

# Herald of Freedom.

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BY G. W. BROWN & CO.

## Selected Poetry.

**"They are so Happy There."**  
Why should a Northern Freeman seek  
To break the bondman's chain,  
To raise the fallen from the dust,  
Their number to regain?  
Why plead their cause before the throne,  
In earnest, tearful prayer,  
When Southern breezes wait the sound,  
"They are so happy there?"  
Happy? Yes—like the imprisoned bird  
That thrills its wailing song,  
Or like the patient ox, that bears  
The yoke and galling thong;  
So they, protected from all ill,  
By paternal care,  
May eat and drink, and dance and sing,  
"And be so happy there."  
True, they are driven to their tasks  
Before the rising sun,  
And often feel the cruel lash,  
Ere all their toil is done;  
Their children may be sold afar,  
For such things are not rare,  
Mothers soon forget to mourn,  
"They are so happy there."  
Was not the Gospel sent and west,  
To earth's remotest isles,  
Till, with its light all lands are blest,  
And every doer smiles;  
But why should millions of our lands,  
Fill Christian hearts with care?  
What, though they never know the Lord,  
"They are so happy there."  
Ho! Freeman, give the winds your fears,  
Extend these blessings wide—  
Till all this broad domain—the sweets  
Of slavery's lash be tried;  
And should some fugitive presume  
To taste our Northern air,  
Will help to send him back in chains,  
"He'll be so happy there."  
Then wherefore rave of Liberty,  
Freedom and equal rights,  
These words so full of mockery,  
We'll banish from our sight;  
Yes, Father—should some tyrant bind  
Your dark-eyed daughters here—  
O, let them go, without a fear,  
"They'll be so happy there."  
M. S. P.  
New Haven, Feb. 2d, 1856.

## Original Sketch.

### A VISION OF THE BORDER.

PAUSING upon the summit of an elevated bluff—in the "Great Home of the Winds"—the residence of G-a-o, which lies toward the west, lo! a beautiful country, such as mortal eyes have seldom seen, extended itself eastward and westward, northward and southward.

A sky bright and glowing arched the wide expanse, and blended with bluffs and bottom lands and bloom and beauty in the dim distance. An atmosphere, pure, healthful, invigorating—a soil of great natural fertility—the land surface undulating, abounding in springs, and traversed by numerous and beautiful streams of clear, pure water—while here and there might be seen, dotting the surface of the country, and rising to the eyes of the beholder like delightful and enchanted isles from the bosom of the ocean—a forest-land in the ocean-like prairie—a copse of timber, now fringing with a dark outline the margin of a tortuous and musical stream, now penetrating a rugged ravine, clambering up the side of a gentle undulation, and anon crowning the brow and the summit of some hoary bluff, and softening the ruggedness of its stony features, as an emerald and ever-living diadem of youthfulness wreathing the brow of Age.

Over the whole land was cast a robe of pure and quiet, wild and fascinating beauty. It was picturesque and delightful to look upon; but it was vacant and unappropriated, save by the wild, free denizens of the border, the wolf, the deer, the buffalo, and the various and predatory tribes of aborigines, who, void of care, unused to toil, in all the wild independence of spirit which asks nothing of civilization save to be let alone—roamed wherever they desired, free as the arrow cleaves the yielding air.

The land was free. No servile foot ever pressed its pure bosom; no moan of the bondman, no clank of the chain of bondage, no shriek extorted by the station of the lash, ever smote upon its ear. It was a virgin soil, pure and unconquered as infant chastity, and the refinements of oppression, cruelty and corruption, fixed and perpetuated upon boasted civilization, were unknown.

In the center of this vast and magnificent country, on a commanding eminence, and conspicuous to all observers from every point of the compass, was a tree of celestial origin. Its roots took deep hold of the soil; it lifted its head loftily toward heaven, the place of its high aspiration; its giant arms were all-embracing, and its verdure was eternal.

Its leaves were medicinal for the healing of the nations; its fruit was living bread to the hungry and famishing soul, and the weary and oppressed of all lands sought eagerly and with gratitude the quiet comfort of its safe and salutary shade.

Welling up among the roots of the tree was a fountain, which at all times cast out an abundant supply of pure and living water, of which if a man drank freely, he was proof against the social, political, and official corruption that has cast down many strong men, and well nigh proved epidemic among the inhabitants of earth.

The names of these wonderful and indigenous productions were, the Tree and the Fountain of Liberty.

Far eastward stands a gay and costly edifice, with every outward token of more than oriental and fabulous magnificence.

It seems struggling and looming up amid an overwhelming profusion of material and magical adornment.

It is an ancient, and externally venerable pile. The eglantine and the ivy intertwine and festoon its portals, and the moss, born of the ages that have swept over it, clambers over its walls, and sits sedately on the roof. The touch of time has fretted and defaced the polish of art, yet with the bland smile of kind and courteous old age, it invites the wayfarer to a hospitable entertainment.

The consecutive action of generations of men reared this mighty temple, and the massive stones which compose it are cemented together by the commingled blood of freemen and of slaves.

A sable and suffering race have uncomplainingly heaved its well-proportioned and substantial columns, and their descendants are now the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the necessary uses of the establishment.

A temple abounding in such external magnificence, must present an interior of luxury and refinement, of courtesy and comfort, of elegant ease, and even of fanciful adornment consonant with its outward and imposing splendor. Let us enter its penetralia and explore.

Look! a spacious hall, draped in black and stained with blood, lit only by the feeble and fitful glimmer of a single lamp, which gives a dull, lurid glare, like the reflection of a conflagration upon a sky curtained by night and cloud and boiling storm!

Hark! are those the blending strains of dear delightful music, that fill the apartment like a sweet exhalation—that thrill upon the charmed ear, and teach the heart to forget its loneliness? It is the moan of despair, the groan of the prisoner, blending with the shriek of torture! Music? Yes. The straps of the system have been at work developing its peculiar beauties. They have made bare the arms, and lifted high the lash and the bludgeon; they have lacerated with played upon the instrument, human nature, and this is the music! God! how the flesh quivers and the nerves thrill and the brain reels and burns, as tortures sting to madness, and human nature can suppress its utterance no longer!

Look again! In one corner of the hall is a quantity of arms of various kinds, the chief of which seem to be rifles and cannon, taken by tide-waiters upon the supposition that they were contraband; also several suspicious-looking casks, which did not seem to smell exactly like the "Maine Law."

Once more! In the center of the hall is a throne constructed of the bones of those who have died in the service of the temple, and from whose bones the chains which bound them in life have not rusted away, so that chains and manacles and the lash and the bones of those who bore them, are commingled in one common mound, and constitute the indistinct and shadowy throne on which is seated the presiding divinity of the temple. At the foot of the throne is a human skull filled with blood, and lying upon the marble floor, near the skull is a lithograph of the Tree, and a prostrate statue of the Goddess of Liberty.

Forms, shadowy and of questionable shape are gliding hither and thither about the hall; they seem ill at ease, drooping and dejected.

At length one approaches the throne, and with a nervous and convulsive movement grasps the skull—lifts it to his lips—drinks; the draught seems to revive him, and planting one foot upon the fallen statue, speaks thus:

"We have all one interest. There is a land, very desirable, lying toward the west; let us enlarge our inheritance. Let us plant for ourselves liberty, for others, chains. So shall the tree of liberty cast a pleasant shade over the house of bondage." And all the specters said, "We have all one interest—liberty and bondage support each other—let us amalgamate them—liberty for us—for others, chains."

And another spectre approached the throne, placed his foot upon the lithograph of the Tree of Liberty, drank from the skull and spoke thus: "The people who flock to that land of beauty have strength and virtue—let us therefore exhaust strength and virtue by corruption."

And another approached, and following the example of his brethren, spoke thus: "The people love the liberty of speech and of the press; now, therefore, let us suppress their freedom of utterance, or it will be as a fire that shall devour ourselves and also the house of bondage, and our ashes and the ashes of oppression will be as manure for the tree of liberty, which will remain unscathed, and more flourishing than ever." And they all said: "Thou hast well said, let us suppress the freedom of utterance."

And another advanced, drank, and standing on the lithograph of the tree of liberty, said, "The people are intelligent, and lovers of justice and humanity; let us therefore take away and withhold the key of knowledge, raise false, distracting and dividing issues, that man may become suspicious of, and hostile to his fellow man—thus shall we divide and conquer." And they all said, "It is well, let us take away the key of knowledge, divide and conquer."

And another mighty spectre advanced, placed both feet upon the prostrate representation of the Goddess of Liberty, drank long and deliciously from the skull

and said, "When you have exhausted strength and virtue by corruption—suppressed freedom of speech and of the press—taken away the key of knowledge—raised false issues, stifled a sense of public and private justice, and divided men, you have done much; but the people have instincts and dangerous sympathies, and to awe these into submission is sound and essential policy; let us then array before the mind the terrors of the bowie knife, the revolver, the rifle and the gallow—the executioner is the prime minister of a good, wise, and liberal government." And the response was loud, deep and unanimous. "Thou hast wisely spoken, let us oppress and punish; the executioner is the prime minister of a good government."

