

New York,
Feb 1, 1854.

My dear Sir

I am still nearly confined to my bed from an attack of paralysis, from which, however, I am happy to say I am slowly recovering. It is perhaps rather great an expectation to look forward to the time when I can be again among my friends. Now that I am permitted by my physician to attempt to write, I seize the occasion to say to you that Yl. reply to Senator Chase, The free-soil abolition news feels, in relation to the Nebraska bill, was made to me this morning, & that I agreed it as a matter of fact & wished no person ^{than} anything can be done, I think, that all the true friends of the Wackabean & the Compa. We should stand upon the great principle of Yl. bill, viz. that the territories should be

promised to stand for themselves as
to the question of freedom or slavery -
or at least that Douglass has no right
to reject them in this respect. I hope
so, not least that you will write
kept both houses: though it is doubtful
will be the signal for renewed agitation.

As a matter of principle & course long,
I hope our friends will bear the
matter in this light - though it will
not be surprising if some of the
National democrats, of the North,
made the persecution of them by the Southern
leaders, should manifest some re-
ference on the subject. They may
not feel unwilling to allow the South
to test & expose upon their
allies & friends, since they have not

hesitated to do so and have also
been well served by them & the
guarantee of the Constitution.

With sincere esteem,

Very truly Yours

Ernestine

Hon. S. A. Douglass,

or

S. Crosswell
N York

Political
Feb 12th

Schenectady, New York

February 1. 1854

Private

My dear Sir,

I am aware that Rhode Island is a very small State, but I should at least wish to have it understood that the recent hostile action is a true indication of the sentiments of the people. A few days since, I received from one of our friends the Report on the Nebraska territory, & as I was sending an article to the Democratic paper, etc. I took here, about two years ago, for an object mainly, which (though not then accomplished) I trust is only deferred, I inserted it in a short paragraph, intending to give a fuller exposition of it, hereafter. To my astonishment, on opening a day or two subsequent, the Providence paper, I found that the Senate of the State had passed a resolution of recommendation to our Senators & Representatives at Washington to oppose the Nebraska bill. I thereupon immediately wrote to some of the members of the lower house, who I supposed had some influence, to get the matter before Stephen A. Douglas,

+ + +

D. L. S.

New York

Mr. B. Lawrence

but and, I intended to take the next steamer
for Providence & confer with them personally. Before,
however, my letters were received, the resolution had
finally ^{been} without debate, and in fact without
meeting the attention of any one - As I do not
doubt that the subject should be understood by
the Democracy of the State, although too late to
prevent the legislative proceeding, I directed the
insertion of an article in to-day's Advertiser,
which, as well as the preceding number, will be
forwarded this way. I also put into the Post
office the Providence edition of this morning,
which has a more extensive circulation than any
other paper in the State. It will show that the
movement in the Grand assembly is beginning to be
appreciated. The paper, without my knowledge,
placed my name at the head of its columns, some
weeks ago, but I would remark that I have no
intention of being a candidate for Governor, which,
owing to the operation of our Constitution, requires
electors, who do not pay taxes on property to
contribute a dollar, and a Registry tax, which Gov.
Allen has threatened of being for them, is a very
expensive honor, while from the fact that married
citizens, unless they are freeholders, are excluded from
the elective franchise, a Democratical body of
decided opinions, enters into the contest with the

such disadvantage.

Mr. Bayles, when you were absent as one
of my colleagues, at the Baltimore Convention, & who is
now Post Master at Providence, as well as the
printer of the leading paper there, should have
prevented the passage of resolutions, repudiating
the Baltimore platform. His influence could readily
have effected it, but was, probably, not employed,
on account of Gov. Allen & Mr. Davis, of N. H. of
N. The former was a personal devotee for W.
Van Buren in 1844 & the latter, though he has
always acted with the Democratic party, has long
been an abolitionist in sentiment. These matters
I have supposed might not be altogether un-
interesting to you, & I avail myself of the
occasion to renew the expression of my sincere
respect & esteem, I am, my Dear Sir,

Yours truly,
A. B. Lawrence

It may be regarded that the resolutions do not
purport being strict, but only contain a recom-
mendation.

Hon S. A. Douglass—

Dear Sir.

After the numerous meetings held against your Nebraska Bill it behoves its friends to do something to counteract its influence. Do you deem it advisable to call a meeting of those in its favor? Such an one would command a large attendance & would I think materially benefit it.

Yours obt^d Servt

Wm H Bright

New York Feby 24/54—

Bright
Letter from N.Y.
about calling
Hebridean Meeting

February 2
1852

Private Athens Ga.
5th July 1854.
Dear Judge

I write simply to express to you the gratification - which I share - felt in common with the entire Georgia democracy - in observing your course on the Nebraska question - If the views presented in your opening speech do not reflect the feelings & principles of the national democracy - then I have not understood them - and the country has labored so far under a misapprehension. There can be no two opinions on the point - and it is time that all doubt, should be removed from the public mind - in the interpretation of the doctrine of non-inter-vention - As set forth in the bill, for Nebraska & Kansas - and defended by your speech - it is a doctrine worthy of the democratic party - and one which will give future triumphs to its friends - It has never yet been fairly repudiated by the people - though as you say - our fair cap. was sacrificed on it in 1848 - I hope to hear that the administration & the entire democratic party are united in sustaining your position - I regard it as a crisis in the national democratic party and he who dallies is a dastard & he who doubts is damned - I am very respectfully
Yours for the Liberty
John Howell Cobb



Liverpool, Feb^y 7th 1854

My dear Sir,

Our Mutual friend General Lee has sent me the accompanying letter for you, in reference to a plan for his diplomatic promotion. He likewise transmits letters for several other persons, all of which I enclose, that you may have the whole case before you. I heartily wish Lee might be gratified in this matter; he certainly deserves it, and would do us credit abroad — which is more than can be said of a great many of the diplomatic ^{& consular} gentlemen who pass under ^{my} notice, on their way out or homeward.

I shall write to General Rains
on the subject, by this steamer; but
my position with regard ^{to him}, being nearly
that of private and personal friend.
This, gives me no weight or strength.

I have no independent position, and
can bring no "punch" to bear
upon him. I long ago used all
the strength I had in Lee's be-
half, and with a very poor result.
It is my sincere opinion that nobody
can help him so effectually as
Judge Douglas.

With great respect,

Very truly Yours,

Wm. H. Newthorpe.

Hon. Stephen A. Douglas.
Washington

Letter from
Liverpool

February 7
1852

New York Feb. 8. 1854.

Dear Sir,

Allow me to say that I have read with great satisfaction your very able speech on the Nebraska bill now pending before the Senate, and I should have said as much some days since, if my engagements had not prevented. You have placed the measure upon the broad and safe foundation of excluding the Slavery question from Congress, by referring it, as well as other questions of self-government, to the decision of the people of the territory. This fully accords with the spirit of our institutions. If Congress had never attempted to legislate concerning the domestic policy of the States and territories, we should have escaped the Slavery agitation which at one time threatened the stability of the Union. The sooner we retrace our steps, and allow other people to manage their own affairs, the better it will be for the country. At least, such is my judgment.

While I fully approved the great principles which you advanced, there was one point on which I feared the bill — which I have not seen in its present form — failed to carry out your own views. I thought an unqualified repeal of the Missouri act of 1820 might have the effect of reviving the law applicable to the territory when we acquired it from France; and thus Nebraska might be made slave territory by the action of Congress, instead of leaving the question open, and allowing the people of Nebraska to make their own laws on that, as well as on other subjects. But the amendment which you submitted yesterday has entirely obviated that objection; and ~~so far as the slavery question is concerned,~~ the measure now stands on a ground which cannot be successfully impeached, though it may be assailed by those who feel themselves bound in conscience to keep the slavery question in motion.

There has been some diversity of opinion about the expediency of bringing the matter before Congress at the present time; but since ^{the} question has been made, I do not see how it can be doubted — especially by any sound democrat — that the measure ought to be adopted. We shall have slavery

agitation until that is done. But when Congress shall fully
assert the great principle of non-intervention in the local
affairs of the States and Territories, the people will
be satisfied, agitators will lose their occupation,
and new strength will be imparted to the pillars
of the Union.

Such are my views, in few words, and without
troubling you further, I am

Very truly and
sincerely Yours

William C. Brownson

Honorable

S. A. Douglass

Washington D.C.

Frank B. Bronson
N.Y.

About Nebraska

February 8

1853

Chicago Feb 9th 1854
Hon S. A. Douglas

Dear Sir

The Abolishinist had
a meeting last night at the South Market
Hall. You will see from the copy the call
is made that no one could get a chance to
speak but themselves, but before they brought
in their Resolutions. They called for their
Speakers and none come so the Boy called
on me. I being always ready to defend
my Principals and friends of the Compromise
of 1850 & the Nebraska & Kansas Bills. I briefly
stated what the great Hamburg meeting was
got up for & said that the disappointed office
seekers & your enemies when the principal ones
with the Abolishinist that intended to renounce
the Nebraska Bill this evening. & if I was not very
much mistaken the Democrats that signed the
call would curse the day they put their names
to that document. Then stated the meaning of the Bill
as the copy of all Territorial Bills with the compromise
of 1850. & that the People should have the right to

know themselves if so then that was the
meaning of Bill. as the compromise of 1850
in making the New Mexico & other Territories had
obligated the Missourians compromise, and
therefore the Bills just contained what
was solemnly pledged at Baltimore by
the Democratic & W. G. Conventions. Of course
they raised and made some noise but
I told them that if we were capable
of going ourselves than the ground taken
up was surely right and was unanswer-
able and nothing but disappointed
Politicians and Abolitionists would
deny it. I sent you the proceedings
of the meeting and Blackwell drew up
the Resolutions not so strong as they
wanted them you will see it only
refers to the Missouri Compromise
they allowed nobody but me to speak
in favor of Nebraska. We shall get up
a meeting in a few days for Nebraska
you see the cause. Sumner & Brooks is doing, and
the Chicago Democrat has not published your
speech yet. It is too bad your true friend Hooker
has the report - write to him in my next (or let me see him)

