

Henry Marshall & Co
Illinois

2066

Dec. 31 1857

Hon

S. A. Douglass Sir

I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your speech of the 9th of the present Month for which you are entitled to my sincere thanks for the same, and hope that you will continue to send to me when convenient more of the most important Proceedings of your Congress by so doing you will oblige one of your constituents and well wisher Please direct to Henry Marshall & Co Illinois

Yours with Respect H. B. Allen

W.B. Allen

Henry, Ill.
Dec 31/57.

transcripts

rl-

De Kater Chatham Co Mass

Dec 31st 1834

Hon Stephen A Douglas

Sir

We have with us
 - a with an interest bordering on anxiety to
 the prospect going on at Washington
 between the Members of the Democratic
 party on the Great Question now being
 agitated and my opinion and those
 of the party here as far as I can learn being
 contradicted with the views you ^{express} report it
 due to you to express our approbation
 of your course and hope your
 efforts may be crowned with success
 I should be happy to receive a private
 letter from you on the future pros-
 -pects of our party - if you have not
 time to write send me ^{your} opinion in
 a few papers solely a Democrat rather
 whose sympathies are with you on
 the question now now to be
 considered for the question you
 advocate to now remove it

J. Baker

city in
 Lafayette Mass

city in

now is a short one.

L Baker

De Witt,

Rich,
Dec 21/27.

Commendatory
of your course

no

New York. Dec. 31/57

My dear Mr Douglas.

I enclose a memorandum of the action of Congress in 1775 & 1776, authorizing the formation of Governments, while the colonial relation was still respected.

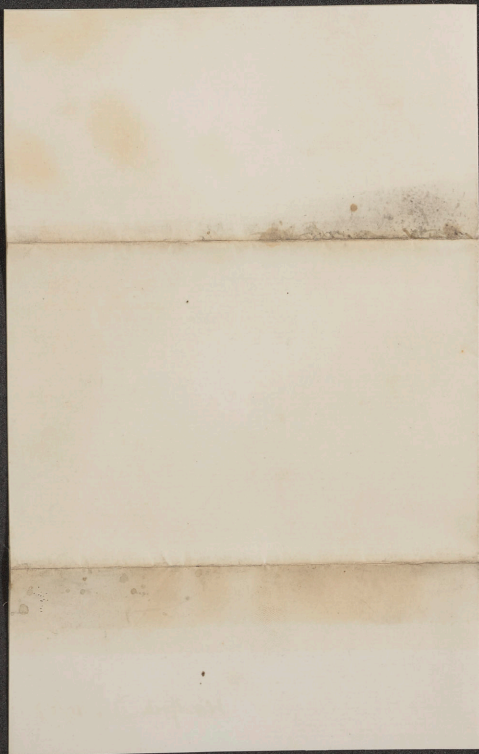
I add a memorandum, which you may rely upon as correct, showing the manner in which the first Constitution of Massachusetts was formed & adopted.

I had hoped to have had a half hour's chat with you before you leave. By this time Mr Buchanan must wish he had seen the Kansas question with your eyes.

Very truly yours

Geo. Bancroft.

We hope to see you & Mr Douglas as early as of this evening -



Chicago Dec 31/1857.
 Hon S. A. Douglass

Dear Sir:

Mr Abner Jackson
 of this city desires some
 service from him at the
 general Lane office in Westing
 of which he will inform you
 more particularly.

I need not say that Mr
 Jackson is a very prominent
 and esteemed citizen, a friend
 in every way, & that a word from
 you to oblige him will be very
 greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,
 D. Beardsall.



46 Court st. Boston.

Dec. 31. 1857.

Hon. Stephen A. Douglas.

Dear Sir - Will you
do me the favor to forward to my ad-
dress your recent speeches on Kansas affairs,
and Miss

Yours very respectfully,
James M. Chase.

John W Chase
46 Bond Street
Boston

LC 231/57. Mab

Wants a copy of Speech

Portland Dec 31, 1857

Sir

I send to you a few days since that Hon. Mr. Clippes had no political strength with the Democrats in this City a state - in confirmation of which I need respectfully state, that he was very desirous to be a conceded delegate to the two National Convention at Cincinnati - made all the arrangements in his power to be elected - hoping, if elected, to be President of the Convention -

After the Convention in this Congressional District had assembled, he & his friend, John Appleton, found he was so completely whipped that his name was quietly withdrawn - He rec'd. two votes -

He could not, under any circumstances, have received more than 20 per cent of the votes of the Convention - and it is certainly true that he is much more unpopular now, in the District and State than he was there or has ever has been before.

