tances are to be made, and all letters to the pecuniary conceives of the paper are to

d. (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. ere times for 75 cents-one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, ala and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are auet to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial

but are not responsible for any of the debts the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray EDNEND QUINCY, SANUEL PHILBRICK, and octages a any of The Liberator, both sides of stion are impartially allowed a hearing.

WY LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Manfind,

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1856.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH

SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty you of preserving the African slave trade; the sec THE STIPULATION TO SURBENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fata

to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons in fact, the oppressor repre

mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection

majority in the slave representation over that of th

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special of Seldom in the history of such a question been presented. Far-fills, navy bills, land bills, are impor-sorly occupy your care; but these all the course of ordinary legislation. As

Bay on the north, and the tepid re of the whole wast contribute. To get situation, on the very highway occans, are added a soil of unsur-ss, and a fascinating, undulating with a health-giving climate, surface, with a nearby-group chinace, to nurture a powerful and generous riby to be a central pivot of American s A few short months only have passed spacious mediterranean country was to the savage, who ran wild in its woods ion of freemen larger than Athens

n, a Crime has been committed, which umple in the records of the Past. Not provinces or in the cruelties of selfish I you find its parallel; and yet there instance, which may show at least stice. In the terribe impeachment great Roman Orator has brasted time the name of Verres, amoids there and accellence the somewhite. the tefore drawn together—througing the sal rightering stopes and under the anxpite of witnesses summoned from the
sist cine. But an audience grander far—of
to finity—of more various people and of
the linear the countless multitude of g generations, in every land where elo een studied or where the Roman name she recognised—has listened to the accusa-mentirebbed with condemnation of the crimi-is fr. peating in an age of light and in a land obstantional liberty, where the safeguards of distributed are listed and the lightest tri-ple of avoidable of the lightest tri-ple of avoidable of fearlessly assert that the mass of much abused Sicily, thus memorable in for, were small by the side of the wrongs of lang when the very shrines of popular institu-da, nor sacred than any heathen altar, have it secrated; where the ballot box, more pre-sent has any work, in ivory or marb e, from the manghand of art, has been plundered; and ongoised-has listened to the accusa fart, has been plundered; and Tam an American citizen," has

is also of art, has been plundered; and the cy "I am an American citizen," has marched in rain against outrage of every marched in rain against outrage of every level in rain against outrage of every pool ife itself. Are you against sacrilposest in for your execration, Are you against sacrilposest in for your execration, Are you ambier? I hold it up to your score. Are if the protee ion of American citizens? I have their dearest rights have been cloved in the protee in the protee in the protee in the proteen as a sought said basif on their very necks!

The six kedness white I now begin to exist the proteen which is a someon tragedy have it origin as a subsequently agravated by the motive standard in the sacommon tragedy have its origin of his accommon tragedy have its origin to his accommon tragedy have it and it may be the first in the sacommon tragedy have it and it may be the proteen to adepraved longing for a new stage, the hideous off-pring of such a crime, when the world, alike Christian and Turk, is rising associate this wrong, and to make it a hisself present and a sacommon the pollution of Slavery, all state of political power. There is a simple which you will validy attempt to deny, but his inseff presents an essential wickedness make other public crimes seem like public states and the sacomity, vast beyond comparison, and to insert the public crimes seem like public states and the public crimes seem like public as a simple was a supplementation.

as enemity, vast beyond comparison, this enemity, vast beyond comparison, the enemity of the comparison of wickedness which the imability of the comparison of wickedness which the imability of the comparison of the comparison of the country. The mater has been only in this distant Terbit truther throughout the country. The mater has begue. The strife is no call, but national. Even now, while I extension on all the strikes of clvil war, of the propagandists of Siavery, and the carmination of their opponents, are now from the distant Territory over wide-manufacts, and the whole country, in all distants of the country, in the companities, which, unless happing averted the propagandist war, with an accumulated as sepond the wickedness of any war in particular war, with an accumulation of the constituting a strife, in the language of frevidence and the avenging pen of ind constituting a strife, in the language colors where, were than foreign, more all noce than certify but something come and the control with the control of the cont

revisionce and the avenging pen of constituting a strife, in the language meta writer, more than forega, more than could be strife, and in itself more than a strife, and in one of the strike that a strife, and the strike that a strife, and the strike that a stri

arraign derive their rearrait consequence only from this connection.

In now opening this great matter, I am not insensible to the austere demands of the occasion; but the dependence of the crime against Kan-as upon the Slave Power is so peculiar and important, that I trust to be pardoned while I impress it by an illustration, which to some may seem trivial. It is related in Northern mythology, that the god of Force, visiting an enchanted region, was chillenged by his royal entertainer to what seemed a humble feat of strength—merely, sir, to lift a cat from the ground. The god smill dat the challenge, and, calmly placing his hand under the bely of the animal, with superhuman strength, servee, while the back of the feline monster arched far upwards, even beyond reach, and one paw actually

ognised.

My task will be divided under three different heads; first, THE CRIME AGAINST KANSAS, in its origin and extent; secondly, THE APOLOGIES FOR THE CRIME; and therdly, the TRUE REMEDY.

But, before entering upon the argument, I.must say something of a general character, particularly in response to what has fallen from Senators who have raised themselves to eminence on this floor in championship of human wrongs; I mean the Senator from South Carolina, (Mr. Butler,) and the Senator from Blilinois, (Mr. Douglas,) who, though unlike as Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, vet, like is the exclusive traffic; and again, at the treaty of Madrid, clung to the wretched piracy. It is true, that in this spirit the power of the mother country was prostrated to the same base ends in her American Colonies, against indignant protests from our fathers. All these things now rise up in judgment against her. Let us not follow the Senator from South Carolina to do the very evil to-day, which in another generation we condemn.

As the Senator from Bouth Carolina is the Don Quixote, the Sena or from Illinois [4r. Douglas] unlike as Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, vet, like senstor from South Carolina, Mr. Buter, jand the Senator from South Carolina, Mr. Buter, jand the Senator from South Carolina is the Don unlike as Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, yet, like this couple, sally forth together in the same cause. The Senator from South Carolina has read many books of chiva'ry, and believes himself a chival-rous knight, wi'n sentiments of honor and courage of course he has chosen a mistress to whom he has made his vows, and who, though ugly to others, is always lovely to him; though polluted in the sight of the-world, is chaste in his sight—I mean the harlot, Slavery. For ber his tongue is always profuse in words. Let her be impeached in character, or any proposition made to shu her out from the extension of her wantonness, and no extravagence of manner or hardihood of assertion is then too great for this senator. The frenzy of Don Quixote, in behalf of his wench Dulcinea del Toboso, is all surpassed. The asserted rights of Slavery, which shock equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a fantastic claim of equality. If the Slave States cannot enjoy what, in mockery of the great fathers of the Republic, he misames equality under the Constitution—in other words, the ful power in the National Territories to compel fellow-men to unpaid toil, to separate husband and wife, and to sell little children at the auction block—then, sir, the chivalrie Senator is the could was "measured," the chivalrie Senator is the other words, the ful power in the chivalrie Senator is the other words, the ful power in the chivalrie Senator will conduct the State of South Carolina and fanatician." To 'e sure, these charages, lack all grace of originality, and all sentiment of truth; but the adventurons Senator does not besitate. He is the uncompromising, unblush-ing representative on this floor of a flagarna sec-

alted Senator! A second Moses come for a second Exodus!

But not content with this poor menace, which we have been twice told was "measured," the Senator, in the unrestrained chivalry of his nature, has undertaken to apply opprobrious words to those who differ from him on this floor. He calls them "sectional and fanatical," and opposition to the usurpation in Kassas, he denounces as "an uncalculating fanaticism." To 'e sure, these charges, lack all grace of originality, and all sentiment of truth; but the adventurous Senator does not hesitate. He is the uncompromising, unblushing representative on this floor of a flagrant sectionarism, which now domineers over the Republic, and yet with a ludicrous ignorance of his own position—unable to see himself as others see him—or with an effrontery which even his white head ought not to protect from rebuke, he applies to those here who resist his sectionalism the very epithet which designates himself. The men who strive to bring back the Government to its original

tion—timble to see himself as others see him—or with an effloritery which even his white head with an effloritery which even his white head those here who result him rebuck, he applies to those here who result him rebuck, he applies to those here who result him are those here who result him are those here who result him are stronger battalions than any mark that which designates himself. The meny who strive to bring back the Government to its original policy, when I reedom and not Slavery was national, who is layery and not of Freedom was sectional, he arraigns as accional. This will not do. It involves too great a perversion of terms. I tell that Senator, that it is to himself, and to the "organitation" of which he is the "committed advocate," that this epithet belongs. I now fasten it upon them. For myself, I care little for names; but since the question has been raised here, I allirn that the Republican party of the Union is in no just sense sectional, but more than any other party, national; and that it more goes forth tooks lodge from the high places of the Government the tyrannical sectionalism of which he Senator from South Carolina is one of the maddest scalots.

It belongs to me now, in the first place, to the year persons among us loving Liberty too well for their personal good, in a sellist generation. Such there may be a fanaticism for evit as well as for good. Now, I will not deny, that there are persons among us loving Liberty too well for their personal good, in a sellist generation. Such there may be a fanaticism for evit as well as for good. Now, I will not deny, that there are persons among us loving Liberty too well for their personal good, in a sellist generation. Such there may be, and, for the sake of their example, would that there were more! In calling them "fanatics" you cast contumely upon the noble army of marriys, from the earliest day down to this hour; upon the long line of devoted patriots, who throughout history, have truly replied, "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwite, so bein m

ter, should decline to be its tool; all these things and more were needed; and they were found in the Slave Power of our Republic. There, sir, stands the criminal—all unmasked before you—heartless, grasping, and tyrannical—with an and ucity be yound that of Verres, a subtlety beyond that of Machiavel, a meanness beyond that of Bacon, and allily beyond that of Hastings. Justice to Kansas can be secured only by the prostration of this influence; for this is the Power behind—greater than any President—which succors and sustains the Crime. Nay, the proceedings I now arraign derive their fearful consequence only from this connection.

In new opening this great matter, I am not in sensible to the sustere demands of the occasion; but the dependence of the crime against Kansas upon the Slave Power is so peculiar and import to the Spaniards, who, under Alva, sought to force the Inquisition upon Holland, by a tyranny kindred to hat now employed to force slavery upon Kansas; and such were the Algerines, when it solemn conclave, after listening of Force, visiting an enchanted region, was chil-

another matter regarded by him of such conse-quence, that he interpolated it into the speech of the Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. Hale] and not merely a cat, but that it belonged to and was a part of the great Terrestrial Serpent, which it in insumerable folds, encircled the whole globe. Even so the creature, whose paws are now fastened upon Kansas, whatever it may seem to be, constitutes in reality a part of the Shave Power, which, with loathsome folds, is now colled about the whole land. Thus do I expose the extent of the present contest, where we encounter not merely local resistance, but also the unconquered sustaining arm behind. But out of the vastness of the Crime attempted, with all its woo and shame, I derive a well-founded assurance of a commensurate vast ness of effort against it, by the aroused masses of the certmined not only to vindicate Right against Wrong, but to redeem the Republic from the thraidom of that Oligarchy, which prompts, directs, and concentrates, the distant wrong.

Such is the Crime, and such the crimical, which it is my duty in this debate to expose, and, by the Such is the Crime, and such the criminal, which it is my duty in this debate to expose, and, by the blessing of God, this duty hall be done completely to the end. But this will not be enough. The Apologies, which, with strange hardihood, have been offered for the Crime, must be brushed away, so that it shall stand forth, without a single rag, or fig leaf, to cover its vile ness. And, finelly, the True Remei'y must be brushed away, to shall it shall stand forth, without a single rag, or fig leaf, to cover its vile ness. And, finelly, the places, who lend themselves to Slavery through the standard of the shall stand forth, without a single rag, or fig leaf, to cover its vile ness. And, finelly, the protance; and yet, if I embonored by your attention, I hope to exhibit it clearly in all its parts, while I conduct you to the inevitable conclusion, that Kaosas must be admitted at once, with her present Constitution, as a State of this Union, and give a new star to the blue field of our National Flag. And here-I derive satisfaction from the thought, that the cause is so strong in itself as to bear even the infirmities of its aivocates; nor can it require anything beyond that simplicity of treatment and moderation of manner which I desire to cultivate. Its true character is such that, its recognised.

The Senator dreams that he can subdue the The Senator dreams that he can subdue the North. He disclaims the open threat, but his conduct still implies it. How little that Senator knows himself, or the strength of the cause which he persecutes! He is but a mortal man; against him is an immortal principle. With finite power he wrestles with the infinite, and he must fall.

named. Leaving all the other territory to await the judgment of another generation, the South sad to the North, Conquer your prejudices so far as to admit Missouri as a slave State, and, in consideration of this much coveted boon, Slavery shall be prohibited fotver in all-she remaining I ouisian a Territory above 36 deg. 30 min; and the North yielded.

In total disregard of history, the President, in his annual message, has told us that this compromise "was reductantly acquiesced in by the South ern States." Just the contrary is true. It was the work of slaveholders, and was crowded by their occurring votes upon a relectant North. At the time it was hailed by slaveholders as a victory. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, in an off the principle of their heads with mortification. But little did they know the completeness of their disaster. Little did they know the completeness of their disaster. Little did they dream that the prohibition of Slavery in the Territory, which was stipulated as the price of their faral capitalation, would also at the very moment of its maturity be wrested from them

Time passed, and it became necessary to provide for this Territory an organised Government. Snd-

the very moment of its maturity be wrested from them

Time passed, and it became necessary to provide for this Territory an organised Government. Snd dealy, without notice in the public press, or the prayer of a single petition, or one word of public recommendation from the President—after an acquiescence of thirty three years, and the irreciamable possession by the South of its special share under this compromise—in violation of every obligation of honor, compact, and good neighborhood—and in contemptuous disregard of the out gushing sentiments of an aroused Noith, this time honored prohibition, in itself a land mark of Freedom, was overturned, and the vast region now known as K-nsas and Nebroska was opened to Slavery. It was natural that a me-sure thus repugnant in character hould be pressed by largum nts mutually repugnant. It was urged on two principal reasons, so opposite and inconsistent as to stap each other in the face—one being that, by the repeal of the prohibition, the Territory would be left open to the entry of slaveholders with their slaves, without hindrance; and the roton much to say, that, had these great patriots once more come among us, not one of the prohibit of the entry of slaveholders with their slaves, if they should think best. With some, the apology was the alleged rights of slave-holders; with others, it was the alleged rights of many complete the corporation, and of "Self-Defensive Associations," and of "Self-Defensive Associations," and of "Self-Defensive Associations," and of

government had not netariously interposed its in-fluence, it could not have passed. If it had been stone store the wrong. The populous North, fluence, it could not have passed. If it had been stone store we will be a starp sense of outrage, and inspired by could not have passed. If the rules of the House and the rights of the minority had not been vio-lated it could not have passed. If the will be a starp sense of course, a just supremacy of Francisco and the results of the minority had not been vio-lated it could not have passed. If the will be a starp sense of course, a just supremacy of Francisco and the results of the minority had not been vio-bers there, involving, of course, a just supremacy

votes redoes the wrong. The populous North, intense, it could not have passed. If it has the could not have passed. If the rules of the Bloose and the rights of the minority had not been vice and the rights of the minority had not been vice and the rights the beart, it would have been each the redouble of a very to another Congres, when the People might the beart, it would have been each been wittoot its first seminal life.

Mr. President, I mean to keep abooletely within personal imputations; viu only with frankness, such as belong to the occasion and my own charman the personal imputations; viu only with frankness, such as belong to the occasion and my own charman the personal imputations; viu only with frankness, such as belong to the occasion and my own charman the personal imputations; viu only with frankness, and the personal imputations are not to be viewed to be a second to be a second to the personal imputations; viu only with the personal imputations; viu only with the personal imputations and the personal imputations and the personal imputations and the personal imputations of the personal imputations and the persona

didate of Slavery. An eye-witness, Gen. Pomercy, of superior intelligence and perfect integrity, thus describes this scene:

Here was an outrage at which the coolest blood of patriotism boils. Though, for various reasons unnecessary to develop, the busy settlers allowed the election to pass uncontested, still the means employed were none the less "illegal and reprehensible."

employed were none the less "illegal and reprehensible."

This infliction was a significant prelude to the grand invasion of the 30th March, 1855, at the election of the first Territorial Legislature under the organic law, when an armed multitude from Missouri entered the Territory, in larger numbers than General Taylor commended at Buena Vista, or than General Jackson had within his lines at New Orleans—larger far than our fathers rallied on Bunker Hill. On they came as an "army with banners," organised in companies, with officers, munitions, tents, and provisions, as though marching upon a foreign foe, and breathing loud-monthed threats that they would carry their purpose, if need be, by the bowie knife and revolver. Among them, according to his own confession, was David R. Atchison, belted with the vulgar arms of his vulgar comrades. Arrived at their several destinations on the night before the election, the invaders pitched their tents, placed their sentries, and waited for the coming day. The same trustworthy eye witness, whom I have already quoted, says, of one locality:

"Baggare wagons were there, with arms and ammu-nition enough for a protracted fight, and among them two brass field pieces, ready charged. They came with drains besting and flags flying, and their leaders were of the most prominent and conspicuous men of their State." Of another locality he says :

"The invaders ca we together in one armed and organised body, with trains of fifty wagons, besides horsemen, and the night before election, pitched their camp in the vicinity of the polls; as d. having appointed their own judges in piece of those who, from intimidation or otherwise, failed to attend, they voted without any proof of residence."

ing day, in some places, to intimidate the judges of elections; in others, to substitute judges of their own appointment; in others, to wrest the hallot boxes from their rightful possessors, and everywhere to exercise a complete control of the election, and thus, by a preternatural audacity of usurpation, impose a Legislature upon the free people of Kansas. Thus was conquered the Sevastopol of that Territory.

people of that Territory.

But it was not enough to secure the Legislature.
The election of a member of Congress recurred
on the 2d October, 1855, and the same foreigners,
who had learned their strength, again manifested

it. Another invasion, in controlling numbers, came from Missouri, and once more forcibly exercised the electoral franchise in Kansss.

At last, in the latter days of November, 1855, a storm, long brewing, burst upon the heads of the devoted people. The ballot-boxes had been violated, and a Legislature installed, which had proceeded to carry out the conspiracy of the invasive conditions. lated, and a Legislature installed, which had proceeded to carry out the conspiracy of the invaders; but the people of the Territory, born to Freedom, and educated as American citizens, showed no signs of submission. Slavery, though recognised by pretended law, was in many places practically an outlaw. To the lawless borderers, this was hard to bear; and, like the heathen of old, they raged, particularly against the town of Lawrance, already known, by the firmness of its principles and the character of its citizens, as the citadel of the good cause. On this account they threatened, the good cause. On this account they threatened, in their peculiar language, to "wipe it out" Soon the hostile power was gathered for this purpose. The wickedness of this invasion was enhanced by the way in which it began. A citizen of Kansas, by the name of Dow, was murdered by one of the partizans of Siavery, under the name of "law and order." Such an outrage naturally aroused indignation and provoked threats. The professors of "law ond order" allowed the murderer to escape; and still further to illustrate the irony of the name they assumed, seized the friend of the murdered man, whose few neighbors soon rallied for his rescue. On this account they threatened

This transaction though totally disregarded in its chief front of wickedness, became the ex-cuse for unprecedented excitement. The weak Governor, with no faculty higher than servility to Slavery—whom the President, in his official delin-Governor, with no faculty higher than servility to Siavery—whom the President, in his official delinquency, had appointed to a trust worthy only of a well balanced character—was frightened from his propriety. By proclamation he invoked the President. The Territory would not respond to his senseless appeal. The President was dumb; but the proclamation was circulated throughout the border counties of Missouri; and Platte, Clay, Carlisle, Sabice, Howard, and Jefferson, each of them, contributed a volunteer company, recruited from the road sides, any armed with weapons which chance afforded—known as the "shet gun militia"—with a Missouri officer as commissary general, dispensing rations, and another Missouri officer as general in chief; with two wagon loads of rifles, belongin chief; with two wagon loads of rifles, belonging to Missouri, drawn by six mules, from its arse nal at Jefferson City; with seven pieces of cannon belonging to the United States, from its arsenal at Liberty; and this formidable force, amounting to at least 1800 men, terrible with threats, with oaths

belonging to the United States, from its arsenal at Liberty; and this formidable force, amounting to at least 1800 men, terrible with threats, with oaths and with whisky, crossed the borders, and encamped in larger part at Wacheruss, over against the doomed town of Lawrence, which was now threatened with destruction.