At that moment an oppressive and painful pause succeeded; the lamplight, as if prophetic, scintillated more brightly for an instant, and was then extinguished; all was involved in darkness dense; the mighty temple rocked and vibrated as a leaf quivering in the wind, and then silence and consternation succeeded, and anon through the dark hall, and breaking in upon the terrible silence inspired by fear, thrilled a voice of startling and prophetic import—none knew whence the voice proceeded—it was but a whisper, yet it penetrated every portion of that vast edifice, and it said, "Beware! When human oppression fastens one end of a chain to the ankle of a slave, divine justice rivets the other end around the neck of the tyrant. My day approaches, hope and fear not."

And over that fair and far-off clime—that wild and witching clime of wondrous beauty—was suspended a cloud, dark and lowering, like a pall for the dead flung over the form and the features of Beauty.

And men hurried wildly to and fro; they looked upon each other with suspicion, and armed themselves as if for mortal combat.

And Fear went from man to man and whispered terrible things. Consternation sat upon the countenances of many; men spoke to each other with troubled looks and with shuddering and nervous gestures, while their hands grasped convulsively the instruments of death. Grim and blood-stained Assassination stalked with horrid aspect through the land, and there was trembling, fearing, weeping and hoping; for the habitations of the people were curtained with affliction, and to many it seemed that the land was the tomb of hope.

Lo! I thought thus men in olden time, when their master, being crucified, was laid in a new tomb, wherein never man was laid!

Who shall roll away the stone from the mouth of the sepulchre? Have Truth, Justice, and Humanity perished from the earth? Is the arm of Omnipotence paralyzed, the eye of Omniscience dim? Did not Life and Light, incorruptible, rise in all the fadeless, pure and imperishable glories of immortality from the dark, sad ruins of the tomb? And shall not the Great Spirit have regard for the beautiful domain which lies as a daily and living sacrifice before him, who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity?

Shall the fair, virgin soil of a free and unspotted country be debauched by the old unrighteous form of servitude, polluted, loathsome, and festering in its own corruption?

Watchman! what see'st thou? I see a dark cloud lowering over a beautiful country—now a lurid glare is reflected upon the cloud, as from a wide expanse of prairie on fire. I see the heart of a mighty nation throbbing and palpitate with painful emotion, and its nerves all tremulous with intense excitement.

Watchman! what see'st thou? I see a mighty commotion among the people—the masses are moving—all is busy, bustling, excited, active life. The pastor with his flock—the teacher with his pupils, the law-man with his library—the farmer, the mechanic, the artisan, each with his implements of industry—age, youth, infancy, the family and the solitary wanderer, and the planter with his man-servant and maid-servant. Railroad trains are hurriedly multiplied and freighted, and steamboats groan beneath the weight of their living burdens.

Watchman! what see'st thou? I see a people ranging in an open country—dwelling in tents—living in turf and thatched cabins. I see numerous assemblages of the people—the stealthy assassin at his deadly work—the strong man convulsed and wallowing in his own blood. I see labor, enterprise, thrift, anarchy, armies, and the blood of innocence dripping from the hands of the slayer. I see a wondrous tree rise loftily in the land, and a bird, with an olive leaf by through the heavens, and perch among its branches. It is well.

Stranger! whither goest thou? "I go to build a quiet home in a beautiful clime, and establish there the principles of equity, justice and humanity." A blessing on thine arms, young soldier!

Stranger! whither goest thou? "I go to build a home under the blissful foliage of the Tree of Liberty, guard it from unhallowed desecration, and establish there the principles of liberty equality and fraternity." A blessing on thine efforts, young soldier!

Stranger! whither goest thou? "I follow my comrades to the clime of Beauty, to strike the chains from the oppressed, and if justice approve the effort, rivet them firmly around the necks of their oppressors." A blessing upon the acts of emancipation and justice, young soldier!

Stranger! whither goest thou? "I go to the land where Beauty reposes in her sylvan wilderness, to establish the blessings of peace, to impart intelligence to the mind, discipline to the moral sense, to elevate and refine humanity, and clothe in all the efflorescence of moral and graceful accomplishment, the myriads who shall abide there—to resist all efforts for physical moral or mental enslavement, and fix and perpetuate upon the coming and perishing generations of men the love and the practice of right, truth, love, justice, purity and fidelity—the moral and mental glory of the people may superabound the material beauty and magnificence of the unrivalled country of their choice." A thousand blessings attend thine efforts, young soldier!

Stranger! whither goest thou? thou art alone and solitary; rest within my cabin and teach me thy purposes. "The Great Spirit has placed the solitary among families—my foot is weary and my heart is sad. I come like the one who preceded me, to help diffuse the blessings and adornments of intellectual and moral life over the thoughts, the affections, and the life of man. I saw also toward the west the light of hope in the far, dim distance—it may be illusory—and I fondly and deliciously dreamed of its brightening luster, and wildly wove my wishes into the hope to gather around me once more the care-forgotten, the affection, the bliss, the brightness—evanescent and perishing though they be—of a mortal home; to enjoy and protect it, and aid in the establishment of such laws as permit men to enjoy those inalienable rights with which they are endowed by their Creator. I have spoken." Blessings upon thy aims, and may fruition crown thine efforts, veteran soldier!

Lo! In the distance an extensive plain, barren, deserted and cold. It is invested with a gray, dense, damp, chilling mist, and over head is suspended a sombre cloud, like a covering of black marble over a tomb.

A massive rock stands in the center of the plain, at the base of which is ranged three human skulls. Out of the rock issues, at equal intervals of time, drops of blood, which falls with a dull, leaden sound, into the skulls at the base, and serve to measure the duration of time; for sun, and moon, and stars are alike unseen, and existence wears on, marked only by the monotonous and everlasting drop, drop, drop, of the blood from the voiceless rock. Converging to this point, are various paths from different directions, and at the point of convergence, are several stones covered with the green, humid slime of the reptiles which infest the place.

Several forms are approaching from different directions; their aspect is spectral, their eyes sunken, their frames attenuated, their voices hollow and sepulchral, their movements slow and solemn, their teeth chattering, and their feeble skeleton frames quiver in the cold, gray mist through which they move. They clasp their arms nervously around the necks, as if to gather and retain a little warmth, then sit down upon the slime-covered stones, and bow their heads upon their knees.

They remained silent, I know not how long, for duration was only measured there by the everlasting drop, drop, drop, of blood from the rock into the skulls beneath; when slowly, and with much effort, one muttered—incoherently and hissing through his clenched teeth—to his fellow shadows: "We had all one interest, we made a joint effort, deliberately planned and persistently sustained, but its recoil has overwhelmed us in the same condemnation. What hath happened unto you, hath happened unto me." And he muttered, "Cursed be the principles of liberty, equality, fraternity."

And another shadow said—"We thought to exhaust courage and virtue by corruption, but it hath corrupted our blood, and devoured our bones. We planned for ourselves liberty, for other others chains—cursed be the recoil of all our schemes."

And another muttered—"We thought to stifle free utterance, withhold the key of knowledge, but when men are ignorant, they become necessary and interesting to each other; out of this grows unity of feeling, and community of interests—the effort has defeated ourselves—cursed be the key of knowledge."

And another said—"We thought to divide and conquer, to suppress the instincts and sympathies of the people, by the exercise of oppression, and the exhibitions of cruelty and injustice—but oppression, common suffering have united the people, created overwhelming efforts for resistance, and the reflux of our schemes is suicide to ourselves."

And another spectre mumbled to himself—"We thought to deprive the people of the means of self-defence, but the instruments we have taken, were as many vipers in our bed-chambers, and in our bosoms."

And another said—"We thought the earth drank the blood and covered the bones of our victims—but horror! there stands the

skull of Dow, of Barber, and of Brown, whom we butchered without resistance; and there is the dull and leaden sounding, the monotonous and everlasting drop, drop, drop, of innocent blood, measuring with dreadful cadence, the period of our punishment and our lives."

And another said—"We thought to kindle a fire upon the roots of the tree of Liberty; but it hath turned upon ourselves, wasted our flesh, melted the manacles from the limbs of the oppressed, but the tree of Liberty is more flourishing than ever—it hath a charmed life—Omnipotence is its safety and defence—cursed be liberty, justice and humanity!"

And slept. \* \* \* \* \* And one touched me, saying—"A wake, arise, behold, for the morn breaketh." And I looked, and lo! a barren plain no more—nor blood, nor chilling, dense, damp mist, nor goblin grim, nor spectral shadow—but the reflection from the robe of Day fell lovingly upon a beautiful country, vocal with the songs of birds, thronged by a dense, delighted and thriving population, and enlivened by the musical voices of playful, happy children.

The hoary locks of venerable Age, the sparkling glance of resistless Beauty, and the firm elastic step of strong and mature Manhood, the glossy curls of endearing Youth, the merry shout of sportive Childhood, and the winsome, smiling charms of helpless Infancy, were there—abodes of comfort and institutions of learning dotted and gemmed the land—and the sun, looking down from the firmament, shone sweetly upon a people elevated, refined, and rich in all the material, moral and mental elements which constitute the true glory and greatness of a nation.

The vision had no other change—the oppressed had found an asylum, the wanderer a home—the heart of the mightiest nation upon earth was purified—KANSAS WAS FREE.

Our virgin Kansas, hence keeps  
An ever watchful gaze,  
As in her sylvan wild she sleeps,  
Or meets the morning rays.  
Her vital hand-maid joyful meet  
To see her toilet done,  
And Freedom's loving arms complete  
What Beauty had begun.