Hon. Stephen A. Douglas
your friend

Respy H. West, Esq. Co. Secy

I presume Mr. Clippes has been confirmed by the Senate, but it will be an awful mistake



Ezra Coates Jr

Portland

Dec^r 31/57. m^d

against r^eaffirm^y

Confirmation

no

Cattaraugus Co. N. Y. Dec 31st 1837
 Honorable Stephen A. Douglass

Dear Sir

I am but a humble Individual and live
 in a district with a Majority of Republicans
 and in the Village almost entirely so ^{our} Senator
 and one Member of Assembly ^{of the State} (Republican) reside
 in this Village and having to fight the Battle
 of Democracy alone and being too poor to fund
 my self with Sufficient Documents to do so
 as Successfully as I would desire any thing you
 would send me would be thankfully to
 your own Speeches upon Kansas affair
 My own feeling & sentiments fully correspond
 to yours as far as I have seen which I
 but Telegraph reports and as far as I have
 asked the question of Democrats they counsel
 in the same. We all say Give the people a fair
 Issue and then we are satisfied

Very Respectfully
 John Cooper

Callatampus, N.Y.
Dec 31/57.

John Cooper,
desires speeches.
H-

W. J. Hoase
Wayway

Dec. 31/57

Spuch cent.

2072

Wayway Jan 10/58
Dec 31/57

Mr S. D. Douglas

Washington D.C.

Sir your speech was duly
received and after a long full
discussion I find it to meet with
the views on the basins question
I wish you success and hope your
advocates for what you believe to
the best interest of all. Regardless
of party your speech is very
highly spoken of by all that have
read it if you still hold to
your other views and principles
I will support you for any
Office should I have the opportunity
I hope to hear from
you and any favor that
you see reason to confer on me
I will be thankful to receive

To dear friend

Wm. G. Brown

P.O. at Haffings

Gay Co

Ind

Albany Dec. 3/1st. 1857.

Hon. Stephen A Douglas

Sir: The solicitude I feel in common with so many others for the success your endeavor to vindicate the rights of the people of Kansas, and the honor of the Democratic Party, induces me to write you on the subject. What you have already said in the Senate shows that no suggestions of mine are needed to deepen your convictions of the duty of maintaining to the end the position on which you now stand before the country; but I wish to assure you that your advocacy of it commands the approval and earnest sympathy of the Democracy of the State of New York. The stammering and somewhat incoherent utterances of Mayor Wood's followers, and from Tammany Hall, owe their origin to the efforts of two mere local factions, now engaged in bidding

against each other for the advantage of official patronage, and furnish no reliable indication of the current of popular sentiment even in the City of New York, much less elsewhere.

The Kansas Nebraska act embodies, in my judgment, the true governmental theory in respect to our territorial relations, and was hailed by the Democracy all over the Union, with singular unanimity, as a great advance in the science of American politics. Even the opponents of the measure have been forced generally to admit that its leading principles are sound, and that it proposes a just, if not the only practical mode, of allaying the discordant and dangerous elements of sectional strife. They have persistently contended, however, that its merits were speculative merely;

that its promises of fair play to the different States were to be frustrated by foul play in administration; and that the idea of popular sovereignty which underlies it, would turn out to be a delusion and a cheat. How are its friends to answer these arguments hereafter — nay, how are they to sustain either themselves, or the principle of the measure, in future — if its very first fruits shall verify the predictions of our adversaries by forcing on Kansas a government originating in such undeniable and stupendous frauds as characterize the Le Comp-ton Usurpation!

I hope that whatever of future evil may befall the Democratic Party, it will be spared the ineffaceable dishonor which attaches to such double dealing as this. It really looks to me, judging from the President's message, as if

He was at least willing that you should succeed, though of this I can only guess; but whether he is not, I believe those who make and unmake Presidents are with you, and that their voice will be heard in due season, however much it may be belied in the meantime.

The new aspect of the controversy, in the light of recent and coming events, may abate the ^{anxiety} ~~anxiety~~ of some to have the immediate admission of Kansas, with the Le Compas constitution so called, regarded as an administration measure. Why any true friend of the President should be disposed so to regard it now, and especially one who desires to see peace restored to the Union by the fair arbitrament of local sovereignty, which all democrats are in honor bound to abide, is to me inconceivable.

I am among those who care not a whit whether Kansas comes in with Slavery or without it, so that she comes in freely, by her own volition, with institutions of her own choice, and not in chains forged by the combined action of disunionists North and South. If this is opposition to the administration, then I am an administration man; except these bonds.

Respectfully Yours &c.
Nicholas Hill

Nicholas Hill

Albany NY

31. Dec 57

Approve of your Speech &c

"Those who make & unmake
Presidents are with you"

✓

Pittsburgh, ^{Pa} Dec 31. 57

Mr Stephen A Douglas

Washington City

D.C.