With these invaders was the Governor, who by this act levied war upon the people he was sent to protect. In camp with him was the original Catiline of the conspiracy, while by his side was the docile Chief Justice and the docile Judges. But this is not the first instance in which an unjust Governor has found too's where he ought to have found justice. In the great impeachment of Warren Hastings, the British orator, by whom it was conducted, exclaims, in words strictly applicable to the misdeed I now arraign, "Had he not the Chief Justice, the tamed and domesticated Chief Justice, who waited on him like a familiar spirit?" Thus was this invasion countenanced by those who should have stood in the breach against it. For more than a week it continued, while deadly conflict seemed imminent. I do not dwell on the heroism by which it was encountered, or the mean retreat to which it was compelled; for that is not necessary to exhibit the Crime which you are to judge. But I cannot forbear to add other additional features, furnished in the letter of a clergyman, written at the time, who saw and was a part of what he describes:

"Our citizens have been shot at, and in sec instances murdered, our houses invaded hay ricks burnt corn and other previsions planaered, cattle drives off all communication cut off between ms and the States wagons on the way to us with provisions stopped and plundered and the drivers taken prisoners and we in hourly expectation of an attack. Nearly every man has been in arms in the village. Fortification shave been thrown up, by incessant labor night and day. The sound of the drum and the tramp of armed men resounded through our streets. Jamilies flee my with their household through o

But the catalogue is not yet complete. On the 15th of December, when the people assembled to vote on the Constitution then submitted for adoption—only a few days after the Treaty of Peace between the Governor on the one side and the town of Lawrence on the other—another irruption was made into this unbappy Territory. But I leave all this untold. Enough of these details has been given.

been given.

Five several times and more have these invaders entered Kansas in armed array, and thus five times and more have they trampled upon the organic law of the Territory. But these extraordinary expeditions are simply the extraordinary witnesses to successive uninterrupted violence.

spirit of evil, in which they had their origin, we wakeful and incessant. From the beginning, I bung upon the skirts of this interesting Territory harrowing its peace, disturbing its presperity, and keeping its inhabitants under the painful alarms of war. Thus was all Security of person, of property, and of labor, overthrown; and when I urge this incontrovertible fact, I set forth a wrong which is small only by the side of the glant wrong for the consummation of which all this was done. Sir, what is man—what is government—without security; in the absence of which, nor man, not government can proceed in development or enjoy the fruits of existence? Without security, civilization is cramped and dwarfed. Without security, there can be no true Freedom. Nor shall I say too much, when I declare that security, guarded of course by its off-spring, Freedom, is the true end and alm of government. Of this indispensable boon the people of Kanssa have thus far been despoiled—absolutely, totally. All this is aggravated by the nature of their pursuits, rendering them peculiarly sensitive to interruption, and at the same time attesting their innocence. They are nor the most part engaged in the cultivation of the soil, which from time immemorial has been the sweet employment of undisturbed industry. Contented in the returns of bounteous nature and the shade of his own trees, the husbandman is not aggressive; accastomed to produce, and not to desrroy, he is essentially peaceful, unless his home is invaded, when his arm derives vigor from the soil he treads, and his soul inspiration from the heavens beneath whose canopy he daily walks.

And such are the people of Kansas, whose Secutity has been overthrown. Seenes from which civilisation averts her countenance have been a part of their daily life. The border incursions, which in barbarous ages or barbarous lands, have fretted and "harried" an exposed people, have been here renewed, with this peculiarity, that our border renewed, with this peculiarity, that our border renewed, with

Private griefs mingle their poignancy with public wrongs. I do not dwell on the anxieties which families have undergone, exposed to sudden assault, and obliged to lie down to rest with the alarms of war ringing in their ears, not knowing that another day might be spared to them. Throughout this bitter winter, with the thermometer at 30 degrees below zero, the citizens of Lawrence have been constrained to sleep under arms, with sentinels treading their constant watch against surprise. But our souls are wrung by individual instances. In vain do we condemn the cruelties of another age—the refluements of torture to which men have

And lately we have had the tidings of that enormity without precedent—a deed without a name—where a candidate for the Legislaure was most brutally gashed with knives and hatchets, and then after weltering in blood on the snow-clad earth was trundled atong with gaping wounds, to fall dead in the face of his wife. It is common to drop a tear of sympathy over the trembling solicitudes of our early fathers, exposed to the stealthy assault of the savage foe; and an eminent American artist the savage foe; and an eminent American artist the savage foe; and an eminent American artist has pictured this scene in a marble group of rare beauty, on the front of the National Capitol, where the uplifted tomahawk is arrested by the strong rrm and generous countenance of the pioneer, while his wife and children find shelter at his feet; but now the tear must be dropped over the trembling solicitudes of fellow-citizens, seeking to build a new State in Kansas, and exposed to the negrectual assault of murderous robbers from Misperpetual assault of murderous robbers from Mis-souri. Hirelings, picked from the drunken spew and vomit of an uneasy civilisation—in the form

As hounds and gray-hounds, mongrels, spanie's, curs, shoughs, water rugs, and demi-wolves, are called All by the name of dogs:

leashed together by secret signs and lodges, have renewed the incredible atroctice of the Assassina and of the Thugs; showing the blind submission of the Assassins to the Old Man of the Mountain, in

and of the Thuga; showing the blind submission of the Assassins to the Old Man of the Mountain, in robbing Christians on the road to Jerusalem, and showing the heartlessness of the Thuga, who, avowing that murder was their religion, waylaid travelers on the great road from Agra to Delbi; with the more deadly bowie-knife for the dagger of the Assassin, and the more deadly revolver for the noise of the Thug.

In these invesions, attended by the entire subversion of all Security in this Territory, with the plunder of the ballot-box, and the pollution of the electoral franchise, I show simply the process in unprecedented Crime. If that be the best Government, where an injury to a single citizen is resented as an injury to the whole State, then must our Government forfeit all claim to any such eminence, while it leaves its citizens thus exposed. In the outrage upon the ballot-box, even without the illicit fruits which I shall soon expose, there is a peculiar crime of the deepest dye, though subordinate to the final Crime, which should be promptly avenged. In countries where royalty is upheld, it is a special offense to rob the crown jewels, which are the emblems of that sovereignty before which the loyal subject bow, and it is treason to be found in adultery with the Queen, for in this way may a false beir be imposed upon the State; but in our Republic the ballot box is the single priceless jewel of that sovereignty which are born the rulers of a free people, is the Queen whom we are to guard against pollution. In this plain presentment, whether as regards Security, or as regards Elections, there is enough, surely, without proceeding further, to justify the intervention of Congress, most promptly and completely, to throw over this oppressed people the impenerable shield of the Constitution and laws. But the half is not yet told.

of the Constitution and laws. But the half is not yet told

As every point in a wide-spread horizon radiates from a common centre, so everything said or done on this vast circle of Crime radiates from the O Ida, that Kanasa, at all hazards, must be made a slave State. In all the manifold wickednesses that have occurred, and in every successive invasion, this One Ida has ever been present, as the Satanic tempter—the motive power—the causing cause. To accomplish this result, three things were attempted: first, by outrages of all kinds to drive the friends of Freedom already there out of the Territory; secondly to deter others from coming; and, thirdly, to obtain the complete control of the Government. The process of driving out, and so of deterring, has failed. On the contrary, the friends of Freedom there became mere fixed in their resolves to stay and fight the battle, which they had never sought, but from which they disdained to retreat; while the friends of Freedom elsewhere were more aroused to the duty of timely succors, by men and munitions of just self-defense.

But while defeated in the first two processes

timely succors, by men and munitions of just self-defense.

But, while defeated in the first two processes proposed, the conspirators succeeded in the last. By the violence already portrayed at the election of the 30th March, when the polls were occupied by the armed hordes from Missouri, they imposed a Legislature upon the Territory, and thus under the iron mask of law, established a Usurpation not less complete than any in bistory. That this was done, I proceed to prove. Here is the evidence:

1. Only in this way can this extraordinary expedition be adequately explained. In the words of Molistre, once employed by John Quincy Adams in the other House, Que diable allowest is faire data cette galere? What did they go into the Territory for? If their purposes were peaceful, as has been suggested, why cannons, srms, flags, numbers, and all this violence? As simple citizens, proceeding to the honest exercise of the electoral franchise, [Conlinued on fourth page.] [Continued on fourth page.]

Florida, which, if good for that State, is also good for Kapsas. Here is a passage:

"But the people of Florida respectfully insist that their right to be admitted into the Federai Union as a State is not dependent upon the fact of their having a population equal to such ratio. Their right to admission, it is conceived, is guarantied by the express pledge in the sixth article of the treaty before quoted; and if any rule as to the number of the population is to govern, it should be that in existence at the time of the ecession, which was thirty five thousand. They submit, however, that any ratio of representation, dependent upon legislative action, based solely on convenience and expediency, shifting and vaciliating as the opinion of a majority of Congress may make it, now greater than at a previous apportionment, but which a future Congress may pre-cribe to be less, cannot be one of the constitutional "Paincapter" referred to in the treaty consistency with which, by its terms, is required. It is, in truth, but a mere regulation, not founded on principle. No specified number of population is required by any recognised principle as necessay in the establishment of a free Government

It is in no wise 'inconsistent with the principles of

pecified number or personal processary in the establishment of the free Government

It is in no wise 'inconsistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution,' that the population of a State should be less than the ratio of Congressional representation. The very case is provided for in the Constitution. With such deficient population she constitution are not the constitution of one of the representation. The very case is provided for in the Constitution. With such deficient population she would be entitled to one Representative. If any event should cause a decrease of the population of one of the States even to a number below the minimum ratio of representation prescribed by the Constitution, she would stil remain a member of the Confederacy, and be entitled to such Representative. It is respectfully urged, that a rule or principle which would not justify the expulsion of a state with a d-ficient population on the graund of inconsistency with the Constitution, should not exclude or prohibit admission."—[Exec. Doc., 77th Cong., 2d sees., Vol. 4, No. 203.

would cause a decrease of the population of one of the states even to a number below the minimum ratio of representation prescribed by the Coostitution, she would stil remain a member of the Confederacy, and be entitled to such Representative. It is respectfully urged, that a rule or principle which would not justify the expulsion of a state with a d-finent population on the ground of inconsistence, with the constitution, should not exclude or prohibit admission."—[Exec Doc, 7fth Cong., 2d sess., Vol. 4, No. 708.

Thus, sir, do the people of Florida plead for the people of Kansas.

Distrusting the objection from inadequacy of population, it is said stat the proceedings for the formation of a new State are fatally defective in form. It is not asserted that a previous enabling Act of Congress is indispensable; for there are notorious precedents the other way, among which are Kentucky in 1791; Tennessee in 1796; Maine in 1820; and Arkansas and Michigan in 1836, But it surged that in no instance has a State been admitted, whose Constitution was formed without such enabling Act, or without the authority of the Territorial Legislature. This is not true; for California came into the Union with a Constitution formed not only without any revious enabling Act, but also without any sacction from a Territorial Legislature. This is not true; for California came into the Union with a Constitution of the Constitution way previous enabling Act, but also without any sacction from a Territorial Legislature. The proceedings which ended in this Constitution were initiated by the military Governor there, acting under the exigency of the hour. This instance may not be identical in all respects with that of Kansas; but it displaces completely one of the assumptions which Kans show encounters, and it also shows completely the disposition to relax all rue, under the exigency of the hour, in order to do substantial, limited. ompicely one of the assumptions and the disposition to relax all rue, under the exigency of the hour, in order to do substantial justice?

But there is a memorable instance, which contains in itself every element of irregularity which you denounce in the proceedings of Kansas. Michiran, now cherished with such pride as a sister

State, achieved admission into the Union in persistent defiance of all rule. Do you ask for precedents? Here is a precedent for the largest latitude, which you, who profess a deference to precedent, cannot disown. Mark now the stages of this case. The first proceedings of Michigan were without any previous enabling Act of Congress; and she presented hersalf at your door with a Constitution. any previous enabling Act of Congress; and she presented herself at your door with a Constitution thus formed, and with Senators chosen under that Constitution—precisely as Kansas now. This was in December, 1835, while Andrew Jackson was President. By the leaders of the Democracy at that time, all objection for alleged defects of form was scouted, and language was employed which is strictly applicable to Kansas. There is nothing new under the sun; and the very objection of the President, that the application of Kansas proceeds from 'persons acting against authorities duly constituted by Act of Congress," was hurled against the application of Michigan, in debate on this floor, by Mr. Hendricks of Indiana. This was his form on the passage of the Bill, where we find 25 years to 19 to President, that the application of Kansas proceeds from 'persons acting against authorities duly con-stituted by Act of Congress," was hurled against the application of Michigan, in debate on this floor, by Mr. Hendricks of Indiana. This was his

"But the people of a linengant in present and thouse of Representatives as the legislative power existing there, showed that they had trampled upon and vlolated the laws of the United states establishing a Territorial Government in Michigan. These laws were, or ought to be in full force there; but, by the character and position assumed, they had set up a Government antageous to that of the United States."—[Congress. Deb., Vol. 12, p. 258, 24th Gongress, 1st session.

"Conventions were original acts of the people They bodied in the Declaration of Independent upon inherent and inalignable rights. The which government is recognised as people of any State may at any time meet in Conven-tion, without a law of their Legislature, and without any provision or against any provision in their Const-tution, and may aler or abolish the whole frame of Government as they please. The sovereign power to govern themselves was in the maj-rity, and they could not be divested of it. 2—[Ibid, p. 1036]

Mr. Buchanan vied with Mr. Benton in vindicat-

Mr. Buchanan vied with Mr. Benton in vindicating the new State:

"The precedent in the case of Tennessee has completely altenced all opposition in regard to the necessity of a previous act of Congress to enable the people of Michigan to form a State Constitution. It now seems to be conceded that our subsequent approbation is equivalent to our previous action. This can no longer be doubted. We have the unquestionable power of waiving any irregularities in the mode of framing the Constitution, had any such existed "—floid. p. 1841.

"He did hope that by this bill all objections would be removed; and that this State, so ready to rush into our arms would not be repulsed because of the absence of some formalities which perhaps were very proper, but certainly not indispensable."—floid, p. 1015.

After an animated contest in the Senate, the Bill for the admission of Michigan, on her assent to

After an animated contest in the Senate, the Bill for the admission of Michigan, on her assent to certain conditions, was passed, by 23 yeas to 8 nays. But you find weight, as well as numbers, on the side of the new State. Among the yeas were Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, James Buchana of Penesylvania, Silas Wright of New York, W. R. King of Alabama.—(Cong.) Globe, Vol. 3d, p. 276, 1st ses-ion 24th Cong.) Subsequently, on motion of Mr. Buchanan, the two gentlemen sent as Senators by the new State received the regular compensation for attendance throughout the very session in which their seats had been so actimoniously assailed.—[Ibild., p. 448.

In the House of Representatives the application was equally successful. The Committee on the Judiciary, in an elaborate report, reviewed the objections, and, among other things, said:

"That the people of Michigan have, without due subpoir formed slite Government, but, prevently assailed and the property of the power of convening the legal Assemblies, or "The p

of delegates, elected by the people of the said State, for the sole purpose of giving the asent herein required."—[Statutes at Large. vol. 5, p. 50, Act of June 5th, 1836.] Such a Convention, delivelected under a call from the Legislature; met in pursuance of law, and, after consideration, declined to come into the Union on the condition proposed. But the action of this Convention was not generally satisfactory, and in order to effect an admission into the Union, another Convention was not generally satisfactory, and in order to effect an admission into the Union, another Convention was not the people, in their sovereign capacity, without any authority fromeState or Territoria. Legislature; nay, sir, according to the language of the present President, "against authorities duly constituted by Act of Congress;" at least as much as the recent Convention in Kansas The irregularity of this Convention was increased by the circumstance, that two of the oldest counties in the State comprising a population of some 25,000 souls, refused to take any part mit, even to the extent of not opening the polls for the election of delegates, claiming that it was held without warrant of law, and in defiance of the legal Convention. This popular convention, though wanting a popular support co-extensive with the State, yet proceeded by Congress.

The proceedings of the two Conventions were transmitted to President Jackson, who, by mes sage, dated 27th December, 1836, aid them both before Congress, indicating very clearly his desire to ascertain the will of the people, without regard to form. The origin of the popular Convention he thus describes:

"This Convention was not held or elected by virtue of any act of the Perritorial or State Legislature. It originated from the People, without regard to form. The origin of the popular Convention he thus describes:

"The Convention was not held or elected by virtue of any act of the Perritorial or State Legislature. It originated from the People with the sention of the popular convention he

to form The origin of the popular Convention he thus describes:

"This Convention was not held or elected by virtue of any act of the Textitorial or State Legislature. It originated from the People themselves and was chosen by them in pursuance of resultions ad speed in primary assemblies held in the respective counties."—(Sen. Doc. 2d sess. 2ith Cong., Vol. 1, No. 3).

"This, sir, is the evacuate of a new State about to enter into the Union! I es an organic taw, the very highest act a communit men can perform. Letters referring to other ietters a scrap of a newspaper."—[Cong. Debates, Vol. Part I, p. 233.

It was Mr. Calhoun, however, who pressed the It was Mr. Calhoun, however, who pressed the opposition with the most persevering intensity In his sight, the admission of Michigan, under the circumstances, "would be the most monstrous proceeding under our Constitution that can be conceived, the most repugnant to its principles and dangerous in its consequences."—(Cong. Debates, Vo. 13, p. 210.) "There is not," he exclaimed, "one particle of official evidence before us. We have nothing but the private letters of individuals, who do not know even the numbers that votad-on either occasion. They know nothing of the qualifications of voters, nor how their votes were received, nor by whom counted."—(Ibid.) And he

many memorials of an industrious career in the Senate and in diplomatic life, JAMES BUCHANAN, who rendered himself conspicious by the ability and ardor with which, against all assaults, he up held the cause of the popular Convention, which was so strongly denounced, and the entire confor-mity of its proceedings with the genius of Ameri-can Institutions His speeches on that occasion you denounce in the proceedings of Kansas. Michigan, now cherished with such pride as a sister State, achieved admission into the Union in persistent defiance of all rule. Do you ask for precedents? Here is a precedent for the largest latitude, which you, who profess a deference to precedent, cannot disown. Mark now the stages of this case. The first proceedings of Michigan were without any previous enabling Act of Congress; and she presented herself at your door with a Constitution

> forms of law-stigmatised as a caucus and a crit forms of law-stigmatised as a caucus and a crim-inal meeting, whose authors were liable to indict ment, trial, and punishment—was, after ample de-bate, recognised by Congress as valid, and Michi-gan now holds her place in the Union, and her Senators sit on this floor, by virtue of that act Sir, if Michigan is legitimate, Kansas cannot be illegitimate. You bastardie Michigan when you refuse to recognise Kansas

the character and position assumed, they had set up a florerment antigonist to that of the United States (Congress, Deb., Vol. 12, p. 258, 24th Congress, 1st session.