Isaac Crook
About the
Meeting at
Chicago &c

February 9th
1854.
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Dr. Casper Threll

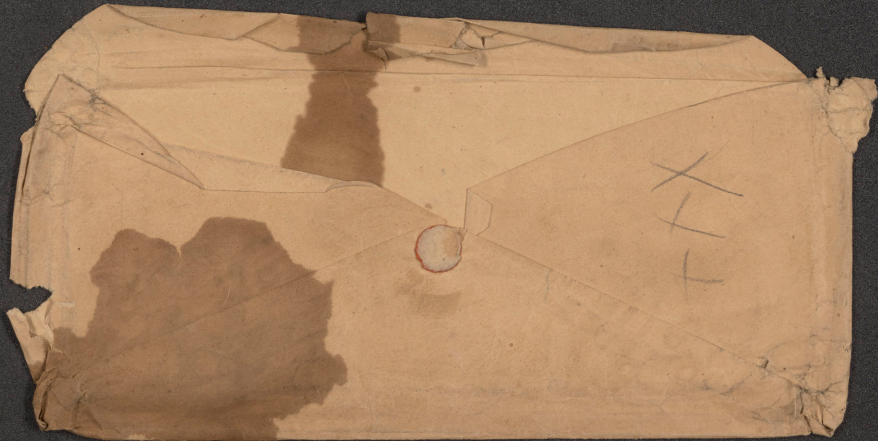
Hon. S. A. Douglass

Dear Sir - The enclosed
papers relate to your personal affairs
in Illinois & elsewhere, and may be
a leisure moment, and are submitted
by your friend

Belleville Ill.

Casper Thiel

Casper Thiel
Belleville Ill.



Springfield Feb 19. 1864

Dr Casper Thill
My Dear Sir

Yours of the 16th
Inclosing Communication has
just been received and the
Contents duly noted.

I feel under
great obligation to you
for this communication &
the matters set forth and
alluded to in your letter
I will have the register
publish them, and hope
to have the pleasure of
hearing from you again
& often while I live

I hope we will close
the session in two weeks;
but can't say with certainty
Truly your friend
E. C. Burleigh



Springfield, Feb. 22

Dear Sir:

We owe you an apology
for not replying to you earlier, but
we have been so crowded with busi-
ness that you can readily find
an apology for us. We cannot
give place to your able paper at
present owing to the press upon our
columns growing out of legislative
matters, but a more potent reason
is that it presents Image Dwyer
as a candidate for the presidency
claiming for the seat of government
of his own state, and peppared with
its apparent care and ability. It

will leave an authentication in which
at the present time, at least, will
not assist the ~~the~~ important end
at which it aims, I believe that
such a movement will not meet
the views of the persons most inter-
ested, I therefore return your assump-
tion, hoping to hear from you
on any other political subject, when
our columns are at your service, but
don't make your papers quite so
long, though it may involve the
necessity of making them more
frequent

Truly Yours

Chas. H. Smith

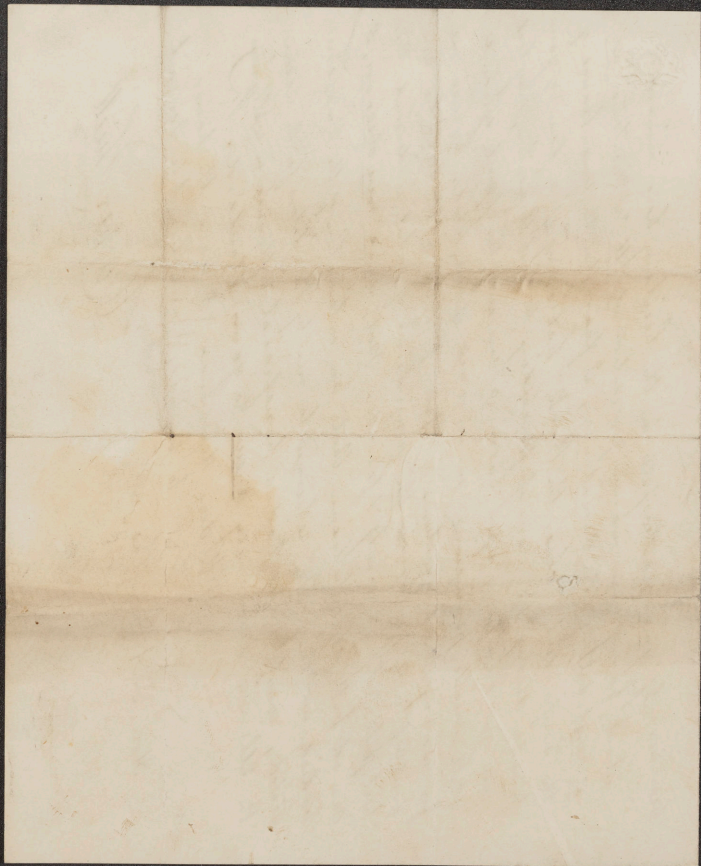
Dear Sir - If you participate in the hesitancy here evinced
about having your name presented at all "at this time" as
a candidate for the Presidency, I fear that the remembrance of
the impudent "Clear the Track" hallooing of a few of your
friends during the campaign preceding the last Convention, may lead
you in expiring upon them a course of the opposite extreme
still more pernicious in a race of this kind. Excuse me
for making this suggestion.

Your friends of the Register are
doubtless well posted in the programme of what is termed the
"best policy" by yourself & friends. But, as a mere observer, I
can not but still believe that an intimation of the kind em-
bodied in "the paper" returned to me by the editors for the reason
stated, would have had a beneficial influence in rallying
the Illinois democracy en masse to your standard.

With due deference I have the honor
to be, Sir, your humble servant

Hon. S. A. Douglas

Caesar Hill



Private

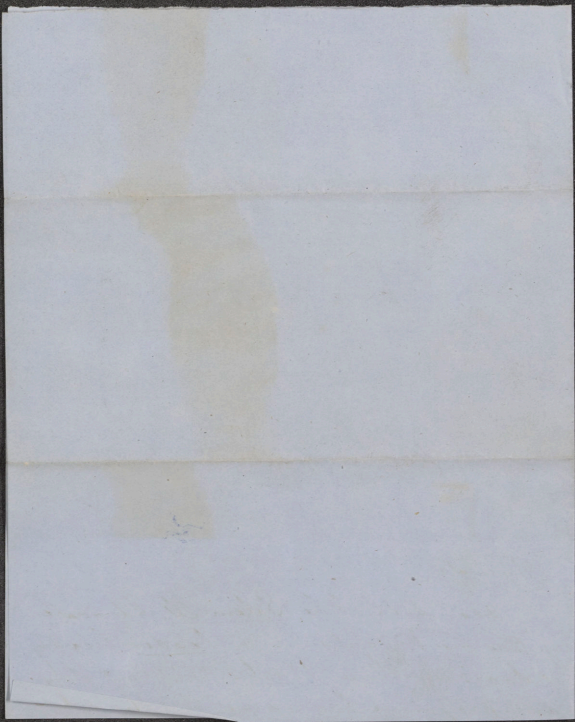
Dear Sir - The Salem Ill. Advocate of this week contains a leader highly eulogizing Gen. Wool's "military" glory - and proposing his name as a candidate for the Presidency in 1856! - thus showing that rival candidates are not only in the field "at this time", but, that they are aiming to get a "Hurrah" start in Illinois!

And yet, I am admonished that my re-iteration of the binding relation between yourself and the democracy of Illinois is not "at this time" calculated to "assist" the object aimed at! Well, sir, if I was a member of your "privy Council" I should advise a somewhat different course.

Permit me to add, that my strong conviction is that the Wool "pronouncement" above referred to, was transmitted to the Editor, from Washington, and that too, by an "Illinois" M. C.! - Perhaps you can best judge whether my surmise is well founded. Yours "fraternally"

Douglas

Thiell



Hon. Stephen A. Douglass

Dr Sir - My personal acquaintance with you being limited to a very brief interview and conversation after an introduction through our mutual friend G. T. Brown Esq, on the occasion of your visit to this city on the eve of the election of '52, I deem it expedient and proper, in preceeding to address you by letter, to make some personal explanations and to lay before you evidences by which you can guide yourself in the degree of confidence and friendship with which you will accept my correspondence.

1st. I will enclose you one of many letters addressed to me by Mr Buchanan, by which you will learn what is well known to all who know me at home here, that, in times past, I have been an active laborer to promote the interests of that eminent statesman, and that, in turn, I have enjoyed his friendship and confidence. In this there has not been any interruption. On the contrary, in a letter addressed to me just before his departure for England, he assured me, that if ^{he} had been made a member of the Cabinet he should have offered me a good situation at Washington. This letter I submitted to the inspection of my friend Gen. Shields who still has it in hand and may be consulted in regard to its contents.

2nd Ever since the democratic party adopted the National Convention system of nominating candidates for the Presidency and placing them on an adopted platform of principles, I have, in every cause, taken an active part in favor of the nominee; and, in all respects, I am a strict party man and in favor of stringent party organization.

3rd Regarding the platform of '52 in force until a different one is regularly adopted, I am trying to keep in the front rank among those who adhere to it. In doing this, I am happy to find myself fully justified to give my support unreservedly to the great measures ^{with} which your name is equally identified with that of the President.

4th. Having been long accustomed to contribute to the Tref I can scarcely leave off taking a hand in discussing whatever political topic is most prominent for the time being. My latest effort of this kind led me to speak chiefly of your own self - your acts, your labors, and your position. My aim was to awaken the democracy of Illinois (being now myself one of them) to a sense of their duty, their welfare, and, in fact, their consistency, both as respects themselves and their relation to you as their Senator and as their late designated choice as a candidate for the Presidency. I thought something of this kind might issue from the Tref at Springfield to great advantage, at this moment when Omelyny's resolutions are hanging in the breeze and threatened to be shivered by the poisonous breath of platform botchers!

