

THE KANZAS NEWS.

"THE PEOPLE ALWAYS CONQUER."

By P. B. PLUMB.

EMPORIA, KANZAS, DECEMBER 12, 1857.

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The Kansas News.

SAURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1857.

FREE STATE CONVENTION.

The Topeka Constitution Again Triumphant!

THE FREEMEN OF KANZAS MOVING!

Mrs. Cunningham's Constitution Demounced—Freedom the Voice of the Masses—The Delegate Convention Stands on the Gibraltar of our Liberties—The People's Organization the only True Government of Kansas!

Reported for THE NEWS.

LAWRENCE, Dec. 2, 1857.

THE FEELING MANIFESTED.

The morning dawned auspiciously. The soft hazy mist of an Indian Summer's day hung over the bare brown swells and plains, and the ether was undimmed by one cloud. Everything smiled upon the scene, and it seemed as if Nature were her gayest looks in honor of the occasion. Lawrence was filled to overflowing by the delegates and other members of the Free State party who were attending the Convention. Men looked as if they were in earnest, and all faces wore an appearance of grave seriousness and determination, as if they felt that the balance was in their hands. We could not help contrasting the Felons' Convention and this body. One was composed of ruffians, blackguards, loafers, robbers and traitors, and the other of intelligent freemen, gathered to counsel as to the best mode of obtaining the right without bloodshed or turmoil. Everything indicated that harmony would result from the deliberations of the assembly, and at all the caucuses and consultations that were held, but one wish and one policy seemed paramount, and that was how best to secure the liberties of this people.

MORNING SESSION.

The Congregational Church was filled at 10 A. M. by the delegates. The Convention was temporarily organized by the appointment of Lieut. Gov. Roberts, of Wyandott, to the Chair, and S. F. Tappan, of Lawrence, as Secretary. Mr. Roberts made a few remarks, on taking the chair, explanatory of the present crisis and the object of calling this Convention.

The following committees on Credentials and Permanent Organization, consisting of one from each Senatorial district, was then appointed by the Convention:

On Credentials—Messrs. Champion Vaughan, A. Elliott, Reuben George, H. S. Rymal, Wm. Yates, J. Munroe, Lorenzo Westover, Cyrus Tater, G. C. Boardman, P. H. Townsend, A. Polley, P. B. Plumb, Dr. Hall, and Mr. Larrabee.

On Permanent Organization—R. S. Elliott, G. W. Deitzler, Harris Stratton, David Prebles, C. F. Kob, H. Owen, D. A. Hunting, J. F. Leggett, James Blood, Walter Oakley, L. D. Bailey, J. R. Goodin, and G. A. Cutler.

After the transaction of some unimportant business, the Convention adjourned to 2 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At the hour of adjournment the Convention was called to order. While waiting for the reports of committees, Judge Wakefield addressed the Convention in an earnest and interesting manner, which was listened to with pleasure. Several gentlemen were then called upon, but declined to speak, preferring to wait till the resolutions were brought before the Convention. Gen. Abbott read a series of resolutions passed at a District Convention from which he appeared as delegate. The report was most pithy and pointed, and the Felons were denounced in fitting terms. The Territorial Government was denounced as a magnificent lie, which the safety of the people required to be removed. One resolution was remarkably "short and to the purpose." It said, "That it was better that our oppressors die and we live all die Slaves." Another pledged their lives and sacred honors to stand by the cause of Freedom.

Gen. Lane read a letter from Mr. Medill, of Chicago, in which he says that the plan of Senator Douglas will not be sustained by the leading Democratic papers of the North, and advises the Free State men not to dirty their fingers with the Bogus Constitution on the 21st of December.

John J. Moore, of Leavenworth, was invited to speak. He took the stand and said he should not attempt to make a political speech, although this, he was told, was a political Convention. Since others had avoided discussion on these topics he should, "Let me then tell the outsiders," said he, "while we are waiting on the Committee for a report, what others think of them. Some call them Abolitionists, others say they are a set of nigger thieves, while others say those Yankees are making a town behind the hills there which will be the first city in Kansas. To God and this people I will say, that if I owe my life and property to any cause under Heaven, it is to your Gen. Lane, who drove the Border Ruffians, at Bull Creek, before him. Why, gentle-

men, I was in Leavenworth when the news of that victory reached that city. Murphy was seen coming up the street ringing a bell, and crying, 'To arms, to arms, the enemy are upon us!' Soon after a few men were seen on horseback, who had been mistaken for 'Lane's army,' but proved to be a small detachment of the Ruffians, who were bringing the news of the defeat of Atchison and his men at Bull Creek; while the men who were invited 'to arms' could not be drummed up to the number of twenty—they having secreted themselves when they thought danger was approaching."