To this impeashment Mr. Benton replied in these effective words.

"Conventions were original acts of the people They do not be considered as deriving its conventions were original acts of the people They who may are of their rights. In the detate on the Nebraska Bill, at the overthrow of the Prohibition of Slavery, the Dectaration of Independence was denounced as a "self-evident lie," It is only by a similar audacity that the fundamental principle similar audacity that the fundamental principle which sustains the proceedings in Kansas, can be assailed. Nay, more: you must discount the Declaration of Independence, and adopt the Circular of the Holy Alliance, which declares that "useful and necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of States ought only to emenate from the free will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power." Face to face, I put the principle of the Declaration of Independence and the principle of the Holy Aliance, and bid them grapple! "The one places the remedy in the hands which ple of the Holy Aliance, and bid them grapple!
"The one places the remedy in the hands which teel the disorder; the other places the remedy in the hands which cause the disorder;" and when I thus truthfully characterise them, I but sdopt a sententious phrase from the Debates in the Virgi nia Convention on the adoption of the Federal Constitution.—(3 Elliot's Debates, 107—Mr. Corbin) And now these two principles, embodied in

Judiciarry, in an elaborate report, reviewed the objections, and, among other things, said:

"That the people of Michigan have, without due authority formed a State Government, but, nevertheless, that Congress has power to waive any objection which might, on that account, be entertained to the ratification of the Constitution which they have adopted, and to admit their Senators and Representatives."

[Exce. Doc., 1st sess. 24th cong., Vol. 2, No. 380]

The House sustained this view by a vote of 153 yeas to 45 nays. In this large majority, by which the title of Michigan was then recognised, will be found the name of Franklin Pierce, at that time a Representative from New Hampshire.

But the case was not ended. The flercest trial and the greatest irregularity remained. The Act providing for the admission of the new State contained a modification of its bouncaries, and proceeded to require, as a fundamental condition, that these should "receive the assent of a Convention of delegates, elected by the people of the said State, for the sole purpose of giving the assent herein required." [Statutes at Large, vol. 5, p. 50, Act of June 5th, 1836.] Such a Convention, eduly elected under a cali from the Legislature, met in pursuance of law, and, after consideration, decling the convention bed in a light of the people, impelled to make the propose of giving the assent herein required." [Statutes at Large, vol. 5, p. 50, Act of June 5th, 1836.] Such a Convention, decling the convention bed in a light of the people in the succession of the people in the succession of the people in the said state of the succession of the people in the succession of the people in the said state of the people in the said state for the sole purpose of giving the assent herein required." [Statutes at Large, vol. 5, p. 50, Act of June 5th, 1838.] Such a Convention provide the succession of the condition provided to come into the Union on the condition provided the succession of the succession of the people in the succession of the people in the be

Surely, sir, if ever there was occasion for the exby them in pursuance of rea unitions ad opted in primary assemblies held in the respective counties."—(Sen. Doc., 2d esse. 2ith Cong., Vol. 1, No. 3i.

And he then declares that, had these proceedings come to him during the recess of Congress, he should have felt it his duty, on being satisfied that they emanated from a Couvention of delegates

to reptile abuses which crawled in the darkness of night. Self-defenseds the first law of nature; and unless this law is temporarily allenced—as all other laws has beet silenced there—you cannot continue the continue of th

still press for utterance.

Sir, the people of Kansas, bone of your bone and flesh of your flesh, with the education of freemen and the rights of American citizens, now stand at your door will you send them away, or bid them enter? Will you push them back to renew their struggles with a deadly foe, or will you cast them again into the den of Tyranny, or will you help their despairing efforts to escape? These questions I put with no common solicitade; for I feel that on their just determination depend all the most precious interests of the Republic; and I perceive too clearly the prejudices in the way, and the accumulating bitterness against this distant people, now claiming their simple birthright, while I am board with mortification, as I recognise the President of the United States, who should have been a staff to the weak and a shield to the inno cent, at the head of this strange oppression.

been a staff to the weak and a shield to the inno-cent, at the head of this strange oppression.

At every stage, the similitude between the wrongs of Kansas, and those other wrongs against which our fathers rose, becomes more apparent. Read the Declaration of Independence, and there is hard y an accusation which is there directed against the British Monarch, which may not now be directed with increased force against the Ameri-can President. The parallel has a fearful particu-larity. Our fathers complained that the King had "sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our peo-ple, and eat out their substance;" that he "had combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdic mbined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdic combined, with others, to subject us to a plantaction foreign to our Constitution, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation;" that "he had abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us;" that "he had excited domestic insurrection among us, and endeavored to bring on the inhabi among us, and endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontier the merciless savages;" that "our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury." And this arrigament was aptly followed by the damning words, that "a Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people." And surely, a President who has done all these things, cannot be less unfit than a Prince. At every stage, the responsibility is throught directly to him. His offeese has been been less unfit which he ought not to have done, and he has left undone that which he ought to have done. By his activity the Probibition of Slavery was overturned. By his failure to act, the honest emigrants in Kansas have been left a prey to wrong of all kinds.

in the President, so on this floor have the old in dignities been renewed, which embittered and fomented the trou-les of our Fathers. The early petition of the American Congress to Parliament, long before any suggestion of Independence, was opposed—like the petitions of Kansas—because that body "was assembled without any requisition on the part of the Supreme Power." Another petition from New York, presented by Edmund Barke, was flatly rejected, as claiming rights derogatory to Parliament. And still another petition from Massachusetts Bay was dismissed as "vexatious and sea adalous," while the patriot phirosopher who bore it was exposed to peculiar contume by Throughout the debates, our fathers were made in Throughout the debates, our fathers were made to butt of sorry jests and supercillous assumptions. And now these scenes, with these precise objections, have been renewed in the American Senate.

With regret, I come again upon the Senator from South Caroliaa, (Mr. Butler.) who, omnipres

With regret, I come again upon the Senator from South Carolina, (Mr. Butler,) who, omnipres ent in this debate, overflowed with rage at the simple suggestion that Kansas had applied for ad mission as a State; and, with incoherent phrases, mission as a State; and, with incoherent parases, discharged the loose expectoration of his speech, now upon the representative, and then upon her people. There was no extravagance of the ancient Parliamentary debate which he did not repeat; nor was there any possible deviation from truth which he did not make, with so much of passion, I am glad to add, as to save him from the suspicion of intentional aberration. But the Senator touches nothing which he does not disfigure—with error, somes of principle, sometimes of fact. He shows an incapacity of accuracy, whether in stating the Constitution or in stating the law, whether in the Constitution or in stating the law, whether in the details of statistics or the diversions of scholarship. He cannot open his mouth, but out there flies a blunder. Surely he ought to be familiar with the life of Franklin; and yet he referred to this household character, while acring as agent of our fathers in England, as above suspicion; and this was done that he might give point to a false contrast with the acent of Kans words known that how.

hold character, while as above suspicion; and this was done that he might give point to a false contrast with the agent of Kans is—not knowing that, however they may differ in genius and fame in this experience they are allke; that Franklin, when intrusted with the petition of Massachusetts Bay, was assaulted by a fool mouthed speaker, where he could not be heard in defense, and denounced as a "thief," even as the agent of Kansas has been assaulted on this floor and denounced as a "forger. And let not the vanity of the Senator be inspired by the parallel with the British statesmen of that day, for it is only in hostility to Freedom that any parallel can be recognised.

But it is against the people of Kansas that the sensibilities of the Senator are particularly aroused. Coming, as he announces, "from a State"—aye, sir, from South Carolina—he turns with lordly disgust from this newly formed community, which he will not recognise even as "a body politic." Pray, sir, by what title does he indulce in this egottism? Has he read the history of "the State" which he represents? He cannot savely have for gotten its shameful imhecility from Slavery, since. He cannot have forgotten its wretched peraistence in the slave trade as the very apple of its eye, and the condition of its participation in the Union. He cannot have forgotten its Constitution, which is of voters on "a settled freehold extate and tennegoes." And yet the Senator, to whom that "State" has in part committed the guarilanship of its good name, instead of moving, with bockward treading steps, to cover its nakedness, rushes forward, in the very cestacy of madness, to expose forward, in the very cestacy of madness, to expose forward, in the very excator of madness, to expose forward, in the very excator of madness, to expose forward, in the very excator of madness, to expose forward, in the very excator of madness, to expose forward, in the very excator of madness, to expose for which we have been dependent expose of the country of dissentences in the cannot of its good name, instead of moving, was ward treading steps, to cover its nakedness, rushes ward treading steps, to cover its nakedness, rushes forward, in the very ecstacy of madness, to expose it, by provoking a comparison with Kansas. South Carolina is old; Kansas is young. South tarolina counts by eenturies, where Kansas counts by years gat a beneficent example may be born in a day; Bat a beneficent example may be born in a day; and I venture to say, that against the two centuries of the older "State" may be already set the side of the people of Kansas, breathing a divine two years of trial, evolving corresponding virtue, in the younger community. In the one is the long wail of Stavery; in the other, the hymns of Freedom.

And if we glance at special achievements, it will be difficult to find anything in the history of South a cause, thus asstained, is invincible. It may be crushed to earth for a day, but it will surely rise to grasp the victory.

wait of Stavery; in the other, the hymns of Freedom.

And if we glance at special achievements, it will be difficult to find anything in the history of South Carolina which presents so much of heroic spirit in an heroic cause as appears in that repuise of the Missouri invaders by the beleasuered town of Luwrence, where even the women gave their effective efforts to Freedom. The matrons of Rome, who poured their jewels into the treasury for the public defense—the wives of Prussia, who, with delicate flagers, clothed their defenders against Freuch invasion—the mothers of our own Revolution, who sent forth their sous, covered over with prayers and blessings, to combat for Human

South Carolina, but without his generous impulses, who, by his position on this floor, and the rancor of his opposition, deserves to be named. I mean the Senator from Virginia, [Mr. Mason.] who, as the author of the Fugitive Slave Bill, has associated himself with a special act of inhumanity and tyranny. Of him I shall say little. He holds the commission of Virginia; but he does not represent that early Virginia, so dear to our hearts, which gave to us the pen of Jefferson, by which the equality of men was declared, and the sword of Washington, by which Independence was secured; but he represents that other Virginia, from which Washington and Jefferson now avert their faces, where human beings are bred as cattle for the shambles, and where a dungeon rewards the pious matron who teaches little children to relieve their bondage by reading the Book of Life. It is proper that such a Senator, representing such a State, should rail against Free Kansas.

Senators such as these are the natural enemies of Kansas, and I introduce them with reluctance, simply that the country msy understand the character of the hostility which must be overcome Arrayed with them, of course, are all who unite, under any pretext or apology, in the propagandism of Human Slavery. To such, indeed, the time-honored safeguards of popular rights can be a name only, and nothing more What are trial by jury, habeas corpus, the ballot box, the right of petition, the liberty of Kansas, your liberty, sir, or mine, to one who lends himself, not merely to the support at home, but to the propagandism abroad, of that preposterous wrong, which denies even the right of a man to himself? Such a cause can be maintained only by a practical subversion of all rights. It is, therefore, merely according to reason that its partisans should-uphold the Usurpation in Kansas.

To overthrow this Usurpation is now the special, importunate duty of Congress, admitting of no hesitation or postponement. To this end it

cial, importunate duty of Congress, admitting no hesitation or postponement. To this end must lift itself from the cabals of candidates, t must life itself from the cabals of candidates, the machinations of par y, and the low level of vulgar strife. It must turn from that Slave Oligarchy which now controls the Republic, and refuse to be its tool. Let its power be stretched forth to wards this discant Territory, not to bind, but to unbind; not for the oppression of the weak, but for the sulversion of the tyrannical; not for the prop and maintenance of a revolting Ursupation, but for the confirmation of Liberty. These are imperial arts, and worthy thee!

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to scourge the aggressors In the press, in daily
conversation, wherever two or three are gathered
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l kinds.
And trade, by unerring indications, attests the
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growing energy. Public credit in Missouri droops.
The six per cents of that State, which at par
ahould be 102, have sunk to 84 14—thus at once By his failure to act, the honest emigrants in Alan san have been left a prey to wrong of all kinds. And trade, by unerring indications, attests the san have been left a prey to wrong of all kinds. And trade, by unerring indications, attests the san have been left a prey to wrong of all kinds growing energy. Public credit in Missouri droops. The six per cents of that State, which at par should be 102, have sunk to 84.14—thus at once completing the evidence of Crime, and attesting the same of t

> such imprecations could justly descend upon any one, they must descend sow upon all who, not con tent with the removal of this sacred Landmark have since, with criminal complicity, fostered the incursions of the great Wrong ngainst which is was intended to guard. But I utter no impreca tions. These are not my words; nor is it my part to aid to or subtract from them. But thanks be to God! they find a response in the hearts of an arroused People, making them turn from every man, whether President or bena or, or Representative, who has been engaged in this Crime—especially from those who, cradled in free institutions, are who has been engaged in this Crime—especially from those who, cradled in free institutions, are without the apology of education or social prejudice—until of all such those other words of the prophet shall be fulfilled—"I will set my face against that man, and make him a sign and a proverb, and I will cut him off from the midst of my people."—[Ezekiel xiv, 8] Turning thus from the authors of this Crime, the People will unite once from with the Fathers of the Republic, in a just condemnation of Slavery—determined especially that it shall find no home in the National Territories—while the Slave Power, in which the Territories—while the Slave Power, in which the Crime had its beginning, and by which it is now sustained, will be swept into the catalogue of de-

Let the voters everywhere, while rejoicing in their own rights, help to goard the equal rights of distant fellow cilizens; that the shrines of popular institutions, now desecrated, may be sanctified anew; that the ballot box, new pundered, may to restored; and that the cry, "I am an American citizen," may not be sent forth in vain against outrage of every kind. In just regard for free labor in that Territory, which it is sought to blast by unwelcome association with slave labor; in Coristian sympathy with the slave, whomit is proposed to task and to sell there; in stern condemnation of the Crime which has been consummated on that beautiful soil; in resue of fellow citizens, now subjugated to a tyraunical Usurpation; in dutiful respect for the early Fathers, whose aspirations are now ignoby thwarted; in the name of the Constitution, which has been outraged—of the Laws trampled down—of Justice banished—of Humanity degraded—of Peace destroyed—of Freedom crushed to earth; and, in the name of the Heavenly Father, whose service is perfect Freedom, I make this last appeal.

Sumner Indignation Meeting IN PARRUIL HALL.

Speeches of Governor Gardner, Hon, John C. Park, Hon. George S. Hillard, Hon. E. C. Ba-ker, Hon. Charles A. Phelps, Hon. S. H. Wal-ley, Col. A. O. Brewster, John A. Andrew, and Hon. Peleg W. Chandler.

The following notice was circulated throughout the city on Saturday:-

the city on Saturday:—

"The citizens of Boston and vicinity, without distinction of party, are invited to meet in Fancuit Hall, this (Saturday) evening, at 8 o'clock, to consider the outrage which has been committed at Washington upon the person of Hon. Charles Sumer, Senator in Congress from the State of Massachusetts. Eminent speakers will address the meeting."

In obedience to this call, the old "Cradle of Lib. erty," was filled to overflowing long before 8 o'clock; and by one of the most enthusiastic and marked ga therings ever held within its famous, and time, and cause-honored walls.

In the gallery were many ladies. On entering the hall Governor Gardner and other distinguished gen-tlemen, public and private, were honored with hearty applause.

The meeting was called to order by William B. Spooner, Esq , who said that the arrangements of the Committee in relation to the meeting had been fully carried out. They had procured gentlemen of all political parties to address the meeting. It was not a gathering of any one party, but of the citi. zens of Boston. For himself he should be ashamed to attempt to make any political capital out of it. The question was simply this: Shall a Massachasetts Senator be prevented from expressing his opinlons in a parliamentary and just manner? [Ories of "No," "no."] The meeting would be addressed by gentlemen of all political parties in the State, and of course by men who have not agreed in political opinion with Mr. Sumner. [Mr. Spooner then read the following list of permanent officers, which was unanimously adopted:

which was unanimously adopted:

President—His Excellency the Governor of the Commonwealth, HENRY J. GARDNER.

Vice Presidents—His Honor Lieut. Governor Benchley, Hon Einu C Baker, President of the Sonate, Hon C A Phelps, Speaker of the Jouse, Hon A H Rice, Mayor of Boston. Hon J Quincy, Senior, Hon P W Chandler, Hon S H Walley, Hon Charles E Adams. Hon Daniel Warren, Hon Goo Charles F Adams, Hon Daniel Warren, Hon Geo S Boutwell, Hon A J Wright, Hon C C Hazwell, Hon Facemas Russell, Hon Francis Bassatt, Amos A Lawrence, E-q, James W Paige, E-q, Samuel A Lawrence, Eq. James W Paige, Eq. Samuel Nicholson, Eq. Samuel Austin, Bq. Esra Lincoln, Eq. E A Raymond, Esq. How John B. Alley, o' Lyan, Hon Thomas Colt, of Pittsfield, Hon John S. Steeper of Rexbury, Hon James Ritchle of Rexbury, Hon B F White of Weymouth, Prof. H W Long-tellow, Hon John H Shaw, of Nasturket, Hon Wm Mills of Berkshire, Hon Charles T Russell, James H Collins, Esq. Otts Tufts, Esq. Geo W Browo, Esq. Carlos Pierce, Esq. James G Farwell, Eq. Hon F H Allen, Hon Moses Kimball, Hon C R Ransom, of R.bury, Samuel Greele, Esq. Robert Waterston, Esq. E P Mackintire, Esq. of Charlestown, Hon Isaac Livermore, of Cambridge, Hon Geo P Sanger, Cil Parker, Esq. James M Beebe, Esq. Daniel Denney, Esq. Hon. J V. C Smith, Hamilton Willis, Esq. Gon John S Tyler, John P Punsam, Eq. Dr. N B Shuttelf, A O Browster, Esq. Hon Nathan Hate, Geo A Shaw, Eq. Charles T Congdon, Esq. J F Marsh, Esq. C O Rogers, Esq. Samuel Hall, Esq. Hon F B Fay, of Chrisea, C C Little Esq. of Cambridge, Samuel May, Eq., Aaron Baneroft, Cambridge. Samuel May, E.q., Aaron Bancroft, E.q. Hon C P Hantington, Hon William Sutton, of Salem, Prof. CC Felton of Cambridge, Fertinand Andrews, Eq., Rev Lyman Beecher, Hon J L Kenrick, of Orleans, Prince Hawes, Eq. N I Bowditch, Eq. Isaac W Frye, Eq. Dr Edward Reynolds, Ja-cob A Dresser, Eq. John M S Williams, Eq. Hon Samuel E Sawall, D N Haskell, Eq. E P Whipple,

Samuel E Sawal, D S Hastell, Sag. R P Shippio, Esq. Hon T T Sawyer, Charlestwen, Hon Velorous Talt of Upton, Hon Francis De Witt, S Neal, E-q, D N Pinckney, Erq. & C Clark, Eq. R Morse, E-q, M Smith, E-q, R E Apthorp, Esq. Secretaries—Abbutt Luwrence, E-q, John D W Joy, E-q, Charles Hale, E-q, W W Winthrop, B F Rossell, John D Baldwin, Milton Austin. Gay, Gardner then arose and announced that de votional exercises would be conducted by Rev. Dr. Rollin II. Neale. That gentleman then proceeded

The Governor then stepped upon the platform, and spoke as follows:

SPENCE OF HOF. HENRY J. GARDNER. Fillow Citizens—illaving been absent from the city for a day or two, in a spot reached by no telegraph wires, no steemboate nor railroad cars, it was not until a late hour last night that I heard the particulars of the occurrence which has called u

together for consultation. Early this morning the tommittee of arrangements appointed at a preliminary meeting last evening, did me the honor to requert me to appear here to night and coamy this chair, which I accept in obedience to their call.

