The Herald of Freedom.

GEO. W. BROWN, Editor.

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Here shall the Press the People's rights maintain
Unawed by party, and unbribed by gain.
Pledged but to Truth, to Liberty and Law,
No Favor aways us, and no Fear shall awe.

To Subscribers.

(☒) When the term for which subscribers receiving their papers by mail or at the Post-office is out or nearly so, we convey the intelligence by a cross at the end of their names, like the one at the commencement of this notice. This will give all a fair opportunity to know when their time is up, and serve as an invitation to renew their subscriptions.

☞ Extra copies of the *Herald of Freedom* put up in wrappers for mailing, if desired, can be had at the Office. Price, Five Cents each.

A Review.

Reader, go back with us five years, to the 22d of May, 1854. Then the Kansas-Nebraska Bill became a law, which repealed the Missouri Compromise, and made the question of freedom or slavery for Kansas and Nebraska a race between the lovers of freedom and the propagandists of slavery. The incidents of that eventful year must be fresh in the minds of every person who had arrived to mature years.

Some had contemplated the result months before the great outrage was consummated, and had begun to prepare for it. They only saw an escape from making those Territories slave States, by going forward, and contesting upon the soil, under the principles of squatter sovereignty, the issue with slaveholders. In March of that year, before any organized movement was made in any quarter, a journalist in a secluded town in western Pennsylvania, announced his determination to raise a colony and settle in Kansas at an early day, his sole object being to erect again the barrier between freedom and slavery, which, it was apprehended, Congress was about to break down. On the 1st of May, of that year, he announced that he had two hundred names registered to accompany him on that journey. Agreeably to his plan he hurried his business to a close, and as soon as he could possibly detach himself from an enterprise which he had struggled on through years to build up, he came to Kansas, and since then has labored in season and out of season to accomplish the end in view.

The Union Emigration society, of Washington, of which Hon. J. Z. GOODRICH was President, was organized soon after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, probably about the 1st of June. It never amounted to anything.

The Emigrant Aid Company was first chartered by the Massachusetts Legislature, sometime in the Spring of 1854, under the influence of Hon. ELI THAYER, then a member of that body. The charter bore date April 26, 1854, but the organization under it accomplished little or nothing, and a new company was organized in June, of which A. A. Lawrence, Eli Thayer, and J. S. M. Williams were Trustees. In July they obtained a charter from the Legislature of Connecticut, and operated under it until the following winter, when they procured a new charter from the Legislature of Massachusetts, under which that organization now has existence.

The New York Kansas League, and the American Settlement Company, the former probably organized in July or August, and the latter in August or September of 1854, were also important aids in the movement of colonizing Kansas.

These were the means which have made Kansas free, backed up, as they have been, by thousands of strong hearts, who broke loose from all the attachments of home, friends and early associations, and have come here, defying every impediment in the way, and have struggled amid penury, disease and Border Ruffians, in quest of the great boon they wished to secure—freedom for Kansas, and a barrier to the further progress of slavery.

Those who had foresight sufficient to observe the end from the beginning, were conscious that the success of the movement in making Kansas free, lay in pouring into the Territory an immense emigration, and overcoming the South by a preponderance of population. It was to this end every active friend of Kansas struggled, and from the first they commenced speaking of the beauty of the country, its fertile soil, salubrious climate, attractive scenery, and the many other inducements to settle in the Territory. Instead of magnifying the *difficulties* of emigration and settlement, by newspapers, pamphlets and speeches, they showed how the many natural disadvantages could be overcome, and to enable the pioneers to resist violence successfully, arms were placed in their hands.

But there were obstacles which it was more difficult to surmount, and which was a drawback from the inception of the Kansas movement. We allude to the discouragements of the newspaper press. When the Kansas-Nebraska Bill first became a law, they commenced mourning the loss of the Territory to freedom, and showed how slavery had won, and would win in the race. Every effort freemen could devise to defeat the machinations of the slave power, they said would prove abortive. Column after column of arguments were published to show that freemen had no chance in the contest, and not a single bright ray was introduced to illuminate the gloom. When men began to go forward from the East, they went with fear and trembling, because of the frightful tales these newspapers had published.

As soon as settlements began to be made in the Territory, they began to send forward their correspondents, not to spy out the beauties of the goodly land, but to speak of the discouragements to emigration, and to prevent it from coming here, as if to make their words true, that Kansas would be a slave State.

When the Territory was overrun by violence, these outrages were referred to triumphantly, as the natural result of popular sovereignty, and was again quoted as conclusive proof that Kansas was lost. And they told of the long protracted drouth, the parched earth, and the scarcity of water; and, in due time, the sickness was dwelt upon, showing that the country was not adapted to Northern emigration. This was followed with the incidents of the Wakarusa war, and the "I told you so;" and then the troubles of '56, and the outrages and sufferings of that year, and the apparent hope of these journals that the Free State population would be wiped out, that the election of Mr. FREMONT might be secured.