Dear Sir: Will you
 please send me a pamphlet copy of
 your speeches on the Kansas question?
 I presume they are published in that
 way as usual. By so doing you
 will oblige a friend who is with me
 this and all other principles of the
 Democratic party. The masses are
 with you. Yours truly J. R. Hunter

W. Hunter
Pittsburg
Pa
Dec 31/57

Wants Speech

Chicago December, 31st 1837.

Hon S. A. Douglas }
Washington, }

Dear Sir,

I take the liberty of addressing you through our mutual friend Dr Brainerd, not having the honor of your personal acquaintance myself.

I enclose you sixty five duplicates and land Warrent certificates from the Land Office in this city and Dixon which I wish to put in a proper train to obtain the patents for. I also enclose a memorandum of the numbers &c.

I understand the land Offices in this State are all closed and that patents can only be obtained at the Washington, And by handing these certificates to the Land Office or proper department they can look them up at their leisure.

I have been very negligent in getting patents at the proper time. Some of the Land I have sold and the purchasers want the patents and on some I have loaned money and taken mortgages and there

is no title on Record of the County where the said is
By getting them and enclosing them to me you will
confer a very great favor and I hope you will not
think if trespassing to much on time and goodness

I have lived in this city about thirteen years, and
can only say that I am now and always have been
with you in a political point of view.

I have some influence here and in two adjoining Counties,
especially among the Irish population, which has always
been exerted for you, and I hope and trust will be
on some more important occasion here after.

Mr Searing the member from Long Island New York is
an old acquaintance of mine and was a strong
friend of yours and was elected entirely by advocating
your cause. I might refer you to him in regard to me.

I should like to have these patents
as soon as you can conveniently obtain them, as
there are several that I stand much in need of.
(Please acknowledge receipt of this and oblige.)

Yours very Respectfully
Obadiah Jackson
H B H

Chicago Ill's
Decr 31st 1887.

Obadiah Jackson

- Enclosing send
Cer- upon which he
wishes Patent to be
issued. - List of

the same enclosed,
also letter of
introduction from
Dr. Brainard -

Sand office at Dixon

Receivers Certificates Number,

19,993. 22,465.

Sand Warrent Certificate # 7,446.

Sand Office at Chicago

~~Receivers~~ Sand Warrent Certificate #53,922.

Receivers Certificates as follows.

#17,829	#24,285	#27,110	#27,929.	Certificates in all fifty five
20,815	24,356	27,112	27,929	
20,818	25,006	27,361.	27,936	
20,823	25,552	27,360	27,956	
21,095	25,889	27,372	27,983	
21,744	25,608	27,433	28,037	
21,773	26,151	27,434	28,055	
21,788	26,369	27,446	28,136	
22,397	26,457	27,596	28,174	
22,888	26,536	27,657	28,176	
22,915	26,720	27,687	28,385	
22,921	26,723	27,729	28,416	
22,988	26,751	27,815	28,470	
24,203	26,828	27,816	28,583	
24,282	26,974	27,927	28,828	
			28,865	

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Commissioner of the

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Carpentersville Dundee P. O. Ill

Hon S. A. Douglas

Dec 31 1857

Dear Sir

We have a Library started in this village which has been in existence about three years, and we are trying to increase it as fast as we can

I write you to request of you a donation of any books you may have to distribute. believing that the books published by Congress for this purpose will do more good and have a greater influence if given to public Libraries than if distributed in any other way. Any Books you may be able to send us will be thankfully received by our citizens, and read with interest, and you will thereby confer a great favor upon us all

Yours Very Respectfully
Joseph King

Carpentersville.
Amos P. O. Ellis
Dec 2 ~~1856~~ 1857.

Jos. King.

Wants books for
Library. —

Edward Learned
Pittsfield, Mass.
Dec 31. 1857.

Returned thanks
for Speech.
Bids you "Gods Speed".

2077

Pittsfield Bank.

Pittsfield, Mass., Dec 31, 1857
Now S. A. Douglass

My dear Sir

The pleasure with
which I acknowledge the receipt
of your late speech, on that intermi-
nable Kansas, is heightened by the
fact that our sympathies, and views
are, as of yore, in unison - I can
heartily bid you God-Speed
believing that you are not only
right, but fully sustained by
the untamed portion of
our folks through this entire
Section - Trusting that the
day may soon come, when
I can be of some service to you &
reciprocate your treasured favors
to me - I am yours very truly

I write under influence
of acute neuralgia or neural
gry more.

Edw Learned

1000

1000



Handwritten notes in blue ink, including the word 'GILBERT' and some illegible cursive text.