This is not a personal evation; this assembly has no been called together by the clarion of party. We have come here not solely because an individual has been assaulted, not alone because a representative of Massichusetts has been basely as the clarion of Massichusetts. and brutally attacked, and the State of Massachu-setts through him, but also because a Senator of the United States, in the pur-mance, in a perliamentary magner, of his duties as he understands them has been attacked and assaulted with a barbarity to which, fortunately, the page of histo-ry till now can show no parallel. We come here thon, not as friends of that individual, not as Masthen, not as friends of that individual, not as Mas-sachusetts men alone, but as citizens of this broad laud, alf of us, I trust and believe, determined and prepared to defend the anestitutional rights of eve-ry acotion and every quirter, be they minaced where they may or by whem they may (Applaure) Were this a party occasion, my feet would not be upon this platform; were this a meeting to stir up sectional animestites or forment local disord, my vides would not reverberate from those arches above my head; but when the State of Maccachusetts i attacked in one of her dearest rights, in one of he

attacked in one of her dearest rights, it one of her most glorious privileges, I should be recreant to my daty, as every one who hears me would be did we not protest against this infraction of our common rights. I wish to pal it to you, in order to give the greatest moral weight possible to our assemb y, with the most cogent voice, that this can in no who and in no why, and under no consideration, be considered a party gathering, nor anything less than the spontaneous expression of the sentiments of every party in the State of Massachusetts, upon this occasion.

every party in the State of Massachusetts, upon this occasion.

The last time the cloquent and honerable Senator from Massachusetts addr seed bis fellow citizens of Besten, he stood where I am new standing, on the evening of an early day in November last, and here—he being a Senator of Massachusetts, and I being Governor of the Commonwealth—he indulged in what he honestly b lieved to be statements of facts in regard to those of my friends who were thoustriving to place me again in the position I then occupied, and in, I will not say unkind references to them, but in the free expression of his views and his differences from them. He being still the Senator of Massachusetts, and I again her Governor, and this being the first time since that my voice has been heard in Fancuil Hall, while I isment most deeply the circumstance which has called us together, I the circumstance which has called us together, rejice that it gives me an opportunity to rise supe rior to party feelings and biss and conviction, and rior to party feelings and bi-s and conviction, and to express my sentiment that we must stand by him as the representative of Massachusetts, under all circumstances, and while he represents the old commonwealth in the United States Senate, in the performance of his duties as he understands them, I will, so help me beaven, do all within my humble ability to strengthen his arm and encourage his voice! (Great cheering)

My friends, we have before now heard of correcational brolls and assaults, and with pain and

gressional brolls and assaults, and, with pain and humiliation I say it, we have heard of congression-al murder; but never till now has its sacred Senate Chamber itself been invaded by the arm of violence, Chamber itself been invaded by the arm of violence, and a Senator is the performance of bis duty struck down in his very curale chair. It is an extraordinary outrage, and yet I counsel you to act with discretion, prudence and propriety. Every man of us desires and hopes to see him who has committed this gross assault removed from the hall of the House of Representatives. (Applause). I beseeth the gentlemen who may come after me, if they have any doubt whether or no their words may, by misconseption or misrepresentation, be so construed as to aid in preventing a consummation so deroutly to be wished, that they will guard themselves against any such utterance. Let no action or word or sentiment expressed here to night be taken to Washington as a pailisation or excuse to prevent a just condemnation, a just verdiet upon him who has committed this assault.

Gentlemen. I cannot resist this opportunity to say to you that this event, unparalleled heretofore in the history of our country, can perhaps be traced by easy and slow gradations to that habit which is too frequently adopted even in Mass sachusetts, of unbridled abuse and calumnious insignations and assaults against the character, purposes, designs and motives of our public men.—
Waile I stand here to defend the liberty of speech, I would not have that liberty degenerate into licentiousness. He who strikes into the bosom of an opponent with a dagger, or be who uses a bludgeon upon his head attacks his physical life; but he who uses the dagger of the assassin on the character of a political opponent, or the budgeon of an untruth upon his reputation, it as bad as the other.

I can hardly trust myself to speak of this despicable conduct as it deserves. I have read the speech which gave rise to it, and I am constrained to say that in my judgment there is not a pretext for the assault. But whether the words were weighed carefully and were in good taste or not, is not the question. The question is, whether a man from

Messachusetts can be indused with the same lati-tude that the other sixty sensors of Congress are allowed. That is the point for us to consider, and I hesitate not to say that this speech does not sur-pass many speeches which have been uttered there and gone abroad to the winds, without the first

and gone abroad to the winds, without the first word of complaint against them.

And now I runt and believe that the House of Representatives of the United States will drive him who has thus offended from its portais. The vote taken yesterday is indicative of that result, and I firmly believe that that result will be reached. I will not detain you longer, but will mly say that the rights of Massachusetts, the constitutional, the just, the equitable, the honorable rights of Massachusetts, so outraged as they have been through our representative, our fellow citizen of Boston must be maintained; and he who will not rise to defend him who has been thus assailed and rebute those who have committed the assault upon him are those who have committed the assault upon him are hardly worthy to be the children of those who aid ed in gaining the liberty which our revolution secured to us. (Prolonged cheering) The remarks of the Governor were received with hearty demonstrations of applause, and gave gene-

al satisfaction. Hon. Toomas Russell, Judge of the Police Court was then introduced to the meeting, who read the following resolutions, the adoption of which was moved by Wm. B. Spooner, Eq.

Resolved, That we have heard with griof and in dignation of the brutal assault committed upon our esteemed Senator Charles Summer for words spoken in debates and of the insult offered in his person to

the honor of our Commonwealth.

Resolved, That in this outrage we see new en croachments upon Freedom, new violations of Staterights, and a strange disregard of chivalrous principals. ples, while in the conduct of such men as Cri we gladly recognise proofs of the fact that in all sections of the country, there are men of high-honor, of pure principles, and of true patriotism. Resolved, That this attack is to be rebuked not

only as a cowardly assault upon a defenceless man, but as a crime against the right of free speech and the dignity of a free State. Reso ved, That as American citizens we deeply la-

ment the odium which such acts cast upon our coun-try, and upon the cause of Republicanism through-out the world.

Resolved, That although sixty-eight members of the national House of Representatives have voted that they think no inquiry apon the outrage is ne-cessary, still we feel confident that Congress will free itself from the shame and srime by expelling

the offender from the seat which he disgraced.

Resolved, That we regard every blow inflicted upo our Senator as a blow aimed at us, that in our est mation his wounds are honorable wounds, that a citizens of Massachusetts, without distinction o party, we plodge him here in old Fascuii Hallou sympathy and support in the fearless and independ

ent discharge of his duty.

The resolutions were seconded by the Hon. John C. Park, who was introduced, and made a brief speech, principally remarkable for the verlancy which led him to declare that he believed South Carolina would rebuke her unworthy son!

SPERCH OF HON. GEO. S. HILLARD.

We come here tonight to express our sentimer upon an assault committed by a member of the House of Representatives upon a Massachusetts Senator, upon the alleged provocation of words ut-tered in debate in the course of a speech, which though it does contain the course of a speech, though it does contain strong expressions, was within the rules of parliamentary order, because, though addressed to a body the majrity of whom were not in sympathy with the speaker, he was not. if I am stating right, once called to order during the course of it. Now I don't profess to be what is commonly called a pracemen; I believe that some-times there is imposed upon nations the stern and sad necessity of war. And again, I do not profess to be what is commonly called a non-resistant; I believe that a man has a right to repel force by force, and believe that as seeded in a woconstituted, you must employ force which is lawful against force to protect the weak against the strong, she law-loving against the lawless. But the principle that in a civilized commonty a man may resort to physical loving against the lawless. But the principle that in a civilized community a man may resort to physical violence for the sake of redressing a private wrong, is a doctrine which you and I, and all of us, do most districtly repudiate, because by adopting or admitting it you render null and void all that has been done by our fathers and mothers to build up this goodly fabric of the State, the highest work of

man's hands.

Now in regard to common assaults, ev n the crime of assault and battery known to the lawe there are degrees and distinctions recognized by the law, and by the moral sente of mankind. An assault may be made in hot blood, it may be uade under sudden provocation, it may be made against a man of notorious violent, ma ners and deport-ment. This assault has no one of these justifica-tions. It was not made in hot blood, for the assailant had had at least one sun go down upon l saliant had had at least one sun go down upon his wrath; it was made dehberstely, and upon a manwho, although he be a hard hitter in his public speeches, in his private life, as I can testify, after a friendship of twenty years, is a most ambelle, gentle and kindly man. (Applause) Nor is that all. There are further degrees and distinctions in this offence; a boxing match, for instance, a boat at a quarter start is not a pretty thing to look at; but men who settle a dispute in that way are far nobler or at least less ignoble than the assessin who dogs the steps of his viota in a the dack ind stabe him in the back. So too the man who comes to me, him in the back. So too the man who comes to me, ince to face, at needday in the street, and tells me he is going to inflict a personal chastisement upon me, there is even in that some little show of he is going to inflict a personal chartisement upon me, there is even in that some little show of fair dealing, of honesty so to speak, even in the very attitude and circumstance of the assault. But now when I read of this event in the S-nate, the assault of Mr. Sumner, it seemed to me to be a very bad specimen of a very bad school, and the comment I made upon it, and that I think you all made upon it, was not first that it was inhuman and brutal, but it was cowardly. (Applause)

I say the cowardliness of this attack stands out a seem more consellenses in my even than its bratallity

I say the constillness of this attack stands out even more constituents in my eye, that its bratality or its inhumanity. To approach a man imprisones, tied hand and foot, so to speak, in an arm-chair and desk, and strike him over the head without warning a stunning and de-dening blow, is in my opinion the act of an assassin (cheers); and I say compared to such an act, the conduct of the man who meets me on the high road, and horsewhips me, or attempts to do, so (laughter), soars to something like manliness and courage.

and courage.

Well, felliw citizens, as I said before, our duty is to come up here, as we have done, in a dignified, untimpassioned manner, to record our protest against such dangs, to express our sympathy with our Senator from Massachusetts who has been thus assaulted, and to proclaim to the United States and the world that this is an occasion in which we are able to some above party distinctions. It is not a gentleman belonging to this or that political party, but it is a man representing Massachusetts, who has been cruelly and brutally assaulted for the honest discharge of when the dorms to be his duty, and we have only to say against such doings, we do protest now and all times. (Applause)

I hope, in conclusion, that we will not suddealy jump at the inference, that this brutal and cowardly act, is in any degree the expression of public seatiment or sanctioned by the public feeling in any particular section of the country. As yet we Well, fellow citizens, as I said before, our duty is

sationent or sacctioned by the public feeling in any particular section of the country. As yet we have ne evidence of it, and let us walt until we have that eyidence. I trust we shall not have it, and I trust that in all parts of the country there is manilmens enough and courage enough — I won't say chivalry, for I don't entirely like that word—but manilmens enough, and civilination enough and character enough, and civilination enough to rebute such proceedings as this, and to feel to be willing to say, of this we wash our hands. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF BON. E. C. BAKER.

SPEECH OF HON. R. C. BAKER.

Fellow-citizens of Boston, of Massachusette, and of the U. ion. — Why are you here to night! What is it that you desire, of what do you complete! It is simply that one of your members has been ascustomed to meet in your daily walks, has been abused and out rage!! No! no! It is because your Commonwealth has been stabled, through its representative; it is because your commonwealth has been stabled, through its representative; it is because your common country has been outraged and insulted; bosuses the dignity of your loved republic has been degraded and trampled upon in the eye of the world, that we are all of us here to night My earliest recollections of the Senate of the United States were those of a noble, and dignified, and awe-inspiring body; a body of men associated to consult upon the common good, upon the weal or wee of a country more mighty in its power, more giorious and magnificent in its destiny than any other the world had ever seen; a body of men who or mprehende! the greatness of that country and the magnificent of its destiny. But what is it teday! The rendezyous of the blackguard and the are sain. Think of it men of Massachusetts! a body where once sat the chivatric Clay, the flery Calleven, and the feeless Webster, where they met in cool debate

and shivered their forensic lances, in the mass had the mibre presentative of the Paleants Side thing a gutta-percha cane with an assaulc's blow uson head of a Massachusette Senator. It is because of on are degraded by this degradation of the beau of our country that we are here to click for much as because our own Commonwalt's privacular incommonwalt's privacular incommonwalt's privacular incommonwalt's privacular incommonwalt's privacular insulted. so grievously insulted we should meet here, in old Fatenil we should meet here, in old Fanculi Har our sorriew rather than our anger, that position of our highest legislative boys as to becoming that we as men of M should ome together to express also our determination to do what in or is that Sonato from its pressnt position, another and a bigher consideration that there to make it. these to which I have referred, which try has been insulted, but it is been of all human rights has been at trampled upon that we are here to night it is because Massachusetts, through he tive, is denied the great right of tree out which all other rights of men are values. Is it not then becoming, in every sets of a word, that all of us, good men of every sets of of every conceivable shade of political sair ligious thought, should ment by their common at monthly their common at monthly their press their common sympathy, if feelings in so disastrous a case! what has already been said,—from feel where see evinced around us, we know that he is of haste, no act that we shall be realist repre-be performed by the people of Massachustic can afford to wait; we can afford to be in temper and injustice, and despot truth and right, justice and hum cool and patient, and therefore at Let us be cautious what we do; le wiolence," in the words of him who has been down; let us do no violence, but si as will right, so far as we are concer breeze that comes from the West, fearing le should hear that some who were but a ago our own fellow citizens, reared in our or homes, bearing in their veins the same blood in of Massachusetts, as we do, great lesses of he dom, -have been stricken down while stresses. to carry these same principles, while New England great and glori ful som-times whether the right or wring stall p wail, as if a Divine Providence had planned it all-

applause.)

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES A. PERLY. Mr. President and Fellew Cuizens: - The rand my health will forbid my offering any extendenmarks, but I could not refuse their marks, but I could not refuse the lorizates dyn Committee to occupy this place for a most, be mingle my sympathy with your, and is enquing borror, and indignation and detentates of the un-rage which has been committed at Washington ay-on the Senator of Marschneitz.

breaks out in another quarter, aroung the post to firery indignation, which shall jet men has our land that foul and wicked system which man-

lies atl this wrong. (Tremendous and long me

rage which has been committed at manage, a-on the Senator of Massichusetts.

I rejuice with those who have proceed as he this meeting has no party character. We see a sembled under extraordinary diremstates. He will this matter read upon the page of hister! I will fals matter read upon the pugest hier; it greater just has one one to a generation of men, is under debut at the tional capitol in Washington. Far any but the setting sun there stands a young sel gain public, looming in her youth'ul beaut, resty up forth on her broad and luminous cares, resting forth importing handle gaser to this tide. forth imploring bands, eager to join in this go combination of States, bearing aloft the mag freedom. The question is, shall she be about into the family sof States! On the questing anto the family of States! Un the questing a slavery and freedom involved in this less, in people of Massachusetts,—I thank God for it,—es and all, without distinction of party, esteal widely different views from the people of his Carolina. (Cheers) Yes, let us rejoke the or eyes open to the light of heaven in a free State, for when the time comes our dust will repose he become of a free State, and a free people.

A Senator of Massachusetts has chosen better

A Senator of Marsachusetts has chosen to exp the sentiment of her prople upon the questies extending slavery into free te.ritory. Without tering into any criticisms upon the details, inlied until y as one of the humblest of the climing Massachusetts, I desire to say that there is not principle or sentiment of devotors to human their in it, not one lofty aspiration for human field to which I do not respend with every five dis

to which I do not response and the being. (Great appliance) That is to-spit in sentiment of Massachusetts, by a vast miser.

It would seem, Mr. President, from receiving that there are those about the purious of being tool, and shall I add the White House, whereast the contract of the terly ignoract of the relations of States is the eral government. I hope that the people of Mos chusetts will teach those at Washington, de need to be taught that there is a Ma med to be taught the three is a more well as a federal g ivernment. [Cheeta] is Massachusetts takes her place at this mydde banquet of nations which desire has presented this broad continent, wearing upon ler besit brow her diadem of svereignit as an independent republic. She claims no special privileges one's sister States, but, Heaven willing, the shall last less at that feast. [Cheers.]

I shall be very brief but I intend to fall up plain and make a clean breast of it, and I sur you, Mr. President and fellow citiesa, that wery happy to stand here tonight and mis ay voice with yours in contemation of its see atrocious outrage upon the person of a home son of Massachusetts. In the Seals chaste of the nation at mid day with his arm reside to SPEECH OF COL the nation, at mid day, with his are resing the Constitution of the United State, with the Constitution of the United State, with peets invividate the person of a secator, for an appoint in debate, and unier the risker the flag of his country, as it waved from the design. cowird. Is my julgment that it a present mity to every man in Marsachusztti, sal hi my heart guot to atand here and ase before man "see of upturned faces," men who have considered to make the ratters of old faces to make the ratters of old faces in incignation. I frust that voles will go for his this place tonight that shall shake this outly in that the control of the minimum of ters how standing upon the far of and established plains of Kanasa and Nebrasks, and tastemy will rise in the majesty of a freeza, and safe eyes directed towards heaven exist m. I have eyes directed towards heaven exist m. I have what course others may take, but as for m. I what course others may take, but as for m. I want to the course others may take, but as for m. I want to the course others may take, but as for m. I want to the course others may take, but as for m. I want to the course of the cour

what course others may take, but as lot me liberty or give me death. (Cherriad out applians:)
I see by one of the papers which reached as a termoun from the South, that a writer cash lizes the conduct of Brooks as repiralires. It is was base, cowardly detectable, such costs of the second of the conduction of the conduction of the second of the conduction of the conducti ire a the conduct of Brows at it was base, cowardly detentable, such cashed as could be expected from a low, valgar minds wroffine. It is chivalrous, it is, o triks and dark, with the wicked and malerolest intential high is life! Such may be the chiraly of a sassin, but not that of a true man of gentle age. Thank God that no such chiraly as existed in the North. How was it, followed in that great content when Hayne and opposite in memory to 1832, and recal the inprocess sault on Naw England men and Naw England meter. Recal the invisions allustons to the collections of our Common wealth. Did Size men as they clustered in groups and of sections of our Common wealth. capitol counsel words of violence, or e to avenge their wrongs. No, no, they by nobler impulses, and sent the bear number, who rushed foremest into the face to face in open field, tell the chi-

number, who rushed forecast. I face to face in open field, tall the distant olitician "that there were blows to take as blows to gire" (Lond applease).

