

Vol. II

WEBB SCRAP BOOK
April 1856

Passive Obedience.

On Sunday, at one of the leading churches in this city, the reverend parson, in a discourse on "Meekness," took occasion to say, in substance, that it was unbecoming in Christians to furnish weapons of death with which to shoot down their fellow men, and this even in the congregation of the Lord. The remark was an evident allusion to the recent subscriptions for Sharpe's rifles in the North Church of New Haven, in which Rev. Henry Ward Beecher acted a prominent part. The allusion was so covert as not to merit the praise of boldness, and yet was intended to bring into disrepute a truly patriotic and Christian effort. The purpose of the subscription at New Haven was to defend the altars and firesides of Kansas from the invasion of barbarian hordes from Missouri, and to protect that virgin Territory from the scourge of human bondage, which mocks at Freedom, despises Religion, and tramples on the rights and interests of immortal souls. At such a time, it does not become ministers of the Gospel to revamp the doctrine of passive obedience, which has, in all ages, been the darling of tyrants.

For the Daily Tribune.

A Gentle Hint.

TO THE EDITORS OF CHICAGO TRIBUNE:

It is intimated among the wise and knowing ones at the East, that some of those chests of "Carpenters' Tools," such as were taken from a young man going to Kansas, a short time since, at Lexington, Mo., and retained by a self appointed committee, have been recently put up on purpose for their special benefit. It is thought they will have their best time with them before they open the box or chests, as soon after they open them they may not have a very distinct idea of what their condition is.

Later from Kansas--Call for Emigrants.

[Correspondence of the Chicago Tribune.]

LAWRENCE, Kansas, March 20, 1856.

TO THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE: To the North and East the earnest and instantaneous cry of freedom in this Territory is for help! "Help us; we perish!" We are at this moment in more urgent need of assistance from the lovers of Freedom and the haters of the "sum of all villainies" than at any previous moment in our history. We are about being overwhelmed by a systematic effort and an organized force from the Slave States. This is no idle whim or senseless fear. The fact is staring us in the face. The advance of the host is upon us—is in our midst—has passed beyond us—has pitched upon its fighting grounds and is constructing its works. It is vigilant and active—ever sleepless, and this time all the more efficient, formidable and to be feared, in that it is silent in its operations. It hopes, by silence, to disarm the North of its strength, and also to procure the numerical ascendancy and political control of this Territory, so justly styled the "battle ground of Freedom and Slavery." This is and must be the battle ground, whatever form or appearance the controversy may put on, and the North must be and remain awake to this fact, or they are bound hand and foot, and cast out where there will be only "weeping and gnashing of teeth," before they even suspect themselves in danger.

But to particularize. I was satisfied when the hordes abandoned the investment of Lawrence they would never again return in a similar manner. They had learned wisdom from their experience; but were we thence to suppose that their efforts to subjugate Kansas to the slave power was abandoned?—Did that power ever abandon the attempt to accomplish an object until the desired end was attained? And will she now? Let this question ring in the ears of the North until she is

awake to its importance and to their danger. I fear that the apparent calm which has settled down upon the surface of things here, joined to the prevailing disposition of Northern men to attend to their own pecuniary and other affairs, except this great one of liberty, by which they have, in every instance—if we may make the glorious exception of Banks's election—permitted the slave power to put the chains upon their necks, will lead them to disregard their and our danger until it is "too late." But to the facts.

Ever since the abandonment of the Territory by the armed forces in December, everything has been quiet as to any further openly threatened invasion. The border press changed its tone. It was at first suspected by the mere superficial observers and thinkers among our people that they contemplated a secret invasion, a series of guerilla attacks upon Lawrence and other places, for which no man or party could be held responsible, and by which they would destroy our towns and settlements, frighten and otherwise drive our people out of the Territory, and prevent emigration to it. But this was not the policy. Immediately was heard the notes, from the far off Southern States, from the Legislature of Georgia, and from conventions and the public press, of an organized emigration, an actual settlement in the country of those who were pledged and bound, by their instincts, and the conditions in which they were to come, to do all they could to establish the curse in this beautiful land. They were to have their expenses to the Territory paid for them, and be supported for a year, for which, after the pre-emption of a quarter section each of land, they were to deed the one-half of it to those who furnished the means. This is a wise system in that it furnishes to the poor and dependent, who are consequently the more ready tools and instruments of those more specially interested, the means of starting themselves in the world in favorable circumstances, at the same time it is an investment for the capitalist, that will pay far better than any other at his command, independent of the primary consideration, the establishment of Slavery here. The next demonstration we hear or see on the frontier of Missouri, is the formation of "Emigrant Aid Societies," organizations no longer styled "Defensive Associations," but for the purposes of promoting real or pretended emigration into the Territory. And the border counties actually bristle from one extremity of the State to the other with these organizations, established upon the principles stated above. And the work has already commenced, already are the roads lined with teams and emigrants from Missouri, for settlement in the Territory. Ox-teams are being bought up in immense quantities down towards the interior of the State for this use.

