited from him neither sympathy nor rebuke.

Mr. Fillmore, however, has referred his fellow-citizens to his past career as the guarantee of the course he will pursue if elected to the Presidency. Taking him at his word, let us see how far that career entitles him to the confidence of the country.*

Mr. Fillmore has been in public life since 1829. He was a member of the House of Representatives from 1837 to 1843, a period of slavery agitation; and he then voted, with persistent firmness, on the side of freedom, with the late venerable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, and that staunch champion of the right—now the senior member of the House, whom may God long preserve!—JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS. In 1838, Mr. Fillmore, in response to a committee of the Anti-Slavery Society of the County of Erie, declared himself "opposed to the annexation of Texas to the Union under any circumstances, so long as slaves are held therein;" and "in favor of Congress exerting all the constitutional power it possesses to abolish the internal slave-trade between the States;" and "in favor, also, of immediate legislation for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia"—going, you will observe, far beyond

the very restricted anti-slavery platform of the Republican party.

During the same year, 1848, Gen. Taylor, a Southern man and a slaveholder, was nominated for the Presidency by the whig party, and Mr. Fillmore was nominated on the same ticket for the Vice-Presidency, with the view of conciliating the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, and reconciling Northern voters to the support of Gen. Taylor. The ticket was successful by a handsome majority, receiving 163 electoral votes.

The term of General Taylor's Presidency, as you remember, was a brief one. The gallant old man who had survived the perils and exposure of the camp, was not proof against the wearing importunities incident to his new position. He had escaped the tomahawk of the Indian on our borders, and the rifles of the Mexicans at Monterey and Buena Vista, but he succumbed before the army of office-seekers that besieged him in the capitol, and the unaccustomed cares of the Presidential office. But to his eternal credit be it remembered, that slaveholder as he was, he never permitted himself to be the representative of a section, or the tool of a faction, but lived and died the faithful executive of the whole people.

Gen. Taylor died on the 9th day of July, 1850, and Millard Fillmore became acting President of the United States.

And now I ask your attention to a remarkable development in regard to Mr. Fillmore's administration, made sometime since by the Hon. Henry S. Foote, at that time a Senator from Mississippi, and prominent leader of the Southern wing of the Democratic party. Mr. Foote's name, you may perhaps remember, as having obtained for a while some little notoriety, from an invitation which he gave on the floor of the Senate to the Hon. JOHN P. HALE, of New-Hampshire—the true-hearted and eloquent representative of the Granite State—to visit him in Mississippi, accompanying the invitation with an assurance that he should be hung on the first convenient tree, and that Mr. Foote would, with great pleasure, assist in the operation. Before Mr. Hale had found it consistent with his senatorial duties to accept this cordial tender of Southern hospitality, Mr. Foote emigrated to California, which he perhaps regarded as a favorable spot for the exercise of his benevolence, in extending to others the courtesies which Mr. Hale declined. Before his departure from Washington, he addressed a parting speech to a meeting of several hundred persons convened at the National Hotel, including many members of Congress, and in the course of it he said that he "would tell a little history NEVER BEFORE DIVULGED," and after recapitulating the points in one of his speeches, in the Senate, in

* The facts here stated are chiefly taken from a speech of the Hon. E. B. Morgan, of New-York, in the House of Representatives.

which he had denounced Gen. Taylor for nominating for office in the Northern States gentlemen known or suspected of holding free soil sentiments, he proceeded:—

"I had not long taken my seat before Mr. Badger, of North Carolina, one of the purest and most patriotic men that ever occupied a place in the national council, came to me and stated that Vice-President Fillmore, the then presiding officer of the Senate, had requested him to make known to me that he perfectly concurred in the views which I had just expressed, and that he would be pleased to have an interview with me on the subject in the official rooms of the Capitol, at the hour of nine o'clock the next morning. I promised to attend upon him at the time and place specified. I did so.