Now, what I say is in no existed temper it mood. I gay it deliberately and eith present and I yield to no man in an intense satisfaceling, but I say if it comes to this, but it feeling, but I say if it comes to this, but it men are assailed in the discharge of their men are assailed in the discharge of their then let war come and "war to the kell thing to the hill." (Great cheering.) If he knife to the hill." (Great cheering.) If he understand that there are two this cas'p the understand that there are two this

Speeches were also made by Walley, Peleg W. Chandler, Esq., and John drew, Esq. The Resolutions were man adopted, and the meeting, at 1-4 to 11 counts to a close

30.

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THE LIBERATOR. No Union with Slaveholders, BOSTON, MAY 30, 1856.

GREAT SPEECH OF MR. SUMNER-BRU-TAL ASSAULT UPON HIM ON THE SEN-ATE PLOOR-POPULAR INDIGNATION. We lay before our readers, without abridgment, the

sound and majestic speech delivered in the U. S. South, by Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, on the invasion and costs, or the invasion and criestion of Kansas by Executive perfidy and Misthe structure of the speech has nearly cost as the life. The particulars of the brutal and dashe frairie upen him, on the floor of the Senate, by Special & Brooks, a Representative from South Caroin may be found in another place. The popular infaction is every where manifesting itself in the holdagestion is early in the hold-ing public meetings in all the principal towns and continuous the North, to denounce the crime, repest sympathy for Mr. Sumner. held for the bloody ragedies in Kansas, so eventful and to express the bearing a week as The past has not been known in serious history since the fer hation of that bloodgines Union which has legitimately resulted in this grant of the Slave Power, and to the dissolution of perfect, without hesitation or compromise. Who now pris my more persuasion on this subject?

1 spontaneous gathering of citizens was held on Friby straing at Tremont Temple-adjourned from Chapas Hall, which was found altogether too small to conus the multitude /that flocked thitherward. The periog was one of the most thrilling character. Dea. Santi Greeley presided, and carnest speeches were gale by the Chairman, James Freeman Clarke, Wenbill Phillips, Theodore Parker, John L. Swift, and othes We give below the speech of Mr. Phillips. Fellow-Cilizens,-I did not come here to speak, but

what there are many men in his sulience to whom Boston listens more respectfully has to those whom long years of service in an unpopple care have rendered odious. It is better that the nice which goes back to Washington as the voice of the sty of Bosten should come from their lips, not from gist I rejoice, therefore, that this meeting-these messods-are but the vestibule to the broad and the temple we are to erect to-morrow in Faneuil Ball (Loud cheers.) We-yes, these crowded thouark-are but a snug committee, that will ask leave sail to its number and sit again. (Renewed cheers.) he Committee of the whole Commonwealth shall utter s-morrow night its opinion of this brutal outrage, by which our Senator is stricken down in that Chamber discussins, which we once called the Senate Chamber of the United States. My first thought when I heard Bus, Thank God HENRY WILSON was there ! (En-Meastic applause.) Unlike his predecessor, we know be will not apologize. (Laughter and cheers.) The telemph does not tell us to-day what he said, but we how Massachusetts will be ready to cry Amen to every unt. ('Yes, yes,' and loud applause.) Nobody needs post to read this speech of CHABLES SUMMER to know whether it is good. We measure the amount of the durge by the length of the rebound. (Cheers.) When the mear, driven to the quick, makes the devil start up his san likeness, we may be sure it is the spear of fluriel. (Great applause.) That is my way of measwag the speech which has produced this glorious renk 0, yes, glorious! for the world will yet cover pery one of those scars with laurels. (Enthusiastic thering.) Sir, he must not die! We need him yet, whe vanguard leader of the hosts of liberty. No, he mill yet come forth from that sick chamber, and every gillat heart in the Commonwealth be ready to kiss his my hotsteps. (Loud cheers.) No record exists of hes speeches which a British assassin revenged on fie head of James Otis in State street ; but they flash extlating rediance from the gleam of that blade which nebel the Revolution of its noblest orator. So to-day, is the coward malignity of this attack, whose hate and age i rget all prudence and decency, we may read the this, the fearlessness, the eloquence, the unapproachall migsty of this rebuke of party venality and borbe raffanism-ruffianism which our Senator dreamed dular off in Kansas, and little thought was dogging is seps to find him alone and unarmed, so as safely smak its vengennee.

up; buttling for the liberty of speech on the Senate ler. Once we had no men there to speak. Now, the betwee brave enough; but speak at risk of assassinabu. Twenty years ago, fire, bloodshed and mobs pard the lips of freemen in the streets of our great the, and in the Congress halls at Washington. We faught that the gag was taken away. Adams thanked Ed, before he left this world, that he had seen this gag losened, llow? Loosened at the peril of assassina-

Brust from the society of honest men this brutal tel countly assassin, or call back the delegation of Menchasetts from that House of Infamy, the Conpess of the United States. (Cheers.) If a coward and bratal builty of South Carolina is a fitting member of the House of Representatives, then it is not fit that any levest son of Massachusetts should sit there by his the (Loud and prolonged cheering.) I thank God, to-night, that I never sullied my lips with that absurd phrese, the chivalry of the South.' Take a fitting specimen of it. This prudent coward, who, armed, dogs the steps of his opponent, - shrinks from him while a fried stands by his side, -watches Wilson out of the State Chamber, because he knows he had arms in his hanle, (cheers)-watches his victim until he sits alone, ingrisoned in the heavy chair and writing-desk of the Smale, - and then, without a moment's warning, guarded by his friend from interruption, surrounded by Bren brother assassins - (sensation) - Fellow-citizens, withit too much to say, when the representatives of Brierign States, claiming to be men-Keitt, Toombs, Bere, and others, stand and see an armed and guardel anasia repeat for a score of times his blows on the pristrate, unconscious body of a brother Senator, and be set lift a hand in his defence? I say, brother astimiss! (Many voices-'Right, right!' and loud thers.) Yes, and we shall hear men in the streets of Egion, who say, 'Well, there are two sides to the matle; Sunner was so personal! As if he had intimed personality—had a monopoly of it—nobody ever beaned of it in that Senate before ;-as if he came

by punished! (Laughter and cheers.) Perhaps, Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens, I am Frag; but I accept that speech of my loved and honbel friend, and, with an unmixed approbation ; read a with envious admiration, take it all. (Cheers.) Yes. shit word is there in it that any one of us would not have been proud to utten? Not one! (Great applause.) la miner scorn of the sickly taste, of the effeminate sthearship, that starts back, in delicate horror, at a bell illustration, I dare to say, there is no animal God ba condescended to make, that man may not venture b have. (Applause.) And if any ground of complaint apposable in regard to this comparison, which the delicacy of some men and some presses, it is the animal, not Mr. Douglas, that has reason to com-Pan (Thunders of applause, renewed again and

ingging a fire-new monster into light, and thus was

mansher that not once was Mr. Sumner called to or The long file of parliamentary precedent is his best before against the ignorant and hypocritical criticism of the streets. You must blot the names of Pitt and Fox bus English statesmanship, emasculate Chatham, and th our literature of Burke's letter to the Duke of Bedfiel, forget Junius and gag Brougham, before any just otion can be made to the tone of this speech. Men The lake part in deliberative bodies know, or ought to they, their history, and the rules of debate. If they cannot feel that their life and deeds are such that they

cannot endure what parliamentary law allows, let them stay away. If the Butlers and Douglases cannot bear the rebuke of honest men, let them stay outside the of the House.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, suggested the propriety of the House. Senate House. I am glad the day has come that honesty striking out the preamble, inasmuch as it assumed striking out the preamble, inasmuch as it assumed that could not be ascertained as such only on ex those walls was protection enough against hearing of your sins.

Mr. Chairman, there are some characters whose worth is so clear and self-evident, so tried and approved, so much without flaw, that we lay them on the shelf, and when we hear of any act attributed to them, no matter in what doubtful terms it be related, we judge the single act by the totality of the character,by our knowledge of the whole man, letting a lifetim of uprightness explain a doubtful hour. Now, with regard to our honored Senator, we know that his taste, intellect and heart are all of this quality,-a total, unflawed gem ; and I know, when we get the full and complete report of what he said, the ipsissima verba in which it was spoken, that the most fastidious taste of

the most delicate scholar will not be able to place finger on a word of Charles Sumner which the truest gentleman would not gladly endorse. (Loud cheers.) I place the foot of my uttermost contempt on those members of the press of Boston that have any thing to say in criticism of his language, while he lies thus prostrate and speechless-our champion beaten to the ground for the noblest word Massachusetts ever spoke in the Senate. (Prolonged applause.) When I entered spread of freedom will lend all his ena list where it has stood for fifteen years, -the subscription list of the Boston Courier.' (Cheers, and cries of 'Good.') As I said before, I never found but one in a thousand of these boasted chivalry of the South that was not a coward; but, even in that lowest deep, where attention of the House.

Mr. Campbell said Mr. Hubbard was not acting i even a Brooks lies to-night, there is a bottom, slime and ooze, made up of Northern doughfaces. (Loud cheers.) I hope Massachusetts will mot furnish any such men from her Legislature-men that can do an act, or give a vote that shall even look-even looklike propitiation, while this unanswered insult haunts the atmosphere of the State. Possibly, then, this brutal attack may save the Personal Liberty Bill; I hope it will. I believe Mr. Sumner from his sick pillow would thank God for the outrage he has suffered, if it shall save Massachusetts that noble statute. (Cheers.)

But I remember, gentlemen, that this is merely preliminary meeting,-a few words of broken conversation among a little knot of individuals met as it were on the sidewalk. To-morrow, in the fit shelter of the old Hall, we shall have great men and great speeches. Let us hope that gathering will teach the nation tha there is a Massachusetts, while it assures our honored and loved Senator that we hold him in our heart-of hearts. (Cheers.)

ATTEMPT TO MURDER HON, CHARLES SUMNER. this afternoon, the Senate having adjourned, Mr. Sumner was sitting in his place writing very busily. Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, approached him, sayton S. Brooks, of South Carolina, approach twice. It is a libel on South Carolina, and on Mr. Butler, who is Colleague.

Under the operation of the previous question, Mr. with a heavy cane, upon which Sumner sprang from his seat to defend himself, with such violence that the beavy desk before him was wrenched from the floor, to which it was screwed. He was, however, so much staggered as to be rendered powerless, and the blows were repeatas to be rendered powerless, and the blows were repeated till he was senseless. The two cuts upon his head of Ohio, Allison, Cobb of Georgia, Greenwood, and are each about two inches in length, and are very deep.

Spinner. There were at least a dozen persons standing near at the time of the assault, which was so unexpected that, as they say, they did not think of interfering. Close by stood, as I am informed, the Senate Sergeant-at-Arms, a large, strong man, and yet he did nothing. Mr. Crittenden came forward from another part of the hall, and denounced the attack to the perpetrator.

with the manly indignation characteristic of the chivalrous veteran of Kentucky, as a shameless transaction, but the reply was, I am told: 'You'd better not interfere; we will lick one at a time!' Keitt, of South from injury. Many persons had the impression that he was armed, though no firearms were displayed, either by him or Brooks. It is believed that Sumner would certainly have been killed but for the interference of Messrs. Murray and Morgan, Representatives from New York. The former seized Mr. Brooks around the waist, while he was striking Sumner, and, with Morgan's

help, pulled him away.

Mr. Sumner's lege, at the time when he was attacked, were under the desk so far that he could only rise hy wrenching it from the floor. The stunning force of the blow knocked his head forward; his assailant then seizing him by the shoulder, held him with the left hand, while with the other he kept laving blows upon his head.

was removed. Considerable blood was also spattered on the adjoining desks. Mr. Wilson rushed into the Senate chamber on hear-

SENATE-Washington, May 23, 1856. THE ATTACK ON MR. SUMNER.

Mr. WILSON rose and said : The seat of my colleague is vacated to-day. For the first time after years of public service, that seat is vacant. Yesterday, after the touching tribute of respect to Mr. Miller of Missouri, deceased Member of the House of Representatives. the Senate adjourned. My colleague remained in his seat, engaged in public duties. While thus engaged with his pen in hand, and in a position which rendered him utterly incapable of protecting or defending him-self. Mr Preston S. Brooks, a member of the House from South Carolina, approached him unobserved, and abruptly addressed him. Looking up, and before he self, Mr Preston S. Brooks, a member of the House feet forward in front of my desk, lying on the floor of the Senate, with my bleeding head supported on the shruptly addressed him. Looking up, and before he had time to utter a single word in reply to him, he received a stunning blow upon the head from a cane in the hands of Mr. Brooks, which made him almost some the hands of Mr. Brooks, which made him almost senseess and unconscious. Endeavoring, however, to proteet himself, in rising from his chair, his desk was overthrown, and while in that perilous condition he was beaten upon the head and shoulders by repeated blows from Mr. Brooks, until he sank upon the floor of the Senate, exhausted, unconscious, and covered with his own blood. He was raised from the floor by a few own blood. He was raised from the floor by a few friends, taken into an anter-room, and his wounds dressed; thence he was carried to his house, and placed upon his bed. He is thus unable to be with us to-day to perform the duties which belong to him as a member of this body.

To assall a member of the Senate, out of this cham-large the second of the senate, specific to the senate or in the lobby.

I make this statement in answer to the interrogatory

fence requiring the prompt action of this body. Sir, I submit no motion. I leave it to other members, whose character and position in the Senate, and before the country, eminently fit them to take the lead in measures to redress the wrong of members of this beautiful that I am not sure whether they were ures to redress the wrongs of members of this body, and vindicate the honor and dignity of the Senate.

Mr. Seward submitted a resolution that a Committee of five members be appointed by the President pro tem., to inquire into the circumstances attending the assault committed upon the person of the Hon. Charles Sumner, a member of the Senate, in the Senate Chamber, yesterday, and that said Committee be instructed to report a statement of the facts, to gether with their opinion thereon, to the Senate.

On suggestion of Mr. Mason, the resolution was amended so that the Committee should be elected by the Senate, when Messrs. Cass, Allen, Dodge, Pearce and Geyer were elected.

> HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. FRIDAY, May 28.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, rising to a question of privi

lege, offered the following:

Whereas, on the 22d day of May, P. S. Brooks and Whereas, on the 22d day of May, P. S. Brooks and Hon. Lawrence M. Keitt, members of this House from South Carolina, and other members, either as princi-pals or accessories, perpetrated a violent assault on the person of Hon. Charles Sumner, Senator of the United States from Massachusetts, while remaining in his seat in the Senate Chamber, and while in the performance of duties pertaining to his official station; therefore,

Resolved, That a Select Committee of five member he appointed by the Speaker, to investigate the subject, and report the facts, with such resolutions in reference thereto as in their judgment may be proper and necessary for the vindication of the character of this House;

amination.

Mr. Campbell was willing to modify the prea-Mr. Campbell was willing to modify the preamble, which he did so as to read, 'Whereas, it is represented, etc.'; he said it was due to the House, and all passies, that the facts should be presented in some authentic form, and this could only be done fully and fairly through a Committee.

Mr. Clingman was satisfied that the statement in the preamble was a gross falsehood, but he did not mean that Mr. Campbell had intentionally made an untrue declaration. The gentleman mistook.

The speaker decided the proposition to be in order, as a custion of nivillege.

s a question of privilege.

Mr. Clingman appealed from the decision of the

Mr. Craige was satisfied that Mr. Keitt was not con

erned in the matter in the way stated.

Mr. Campbell replied, that if that should be proved ortainly no wrong would be done.

Mr. Keist thought differently. His personal relations with the parties had always been those of friend-

Mr. Paine inquired, 'Is this resolution the resul f preconcert of action outside this hall?'
Mr. Campbell said, that not one word had be bear lisped by any member of any party as to such course. He was influenced alone by the dictates of his own judgment and sense of public duty. As to who perpetrated the outrage, he only knew from what he heard, although the outrage, he only knew from what he neard, among the saw Mr. Summer lying in the room adjoining the Senate, with gashes on his head to the bone, and blood flowing over him.

Mr. Clingman repeated, he would leave Mr. Brooks to answer to the law.

Mr. Letcher said, that several years ago, Postmaster General Hubbard was attacked by George Briggs, then

General Hubbard was attacked by George Briggs, ther a member of this House, yet neither he (Letcher) not

Mr. Campbell thought proper to bring the subject to the

his official capacity at that time.

After some further proceedings, Mr. Campbell moved to lay Mr. Clingman's appeal from the decision of the S5, nays 71.

The Speaker then made a personal explanation. He said he had not been a party to any deliberation or consultation in this matter, and had no knowledge of the said he had no knowledge of the said had no knowledge.

sultation in this matter, and had no knowledge of the proposition until it was heard from the clerk's desk.

Mr. Brooks explained and said—'I take the entire responsibility or myself, and state, on my honor as a gentleman, that no human being beside myself knew when the transaction would take place.'

Mr. McQueen informed Mr. Campbell that a process had been issued against his colleague, (Mr. Brooks,) who was amenable to the laws of the country.

who was amenable to the laws of the country.

Mr. Campbell said he had no purpose to put any party in a false position, but merely wished to ascertain the facts, there being so many rumors prevalent.

Mr. Haven appealed to Mr. Campbell to omit the name of Mr. Keitt from the preamble.

Mr. Campbell assented. Several members desired him to strike out the words other members,' but Mr. Campbell refused, saying he had reasons for retaining them, Mr. Keitt remarked, that as his name had bee

TTEMPT TO MURDER HON, CHARLES SUMNER. withdrawn, he would say that he neither knew the Washington, May 22. Shortly before two o'clock time nor place when the act would be committed, and when it was committed, he was behind the chair of therefore, he had not the slightest preconcert with his

ly writing, knew nothing more. Brooks struck him Campbell's resolution was adopted by yeas 93, nays 68 Mr. Mattison stated that he desired to vote aye, but had since yesterday paired off with Mr. Jones, of Penn., on all questions.

The Speaker appointed the following named gentle

MR. SUMNER'S STATEMENT BEFORE THE IN-VESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

Washington, May 26. The House Committee of In vestigation waited on Mr. Sumner to-day, and took his testimony with regard to the assault. He was also cross-examined. He was in bed during the examination, and has sat up but little since the assault. He is still very weak, and the physicians counsel him not to attempt to go out of the house during this week.

The following is the statement of Mr. Sumner, under

onth, in regard to the assault upon him by Mr. Brooks ! of May. After some formal business, a message was re-ceived from the House of Representatives, announcing the death of a member of that body from Missouri. This was followed by a brief tribute to the deceased from Mr. Geyer, of Missouri, when, according to usage, and out of respect to the deceased, the Senate adjourned at once. Instead of leaving the Senate Chamber with the rest of the Senators on the adjournment. I continued in my seat, occupied with my pen; and while thus intent, in order to be in season for the mail, which was soon to When Mr. Marray, therefore, pulled away Mr. close, then promptly and briefly excusing myself for the rooks, Mr. Morgan took Mr. Summer, now unconscious in his arms.

His clothes were literally covered with blood when he desk, and, with my legs under the desk, continued writing. My attention at this time was so entirely drawn from all other subjects, that, although there must have

Mr. Wilson rushed into the Senate chamber on hearing of the attack, but found Mr. Summer had been removed to the Vice President's room, and a surgeon was in attendance. He then helped to put his colleague into a carriage, and went with him to his lodgings.

Brooks was subsequently complained of by Wm. Y.

Leader, and Justice Hollingshead held him to bail in the sum of five hundred dollars! to answer to the complaint.

While thus intent, with my head bent over my writing desk, I was addressed by a person who approached the front of my desk so entirely unobserved, that I was not aware of his presence until I heard my name pronounced. As I looked up with pen in hand, I saw a tall man, whose countenance was not familiar, standing directly over me, and at the same moment, caught these words: "I have read your speech twice over carefully—it is a libel on South Carolina and Mr. Butler, who is a relative of mine." While these words were still passbeen many persons in the Senate, I saw nobody.