The Committee on Credentials made their report. Some controversy arose as to who were entitled to seats, and several contested questions arose, when, on motion of Gen. Lane, it was

Resolved, That all persons claiming to be elected as delegates be permitted to occupy seats in this Convention and be permitted to vote, and that all other members of the Free State party who are in attendance be permitted, otherwise than by voting, to participate in the proceedings of this meeting.

On motion of Col. Holliday, districts not fully represented were authorized, through their delegates, to cast the full vote of their respective districts.

The Committee on permanent officers reported the following names of gentlemen for permanent officers:

Governor Charles Robinson, President. Vice Presidents—Messrs. W. Y. Roberts, J. B. Elliott, Orville Root, C. Graham, Frank Adams, James Munroe, F. N. Blake, G. Seymour, J. A. Wakefield, P. H. Townsend, J. P. Greer, C. B. Lines, Dr. Gilpatrick, B. W. Woodward, Dr. A. Hunting.

Secretaries—Messrs. W. A. Phillips, A. Wattle, and E. G. Macy.

On Gov. Robinson's taking his seat, three cheers were given for "the Governor of Kansas." The Governor made a few remarks. He felt the importance of the present era, and therefore appreciated the honor they had done in appointing him President. The history of Kansas has been one series of crises, each of them important events in the history of the Territory. This one was but another step in advance, but he hoped it might be the last crisis, and that when we are at the end of it we might be "out of the woods" and Kansas a free State in the Union. He should endeavor to do his duty, and hoped the Convention would do their duty.

The Convention was then opened with prayer by the Rev. S. Y. Lum, of Lawrence. The President of the Convention then appointed the following Committee on Resolutions, one from each Senatorial district:

James H. Lane, C. Vaughan, H. Y. Barr, H. J. Rymal, Dr. C. F. Kob, H. Evans, S. Westover, C. A. Foster, T. D. Thacher, G. W. Gilmore, C. K. Holliday, J. K. Goodin, P. B. Plumb, G. S. Carver, Dr. G. A. Cutler. The Committee retired.

Judge Johnston, of Leavenworth, then addressed the Convention: He advocated the necessity of abandoning all old party lines and uniting in one course of action.—He was quite humorous in his allusions to the Leocompton swindle, and advised the Territorial Legislature, at their called session, to repeal all laws relating to the Leocompton Constitutional Convention. He also stated that he believed that of all opposers to the Felon Constitution, Governor Walker was the most bitter. He had heard Gov. Walker say that if he did not oppose it with all his power he should consider himself degraded as a statesman and a gentleman. He had gone to Washington to use his influence in crushing out this Constitution. He believed that if even Buchanan and all the Southern wing of the Democracy should be in favor of this swindle, Gov. Walker could prevent this thing being crammed through Congress. The Northern Democrats will not vote for it. The Judge has always been a Democrat though in favor of a free State. His object was to prove that the Northern Democracy and Gov. Walker would oppose the Leocompton Constitution. He also appealed to the people to remember generosity when their hour of triumph shall come. Let the world see that we will be as honorable in our victory as we have been in the struggle.

Judge Conway, who has just returned from Baltimore, was then called out, but declined speaking at that time, and made a motion to adjourn till half-past 6 P. M., which prevailed.

EVENING SESSION.

In the evening, the Committee on Resolutions not being prepared to report, Judge Conway took the stand. He was glad to be once more among his fellow-citizens in Kansas, and then proceeded to give an able exposition of affairs as they stood in political circles East, with reference to Kansas affairs. "Our Territory was made the held of contest for Presidential aspirants. Walker and Douglas both sought to make capital out of it in their own way. Judge Douglas was triumphant. Allusion had been made to the Richmond Enquirer, and articles therein written, in favor of Walker really. A contest had arisen between Gov. Wise, Walker's friend, and Senator Hunter, Judge Douglas' friend, for the Senatorship. This Leocompton Constitution, with its bastard submission, the work of Douglas, comes along, and lo! the scene is changed. Wise retires

