out to the end, as it should have been. The Compromise of 1820—like every compromise since, and like all compromises since the world began, between unscrupulous Power and timid Liberty—was but a device of Knavery for taking breath. The peace always promised for such concession is a peace for repairing damages, for forging arms, and for arraying new influences and implements. Liberty was bribed to yield a noble province to the devastations of Slavery, with the solemn guarantee, that no Slavery should ever touch the soil north of a given line; that, by the moral pledge of the whole South, expressed through a legislative act, was made inviolate to Freedom. It was a treacherous pact. It was hollow from the beginning. While the territory concerned lay far beyond the reach of emigration, while it was a hunter's wilderness, it was not molested. The moment that the growth of our country brought our population to the borders of this Territory, and it was soon to be settled, Slavery, without an appeal to the people, without the suspicion of the coming up of such a question in Congress, by a coup d'état, annulled this agreement for Liberty, and declared Kansas and Nebraska alike open to all settlers, and that their institutions should be determined for Freedom or Slavery by the will of their actual settlers.

The feet of Freedom are nimble. The feet of Slavery, shod with iron for crushing, move slowly. A thousand free settlers will move with all their utensils to a region, before a hundred men with the torpid foot of Slavery can move or start.

Liberty is so rich, that it is apt to ferment. Slavery has but a single selfishness, and is not embarassed by conflicting interests. Liberty, breeding innumerable industries, and stirring within men life and independence, is full of divisions and strifes. Slavery cannot split. It is thin, gaunt, compact, tenacious. In productive organizing force, Liberty is mighty; in councils and concert, she is weak. In creative force, Slavery is imbecile; but

in ambition and in council, a unit and efficient.

If the South were to attempt to cope with the North, on the field of Kansas, by simple emigration, by taking possession of the land for industry, they would be defeated before they began. This was apparent. The only hope lay in violence. Violence was tried. At the hiss of an unscrupulous man, hordes of wild and indolent fellows, that hang about the towns and cities of slave States, as gigantic vermin, rushed into Kansas, crushed the free and actual settlers at the polls, and by a wholesale fraud, not even denied or disguised, reared up a Legislature whose office it was to forge law for the benefit of Slavery and for the extinction of Liberty. And well they performed their work.

Consider this wrong, O ye freemen of the North! This was the Territory given to Freedom by the God who made it; by the