"Without going into particulars, at present, it is sufficient for me to say, that I obtained by the direction of Mr. Fillmore from the hands of an accredited friend of his, a list of the nominees subject to the objection of being agitators on the question of slavery. *This whole catalogue of worthies was disposed of in the Senate, in other words, they were sacrificed to the peace of the country; save one or two, whose nominations remained to be acted upon on the last night of the session of Congress. They were disposed of by Mr. Fillmore himself, on the same night; for just before the clock struck twelve, this gentleman being then President, sent in a special message, withdrawing all the offensive nominations, and substituting others in their stead.*

Mr. Foote, in conclusion, pronounced an eulogium upon Mr. Fillmore, "as a true patriot, who had never, during his administration, nominated a Free-Soiler."

The disclosure of this remarkable secret history not only throws light upon the character of Mr. Fillmore, and answers the question, what pledges for his future fidelity to his new party and to the whole country, is afforded by his past career, but it elucidates another question that is occasionally asked, and which the future historian will have to answer: "Who killed the Whig party?" Mr. Foote saw that party in its prosperity, and he saw it die. Its requiem has been tolled, and its mourners yet go about our streets. Mr. Foote has "*divulged*" the secret events that preceded its dissolution. He helped Mr. Fillmore to give the blow that prostrated it in the North, and his friends could testify that they caught its blood. The breach of confidence involved in his disclosure of State secrets, compromising one who had confided in him, does not necessarily affect the credibility of the witness. The disclosures correspond with the known facts. They were made in the presence of many members of Congress, and they have never, that I am aware, been contradicted. Mr. Fillmore was undoubtedly unfortunate in his choice of a confidant in the scheme he adopted for defeating his old associates, and sacrificing the Whigs of the North to please the Democrats of the South. He should have remembered that there are men, as Junius said of Weddeburn, "whom even

treachery cannot trust." But when you remember the utter rout of the Whig party in 1852, when Gen. Scott obtained but 42 electoral votes, and Pierce 254, and recall its subsequent dissolution almost without a struggle,—to the question, who killed the Whig party? what name, I ask you frankly, is better entitled to the credit than that of Millard Fillmore?

Recurring again to the subject of *disunion*, let us ask how does Mr. Fillmore stand on this great question of constitutional right and duty? He stands with Brooks, and Keitt, and Buchanan, and Wise, and Forsyth, and Slidell, and a host of lesser demagogues, who are striving to arouse a sectional disunion spirit, declaring that "if Fremont is elected, the Union cannot and ought not to be preserved." He openly justifies disunion on the part of the North or South, if a constitutional majority of the country establishes a policy distasteful to the minority of either side.

I know that this assertion has been denied—that Mr. Botts, of Virginia, who is bearding the lion of disunion in its den, recently declared that if Mr. Fillmore had uttered a sentiment favoring disunion, he would not vote for him. Now look at the record, and see how, with an inexplicable want of delicacy in view of his position as a candidate, he predicts and counsels resistance if he is defeated, and his opponent, Mr. Fremont, is elected. At Albany, on the 26th of June, 1856, Mr. Fillmore, in a public speech, declared that "We now saw a political party presenting candidates *elected for the first time from the Free States alone.*" This was an extraordinary misstatement, and one that Mr. Fillmore had no right to make, for he was bound to know that in 1828, the candidates of the Whig party were John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, for President, and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President; and having perpetrated this gross historical blunder, he proceeds to found a false assumption on his erroneous premises.

"Can it be possible that those who are engaged in such a measure can have seriously reflected upon the consequences which must inevitably follow, in case of success? [Cheers.] Can they have the madness or the folly to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a Chief Magistrate? [Cheers.] Suppose that the South having a majority of the electoral votes, should declare that they would only have slaveholders for President and Vice-President; and should elect such by their exclusive suffrages to rule over us at the North? do you think we would submit to it? No, not for a moment. [Applause.] And do you believe that your Southern brethren are less sensitive on this subject than you are, or less jealous of their rights?"

That the sentiments here expressed were not hastily conceived or carelessly uttered is shown by the fact that they were deliberately re-declared at Rochester, and taking the record of

his own speeches, published by his friends, it is clear that no Southern secessionist has gone farther, and scarcely a Northern man has ever before gone so far.