I therefore drew up an address in which I, for the first time, essayed to give strength to your position as among the statesmen to whom the democratic party stands indebted for its present supremacy, and whose services merit that reward which is in the gift of the people to bestow upon their most faithful public servants.

Unfortunately, Sir, I failed in two particulars: 1st. My theme was so copious with interesting reminiscences, that I made my communication too lengthy for a newspaper article. This, to be sure, might be remedied by abridgement - but, 2nd, - I am told (as you will see) that I have placed you more prominently before the public as a candidate for the Presidency, than would meet your views, or that would at the present time "assist" the important end at which I have aimed.

With these explanations, Sir, I beg leave to enclose the article for your perusal, to the end, that you may learn, at least the disposition, on my part to yield my humble services in the way indicated through the address.

The blunder - if such it be - of saying things in connection with your name at an untimely moment, as measured by your own wishes and the authorized movements of your friends, must, of course, be attributed to my want of due information on that point, which I could not expect to possess by not having been hitherto an admitted co-laborer among them. If, however, I am accepted as such, and if I shall succeed in showing myself worthy of due confidence, it is to be hoped that your cause or any cause you may cherish, will not often suffer by my errors or imprudence. My zeal, though generally ardent and decisively active, does not often lead me to make "indecent haste" in political matters.

I leave the Mss. entirely at your disposal. The style of address of course suits only for this State. There are portions of it, however, which, if the phraseology be changed, deal in facts and sentiments, suitable for publication elsewhere. If deemed advisable, a friend might collate these parts into the form of a letter addressed by a democrat of Illinois to one of the members, and have it inserted in the Union.

I would make an abridgement of it and have it published here - but, Alas! the Advocate in the hands of Niles has taken the contrary course and is following in this as he is wont to do in all else of politics - the N.Y. Eve. Post!

In fact, too many of our democratic editors occupy, if not quite as open a position against the Nebraska measure, at least a hesitancy to speak out, which is alike mischievous!

It was on this account that I judged some appeal of the kind I wrote would have a good effect. The Register and the Quincy Herald are in truth the only two papers evincing sufficient courage to take a bold stand. And even they lack the spirit to battle like the Union, the Proctor Post and other eastern papers.

There is much need in this section of the State for an energetic & zealous paper - one whose tone & sentiment would accord with the recognized organs of the democratic party.

Gen. Shields and Col. Bissell both know that this important point in Illinois is without a decided and efficient democratic paper. The Know, too, that it would not be so if I was able to embark in the publishing business.

3)

All around are men occupying good salaried situations in Post offices, Land Offices, &c., who never dream of aiding in sustaining a democratic paper, or to lift their pen to write in defence of the men and the party to whom they are indebted for their situations. I speak of this as a fact, and not in view of suggesting the removal of these party drones. For, as I am averse to the practice of removing one clasp of demagogue and appointing from another clasp in their stead, I would equally disapprove, as a general thing, the removal of a less active laborer to make room for a more zealous friend to the cause: for the potent reason that, on voting day one counts as much as the other - and numbers gain the victory. I look upon the course pursued by "Burke, Cooley, & Lester" and a few others who have become refractory from disappointment in getting office, as one of such deep disgrace that I would isolate myself from the social circle and keep hid from the community, before I would be pointed at as one of this clasp of politicians. Therefore, when my friends here, in view of enabling me to take hold of the Advocate office, urged my appointment as P. M. at this office, and Col. Bissell was led to decide in favor of another applicant, I submitted without a murmur, and, soon after, devoted much time and a labor in a series of reconciliatory letters on the President's appointments, over the signature of "A Prairie Scribe", for the Washington Union; and infused the same party-union spirit in my correspondence with several Ohio papers.

And again: When Gen. Shields suggested to me that he could doubtless do better for me by getting me a Mail Agency, I have never dreamed of withholding my support from the adm^m or to slacken my devotion to the welfare of the democratic party, simply because he has not been able to accomplish it for me. I know full well he has been unable to do so from the fact that while I staid at home & have writtten more articles, devoted more time (valuable as it is to me in my private situation) in defence of the President, his Cabinet & their acts, especially their system of appointments; and in defence of Col. Mannypenny and Senator Atchison against the assaults of the Bentonites; and finally in defence of your Nebraska bill and the rights of the South generally - having written, I say, and published through the Western press, (as Gen. Shields & Col. Mannypenny well know) on the topics named, probably more than any other democratic writer ^{in the West}, in or out of the Editorial ^{& laboring} corps proper - while I was thus engaged, ~~hoping~~ ^{others} made their way to Washington, took up their quarters at some Hotel on Penn^a Avenue, from which convenient & easy-life locality, they kept themselves so conspicuously in the view of my esteemed friend Gen. Shields, as with other Senators & members, that I dare say I do him but justice when I acquit him, as I do, from any neglect towards me, or any want of good will & friendship, in that I have not realized the situation he proposed to secure for me.

But, Sir, I cant afford to come to Washington on a venture! And, besides the pecuniary consideration, I must confess that I am quite deficient in that kind of capital to which old Major Noah gave the technical term "impudence", - a good stock of which is so necessary for a man to bore for an office at Washington. I intend, Sir, to make the experiment to see if an appointment can be got without making a pilgrimage to Washington! To this end, I have requested my friend Col. Mannypenny to keep my name in view & in due time present me for an appointment to some prominent situation in the organization of the New Territories. May I hope for your favor towards it? Shall I realize at the hand of Douglas that which I hoped to receive from Buchanan? This, indeed, would reverse the impulse of gratitude - the latter owes me a grateful remembrance, but is not in a position to give it practical manifestation; the other owes me nothing and his friendship would lay me under obligation to remember him with due gratitude! Why not let me have the Secretaryship of Nebraska or Kansas? With such an impulse to urge me to duty, I would at once proceed there and edit & publish a paper in connection with my two sons (both printers) and I would echo the right kind of sentiments over those plains and amongst the settlers, and back through the States. Gen. Shields & Col. Bissell, I trust will still be willing to Co-operate in my behalf. My old friend, the Hon. E. B. Oles, of Ohio, I know will do so cheerfully. Col. Weller, too, could be brought to remember me as one of his old Ohio friends & supporters. Col. Forney will endorse me. Judge Grier, of U. S. Supreme Court, and the Hon. John M. Read, of Phila, are among my personal friends.

From home here I don't know an exception among the leading democrats who would not join in seconding my appointment. I will enclose a letter just rec'd from Omeloeny, by which you will see that I enjoy his good opinion. At the same time when I was at home writing the address (with the best of intentions, though it seems not with efficiency) which I enclose, no doubt some others made their way to Springfield, and, without saying one word in aid of sustaining you in your course, went to work to obtain the names of members & other democrats visiting the Capitol, to their recommendations with which they will in due time approach you to ask your aid for their appointment to the office. Such backing I could also have obtained. Keorner, Reynolds, Snyder, Detrick & others would have joined Omeloeny in getting me the name of every democrat in Springfield to my recommendation. Yes, and my old friend Col. John Brough would have given me the full aid of his efficient talk!

But, Sir, I know that some of the veniest drones in the Dem. party have worked themselves into office in that way, and I have a supreme disgust for it. My idea of "party merit" points to those who help to work the men of the "party" into power! This is the kind of "party" recommendation I bring. Mr Buchanan's letter will show that he placed a high value upon it in many places. I will to-day mail to the address of Gen. Shields my political petty "souvenir" of this present time. If it should come under your inspection I trust you will find it an au fait memorial of a working democrat!

All of which is Respectfully submitted
by your friend & humble servant

Belleville, Ill. Feb. 27/54

Casper Thiell

Confidential

Washington. Feb 10. 1854

My dear Indyr,

In compliance with your request that I would write you a note which should inform you exactly respecting my position & opinions on the Slavery question, I beg leave to say, that I only do so at all because I know you are warmly friendly to my confirmation any how. Were it otherwise, I ~~should~~ wait till after that question is decided before doing so.

So far as you may want to know on what grounds to meet any Senators who may object to me as a New York Free Soiler who voted for Mr Van Buren in 1848, I beg leave to say, that I do not want to stand before the Senate on any other grounds ^{than} that on which Gen. Dix stood last March, and the others of my political friends who have ^{been} confirmed both at that & at the present session. In common with the almost unanimous North, I was opposed to the extension of Slavery over free territory, though I certainly never expressed that sentiment with half the strength with which it was publicly expressed by Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Bronson. I sympathized ^{fully} with my friends & party in 1848, when turned out of the Baltimore Convention, and voted conscientiously & heartily

with them, though I took no public part, either by speaking or by editing a newspaper. With the Buffalo Platform I did not concur, being well known among my friends through all that period as being not only warmly, but actively, in favor of the annexation of Cuba; of course as a Slave state.

After the passage of the Compromise Measures, in 1850, I was from the outset in favor of the reunion of the Democracy of New York on that basis. Though not in the habit of writing for the Evening Post (except occasional pro-Cuba articles, through which I had labored to prepare Northern opinion in favor of the acquisition of that Island) I endeavored to procure the insertion of an elaborate appeal to the party in which it was an influential organ, to accede to that settlement. The Editor would not insert it.

I was of course therefore sincere & cordial in accepting the Baltimore Platform, in its spirit, ^{and principle}, as well as in its letter; whatever I do or say, in politics or in anything else, I do and say sincerely & cordially. I went to the last Syracuse Convention in New York, though not a delegate, for the purpose of endeavoring to keep the party together, and I drew the resolutions adopted by my section of the party, on the subject of the

Platform and Slavery question, which brought our section fully up to the line of the National Democracy of the Union at large.