Preston Randolph Co Mo
 Hon S A Douglass
 Dec 31 1857

Dear Sir we forward
 2 line to you to congratulate you for the
 prompt and energetic course you have pursued
 in regard to the rights of the people of Kansas
 your course has met the cordial approbation
 of our party here even your enemies have
 moderated into acquiescence with your measures
 your interests here are firmly established by
 your opposition to the Leach Leecompton Consti-
 tution you have proved to a demonstration that
 the pledges given to ^{the} party by the Kansas Act
 would be faithfully carried into effect, may
 success attend your efforts

you will confer quite a
 favor by forwarding two copies of the
 Reports of Smithsonian Institute one for
 myself and the other for a lady friend
 address us at Preston Randolph Co Mo
 Hon S A Douglass }
 U S Senator }
 Your most obedient servt
 R. C. Mann

Preston
Randolph Co. Ill.
^{Dec 21/57}
R. B. ~~At~~ Mann.

Wants 2 copies
of Smithsonian
report.

Chicago Dec 31st 1857
 Hon S. A. Douglass
 U.S. Senate
 Washington. D.C.
 Dear Sir

I fear that you think it intrusive in one who has so slight an acquaintance with you, to occupy your time with any letters or otherwise, but I feel that I should be doing injustice to myself and also should fail in my duty to you should I withhold from you my sincere approbation of the course which you are now pursuing in reference to Kansas. I with thousands of others who were formerly Democrats have lately acted with the Republican party - not so much because we disapproved of the principle of the Nebraska Bill as because we feared that it would not be honestly & faithfully regarded & enforced by the Democratic Party. We were fearful of treachery on the part of those who were in high office to the pledges which they had given; And now when he whom the Nation have called to occupy the highest office in the Nation's gift is a traitor to the principles of self

and to the Pledges of the Party who
placed him there, the hearts of all
lovers of freedom are cheered by
the determined stand which you
have taken for Freedom, Justice,
& the Right. That you may succeed
in the effort which you are now
making, is the earnest desire &
prayer of thousands of your
Countrymen both in your own
party & in that which has lately
been arrayed in opposition to you.

Persevere, and the people of a
grateful Republic, devoted to Freedom
& its earnest champions, will
soon place you its worthy
Representative at the head of
its affairs. However widely we
may have differed heretofore
you can now command my
feeble aid & influence, & may
God grant you a triumph over
the faction who would impose
upon a people long not of their
own making & laws which nine
of ten of that people loathe.
I am respectfully your sincere well wisher
& friend

Geo A Meech

Geo A. Meach

Chicago

Dec 31/57

Highly approve yr course
& pray God to bless you
in all things

Wiscen Dec 31st 1837

Wm Stephen A Douglass

Dear Sir, perhaps I am somewhat out of my proper place when I attempt to address only so much about me in every point of view, but as I consider you as a friend and defender of my Country and your Country, I take the liberty to address you, Hoping that if I am not in my proper place, you will do me the great kindness to set me right, by way of a letter, which I should be very happy to receive from you. Can you not favor me with a short epistle?

As I live in a part of the Country where the people are nearly all Republicans, and let a squatter of course you have no Democratic Senator from this section of the Country, and for that reason we do not get any speeches and other documents which we think we ought to have. I am but a boy as yet, though in two or three years I shall be a voter, and then shall I form my political creed, if I know nothing of the State of the Country and hear the views of those who know the exact bearing of all of those matters which relate to our Country. There are quite a number of young men in vicinity who have thus far held fast to the Democratic doctrine, who have nothing but what comes

in our paper by which they can learn the true
condition of the Country & so that as you are in Congress
and other agents you know something but ex trade
I suppose there are many important papers which you
could not eat up then I must trouble too yourself
now the question which I would ask is Will you
send us a set and I will circulate Speeches
sent by yourself and others also such other papers
as you think proper. They would be very gratefully
received if you can send them to me by the
mail. Some other dealers they have from
you soon. I close

W B Moore
Lisbon Mo.
Dec 31/57
Speeches interesting
politics too desired
for circulation among
the Young Democratic
Union

Truly yours
Geo

P.S. Please direct to George B. Moore

Cleveland, Dec. 31, 1857.

Hon. S. A. Douglass,

Dear Sir:

Will you
be so kind as to send me a copy
of your speech on the Kansas question;
also, any other you may make. Our
senator ^(Bryce) occupies so equivocal a position
just now that I do not wish to trouble
him. In complying with this re-
quest you will confer a favor on an
humble ~~an~~ admirer & a Democrat.

Respectfully

Hon. S. A. Douglass, }
Washington, D.C. }

John Nash.

John Nash

Cleveland. O -

Dec^r 31/84

for a speech - Don't like

to write W. Pugh

W

Baptistown, New Jersey Dec. 31. 37

Hon. S. A. Douglass.

Dear Sir, I take the
 liberty of writing to you,
 as an acquaintance of long standing
 whose political Position is much to be admired
 I will say to you, that, if the view of the president
 is carried out in reference to Kansas affairs the
 Democratic party, must surely fall. It cannot
 withstand the injustice of such a proceeding
 neither can it uphold its rational character.
 Upon such an issue.