We remember it all, and so will every resident of Kansas at that time, some of whom talked of getting up a protest against the doleful lamentations of certain newspapers and their correspondents, and their speaking for us.

When it was thought best to wrest the government from pro-slavery hands, these presses assured us that there would be no chance for us—that fraud and villainy would triumph over numbers and the right, and that it was effort thrown away. And when the Lecompton Constitution came up, there was no way to resist it but by an appeal to the God of battles, and thus thousands on thousands have been discouraged from coming here, who, but for these journals, would have cast their lot with us; and thousands of others have been frightened away.

Hon. ELI THAYER, in his speech in February last, in Congress, very happily takes off these men thus:—

"There is another class, sir, composed of THE POLITICAL CASSANDRAS of the Republican party, who are always prophesying, in the middle of one great disaster, that another still greater is about to come—who are continually saying that slavery has always had its own way, and always will have it—that slavery, under the Dred Scott decision, will yet be established in Massachusetts and New Hampshire—that secret intrigues are going on for establishing it in Canada, as well as for putting the White Mountains and Cape Cod under the lash. I have an account to settle with these men. I have met them, and found them a great impediment to the progress of freedom in this country. In the contest for free men and free labor in Kansas, *I affirm here that they were a greater obstacle to our progress than the border ruffians, the cabinet and power of President Pierce, or the bad traveling in the State of Missouri*—FOR THEY WERE FILLING THE COUNTRY WITH THE CRY THAT KANSAS WAS LOST. With quivering lips and moist eyes, they went about crying that *all was lost*. The effect was to send hundreds and thousands of men, who would have joined our good colonists in Kansas, shivering away to the cold regions of Minnesota. I have no sympathy with these men. Of this class was Uzza in the days of David, who thought that because the oxen stumbled, the ark of the Lord would surely fall; and he stretched out his trembling hand in support of Omnipotence. Smitten by the Power which his doubts had insulted, faithless Uzza died upon the spot. Why he died, I ask no commentary to tell me. Why any such are left is not so clear. Without faith, either in the power of God or the destiny of man, they libel freedom and slander freemen. They have no joy in the present, and no hope for the future. They seem pre-destined to disaster and defeat; and woe to the party or project in which they assume authority or exercise influence. To a man of this class the present life is one perpetual nightmare; and what the future will be, who can say? Can he be saved? Can a man be saved without faith, or hope, or works, with only repentance—and even that consisting not in sorrow for his own sins, but for other people's virtues? Why, what if by some chance he were once in the Holy City?—He would be no more *saved* than he was before. He never would see the tree of life or the river of life; never would have a harp in his hand—but a spy-glass, and skulking about the battlements, and peering off into illimitable space; if he should chance to see Dred Scott or the Supreme Court, even though they might be beyond the great gulf, he would think they were coming to establish slavery on the golden pavements of the New Jerusalem."

And what journal was it which lead off in these doleful lamentations, and was loudest in predictions that all hope of making Kansas free was gone? Will not every reader bear us witness that the New York *Tribune* was that paper? Time and time again we have felt compelled to allude to it, and protest against the discouragements of that journal in regard to Kansas matters. We *know* it was that journal and its readers whom Mr. THAYER had in mind when he made that speech in Congress. Everybody, too, will bear witness that the language fits it to the letter. The bowie knives and revolvers of Stringfellow, Atchison & Co.; the violence of the whole horde of Border Ruffians, and the drouths, and sickness, and penury have not done one-half as much to keep away emigration from Kansas, as has the lamentations of that paper.

And who was the master spirit? The editor-in-chief of the N. Y. *Tribune*. And who was it that gave tone and direction to all it said? Who but HORACE GREELEY? In May of 1859, the editor of that journal appears among us, and the masses rally around him, and politicians, who have come to Kansas since the great struggle of freedom is all over, laud this HORACE GREELEY as the political savior of the country. Not that only, but Mr. GREELEY seems to claim that a great share of the result is mainly owing to his herculean efforts! We can only think of the speech of Col. BARBE, when the American colonies were under consideration in the British Parliament, in reply to Lord GRENVILLE, when he sets up such pretensions. "Nourished by your care! No, they grew up in spite of your neglect, and in the face of your opposition."

Mr. Greeley has been laboring to overthrow the Democratic party, and place a new party in power, and he has made use of Kansas in any way which he thought would be instrumental in accomplishing that end. He has cared about as much for us as the wolf did for the goat which he induced to spring into the well, and aid him in escaping. "As soon," said the wolf, "as you get in, I will mount upon your shoulders and spring out, and then will aid you to escape." Once out, he looked back upon the goat, and told him, "If you are such a fool as to place yourself in such imminent peril to oblige a stranger, you had better remain until you have learned wisdom," and so the wolf trotted away, and the goat died because of his credulity. Greeley may be a disinterested patriot, but his counsels in regard to Kansas have been such, from the first, as to induce us to suspect his *judgment*. Coming in now, and claiming the honors of the Kansas victory, we more than suspect his *honesty*.