The recent action of Tammany Hall and the Union Democratic Club on the pending issue, of the Introduction of the Non-Intervention Principle for the Missouri line, was, as you know, started, and I believe mainly caused by me. In so doing, I thought I performed a duty of no small importance to the ^{cause of} Country, the party, the administration, and to the ^{cause of} truth and right; and I am satisfied that time will prove it, in spite of any present imaginary apprehensions in regard to the sentiment of the North.

To any of the above statements I have no objection to your making any allusions you may think proper, in personal explanations with friends who may require to be satisfied if any contrary representations have been made to them. But there is one further point which I will mention in individual confidence to yourself — that is to say, for the present. It has been for a considerable time well known among my personal intimates that recent years, with the reflection, observation & study of the subject which they have brought, have made a material change in my general view of the

subject of Slavery, in regard to its fundamental question. I used to assume as true without question the old doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race; carrying with it the consequence that the ^{Negro} ~~Black~~ man was merely a Black white man, degraded by a long course of external influences to a present merely temporary and accidental inferiority. Hence Slavery involved an idea, to me, of wrongful oppression, in conflict with the essential American Idea. General Dutton has said to me that if he believed in the Unity of the Race, he should be necessarily an Abolitionist. It did not make me an Abolitionist, for on the contrary I was protected ^{by} my Extreme State-Rights Democracy from that, and I have always strongly opposed their foolish fanaticism. But it caused ^{me} to view the subject, & questions growing out of it, with other eyes than those with which I now do, convinced as I have become of the error of that doctrine; and, of the truth of that doctrine of original diversity of ^{species} ~~race~~, which has of late years been placed in a strong light by Agassiz, Van Amringe, Smith, Noth, Van Eerie, and others. Slavery to the inferior race, I have now no doubt, is a better as well as more natural relation, for the Black race, than freedom side by side, especially in a democratic country.

I no longer see it as a wrongful oppression; nor should I now have the objection of conscience I once had to our Slaves. I think the institution should be meliorated, and such would undoubtedly be the tendency of southern intelligence & benevolence, if relieved from the outside irritating & alarming pressure of foreign interference, ^{which relief we ought to do all in our power to promote.} I do not regard it as beneficial to the country in which it exists, or to the superior race; except, perhaps, for the necessities of tropical labor; but in regard to the negroes themselves, I have no doubt that it is a great blessing to them on the whole (in spite of occasional abuses of the irresponsible power of bad masters), in comparison with either their condition at home, or in a state of freedom amongst us.

These are now my honest views of this subject, which I shall have no scruple in avowing & maintaining when I cannot be suspected of a disposition to court Southern favor. I repeat my particular injunction of confidence for the present in regard to this part of this letter. Before the Senate I desire you to place me simply & squarely on the ground occupied by Gen. Dix & my other friends, namely, honest support of Mr. VanBuren in 1848 & sympathy with my State and party; Equally honest acceptance of the ^{principles of the} Compromise

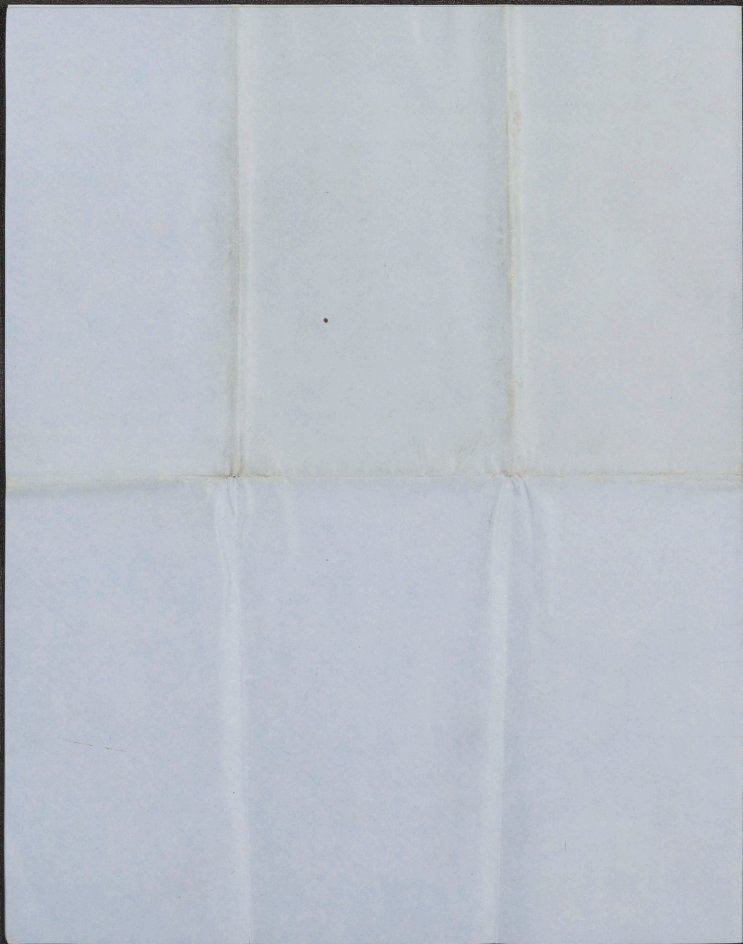
of 1850 and the Baltimore Platform now, and earnest
devotion to the policy of consolidating & maintaining
^{cohesion}
~~the cohesion~~ of the National Democratic Party of the
reunited North and South, which I understand to be
the leading idea of Gen. Pierce's administration, so
far as regards party affairs & party questions.

Very Truly

Your friend & servant,

J. L. O'Sullivan

Hon. S. A. Douglas.



Respecting my trial in New York for alleged violation
of the Neutrality Law —

1. That I was indicted merely as a political demonstration, proved by the fact (known to Mr. Cutting of H.R.) that I was repeatedly ^{before trial} urged by the Dist. Attorney to ask for a nolle prosequi to be entered, or even by tacit permission to allow any friend to ask for it, and ^{assured that} it then would be entered. I refused, on the ground that I had not committed any offence, ^{either} against ~~either~~ the law, or against morals & conscience; and I would not permit any implication at variance with ~~that~~ position, by doing, or allowing to be done on my behalf, what the government itself really pressed me to do.
2. The Dist. Attorney at New York, who had procured me to be indicted, was himself afterwards consulted by two intelligent & honorable gentlemen (Cabans) as to what the law permitted them to do, and what it prohibited. He expounded it to them in precisely the same sense in which I had understood it, and by which I had governed my actions; and he actually advised them to acts more nearly approaching

or resembling a violation of the law than those for which he had indicted me.

I do not say that my zeal in behalf of the Cuban cause would not have led me to disregard the law, under great pressure of extraordinary causes, if it had been necessary. ^{It is very probable that it might} I only say that no such case existed, and I did not go so far towards its violation, as the Whig Dist. Att'y of New York officially counselled others afterwards might be done without infringement of it.

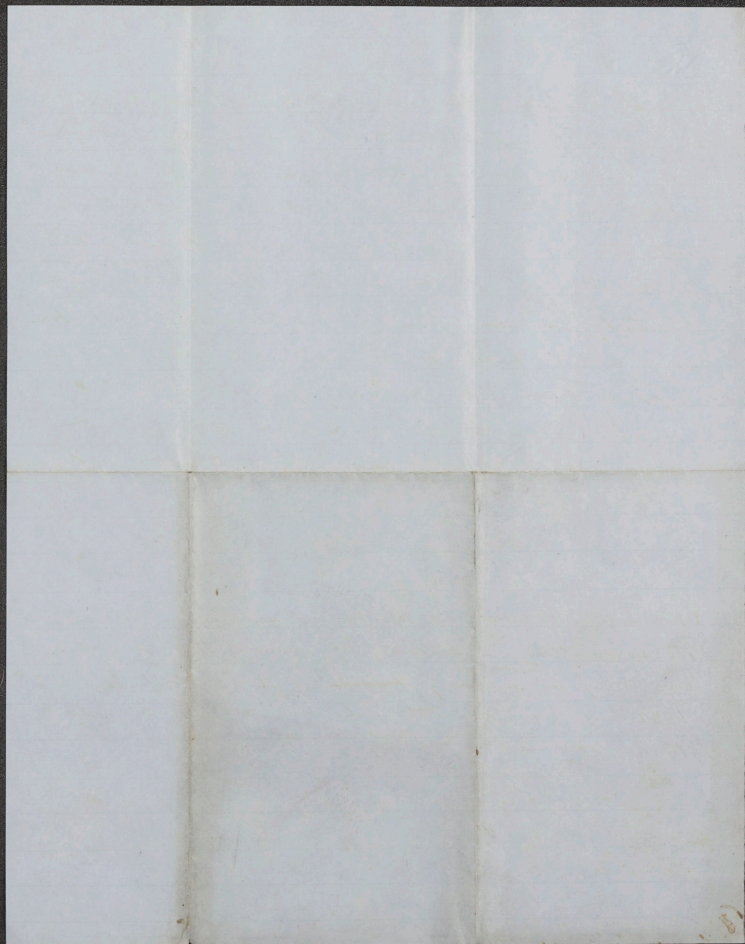
These are the facts about that matter.

J. L. Sullivan

Feb. 10, 1854.

Take the case of what was called John Adams's provision-
al army, where it is believed not a single Regiment was
fully raised. It was literally an army of officers,
without men to command; but it never was pretended
that they were not in service or ought not to be
paid. Among hundreds of others Burr Harris ^{& Captain Clinton} of
Kentucky ^{were} ~~was an~~ officers, (I believe a Captain) He
never had a man to command, but held a com-
mission & was always ready for service. That was
conclusive as to ~~his~~ ^{their} rank - & his right to
receive all the pay & emoluments it conferred.

Upon a full review of all the facts & evidence in the case
the Committee are decidedly of opinion that it is fully
covered by the ^{intent and} ~~meaning~~ ^{July} of the act of March 5th
1832 and have directed me accordingly to report
the following resolutions



Olympia W. T. Feb. 12. 1854.