The Democracy of this place look to you
 to ward off such a calamity. Their
 Best wishes are centered on your untiring
 zeal in defence of the true doctrine of Democracy.
 If sir you will send me your speech
 or any other matter calculated to throw light on
 the subject, you will oblige, a friend
 Peter J. Opatzke

Babstons

N. Y. Decr 31/57.

Peter F. Opdyke,

Approves of course
& wants speech. -

Babstons D. C. Huntington Esq. 419.

Herrietta, N.Y.
Dec. 31, 1857.

Hon. S. A. Douglas

Dear Sir:

If you will
furnish me with several
copies of your speech on
the Secession Constitution
I will make a judicious
distribution of them -

You are aware that the
only Democratic newspaper
in this County (The Rochester
Union) approves the course
of Past Buchanan -

Respectfully

Yours with esteem,
W. D. Phillips.

W.D. Phillips

Keeneville

Decr 25th

N.Y.

wants a few copies
of your late speech
on the Leecompton
constitution

Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Rail Road.
General Ticket Office.

Chicago Dec 21 1857

Hon S A Douglass
Sir.

Can you conveniently
oblige me, by sending me a copy of
the Reports Exploration and Surveys to
ascertain the best route from the Mississippi
River to the Pacific for a Rail Road
it is called Ex Doc no 18. 3 Volumes.
for which I would feel much obliged and
reciprocate the kindness.

Truly Yours
E. Smith Robinson

Chicago Dec 31/57

E. William Robinson

Trans Pacific
R. R. Survey

Mobile Dec, 31, 1857

Dear Sir,

I have read your Speech on the Message with much satisfaction, as well as the debates which have followed it, and for one can not withhold my approbation of the position you have taken, nor my admiration of the boldness and signal ability with which you have maintained it.

You are of course abused by the whole Southern press. There is not a paper of any party that dares do otherwise than censure; but there are individuals, even in the South, who can appreciate the efforts of a Statesman, come from what part of the country he may, in battling for the right against the wrong; and who feel it a duty, as far as in them lies, to sustain him in such efforts.

I am aware that the opinion of a stranger is entitled to but little, if any, consideration, and yet when it is honest and spontaneous may not be viewed with entire indifference.

This letter is written with no other object than to speak plainly as its face and must be its own apology -

Hoping you may persevere in the just course you have marked out and may triumph withal, I am with great respect, truly

Yours obt. Servt. R. B. Sewall

Hon. S. A. Douglass
U. S. Senator at Large }
U. S. Senator at Large }

R. W. Sewell
Mobile Ala
Dec 31/57
Political
sent speech

Mr. J. A. Douglas
Secretary in Congress
Washington
D.C.



2086

Chicago, Dec 31st. 1837

Dear Judge.

I have just returned from Janesville (Mocassin). The Convention was a small one - 600 persons, but the feeling was unanimous. Saunders of Racine, Strong of Milwaukee, Matt Carpenter of Beloit & Larabee of Hiram made stirring speeches. Letters from ~~every~~ ^{every} prominent man in the State were read - all breathing a determined adherence to you in your construction of the Nebraska act. There is no doubt as to the unanimity in motion. Every paper (Democratic) sustains you except the Madison Argus-Calkins. The Editor wants to be postmaster! You will have seen the acts of our own State papers - all right except Farley of Joliet.

There is a strong report here, derived
from Drummond, Lieber at Washgton
that Orice is to be removed by Mr. Van
Chattan. In Wisconsin I recollect
that one Ricard - a travelling agent
of the Department stated that
it had been determined upon by
the administration. No success
is named, but as Carpenter is
out strongly for old Buck on
the Kansas question, I need not
be surprised if he has some influence
toward. Is there any truth in
this? If there is truth, I would
like to be instructed as to what course
I should pursue. Should I do what
my own judgement & feelings ~~at~~
dictate denounce the removal
as an unwarranted abuse of
power, a tyrannical exercise
of will having for its result

no matter what its object the
disruption of a democracy which
for forty years has been in harmonious
concert &c. &c. would that be

the proper course? I am inclined
to think that if old Buck commences
war, I proceed to blows, that we
had better hit back promptly. I know
that Bigler said there was to be
no throat cutting, but if any
should happen I would like to be
advised as to whether the deed should
be repudiated promptly.

I would like you to say a word
through Harris as to a State
'Convention at Springfield. If a
man breaks out, I think we have
better have one.

You will have seen my
shot at the Indiana State
Convention. I have an idea that
Bright & Fitch will have some
difficulty in getting an endorsement

from that body. I did not interfere
until ^{longer} forbearance amounted to
a crime.

all through the state the
feeling is unanimous with
you.