Gentlemen, Mr. Fillmore has, I think, done injustice to the People of the North, in declaring that we would not submit in the contingency he supposes. He should have remembered that the loyalty of the North continued unshaken during all his complicity, as President of the United States and Chief of the Whig party, with the slaveholding Democracy of the Southern section. It endured patiently when he signed the Fugitive law, so revolting to our feelings, and when he issued his proclamation and called out the army to assist in catching slaves in Boston.

No! the North recognize no such doctrine; they hold to the views expressed by the first Chief Justice, in 1801, in a letter to the Freeholders of New York, in which, referring to the recent election for President, in the several States, he said:

"They place us in a new situation, and render it proper for us to consider what our conduct under it should be. I take the liberty, therefore, of suggesting whether the patriotic principles on which we profess to act do not call upon us to give (as far as may depend upon us) fair and full effect to the known sense and intention of a majority of the people in every constitutional exercise of their will, and to support every administration of the government of the country which may prove to be intelligent and upright, of whatever party the persons composing it may be."

One other point in regard to Mr. Fillmore as a Presidential candidate. Is it not evident that he cannot be elected? He is being deserted both at the North and the South. The Hon. Ephraim Marsh, President of the National Convention by which he was nominated, has published a very able letter, with his reasons for declining any longer to support him. Mr. Marsh says that Mr. Fillmore's nomination was *demande*d by the Southern members, and that in that demand, Americanism was but a secondary object to slavery; that the North having yielded, the slave States now find that Fillmore is less popular than they had believed with the North, and accordingly they are breaking faith with their Northern associates, and, repudiating their nominee, are going over to Buchanan. Mr. Marsh sensibly asks whether the North is to adhere to a nomination made at the demand of the South, reluctantly acquiesced in by the North, and now repudiated by the South, and he answers as I think you will answer—no. Senator Geyer, of Missouri, who has gone over to Buchanan, declares that he is "satisfied that the contest is between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fremont; that Mr. Fillmore cannot possibly obtain more than five States; and it

is by no means certain that he can carry a single one."

Senator Brown, of Mississippi, says that there is scarcely a struggle between Fillmore and Buchanan. "Mr. Fillmore has not the ghost of a chance. * * * If Buchanan is not elected, Fremont will be."

A Charleston paper, taking the same view of the matter, says that Mr. Fillmore is fighting his own and Buchanan's battle; and Governor Floyd's recent declaration in New York, that there were bonds of union between the American and Democratic parties, accords with sundry other indications that the Fillmore ticket is kept in the field mainly to distract the Republican vote, and to insure the success of the slavery candidate.

To vote for Fillmore, then, is to vote for a Southern candidate, whom the South reject—who does not represent the views and feelings of the North, whose election is all but hopeless, and every vote for whom, by a voter opposed to the extension of slavery and the establishment of piracy, is, in reality, a vote for Buchanan—a vote for the Cincinnati platform and for the candidate of the Romish church. To every member of the American party, who, under this state of things, intends to vote for Mr. Fillmore, may be appropriately addressed, with slight alteration, the words of Pope Paul to the Duke of Guise when leaving Italy:—"Go, then, and take with you the satisfaction of having done little for your party, less for your country, and nothing for your own honor."

There have been recent rumors of a plan among the Fillmore and Buchanan leaders to trade off the votes of the respective parties in support of a Union ticket, to compass the defeat of Fremont—so that Democrats, foreigners, and Romanists, shall be made to elect candidates pledged to Know Nothingism and Protestantism; and those who hold to the principles of the American party shall assist to elect the opponents of their views, and the revilers of their principles and motives. I think that those who suppose the people can be bought and sold at the pleasure of their leaders, will soon find their mistake. Burke, in an extraordinary figure, that a lesser orator would not have dared to use, described the ill-assorted members of Lord Chatham's cabinet as "pigging together in the same truckle-bed." And here it is proposed to drive the Fillmoreites and Buccaneers, North and South, into one pen, and make them vote as they are bidden. The politicians who have suggested this ingenious device, may have found it an easy thing to buy over a convention, or to corrupt a Congress, but they may learn, as Lord North and the Tories learnt, before them, that it is alike useless and dangerous to trifle

with the honesty of the masses, or to resist the will of an united people.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND ITS LEADER.