from the field, and Hunter walks the Senatorial course alone. Douglas triumphant in the Old Dominion! Douglas triumphant at Washington! Douglas triumphant in Kansas! Three years more and the Little Giant will be triumphant in the country, and seated as President in the White House. What a happy expedient to settle the difficulties in Kansas and relieve the Democracy! Who can stand before such a man? The people will be gulled, and should we not vote, it will only be said that it was factionists who refused. In this emergency we must rely on ourselves. He had no plan to suggest; but one thing must be adhered to. The Nebraska bill contained a distinctive feature; that feature—Popular Sovereignty—had been trampled out by its parents.—Let the people of Kansas take it up, and see to it that it is fairly carried out. Let us in our conduct give the country a proof of our determination to have that and that alone."

At this juncture, Gen. Lane reported the Committee on Resolutions ready. The Judge gave way, and the following preamble and resolutions were read:

We, the people of Kansas in Delegate Convention assembled, at Lawrence, this 2d day of December, 1857, do set forth the following to our fellow citizens and the people of these United States:

Circumstances of an extraordinary character threaten to imperil the peace of this Territory, and to deprive a majority of our people of their rights, as citizens of this republic, to govern the same.

On the 30th of March, 1855, an armed force from Missouri violently took possession of the polls in Kansas, and fraudulently elected a Territorial Legislature, with sentiments adverse to the opinions of a majority of the people, and enacted laws cruel and oppressive. A Legislature composed in part of persons elected as above, and of other persons elected in October, 1856, in like violent and fraudulent manner, and under degrading test oaths enacted by the previous body, passed an act for the creation of a Constitutional Convention under a partial partisan registration and apportionment, and in the election of members to said Constitutional Convention, the law providing for the same was never complied with in many important and essential particulars, especially in taking a complete census of the people, and registry of the voters of the Territory, fifteen entire counties being totally disfranchised and many voters in the other counties left off. The Convention that assembled in Leocompton in September last, thus elected, have proceeded to frame a Constitution for the State of Kansas, in defiance of the fact that they, by their own record, represented a small minority of the people of this Territory, being only seventeen hundred out of twenty thousand voters, conceded to be in the Territory, that their proceedings were protested against by the people on the ground of illegality and unfairness, and that the presence of a portion of the United States army was necessary to protect them during their sittings, against the indignation of an outraged people. In the face of these facts they refused to submit the instrument they have thus framed to a vote of the people for ratification or rejection. They provide for a swindle, styled by them an election, in which neither the Constitution, nor any material part thereof, can be elected or rejected. They have, pending this action, provided for a State election on the first Monday of January next, under said instrument, and under the authority of a usurping Regency, unknown to constitutional authority, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, the design of the same being to rob from the people of Kansas their rights, as rescued through the ballot-box in October last, and destroy the only legitimate Territorial Legislative body ever in Kansas. This dangerous assumption of power calls for a prompt and efficient remedy from the people, the only legitimate source of power; therefore

Resolved, 1st, That we utterly repudiate said constitution, framed at Leocompton, that it is an instrument hostile to the popular will, and appealing to the God of justice and humanity for the rectitude of our intentions, we do solemnly enter into a league and covenant with each other, that we shall never, under any circumstances, permit the said Constitution, so framed, and NOT SUBMITTED, to be the organic law for the State of Kansas, but do pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honors in ceaseless hostility to the same.

Resolved, 2d, That we denounce the so-called election of December 21st, as a swindle, and the election of January 4th, 1858, as a crime and a misdemeanor against the peace of this Territory, and the will of the majority.

Resolved, 3d, That the Legislature elected in this Territory on the 5th day of October, 1857, is the only legitimate law-making body that has ever been elected for the Territory of Kansas, and that its functions shall not be suspended by any Constitution or State Government until a fair and impartial vote shall be had on the same.

Resolved, 4th, That this Delegate Convention do hereby re-endorse the constitution known as the Topeka Constitution, and do declare it to represent the wishes of the majority of the people of Kansas to-day, and that when it shall have again received the popular sanction, under authority of the only legitimate Territorial Legislature ever convened in Kansas Territory, recognized by the authority of the United States, that we shall maintain it against all opposition.

Resolved, 5th, That, looking chiefly to the above end, we respectfully memorialize the Territorial Legislature, about to convene in extra session on the 7th inst., to frame a fair and impartial election law, and that they, under it, do submit the two constitutions—the people's constitution framed at Topeka, and the constitution framed at Leocompton—to a vote of the people of this Territory, and that the said Legislature provide that the constitution which shall receive a majority of all the legal votes shall become the fundamental law for the State of Kansas.