Heading a Conspiracy.

Some men are born great, others have greatness thrust upon, others aspire to greatness by hobby-riding. The theological student of the *Republican*, takes the latter course. He has discovered a new conspiracy against the freemen of Kansas, the design of which is to make it a slave State or keep it a slave Territory. If the conspiracy succeeds, its cost to the people he puts at $300,000.

His proof of the charge is this: It is a Democratic doctrine that the Constitution carries slavery into the Territories, and maintains it in spite of the will of the people of the Territory. "With this view," he adds, "the slaveholder's right of property in his slaves is as complete and absolute as any man's right of property in anything can be." As a corallary, he adds, that "The State cannot take a man's horse from him without paying for it; neither can he take his slave." Hence the people can abolish slavery only *"by paying the full cash value of every slave liberated."*

The parallel fails to justify the conclusion. For while the State cannot take a man's horse from him without paying for it, it cannot prohibit his right to own horses. The principle of compensating an individual for property taken from him by the State for public use, is based on the assumption that the individual has an inalienable right to hold such property, and merely transfers his ownership in the particular piece of property to the State for public use. Hence, the State may buy up the slaves belonging to individuals, but it cannot abridge their right to own slaves, if slave-property stands on the same basis as other personal property.

The Wyandott Convention may vote to buy up all the horses or all the slaves in the Territory, but admitting the basis of Thacher's argument to be correct, they cannot prohibit the ownership of either slaves or horses. To buy up the slaves would be just as sensible a proposition, so far as freeing the Territory from slavery is concerned, as to attempt to suppress the sale of liquor by buying up the stock of a liquor-seller, and yet permitting him to purchase another stock. The slaveholder may sell his slaves to the State to-day and buy more to-morrow, if his vested right to hold slaves is admitted to be as sacred as his right to own horses.

The conspiracy, if it means anything, comprises recognition of slavery as a legal institution on the soil of Kansas as long as the Constitution of the United States is the law of the land. The *bosh* about a tax of $300,000 may do as the only stock in trade of an uneasy politician, who is emulous of the honor of "saving Kansas," but it neither makes a good point against the Democracy nor helps the cause of freedom.

The Free State platform embodies the right principle, that the Constitution does not carry slavery with it wherever it goes, but that slavery is a creature of local law, and takes the unequivocal position that slavery should be excluded from Kansas by Constitutional prohibition.

The Territory a Unit.

The recent political conventions all take a position in favor of a free grant of lands to actual settlers. The principle is just, and the demand for its adoption by the General Government, pre-eminently called for at the present time. The sufferings and losses of the early emigrants, the prostration of business and scarcity of money, have all fettered enterprise and prevented labor from developing the resources of the country. The cost of improvements, where there is a relative scarcity of fencing and building timber, is so great, that a poor man finds himself cramped for means with which to enter his land when it comes into market.—He may borrow money at four per cent. a month, but the almost inevitable result will be the loss of his home and his labor, and the speculator, in the end, monopolizes the soil.

Free land grants would cause a more rapid settlement of the country, and place the most valuable tracts in the hands of the actual cultivators of the soil, instead of in the grasp of wealthy men who have no interest in the prosperity of the country, except as that increases the value of their wild lands. Your speculator seizes upon the choicest portions of the soil, and if an actual settler takes a claim near him, he is alone. The thousands of acres of the capitalist cut him off from society, from schools, and from the manifold advantages of a thickly settled neighborhood. For the sake of developing thrift and intelligence, it is just that the public lands be held for the use of the actual settlers and granted to them free. Railroad grants are fashionable, but the gift in this case is to the rich, not to the poor. They are justified on the plea that they are a public benefit to the country. So is the rapid and close settlement of our prairie lands, by working men, the real basis of growth. If the capitalist is entitled to a grant of lands, sufficient to pay the cost of the road he builds, and to put a handsome surplus in his pocket, the claim of the actual settlers to a free grant of the soil is unquestionable. The people of all parties are moving on this question, and they have their position on it embodied in the platforms adopted at Tecumseh, Big Springs and Osawatomie.—While politicians are squabbling over Congressional sovereignty, the people must rally as one man in favor of the right of the actual settler to a free home on the soil.

☞ The State of Maine has so amended its law in reference to witnesses, that in the trial of civil actions, the husband and wife of either party shall be deemed competent witnesses, when the wife is called to testify by or with the consent of her husband, and the husband by or with the consent of his wife; and that the defendant, in criminal prosecutions may be a competent witness.

Latest from the Mines.

On the outside of the present issue we publish an article from the Leavenworth Ledger of the 19th, giving the latest intelligence, up to that date, from the gold region.

We are pleased to be able to present our readers with more gratifying news, which we condense from the *Cherry Creek Pioneer*. We published, some time since, an announcement of the death of its editor, John S. Merrick, which it gives us pleasure to correct.

