

Manifesto of the Border Ruffians.

AN APPEAL FROM THE PEOPLE OF KANSAS TERRITORY TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNION.

[From the Kansas City Enterprise (Extra), August 28.]

In justice to ourselves, and as a duty to our friends North and South, we present a frank, brief statement of the causes which compel us to a legitimate only means left us to ensure the preservation of our political rights, our property, our homes—our very lives.

Before the act to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska became a law, the abolitionists, members of Congress, of the Legislatures of the New England States, with others, men of wealth and talent and energy, resolved to defeat the purposes of that bill; to prevent the people who might settle those Territories from determining their political condition—from deciding for themselves whether slaves should be held in those Territories.

They boasted that they had the men and the money practically to nullify the law; and even before it became a law, as a means of defeating its operation, they procured the incorporation of companies, with millions of capital, under the false name of "Emigrant Aid Societies," whose avowed objects were to force into this Territory a population which should exclude slaveholders therefrom.

The miscalled emigrants introduced by these societies were not such as have settled, or would naturally settle, a new country; they were not expected to become "settlers," permanently to occupy the country; did not come to better their condition, to make homes for themselves or their children, but were hired to come to the elections, to remain only to vote, to secure the election and obtain the control of the Legislature, and then to pass laws excluding slavery and slaveholders from the Territory.

By this means, before a population sufficient to establish a State government could be introduced; before the time could arrive at which it was intended the people should be free to fix their political condition by the adoption of a constitution, their action was to be forestalled, the principle of the law practically defeated—the people of one half of the Union excluded.

Not only did they proclaim this to be their purpose, boast of their ability by excess of men and money to effect it, but their hirelings were furnished with arms, and came threatening violence to all who dared oppose them.

The people of western Missouri, who knew the fitness of Kansas for slave labor, were anxious that the people of the South should have the right in common with the people of the North to occupy it; naturally they felt that they themselves should have the right to occupy the land in their neighborhood, adjoining their very farms, separated from them but by an invisible line, which every man in Maine or Massachusetts was entitled to come and possess. When, however, it was proclaimed that they were not only to be excluded from Kansas, but in the end were to be expelled from their homes in Missouri, they were forced to look to their safety—to make sacrifices, however great, to protect themselves against the threatened attack. They asked no favors by legislation, no advantages in official appointments, but were contented to "play the game" that was offered them.

With all the odds of men and money against them; with all the obstacles which a corrupt and crafty Governor, vested with almost unlimited power, could throw in their way; without help, almost without sympathy of friends, to helpless seemed the struggle, they entered upon the contest for their rights, and won. They succeeded in placing in the Territory more emigrants than the money of the abolitionists had been able to transport, and elected the Legislature.

After the election corruption and chicanery were brought to bear to defeat us. Reeder attempted to disorganize the Legislature he had been compelled by his official oath to recognize. Failing in this, and their instrument Reeder being removed, the abolitionists, despairing of success otherwise, determined to resort to their "last hope"—force. Not being able to make laws to serve them, not daring to trust the validity of the laws to the decision of the courts, the proper tribunal, they resolved to set the laws at defiance. They proceeded to organize a State government, and under this mockery attempted a revolution, organized an army, erected their fortifications and defied the officers of the law.

One year ago Governor Shannon was compelled to call on the militia of the Territory to enforce to the law against them. The law-abiding citizens responded to his call. No sooner were they assembled than the rebels sued for peace, professed a readiness to submit to the law, pledged themselves to aid in its execution, begged only not to be degraded by being deprived of their arms, claimed only the right to test the validity of the laws by an appeal to the courts.

The Governor, confiding in their pledges, acceded to their request and disbanded the militia.

No sooner, however, was the militia which could have compelled their submission withdrawn, than these traitors boasted of their successful knavery in deceiving the too confiding Governor. Armed as they were, fortified, and encouraged to hope for aid and protection from the Congress about to assemble, in the county of Douglas, and others in which they were concentrated, they renewed their rebellion, instituted a system of atrocities which they believed would result in the expulsion of all law-abiding citizens. Emboldened still further by the treacherable action of the majority of the House of Representatives, and of their Investigating Committee, they proceeded so far that again the power of the law-abiding citizens was required to compel their submission.

No sooner do the people assemble in force sufficient to compel their obedience, than again they profess with deep humility their repentance and readiness to submit to the law. The leaders of their rebellious having fled and abandoned them, their fortifications destroyed, their cannon and arms which could be found taken from them, mercy was again extended to them.