## A Good Article.

### Slavery Must be Protected.

The utmost the South asks, and less she will not take from the Federal Government, is, that her institutions, her social forms, her property and her people, shall be protected at home, and protected in extending themselves into the common territories of the Union, just as are the institutions, the social forms, the property, and the people of the North. It is well that we should understand one another, for on this issue the next President is to be elected, and the Union to be preserved or dissolved.—*Richmond Eng.*

Yes, it is well that we should understand one another. The first reason you assign makes it so. The other is no reason, for it is not truth. It is thrice-added wish-wash. We wonder how they can, at this day, bear such stuff in Richmond; but let it pass—

Where one reason is aptly chosen,  
One is as good as one dozen.

Well now let us "understand one another." What is meant by the Federal Government's protecting the institutions, the social forms, the property, and the people of the South "at home"? Is any thing more meant than that "the United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and against domestic violence"? The Constitution secures that protection "at home," and only that. Is other protection asked for? If so, under what title? The Constitution gives none. If not, why this formal and emphatic demand? Who has denied the right of the South to protection against invasion and domestic violence? Who? If there be such a Northern man, we have never seen him or heard of him. We ask the Richmond Enquirer what it means? If the protection it claims is the protection designated in the Constitution, it very unnecessarily, very theatrically, and very ridiculously sets forth a truism. If the protection it claims is other than this, it claims what it has no right to, what it is beggarly to ask for, what won't be given and what can't be had. New York claims no other protection from the Federal Government for her "institutions," her "social forms," her "property," and her people at home, than the protection the Constitution insures her—protection from foreign invasion and domestic violence. She will take no other protection. With her idea of her State rights, she will endure no other protection. She is a sovereign State, and, further than the Federal Constitution constrains her, she will submit to no protectorate. "Hands off," is her language. Is Virginia different?

But again, what is meant by the demand that the Southern institutions, social forms, property, and people shall be "protected in extending themselves into the common Territories of the Union"? What obligates the Federal Government to protect the extension of Southern institutions into the Territories? In what part of the constitution does this requirement lie? Will the Richmond paper tell us? After it has told us, will it then state why the Federal Government is not as much bound to protect the extension of Northern institutions, and

what the Federal Government is to do if, as happens to be the case, certain Northern and Southern institutions, are incompatible? The institution of slavery is no more an institution than the institution of a free press. The one is secured by every State constitution South, the other is secured by every State constitution North. The one is valued no more by Southern men, than the other is by Northern men. But the two are incompatible. All experience has proved it. The statute book of every Southern State proves it. There is not a slaveholding State in this Union in which penal laws do not exist against printing and publishing sentiments calculated to produce disaffection among its slaves, and all anti-slavery sentiments are so calculated. The fact that a restriction upon the freedom of the press and of speech is necessary to the safety of slavery, is so distinctly recognized, that one of the first acts of the late pro-slavery spurious legislature of Kansas was to make an enactment making it a felony punishable with imprisonment for not less than two years to "assert or maintain, by speaking or writing that persons have not the right to hold slaves in the Territory," and a felony, punishable with imprisonment for not less than five years, to "print, write, introduce into, or publish, or circulate any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, hand-bill, or circular containing any statements, arguments, opinion, sentiment, doctrine, advice, or intendment calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves in the Territory." Now if Virginia, or South Carolina, or Arkansas chooses to have such laws, very well; they do not touch us, and it is none of our business—no more our business than the restrictive press laws of France or Naples. But when the attempt is made to carry such laws, or an institution requiring such laws, into the common territory of the United States, in which the citizens of the State of New York have just as much interest as the citizens of Virginia, or South Carolina, or Arkansas it then becomes our business; and we can tell the Richmond Enquirer that citizens of this State, when they emigrate to Kansas, have no more disposition to give up their institution of a free press than citizens of Virginia, have to give up their institution of a "nigger" not free. The capacities and utilities of a free press are here rated quite as high, as any Virginian can rate the capacities and utilities of a "nigger," even though he takes the African inventory and appraisal of his present dignified Governor, in his recent public letter, to-wit: "wool, flat nose, odor, ebo-shin, and gizzard, foot and all." Well, now, we ask the Richmond paper—who is to yield? The Virginian takes his institution to the common territory, the New Yorker his—Which is to be given up? The New Yorker's sacred and inviolable right to free inquiry and free utterance, for which Milton argued and Socrates died, or the Virginian's sacred and inviolable right to "wool, flat-nose, odor, ebo-shin, and gizzard, foot and all," for which RICHMOND argues and Wise is prepared to die. The two cannot stand together. All admit that. Which is to be dropped? Who is to decide? Not the squatters. Both the Virginian and the New Yorker, both the Richmond Enquirer and ourselves, agree about that. The squatters, a sequestered and control Virginia's interest and New York's interest in that common territory. Well, then, if not the squatters, who else can decide but Congress, to which the Constitution gives the power to "make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territory or other property of the United States." If Congress is to decide, how shall it decide? Is Congress bound to decide for the Virginian's institution, and not for the New Yorker's? What binds it?—Any thing in the Federal Constitution? If so, what and where? There is nothing. Congress in establishing "needful rules and regulations" is left to its discretion. The Virginian may demand protection, and so may the New Yorker, but both will get only just what Congress sees fit to allow. To determine this, Congress must examine and consider.—It must compare the two institutions—a free press, or a "nigger" (we use the Virginian's phraseology) not free.

Why should your institution be sounder more than ours,  
Write them together, ours is as fair a name;  
Sound them, it doth become the mouth as well;  
Weigh them, it is as heavy; con, are with them,  
Freedom will start a spirit as soon as slavery.

Leave the thing to Congress. We are contented with that. We always have been contented with it. The compromise division line, made by Congress a generation ago, was, in our opinion, eminently wise. Virginia thought differently and joined in breaking it up. This act was a breach of faith and most mischievous, and we go for its reparation. If we can't get it, we shall yet be content to leave the whole matter to the pleenary discretion of this and future Congresses. Is the Virginian for such pleenary discretion? If he is, why this blistering, arrogant, insolent tone? If he is not, what is he for? Is he for a compulsory opinion in his own favor? We agree with the Richmond Enquirer, that it is well to enter into an understanding on this matter. The Missouri Compromise once out of the question, the issue, as we understand it, will be a free press in the Territories, or (to use the Virginia dialect,) a "nigger" not free, "wool, flat nose, odor, ebo-shin, and gizzard, foot and all." It will be for Congress and the people who make Congress, to decide and act upon the issue between the "institutions." What says our Virginian contemporary?—*N. Y. Courier and Enquirer.*

## The Commercial Question.

### The Ball is Rolling.

The news of the action of the business men of Kansas in reference to making Alton the point of embarkation for Kansas, is beginning to attract attention in the North and East. The papers at Chicago are canvassing the matter, and in a day or two we shall hear from New York and Boston on the subject. This is no impetuous, visionary excitement, raised and decided in a moment, and renewed as a new cause because apparent, but it is a calm and final decision of deliberate business men, who have reluctantly admitted the fact they have no reason to believe that the influence of St. Louis can be secured in defense of their rights. A solemn appeal has been made to that city for this purpose, and that appeal was made in vain. The press at St. Louis, with the exception of the *Democrat*, declined publishing the appeal; and the proper interpretation to be put upon such an ominous silence is, that for the benefit and defense of the invaders of Kansas, who have violated the Constitution of the United States, the rights of the people under that Constitution must be ignored. Will the people of the North tolerate and support, either directly or indirectly, such shameful nullifications of the plainest rights of her citizens under the Constitution? We answer emphatically, no. Even the people of Kansas City, Missouri, see the ridiculous position which an open or constructive indorsement of the outrages on persons and property on the Missouri would place them in, and have boldly and strongly condemned those wrongs, and pledged themselves to prevent them; but not one word will St. Louis offer on the subject. Mum is the word, and silence indorses the outrages.

Let us as citizens of free States, be true to the constitution, true to the interests of our commerce, true to the rights of men, and true to those who are devoting their means and their talents to increase the list of free States like our own. Let us keep the ball rolling till the commerce of the free States shall be found floating in its legitimate channel. Let us stand firmly for the rights of the people of Kansas, and they will in return stand by us, for their fidelity and patriotism has been tried in the fire, and like fine gold, it stands approved.—*Alton Courier.*

### How the Movement Takes.

There can be no question that a line of steamers from Alton would be a great convenience to the emigrants seeking a home in the Western Territories, contiguous to the Missouri river, and would also be of great advantage to that city in a business point of view. It is equally clear that the emigrants are entitled to an unimpeded transit for themselves and their effects upon the Missouri river, without regard to their individual opinions on the question of slavery in Kansas. This, we are satisfied, they would be permitted to enjoy if Alton vessels, commanded by Alton men, were employed in their service. A packet line from that city once in operation, and we should hear no more of the plunder of the Kansas emigrants by Springfellow and Atchison's gang of desperadoes in Missouri.