Dear Sir,

You have probably learned from Lieut. Saxton, of the
Safe arrival of all the exploring parties of the Northern route
and that practicable passes have been found in all
the mountain ranges. The field has been more fully
occupied, than was anticipated at Fort Benton. We have
explored five distinct passes in the Rocky Mountains,
three in the Green & Blue and three in the Cascade
Mountains. We make the highest elevation of the whole
route only about six ^{thousand} feet above the Sea. A tunnel
will be required in the Rocky Mountains which
will reduce their height to nearly five thousand feet. Cross-
ing the Rocky Mountains we come to the St. Mary River
which leads to Clark's Fork, and deflecting from which
some distance before it empties into the Columbia, the
Great Shoshone plain can be crossed either to cross the
Columbia some eight miles above the mouth of the
Yakima, and reach Puget Sound by the direct route of
the Snoqualmie pass, or to reach the lower valley of
the Columbia and gain the sound by the more circuitous
route of the Columbia and Cowlitz Rivers. The
Snoqualmie pass route will be some one hundred and
forty miles shorter. But it will involve a long tunnel
and some what high grades on the Western Slopes of the
Cascades. The Columbia River line will afford a smooth
grade, though at times there will be expensive rock cutting.

Both routes are practicable, but an instrumental Survey is indispensable to determine ~~between~~ ^{between} & what would be the most feasible.

We shall be able to give a pretty fair approximate estimate of the cost of the road, and every exertion will be made to forward my said road report by the next steamer. But our route has been long, we unavoidably started late. The country was almost an untrodden field. The Cascades were almost entirely unknown. And it was indispensable to be able to report upon the obstructions to be expected from snow. All these circumstances have ^{not} delayed the report, but have increased the expenditures, and unless Congress shall make an appropriation in the deficiency bill, I shall not be able to pay the bill.

The arrangements for determining the obstructions from snow are very complete and will I trust be decisive. It is admitted on all hands, that no obstructions will be found from snow from the Rocky Mts. to Puget Sound & the line of Clarke Fork, the Columbia and the Columbia River. It has been a question with some as to whether obstructions would be found in the Cascades. One of my kind acquaintances, Mr. Smith has crossed the Cascades in January by the Sno-gaul-me pass - 3,500 feet above the sea - and found the greatest depth of snow to be only six or seven feet and that for only about seven miles. For some forty miles more the snow was from 1½ to six feet. It then rapidly died out altogether. The snow was light and in layers of one or two feet. Yet the Indians were surprised at the depth of the snow, and wanted to take a trail a little further to the north,

where they thought the snow was not so deep and the grass better. This is called a foot trail and is not used for horses, in consequence of the obstructions from fallen timber. ~~The approach to it.~~

The winter expedition of Lieut. Geom will test the business pretty thoroughly. But from all the information collected in the R. Meade valley, I am satisfied there will be no difficulty in the Rocky Mountains from snow.

I send you herewith some remarks I submitted to the citizens of this Territory some weeks since and a paper on the snow question.

I feel great interest in fully investigating the northern route and I cannot doubt that the necessary appropriations will be made. It seems to me imprudent to explore a line from the Columbia to the valley of the Platte of the South Pass. To see if the road now running westward through Missouri & Iowa, can be made to connect with the favorable pass of the Rocky Mts. by a route through the Black Hills, and be-
tween the Yellowstone and Missouri. ^{It may be} ~~also a line~~ ^{extending to} ~~could be explored~~ ^{a route} from the Grand Plateau of the North to Sioux in Minnesota, at the sources of the St. Peter River and the Red River of the North, to the same general region crossing the Missouri River, the Black Hills and the Yellowstone, and passing up the mountains of the valley of the Snake River and crossing the mountains of the Hell Gate Pass.

It is possible my report may not reach Washington till
about the middle of April. My officers are exceedingly
industrious, but they are still preparing their maps
and reports. The maps will be finished in season, with
the exception of the work of the Engineer who has brought
to the exploration such reliable information as he
saw. He has been in only about ten days and has
to prepare the report of his work extending through a
period of nine months.

This gentleman is Mr. Tuckham, a young man who
has been my assistant in various capacities for
ten years and who is now not thirty years of
age.

Leut. Saxton has informed me of the great interest
you are taking in the exploration and I have
thought this letter would be not unacceptable
to you. I was delighted to learn that in your judg-
ment, you would succeed better as well as one. We
want no government road. The private enterprise
of the country with aid in land is abundantly able
to do the work. This has been my opinion from
the beginning and as a practical man, I want for
a record and to see no tampering with the proper
Constitutional functions of the General Government.

Hon. S. A. Douglass.

Truly your friend & old Servt.
Isaac I. Stevens

Mr Douglas.

Senate



July 13/54.

my Dear.

I had no time till Saturday to even begin on paper the rough Draft I promised you. It is very rough, & not methodical. Have it copied however and let us see how it reads then.

Remarks on Sections:

Sec 1. Contemplates simply a Permanence of the Supreme Court Judges - leaving the district Judges to do the business as they now do, one term of the year, every where.

Sec 2. A circuit judge in S. & N. York. Indispensible if Sup. Judge withdrawn - the district Judge is every day in his own Court - there must be a circuit Judge - have known this 6 or 7 years - this will keep the Bill very much in Congress.

Sec. 3. Eight circuits - nine down it means nine, among life tenure Judges - the Chief now is 76 - & unfit to work in the manner contemplated by the bill. Then at least day the 9th Judge may be called - ~~and~~

Eight will do just as well - & if it
will help you to vote, provide that
on the next vacancy the Court shall
stand at eight.

Sec. 5. Judges to alternate given wants they
in a circle throughout the eight - Says the
Judges wd. learn - poor old men! they could
not stand the process of learning I fear - So
I put it that no one judge sh^d hold the same
Court twice in succession.

6. As to the formation of Circuits - there
is much trouble. I am ~~quite~~^{rather} scandalous
with the Court of business in the Circuit
Court &c. and with the Geography of the
Country, & have done the best according
to my judgment - but this is for you to
make Capital on. S^{outh} has a rail road
to Charleston, & goes in day, 30 hours.

Sec. 19. Salaries, & pay I mean as members
of Congress. This will give the poor District
Judges more pay - & beautiful comfort
to them: and then Bro. One could very

comfortably go to California. & I
go myself rather than miss. It makes
no show in the Bill, but means
much.

Sept. 11. Day the trouble. The leading
object is to make the Supreme Court
docket largest of large questions, & am-
ounts, & to rid it of the mere lumber
with which it will be over-whelmed in 30
years more if left as it is - & break up
as a nuisance. A bill separating it from
the Circuit Courts, & will have brought to it
all cases over 5000. So was the Chief's
bill in 1845-6. Daniel Cobb introduced
it into the House - under my friend Wayne's
patronage: and this sort of thing is now
desired by the Chief, & Wayne. ~~One~~^{But}
~~Wagner~~^{Wagner} has set the thing in motion
through the atty genl as I suppose.
Try how high you can go in ant^y from
the Appeals Court to the Supreme.

Most respectfully,

Wm Stephen & Dauph
Senators.

Pro Catho.

Is your Nebraska speech
in pamphlet? I wish a
few copies. May I state
Frederic Webster's great speech

of 7 March 50. as ~~but~~
Burke said of Charles Longwell
when he fell on the left side
after balancing on the fence
like a rope-dancer - The
hungry expectants received him
with a shout of applause.
Our side drunk in Mr
Webster's speech for this
sole reason. He came
over to us - that was all.

The drafting of the
measures, was the thing
that the Great South
stands to have been
done by the master
workman - If you
get the bills through
as reported, you'll have
more standing Souths
of Mason & Jackson
here, than ~~any~~ ^{all the} old
leading put together, since
Jackson's day. L.C.

W/ Mr. Senator Douglass.



Chicago Feb 13th 1854
Hon S. A. Douglas

Dear Sir

We had the Largest
meeting last ^{evening} night that has been together since
your great meeting when the people turned out
to hear you and you have the Thousands with
you of the Working classes the Bone & Sinew
the Iron, Fister & Lyon Hearted Democrats.
I send you the Resolutions that were
passed. Notwithstanding the Chicago Democrat
says they were put down by 75% of the
meeting that is false and your friends are
indignant at the false statements of the different
papers. The Rep^l admits we carried them by
the decision of the chair on President and so does
the Journal & the paper. The Wigs give
a fairer statement than our own Democratic
papers. I am now for ^{to}粉碎 them. Chicago
Democrat put your speech in type last
week before any of the meetings was called
but has not published it yet. I go for
a new paper one that will sustain you
and the Administration. The Public Spirit
of Democrats here would support it with our influence
of the meeting. I hope you will see the ^{importance} ~~importance~~
of the meeting. Your enemies. I will write you tomorrow if you send \$2000.