They pass up in single teams and in companies. They avow their intentions to locate, and take claims and pre-empt them. Immediately after the abandonment of the attempt against Lawrence, (and permit me here to say that in my opinion, the leaders in that movement never intended to come to actual conflict at arms, and would have sacrificed themselves, almost, if necessary, in order to avoid it; it was all pretence—a game of bluff!) the Pro-Slavery settlers in the Territory were anxious, almost to a man, to sell their claims, and many actually returned to Missouri, leaving their claims and improvements for sale for what they would bring. But now the scene is changed, they remain and others come in. And they are coming early for two reasons: one is to take the most desirable claims, and the other, a very important one, is, to be able to vote at such election as Congress may authorize and direct, with an actual residence of several months as a qualification. In this they will have the advantage of the northern emigration, which comes later, and is consequently, a large portion of it, disqualified, for want of sufficient time of residence. Let this consideration be duly pondered and acted upon.

The Indian lands are being overrun with pro-slavery settlers. As early as January last a company of dragoons were sent from Fort Leavenworth to drive off the intruders upon the Miami reservation. When they arrived there, of course they could not be driven out into the extremely severe weather, and when Spring arrived, the agent, a pro-slavery man of course, was allowed or instructed to call the settlers together. They came together, and promised to leave, upon which the troops left for Fort Leavenworth again. They passed through this place yesterday. The captain said there were a great many settlers on the reservation, and he did not believe any of them would leave. By whose orders was this farce played? Again, the Shawnee reservation lies between this place and the Missouri line, and is to be open for settlement sometime during the present season. After the completion

of the survey, which is now nearly done, the Indians have 90 days in which to select their 200 acres each, after which it is open to the whites. This will undoubtedly, from its proximity to the border counties of Missouri, be pre-occupied thence, which will also afford admirable facilities for temporary settlement from Missouri about election times.

These considerations press upon the North the importance of a large and early emigration. If this can be secured we have nothing to fear. The Slave-Power moves heavily and slowly. The North, if they take hold, can distance them in this race; notwithstanding the movement from Missouri, from various circumstances, can precede any general or extensive movement from the North. "Come on then—be men." Strike first for God and Liberty, then for yourselves, and rest assured that the mere personal consideration is amply sufficient to induce you if you are men, to come and to repay you for all your care, labor, and expense, for this is to be, in more senses than one, the "central" State of the Union.

Our new Legislature have adjourned, without passing any general laws, to the 4th of July. In the meantime the several Committees are to prepare business for the session.

It will be remembered that the one hundred Sharpe's rifles and two cannon taken from the Arabia at Lexington, Mo., are to be held subject to the order of Gov. Shannon. He, of course, declines having anything to do with them, so they are left in the hands of the robbers. The proprietor has gone to St. Louis to prosecute the owners and officers of the boat for delivering them to the mob, and it is said the holders of the guns have sent to St. Louis to get breech-gates made for them, as they, for the cannon as well as rifles, were brought through by stage in advance of the guns. It is reported that the Missourians have resolved that no more guns for Kansas shall be brought through that State.

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 1, 1856.

SEE FIRST PAGE.

A Railroad to Council Bluffs by the Fourth of July 1858—A Profitable Investment—The Way to Secure Freedom to Kansas

With the rapid accumulation of capital in the country and especially in the cities on the seaboard, it needs only to be demonstrated that an investment will pay large dividends and the funds will at once be subscribed. If in addition to this, it can be shown that a great social and moral triumph can also be secured it would seem that all the motives necessary to prompt and vigorous action would at once be supplied to the man of capital, and especially to the philanthropist.

The veriest novice in the movements of the political machinery at Washington knows that for the last two years every effort that political chicanery could command has been employed to make Kansas a slave State. Thanks to the noble, self-sacrificing spirit of the emigrants from the free States, and to the sterling, stubborn principles of not a few from the slave States, the earnest efforts of Mr. Douglas and Mr. Pierce have thus far signally failed. It needs but the same exertion a few months longer and this vexed question, at one time threatening the direst consequences to the Union, will be forever at rest.