We are rejoiced to note the commencement of an enterprise like this, and trust it will terminate successfully. Alton is the point, above all others, from which the Missouri river packet trade should radiate. Nature has destined it as the spot at which the transshipment of freight and passengers to and from the Upper Mississippi, Missouri and Illinois rivers should be made; and although her enterprising people have had to contend against the misfortune of being almost without capital, we look forward to no distant day when the trade of the above rivers will be shared by her citizens in connection with those of St. Louis, and in spite of the overshadowing influence of her rich and powerful neighbor.—*Springfield Ill., Journal.*

THE PERILS OF KANSAS TRAVEL.—Samuel Taylor, of New York City, who has been spending some time in Kansas, returned on the same boat with Governor Robinson and Col. Lane. When the boat reached Brunswick, Mo., a party came on board, headed by a son of the Governor of Missouri, to make search for Gov. Robinson, it being known that he was on board. Taylor was pointed out as the Governor, when he was at once seized and dragged on shore in spite of his protestations. There he found a rope and other implements of the court of Judge Lynch waiting him. The rabble demanded that he should be hung; and it was only on his producing papers proving his identity that he was suffered to proceed on his journey. This is the story Mr. Taylor tells the *Buffalo Express*.

We learn from the Canton, Miss., Commonwealth that Charles Wheelock was tarred and feathered in that place on the 19th ult., and ordered to vanish, because he was an Abolitionist.

TERMS: \$2.00 PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

FOR PRESIDENT, JOHN C. FREMONT, SUBJECT TO THE DECISION OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

Another War Threatening Us!

Let our friends in the North be ready! Kansas is again invaded by armed ruffians. They are gathering in by tens, and fifties, and hundreds. Shannon has regularly enrolled them as Territorial Militia, commissioned their officers, &c. At any moment they may commence the work of devastation.

Let Slip the Dogs of War.

Outrage follows outrage with frightful rapidity. The list is swelling. Every day some new crime is brought to light, which equals in enormity its predecessors. The Reign of Terror has commenced. The bowie-knife and revolver, the hatchet and hempen ropes are the instruments brought into requisition to awe, intimidate and crush out the liberty-loving portion of our fellow-citizens.

Attempt to Arrest Senator Reeder.

On Wednesday last, the 7th inst., while with the Committee at Tecumseh, Gov. Reeder was summoned to appear as a witness before the Grand Jury at Leecompton, which he refused to do. The next day, Thursday last, the Committee having returned to Lawrence in the meantime, a deputy marshal came into the room where they were in session, and served a writ of attachment on Gov. Reeder for contempt of court.

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Who can foresee the end of these things? Our men are aiming themselves and training for war. Our women are formed into military companies, and are practising in the pistol-gallery. One boy is making it a part of their necessary learning to shoot with the rifle and revolver. What has so changed all our practices and pursuits? What danger so omnipresent as to require unceasing vigilance and watchfulness to prevent surprise and death? What power is destroying our crops, burning our houses, driving off, imprisoning and murdering our citizens? Who is instituting a reign of terror in Kansas, equalled only by the reign of terror in France? Who has destroyed the ballot-box, taken away the elective franchise, and reduced the Free State settlers here to the condition of serfs and subjects?

Slaveholders have done all this, and are now doing more. They are sending armed bodies of men to Kansas to fight, to murder and destroy our people, to burn and pillage our towns, and to lay waste the country. No longer ago than last week, 600 armed men from South Carolina were landed on our borders, for the openly avowed intention of burning Lawrence and killing the Free State men. These men, whose lives are sought, are from nearly every State in the Union. They have broken no law. They have simply loved liberty better than slavery.

Do slaveholders ever think? What is to be the end of all this? Are the terms slaveholder and ruffian to be synonymous? Are our communities, our families, our schools, all to be armed against slaveholders? Do they court such a state of things? Is safety to be found in a country without friends? Are our future statesmen to grow up under this influence? Have slaveholders no fear of consequences, when mothers sleep with pistols or knives under their pillows to protect themselves and their offspring from slaveholding violence or death? What effect must it have on the rising generation to see all this? To see their fathers dragged from their homes to a prison, or exiled to distant and unknown parts, cut off from all communication with them. Or, listening to these tales as they fall from a mother's lips, in their lonely and humble homes, who knows what resolves of future revenge may then and there be formed?

For our part, we look upon the whole scene with fearful forebodings. We look upon the slaveholder as an infuriated man. He has thrown away his only efficient safeguard. He has turned his honest friends into active and bitter enemies. One year ago the majority of the people of Kansas were decidedly friendly to slaveholders, or indifferent to their claims. Not one in twenty could be found here, who was reputed an abolitionist in the place from which he came. The people were nearly unanimous in condemning a man who was reputed an abolitionist. The general aim seemed to be to make Kansas a free, white, American State, and no sentiment was expressed against slaveholders, slave States, or slave holding where it was legal. Now behold the change!

Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat was a heathen saying, and we fear it may prove true here. Whom the Gods wish to destroy, they first make mad. What greater madness can the slaveholders show, than to arm themselves against the free States, to force slavery upon a people who despise it, or to pull down a political fabric that has supported them three quarters of a century, and under which they have lived safely and prosperously?

What other form of government could secure them so many blessings? They have had the safeguard of the General Government and the support of the individual States, and sympathy of both political parties. What but downright madness can induce the slaveholders to sacrifice all these. Why rush on, in so issue a course, and madly force things to a crisis? Why seek a bloody issue now on a question which has always been amicably adjusted heretofore? Are four millions of black, and fifteen millions of white enemies to be aroused and let loose upon our Southern country for the gratification of a few fanatical slaveholders and ambitious demagogues? The South is living on a magazine, and they are madly bent on firing the train that will blow us to atoms. We warn them of the end before it is too late. We are not negroes. We cannot be subdued, as your arch deceiver has threatened. We are not slaves, and you may be sorry for beginning a war where there may be blows to take as well as blows to give. We are your equals, and we ask for nothing but what is legal and right. If you continue to deny us these as you have done—if you continue to harass us with armed bands from abroad—if you continue to embarrass our citizens by false arrests and imprisonment—if you continue by falsehood and misrepresentation, to excite animosities and hatred towards us among yourselves, and distrust and enmity amongst us toward you, what earthly power can prevent a collision? And if a collision takes place, who brings it on? And what will be the end? We counsel forbearance and patience on our part. Will some one on the other side do the same?

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One of the plainest evidences of the cowardice and meanness of the Border Ruffians is to be found in the fact that when an unarmed man, or one whose calling or pursuits in life have made him not only unfamiliar with the use of deadly weapons, but conscientiously opposed to the employment of such means, falls into their clutches, they poison upon him with an avidity of cruelty which would shame even the howling wolves. Knowing themselves to be safe from retaliation, they disgrace humanity by torturing helpless victims. The old Inquisitorial system never had more finished adepts in human torture, to break its victims on the wheel or bend them to the rack, than can be found now among the Border Ruffians, in their hatchet and bowie knife crusade against freedom.

Our readers will remember the circumstances which called the Rev. Mr. Butler's name before the public last summer. He was seized by a gang of ruffians, headed by KELLY, one of the editors of the Squatter Sovereign, on the 16th of August last, in the town of Atchison, Kansas, and after receiving pretty rough treatment, was put on a raft and sent down the Missouri River. The mob and Mr. Butler parted "with a mutual pledge," he says, in an article which he has furnished us for publication, which will appear next week. "I, that if my life was spared, I would return to Atchison, and they, that if I did come back they would hang me." He did go back last November, taking his family with him, but was not molested. He then returned to the field of his labors in Illinois, where he remained until this Spring. The 30th of last month he came back to Kansas, went to Atchison, near which place his family was living, and was seized by a mob of recently imported South Carolinians, headed by the same KELLY who had figured in the former outrage. They refused to hear him speak in his own defence; cried "kill him! kill him!" and attempted to carry their threats into execution, but were finally persuaded to adopt a different form of outrage. They voted to "tar and feather, and to give him thirty-nine lashes." Some kindly disposed persons prevailing upon them not to inflict this last punishment, they abandoned it, but proceeded to apply the coat of tar and cotton-wool, as a substitute for feathers. This done, they placed Mr. Butler in his buggy, accompanied him to the suburbs of the town, and with shrieks and blasphemous yells, sent him on his journey. He reached home in a few hours, it being the first time he had seen his family since November last. Mr. Butler remarks that there were but a very few residents of Atchison engaged in the proceeding—the mob was composed of the South Carolina and Missouri Ruffians.

The perpetrators of these acts may yet be brought to suffer the penalty which Justice meets out to the violators of Law and the disgracers of Humanity.

Another Assassination.

On Wednesday night, the 29th ult., an attempt was made to take the life of Captain J. N. MACE, a Free State man, who lives a few miles west of Lawrence. He had been in town during the day, giving in his testimony before the Investigating Committee, touching the memorable 30th of March election in the Bloomington precinct; and it is supposed it was on account of his evidence, which exposed the baseness of certain ruffians that the attempt was made to assassinate him. He was sitting in his house about 3 o'clock the evening mentioned, when, from the restlessness of his dog, he was induced to step out of doors. He walked but a short distance from the door, when several shots were fired at him, one taking effect in his leg, near the top of his boot. The shot paralyzed his leg, and so stunned him that he fell to the ground. Two persons, who were concealed in a gully close at hand, hereupon made good their escape, one of them remarking, "there is more abolition wolf-bait." It was several hours before he could make his way into the house. The wound is severe, but is not considered dangerous. See proceedings of a public meeting in another column in relation to this attempted assassination.

James Redpath, Esq.