Is it worth while to say
anything of Seth Carpenter &c
until Mr Buchanan takes
them up ~~as~~ & attempts to
make them leaders against you.

I would be glad to receive
a line every now & then

Yours

J. W. Sheahan

Dec 31. 1857

Chicago

J. W. Sheahan

Edward Smith
Bradford, Iowa
Dec^r 21/57.
wants Speeches.

2087
Bradford, Iowa, Dec. 31st 1857

To
The Hon.
Stephen A. Douglas
Sir.

Having a desire to preserve a
copy of your late most effective
speech on the ^{new} Texas Constitution
involving the principle of
Popular Sovereignty, I write
to request a copy sent to my
address - And much

Oblige you most
Obedient Servant
Edward Smith

P.S. My Congressional Documents -
Thankfully receive in this
new Century J.E.S.

So it is possible to send me a copy of the former copy -
G. A. S. S.

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Coast Survey Office
Decr. 31 1857

Dear Sir,

By direction of Prof. A. D. Bache,
Superintendent of the Coast Survey, I have the
honor to forward you in his name, a bound
volume of maps and charts of the U. S. Coast
Survey, to December 1856.

Very respectfully

Your obt. servt.

M. L. Smith

Capt. Topl. Engrs.

Asst. in Chg. C. S. Office

Hon. Stephen A. Douglass
U. S. Senate
Washington
D. C.

Mr. L. Smith,
Coast Survey
Office, Dec 31/57.

Coast Survey Office
Decr. 31 1857

Dear Sir, By direction of Prof. A. D. Bache,
Superintendent of the Coast Survey, I have the
honor to forward you in his name, a bound
volume of maps and charts of the U. S. Coast
Survey, to December 1856.

Very respectfully
Your Obedt. Servt.
Mr L. Smith
Capt. Top. Engrs.
Asst. in Chg. C. S. Office

Hon. Stephen A. Douglass
U. S. Senate
Washington
D.C.

Mr. L. Smith
Coast Survey
Office, Decr 31 1857.

Wm Stephen A Douglas Dec 31st 1857

Dear Sir

Annapolis

I noticed in the papers, yesterday, the death of Alex & Mitchell, a Purser in the Navy from Kentucky.

May I therefore ask you to take some notice at once, thro' your publication, on behalf of my Mother.

If you could command any aid from Kentucky, it would be of great service.

Please let me hear from you at once, and be assured that you have but to do for your friend.