Under date of April 23, 1859, he states that, until within the last twenty days, the mountain snows have prevented successful prospecting; but, since that time, reliable reports of rich mountain diggings have come in.

On all the streams flowing from the mountains north of the Platte canon, float gold may be found in the beds and bars, but not any distance in the banks, justifying the inference that their mountain sources must be rich in gold. In proof of it, shot gold has been found for a distance of 13 miles back of Boulder Creek canon.

One gulch has been found yielding five dollars per day to the man, with the rocker; and reports of ten dollar diggings have come in as having been struck north of that canon.

Californians admit that every indication of gold, north of Clear Creek canon, equals that of California. The editor thinks the reports of gold have been exaggerated, but believes that energetic prospecting will develop rich diggings.

The names of the mines are as follows: Spanish Diggings, Dry Creek, Plum Creek, Longe Creek, Clear Creek, Vasques' Fork, Thompson's Fork, South Park, &c.

The weather was yet too cold for successful mining in the mountains, but the miners are satisfied with their prospects and sanguine as to rich diggings in the summer. The smallness of the particles, and the scarcity of water, are the hindrance to ordinary mining, rendering the mountains the main dependence.

AGRICULTURAL PROSPECTS.—At first sight, the soil of the prairies presents a discouraging aspect to the farmer, and he looks upon the bottom lands as his only resource. But gentlemen familiar with the country, from Fort Bridger to Las Vegas, consider the soil preferable to that of New Mexico, where grain and vegetables grow well. Irrigation will be necessary in some places, but, for the present, the bottom lands will suffice for agricultural purposes.

Almost the entire length of Cherry Creek, rich prairie lands can be found, and along the base of the mountains are as beautiful tracts as can be found anywhere.

GOLD DUST.—For the last twenty days, Messrs. St. James and St. Vrains have taken in $157; Mr. Aubren has $243.—R. D. Wootton says he could have taken in $1,000 in dust, if he had had flour, coffee, sugar, &c.

Denver City contains one hundred and fifty houses, with at least one hundred and fifty under contract. It has one hotel open and five others building; five stores, two saloons, and one bakery, nearly completed. It is the county seat of Arrapahoe county, and has a court house in process of erection, 20 by 40 feet. The town is said to be flourishing.

The Gold Mines.

Instead of an influx of the precious metal from Pike's Peak, there is only reports of great suffering, distress and lawlessness on the part of the recent emigration. That there is gold to be found there is a settled matter; but so far, it seems to have been obtained in limited quantities, no express arrivals being heralded, as in the days of the California excitement, bringing in "half a million of gold dust." The dust stays where it is found. Energy and labor will develop the real resources of the gold regions, and may open up an inexhaustible amount of mining wealth, but this will take time.

The class of emigrants who have gone to the mines this Spring, to a great extent, were seized with a fever for the sudden acquisition of riches. They could not brook delay and toil. Not a few of them, starting out without proper forethought, have found themselves out of provisions before reaching their destination, and turn back, dismayed by the hardships they fancy in store for them, and by the rumors of "no gold." It is better for the gold region that they have turned back. They are not the men to develop all the natural resources of a new country, to found a new and prosperous State. A floating population of transient miners, floating vagabonds and gamblers, may swell the voting list of a Territory, but their presence is a curse. They will institute the ballot-box frauds which were common in the earlier political days of California, and interfere with the just administration of government.

Separated as the gold region is from eastern Kansas, by plains which are worthless for agricultural purposes, it should have a separate governmental organization. Its voters are bound by no more unity of interest to eastern Kansas, than to Missouri. They are essentially a separate people, and upon the principle of squatter sovereignty, should make their own laws, and elect their own officers. Upon the principle of justice, as they have a Territorial population entitling them to a separate organization, they should be permitted to set up for themselves, and form their own institutions in their own way, subject to no interference by eastern Kansas, neither interfering with the political movements of this portion of the Territory.

The Wyandott Constitutional Convention should not hesitate to draw a line between eastern and western Kansas, and make the western boundary of their State not more than two hundred miles from the eastern border. This would leave western Kansas to shift for itself, and establish a government for themselves.

☞ The post-office of St. Joseph will be a regular distributing office after the 1st of July.

From our Special Reporter.

Republican Convention.

OSAWATOMIE, May 19, 1859.

DEAR BROWN:—The Republican Convention is just over, and the "party of progress" out of its swaddling clothes, and lustily claiming the prestige of success for itself.

Tuesday morning the delegations came in slowly, and the delegates present grouped together in knots to discuss the various planks of the platform, and the details of organization, &c. A little before noon a temporary organization was effected. Mr. Fox, of Shawnee county, in the chair, and T. D. Thacher, Secretary. A committee on credentials was appointed, when the Convention adjourned.