We were right well pleased to take this "abolitioner" by the hand again, in the field where he won so many laurels. He still retains his connection with the Missouri Democrat, as special correspondent. He arrived in Lawrence this week, looking as if he and beefsteak had not been strangers of late. The border papers will now surely set up a howl against him, as they have done heretofore, but he is "armed so strong in honesty" and resolution to do his duty, regardless of consequences, that their threats will pass by him like the "idle wind, which he respects not." Mr. Redpath was a Delegate from Missouri to the Republican convention at Pittsburg, and was appointed on the Committee to prepare a call for the National Convention to meet in June next. We understand he contemplates publishing a paper at Kalamazoo, Michigan.

Man Missing.

A young man by the name of Wm. S. Bishop, formerly of Michigan, left Lawrence the latter part of last week to visit an acquaintance on the south side of the Wakarusa. He was last seen about dark on Friday evening near the ford, since which nothing has been heard of him. The next day his horse was found with saddle and bridle on. The stream was considerably swollen and the saddle blanket showed that it had been in the water. There are circumstances to awaken a suspicion that there was foul play. A party of Border Ruffians were encamped about that time in the woods near the ford, and from threats previously made by certain persons, that he (Bishop) was "spotted," it is feared he was murdered and thrown into the creek, or disposed of in some other way. Search was made for the body, but it was not found. Mr. Bishop was a respectable young man, strongly Free State, and his supposed untimely end creates the most sorrowful feelings among his numerous friends. He was a member of the "Stabbs."

Gov. Robinson and Senator Reeder.

It is rumored these two gentlemen left Lawrence for Washington Friday morning, passing down the Missouri river on the Northern State.

Still another Outrage.

Leavenworth City and the country thereabouts is infested with a gang of outlaws, who, if they had their deserts, would swing on every sapling in the woods. Their chief business is to harass and persecute Free State settlers. They butchered Brown—tarred and feathered Phillips—incarcerated McCrea, in a close and unhealthy prison, for doing that which he would have been a coward not to have done. They have destroyed a printing press, driven families from claims, and insulted and abused women. They have "no mercy, no remorse, no magnanimity."

The facts in the case we are about to relate have been furnished us by a gentleman whose word is strictly reliable. Last December, on the day the Constitution was voted for, the Kickapoo Rangers, aided by the desperadoes above mentioned, destroyed the ballot-box at Leavenworth and attempted to take the life of one of the judges of election. A young man, of the Free State party, whose name we withhold for good reasons, in company with R. P. Brown, rushed to the aid of the judge whom the mob were trying to kill, and rescued him.

Shortly after this time, a large body of the Ruffians were seen on the opposite side of the Missouri river, some miles above Leavenworth, evidently anxious to "cross over Jordan." Fortunately, the ferry-boat was on the Kansas side; and by accident it was cut loose from its moorings and sunk. The discomfited Borderers on "tother side retired to their homes. The troubles on this side ended with the massacre of Brown.

Last week the young gentleman, whom we have not named, happening in Leavenworth, was accosted by one of the murderers of Brown, with—

"I understand Reeder is in the Territory—I would like to see the d—d scoundrel."

"Yes, he is," was the answer; "and he is a perfect gentleman."

Hereupon the Ruffian seized the young man's horse by the bridle, saying "No doubt all such d—d abolitionists as you think he is a gentleman. You are a d—d robber, and will catch h—ll; I stole the ferry-boat last winter, and I now arrest you for it."

"By what authority do you arrest me?"

"By this authority!" said the Ruffian, brandishing a large bowie-knife.

Our friend drew his pistol, saying, "I don't recognize that authority, and order you to let go my horse's bridle, or I'll burn gun powder in your face."

The Ruffian gnashed his teeth, muttered some threats and walked off. Our friend finished his business in town, and about dusk started on his way home in the country. He had proceeded but a short distance, having just entered a ravine, through which the road led, when he was overtaken by eight or ten men on horseback, led on by the Ruffian. They made him halt, took his arms from him, hit him with their whips, flourished their hatchets over his head, and threatened to hang him on the first tree they came to. They finally concluded to put him in jail and have him tried before the Court for larceny. Accordingly, they hurried off with him to a jail, situated in an isolated place near Delaware, a proscribed town on the Missouri river, and arrived there about the middle of night. Here he was locked up and left to himself. The next day no one came near, but some time during the night following, he heard a key turn in his door, and footfalls outside the house. He waited some fifteen minutes, and then went to the door, which he found open. Walking out on the prairie, he heard his horse neigh in a clump of trees some distance off, and immediately went to him. He found his horse, saddle-bags, and overcoat covered with mud, and soaked through and through. Without waiting for further explanation as to the motive of those who set him at liberty, he mounted and rode home.

Matters at Hickory Point.

Shannon's Law and Order party have been at work again at Hickory Point. Coleman, the man who murdered Dow, their leader. On the evening of the 6th inst., they went to the house of Mr. Ritch, a Free State man, destroyed his furniture, and set fire to his cabin, burning it to the ground. The next day they destroyed a tent belonging to another man. They express their determination to stay in the neighborhood and regulate matters according to their notions of propriety. These facts have been furnished us by a subscriber, who lives in the vicinity of Hickory Point.

Returned.

Our esteemed fellow-citizen, Judge Wakefield, who has been on a visit to the States of Iowa and Illinois, and the Territory of Minnesota, returned to Lawrence last Friday. He reports a strong sympathy with the Free State settlers of Kansas among everybody but Douglas democrats. A large emigration from those places will come here this season.

Generous Donations.

It has been our good fortune, during the last few weeks, to receive several donations from readers of the Herald of Freedom, who had been regular readers of its columns, and in the main approved its positions. One gentleman, of Salem, Massachusetts, sends us \$50. Another, who is known the world over for his liberality, writes approvingly and sends \$19. This is an addition to \$25, which he had previously placed in our hands. Such friends cannot be forgotten. Their aid comes in good time, and is the more appreciated for the relief it affords.

One of the donors suggests—merely suggests—a hint on one matter. We thank him for that suggestion. It shall be taken advantage of, and greater care shall be used for the future. Life in Kansas begets a different spirit from life in New England. We feel differently here from there, and show it in actions and words, and the pen and press record them. We hope other influences will surround us soon; for now it seems we are only fitting ourselves for warriors and the battle field. Implements of death surrounding us in profusion, have lost their terrors. The talk of deadly strife has been so frequent, we all imperceptibly feel a desire to draw the sword, throw away the scabbard, and conquer a peace or find it in death. If occasionally, then, we have been caustic with our pen, ascribe it to the times as much as possible, while we guard ourselves with greater vigilance for the future.

Emigrants' Intelligence Office.

We wish to call especial attention to the card and circular of Messrs. WHITMAN & SEARL, whose map of Kansas we had occasion to notice a few weeks since. If their plan is carried out, it can't fail to be of great advantage to the State and convenience to the emigrant. The knowledge acquired by them in the construction of their map, their extensive acquaintance in the State, and the wide-spread correspondence which they are establishing, must give them large facilities for accomplishing what they propose.

Emigrants, as they arrive, need not as heretofore strike out at random, but may proceed understandingly to the precise point likely to suit them, by first consulting Messrs. W. & S.

We understand that they are taking measures to ascertain and keep the run of all settlements and claims made in the State, with such a record of the same that at any time they will be able to point to any unoccupied land. Nothing could prepare them better for doing a successful business in real estate, and in the private entry of land and location of land warrants at the proper time. In the transaction of a local and real estate business, they possess every advantage.

Mr. Searl laid out our city site and is the only person who can trace back all the lots to their original holders, and show the valid titles. Mr. Whitman is superintending the erection of the new church, and is making it the best and most substantial building that has been put up in the place. Persons wishing to have their buildings well and faithfully done, or their property judiciously cared for, or in the purchase of city property to be sure they are purchasing with a title derived from the original claimant, will do well to avail themselves of the services of these gentlemen. While they are doing by their enterprizes much for the State, they cannot fail to be amply remunerated by securing a large and lucrative business.

Surveillance Extraordinary.

Last week a young man from Mass., on his way to Lawrence, being unwell, was advised to stay in Westport, Mo., a few days until he could go to work. As is usual in such cases, he walked about when able. On the arrival of Buford's party from Alabama and Georgia, he was seized as a spy by them, and compelled to open his trunk and allow it to be examined, and to even take off his clothing, boots, &c., so that the chivalry might search for concealed papers. None being found, he was permitted to go, with many curses and threats. He is wholly unacquainted with the nature or bearings of the Slavery question, and had those who seized him been at all acquainted with human nature, they might have seen his innocence in every word and look.—Driven to desperation, like a drowning man, they seize at a straw, and every grasp shows the hopelessness of their case. The toleration of such outrages by the people of Westport, will sink that place beyond the respect of every honorable man in all sections of the country.—The time is at hand when the merchants and business men of the border towns will find it to their interest to deal out severe punishment to the lawless men who commit outrages on inoffensive visitors.

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On his way Home.

The senior editor, G. W. Brown, Esq., we learn is on his way home.—He will probably be here in time to relate the result of his mission in next week's paper, and to assume the post of duty at the helm of the Herald of Freedom. His readers will doubtless be glad to hear this. The Herald is Mr. Brown's favorite work—one to which he has devoted his abilities and means for the two years last past, and it were folly to suppose any one else could take hold of it and manage matters so successfully as he. We yield up our "brief authority" cheerfully, conscious that in this case change is reform: We must not forget here to thank our good farmer-friend, AUGUSTUS WATKINS, Esq., for the valuable assistance he has rendered in getting up the Herald. What he has given has been a free-will offering to the good cause.