The reading was frequently interrupted by applause and at its close it was unanimously received. Amid the most tumultuous applause a dozen motions were made to adopt by acclamation and without discussion. Gen. Lane several times attempted to be heard but the Convention would not listen even to him. The report was finally adopted, with NINE THUNDERING CHEERS FOR FRANK KANZAS, GEN. LANE AND GOV. ROBINSON.

Gen. Lane then spoke, in a manner only to be felt, but not described: Rising with the hour, he gave expression to sentiments befitting the occasion. He commenced by an allusion to the battle of Austerlitz and Napoleon's celebrated expression "The Victory is ours." Our position is not unlike his. The sun has broken through the clouds. We see the position of the enemy, and though a perilous struggle is before us, we can still cry "The Victory is ours." As Napoleon looked back on his men, we can on ours, and with 18,000 Freemen bid defiance to our foes. We may be compelled to strike all our enemies, and to-night we calmly, wisely and with true patriotism, say that we will strike even the Government of the United States, should it continue to oppress us."

The General continued in this strain for over an hour. We cannot attempt to repeat it. Judge Conway spoke briefly and endorsed the action of the Convention. A motion was made that all the Delegates to the Convention be requested to sign the resolutions.

Dr. Davis, of Leavenworth, was called for, and spoke.

Gov. Robinson was called and addressed the Convention.

Wm. A. Phillips was called and said: "Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention—I do not rise to make a lengthy speech, nor to elaborate further any details of the plan you have just adopted. I rise chiefly for a particular purpose, but before doing what I purpose I would briefly urge certain things upon your consideration.—The resolutions you have endorsed so unanimously and enthusiastically to-night, however wise and noble, are but resolutions. You have said to the met of our common country and the world, that it is our duty and our right to do certain things; and that we will do it. It is now our duty by acts—by intelligent and energetic steps, to make the theories we have resolved, into great facts, and to write them in the political history of our country—to show that we are equal to the importance of the emergency before us, and to what we have assumed; that our language is neither the rapid declamation of men under excitement, nor the tinsel that covers irresolution and cowardice. We must not deceive ourselves by assuming that the task before us is an easy one, or our enemies few and imbecile. Our task is to secure the freedom of Kansas—to recover our civil rights as American citizens, and should the United States government again aid the usurpers in their unhallowed efforts, we must not be intimidated from maintaining what we now resolve. This perfidious scheme embodied in the Leocompton Constitution is the plan of powerful and unscrupulous men. Deeply versed in political chicanery they have calculated that the peaceful character of the Free State men of Kansas would submit if thus boldly driven to the wall. It remains for us to show those who thus tamper with our most sacred rights that we are fearfully in earnest. Some remnants of political conscience may still linger with the Democracy of the North, and they may aid us in our opposition to this political swindle; but rash, indeed, it would be to trust a contingency so precarious. On themselves alone the men of Kansas must rely.

The prospect before us wears many threatening aspects. That the National Administration endorses the Leocompton fraud we have too much reason to fear, and we must prepare to meet it, and to overthrow the scheme here in Kansas. Every delegate, and every Free State man on this floor to-night must prepare to go home from this Convention, to work and watch, until we have accomplished what we propose.

The question the people of Kansas were now struggling to settle, was a momentous one. It is much to them, and to Kansas; much to the best interests of the whole country, and much to all who love republican liberty. It was not alone whether slavery should stain the soil of Kansas. It was not alone that Missouri fraud should be overthrown, but it was whether the free institutions bequeathed by the patriots of '76 should remain the heritage of our common country. It was whether our republican institutions should remain unshaken and uncorrupted. In our victory comes the victory of justice, humanity, and free government. The struggle is before us, and in it we must prove that we are worthy of the privileges we inherited and the political liberty we demand.

A few years ago an old Federal office holder in Boston, a life-long member of the Democratic party, said that the time was coming, and that men now living would see it, when our government would become a despotism, but it would be a despotism under the name of Democracy. Perhaps we of Kansas had good reason to think that we had already lived to see the fulfillment of this prediction. But there are still deeper depths of political degradation before us, unless we fearlessly meet the issues before us and conquer.