While we should frankly say that there was hardly a better man in the Territory who placed any trust in their promises, it was yet believed that, convinced of their weakness, having been twice overpowered, they might submit, and the painful necessity of their expulsion or extermination, which their repeated outrages had begun to make seem inevitable, be avoided.

We incline to believe that such might have been the result but for the system of extraordinary blunders which has characterized the administration of the Territorial government, from the moment of their second submission—the reasonable hopes held out to them by the abolitionists in Congress—the aid in men, money and munitions of war furnished them by the people of the non-slaveholding States.

Instead of retaining a civil posse which was effective, immediately on the capture of Lawrence, the stronghold of the traitors, Governor Shannon, as if distrustful of the citizens, as if to protect the traitors, caused the militia to be disbanded, and called out the troops of the United States.

The hopelessness of a successful rebellion being thus twice fully exposed, immediately on the dispersion of the citizens the abolitionists commenced assassinating the law-abiding citizens, driving them from their homes, burning their dwellings, destroying their property, in the counties of Douglas, Lykins and Franklin, where the abolitionists were strongest. The troops were powerless to protect our friends; on the contrary, as powerless they were a protection to the robbers and assassins. While an army can disperse a mob, can capture another army with their drums beating and colors flying, they may give notice to the midnight incendiary, the robber or assassin, and advise them to escape. Brown and his outfit, with the blood of the murdered Wilkerson and Sherman, of Doyle and his sons, not yet cold upon their hands, with a Marshal's posse sent to arrest one of their number—prisoners caught in the act by Col. Sumner—are not only suffered to go free with the horses and arms which they had taken from their prisoners, but are courteously entertained—simply advised to go home. White Pave and his posse are rudely insulted, Brown and Walker are offered to march at the head of their assassins from county to county, while citizens who assemble to arrest the marauders are driven back, actually expelled from the Territory by the troops under this commander, because they are found with arms in their hands, though their only arms had been distributed to them as Territorial militia.

To all this we submitted, under the promise that the laws should be enforced, our lives and property protected.

What has been the result? The House of Representatives proceeds with its efforts to disorganize our government—to set aside all our laws—to bring anarchy upon us.

The army, falsely represented as our protection, is required to be disbanded, unless we are deprived of the protection of the law.

Mass meetings are held in every non-slaveholding State, to contribute aid to the rebels and assassins in our midst; national conventions assembled to devise means for raising an army to destroy us. Lane—a traitor, a fugitive from justice—is permitted openly to traverse one half of our States, enlisting an army to exterminate us. Not an effort is made to arrest him.

While the enlistment of a handful of aliens to fight against a foreign power calls forth all the energy of our government, the zeal of every officer, from President to City Marshal, to check it, is deemed unatoned for fit cause to hazard a war with the mightiest power on earth, an army is raised openly, and boldly marched thousands of miles through States and Territories, under the command of a fugitive traitor, to invade our soil, subvert our government, exterminate our citizens, without an effort to stay its progress, without a word of disapproval.

Troops are enlisted from Boston to Cairo; the army is organized and equipped at Chicago—is marched through Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska into Kansas, and through the heart of our territory—its progress is noted and heralded—its leader stops by the way to proclaim the war of extermination he intends to wage against us—to gather, with the promise of spoils, recruits to his forces. The whole government is paralyzed. The federal, the State, the Territorial governments, all alike dare not meet the invader. One branch of the government alone is awake—the House of Representatives is active in removing all obstacles from his path.

Lane, with his army, enters our Territory. His confederates in our midst heretofore confiding themselves to the assassination of individuals, the pillage, the burning of isolated dwellings, emboldened by his approach, begin to embody; they strip the country of horses to mount the invading army, and chronicle its arrival by sweeping from before them every law abiding citizen in the counties of Lykins, of Franklin and Douglas. They drive out a whole settlement of unarmed citizens from the county of Lykins, burning their houses and destroying their property—they march thence to the town of Franklin, and attack the house of the postmaster, with whom a party of Southern men were boarding—set fire to the house, drive out the inmates, abusing helpless women who could not escape, rob the Post office, and taking a cannon which had been left there by the Sheriff, with this and their other arms they march to the attack of another colony of Southern settlers in Douglas county, compel them to fly and abandon their dwellings and property—thence they go to attack the dwelling of Col. Titus, batter it with cannon until he and those who had gone to his defence are forced to surrender, when they are taken prisoners, his dwelling plundered and burned. They march thence to the very halls of our Capitol, and this, as they avow, was only saved by the storm of rain, that rendered their fire arms useless.