In this connection we will be doing a simple act of justice to Mr. Brown, by noticing, what we have neglected to before, some invidious sayings of those who by detraction and envy seek to create distrust and ruin reputation. Mr. Brown has about the same number of enemies that prominent public men usually have. They vent their spleen also in the usual way, by slander and detraction. During his absence they have been firing in his rear. But nobody is hurt so far.

That business men consider Mr. Brown competent, is evident from the fact that he is selected to arrange an extensive system of commerce between Kansas and the East. That he is honest, is evident from the manner in which he conducted important public trusts during this whole Free State movement. That he is a man of energy, is evident from the fact that during this whole inclement winter, and all through our hard times, he has issued the only regular Free State paper in the Territory, besides attending to public and private business. That people continue to have confidence in him, and appreciate his labor as an editor and a man, is evident from his weekly subscription list.

We cannot take any further notice of his enemies, or their sayings and doings. If, on his return, he sees it important to bestow any attention to the subject or the subjects, they will hear from him.

Asserting their Independence.

We wish the South could send many such parties as that brought here by Maj. BUFORD, of Alabama. The Free State ranks have been recruited prodigiously since his arrival. Not a day passes that we do not see emigrants from the "sunny South," sent here by the aid of Slave drivers' means to assist in the enslavement of the actual residents to the behests of an imposed authority, who have since their arrival in our beautiful country, relinquished the bloody designs of their leaders, quietly turned their coats, and are fixing to settle down permanently and aid in keeping Kansas a Free State. In nine cases out of ten, where individuals emigrate from the Slave States on their own hooks, they seek out Free State settlements, and unite heartily and cheerfully in the Free State movement. But we hardly expected the emigrants sent out by the Southern Aid Companies, would so soon see the error of their ways and come over from the ranks of the enemy to our side. Ultimately, we were sure that result would happen, but it has taken place sooner than we anticipated. Thirty of Buford's men have left him and joined us. There may be some excuse for their doing this, in the treatment they received from the doughty champion of Slavery. Several boxes of guns were given to Buford's party at New Orleans. They brought them as far as Lexington unopened. There Major Buford commenced distributing them among his party; requiring, however, a note of twenty-five dollars from each individual, payable in one year, in default of which the rifle should be returned! Numbers of the party refused to give their notes, and of course, received no shooting irons.—Buford next demanded that each man should take an oath to hold himself in readiness to do his bidding and be subservient to his purposes, for one year after their arrival in Kansas! Many demurred, but finally made the oath reluctantly. THURTY noble spirits were refused to bind their future action in any such manner, and asserted and maintained their independence, in spite of remonstrances and threats. These thirty men, who whilom served Slavery, now give themselves heart and hand to Freedom! There's work for them.

Matters at Hickory Point.

Shannon's Law and Order party have been at work again at Hickory Point. Coleman, the man who murdered Dow, their leader. On the evening of the 6th inst., they went to the house of Mr. Ritch, a Free State man, destroyed his furniture, and set fire to his cabin, burning it to the ground. The next day they destroyed a tent belonging to another man. They express their determination to stay in the neighborhood and regulate matters according to their notions of propriety. These facts have been furnished us by a subscriber, who lives in the vicinity of Hickory Point.

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The Leecompton Union.

We have received the first No. of a paper with the above title, published at Leecompton, Kansas, by A. W. JONES and CHAS. A. FARNS. It is pro-slavery.

Editorial Correspondence. LAKE VIEW HOUSE, near Chicago, April 24, 1856.

READERS HERALD OF FREEDOM—I am stopping at the Water Cure establishment five miles north of Chicago, to recuperate my health, which failed me a few days ago.

On Monday evening last I was in Rockford, Ill., and spoke to a crowded house on Kansas matters. I find we have many devoted friends in the city, and but a very few who sympathize with our enemies.

Rockford is a beautiful town which has grown up in about ten years, and numbers some ten thousand inhabitants. It is situated on a prominent place. The city is situated on the Chicago and Galena Railroad, and is only four hours ride from Chicago, or about one hundred miles.

On Monday last, in a paper read in your hearing and by you, I frankly avowed myself the reviser of that memorial; stated distinctly that it was prepared under my direction in conformity with the authority vested in me; that no human being was consulted in the preparation of it; that the instructions of my principals were faithfully carried out.

After this, in connection with that memorial, you repeat the charge in a form much more objectionable than before. Believing, as I do, that neither the Constitution of the United States, nor the rules of the Senate were intended to justify or sanction so gross an attack upon the character of an American citizen, I respectfully ask for such an explanation of your language upon that occasion as will remove all imputation upon the integrity of my action or motive in connection with that memorial.

What are the prospects of making Kansas a Free State? What is the present condition of society? Is the country adapted to the wants of Northern pioneers?

What did do the friends of freedom in Kansas require at the present crisis from their sympathizers in the States? The meeting was well attended, and deep sympathy was shown in our favor. It will be remembered that our friends there subscribed some two thousand dollars in one evening, for the aid of Kansas.

I discussed briefly upon the necessity of a direct communication with the Free States, by a line of steamers to Alton. At the close of my remarks Dr. DYER offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the movement on the part of our friends in Kansas, for the establishment of a direct trade with Alton, receives our hearty approval, and for its success we pledge our earnest efforts, entertaining, as we do, the conviction that such a movement is not only dictated by self-interest but by self-respect.

As soon as I am able to journey again, I shall visit Alton, in connection with the steamboat business, and after completing arrangements there, shall visit Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. The people are everywhere disposed to lend us all the aid in their power, in furtherance of the project. I trust our friends connected with mercantile houses in Kansas, will visit Alton, and if they can buy goods as cheap and as well there as in St. Louis, do their business there in preference to the latter place.

There are numberless reasons why we should build up a point at Alton, and no argument whatever against it. The people there are ready to receive us with outstretched arms, and are desirous of making it to our interest to form an acquaintance with them. Let us reciprocate the movement as far as it is in our power.

I find the people wherever I have been, decidedly on our side in political matters. They feel that the great struggle between freedom and slavery is in Kansas, and that there the question has to be settled. Thus feeling, they are alive to every throbbing of the public pulse, which indicates in the least the result.

Very truly, G. W. BROWN.

A Heaven-approved Act.

L. C. PAINE FRERE, Esq., of Chicago, Ill., writes the senior Editor under date of April 30th, authorizing him to convey information to the heirs of the lamented and murdered R. P. BROWN, Esq., that they are authorized to draw upon him for two hundred dollars, the amount necessary to pay for one hundred and sixty acres of land whenever it shall become necessary for the purpose.

All honor to Mr. FRERE for the impulse which induced him to make so noble and beneficial a proposal. The tendency of such an act is to erect a monument for the generous donor in many noble hearts, to dry the widow's tear and enshrine his image in the memory of the dear orphan, the spirit of whose murdered parent looks on approvingly from heaven. It is possible others joined with Mr. F. in making this donation. If so, we shall learn them in time, as the memories of such men are treasured above rubies.

Bachelor's Hall.

"What a queer looking place it is." Proverbially, "birds of a feather flock together." This constitutional proclivity of "like to seek like," perhaps—perhaps not—led us to explore the Mansion House—alias Bachelors Hall—the other evening, while walking through the outskirts of the town in quest of an item. The result of our investigations we forbear relating, out of respect to the fairer part of our humanity; as they would show a lamentable indifference on the part of the denizens of the Hall to the arts culinary and housekeeping supposed to be cultivated solely by the aforesaid feminine portion of the human family.

Leaving the culinary, we proceeded to the reading apartment—and were agreeably surprised to see the neatness and taste with which it is fitted up. We give credit to the young bachelors—FIASCA & BOWEN—for engaging in this laudable enterprise, and hope all those who have not subscribed will call at the Mansion and encourage the young men. They have on their shelves all the principal newspapers, and on their table some of the best magazines of the day.

Difficulty between Col. Lane and Senator Douglas.

A CARD FROM COL. LANE.

On the morning of last Saturday, the following letter at my request was placed in the hands of the Hon. S. A. DOUGLAS, United States Senator from Illinois:

WASHINGTON, April 18, 1856. Sir: One day last week I placed in the hands of Gen. Cass, with a request to lay it before the Senate, the memorial of the General Assembly of Kansas, praying for her admission into the Union as a sovereign State. I gave that direction to the memorial from the fact that the Convention which framed the Constitution of Kansas, with great unanimity had before selected Gen. Cass as the medium by which to present the Constitution to the Senate, deeming him, on account of his seniority, the most proper person to introduce into the Union the new applicant.

On Thursday of that week the memorial was the subject of severe criticism, and in connection with it, charges of the most grave character were preferred against me.

On Monday last, in a paper read in your hearing and by you, I frankly avowed myself the reviser of that memorial; stated distinctly that it was prepared under my direction in conformity with the authority vested in me; that no human being was consulted in the preparation of it; that the instructions of my principals were faithfully carried out.

After this, in connection with that memorial, you repeat the charge in a form much more objectionable than before. Believing, as I do, that neither the Constitution of the United States, nor the rules of the Senate were intended to justify or sanction so gross an attack upon the character of an American citizen, I respectfully ask for such an explanation of your language upon that occasion as will remove all imputation upon the integrity of my action or motive in connection with that memorial.