J. Cook
Chicago Ills

about the meeting

February 13

1857

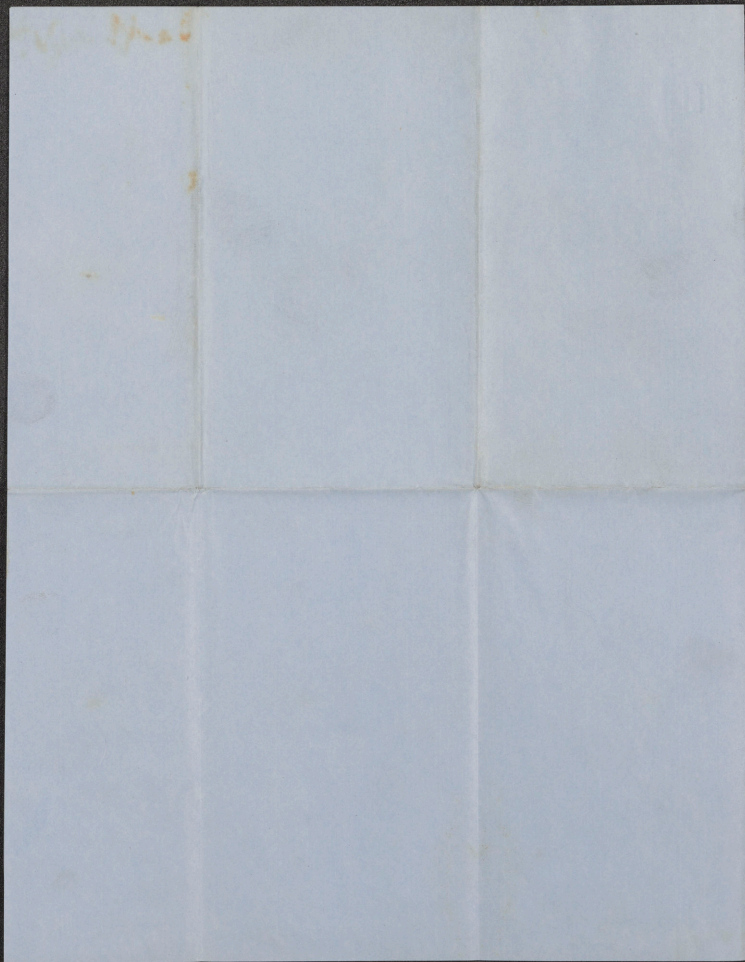
Expr.

In the rough draft I sent
you a a dry bill— make your d^o
say in the Section, that excludes the
District Judges of Southern Florida, & new-
Mexico from being Judges of the Court
of Appeals.

Provided, that the ~~Supreme~~
Chief Justices of the Supreme Courts of the
Territories of Minnesota, Oregon, Washington
Utah, & new-Mexico, shall be Judges of the
Court of Appeals to which said Territories
are respectively attached: But that the
Associate Justices of said Territorial Courts shall
not be members of said Court of Appeals.
They shall have power nevertheless to allow
writs of error and appeals, in like manner
that the Chief Justice of their respective
Courts have power in this respect.

Manufacturer Sample.

H.
July 16/54.



To/ Mr Senator Daylap.
Senate U.S.



Confidential

New York. 304 West 22nd St

Feb. 19. 1854.

My dear Mr. ,

I want to write a sort of familiar address, or rather talk, to our people in this State, in the form of a letter to the Albany Atlas. On beginning it, I come to a statement, respecting which you are the only proper judge when or how the idea shall be made public. I therefore enclose it to you (please return by return mail) in order that, if you prefer that your own action on the subject should not be pre-empted or interfered with, you may pass your pen through it - a rather cut off the latter part of the page and return me the rest. I have doubt myself whether this is a proper mode & time for making that statement, I shall infer that you share those doubts if you simply in reply return me the upper, & unexceptionable, part of the page. Please to do so without fail by return mail.

Ever faithfully Yours,

J. L. O'Sullivan

My wife sends you her kindest regards & thanks.

I mean to go on and imagine the argument by which the measure would be triumphantly sustained by the Atlas itself if such had been the parentage of the measure.

J. L. C. Sullivan
N. Y.

Wants your opinions
about something in
article of the Atlas,

Wants an answer
immediately.

no

Geo. W. Manypenny
Washington D.C.
Feb 22/84

✓

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237

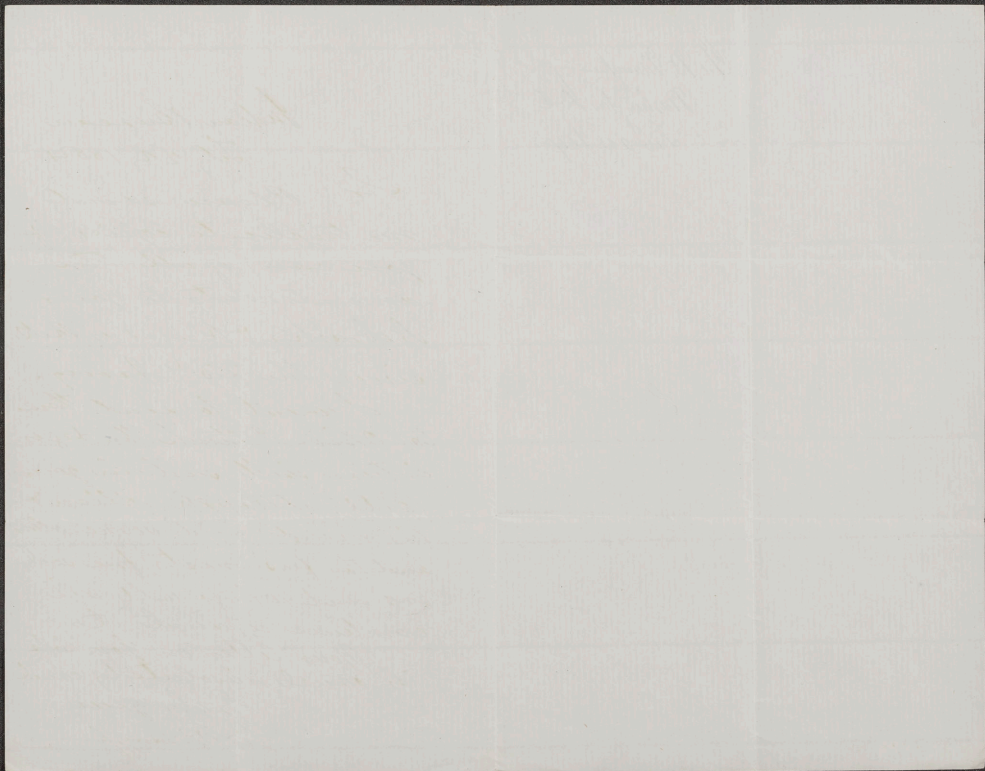
Indian Bureau
Feb 22, 1884

Sir: Please send
me triplicate copies (if
you can) of all the
amendments to your
Nebraska & Kansas Bill
since the 23^d of January.

I want to send them
to Ohio. I think the Legis-
lature will sustain your
Bill, although Allen &
his friends and some others
and the fursionists, free soil-
ers and whigs will all
combine against it.

Your letter on Gov. Cole
is cruel, absolutely cruel.

Truly yours
Geo W Manypenny



Private

To

Hon^{ble} Stephen A Douglas

Constantinople Feb 26th 54

Dear Sir

As your travels in Europe afforded you an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the expense of living abroad, as also with the many inconveniences to which the members of our diplomatic Corps are subjected from the insufficiency of the Salaries allowed them by our Government, I take the liberty of writing to you, ^{upon the subject} not doubting that the expression of your opinion, favorable to the increase of our Compensation, will have great weight with your friends in the Senate. Since your departure from Constantinople all articles of produce have enhanced greatly in value. Previous to the present war, the salary allowed the minister here, was insufficient for his support, since the arrival of the Combined fleets and the great demand for provisions occasioned by the great influx of strangers into Constantinople he will require at least double the amount hitherto received by him. The enormous rents which are asked for houses - the number of servants required to attend to them, together

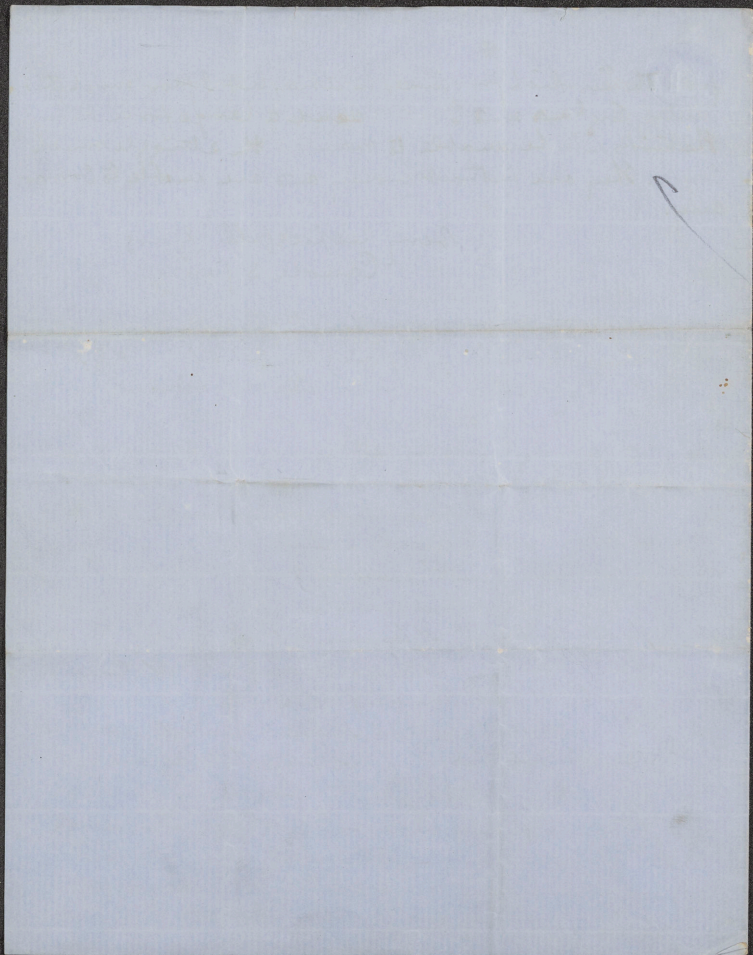
with the speculation in which they all indulge and their continual demands for extra allowances, render a residence in Constantinople more expensive than in any Capital in Europe. Here there is no fixed value for any thing, prices are arbitrary and every vendor thinks it his duty to get as high a price as he can, without regard to the intrinsic value of the article he sells. If the attention of Congress was called to the matter I have no doubt that the Salaries of all our diplomatic Agents abroad would be increased. There is not one of them in Europe, unless it be the Charge at Stockholm who can support himself on his present Salary. The expense of living in Europe is much greater than it formerly was, the traveling propensities of our own nation have greatly increased, ^{and some} entail an additional expense upon our Ministers.