At 2 P. M. the Convention again met, and the committee reported the names of delegates who were present. Wyandott county claimed that it was entitled to six delegates. The Leavenworth delegation took exceptions to the Lawrence multiplication rule, as squinting unfairly so far as Leavenworth and Douglas counties were concerned. Before this disputed apportionment could be acted upon, it was insisted upon that it be ascertained whether a majority of all the delegates were present. Arrapahoe, Riley, Leavenworth, Atchison, Doniphan, Anderson, Bourbon, Johnson, Linn, Douglas, Wyandott, Lykins and Coffey counties were found to be represented, and the actual number of delegates present, 59. The committee reported in favor of admitting the six delegates from Wyandott county, allowing them to cast but two votes.—The remainder of the afternoon session was spent in a discussion of the report.—Parrott, Delahay and others could not tamely submit to have such an unjust apportionment adopted by the Convention. They evidently feared the voting strength of Douglas county would be too strong for the success of the popular sovereignty platform they wished adopted. Members were excited, earnest, eloquent. The chairman made up for his lack of parliamentary knowledge by arbitrary promptness, deciding all motions not submitted in writing to be out of order, ordering members to their seats and driving through the motion to accept the report.

A committee of thirteen, on permanent organization, was appointed.

The question of a re-apportionment of the counties was then raised and agitated till the announcement that Greeley would address the masses out of doors, caused an adjournment.

Greeley had an audience of about 600. He reviewed the history of the old Whig party, denounced squatter sovereignty as a humbug, a sham and a fraud. It was useless for any set of men, or any party to kneel to the slave interest of the country, for however low a northern Whig might go, a Democrat would beat him at his own game. If the opposition of the North were to have fried negroes for breakfast, the Democracy would order fried negroes for breakfast, dinner and supper. He considered it useless to take up the fraudulent pretence of squatter sovereignty as a means of success, and advocated the right and propriety of Congressional intervention. Slavery, in his view, could not exist in the Territories but by positive law, and while a Territory the people had no sovereign power to establish such a despotism. The Southerner had no constitutional right to carry his slaves into new Territory which belonged in common to all the States, for as slavery kept out free labor, its introduction interfered with the right of himself and others to the enjoyment of that portion of the national domain. In his review of the legality of slavery, he contended that according to strict legal principles, slavery could have no legal existence.

So far from advising his hearers to come down to a diluted platform, the tendency of his address was to a stronger and more distinctly anti-slavery platform than before.

At the close, his audience gave three hearty cheers.

At 7 o'clock, the Convention again met, and was permanently organized, O. E. LEARNARD in the chair.

A platform committee of one from each council district was appointed to draft resolutions. A motion to add Mr. Phillips to the committee caused another warm discussion, and, after a close vote, resulted in his election, soon after which the session ended.

The platform committee, composed of Thos. Ewing, Jr., T. D. Thacher, H. D. Martin, W. Y. Roberts, Phillips, &c., representing the extremes of the Free State men, went into session. The battle-field was transferred to the committee room. Parrott & Co. demanded a moderate platform, for they had peculiar elements to deal with, and if a strong Congressional sovereignty platform was adopted they had no hope of carrying any of the counties bordering on the Missouri river. They made with the Douglas delegation, the issue of popular sovereignty and victory, or Congressional sovereignty and defeat. Thacher and Phillips could not consent to adopt the cast-off garments of Democracy for the sake of present success.

The Convention met at 9 o'clock on Wednesday, when the report from the platform committee was that they were making progress, but would probably present two separate reports. The members amused themselves by discussing a motion to restrict speeches to 30 minutes in length.

H. P. Johnson, of Leavenworth county, then moved that the Convention adopt the Philadelphia platform as its basis, following it up with a speech *seemingly in earnest*, but sarcastic in its tone. The discussion wore on till nearly 11 o'clock, when the Chairman announced that the committee would report in five minutes and that the report would be unanimous.

At last the Chairman of the committee reported the platform unanimously as follows:

PLATFORM.

Whereas, Since the organization of the Territory of Kansas, the Democratic party has been in control of the Legislative and Executive Departments of the Government, and,

Whereas, It has used those powers which should have been exerted to foster and sustain, only to oppress our people; violated every principle it claimed to advocate; protected and supported invasions by foreign mobs, which burned our towns, plundered our houses, wasted our sustenance, destroyed our presses and murdered our people, evinced a total disregard of popular rights and a settled determination to force the institution of negro slavery upon us; attempted to put in execution laws which, for injustice, cruelty, and fraud, have scarcely been paralleled in the history of the most barbarous ages; supported that creature of infamous usurpation, the Lecompton Constitution, by Federal bayonets in Kansas and by official patronage and Executive corruption at the National Capitol; madeas invidious and disgraceful distinction between Free and Slave Constitutions by offering us a bribe to enter the Union under the former without a Representative population, and refusing us admission under the latter until we had a population of 93,000; appointed corrupt and obnoxious judicial and executive officers over us, whose partisan sympathies and partial decisions have prevented the administration of justice; and by a long train of abuses, crimes, and usurpations proved itself the bitter foe of the people of Kansas and the enemy of popular rights everywhere, and,