It is pleasant, gentlemen, to turn from these schemes for slavery extension, to glance at the Republican party, that has sprung into existence, like the armed Minerva, from the brain of Jove—beautiful in its proportions, and terrible in its strength—with the principles of Washington and the Fathers for its chart, and “the pathfinder of empire” to bear aloft its standard.

The platform of the Republicans, as adopted at Philadelphia on the 14th of June, 1856, is at once so simple and comprehensive as to admit all Americans, who are in favor of restoring the Government to the principles of Washington, and putting a final stop to the extension of slavery, without compromising their individual preferences, on the other political questions which naturally exist in our government, but which are, for the time, overshadowed by this paramount issue.

The Republican party holds that an adherence to the principles of the Fathers, and the Declaration of Independence—which the sham democracy of the day ridicules as a tissue of glittering sounding generalities—is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, of the Federal Constitution, of the rights of the people, and the union of the States. It denies the authority of Congress, or of any territorial legislature, or of any association of individuals, to establish slavery in the territories, and claims that it is the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit, in the territories, those twin relics of barbarism—slavery and polygamy. It arraigns the Pierce administration before the country and the world for the crimes it has instigated and perpetrated against Kansas. It declares that Kansas should be admitted as a free State, with its present Free State Constitution; and, having thus declared its policy at home, it denounces the highwayman's plea, that might makes right, as declared in the Ostend circular, as unworthy of American diplomacy.

Is there a single point in that platform to which you cannot heartily subscribe? Do you find there anything that conflicts with the rights of the South, with the duties of the North, or with the proper harmony of the Union? For myself, I believe that the triumph of these principles—making it a fixed fact for all coming time, that slavery shall not be extended beyond its present limits—can alone quiet the country, and secure the stability and repose of the Republic. If the struggle is not now ended, it will undoubtedly continue. The election of Buchanan, and the

triumph of slavery, would be not a settlement, but only a postponement of the question.

Such are the principles of the Republicans, which they have not invented in Cincinnati, nor imported from Ostend, but which they find in the writings of the Fathers of the Republic, and in the Constitution, that they ordained for the establishment of liberty and justice. Such is the platform—now for the candidate.

With the history of FREMONT, every reading American is familiar. Before he was thirty years old, he had explored the basin of the upper Mississippi, and the passes of the Rocky Mountains, from the frontier of Missouri to the shores of the Pacific. He had fixed the locality and character of the pass through which thousands are pressing to California; had defined the geography and geology of the country, and designated the points from which the flag of the Union now waves from a chain of fortresses in the wilderness. His report, printed by the Senate, was translated into foreign languages, and his name was enrolled by the *savans* of Europe among the great geographers of the world.

Before the age of thirty-five, he had become, in the language of Mr. Buchanan, “the Conqueror of California,” and had assisted to erect that territory into a Free State. At thirty-seven, he was elected, by its legislature, to the Senate of the United States, where he faithfully maintained her rights and advanced her interests;* and now, at the age of forty-three, he is the candidate, less of a convention than of the people—the chosen candidate of freedom, for the highest office in the people's gift.

Since his nomination, slander has been busy with his name, and invention has been tortured to create distrust in his integrity. But go back a little, to a time when he stood in the way of no political aspirants; search the records of Congress, and you will find the highest testimony to the ability, prudence, and integrity of Fremont, from many of those who are now in the ranks of his opponents. Not only from Mr. BUCHANAN, and from CALHOUN, but from BADGER, of North Carolina, CLAYTON, of Delaware, MASON, of Virginia, CRITTENDEN, of Kentucky, CASS, of Michigan, BUTLER, of South Carolina, DIX, of New-York, ATCHISON, of Missouri, RUSK, BAGBY, and BENTON.