When in Naples I had a conversation with Mr. Owen in relation to this subject and he informed me that he would write to some of his friends in the Senate calling their attention to the matter. I hope the Senate will give it their consideration.

The Ottoman Empire is at present in a most distracted state. The Greeks in many portions of it, have determined to raise the banner of rebellion. In some of the provinces they have attacked the Turkish forces. The King of Greece it is said secretly favors their cause. At present all is quiet upon the Danube. Heavy rains and deep snows have put an end to all military operations. Troops are arriving here daily

from the Turkish provinces in Asia, but I fear much that unless England and France send a large force here the Turks will be unable to maintain the struggle much longer. They are without money and are unable to borrow any.

Very respectfully yours
Canah Spencer



Custom House, New York.

Collector's Office Feb. 21st 1854.

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 16th inst. to the New-
Hampshire Patriot, you will see has been
published in the Albany letter,

I have just addressed a note to the editor
of the Evening Post & the Rochester Union re-
questing the editor of those papers to publish
it - on the score of justice & that it is
due to that portion of their readers and sub-
scribers who maintain that 'the people of a
locality territory have a right to legislate
for themselves in all cases excepting where the
power to legislate for them, has, by the Consti-
tution, been expressly delegated to Congress &c

This is the old square foot demonstrator plat-
form upon which all true democrats have
always stood & must continue to stand -

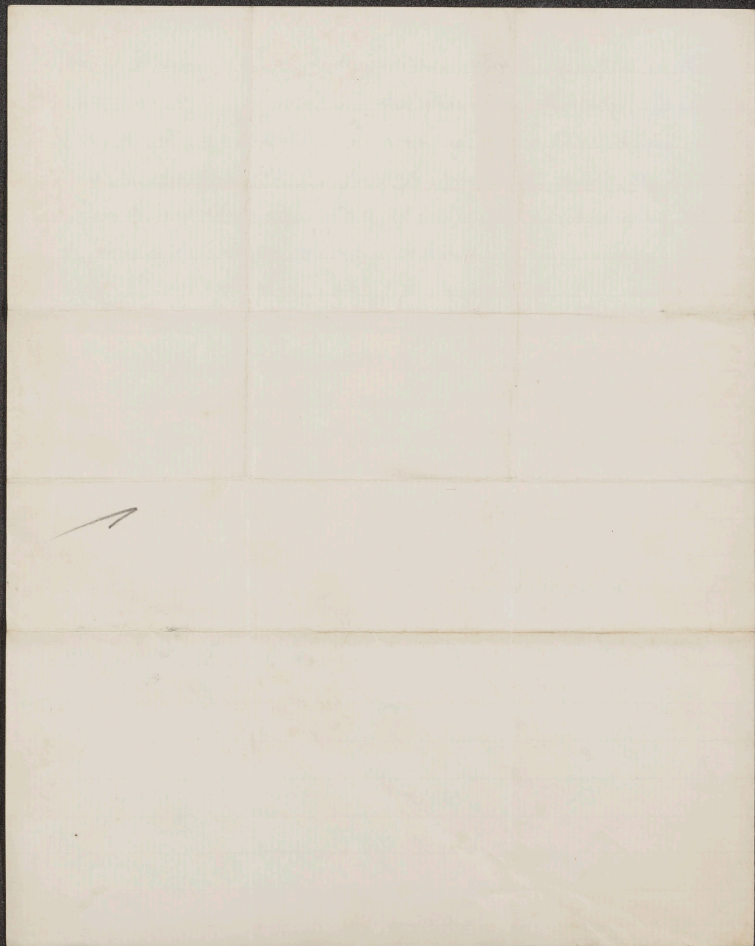
I enclose two articles upon that subject one
from the ^{signed George} N. York Day Book, which it will
do you no harm to read, although they are
the production of an old fogy - If you
please you may send the letters to

the Union, for publication. As the question is looked
at in these articles on the ground of legislative precedence
or to the ^{constitution of the} Constitution - a view of the subject I have never
seen elsewhere taken, perhaps you may deem the articles
worth republishing - But if not please send them to
me, as they are the only copies I have.

I have also just written to the Baltimore
editor of the Baltimore Democrat - a new
paper recently established principally by myself in
Genese County & requested the editor to publish
your letter; I will see that it is published in
most of all the democratic papers in this
State - whether Hard a Left

Yours truly
Frederick Douglass

Wm. L. A. Douglass -



Private

New York March 9. 1834

My Dear Sir

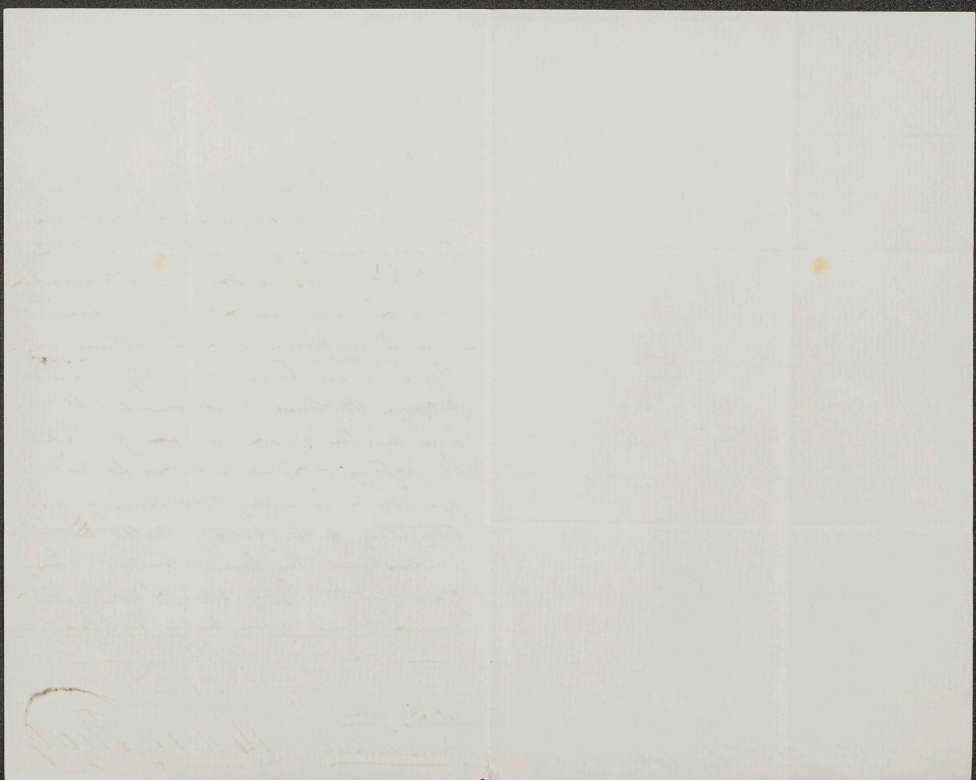
With this you will
 receive an invitation to address
 the Democracy of our City on the
 16th N^o. As a brother Democrat
 and Liberty Society man I
 love to advise you to attend.
 You have been violently opposed
 & your Motives questioned - Come
 here in the great center of the
 Country & speak out - It will
 go out to every Section of the
 Country & the People will better
 understand the true interests of the
 question - You can speak freely
 and I know you will be well
 received & cordially welcomed

Truly your friend

What say you

Confidential

Wm. L. Ward



140 Walnut St.

Phil^a March 10. 1854

My dear Sir.

May I trouble you to make an effort to have my nominations for U. S. District attorney for this district, acted upon by the Senate at the earliest possible date. I cannot enter upon the duties of the office till the action of your body, and important ^{matters} are now pending which may require prompt action. My friends Gerritt Thompson of N.Y. and Bright will no doubt cooperate with you.

Forney and myself were at Harrisburg, but the availability policy of the gentlemen about the Capital had precluded any affirmative movement on the Nebraska question. I am satisfied however that

it was the result, ^{more} ~~more~~, of a disposition not to meddle
with the matter at this time, than of any disapprobation
of the bill. The opinion was very general that the Bill
was right, and a resolution against it would have
been voted down almost unanimously. The resolutions ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{favor}
were defeated in committee by a vote of 17 to 16. - Almost
every freesoiler in the convention was put upon that com-
mittee, which was packed for the purpose. There were
two things tending to bring about this result. The first
was Claytons amendment relating to aliens which our
German and Irish populations greatly disapprove. The
second, was the Union article declaring the ^{advocacy} ~~advocacy~~ ~~of~~ the
~~freedom~~ of the bill no test of Democracy, which
was looked upon as an ex cathedra argument against
the binding obligation of any person professing radical