While thus intent, with my head bent over my writa relative of mine." While these words were still passing from his lips, he commenced a succession of blows a heavy cane, on my bare head, by the first of which I was stunned so as to lose my sight. I saw no longer my assailant, nor any other person or object in the room. What I did afterwards, was done almost unconsciously, acting under the instincts of self-defence; with head already bent down, I rose from my seat, wrenching up my desk, which was screwed to the and then pressing forward, while my assailant continued

his blows. I had no other consciousness until I found myself ten ance, but I did not recognize any of them. there were at a distance, looking on and offer assistance, of whom I recognized only Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, and I thought also my assailant standing between them. I was helped from the floor, and conducted into the lobby of the Senate, where I was placed upon a sofa. Of these who helped me here I have no recollection. As I entered the lob-by, I recognized Mr. Slidell, of Louisiana, who retreat-

I make this statement in answer to the interrogatory ber, for words spoken in debate, is a grave offence not only against the rights of a member, but against the constitutional privileges of this body; but, Sir, to come into this chamber and assault a member in his reat until he falls exhausted upon this floor, is an of-

> On the cross-examination of Mr. Sumner, he stated that he was entirely without arms of any kind, and he had no notice or warning of any kind, direct or indirect, of this assault. In answer to a cross-question, Mr. Sumner replied, that what he had said of Mr. But ler was strictly responsive to Mr. Butler's speeches, and according to the usages of parliamentary debate.

RUFFIANISM NATIONAL. The cowardly and brutal assault on Senator Sumner, indicating, as it plainly does, that no delegate of the free States can perform his whole duty without risk of being murdered, has taken some of our citizens by surprise. We think the surprise altogether superfluous. The act is a legitimate result of the acts which have grown out of the Kansa iniquity. The especial cause for national shame in the Kansas matter is not that certain bullies, ruffians and assassins invaded and conquered a peaceful territory, and imposed on it their criminal instinct as laws. They their kind. But when the National Govern ment adopted the results of the acts of these ruffians, bullies and assassius, and placed the force of the United In upholding barbarism, and culogizing its leaders, the President and a majority of the Senate share in the infamy they support. The crime is not merely against liberty, but civilization. Now we believe that no man can stigmatize in Congress such conduct as it deserves, without being made the victim of such hon esty and courage.

Mr. Sumner's noble speech was in all respects wor

thy of him, not merely as a statesman and a patriot, but as a high-toned gentleman. He retorted on his

ents, it is true, but he retorted on opponents

opponents, it is true, but he retorted on opponents who have scandalously assailed him in the Senate for the last two years. He had already proved himself the superior of such men as Mason, Butler, Douglas, in knowledge, in cloquence, and in genius. 'It only remained that he should prove himself an unsafe man for them to make the mark of their vituperation. This he did so thoroughly that their only answer was affected contempt, and the only answer of their ruffian supporters was an attempt at murder. We trust that we shall hear no more of Southern chivalry. We can now understand the affinities which these politicians have for their border brethren of Missouri, and why they are proud to 'call Atchison friend.' Ruffianism being dominant in the Government, and exalted into an institution, may now dispense with the thin varnish of respectability, with which, in Washington, it partially disguised its essential nature.—Transcript. tial nature.- Transcript

MR. BROOKS OF SOUTH CAROLINA. This person, who MR. BROOKS OF SOUTH CAROLINA. This person, who has so suddenly become infamous, is a young man, not far from thirty years of age. He is nearly six feet in height, and of a very genteel personal appearance and agreeable manner. He was the person selected by Mr. Bennett of Mississippi to take his notes to Mr. Damrell of this State, interrogating that gentleman in regard to some allusions to Mississippi repudiation in his speech in the House of Representatives. Preston S. Brooks, we are happy to say, is no relation whatever to the Brooks family in this section of the country. On his father's side he is of Scotch-Irish descent, and on his mother's, unmitigated Irish.—Ibid.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

MONDAY, May 26. Resolves concerning the recent assault upon the Hor Charles Sumner.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Represent tives of the Commonwealth of Massachuseus, That we have received with deep concern information of the recent violent assault committed in the Senate Chamber cent violent assault committed in the Senate Chamber at Washington upon the person of the Hon. Charles Summer, one of our Senators in Congress, by Preston S. Brooks, a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina—an assault which no provocation could justify—brutal and cowardly in itself—a gross breach of parliamentary privilege—a ruthless attack upon the liberty of speech—an outrage of the decencies of civilized life—an indignity to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Massachusetts. Resolved, That the Legislature of Massachusetts. the name of the free and enlightened people, demands from her Representatives in the National Legislature entire freedom of speech, and will uphold them in the proper exercise of that essential right of American cit

Resolved, That we approve of Mr. Sumner's manliness and courage in his earnest and fearless declaration of free principles, and his defence of human rights and

free territory.

Resolved, That the Legislature of Massachusetts imperatively called upon, by the plainest dictates of duty, from a decent regard to the rights of her citizens and respect for her character as a sovereign State, t demand, and the Legislature does hereby demand, the National Congress, a prompt and strict investigation into the recent assault upon Senator Sumner, and the expulsion by the House of Representatives of Mr Brooks, of South Carolina, and any other member concerned with him in said assault.

Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be r quested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolves to the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each of the Senators and members of the House of Representatives from this Commonwealth in the Congress of the United States.

Another Editor in Trouble. A rumor is widel circulated that Mr. Brooks of South Carolina has chal enged Gen. James Watson Webb, but the facts are follows : Gen. Quitman was the bearer of a note from Mr. Brooks to Gen. Webb, asking whether he was the author of the article in the Courier and Enquirer of Saturday, relative to the assault on Mr. Sumner ; writing on the subject until Saturday, and that the Courier of Tuesday would contain a letter under his signature, from which Mr. Brooks might learn fully his opinions relative to the affair.

It is rumored that Senator Toombs has challenge Senator Wade.

It would appear from reports in the New York papers, that bully Brooks has not fulfilled his mission and that our citizen, Dr. Chaffee, has excited his ire On Saturday evening, as the latter was expressing his opinion of the Sumper affair, among a group of friends at Willard's Hotel, Brooks broke in upon the circle with the manifest determination to attack him. Friends im-mediately interfered, and Dr. Chaffee retired.

Dr. Chaffee is not a man to seek a quarrel-nay. h would go out of his way to avoid one; but, in our own opinion, a man who should lay rough hands on him nce, would get an article known in intelligent circles as Jesse.'-Springfield Republican, May 27. WASHINGTON, May 24.

Mr. Brooks, this afternoon, accompanied by Mr. Keitt, appeared before Justice Hollingshead. The examination was about to commence, when Mr. Brooks said there was no necessity for it, as he acknowledged that he committed the assault and battery upon Mr. Sumper. The Justice required security in the sum of \$1000 for his appearance in court. James Maguire and Truxton Beale became his sureties. PULPIT DEMONSTRATIONS UPON THE SUMNER ASSAULT.

New York, May 20.—There was an immense congregation at the Plymouth Church, last evening, to hear Henry Ward Beecher, who had announced in the morning that his sermon would have reference to the peculiar condition of the country. The outrage upon Sena-tor Sumner, and the destruction of Lawrence, were freely commented on, in a most feeling and eloquent man Many other clergymen, both in New York and Brook-

lyn, commented on the Brooks' outrage, in appropriat

The Washington correspondent of the Daily Advertiser, under date of May 25th, Sunday evening, says : Rev. Dr. Pine preached a stirring sermon to-day on the downward tendency of civilization at Washington. He referred to the three recent cases of ruffianism committed by members of Congress, and the fact that the perpetrators of them are now making our laws, as evidence of depravity. He arged that it is the duty of the church to exert its influence for reform, by its members refusing to associate with those who outrage society by lawless violence. He said, "it is a shame to countenance such men, and if you are not ashamed of it, shame on you!' It is stated that Dr. Pine declined an invitation to dine yesterday at the house of a distinguished South Carolinian, because he was informed that Mr.

Brooks would be one of the party.

Rev. Dr. Sunderland also preached an eloquent sermon in a strain similar to the above mentioned, and the President was one of the auditors. The Senate Committee of Investigation have determin

ed to ask for power to send for and examine witnesses. (Correspondence of Evening Post.) The House In-(correspondence of Erening Post.) The House investigating Committee, in addition to the declaration of Mr. Sammer, have taken the testimony of 12 or 14 others, including Gov. Gorman, Senator Pearce, Crittenden, Foster, and Messrs. Jones and Holland, officers of the Senate, all of whom were eye witnesses. Their evidence corroborates fully Mr. Sumner's statement, so far as it goes, and shows that Brooks had used, in his requently repeated blows, the sword practice which he exercised as an officer in the Mexican war, making the lragoon stroke of one and two, so that as soon as Sumner, with his head down, would involuntary raise an arm on the side where he was struck, the cane would lescend upon the wound on the other, and so on, backing alternately from one to the other.

Mr. Sumner's physicians say his wounds are the most severe flesh ones they ever saw on a man's head, and deny his friends admission to him.

A despatch to the Boston Daily Advertiser says tha the evidence is positive that the assault on Mr. Sumner was deliberately planned last night among a party of Southerners. Mr. Brooks waited at the Porter's Lodge in the Capitol Grounds this morning, to make the as-sault, but Mr. Sumner happened to ride up in a carriage. After the adjournment, Mr. Brooks took a seat in the Senate, and waited some twenty minutes until Mr. Sumner was quite alone, before approaching

REPUBLICAN MESTING.—New YORK, May 23. The Republicans held a County Convention here to-night, and passed strong resolutions, denouncing the assault upon Mr. Sumner; calling upon the House to expel his assailant, and also calling upon the Courts of Washington to punish him; otherwise that the seat of government he represent rnment be removed.

OPINION OF MR. BROOKS'S COURSE AT HOME. IUMBIA, S. C., May 26. Contributions are being made in Charleston and Columbia, for the purpose of getting up a testimonial for presentation to Preston S. Brooks, whose course is very generally approved in this locality

COLUMBUS, (S. C.) May 27. A large number of citizens convened here this evening, in pursuance of a call for a meeting to sustain Mr. Brooks, in view of his re-cent defence of the rights of the South (!) Several addresses were made, and several resolutions in approval of the course of Mr. Brooks adopted.

Immediately after the assault, while Mr. Sumner lay bleeding and senseless on the floor, we have it upon the testimony of a South Carolinian, who appeared to have been a witness of the scene, that Mr. Crittenden said, 'This is a shameful outrage!' To which Senator Toombs replied, 'No it is not!' Mr. Crittenden rejoined, 'The Senate is no place for it,' Senator Toombs answered, 'The Senate is the place for it'!

WASHINGTON, May 27. The scene in the Senate to-day was highly exciting Mr. Wilson, in defence of Mr. Summer, said that he was struck down by a brutal and cowardly assault At this, Mr. Butler exclaimed, sollo voce, 'You're a a liar, but subsequently retracted his words. Order was called, and the majority soon choked off the debate by calling for the yeas and nays, every administration man from the North and South, except Mr. Toombs of Ga., voting aye. Great excitement succeeded, and many Southern men were seen in excited cor sultation. The rumor was soon current that Messra.
Wilson and Wade would be assaulted after the adjournment. About a dozen of their friends took care to be

armed, and peace was preserved.

It is rumored to-night that Mr. Wilson is to be challenged by Brooks. The former has gone to Trenton to-night, to fulfil an appointment to speak, but will return on Thursday. CRITICAL CONDITION OF MR. SUMNER. A special de

spatch to the Boston Daily Advertiser, Wednesday morning, says :-

WASHINGTON, May 28th. Mr. Sumner is much worse. He has had a sleepless night, and his wounds are badly swollen this morning. He suffers intense pain. A brain fever sets in. Three physicians are now in consultation, including

Dr. Perry, of Boston, who has been in constant attend ance since his arrival. No one is admitted to Mr. Sum

(Herald Correspondence.) Col. Brooks sent a challenge to Senator Wilson this evening by Gen. Lane of Oregon.

The moment Senator Butler heard of the Brooks and

Summer affair, he started for Washington. He will answer Summer when the latter is in his seat.

(Express Correspondence.) All sorts of alarming rumors are current, and one is, that if Brooks is expelled, a majority of Southern Congressmen will retire from the Capitol. WASHINGTON, May 27th. Both Mr. Wade and Mr.

Wilson denounced the outrage on Mr. Sumner to-day, in unmistakeable language. They had to do it under a cloud of intimations, both before and afterward, of personal outrage and violence. The threats were so tinct that Gen. Wilson was escorted to the cars this afternoon by a body of armed friends. He has gone Trenton to speak.

SENATE. The Investigating Committee on the Sun ner assault made a report, through their chairman, Mr Pearce, deciding that though the assault was a violation of the privileges of the Senate, yet it is not within their jurisdiction to punish the offence, and recommend ing that the Senate make complaint to the House. A resolution to that effect was adopted, Toombs alone vot-

IMPORTANT NEWS PROM KANSAS-DESTRUCTION OF LAWRENCE.

CHICAGO, May 26. The Chicago Tribune publishe an extra, based on intelligence brought by three mer direct from Lawrence, stating that a company of 400 mounted Missourians made their appearance near Law rence on Wednesday, having banners of various devices but not the stars and stripes. During the morning, th who headed this force, assuring him that they would make no resistance to any process he might wish to serve, and begging protection for their lives and property. The Marshal made no answer; but at 11 o'clock a Deputy Marshal, with a posse of ten men, made his appearance from the city, and summoning four cit izens to assist him, arrested G. W. Dielsier and G. W. Smith, and carried them off without molestation. Sherif Jones subsequently made his appearance with 18 men. He attempted no arrests, but demanded all-the publi and private arms, giving the people five minutes to accede to the demand, and threatening, in case of refusal, to storm the town. One field piece was immediate ly given up, but the people refused to surrender their two pieces of artillery and an overwhelming force, and commenced the work of destruction by cannonading the Free State Hotel and the office of the Herald of Free-. The former was burned, and the types and presse of the latter destroyed. The Tribune's informants left at 8 o'clock in the evening, and when fifteen miles from Lawrence, saw a great light and volumes of smoke in the direction of that city. They have no doubt that

the town is destroyed. Another messenger, who left Leavenworth just before the departure of the boat, says several men have been killed by the Jones party. It is feared that Gen. Pom-ercy has been hung by the mob.

Gov. Robinson is at Lecompton, in the hands of the authorities.

Reeder is supposed to be in a place of safety, and daily expected here via Nebraska and Iowa.

The mob have threatened to hang Robinson, Brown

and Dielsler. The Free State men are gathering at Topeka, and will make a stand at that point.
Atchison is somewhere in the Territory.

The U. S. troops are anxious to protect the settlers but are not allowed to leave their quarters.

St. Louis, May 26. The Lexington, (Mo.) Expres publishes an extract, which was received here to-day, confirming the report of the destruction of Lawrence or Wednesday last. The account states, that after the Marshal had arrested all the persons he had writs for e immediately turned the posse over to Sheriff Jones whose attempts to make arrests were resisted by the pple, who fired on his men. Sheriff Jones then can-Herald of Freedom, destroying both. When the mes-senger left, the Artillery was still firing, and the fire spreading to other portions of the town, but up to the is reported as the testimony of Hutchinson and Rat-cliffe, two free State men. [The Express is a pro-slavery paper.]

CHICAGO, May 27th. The St. Louis Republican of yesterday contains a letter announcing the return of Messrs. Robinson, Schuyler and Conway, under the charge of the territorial authorities.

extra was issued in Kansas City, from the Enter prise office, on the 22d inst., which was received here last night, which says Jones took about twenty men into Lawrence, and at his demand Gen. Pomeroy surrendered all the rifles and cannon he could get, which were

Jones then requested Eldrige to move his furniture from the hotel; as he declined to do so, a posse entered it, and carried most of it into the street. Jones gave express orders that no private property should be injured, and particularly that Gov. Robinson's should not be touched, but after a portion of the posse had left, the house was harned. house was burned. During the excitement, one man was shot, and another

killed by the falling bricks from the walls of the hotel. Jones gave Pomeroy a receipt for all the rifles and Another despatch, dated St. Louis, 27th, says:—The hotel, two printing offices and Gov. Robinson's house, in Lawrence, have been destroyed, and two free State

Gen. Pomeroy surrendered up all the arms in his ossession, without resistance.

Gov. Robinson is in Prison at Lecompton.

Pomeroy is at liberty in Lawrence, and Gov. Reeder is unheard from.

Gov. Reeder and Mr. Fogg, Secretary of the Investigating Committee, arrived safely at Chicago May 28th. WASHINGTON, May 27th. The conduct of Colonel Summer, commanding if Kansas, meets with the approval of the administration, of which he has officially been informed, and complimented for his prudence.

St. Louis, May 27th. The Republican and Demi crot both have letters from Kansas to-day, relative to the attack on Lawrence. The Democrat correspondent says the stores and dwelling houses were indiscriminately broken open and robbed. One man, Mr. Johnson, had \$2000 worth of drafts and land warrants stolen from him.

from him.

A Mr. Topliff, who had been appointed last fall a Colonel in the militia by Gov. Shannon, was robbed of his commission, private papers, watch, \$800 in money, and all his clothing.

A passenger on the steamer Morning Star informs the Democrat that Sheriff Jones intended to proceed immediately to Topeka with the intention of destroying that town.

Four new murders had come to light.

WASHINGTON, May 28. Mr. Crampton was this evening officially notified of the discontinuance of his diplomatic relations as Minister from Great Britain, near this government, and was furnished with his passports

ANTI-SLAVERY FESTIVAL. The 'Welcome Home' our beloved and devoted friend and fellow-laborer, PAR-KER PILISBURY, at Fancuil Hall, on Wednesday eve ning last, was every thing that could be desired. dresses were made by Edmund Quincy (the Chairman), Parker Pillsbury, W. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips M. R. Robinson, Robert Purvis, C. C. Burleigh, and C. L. Remond. A full report hereafter.

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION.

The New ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION WAS held in the MELOPEON, in this city, on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, -FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq., the honored President of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, in the chair. The attendance was large, and the proceedings of a very spirited and radical character. We can only find room for the following Resolutions, which were adopted in relation to Mr. SUNNER :-

1. Resolved, That this Convention fully participates in the general feeling of indignation and horror which is felt in view of the recent dastardly and murderous assault made in the Senate Chamber at Washington, upon the person of the distinguished Senator from Maseachusetts, Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, by a fitting Representative of and from the lawless State of South Carolina; that, whether regard be had to the place or to the manner in which it was committed, or to the posttion and character of the victim, an assault characterised by greater cowardice and ruffianism, or more daring in its contempt for all that is sacred in constitutional liberty, or more comprehensively malignant against the cause of human freedom, cannot be found on the page of history; that it indicates a conspiracy, on the part of the Slave Oligarchy, to 'crush out' freedom of speech on the floor of Congress as effectually as it is done on the slave plantation, by putting in peril the life of every Northern Senator or Representative who shall dare to lift up a manly voice against executive usurpation and border ruffianism ; and, therefore, that whoever shall attempt to find any justification or to frame any apology for it, will reveal himself to be on a level with the base assailant of as pure, and generous, and noble a man as ever yet occupied a seat in our national legislature.