We have to propose to the philanthropists in the Eastern States a plan to secure Kansas to freedom and at the same time to make a very profitable investment. We proceed to unfold our scheme.

The Mississippi and Missouri Railroad is now completed to Iowa City, fifty-five miles west of the Mississippi. Four passenger cars, generally entirely filled, run daily west from Davenport, and the road is also doing a good freight business. The Rock Island bridge is about completed, and it is expected the trains will cross the Mississippi next Monday.

The distance from Iowa City to Council Bluffs is two hundred and forty miles. Thirty thousand dollars per mile will complete the road, and if this estimate be correct the cost would be \$7,200,000; but to be on the safe side, suppose it costs seven and a half millions. If it can be demonstrated in New York and Boston that the road

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2 will pay ten per cent. the first year after its completion, with the certainty that it will very soon equal the Galena stock, the funds to complete the road would be subscribed in a single week. Now we ask these New York and Boston capitalists to examine the map of the country. Council Bluffs is on a line nearly due west from Chicago, to the South Pass, and the immense travel and traffic bound for the Pacific coast, Kansas and Nebraska and the Upper Missouri would be sure to take this route. The people of the Eastern States were never so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of emigration as at present, and let it once be known that the Missouri can be reached by railroad from the seaboard, and Kansas and Nebraska would each add a hundred thousand people to their population till they took rank among the most populous states in the Union. Considering the cheapness with which the road can be built and the immense travel and traffic it would immediately command, we have no doubt that its dividends would very soon equal those of the Galena road. The whole road from Davenport to Council Bluffs, fifty-five miles of which are already finished, would cost about \$9,000,000. The receipts of the Rock Island road—181 miles—for the last year were \$1,327,028.95, and should the receipts of the Mississippi and Missouri road average only as much, deducting fifty per cent. for running expenses, it would still be able to declare dividends of twelve per cent. But the moment the road is done to the Missouri, and in fact as soon as it is finished within a hundred miles of it, it would become a great thoroughfare to Kansas; Nebraska and the vast West beyond them, and hence the assertion that its stock would at least equal in value that of the Galena road will not be regarded as extravagant.

Now as to the length of time it would take to complete the road. If the necessary funds were forthcoming the road could be graded one hundred and twenty miles to Fort Des Moines by the first of January next, and the iron could be put down in time for the fall business of 1857, say by the first of October. That would at once secure a large part of the travel to Council Bluffs, and in the winter the whole of it. In the mean time the balance of the road—one hundred and twenty miles—could be graded, and we are authorized to say that the whole can be finished by the Fourth of July, 1858. Let Eastern capitalists and philanthropists furnish the means, and New York will be connected with the Missouri by railroad in two years and a quarter, and then all the machinations of the seething demagogues in Washington to entail the curses of slavery on the free soil of Kansas will be utterly abortive.

Let no one say that the work cannot be accomplished in so short a period. The Rock Island Road, one hundred and eighty one miles long, was built in a year and ten months, and certainly the road to Council Bluffs can be finished in two years and a quarter.

After a little reflection and anxiety on this subject, we are satisfied that this is the surest way and by far the most profitable one to make Kansas a free State. It is only about sixty-five miles south from Council Bluffs, through Nebraska, to the Kansas line, and as near as we can judge, one hundred and twenty-five miles southwest to Lawrence. In fact the whole scheme would not cost a dime, for the road when completed would be one of the best, if not the very best road in the country. We should not be surprised to see its stock twenty per cent. above par in less than a year after it is finished. Council Bluffs is now as large as Davenport or Rock Island were when the Rock Island Road was finished, and it is doing much more business. The trade and travel of the vast country west of the Missouri, and on the upper portion of that mighty stream, would at once seek this route, and that it would do an immense business is beyond any possible contingency.

There is another view in which the building of this road may become an absolute necessity. The citizens of Missouri have already stopped and searched a steamer and have taken upon themselves to seize goods destined for Kansas. True, they were Sharp's rifles; but if they can stop these, they certainly have an equal right to stop any other goods, and should "Border Ruffianism" again become rife, there is no question what-

ever that the passage up the Missouri would become exceedingly hazardous.