What are the prospects of making Kansas a Free State? What is the present condition of society? Is the country adapted to the wants of Northern pioneers?

What did do the friends of freedom in Kansas require at the present crisis from their sympathizers in the States? The meeting was well attended, and deep sympathy was shown in our favor. It will be remembered that our friends there subscribed some two thousand dollars in one evening, for the aid of Kansas.

I discussed briefly upon the necessity of a direct communication with the Free States, by a line of steamers to Alton. At the close of my remarks Dr. DYER offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the movement on the part of our friends in Kansas, for the establishment of a direct trade with Alton, receives our hearty approval, and for its success we pledge our earnest efforts, entertaining, as we do, the conviction that such a movement is not only dictated by self-interest but by self-respect.

As soon as I am able to journey again, I shall visit Alton, in connection with the steamboat business, and after completing arrangements there, shall visit Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. The people are everywhere disposed to lend us all the aid in their power, in furtherance of the project. I trust our friends connected with mercantile houses in Kansas, will visit Alton, and if they can buy goods as cheap and as well there as in St. Louis, do their business there in preference to the latter place.

There are numberless reasons why we should build up a point at Alton, and no argument whatever against it. The people there are ready to receive us with outstretched arms, and are desirous of making it to our interest to form an acquaintance with them. Let us reciprocate the movement as far as it is in our power.

I find the people wherever I have been, decidedly on our side in political matters. They feel that the great struggle between freedom and slavery is in Kansas, and that there the question has to be settled. Thus feeling, they are alive to every throbbing of the public pulse, which indicates in the least the result.

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personal to himself, he modestly refrains from alluding to them.

First—Other Senators used language equally objectionable.

Second—The Senate rejected the memorial by a large majority.

Third—Gen. Cass would not vouch for its genuineness.

Fourth—Rumors of the purpose of a hostile meeting promulgated through the press, of which my request for an explanation was the forerunner.

Fifth—As Chairman of the Committee on Territories, it was his duty to compare the memorials; and for what he has said, stands behind his privilege and constitutional protection.

After having done an injury, it is a second offence, in an honorable man, to feel no penitence and deny reparation. I shall not dwell upon this transparent injury to hide his cowardice, to avoid facing responsibility. His first statement is untrue. After my frank explanation, it was not possible for any other Senator to have used such language. It is the plea of every ragged offender at the bar of the Police Court—"how full the world is of crime; how many more there are like him;" but the Judges have always overruled the plea.

In the next place Senator DOUGLAS parades against me the very injury he caused me by his personal influence and energy, and the force of party discipline. The other objections are unworthy of his judgment. His plea, constitutionally adapted to it, is "privilege." It is said of a distinguished senator, that after his head was blossoming for the grave, he gave offence to one much his junior. The young man complained of his inability to resent the insult on account of the disparity in years and position. "The venerable Senator exclaimed, 'I ask no exemption on account of my age; no privilege from my position; no, Sir, none! If I have insulted you, you are entitled to reparation, and you shall have it.'" But the Senator from Illinois yields to no such vulgar weakness, and follows no such vain examples. Like a heroic dog, grown insipid upon fat diet, with his head out of the kennel, he growls with swollen courage, with a constitutional privilege at his back, behind which to retreat. Honored with a trust similar to his, from the brave and loyal people of Kansas, I yield to the Senator's Constitutional exemption from accountability for language used in debate, if he sees fit to avail himself of it; but I yield it in the letter only, not in its spirit; for, by the spirit, while aiming to surround with safeguards the utmost freedom of opinion and debate in the Senate Chamber, and so preclude all accountability for it, it implies and comprehends that high notion of Senatorial decorum, candor and truth, which excludes the idea of wanton and malignant wrong. It was given to protect the Senator, in the expectation that his duty and justice would protect all others. But it is within the Senator's discretion (not only that "discretion" which "is the better part of valor") to assert his legal exemption, as he might also plead the Statute of Limitations against a confiding creditor, and an honest debt. He has done so, claiming Shylock's virtue, that "it is the law." Safely sheltered and hidden behind this constitutional privilege, which exists legally in all cases, but morally in none, Senator DOUGLAS now compels me to the unpleasant alternative of protesting, before the public, against this personal outrage, perpetrated where my voice was then silent, and which he technically declines to repair under every obligation of honor. At law he knows I can face my accuser and confront the witnesses; with either cowardice or privilege between me and my adversary, I am compelled to suffer without a hearing, at the hands of a constitutional assassin.

Senator DOUGLAS ejected me into an undesired trust of his sincerity. He made me the guest of his hospitality to deceive and circumvent me. He has broken the seals of friendly confidence, and published it with criminal effrontery. To make the personal indignity the greater, he has impeached his friend and witness; and he has so distorted what I did say that I am unable to call it my own. He has inveighed, with gross criminal imputations, against me, unsustained by a single fact in my own history, and all denied by the public and familiar history of Kansas. I so stigmatize the imputations and charges; and when smarting under it, and presuming on some sincerity in our past relations, I ask for justice or for expiation that shall lead to justice, he hunts out from the Constitution that magical word for weak-kneed spirits—"Privilege!"—and flies to his cover. The public shall be our judges. To this compulsion has it come! Is the ferocious brag of heroism of the Senate Chamber—which boasts in its place of having gazed down pistol barrels—only that quality which "oozes out at the finger ends" and expires outside of the portals of the Chamber? Are treachery, falsehood, cowardice any better because they are privileged? Is privilege to have another meaning? Will the Senator from Illinois abuse it, and make want of courage and "privilege" convertible and equivalent terms? I appeal from the atrocious conduct of the Senator from Illinois, and submit to the honest public, and its just sense and conviction, that in morals no elevation of place can dignify and protect injustice—that because a person is humble, his oppression becomes more aggravated, and he is doubly within the protection of all honorable men above him—that accusation and accountability always go together; that, character assailed, may always compel the accuser to his proofs, and if the offender becomes a fugitive from this plain duty, and attempts to retire to legal subterfuges, public justice will take up the retribution of the wrong, pursue him over his legal barriers, and whip the violator of the universal law of friendship and hospitality, and the slanderer of private reputation at the very altars of his refuge.

J. H. LANE.

WASHINGTON CITY, National Hotel.

Peace has been declared between Russia, Turkey, France and England, and ill-blood is already visible between France and England, growing out of the Treaty. The end is not yet.

Original Correspondence.

For the Herald of Freedom.

POTAWATOMIE, KANSAS, April 29, 1856.

ED. HERALD OF FREEDOM—Dear Sir:—Believing that you and your readers feel an interest in all Kansas matters, I have concluded to send you a brief history of some events, that have lately transpired in this vicinity.

Some time in March last, a person calling himself an assessor, sent a verbal notice to the settlers of Osawatimie, that he would soon call on them in that capacity, and would, before calling to assess their property under the enactments of the so-called Kansas Territorial Legislature, send them a written notice of the time he would meet them. Whether such written notice was ever sent or not I cannot say.

On the 16th of the present month a meeting of the settlers of Osawatimie and vicinity was held to take into consideration what measures should be adopted in view of this notice to assess; which meeting resulted in the adoption and passage of the following preamble and resolutions:

"WHEREAS, several invasions from the border State have been made into this Territory to subjugate and make it subservient to slavery; and whereas, said invasions were made for and resulted in the prostration of our civil and political rights, and the entire pollution of the ballot-box, and foisted upon us a set of pretended and tyrannical Legislators, who unlawfully assembled at the Shawnee Mission, on the Indian Reservation, and there attempted to impose upon the settlers of Kansas Territory cruel and tyrannical laws, and appointed officers contrary to the fundamental principles of our government for the term of six years; and whereas, we are credibly informed that attempts have been made, and are still being made, to assess and collect taxes of us by men appointed for this purpose by the so-called Territorial Legislature of Kansas. Therefore,

Resolved, That we utterly repudiate the authority of that Legislature as a body emanating, not from the people of Kansas, but elected and forced upon us by a foreign vote; and that, therefore, the officers appointed by the same have no legal power to act.

Resolved, That we pledge to one another mutual support and aid in a forcible resistance to any attempt to compel us into obedience to these enactments, let that attempt come from whatever source it may; and that if men appointed by that Legislature to the office of assessor or sheriff, shall hereafter attempt to assess or collect taxes of us, they will do so at the peril of such consequences as shall be necessary to prevent the same.

Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to inform such officers of the action of this meeting by placing in their hands a copy of these resolutions.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, with the proceedings of this meeting, be furnished to the several papers of Kansas, with a request to publish the same."

A meeting had previously been held in Potawatimie precinct, at which similar resolutions were adopted.

About the same time, I learn that an individual, purporting to be a stranger, making inquiry for claims, called on several settlers, and conversing with them about their circumstances, drew from them such facts as he could, and based his estimate of the value of their property on such statements as he got in this round-about way. He, I learn, had been appointed assessor under the authority above named. Soon after this a man calling himself a marshal, or deputy marshal, came into this neighborhood and summoned persons to attend as jurors at a place known as Henry Sherman's, or Dutch Henry's. Many of those who were summoned, appeared at the time and place—others, however, did not.