Whereas, The Republican party has, on all occasions, evinced a devotion to popular rights and an attachment to the best interests of the nation, that deserve our approval; and has, by its adherence to the principles of the Fathers of the Revolution, and its earnest support of the cause of Freedom in Kansas, won our approbation and gratitude; and,

Whereas, We believe the time has come for the people of Kansas to take a position and affiliate with a party National in its organization and objects;

Resolved, That we, the people of Kansas, in delegate convention assembled, do proceed to organize the Republican party and declare our principles as follows:

2d. *Resolved*, We affirm that the only true basis of Free governments and of popular rights for all countries and times, is to be found in the great self-evident truths enunciated by Thomas Jefferson and the Fathers of the Republic in the Declaration of Independence.

3d. *Resolved*, That while we declare our submission to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and disclaim all control over slavery in the States in which it exists, we hold that the Constitution does not carry slavery into the Territories, but that it is the creature of special enactment, and has existence only where supported by it, and we reprobate and condemn the perversion of the power of the Supreme Court of the United States to sectional demands and party purposes.

4th. *Resolved*, That with the founders of the Republic, we believe that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that it is proper that the people of an organized Territory should be permitted to select their own officers and enact their own laws, free from Congressional or Executive control.

5th. *Resolved*, That Freedom is national and Slavery sectional, and that we are inflexibly opposed to the extension of slavery to soil now free.

6th. *Resolved*, That we condemn the Administration for its feebleness and impotence in the enforcement of the law prohibiting the importation of African slaves into the United States, and demand such further legislation by Congress as will forever suppress the inhuman traffic.

7th. *Resolved*, That the Wyandott Constitutional Convention be requested to incorporate in the Bill of Rights in the Constitution, a provision that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in Kansas except in punishment of crime.

8th. *Resolved*, That the passage of a liberal Homestead Bill, giving one hundred and sixty acres of land to every citizen who will settle upon and improve it, would be a measure just in principle, sound in policy and productive of the greatest good to the people of the nation; and that we regard the defeat of Mr. Grow's Bill in the Senate by the Democratic party, as a direct blow at the laboring classes of the country, and as unworthy of the liberality of a great Government.

9th. *Resolved*, That the President, in ordering the public lands in this and other Territories to be sold during a season of universal depression, thus impoverishing thousands of our fellow citizens, has been guilty of an act unworthy of a free government; and that the Republicans, for their generous though unsuccessful effort to secure the postponement of the sales, deserve the thanks of the people of Kansas and the West.

10th. *Resolved*, that we protest against any action which would put the adopted citizen under greater political disabilities than those now imposed by the naturalization laws of the United States.

11th. *Resolved*, That the people of the West, the commerce of whose lakes and rivers—in spite of the neglect of Democratic Administrations and Congresses, has grown to be three-fold greater than the whole foreign commerce of the country, will hold, henceforth, the Empire of the Government, and should unite in inaugurating a national policy which will open and improve the rivers and harbors of the country, and highways over the interior of the continent for the great and growing commerce of the Plains, and that a Railroad to the Pacific, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction.

No sooner read, than Phillips read a protest against the 4th resolution, and the clause of the 7th resolution which asked the Wyandott Convention to submit the question of negro suffrage separately to the people. He thought so long as the Congressional sovereignty men had consented to forego an adoption of that principle in the platform, it was unfair to be compelled to commit themselves to the popular sovereignty of the 4th resolution. The negro-suffrage resolution was uncalled for. Thacher was also on hand with a protest against the 4th resolution.

J. F. Cummins and W. Y. Roberts read a protest against the 5th resolution. No one else going to protest, the report was accepted and discussion commenced on its merits, confined mostly to the 4th resolution.

Phillips and Branscomb filled up the remainder of the morning session.

After dinner, another protest against the negro-suffrage clause was read, and a motion made to strike it out of the platform. The speakers took a wide latitude, mainly discussing the real point at issue, Congressional *vs.* Territorial sovereignty. After the aspirants for political honors had defined their positions, the negro-suffrage clause, and the action of the Convention on that clause, were ordered, on motion of Mr. W. Delahay, to be expunged from the records of the Convention.

Johnson proposed a substitute to the 4th resolution, designed to harmonize better the conflicting elements, which failed, as did Phillips' motion to strike out that resolution. The platform was adopted without a dissenting vote. The Convention was wild with excitement, and ratified the platform by cheer upon cheer. Roberts withdrew his protest; Phillips, Thacher, and the other protestants, followed suite. Roberts and Thacher, at the earnest demand of the crowd, shook hands over the consummation so devoutly wished.

After the appointment of a Territorial committee, of which Gen. Pomeroy is chairman, the delegates dispersed, apparently in harmony, satisfied that they had secured a platform on which they could wipe out the Democracy of Kansas in 1859 and 1860.