The speaker said he had but little faith in the Democracy, or in anything that was of them, or claimed kin to them. But when any man does his duty he was prepared to render him justice for the act. He had a resolution to offer, and he offered it the more readily that a feeling of distrust had made him feel dissatisfied with the party, concerning whom he offered the resolution. No one would suspect the speaker of any leanings towards the Territorial Executive; he therefore offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention do express its approbation of the act of Fred. P. Stanton, Acting Governor of Kansas Terri-

tory, in convening a special session of the Territorial Legislature in this emergency, and that we thank him for this expression in favor of securing the public peace, and the rights of the people."

C. Vaughn, of the Leavenworth Times, was next called and spoke earnestly, and assured the Convention that the Leavenworth delegation would be found true to the position taken in the resolutions adopted to-night.

Dr. Kob, of the Atchison Zeitung, was called. He spoke with much wit and point.

H. Miles Moore, of Leavenworth, next spoke. As a member of the Territorial Legislature, he assured the Convention of his adherence to the resolutions passed, and that he was prepared to vote to adjourn the Territorial Legislature, if necessary, to let the Topeka State Constitution take its place.

Mr. Charles Foster, of Oswatomie, was called, and gave assurance that the country south of the Santa Fe road was now awake to the responsible issues before them.

T. Dwight Thacher, of the Lawrence Republican being called for, said:

"Mr. President and fellow citizens: Were it not for the enthusiasm which I see manifested, I should not venture at this late hour to detain you with any remarks which I may have to make. We have listened to eloquent and patriotic remarks from gentlemen representing the various portions of the Territory. We have been told that the victory is already won. Sir, what is that victory? What is the prize for which we are striving? In the first place, it is freedom for ourselves. This effort which is being made to thrust upon us a Constitution in opposition to the popular will involves, in reality, the very essence of all free government. They only are a free people who live under laws of their own choice. Law, fellow citizens, a simple enactment, is a sacred thing. And why? Because it is, in a Republican government, the expression of the popular will. But a Constitution is the most sacred of all instruments, for it is the highest of all human laws—the great fundamental law of the State, standing like a wall of fire to scorch and wither whatever would infringe upon the rights and liberties of the people. It is meet and proper,—we owe it to ourselves and to our country, that this first attempt, in these United States, to force upon the people of a new State just springing into life, a fundamental law in opposition to the popular will, be promptly met and put down—that this effort of undisguised despotism should be crushed to atoms! We are, therefore, contending here in Kansas for the inherent and vital principle of Republicanism—the right of the people to govern themselves.

Again, the prize for which we contend is the ultimate triumph and perpetuity of Freedom and free institutions in our common country. I believe, fellow citizens, that Kansas, to-day, holds in her hands the destinies of America. When our fathers found it necessary to strike off the chains of despotism which Great Britain was fastening upon them, they founded a new government upon the great principles of Freedom and Equality. And it is to the action and influence of these great principles that the mighty energy and astounding progress of our country is due. Behold, how from a few straggling colonies along the coast of the Atlantic, we have marched on, until now, after the lapse of less than a century, our central column is pushed half way across the continent, while already our Pacific coast is teeming with life; and soon, clear across from ocean to ocean, will be seen the homes and habitations of brave, industrious and intelligent freemen. Magnificent and almost miraculous work!

Unfortunately, there is also at work in our country, and producing its appropriate results, another principle utterly antagonistic to freedom and equality—the principle of slavery. Slavery needs for its life, expansion—extension. It must have it. The tread of the slave scowls and burns the soil until it refuses to yield its increase. He must then have fresh fields and untrodden plains. See what slavery has done for Virginia. From being renowned as the "mother of statesmen," she is now only noted as a great breeder of human beings for the market.—The market must be widened; new territory must be occupied. This is the reason why the whole South, with united voice, demands the free people of Kansas as a living sacrifice upon the bloody altar of slavery. But we have it in our power and we intend to do it, to make her a great and powerful Free State. And how long will slavery endure in Missouri, with right on her western border a Free State like New York, or Ohio, or Massachusetts? It will melt like mist before the morning sun. The further advance of slavery stopped here, and soon, with the immense tide of free labor men setting toward the fertile soils and genial climate of the south-west, we will have a cordon of Free States from the lakes of the North to the gulf of Mexico. That settles the fate of slavery in America. We shall then have conquered it, not by any breach of faith, or over-riding of the Constitution, but by the inherent energy and vitality of the grand principles of freedom and equality. On the contrary, if freedom is struck down in Kansas, I see no probable termination to slavery on the American continent. It will rapidly extend and perpetuate itself until there shall be built up here in the land of Washington, Franklin and Jefferson, the most gigantic despotism the world has ever seen. But, fellow citizens, slavery will not triumph here. The unanimity—the determination—the enthusiasm which the representatives of the people of Kansas here have this day manifested, encourages me to be confident that Freedom's star is still in the ascendant, and that the great and glorious principles bequeathed to us by our fathers will go on until with their benign and gracious influence they shall bless the whole earth."