On the morning of the 21st inst., a Court was there opened, Judge Cato presiding. This Judge Cato takes the place of Judge Elmore, of Alabama, who was removed by the President on the same ostensible grounds upon which Governor Reeder was removed. Prior to the opening of the Court, Judge Cato was questioned in regard to his intention to enforce the enactments of said Legislature, or not; but gave an indefinite answer. On the same day a volunteer company, known as "Potawatimie Rifles," met to drill about one mile and a-half from the place where Judge Cato was to hold his Court, and this Company, composed of the actual settlers in this region, feeling an interest in the proceedings of that Court, were dismissed for a short time, and went to hear the charge of the Judge to the Grand Jury.

The Marshal opened the Court, which he styled a "United States District Court for the county of Franklin." The Judge, in swearing the Jury, and in the charge which followed, did not at all inform them whether they were to act under the laws of the United States or the acts passed at the Shawnee Mission. He did not even name those acts, nor the body which passed them, but spoke frequently of "our laws," at the same time laying his hand on a copy of those acts which was lying on the table.

Persons at all familiar with legal matters, could not for a moment doubt what his design was, when he spoke of certain offences and penalties not named or provided for by the laws of the United States.

At the close, or near it, of the Judge's charge, one of the Rifle Company rose and said: "May it please the Court, I have a question in writing to propose to this Court, an answer to which, would enlighten the citizens, and no doubt would be acceptable to the Grand Jury."

The written question was this, and is a true copy: "To the Court. Does this Court intend to enforce the enactments of the Territorial Legislature, so-called? "MANY CITIZENS."

The Judge replied that the Court could not then be interrupted, but that when he had finished giving his charge, "if the question was of any consequence, he could answer it." When he had done with the jury, he took up the paper containing the question, and after looking at it, laid it down near the clerk, in a rather contemptuous manner, without making any reply whatever. The clerk then did the same thing, and also the marshal. After waiting awhile longer, the Captain of the Company left, and after getting out of the door, called to the members of his Company to meet on their parade ground, which they did immediately. I ought to have said before that the military Company had all left their arms behind on the ground where they were drilled. On their return, the preamble and resolutions of the Osawatimie meeting were read and passed unanimously, taking the vote by "shouldering arms."

They also appointed a Committee of three of their number to wait immediately on Judge Cato, and place in his hands a copy of said preamble and resolutions. That Committee did so at once.

The next day, about noon—I am informed—the Petit Jury were dismissed before the Grand Jury had done reporting, and soon after, when the Grand Jury had brought in bills of indictment against three persons—one of them for shooting hogs—the Court adjourned until September next, not having, as I can learn, tried any cause or done any business, except to fine some who did not appear as jurors.

I attended the first day, and have my information from reliable sources as to what transpired on the second or last day. I also saw one copy of a subpoena that had been left with a person who was required to appear as a witness. But I am unable to learn of any attempt to arrest the persons who were indicted.

Yours, J. B. J.

Public Meeting.

In consideration of an attempt to assassinate Capt. MACE, on the evening of April 30th, at his residence near Lawrence, the citizens of this city assembled, en masse, May 2d, at Faxon's Hall. LYMAN ALLEN, Esq., was appointed Chairman, and J. W. FENNER, Sec'y.

The meeting was addressed by Gov. Robinson, Messrs. Lowrey, Smith, Lovv and others.

Mr. Smith presented the following resolutions, which were adopted unanimously:

The citizens of Lawrence having heard with sorrow of the attempt to assassinate one of the citizens in our vicinity without provocation, and in view of the lawless condition of the State, as evinced by the repeated outrages perpetrated in our midst,—in mass meeting assembled, do adopt the following resolutions:

1st. Resolved, That the cowardly attempt upon the life of Capt. Mace, as well as that upon S. J. Jones, was disgraceful to our community, and worthy only of barbarians destitute of the first principles of honor or common humanity.

2d. Resolved, That every friend of Kansas, law and order, should discountenance and condemn all such outrages as highly destructive of the peace and best interests of the State.

3d. Resolved, That since, under the Territorial Government, the people can have no laws, executive or judicial officers of their own, and since those that have been attempted to be imposed upon the people are partial, unjust and oppressive, not recognized or approved by the bona fide residents of the State, it is the duty of Congress, at once to remove every vestige of the Territorial Government, and to admit the State into the Union under her present Constitution.

4th. Resolved, That it is idle to indulge the hope that a people will enforce laws imposed upon them by foreigners, and the only peaceable and feasible remedy for the disturbances in our midst, is a resort to the laws and officers made and elected by the people themselves, which they can respect, and of which they approve.

5th. Resolved, That until such laws can be made and executed, every man should be a "law unto himself," and brand with infamy any man who would brutally assail his fellow-man, or in any way disturb the peace and good order of the community.

Rifle Presentation.

There was quite a gathering of the Saturday evening, to witness the presentation of a Milwaukee Rifle to Mr. R. G. ROSS, foreman in the Job office, who is going to start for Kansas in the coming month of May. The rifle is a capital one, and in point of efficiency will, we think, be found quite equal to Sharpe's. A silver plate on the stock of the rifle contains the following inscription: "Presented to E. G. ROSS by his comrades in the Milwaukee Sentinel office, as a mark of their personal regard, and an earnest of their good wishes for FREEDOM IN KANSAS. Milwaukee, April 6, 1856."

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The rifle was presented by Mr. A. H. BURDICK, in the name of his associates, with a few brief and pertinent remarks, to which Mr. ROSS made a feeling and appropriate reply. Mr. S. M. Booth followed in a neat little speech of compliment and congratulation to Mr. ROSS, and then, with three hearty cheers for Mr. R. the meeting broke up.—Milwaukee (Wis.) Sentinel.

An intimate acquaintance with Mr. ROSS, formed several years since, makes us feel really glad to think he designs coming to Kansas. We shall welcome him right heartily. He is as good a man as he is a printer, and few members of the craft are his equals in workmanship.

The Benton Democracy of Missouri have nominated Thomas H. BENTON for Governor. The Anti-Benton Democracy have nominated a Mr. T. H. POLK, of St. Louis, as their candidate for the same office. Benton will be the next Governor of Missouri—and his son-in-law will be the next President of the United States.

New Advertisements.

Emigrants' Intelligence Office. WHITMAN & SEARL. Real Estate Brokers and General Land Agents. No. 20 Main-St., Lawrence, Kansas. E. B. WHITMAN, A. D. SEARL.

CIRCULAR.

THE UNDERSIGNED, with a view to meet the urgent and constantly increasing demand for accurate and reliable information in regard to the location of the Territory essential for the aid and assistance of Emigrants wisely to make their locations, purpose to open an "EMIGRANT'S INTELLIGENCE OFFICE" at Lawrence, and to devote a portion of our attention to this business.

In the preparation of our Map, we have necessarily become well acquainted with the peculiar characteristics of the section, and have very perfectly arranged with intelligent and reliable individuals in all parts of the Territory, by which we shall be constantly in the receipt of that minute information in particulars which the Emigrant needs to enable him to proceed at once, with confidence, to the points most desirable and best adapted to his tastes.

We purpose, for a reasonable consideration, to give the Emigrant just arrived in the Territory, the benefit of all the information in our possession, and which we may be daily receiving; and we will furnish maps and guides to all parts of the Territory.

We shall also be prepared to lay out Town Sites, and to Survey Farm Claims; to negotiate the sale and transfer of Claims and Town property generally; to investigate the validity of titles; to superintend the erection of buildings; to act as Agents for the care of property owned by non-residents.

When the land is open for private entry, we purpose to act as General Land Agents for the purchase and entry of lands, and the location of warrants. Our present object is to assist in the mean time acquired, by traveling, correspondence, and the location of settlers, will give us, we believe, facilities for making judicious selections possessed by no other parties in the Territory. We solicit orders from capitalists in the States, and from the holders of land warrants.

In the transaction of business on liberal terms and by careful and prompt attention, we hope to merit and receive a share of the public patronage. WHITMAN & SEARL. Lawrence, May 19, 56-1y.

LAKE VIEW WATER-CURE.

NEAR CHICAGO, ILL. JAS. E. GROSS, M.D., P. H. MYERS, Esq., Resident Physician, Superintendent. SITUATED five miles north of the city, on Lake Michigan, with accommodations for 100 patients. May 10, '56-1y.

War Declared in Texas!

NOT, however, against Free State Kansas, but against the WOODEN FENCE. The undersigned would respectfully inform the citizens of this Territory that he has just brought to this Territory a fine lot of Osage Orange Seed, which they offer for sale cheap. Persons wishing to purchase can procure them by calling on G. W. & W. HATHORN & Co., Lawrence, Kansas. m19-4t THOMPSON & SHROYER.

Found.

BY the subscriber, a certain amount of money, which the owner can have by describing the same and paying for this advertisement. E. ALLEN, Proprietor, Washington Hotel. Washington, Kentucky, May 10, 1856.

THOMAS E. TURNERY,

Attorney at Law, Leocompton, K. T. HAVING been engaged in the practice of my profession during the last four years, in the Land office at Plattsburg, Mo., I believe that I am thoroughly posted in every thing pertaining to the Land System, and the various transactions which will be particularly attended to, on reasonable terms.

will keep constantly on hand a large supply of LAWRENCE NOTES, and will fully guarantee every one sold by me. Office one door south of the "Capital Hotel," on Halderman street, where I can be found at all hours, on and after the 20th day of June, 185