2. Resolved, That the speech made by Mr. SUMNER. which has subjected him to this most brutal treatment. is a speech at any time worth dying for-perfect in its conception, arrangement and execution, conclusive in its argument and evidence, masterly in its exposure of executive usurpation, sublime in its moral heroism, invincible in its truthfulness, just in its personal impeachment, unsurpassed in its eloquence, and glorious in its object ; that, sealed with his blood, it shall quicken the pulses of millions now living to engage in a death-grapple with the Slave Power, and go down to posterity as a rich legacy to the cause of universal liberty.

3. Resolved, That, next to the meanness and baseness of the assault upon Mr. Sumner, was the act of admitting his cowardly assailant to bail, by Justice Hollingshead in the paltry sum of five hundred dollars ; and next, the appointment of a committee of inquiry in the Senate, by ballot, (on motion of Mr. Mason of Virginia,) which resulted in a choice as one-sided and unfair as personal prejudice, party rancor, and pro-slavery malignity, could elect, and from which nothing of honor or justice in this case is to be expected. 4. Resolved, That in case the U. S. House of Rep-

resentatives refuse to expel Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, the cowardly assailant of Mr. Sumner, from his seat, and the Senate decline to take such action as that outrage imperatively demands, Massachusetts will recognize the immediate withdrawal of her Senators and Representatives, from Congress, as an evidence of true self-respect on their part, and of the highest regard for her rights and honor as a sovereign State. 5. Resolved, That the real spirit of the South is

revealed in the satanic declaration of the Richmond Whig, that Mr. Brooks did 'a good deed' in 'administering to Senator Sumner, the notorious and foulmouthed Abolitionist from Massachusetts, an elegant and effective caning'-expressing its ' regret that Mr. Brooks did not employ a horsewhip or a cowhide upon his slanderous back, instead of a cane'-and also the hope that 'the ball may be kept in motion,' and that 'Seward and others may catch it next.'

6. Resolved, That no matter how personally offensive, insulting and libellous may be the language used in debate by the Southern overseers in Congress towards Northern Senators and Representatives, whose only crime is in remonstrating against the aggressions of the Slave Power upon Northern rights, it is deemed entirely parliamentary and well-deserved by the very same journals that now affect to find in Mr. Sumner's speech strong provocation for the murderous assault upon him by one to whom no allusion had been made-showing their hypocrisy to be as detestable as their recreancy to

the cause of freedom is deplorable. 7. Resolved, That we rejoice to believe in an overruling Providence, which, 'from seeming evil still educes good, and better thence again, and better still'; that, for every blow struck upon the head and prostrate form of the honored Sumner, a myriad of blows shall be inflicted upon the accursed Slave Power by the rising spirit of Liberty, sending it reeling to the earth, and ultimately to an infamous grave, beyond the possibility of a resurrection; that, by the disgust, indignation, sympathy and horror which this heinous outrage has called into existence, the discussion and excitement every where following It, the moral and religious forces brought into action by it, no act could be more disastrous to the bloody despotism of the South, or more fortunate for the cause of human freedom, in the final issue; thus confirming the scriptural declaration, that the Lord giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might he increaseth strength,' and that 'the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever.

8 Resolved, That as the friends of the enslaved in this land, we have only to reply to the insolent threat of the infamous Senator from Illinois, that WE ARE NOT AND CAN NEVER BE SUBDUED; that, in this sublime struggle, animated by no party or sectional spirit, seeking the safety and welfare of all the people, vindicating the glorious truths set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and sustained by the consciousness that we are wholly in the right, we are neither to be driven back by the fear of consequences, nor compelled to silence by the arm of violence; that, come what may, we declare eternal hostility to slavery as a system, and in every specific case of slaveholding, whether in States or Territories, on every foot of American soil, and will seek its immediate overthrow,-trampling beneath our feet all compacts, laws and arrangements whatsoever, framed for its security or repose, and recognizing no other banner as worthy the countenance of freemen. except that on which is emblazoned the motto, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

REPUDIATION OF REV. NEHEMIAH ['SOUTH-SIDE'] ADAMS. At a meeting of the Boston branch of the American Tract Society, held in Boston on Tuesday last, Rev. Nehemiah Adams, after an earnest discussion, was repudiated as an officer thereof, on account of his infamous pro-elavery book, and the Rev. A. L. Stone, of Park Street Church, elected over him-56 to 43. Mr. Adams protested that he was 'one of the best friends of Anti-Slavery,' and regarded himself 'as peculiarly fitted to be on the publishing committee, because he had the confidence of the South and Southwest' !-- and to prove the excellence of his 'South-Side View' as an Anti-Slavery production, he presented the commendations of it of Rufus Choate, Rev. Dr. S. H. Cox, the New York Observer, and the Boston Post !!!!

The infamous effort to repeal the Personal Liberty Bill, we are happy to announce, was defeated in the Massachusetts House of Representatives by a decisive vote. Thanks to 'Master Brooks.'

Our friends in Vermont, we are sure, will be glad to learn that Wm. Wells Bnown intends spending the month of June in the Western part of the State. They should embrace the opportunity, and get up as many meetings for him as may be convenient.

FF A SOCIAL LEVEE, for the benefit of Mr. John M. SPEAR, will be held in Chapman Hall, School Street, on Wednesday evening next, June 4th, at 8 o'clock. Tickets 50 cents each, to be had at 15 Franklin Street, 15 Brattle Street, and at the Fountain House, Beach St

We are indebted to the Boston Bee for the re-port of the Fancuil Hall meeting.

they might have gone with nothing more than a pligrim's staff. Philosophy always seeks a sufficent cause, and only in the Une Idea, already presented, can a cause be found in any degree commensurate with this Crime; and this becomes sonly when we consider the mad fanaticism of Slavery.

respondent from Brunswick, in Missouri, under date of 20th April, 1855:

From fire to seven thousand men started from Missouri to attend the election, some to remove, but the most to return to their families, with an intention, if they liked the Territory, to make it their permanent abode at the earliest moment practicable. But they in tended to vote. The Missourians were, many of them, Douglas men. There were one hundred and fifty voters from this county, one hundred and seventy-five from Howard, one hundred and seventy-five from Howard, one hundred from Cooler. Indeed, every county fureished its quoia; and when they set out, it looked like an army."

"And as there were no house in the Territory, they carried tents. Their mission was a peaceable one—to vote and to drive down stakes for their future homes. After the election, some one-thousand five hundred of the voters sent a committee to Mr. Reeder, to ascertain if it was his purpose to ratify the election. He answered that it was, and said the majority at an election must carry the day. But it is not to be denied that the one thousand five hundred, apprehending that the Governor might attempt to play the tyrant—since his conduct had aiready been insidious and mjust—wore on their hats bunches of hemp. They were readyed, if a tyrant attempted to trample upon the rights of the sovereign people, to hang him."

6. It is a gain confirmed by the tearimopy of a day who for five years having the Missouries.

You ask me to tell you sowching a cout the Kansas and Missouri troubles Of course you know in what they have originated. There is no anying that the Missourians have determined to control the Elections of possible; and I don't know that their measures would be justifiable except upon the principle of seel-p reservation, and that you know is the first law of nature?"

body of mea are helping themselves to fat speculations by locating the seat of Government' and getting town los for their votes. They are assing laws distranchis ing all the citizens of Kansas who do not believe Negro Slavery to be a Christian institution and a national blessing They are proposing to punish with imprison ment the utterance of views inconsistent with their ment the utterance of views inconsistent with their own. And they are trying to perpetuate their preposerous and infernal tyrange, by appointing for a term of years creatures of their own, as commissioners in every county, that and collect taxes and see that the laws they are passing are faithfully executed. Has this age anything to compare with these acts in audacity?"

9. In harmony with all these is the authoritative declaration of Governor Reeder, in a speech addressed to his neighbors, at Easton, Pennsylvania, at the end of April 1855, and immediately afterwards published in the Washington Union. Here it is:

"It was indeed too true that Kansas had been invaded, conquered, subjugated, by an armed forc from beyond her borders, led on by a fanatical spirit, tramp ing under foot the principles of the Kansas bill and the right of

10. And in similar harmony is the complaint of the people of Kansas, in a public meeting at Big Springs, on the 5th September, 1855, embodied in these words:

these words:

"Resoved That the body of men who for the last two months have been passing laws for the people of our Territory moved, counseled, and dictated to by the demagogues of Missoud, are to us a foreign body, representing only the lawless invaders who elected them and not the people of the Territor;—that we repudiate their action, as the moustrou-consummation of an act of violence usurpation and fraud unparalleled in the history of the Union, and worthy only of men unfitted for the duties, and regardless of the responsibilities of Republicans."

months have been passing laws for the people of our Territory moved, counsel ed, and dictated to by the demagogues of Missouri, are to us a foreign body, representing only the lawless invaders who elected them, and not the people of the Territory—that we regudiate their action, as the monstrout consummation of an act of violence usurpation and fraud unparalleled in the history of the Union, and worthy only of men unfitted for the duties, and regardless of the responsibilities of Republicans."

11. And finally, by the official minutes, which have been laid on our table by the President, the invasion, which ended in the Usurpation, is clearly established; but the effect of this testimony has been so amply exposed by the Senator from Vermont (Int Collamer,) in his able and indefatigable argument, that I content myself with simply referring to it.

On this cumulative, irresistible evidence, in concurrence with the antecedent history, I rest. And yet Senators here have argued that this cannot be so—precisely as the conspiracy of Catilline was doubted in the Roman Senate. Nonnuill sunt in hoc ordine, qui ant es, quae imminent, non videant, ant es, quae wident, distinualent; qui spem Cottana monthus sententiis a uerumi, conjunationemque nascentem non cradendo corroboraverum. As I listend to the Senator from Usurpation, I was reminded of the effort by a distinguished logician, in a much-admired argument, to prove that Napoleon Bonaparte never existed. And permit me to say, that the fact of his existence is not placed more completely above doubt than the fact of this Usurpation. This I assert on the proofs already presented. But confirmation comes almost while I speak. The columns of the public press are now daily filled with testimony, solemn, by taken before the Committee of Congress in the vascing against innecent and even by a king by a first proposed to the original Crime they add anoth the office of the efforts of the public press are now daily filled with testimony, solemn, by taken before the Committee of Congre

constituted, and whose tyr-nnical agent it was. The statutes of Missouri, in all their text, with their divisions and subdivisions, were adopted bediving and with such il title local adaptation that the text with their divisions and subdivisions, were adopted bediving and with such little local adaptation that the word in the divisions and subdivisions, were adopted bediving and with such little local adaptation that the word in the complete reproperty," in which the One Idea, that provided that in their text, with their divisions and subdivisions, were adopted boddiy, and with such little local adaptation that the word in the complete ness against Nave Property," in which the One Idea, that provided the such process, without a parallel, may be partially conceived, when it is underseed that in three sections only of its is the penalty of death denounced no only of it is the penalty and with such little local adaptation that the word "State" is the original is not even changed to "Territory," but is left to be corrected by an explanatory act. But, all this general legislation was entirely subordinate to the special act, en titled "An Act to purish offenses against Slave Property," in which the One Idea, that provoked this whole conspiracy, is at last embodied in legis lative form, and Human Slavery openly recognised on Free Soil, under the sanction of pretended law. This act of thirteen sections is in itself a Dance of Death. But its complex completeness of wickedness, without a parallel, may be partially conceived, when it is understood that in three sections only of it is the penalty of death denounced no less than forty eight different times, by as many changes of language, against the hen ous offense, described in forty-eight different ways, of interfering with what does not exist in that Territory—and under the Constitution cannot exist there—I mean property in human flesh. Thus is Liberty

and under the Constitution cannot exist there—I mean property in human flesh. Thus is Liberty sacrificed to Slavery, and Death summoned to sit at the gates as guardian of the Wrong.

But the work of Usurpation was not perfected yet. It had already cost too much to be at any hazard.

they might have gone with nothing more than a pilgrim's staff. Philosophy always seeks a suppresented, can a cause be found in any degree commensurate with this Crime; and this becomes sonly when we consider the mad fanaticism of Slavery.

2 Public notoriety steps forward to confirm the sungestion of reason. In every place where Truth can freely travel, it has been asserted and understood, that the Ligislature was imposed upon than ansays by foreigners from Missouri; and this universal voice is now received as undeniable verity.

3. It is also attested by the harangues of the compirators. Here is what Stringfellow said before the invasion:

"To those who have qualms of conscience as to violeting laws. State or Nationa, the time I as come when such impositions must be disregarced, as your right and, to raise every election startic in Kanas in defined? Reader and his viti myrmidous and voice at the point of the besie lay is and revoice. Neither give not class quarter what right has Governor Reeder to rue Missouriamis Kanssai in I proclamation and preceribed cash must be repudiated. It is your interest to do so. Mind that Slavery is established where it is not prolibited."

Here is what Atchison and offer the invasion:

"Well, what next! Why an election for members of the Lepslature to organise the Territory must be disc. His your interest too so. Mind the different legislative enactments, been well put by the Senator from Vermon agrin. and cold and inclement as the weather was, went over with a ounque that the work with a company to the control of the contr

to say who were, and who were not, memora out and the same."

4. It is confirmed by the contemporaneous admission of the Squatter Sovereign, a paper published at Atchison, and at once the organ of the President and of these Borderers, which under date of 1st April, thus recounts the victory:

"INDEPENDENCE (Mo.) March 31, 1855.

Saveral hundred emigrants from Kaneas have just broberty: while, in all cases, the summoning of

date of list April, thus recounts the victory:

"INDEPYNDENCE (Mo.) March 31, 1855.

Several hundred emigrants from Kanzas have just entered our city. They were preceded by the Westport and Independence trass bands. They came in at the west side of the public equires and proceeded entirely strough it, the bands chee log us with fine music, and the emigrants with good news. Immediately following these were one hundred and fifty way one, carriages, &c. They gave repeated cheers for Kanzas and Missouri. They report that not an Anti-Blavery man will be in the Legislature of Kanzas. We have made a clean sneep,"

5 It is also confirmed by the contemporaneous testimony of another paper, always faithful to Slavery, the New York Herald, in the letter of a correspondent from Brunswick, in Missouri, under date of 20th April, 1855:

'From fire to seven thousand men started from Missouri to attend the election, some to remove, but the most to return to their families, with an intention, if they liked the Territory, to make it their permanent abode at the earliest moment practicable. But they in tended to vote. The Missourians were, many of them. Douglas men. There were one hundred and diffy voters from this county, as hundred and desenve, some hundred and diffy voters from this county, as hundred and diffy voters from this county, one hundred and diffy voters from this county, as hundred and diffy voters from this county one hundred hund

Douglas men. There were one hundred and fifty oversigned from this county. One hundred and seventy-five from those of one hundred from Cooler. Indeed, every county fursished its quoia: and when they set out, it looked like an army." * * "They were armed." * "And as there were no house in the Territory, they carried tents. Their mission was a peaceable one—to vote and to drive down stakes for their future homes. A fler the election, some one thousand five hundred of the voters sent a committee to Mr. Reeder, to ascertain if it was his purpose to ratify the election. He answered that it was, and said the majority at an election must carry the day. But it is not to be denied that the one thousand five hundred supprehending that the Governor might attempt to play the tyrant—since his conduct had aiready been insidious and unjust—wore on their hats bunches of hemp. They were resolved. If a tyrant attempted to trample upon the rights of the sovereign people, to hang him."

6. It is a gain confirmed by the testimony of a lady, who for five years has lived in Western Missouri, and thus writes in a letter published in the New Haven Register:

"Miant, Salurs Co., November 26, 1855.

You ask me to tell you something atout the Kanssa and Missouri troubles of the control the Elections of possible; and I don't knew that their measures would be justificated in the time of the control the Elections of possible; and I don't knew that their measures would be justificated in the consummated. Slavery now and their work new the first led in the consummated. Slavery now and the transfer one hundred from the election; thus, by grannical of both the work remained. A directly or indirectly.

And still the final inexorable work tremained. A send was such as the first of which, such until 1858, so that, during this long intermediate period, this whole system must continue to the likeness of law, unless overturned by the Federal Government, or, in default of such intermited by the Federal Government, or, in default of such intermited to b directly or indirectly.

And still the final inexorable work remained.

energy.

Thus was the Crime consummated. Slavery nov

able except upon the principle of sei-p secretaion, and that you know is the first law of usture "

7. And it is confirmed still further by the circular of the Emigration Society of Lafayette, in Missouri, dated as late as 25th of March, 1856, in which the efforts of Missourians are Spenly confessed:

"The Western counties of Missouri have for the last two years been heavily taxed, both in movey and time, in fighting the batt es of the couth Lafsyette county alone has expended more than \$100 000 in money, and sa much or more in time. Up to this time, the border counties of Missouri have upbell and maintained the stilled and interests of the South in this struggle unassisted, and not unsuccessfuly. But the Abolitions as staking their all upon the Kansas issue, and earth to render that beautiful Territory a Free State "

8. Here, also, is complete admission of the Usurpation, by the Intelligencer, a leading paper of St. Louis, Missouri, made in the ensuing summer:

"Atchison and Stringfellow, with their Missouri follows a coverwhelmed the settlers in Kansas broaders and the string the sake of its doubloons and dollars—so is this beautiful Territory now assailed in its peace that the sake of political power, in order to bring two new slaveholding Senators upon this floor, and thus so fortify in the National Government. "Atchison and Stringfellow, with their Missouri follows, overwhelmed the settlers is Kaussa, browbeat and builted them, and took the Government from their planes. "issouri votce elected the present b dy of men who insult public intelligence and popular rights by styling themselves, the Legislature of Kaussa." This the pirate yell, and see the flash of the pirate

the pirate yell, and see the flash of the pirate kellie; while, incredible to relate! the President, gathering the slave Power at his back, testifies a pirate sympathy.

Sr, all this was done in the name of Popular Sovereignty. And this is the close of the tragedy. Popular Sovereignty, which, when truly understood, is a fountain of just power, has ended in Popular Slavery; not merely in the subjection of the unhappy African race, but of this proud Caucasian blood which you boast. The profession win which you began, of All by the People, has been less in the wretched reality of Nothing for the People. Popular Sovereignty, in whose deceitful name plighted faith was broken, and an ancient landmark of Freedom was overtured, now lifts itself before us, like Sin, in the terrible picture of Milton,—

ilton,—
"That seemed a woman to the waist, and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fold
Voluminous and vast, a serpent armed
With morial sting; about her middle round
A cry of hell hounds never ceasing barked
With wide Cerbercan mouths full loud and rung
A hideous peal; yet when they list would creep,
If aught disturbed their noise into her womb,
And kennet there, yet there still barked and howle

And kenner there, yet there still barked and howled Within, unseen." The image is complete at all points; and, with this exposure, I take my leave of the Crime against

II. Emerging from all the blackness of this

heated brazen bull, which subtle cruelty had devised. This I call the Apology of technicality in spired by tyranny.

The facts on this head are few and plain. Governor Reeder, after allowing only five days for objections to the returns—a space of time unreasonably brief in that extensive Territory—de clared a majority of the members of the Council and of the House of Representatives "duly elected," withheld certificates from certain others, be cause of antisfactory proof that they were not duly elected, and appointed a day for new elections

to supply these vacancies. Afterwards, by formal message, he recognised the Legislature as a legal body, and when he vetoed their act of adjournment to the neighborhood of Missouri, he did it simply on the ground of the illegality of such an adjournment under the organic law. Now, to every assumption founded on these facts, there are two satisfactory replies; fars, that no certificate of the Governor can do more than authenticate a subsisting legal act, without of inelf infusing legality where the essence of legality is not already;

At this moment, the President exuits in the vigilance with which he has prevented the enlistment of a few soldiers to be carried off to Halifax, in violation of our territorial sovereignty, and England is bravely threatened, even to the extent of a rupture of diplomatic relations, for her endeavor, though unsuccessful, and at once abandoned But no man in his senses will urge that the act was anything but trivial by the side of the Crime against Kansas. But the Slave Power is not concerned in this controversy.

against kansas. But the Slave Power is not con-cerned in this controversy.