Some of the members felt the responsibility resting upon them, as the Osawatomie platform they considered would be the basis of the national Republican platform of 1860. It lacks directness and straightforwardness on the one question before them, whether Congress shall prohibit slavery in the Territories, or leave it to the people of the Territories to permit or prohibit. What the future of the Republican party of Kansas will be, remains to be seen. SR.

Retrenching Her Limits.

The Legislature of California has relinquished by a late act, six southern counties to the United States, and erected them into a Territory by the name of Colorado. It is proposed, also, to erect the six counties north of the fortieth degree of latitude, into a separate Territory.

☞ Gen Wm. Walker, of fillibuster notoriety, with 300 men, has arrived at Acapulco from San Francisco. It was supposed their destination is southern Mexico.

☞ Col. Sam. Pike, of Kentucky, has just started his forty-ninth paper, at Mt. Sterling, Ky.

New Papers.

The *Kansas Express*, edited and published by Chas De Vivaldi, of Manhattan, Kansas, commenced publication last week. Its editor is a good writer, and seems to possess the tact and energy requisite for success in a newspaper enterprise. He is a Republican, but we should judge, conservative in his sentiments.

Mr. De Vivaldi is an Italian, and of course well informed on the Italian question which furnishes the basis of the present war in Europe. We therefore take the liberty of copying the following article from the *Kansas Express:*

The Italian Question.

Who has not heard of Italy!—of her great poets, orators, sculptors and painters—of her shining blue skies—of her noble monuments of antiquity—of her hundred metropolises—of her beautiful villas—of her exceedingly temperate and delightful climate, under which the olive and orange trees luxuriate, and the delicious grape yields the most generous wine in the world? A large proportion of mankind have indeed heard of Italy as of the Garden of the World, but only few of our American people are informed of her present political condition, and therefore, although we generally feel a spontaneous sympathy with the welfare of that ancient and beautiful country, yet only few among us can fully appreciate the heroical struggles of her people in behalf of their independence.

We, of the *Kansas Express*, who have had the honor of taking an active part in the Italian war of Independence of 1848, and who have hundreds of friends and several near relatives engaged in the present war, for the same patriotic cause, cannot but feel a most intense interest in the success of the Italian Question, now to be decided on the fields of battle. Moreover, as we have seen in several papers a lack of information on the true object of the present war, and the bearings of the Italian Question, we take the liberty of defining it, in order that the opinions of our people, so decidedly opposed to all forms of tyranny, should not be made to favor the cause of Austria, which is exclusively the cause of oppression and despotism.

The object of the present war, so far as Italy (represented by the patriotic King and army of Sardinia) is connected with it, is nothing less than the acquisition of her own independence. Italy, a nation of twenty-six millions of inhabitants, with all the necessary elements for a great and powerful nation, is nothing to-day but an *insignificant geographical term*, as the Prince of Metternich used ironically to call her. Austria is the tyrannical power which has reduced her to such a degradation, and Austria is the tyrannical power which, by the material force of an enormously large army, intends to keep her for ages in that state of degradation.—The Italians, by means of revolutionary movements, at different periods, tried to get rid of the Austrians and their tyrannical oppressions, but unhappily, thus far, they have been unsuccessful.

At the present day, the prospects of Italy are of the most bright and hopeful character. She has at her head a young, patriotic, and constitutional Prince, Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, whose greatest wish and ambition is to make Italy a free and independent nation. He fought bravely during the whole war of 1848. We have seen him times and again in the midst of the battle, stand his ground nobly, and patriotically calling on his *central division*, of which he was General-in-Chief, to fight against the natural enemies of their beloved country. In the battles of Santa Lucia, Somma Campagna, Valeggio and Goito, the young Duke of Savoy, now King of Sardinia, offered his life hundreds of times for the liberty and independence of Italy.

With such a leader, and with an army of about 150,000 of the very best soldiers of Europe, Italy has reasons to expect that, at last, she will be able to drive from her soil the hated presence of a foreign oppressor.

The Italian Question will be solved by the present war, and the true object of it is, Italian freedom and independence.—The people of the United States ought to feel the greatest interest in the success of the Italian cause, which will remind us so vividly of the glorious achievements of our great and patriotic revolutionary fathers.

The *Democratic Union* of Atchison has issued a prospectus, and will soon commence publication. It will be edited and published by Mr. Chase, a conservative Democrat and veteran editor, who will, no doubt, defend his faith with ability, and prove a match for his political opponents.

It is also rumored that a Democratic weekly is soon to be started in this place, and that a press and office have already been ordered from the East.

Agitation develops truth, and we rejoice that all parties will have an opportunity for the expression of their views.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Complimentary.

LINN CO., K. T., May 23d, 1859.