All this is done under the very eyes of the troops of the United States. And no attempt is made to arrest them.

When Governor Shannon, hoping that they would not harm him, who had twice saved them from merited punishment, who had, however unwittingly, so effectually protected them, ventures to Lawrence, which he had saved for them, and calls on them to release the prisoners they had taken, his life is threatened—he is told that they do not recognize him as Governor—that they are a portion of the "army of the North"—are at war with the government, and hold their prisoners as prisoners of war.

They demand and compel him to exchange the warrant. Titus and his fellow prisoners for felons held in custody under arrest for arson and robbery. They have now

become so bold that they make no secret of their intentions. They claim to be a portion of an army called by the name, "the army of the North," and to be waging a war of extermination against every man who is not an abolitionist.

Governor Shannon dared not await the arrival of his successor, but abandons his post and leaves us without a Governor.

We have asked the appointment of a successor who was acquainted with our condition; who, a citizen of the Territory, identified with its interests, familiar with its history, would not be prejudiced or misled by the falsehoods which have been so systematically fabricated against us—one who, heretofore a resident, as he is a native of a non-slaveholding State, is yet not a slaveholder, but has the capacity to appreciate and the boldness and integrity requisite faithfully to discharge his duty, regardless of the possible effect it might have upon the election of some petty politician in a distant State.

In his stead we have one appointed who is ignorant of our condition, a stranger to our people; who we have too much cause to fear will, if no worse, prove no more efficient to protect us than his predecessors.

With, then, a government which has proved ineffectual—has failed to enforce the laws for our protection—with an army of lawless banditti overrunning our country—what shall we do?

Though we have full confidence in the integrity and fidelity of Mr. Woodson, now acting as Governor, we know not at what moment his authority will be suspended. We cannot await the convenience in coming to our newly appointed Governor. We cannot hazard a second edition of imbecility or corruption.

We must act at once and effectively. These traitors, assassins and robbers must be punished, must now be taught a lesson they will remember.

We wage no war upon men for their opinions; have never attempted to exclude any from settling among us; we have demanded only that all should alike submit to the law. To all such we will afford protection, whatever will be their political opinions. But Lane's army and its allies must be expelled from the Territory. Thus alone can we make safe our persons or property—thus alone can we bring peace to our Territory.

To do this we will need assistance. Our citizens, unorganized, and many of them unarmed, for they came not as soldiers—though able heretofore to assemble a force sufficient to compel the obedience of the rebels, now that they have been strengthened by this invading army, thoroughly drilled, perfectly equipped, mounted and ready to march at a moment's notice to attack our defenceless settlements—may be overpowered. Should we be able yet to vanquish this additional force, we are threatened with a further invasion of like character through Iowa and Nebraska.

This is no mere local quarrel—no mere riot; but it is war—a war waged by an army—a war professedly for our extermination. It is no mere resistance to the laws; no simple rebellion of our citizens, but a war of invasion—the army a foreign army—properly named the "army of the North."

It is, then, not only the right, but the duty, of all good citizens of Missouri and every other State to come to our assistance, and enable us to expel these invaders.

Mr. Woodson, since the resignation of Governor Shannon, in the absence of Governor Geary, has fearlessly met the responsibilities of the trust reposed upon him, has proclaimed the existence of the rebellion, and called on the militia of the Territory to assemble for its suppression.

We call on you to come; to furnish us assistance in men, provisions and munitions, that we may drive out this "army of the North," who would subvert our government and expel us from our homes.

Our people, though poor, many of them stripped of their all, others harassed by the fiends so that they have been unable to provide for their families, are yet true men; will stand with you shoulder to shoulder in defence of our rights, of principles in which you have a common and not deeper interest than they.

By the issue of this struggle is to be decided whether law or lawlessness shall reign in our country. If we are vanquished, you too will be victims.

Let not our appeal be in vain.

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| D. R. Atchison, | B. F. Treadwell, |
| Jos. C. Anderson, | R. G. Cook, |
| T. H. Rosser, | Wm. H. Tebbis, |
| Wm. J. Preston, | S. J. Jones, |
| A. A. Preston, | J. H. Stringfellow, |

P. I. Abel.

AUGUST 26, 1856.
We, the citizens of Missouri, urge our fellow citizens and the citizens of other States to respond to the above call of the citizens of Kansas.

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| A. W. Doniphan, | A. G. Boone, |
| Oliver Anderson, | James Morin, |
| D. J. Brown, | Jos. W. Reid, |
| Henry L. Rount, | E. F. Stringfellow, |