Thus, where the Slave Power is indifferent, the President will see that the laws are faithfully ex-ceuted; but, in other cases, where the interests of Slavery are at stake, he is controlled absolutely by this tyrancy, ready at all times to do, or not to do, precisely as it dictates. Therefore it is, that Kansas is left a prey to the Propagandists of Slavery, while the whole Treasury, the Army and Navy of the United States, are lavished to hant a licely along the property of the Venter of the Army and Navy of the United States, are lavished to hant a licely along the property the Army and Navy of the United States, are lavished to hant a single slave through the streets of Boston. You have not forgotten the latter instance; but I

As long ago as 1851, the War department and Navy Department concurred in placing the forces of the United States, near Boston, at the command of the Marshal, if needed, for the enforcement of an Act of Congress, which had no support in the public conscience, as I believe it has no in the public conscience, as I believe it has no support in the Constitution; and thus these forces were degraded to the loathsome work of slave-hunters. More than three years afterwards, an occasion arose for their intervention. A fuguitve from Virginia, who for some days had trod the streets of Boston as a freeman, was seized as a slave. The whole community was aroused while slave. The whole community was aroused, while Bunker Hill and Faneuil Hall quaked with responsive iodignation. Thee, sir, the President, anxious that no tittle of Savery should suffer, was curious y eager in the enforcement of the statute. The dispatches between him and his agents in Boston attest his zeal. Here are some of

them:

Bosron, May 27, 1854.

To the President of the United States:

In consequence of an attack upon the Court House, last night, for the purpose of rescuing a fugilitie slave under areas, and in which one of my own guards was killed, I have availed my-elf of the resources of the United states, paced nuder my control by letter from the War and Navy Departments, in 1851 and now have two companies of Troops, from Fort Independence stationed in the Court House. Everything is now quiet The attack was repulsed by my own guard.

WATSON FREEMAN.

United States Marshal, Doston, Mass.

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1854.

To Watson F ceman,
United States Starshal, Boston, Mass;
Your conduct is approved. The law must be executed
FRANKLIN rIERCE.

To Hon B. F. Hallett, "castoli, Mass :

What is the state of the care of burnet:

SIDNEY WEBSTER.

[Private recretary of the President.]
Washington, May 31, 1854. WARRINGTON, May 31, 1854.

To B F. Ha'lett,
United tates Attorney, Boston, Mass.:
Incur any expense deemed necessary by the Marshal and yourself, for City Military, or otherwise, to finance the execution of the law. PRANKLIN PIERCE.

"I will never knowing'y propose a person for me bership in this order who is not in favor of making Ka bership in this order who is not in favor of making Kan-sas a free state, and whom I feel sattsfied will exert his entire influence to bring about this result. I will sup-port, maintain, and abide by any honorable movement made by the organisation to secure this great end, which will not conflict with the laws of the country and the Constitution of the United States."

skill. To complain that this prevailing principle has been applied to living emigration is to complain of Providence and the irresistable tendencies implantee in man.

But this application of the principle is no recent invention, brought forth for an existing emergency. It has the best stamp of Antiquity. It showed itself in the brightest days of Greece, where colonists moved in organised bands. It became a part of the mature policy of Rome, where bodies of men were constituted expressly for this purpose, triumtrical colonos deducendos.—(Livy, xxxvii, § 46.) Naturally it has been accepted in modern times by every civilized State. With the sanction of Spain, an association of Geneese merebants first introduced slaves to this continent. With the sanction of France, the Society of Jesuits stretched their

for it on on arrival there.

The Company was first constituted under an act The Company was nest constituted under an act of the Legislature of Massachusetts, 4th of May, 1854, some weeks prior to the passage of the Nebraska bill. The original act of incorporation was subsequently abandoned, and a new charter received in February, 1855, in which the objects of he Society are thus declared:

"For the purposes of directing emigration Westward and alding in providing accommodations for the emigrants after arriving at their places of destination."

Among these is an eminent lawyer of Massacha to some who hear me—who has distinguished himself by an austere conservatism, too natural to the atmosphere of courts, which does not flinch even from the support of the Fugitive Slave Bill. In a recent address at a public meeting in Springfield, this gentleman thus speaks for himself and his associates:

is an opologist for Gerema Reads.

Sir, is an opologist for Gerema Reads and the second of the secon aid. Men organise to rear churches and sell thread; to bould schools and to sell ships; to construct roads and to manufacture toys; to spin cotton and to print books; to we we cloths and to quicken harvests; to provide food and to district the light to influence Public Opinion and to secure votes; to guard infancy in its weakness, old age in its decreptinde, and womanhood in its wrethedness; and now, in all large towns, when death has come, they are buried by organised societies, and, emigrants to another world, they lie down in pleasant places, adorned by organised skill. To complain that this prevailing principle has been applied to living emigration is to complete the second principle of the special control of the expedition. The number of emigrants it has directly aided, and, through these simple means, promoting the economy, safety and comfort of the expedition. The number of emigrants it has directly aided, and, through these simple means, promoting the economy, safety and comfort of the expedition. even thus slightly, in their journey, has been infinitely exaggerated. From the beginning of its operations down to the close of the last autumn, all its detachments from Massachusetts contained only thirteen hundred and twelve persons.

Such is the simple tale of the Emigrant Aid Conceany. Six not even associate can institute the content of the content of the Emigrant and the co

Company. Sir, not even suspicion can justly touch it. But it must be made a scapegoat. This is the decree which has gone forth I was hardly surprised at this outrage, when it proceeded from the President, for, like Macbeth, he is stepped so were constanted extended.—(Livy, xxxvii, § 46.)
Naturally it has been accepted in modern times by every civilized State. With the sanction of Spain, an association of Geneese merchants first introduced slaves to this continent. With the sanction of France, the Society of Jesuits stretched their labors over Canada and the Great Lakes to the Mississippil. It was under the suspices of Emigrant Aid Companies, that our country was originally settled, by the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth, by the adventurers of Virginia, and by the philanst thropic Oglethorpe, whose "benevolence of scul," and by the philanst thropic Oglethorpe, whose "benevolence of scul," and in Georgia. At this day, such associations, of a humbler character, are found in Europe, with offices in the great capitals, through whose activity emigrants are directed here.

For a roog time, emigration to the West, from the first of the care of the president, for, like Macbeth, he is stepped so far in, that returning were as tedious as to go on; far in, that returning were as tedious as to go on; far in, that returning were as tedious as to go on; far in, that returning were as tedious as to go on; far in, that returning were as tedious as to go on; far in, that returning were as tedious as to go on; far in, that returning were as tedious as to go on; far in, that returning were as tedious as to go on; far in, that returning were as tedious as to go on; far in, that returning were as tedious as to go on; in the Senator from Missouri, [Mr. Geyer.] whom I had learned to respect for the general moderation of his views, anni the orthor the state bed their manner of the general moderation of his views, anni the resident had one as a dark of the president, for, like Macbeth, he is stepped so far in, that returning were as tedious as to go on; in the Senator from Missouri, [Mr. Geyer.] whom I had learned to respect for the general moderation of his views, anni the resident had expect it from the Senator from Missouri, [Mr. Geyer.] whom I had learned to respect to the offices in the great capitals, through whose activity emigrants are directed here.

For a long time, emigration to the West, from the Northern and Middle States, but particularly from New England, has been of marked significance. In quest of better homes, annually it has pressed to the unsettled lands, in numbers to be counted by tens of thousands; but this has been done heretofore with little knowledge, and without done heretofore with little knowledge, and wi tablishment of a Government in Kansas, the tempting fields of that central region were opened to the competition of penceful colonisation, and especially when it was dec ared that the question of Freedom or Slavery there was to be determined by the votes of actual settlers, then at once was organisation enlisted as an effective agency in quickening and conducting the emigration impeljustly assail, do I plant this impregnable justifica-tion. It will not do, in specious phrases, to al-lege the right of every State to be free in its domestic policy from foreign interference, and then to assume such wrongful interference by this Company. By the law acd Constitution, we stand or fall; and that law and Constitution we have in no respect offended.

To cloak the overthrow of all law in Kansas, an

What to desire of the profession of the control of the profession of To cloak the overthrow of all law in Kansas, an assumption is now set up, which utterly denies one of the plainest rights of the people everywhere.—Sir, I beg Senators to understand that this is a Government of laws; and that, under these laws, the people have an incontestable right to settle any portion of our broad territory, and, if they choese, to propagate any opinions there, not immoral or contrary to the laws. To this end, they may go in numbers, small or great, with assistance or without assistance, under the anapieces of societies, or not under such auspices. If this were not so, pray, sir, by what title is the Senator from illinois, who is an emigrant from Vermout, propagating his disastrous opinions in another State? By what title are so many foreigners annually naturalised, under Democratic auspices, in order to se-

esult.

And here ends what I bave to say of the four hises the existing Usurpation, no then the consideration of the various remedies proposed, ending with the TRUE remedies proposed.

I shall not follow the President in his elaborate to take endeavor to prejudge the contested election now pending in the House of Representatives; for this whole matter belongs to the privileges of that body, and neither the President nor the Senate has the right to intermeddle therewith. I do not touch it. But now, while dismissing it, I should not pardon myself, if I failed to add, that any person who founds his claim to a seat in Congress on the pre-

body, and neither the President nor the Senate has the right to intermeddle therewith. I do not touch it. But now, while dismissing it, I should not pardon myself, if I failed to acid, that any person who founds his claim to a seat in Congress on the pretended votes of hirelings from another State, with no home on the soil of Kansas, plays the part of Anarcharis Clootz, who, at the bar of the French Convention, undertook to represent nations that knew bim not, or, if they knew him, scorned him; with this difference, that in our American case, the excessive farce of the transaction cannot cover its tragedy. But all this I put aside—to deal only with what is legitimately b fore the Senate.

I expose simply the Tyranny which upholds the existing Usurpation, and asks for additional appropriations. Let it be judged by an example, from which in this country there can be no appeal. Here is the speech of George III, made from the Throne to Parlisment, in response to the complaints of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, which, though smarting under laws passed by usurped power, had yet avoided all armed opposition, while Lexington and Bunker Hill still slumbered in rural solitude, unconscious of the h storic technique which they were soon to claim. Instead of Massachusetts Bay, in the Royal speech, substitute Kansas, and the message of the Presideat will be fe und fresh on the lips of the British King. Listen now to the words, which, in opening Parliament, 30 h November, 1774, his Majesty, according to meter by table to the grading according to meter by table to the safety of all requires that its budges according to meter by table to slicy and then the sledge according to meth state, with the safety of all requires that its buble to be defined by these. In characterision this bill set by the safety of all requires that it sucured the safety of all requires that it sucured the safety of all requires that its buble to be climber and civil war. I can continuate and civil war. I can continuate and civil war. I can continuat

to the official report, was pleased to speak:

"My Lords and Gentlemen:
If gives me much concern that I am obliged, at the opening of this Parliament to inform you that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the law still unhappily prevails in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and has in divers parts of it broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature. These proceedings have been countenanced in other of my colonies, and unwarrantabe estempts have been made to obstruct the Comme co of this Kingdom. by unlawful combinations. I have taken such measures and given such orders as I have judged most proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were passed in the last se-sion of the late Parliament, for t.e protection and secunity of the Comme co of my subjects, and for the restoring and pre-erving peace, order, and good government, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay."—[American Archives, 4th series, vol. 1, page 1665.

The King complained of a "daring spirit of re-The King complained of a "daring spirit of re-

sistance and disobedience to the law; so also does the President. The King adds, that it has "broke" forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature; so also does the President. The King declares so also does the President. The King declares First. See inds testines are winages and that these proceedings have been "countenanced the Federal Government of the considerate and encouraged in other of my colories;" even so cunistry responsibility to which it is not the gainst "unwarrantable measures" and "unlaw-ful combinations;" even so inveighs the President. The King proclaims that he has taken the necespassed in defiance of the constitutional rights of the Colonies; even so the President proclaims that he shall "exert the whole power of the Federal Executive" to support the Usurpation in Kansas. The parallel is complete. The Me-sage, if not copied from the speech of the King, has been fash joned on the same original block and must be discopied from the speech of the King, has been fash ioned on the same original block, and must be dismissed to the same limbo. I dismiss its tyrannical assumptions in favor of the Usurpation. I dismiss also its petition for additional appropriations in the affected desire to maintain order in Kaosas. It

By this Bill it is proposed, as follows:

"That whenever it shall appear, by a census to be taken under the direction of the Governor, by the authority of the Legisature, that there shall be 13,420 inhabitants (that being the number required by the present ratio of representation for a member of Congress) within the limits hereafte described as the Territory of Kanesa, the Legislature of said Territory shall be, and is hereby su housed to provide by law for the ejection of delegates, by the people of said Territory, to assemble in Convention and form a Constitution and State Government, preparatory to their admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatsoever, by the name of the state of Kanesa."

Now, sir, consider these words carefully, and you will see that, however plausible and velver pawed they may seem, yet in reality they are most

contending opinions, on whose issue bangs trembling the advancing civilisation of the country, she contributes, through the manifold and endless in tellectual activity of her children, more of that divine apark by which opinions are quickened into this Territory no redress the states together, while her annual productive insustry excels in value three times the whole vanuted cotton crop of the whole South.

Sir, to men on earth it belongs only to deserve success; not to secure it; and I know not how soon the efforts of Massachu etts will wear the crown of triumph. But it cannot be that she acts wrong for herself or her children, when in this cause she thus encounters reproach. No; by the generous souls who were exposed at Lexington; by those who stood arrayed at Bunker Hill; by the many from her bosom who, on all the battle fields of the first great struggle, lent their viccrous arms to the cause of all; by the children she has borne, whose names alone are national trophes, is Massachusetts now vowed irrevocably to this work sachusetts now vowed irrevocably to this work. What belongs to the faithful servant she will do to all things, and Providence shall determine the esult.

And here ends what I have to say of the four national trophes, is Massachusetts now vowed irrevocably to this work. And here ends what I have to say of the four national trophes, is Massachusetts now vowed irrevocably to this work. What belongs to the faithful servant she will do to all things, and Providence shall determine the esult.

And here ends what I have to say of the four national trophes, is Massachusetts now vowed irrevocably to this work. And the providence shall determine the esult. unjust and cruel. While affecting to in est proceedings for the formation of a furnish to this Territory no refers for under which it suffers; nay, they no very Usurpation, in which the Orme proceed to endow it with new proceed to endow it with new proceed to taken, which is the first step is to be taken, which is the first step it is also by the authority of the taken.

tion after another has been removed. I now pass, in the third place, to the consideration of the various remedies proposed, ending with the Truz Remedy should be co extensive with the original Wrong; and sloce, by the passage of the Nebraska Bill, not only kansas, but also Nebrask Bill, not only kansas, but also Nebrask Bill, not only kansas, but also Nebrask Remedy of the Nebraska Bill, not only kansas, but also Nebrask Bill on the very the original Prohibition should be restored to its complete activity throughout these various Territories. By such a happy restoration, made in good faith, the whole country would be replaced in the condition of that dishonest measure Here is the Alpl a and the Omega of our aim in this controvery. But no such extensive measure is now in question. The Crime against Kansas has been special, and all else is absorbed in the special remedies for it. Of these it shall now speak

As the Alp ogies were four fold, so are the Remedies proposed four-fold, and they range themselves it natural order, under designations which so truly disclose their character as even to supersede argument. First, we have the Remedy of Tyranny, which, like its complement, the Apology of Tyranny—though exposed by Senatorial votes

There is the Remedy of Foliy; next, the Remedy of Tyranny which, like its complement, the Apology of Tyranny—though exposed by the Senatorial votes

There is the Remedy of Foliy; next, the Remedy of Tyranny the infant State, who proceed on this floor, especially by the Senatorial of the vote of the constitution of the very legislature, while, by sechar from I'linois—proceeds from the President, and is embodied in a special message. It proposes to enforce obedience to the existing laws of Kansas, the bodies of place. If you madly persevere, Kansas will not be without her William Tell, who will refuse it all

without her William Tell, who will reless it it haz rds to recognise the tyrannical edic; as it will be the beginning of civil war.

Next, and lastly comes the Remely of Julia and Peace, pr posed by the Senator from Set York, [Mr. Sewand,] and embodied in his fill in the immediate admission of Kassas as a shist of this Union, now pending as a substitute for the Union. now pending as a substitute for thill of the Senator from 'lithiosi This is sumind by the prayer of the people of the Territor, setting forth a Constitution formed by a spottness movement, in which all there had encorreless. been presented, which promised at once so hers ficent results. In its adoption the Crime spins Kansas will be all happily absolved, the Usera tion which it established will be peacefully up pressed, and order will be permanently sent.

By a joyful metamorphosis, this fair Territory my
be saved from outrage.

"Oh belp " she cries, "in this extrement need, If you who hear are Detries in seed. Gape earth, and make for this dread for a tenh. Or change my form, whence all my torous mark. Or change my form, whence all my terrays may.

In offering this proposition, the Senate ha
New York has entitled himself to the grained of
the country. He has, throughout a life of may
possed industry, and of eminent ability, does not
for Freedom, which the world with not tell figs
he has done nothing more opportune that ha
and he has uttered no words more effective the
the speech, so masterly and ingenious, by the
he has vindicated it.

Kans-s now presents herself for a mission the
a Constitution republican in form. And, toleps

a Constitution republican in form. And, independent of the great necessity of the case, three on First. She thus testifies her willingness to rele ment. Secondly, Sue has by et al. Superior particularly in repelling the invasion at Wahres evinced an ability to defend her Government, ist, thirdly, by the pecuniary credit, which he save joys, she shows an undoubted ability to sepent. What now can stand in her way?

The power of Congress to admit kanes it can

The power of Congress to admit Kanes at em is explicit. It is found in a single class of factor of the Constitution, which, standing by itself, when any qualification applicable to the present and without doubtful words, requires no commutary. Here it is:

tary. Here it is;
"New States may be admitted by foughts into the Union; but no new tate shall be found or ends within the jurisdiction of any other State, he say one formed by the junction of two or more San or parts of States without the consent of the Lepister of the States concerned, as well as of its congret.

assumptions in favor of the Usurpation. I dismiss also its petition for additional appropriations in the affected desire to maintain order in Kansas. It is not money or troops that you need there; in the affected desire to maintain order in Kansas. It is not money or troops that you need there; in the affected desire to maintain order in Kansas. It is not money or troops that you need there; in the affected desired to maintain order in Kansas. It is not money or troops that you need there; in the proposition of more or the feel of the proposition of the feel of the proposition of the feel of the proposition of the feel of

85,416 Illinois,
61.103 Missouti,
66.649 Arkaness,
50.000 Michigan,
60.000 Iowa,
50.000 Iowa,
1.000 California,
60.000 Iowa,
60.000 Iow Kentucky, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Alabama, 50,000 But this is not all. At the adoption of the fel-

eral Constitution, there were three Thirteen States whose respective post not reach the amount now required in these areas below with a consister not reach the amount now required.
These were Delaw-re, with a population Rhode Island, with a population of \$2.545 anow, while I speak, there are at least twith Senators on this floor which seems the second now, while I speak the floor, which, so with Senators on this floor, which, so the last census, do not contain the portequired of Karses I refer to Delaws population of 91,635, and Florida with

[Concluded on second poge.]