Let me quote to you the opinion entertained of Fremont by one of the oldest statesmen

* The California Chronicle says that “during Fremont's brief service in the U. S. Senate, he introduced and advocated 17 post-routes, and 18 other bills for the benefit of California; a bill for the Pacific wagon-road, and opposed propositions to tax mining claims; advocated free labor; and if he had continued at his post, California would this day be further advanced in all the essentials of State prosperity, than twenty years of Gwin and Weller, with all their political machinery, could bring about.”

of the country, the Honorable and venerable JOSIAH QUINCY, who, from his retirement, addresses words of counsel to his fellow-countrymen: "I believe him," says Mr. Quincy, "to be a man as much marked out by Providence for the present exigency of our nation, as Washington was for that of our American Revolution. He comes from whence great men usually come, from the mass of the people—nursed in difficulties, practiced in surmounting them; wise in counsel, full of resource, self-possessed in danger; fearless, and foremost in every useful enterprise; unexceptionable in morals, with an intellect elevated by nature and cultivated in laborious fields of duty—I trust he is destined to save this Union from dissolution, to restore the Constitution to its original purity, and to relieve that instrument which Washington designed for the preservation and enlargement of freedom, from being any longer perverted to the multiplication of Slave States and the extension of slavery."

Such has been the general conviction of his merits and his popularity throughout the country, that there are reasons for supposing that if it had not been for his persistent opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he might have been selected by Governor Floyd and his friends, as the Presidential candidate of the Democratic party.

It is better as it is. He occupies his true position at the head of the party of constitutional freedom, resisting the violation of compacts, and the extension of slavery.

The hour for a change has come, and with the hour appears the man. The country demands a change not only of policy but of rulers.

We want no longer men who have made politics a trade—who have grown gray in party traces—who in the pursuit of office have veered from Federalism to Democracy, from Democracy to Slavery and Buccaneering, and who now merge principles and ideality in the Cincinnati Platform;—nor do we want one who has plunged from abolitionism into slave-catching, and from slave-catching by a natural transition, I cannot call it a descent, into sectionalism, and disunionism—viewing the while with cold indifference the sacrifice of freedom and the wrongs of Kansas. Our people demand one whose heart beats responsive to their own—who unites the generous enthusiasm of youth, with the matured vigor and wisdom of manhood.

They need one who has given a guarantee in the past for his career in the future—one whose identity and individuality is stamped upon his life—who fears not to avow in outspoken words, his manly principles, and who would scorn to become the padlocked plank of a platform, or the pliant puppet of a party.

The day approaches when you are to do your part towards determining the question of AMERICA FREE, or AMERICA SLAVE. One of the famous laws promulgated by Solon for the governance of the Athenians, declared dishonored and disfranchised every citizen who in a civil sedition stood aloof and took part with neither side. Here, gentlemen, the very government is in rebellion against the Constitution and the people, and Kansas looks to you to free her from its tyrannic grasp. Remember the dignity of your position—ponder the importance of your vote. Upon the ballots cast in your quiet village may depend the future of the Republic—the destiny of the continent.

The issue is the broad one of Freedom and Slavery. All other issues are for the time absorbed in this, and personal animosities and prejudices should disappear before a common danger, as in the early days of the Republic. Shall our constitutional liberties be preserved? Shall the mission of the country be accomplished? Shall peace and freedom shower their blessings over our Western territories? or shall club-law rule at Washington? Shall honorable murderers stalk unpunished in the capital? Shall a military despotism trample the life-blood from our territories, and an arrogant oligarchy of slave masters rule as with the plantation-whip, twenty millions of American citizens?

That is the issue. It concerns not only the North, but the South, where an immense majority of non-slaveholders are now shorn of their rights by the exacting influence of slavery.

Ours is no sectional party. It is bounded by no geographic lines. We believe with Burke, that virtue does not depend on climate or degrees. We fight not against a section, but a class; not against a people, but a system. Our leader is one whom the South has delighted to honor, and it should not be forgotten that to South Carolina, that gave birth to a Brooks, whom the House of Representatives spurned as the assassin-like assailant of Charles Sumner—to the same South Carolina belongs the credit of having reared FREMONT, whom, by God's blessing, we hope to install as the constitutional defender of the liberties of the country.