FRIEND BROWN:—Let me say that the "Jay-Hawker" creates quite a sensation here; everybody reads it. I would rather be the author of that tale, than to be Governor of Kansas. The man who can wield a pen with such power, may consider himself a potentate among others.—The sketches and masterly delineations of character are so graphic and vivid, that one is instinctively on the look-out, and in spite of the author's assurance that it is imaginative, and this caution given not to "jay-hawk" his characters, and apply them either to ourselves or neighbors, we almost fancy that we can see Sly, with his foxy beard and twinkling gimlet eyes; the crying patriot, Gun, benumbed and falling from his little sorry black mule, and shouting for "'elp;" and Rev. Mr. Prey, on his way to church, with a bible in one pocket and a revolver in the other. It is a wild, singular production, but just such a one as ought to appear at this time; and I am gratified to see that it is deservedly popular. It lays bare the bones of jay-hawkism, and exhibits its anatomy in a strong light. Yours truly,

ANTI JAY-HAWKER.

For the Herald of Freedom.

The Jay-Hawker.

WEST POINT, Mo., May 21st, 1859.

ED. HERALD OF FREEDOM:—Your tale, called the Jay-Hawker, now in process of publication, meets with great favor in these parts. It walks into the "elect" with a hundred and twenty thunderbolt power. It is destined to live forever, and shed a world of light upon this and succeeding generations, on the origin of the troubles in south-eastern Kansas.

You will probably, ere long, begin to think that the quandam border ruffian rule in Kansas, was, in the language of the immortal Sancho Panza, mere "tarts and cheese cakes," in comparison with the Preys, Slys and Kanes of this unrivalled legend. Very respectfully,

BORDER RUFFIAN.

The State of Jefferson.

We learn from the *Cherry Creek Pioneer*, published at Denver City, by JOHN L. MERRICK, formerly of the *Elwood Press*, that a Convention was held at Auraria, on the 15th of April, to take action for the organization of a State Government.

The most important resolutions passed were as follows:

The delegates from the precincts of Denver City, Auraria, Fountain City, El Dorado and El Paso, of the county of Arapahoe, Kansas Territory, in convention assembled in the town of Auraria, the 15th day of April, 1859, do adopt the following preamble and resolutions, viz:

WHEREAS, A very large number of citizens of the United States having in a very short time been brought together at this remote point of the Union, induced by the recent discoveries of rich golds in this locality, and the good prospects of success held out here to the farmer, mechanic, trader and professional man; and being vividly impressed by our recent journey hither over the plains, with the great distance our heterogeneous and active population is removed from any seat of government, either Territorial or State, of the United States, where our wants could be made known, our civil and religious rights protected and our wrongs redressed; having already experienced the evils of such remoteness from Government adequate to the duty of trying and punishing crime; and being fully impressed with the belief, from early and recent precedents, of the power and benefits and duty of self-Government, and of the evils attaching to the government of bodies of men by agents of States or Territories at a distance, or of legislation without representation: and

WHEREAS, We, men of various vocations in life, having found this country which we have sought, not only abounding in gold just as represented by the majority of those who have written on the subject of these western gold fields, and of all those who are in the habit of weighing well what they wrote; and having also found it a country rich likewise in timber, in rock and crystal waters; a country with soil capable of producing food for its inhabitants, if not equal to the richest western agricultural States, at least superior to those of New England; and abounding with inducements sufficient to retain its present population and a large number of the immense rolling wave of emigrants now on the way from the East and soon to leave their own crowded homes to partake of the homes and harvest which we are now providing: and

WHEREAS, Owing to the absolute and pressing necessity for an immediate and adequate government for the large population now here and soon to be among us, actively engaged in the various acts of life; and aware of the impossibility of an early formation into a Territorial Government, that duty having been neglected by the present session of Congress; and also believing that a Territorial Government is not such as our large and peculiarly situated population demands: therefore,

Resolved, That the State contemplated shall embrace the following Territory, viz: Its north-eastern boundary commencing at the intersection on the 102d meridian of west longitude from Washinging City, with the 43d parallel of north latitude, and running west on the said parallel to its intersection with the 104th meridian of west longitude, thence south to the 37th parallel of north latitude, thence east on that parallel to the 102d meridian, and thence north to the beginning; and that the name thereof shall be the State of JEFFERSON.

Resolved, That the citizens of the proposed State be requested to elect delegates to attend a Constitutional Convention to be held in Denver City, on the first Monday in June, 1859, and said election of delegates shall be held on the second Monday of May next, or between that time and the time specified for the meeting of the Convention.

A Letter from Hon. F. P. Stanton.

It gives us pleasure to lay before our readers the following frank and manly letter from Hon. F. P. STANTON, in reply to the misrepresentations of the Lawrence *Republican:*

DOUGLAS COUNTY, K. T.,
May 23d, 1859.

G. W. BROWN, ESQ.—DEAR SIR:—The statement in the *Republican* of the 16th inst., does me great injustice, inasmuch as it represents me as acting with duplicity, and for the advantage of the present federal administration.

I did say that the Democracy in the Territory, especially south of the Kaw, had no hope of success except upon the basis of the Big Springs movement. Had I been talking with a Republican, I would have said the same of the Republican party, as that was distinctly my opinion.—The spirit of my rem