Mr. Moore, in the course of his remarks, spoke of Judge Douglas' position, when Gen. Lane rose and said that Mr. Redpath had just arrived from the East, and brought

the news that Douglas opposed the Constitution. He received the news, he added, as he would a voice from Hell. (Roars of laughter, and cries of "Has Redpath come from there?")

Mr. Redpath being called, at the close of Mr. Moore's remarks, spoke nestly as follows:

"Mr. Chairman—Until this evening I have always considered you a courteous gentleman. But, sir, you have disappointed me this evening; and not you only, but other speakers. You began your speech with 'Gentlemen of the Convention.' I shall endeavor to avoid this unbecoming error. (A laugh.) In humble—very humble—and distant—far distant—imitation of my illustrious friend, Gen. Lane, therefore, I at least—shall recognize the presence here of the LADIES! Ladies and gentlemen.—(Laughter.) I don't live in Heaven, but I live in the next best place—Doniphan.—(Laughter.) Neither have I come, as some of you seemed to think, from Hell. But I have just come from the next worst place—the State of Missouri. (Laughter.)

I will not inflict a long speech on you for four good reasons. First, my cigar is lighted, and I value it very much, for it is a good one, and I received it from a good man—Dr. Kob; and especially do I value it as it is the only good thing that I ever knew to come out of the eminently conservative city of Atchison. (Laughter.) Secondly, I think you have had unbecome enough for all beneficent terrestrial purposes. Thirdly, I haven't much to say, and lastly I am too fatigued to say it, for I have just concluded a long and disagreeable journey through the foul, filthy, filibustering State of Missouri, and I am very tired—physically, mentally, and fundamentally. (Laughter.)

Gov. Robinson has demonstrated, by his peculiar and unmistakable logic, that the Federal Government is coming over to our side. While I listened I thought of the scriptural statement—"And Satan came also." (Prolonged laughter.)

It is the theory of our Republican institutions that there is a power greater than the Government—the people. King Caucus and his ministers, the politicians, in my opinion constitute that power; but for argument's sake and courtesy's let us say it is the people. That power also, I think, is coming over to us. I have been asked several times this evening what the people of the East say of our present position. I say to you that the people of the North will sustain you (applause) in whatever course you deem it prudent to adopt; or even, in order to secure your freedom, you resolve to hang, and do suspend—that's the popular word now—every Federal office-holder, annihilate the Federal army, and run off every Territorial slave, including as slaves both negro bondsmen and National Democrats. (Roars of laughter.)

A Voice—"What about Judge Douglas?"

Mr. Redpath—"When I first came to Kansas I was told in confidence, by a personal friend of Douglas, that he was a firm friend of Freedom: I doubted it then—I have disbelieved it ever since—I know it is a falsehood now. Yet Douglas CAN be a friend. He is the firm, steadfast and unfaltering friend of one man, and that person's name is Stephen A. Douglas. (Laughter.) That man, like every man in America—the alien-born excepted—expects to be President of these United States. He knows that he cannot be so unless he is re-elected to the Senate. Illinois will never re-elect him, unless he, too, comes over to us. He knows it, and is coming. "The Campbells are coming!" Some men fear such allies; but I say here, what I once had occasion to remark, when a fellow-sportsman told me that the flock of pigeons we were out for were flying toward us—"Let 'em come, who's afraid?" (Laughter.)

Judge Douglas, through his organ—the Chicago Times—its real name is Timeserver, but they call it Times for short.—(laughter) has declared already, that unless the Constitution—the Leocompton Constitution—Mrs. Cunningham's Constitution—(laughter) is submitted—every clause, article and abomination of it—to the whole people, it is worth no more than the paper it is written on. That statement, although not strictly true—for the paper would be more valuable if not written on at all.—(laughter) is as near both to truth and decency as you can expect him to come without dangerous consequences to himself. (Laughter.) He might get lost, you know, if he came any nearer, for it is a terre incognita to him. (Laughter.) "So much for Buckingham."