Our opponents would have us believe that, instead of "Fremont and victory," we are on the verge of a defeat. Whether victory or defeat await us, duty is ours, consequences are God's; and I have long regarded the battle for freedom in America as one that we are to wage steadfastly, if not hopefully, while life lasts, preserving untarnished the weapons of our fathers, and bequeathing them, untrused, to our sons. Stand by the principles of the Declaration of Independence, whose irresistible point and divine temper converted rebellion into revolution—counter J, as your fathers

contended for "THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE."

Nothing, it is said, can be more uncertain than the near future of American politics. Men's judgments in such cases, are naturally biased by their wishes, and influenced, perhaps, more or less, by the predominancy of one party or another in their own neighborhood. The *New Orleans Delta*, reviewing from that far corner the whole country, declares that party leaders, engaged with the loaves and fishes, have culpably kept them in ignorance of the real strength of the Republican party, which, it says, threatens to swallow up every other in the North as the rod of Moses swallowed up those of the Egyptians. It admits that the Republican party has increased, is increasing, and is not likely to be diminished, a fact that, it remarks, has just spoken with 8,000 voices in Iowa, 15,000 in Vermont, and 20,000 in Maine, with Blair, a Fremont, from a Slave State, and that these, as signs of the times, possess the utmost significance. It reminds its readers that like causes produce like effects, and it anticipates a similar result in all of the Free States.

There are two disturbing causes that may prevent this result: one, the deception that has been practised by the Democratic leaders in some of the States in pretending to be opposed to the extension of slavery, and the belief which they have been successful in propagating, that the rights involved in the Missouri Compromise have been definitely disposed of by its repeal, whereas it is the very question, in an intensified form, that is now directly put by the people of Kansas to the people of the United States.

It is no longer, shall slavery be permitted to pass the line of 36° 30' quietly and under the sanction of "popular sovereignty?" but, shall it be permitted to pass that line by the aid of fraudulent elections, a lawless executive and a corrupt judiciary, by the connivance of the Federal Government and the power of the Federal arm, trampling upon the Constitution of the United States, the sovereignty of Kansas, and the rights and liberties of its people?

The blood already spilt in consequence of the repeal of the Missouri compact, drips from the hands of every man who aided that breach of faith. But he who now votes for either

Buchanan, who endorses, or for Fillmore, who by his silence approves, the encroachment of slavery upon Kansas, not only incurs, with the original repealer of the compact, the ancient curse, "*Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark. And all the people shall say, AMEN,*" but he assumes the responsibility of all the blood that is destined to water the plains of Kansas, if the slave power is now supported in its attempt to force slavery upon that consecrated soil.

The other disturbing cause is the power of money in the hands of men whose principles allow them to approve the election frauds perpetrated in Kansas, and who may be ready to repeat the experiment nearer home. With a certain class of politicians, the importation of illegal votes and other frauds upon the purity of elections, seem to be regarded as venial offences, if not actually entitling them to the gratitude of their party, when, in truth, no act of treason can strike more directly at the sovereignty of the people, and the stability of the Republic.

Looking at our future prospects, it is to be remembered that the people of the slave States also are awakening to a knowledge of their strength and a remembrance of their right and truest interest. Not only Missouri, but Virginia too, are preparing to throw off the insolent domination of the slave power, and the manly spirit shown by Prof. Hedrick, of South Carolina, in avowing his principles, and preference for Fremont, is an indication that the Reign of Terror, which banishes booksellers, silences presses, and gags all expression of anti-slavery sentiment, will soon suffer interruption.

Tyranny and treachery, though they may prosper for awhile, irresistibly sow the seeds of their own destruction, and if we are but true to ourselves, true to the principles of our fathers, true to the historic associations that cluster about our soil, let us trust that we shall soon restore freedom to Kansas and quiet to the Union, and let us resolve and re-resolve never to falter in our course until we have placed the Federal Government on the side of Freedom, and re-inaugurated that old policy of Washington and Jefferson, by which they ordained that throughout the wide extent of our Western Territories "the sun should not rise upon a master, nor set upon a slave."