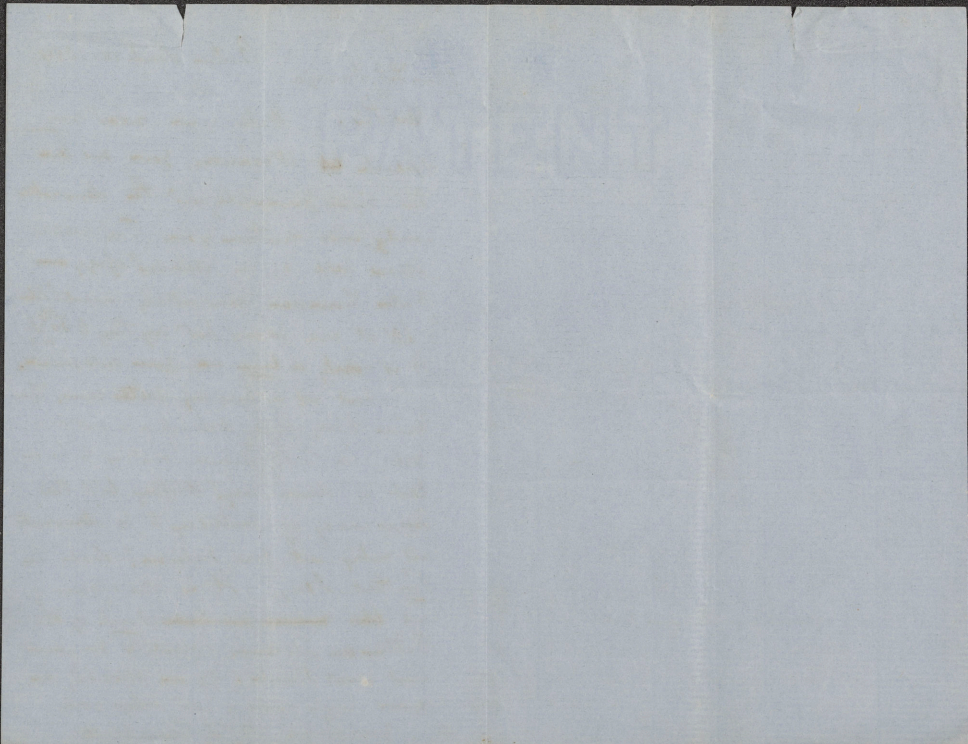
democracy to support the measure. These were
powerful arguments in the hands of the immediate friends
of the Governor, who was timid and afraid to meet
the issue. Had the chairman of the convention permitted
the resolutions to ^{be} offered, I have no doubt they would
have passed by a handsome majority. - But he
with indecent tyranny adjourned the convention while the
mover of the resolution (Mr Wright) had the floor. - This
ended the performance, with a flourish. - I regret to say that
our state has too often committed error upon the introduction
of great questions, which they have been glad to repent and
amend. On this occasion however the opinion in favor
of the principles of your bill was so overwhelming that
nothing could have been done against ^{it} by the freesoilers
in the convention. The agitation has had one good

effect. It will set the people to reading, thinking
and writing. And before six months no power (not even
a governor) can prevent an approval ^{by mass meetings} of the introduction
of the principles of the acts of 1850 into every territorial
bill without geographical distinctions and without
regard to former unconstitutional enactments.

Very truly I am yours

J. C. Van Dyke

For: A. A. Douglass.



friends who were on the eve of starting for the US
when a Patrol Soldier suddenly upset the Lady's traps
without deigning to apologize - Beckles 22nd blood
was up in a moment he told him his conduct
was ungentlemanly - when the Soldier turned upon
him with contempt & said I don't know you in
I am a Soldier - Beckles replied - you are no
Soldier - you are a Blackguard - I've been a
Soldier before you & what is more I've been a
Soldier in the States and I know what is
proper conduct in a Soldier - If you Patrol
Soldiers had been of the right stuff - you
would have been in the right place you would
have gone with Heccher in 1848. Huggs
for Heccher - That was enough he was
immediately denounced and is now
in prison - I suspect the revolution may come
but that can't hold a regular Free Press
American Citizen in prison - I of course
had to transfer the case to the head of
our Legation in Fay - not until however I
had made my mark and I understand
it went to the Center for I learn not officially
however that they will release him tomorrow
oh would that I had some independent position
& Frankfurt is the very spot I don't you think
only one time to me Wm Smith Lee

242
US Consulate Basle

March 11th 1854

My Dear Judge

Pardon me my dear
Judge if with the mountain of labor
which you have upon your shoulders
I should intrude a simple little
note - May I ask if you have received
a communication from me relative
to the establishment of a Legation at
Frankfort? and if so what are
the probable chances of its success?
I sent all the letters from Fay Belmont
Davis & my own through Hawthorne
and you may naturally suppose
I am very anxious about their safe
arrival - Only one simple little

line then, Judge, to relieve my anxiety
this I am sure you will not
deny me - and you may add if
you choose by way of reasoning
the probable chances for the Defeat
as I really wish to know in time
for unless something turns up better
than poor miserable Bask. I am
coming home - now you will do
this in despite of all the Nebraska
bills that ever was or ever will
be presented. But one word
about that same Nebraska if ever
there was a work nobly got up
& nobly sustained, that was one
I can run in their purity under
- stand your words uttered at
Baden Baden, before striking

for the Presidency & then dying
you would rather smother the bitter, burning
unworned denunciations, Malcontents
& Criticisms of one half of a nation
merely to test the strength of your own
broad shoulders, or rather I should perhaps
have said your own broad heart & head
well Judge any how - how do you
feel - Can you stand them - have
you made wine enough to batten
that little place where retire? -
I was dreadfully sorry for Sanders - but
I suppose it could not be helped.

Oh I have a very little affair
of my own here, that I must tell
you - on the 22nd last Feb. a Dr. Beckwith
an American Calver returned to Baden
to settle up his affairs when got back to
the States - he found himself in a
Beer shop drinking wine with some

San Francisco March 16th 1854

Hon. S. A. Douglas,
U. S. Senate

Dear Sir,

I have had the pleasure to read your Nebraska Bill, and your opening speech -

It is needless for me to say that I approve and endorse every word - You are right.

The democracy of California will also endorse you and stand by you and your Bill.

Our leading Democratic organ The Transcript & Times is out with with a strong article endorsing and approving the Nebraska Bill and complimenting your speech in strong terms of eulogium -

The proposition to bring on the election of a United States Senator this session of an Legislature has been defeated as it were by the grace of God. The attempt to buy with money the high office of U. S. Senator, has

failed, and the honor of our
glorious young State appears been
saved - and I thank God
heartily for his mercies -

The Brederick clique
is an awful bad lot -

Mischief in our Legislature
but before the people prevails -

Gwin before the people is invincible
and his great and meritorious
services are gratefully appreciated
by the masses of California.

The politicians the truckling
small fry politicians, are
generally opposed to Gwin,
because they fear him and
his influence with the people
and therefore the attempt to
assassinate his reelection
by taking a snap judgment
on him this Session -

I want you and Gwin to
go to Guthrie and have my
salary raised to \$5000 -
the maximum allowed by law -
Gwin knows how faithfully
I have watched over the
interest of the Government in the

Naval Office in California
and as long as I am here
there will be no rascality
practiced in this Customs
House - My salary is not
sufficient to support my family.
You know my long and
faithful public service in
the Revenue Department -
and I think a proper reparation
to Mr Guthrie urged by Gwin
yourself would enable
me to get \$5000 - The effort
would do no harm -
I have worked the Naval Office
from "to the full" strict and
faithful prompt discharge
of its highly conservative and
important duties - And so
long as I am here any
improper acts will be checked
and promptly reported to
the Treasury Dept -

I know my whole duty
and am discharging it -
James J. Lindley M.C. from
Louisiana is my wife's brother
and I have written to call
upon you as my best friend
I have written him that you could be
of great service to him -

I have nothing of especial
interest to communicate.
Hottel's dinner speech injured
him much in California -
He was unkindly caught
like poor Tray in bad company.
I am sorry for it. - for
I like Hottel much -

Truly Yours
Austin
Hayden

Chicago March 18th 1854

How I A Douglas
U S Senate
Washington City.

Dear Sir,

You will pardon me, for again troubling you in relation to the action of certain parties upon the Nebraska question, but as certain paragraphs in some of the public prints in this city is going the rounds, exaggerating the action of a small German meeting held in this ^{city} recently, dictated and gotten up by a number of violent whigs and abolitionists, assisted by a number of broken down politicians and disappointed office seekers; which paragraphs ~~will~~ will have met your eye before this reaches you - and have a tendency to make many who are unacquainted with this population and the paper publishing the same believe they are true, then, doing you great injustice, I deem it my duty as one of your warm friends to put you in possession of the facts connected with this matter - a small meeting was held here a few evenings since composed of a few German abolitionists, some violent and ultra whigs backed and aided by a number of disappointed office seekers whose names I mentioned to you in a former letter, and who as I once stated feared your honesty and

and did your talents, who have not either the weakness
or the courage to come out and take a bold stand
but carry on their opposition in the dark through
their tools such as composed the meeting referred to.

after having sent to their path against you
in a notorious and blaguard manner, which was even dis-
-graceful to themselves, as low as they have fallen; defeated
a few boys and drunken rabble to take something and
burn it, and then promulgate it through the city by the
aid of their vile sheets that it was yourself burnt in
Effigy in the presence of a large number of persons, my
sentence of which is false—

no such public demonstration
-tion could have been made in this city against you for
you have a host of strong and true friends here who
will stand or fall with you, every democrat in this
city and state who is not a demagogue and unworthy
the confidence of his party will sustain and stand by
you in this or any other crisis. They admire you for the
suble stand you have taken on principle, and will un-
-falter when you require their services—this is a true
history of the whole affair—

I Remain Very
Respectfully Yours
Frederic F. Adams
& Amos A. Weston

Samuel Ashtou
Chicago

About the German
Nebraska meeting
approving your
course &c

✓

Chicago March 18, 1854
Wm Lloyd Garrison

Enclosed I send you an article
explanatory of the burning in effigy of yourself on the Public
Square on the night of the 16th inst. - This Communication in the
"Pulse" of this morning is from the German Editor of the
"Staat's Zeitung" the German Democratic Paper - It explains
the thing fully. While it is not to be denied that
generally the popular sentiment runs against the Bill
yet this transaction with some others here are ultimately
your benefit. The men moving this thing or they think
to gain destruction are eventually insuring their own
mark this. A few more burnings in effigy is all
that is needed, and a few more map meetings of themselves
the "Schmadelers" who conduct them, with is all that
can be necessary to raise you as a man above the reach
of atrocious slanders can ever bring to the most unpopular
man you ever originate. You will even offend eyes
such capital to become the "Benadict Arnold" they
denounced you. The Germans, really of Capt. Schmeider
say, ^{and} against the Nebraska Bill, ^{and} are heartily ashamed
of this transaction & their Conferees in this meeting.
There personally consented with most of our friends, &
they are all warming with a personal respect and
zeal towards you which without your enemies had
provoked it, would never have been excited. Thus
the result of all this, thousands - how yet to come

H Boyre Esq
Chicago
About the German
Meeting in Chicago

✓