I have said that the people of the North will sustain you, but do not think that I consider them the power behind the Government. The people of Missouri, under Pierce's mal-administration, constituted that posterior power. It is called "power behind," you know, because when, like the celebrated donkey, Government is "disinclined to proceed," or "won't go," the people give the Government a kick in its seat. (Laughter.) That seat, Government informs us, is Washington City. The people of Missouri are that power yet. What do they say?

For ten days past I have been among them—traveling through their State, dining in their houses, sleeping in their hotel beds; and here let me say, I hope there's a bath in this town. (Laughter.) I have spoken both with their conservative men and fire-eating filibusters. I don't like conservatives myself, for I am a radical—a fanatic—and glory in it. (Applause.) They say—and the ultras agree with them—What? If you slaughter every pro-slavery propagandist in this Territory, and call Missouri to sit in inquest on the corpses, their verdict, prompt and unanimous, I believe would be—"Saved them right!"

Go on, therefore, without fear; carry out your resolutions, even if they ultimate in the Devil, the North and the Platte region, Jim Lane and Steve Douglas for us, who can be against us? To use the language of Missouri, and adopting their habit of contrasting proper names, and for myself and friends, will say, in all earnestness and sincerity, "Narry Red!" (Laughter.)

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Mr. Redpath being called, at the close of Mr. Moore's remarks, spoke nestly as follows:

"Mr. Chairman—Until this evening I have always considered you a courteous gentleman. But, sir, you have disappointed me this evening; and not you only, but other speakers. You began your speech with 'Gentlemen of the Convention.' I shall endeavor to avoid this unbecoming error. (A laugh.) In humble—very humble—and distant—far distant—imitation of my illustrious friend, Gen. Lane, therefore, I at least—shall recognize the presence here of the LADIES! Ladies and gentlemen.—(Laughter.) I don't live in Heaven, but I live in the next best place—Doniphan.—(Laughter.) Neither have I come, as some of you seemed to think, from Hell. But I have just come from the next worst place—the State of Missouri. (Laughter.)

I will not inflict a long speech on you for four good reasons. First, my cigar is lighted, and I value it very much, for it is a good one, and I received it from a good man—Dr. Kob; and especially do I value it as it is the only good thing that I ever knew to come out of the eminently conservative city of Atchison. (Laughter.) Secondly, I think you have had unbecome enough for all beneficent terrestrial purposes. Thirdly, I haven't much to say, and lastly I am too fatigued to say it, for I have just concluded a long and disagreeable journey through the foul, filthy, filibustering State of Missouri, and I am very tired—physically, mentally, and fundamentally. (Laughter.)

Gov. Robinson has demonstrated, by his peculiar and unmistakable logic, that the Federal Government is coming over to our side. While I listened I thought of the scriptural statement—"And Satan came also." (Prolonged laughter.)

It is the theory of our Republican institutions that there is a power greater than the Government—the people. King Caucus and his ministers, the politicians, in my opinion constitute that power; but for argument's sake and courtesy's let us say it is the people. That power also, I think, is coming over to us. I have been asked several times this evening what the people of the East say of our present position. I say to you that the people of the North will sustain you (applause) in whatever course you deem it prudent to adopt; or even, in order to secure your freedom, you resolve to hang, and do suspend—that's the popular word now—every Federal office-holder, annihilate the Federal army, and run off every Territorial slave, including as slaves both negro bondsmen and National Democrats. (Roars of laughter.)

A Voice—"What about Judge Douglas?"

Mr. Redpath—"When I first came to Kansas I was told in confidence, by a personal friend of Douglas, that he was a firm friend of Freedom: I doubted it then—I have disbelieved it ever since—I know it is a falsehood now. Yet Douglas CAN be a friend. He is the firm, steadfast and unfaltering friend of one man, and that person's name is Stephen A. Douglas. (Laughter.) That man, like every man in America—the alien-born excepted—expects to be President of these United States. He knows that he cannot be so unless he is re-elected to the Senate. Illinois will never re-elect him, unless he, too, comes over to us. He knows it, and is coming. "The Campbells are coming!" Some men fear such allies; but I say here, what I once had occasion to remark, when a fellow-sportsman told me that the flock of pigeons we were out for were flying toward us—"Let 'em come, who's afraid?" (Laughter.)

[Concluded on Fourth page.]