very truly

your friend

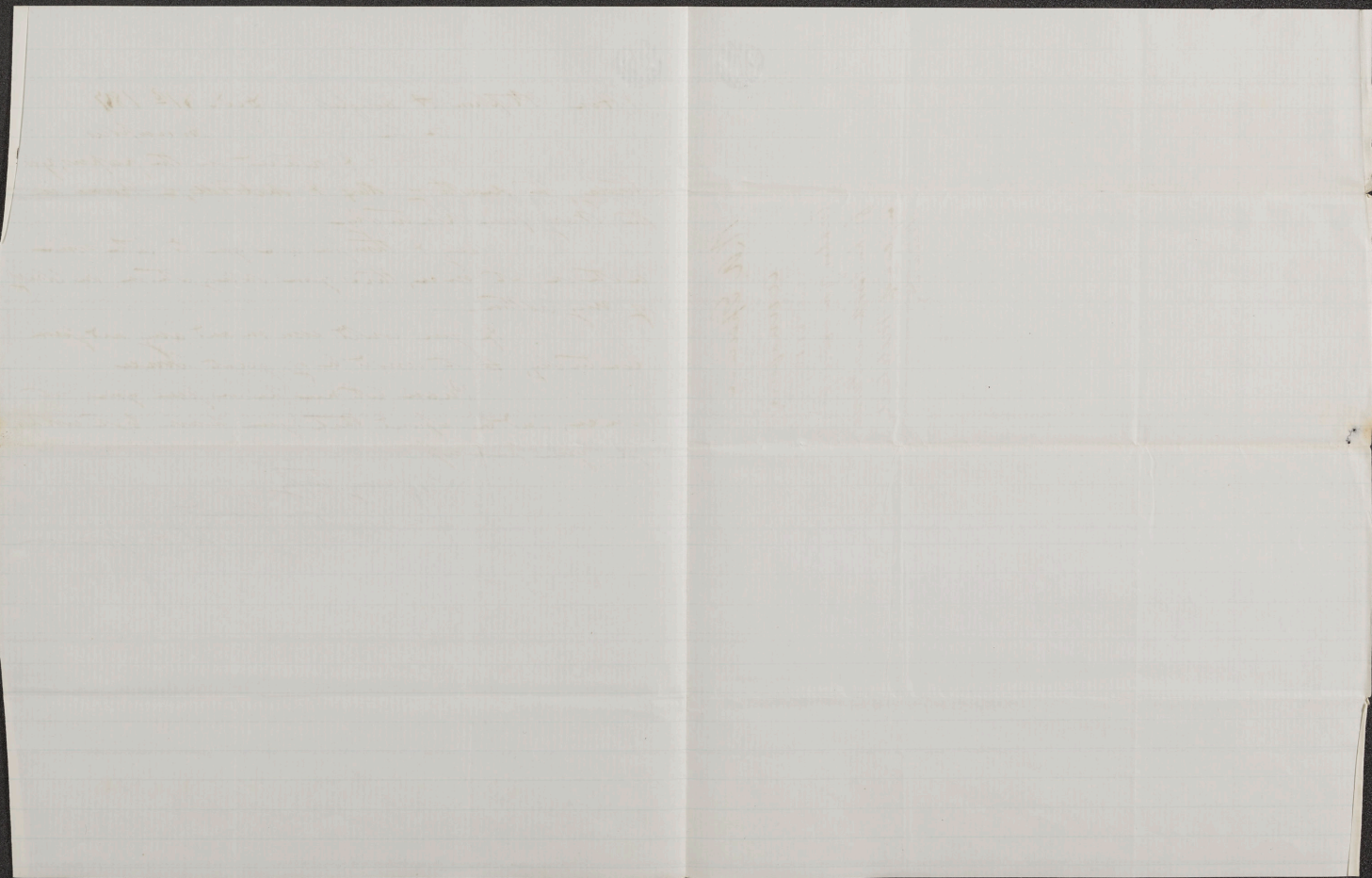
W. A. Johnson

W.A. Spencer

Annapolis, Md

Decr 21. 1857

Wishes you every good
for his Brother as Kerner
in place of Mitchell
deceased



C. P. Waller
Honesdale
Pa

Decr 21/57.

as my wife wants yr
speech for distribution
Green are abundant here.

2090

Honesdale N.Y. Co Pa
December 31st 1857

Hon S A Douglass.
N. Y. S.

Dr Sir

You will
confer a favour by sending
me a few copies of your speech
upon the Kansas Constitution

Our member is circulating
the speech of Hon A Green of
Maine and I would like
to disseminate your views
as they coincide with mine
as well as with the views of many
of our citizens -

Respectfully Yours
C. P. Waller

18

2091
Isaac D. White
East Hampton, Mass.
Decr 31. 1857.

Elected Honorary
Member of
"Delta Kappa Sigma
Fraternity of
Williston Seminary"
on acceptance.

East Hampton, Mass. Dec. 31, 1857.

Dear Sir:

I take this opportunity of
informing you of your election to
an honorary membership of the
"Delta Kappa Sigma Fraternity of
Williston Seminary", upon the
acceptance of which, your name
will be enrolled upon the list of
its honorary members.

Yours &c.

Isaac D. White.

ΔΚΣ Fraternity.

Hon. Stephen A. Douglas.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mother
I have just received
your letter of the 10th
and was glad to hear
from you. I am well
and hope this finds
you the same. I have
not much news to write
at present.

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Richmond, Va.

Decr: 31st, 1857.

My dear Sir,

My Father has received your interesting letter of the 19th inst. The press of labor to which he is subjected, obliges him to transfer to me some of his private correspondence.

He instructs me to thank you for the candid manner in which you have communicated with him, and to express his best wishes for your success in the matter of the official appointment which you seek.

I have also obtained his permission to communicate with you concerning the matter referred to by Judge Douglas in conversation with yourself. I send you herewith enclosed a copy of the Govr.'s letter of Novr: 19th. From this, you will perceive that he has already "come out upon the platform of popular sovereignty." He denies the right of the Secompton Convention to withhold the constitution of Kansas from popular ratification, and has characterized beforehand any such attempt on the part of the convention as most inexpedient to the pacific regulation of Kansas politics and especially impolitic for the interests of the Democratic party and the people of the South. There can be no doubt that the Secompton Convention has been guilty of an attempted usurpation of power, inconsistent with the maintenance of the undeniable principle of popular sovereignty. I can give you the assurance that Judge Douglas' able and conclusive vindication of this principle meets with Govr. Wise's heartfelt approbation.

But the latter cannot agree with Judge Douglas in the assumption that any "enabling statute", other than the Kansas act itself, is necessary, to empower the people of Kansas to call a constitutional convention, or that a convention so called can be deemed other than a "legal constitutional body." The true doctrine on this point seems to be that when the population of a territory has become a people - a body politic organised by legal authority and supplied with a regular and constitutional form of territorial Government, through which to exercise the expression of the popular will, - then, under the sound constitutional doctrine expounded by Judge Douglas in the report on the Kansas Nebraska bill, such a people may apply for admission as a State - may constitute a convention to frame the form and manner of such application, and the act of a convention thus constituted shall be entitled to all the validity which would attach to its action, were it constituted in pursuance of an express requirement of Congressional legislation. When the people have constituted such a convention, they have taken one step towards admission to the Union. They have solemnly expressed their desire for such admission. This expression must be regarded as the deliberate act of the whole people - the verdict of the people that their interests require a speedy admission of the territory to the Union. And the people alone are competent to pronounce such a verdict -

they alone are competent to decide as to the requirements of their own interests. Congress cannot look behind this decision, the evidence which it affords of the interest and desire of the people of the territory, must be regarded as conclusive.

With the highest respect for the opinion of a Statesman so able and so trustworthy as Judge Douglas, I cannot regard an application for admission to the Union, made by a convention thus constituted, in the light of a mere petition of an "assemblage of peaceable citizens" "for a redress of grievances." So far as the mere application for admission to the Union is concerned, - this is not simply the act of the Convention. It is a matter about which the Convention has no discretion. It is the first, great, necessary object of intended by their creation. In making the application, the Convention exercises the merest ministerial power, in unavailing obedience to popular dictation. The application is made not only for the people, but by the people, and in the most direct possible manner. I premise, then, that the organisation of a territory immediately invests the people of the territory with the right to make application for admission to the Union, in a legal constitutional manner; - and such an application is sufficient not only to subject the matter to the consideration of Congress, (as a mere petition for the redress of grievances would do); - but also, as a necessary consequence

of the right of self-government, conclusively to decide ~~the first~~ two of the three questions to be considered by Congress: viz:—

- 1st Will such admission promote the interests of the people of the territory?—
- 2nd Do the people of the territory desire such admission?—
- 3rd Is the form of government proposed republican in its character?—

Supposing these questions to be decided in the affirmative, — the first two by the people of the territory, the ~~third~~ by Congress itself, — a fourth question is suggested, — viz:— May Congress refuse the admission of the territory, on the ground that ~~the form of~~ the constitution has not been enacted by a popular vote.

This question, in its absolute and unconditional form, as it seems to me, requires a negative answer. If a convention exceeds its powers, Congress may indeed refuse to ratify such excess; — but an absolute refusal to admit the State, on this account, would nullify the rightful power, as well as the excess of power.

The people of Kansas have fully authorized a legally constituted convention to apply for the admission of the territory, and to frame a constitution, under which it shall be admitted.

The convention has fulfilled these authorized powers, and has further proceeded to the unauthorized enactment of the constitution. Judge Douglas' argument is entirely conclusive to the extent that Congress may,

as in the case of Wisconsin, admit the territory upon condition that the constitution shall be made valid by popular ratification. This would preserve intact the authorized action of the convention, and defeat its attempted usurpation. But Congress ought not to remove from the people the power of an immediate ratification of the constitution framed by their authority, and a consequent speedy admission to the Union; - for such a refusal would arbitrarily cancel the legal acts of a convention constituted by proper authority, which acts, although coupled with attempted usurpation, are not thereby vitiated in such manner that they cannot be enforced in spite of the concurrent unauthorized omission to submit the constitution for popular ratification or rejection.

In giving you these views, I have been obliged to resort to my own mode of reasoning. The conclusions, however, are identical with those expressed by Gov. Wise.

Thus you will perceive that on the great question of popular sovereignty, Gov. Wise does not differ from Judge Douglas, as to the inviolability of this inherent right of a free people. All difference between them refers to the question, whether the Secompton convention was a legal constitutional body. If such, there can be no dispute as to the powers of that body, nor can it be denied that the same body has exceeded such delegated powers.

Notwithstanding this theoretical point of difference, Judge Douglas' position involves no diminution of that confidence which is justly due him from the Democratic party, and especially the Southern Democracy. And his bold and manly vindication of the doctrine of popular sovereignty, must eventually strengthen his hold on the favor of the people. He is, I trust, too true, too strong and too great, to be driven from the Democratic party. That portion of the Southern press which has ventured to charge him with defection from the Democratic ranks, is the willing tool of a faction bitterly hostile to the present Administration. The real occasion of their spleen against Judge Douglas, is his own generous action in securing the nomination of Mr. Buchanan. It can be proved beyond dispute that the same men who vituperate him now, bitterly denounced him then.

This small and unprincipled coalition of ambitious politicians have been for a long time engaged in tampering with the press, as well as in other active and untiring machinations which, sooner or later, will be satisfactorily exposed.

You are at liberty to present this for Judge Douglas' perusal. Otherwise, you will regard it as confidential.

Yours very truly
C. Jennings Wise

Thos: Fitznam Esq:
Washington,
D. C.

Richmond, Va.

Decr 31st 1857.

O. Jennings Wise

to

His Filial.