We advocate the building of this railroad earnestly as a peace measure. It would settle effectually all the fearful issues growing out of the Kansas act. The very announcement that the stock was subscribed and that the road was to be finished by the fourth of July, 1858, would at once settle the question. Slave property would not be taken to Kansas. That can be accomplished within the next sixty days if the friends of the road and of freedom act with becoming energy. Let it be done, and a great moral triumph will be secured, and one of the best paying roads on the continent will be built, and the stockholders will of course be abundantly rewarded for their enterprise.

MORNING EXPRESS

ALMON M. CLAPP, EDITOR.

BUFFALO, TUESDAY, APRIL 1, 1856

Disgrace and Sacrilege.

The *Courier* publishes the proceedings of the meeting held at the North Church, in New Haven, recently, for the purpose of affording substantial aid to a party of emigrants from that place to Kansas, and denounces them as "sacrilegious" and "disgraceful to any community." Rather hard language this, but still it breathes the real spirit of slavery. We should like to have the *Courier* point out wherein the proceedings are "disgraceful" and "sacrilegious."—*Buffalo Express.*

The proceedings were disgraceful because the spirit which characterized them was a treasonable one, and sacrilegious because they coupled the sanctity of a Church, the Bible, and professedly religious men with a scheme which is in direct opposition to the teachings of Christianity and the lessons inculcated by the life of the "Prince of Peace."—*Courier.*

We admire the meekness with which our cotemporary stands before the world, with smooth and solemn face, carefully folded hands, and submissive mien—and preaches the doctrines of non-resistance. This is all very well, so far as appearances go, but we propose to lift the veil, and push our enquiries to the heart and conscience of the *Courier*, and see if these empty declarations can be sustained by proofs. The *Courier* charges that the spirit of the meeting to which we refer, was treasonable and hence "disgraceful." It is very easy to file allegations, but at times exceedingly difficult to substantiate them. The meeting in question was composed of Clergymen, Laymen and non-professors of religion. They congregated to encourage the hearts and stay up the hands of one hundred emigrants who were about to turn their backs upon the luxuries and comforts of New England society, and endure the fatigues and ills of a long journey, and the subsequent dangers and privations of border life.—This party of emigrants are imbued with the principles of justice and truth. They are devoted to their country and its institutions. They never harbored an incendiary thought or were guilty of a treasonable purpose. They go to Kansas to build themselves homes—till the soil, and do the voting for a free State government. They are free men and women and desire to live under free institutions. To this extent have they offended in their spirit, plans and purposes, and no more. "If this be treason then make the most of it."—But it is not treason. It is the faithful demonstration of patriotic, philanthropic Republican hearts, that would save the country from a curse which menaces it in all its parts. There was no expression—no manifestation of purpose at that meeting which candor could even torture into a "spirit" of treasonable intent. This the *Courier* knows, and if it was not nervous for the cause of slavery which it has espoused with more than its ordinary zeal, and had not committed itself strongly in favor of slavery extension, it would not be so haunted and horrified now with the spectres of treason. We shall expect to hear it declaring next, that it is treasonable to oppose at the ballot box and in the halls of legislation the further extension of slavery. It appears to have lost its sense of justice and right, and a measure of its self respect; and it is difficult to calculate what it may be left to do.

Again, it says—the proceedings were "sacrilegious," because they coupled the sanctity of the church, the bible, and professedly religious men, with a scheme which is in direct opposition to the teachings of christianity, and the lessons inculcated by the life of the "Prince of Peace."—The meeting was called for citizens, without regard to profession, religious or temporal. Its object was to aid the emigrants to Kansas and encourage them in their long journey among the western wilds, where there is no safety, except in the elements of an ample self defence. The place used for this meeting was a church, and the pastor of the people who worshipped there, together with other clergymen, took part in the services. One of the emigrants was a deacon of the church in question. The pulpit of that church, no doubt, was graced by a Bible, and hence the *Courier* under its newly adopted garb of non resistance, cries, "sacrilegious." Were the place, and the men, and the Bible, therein involved, so sacred that to use them for a few hours, for the exercise of the principles of benevolence, philanthropy and patriotism, rendered the service a "sacrilege?" We will not believe that a just and righteous God, so judges the occasion and the services. He who hates oppression, and taught lessons of justice, mercy and truth in the inculcations of His Son, smiled upon that assembly and the noble impulses which led to its action. He did not implant in man a sense of those inalienable rights which pertain to his character, without approving of the agencies necessary for their preservation. When man vindicates the right, he vindicates his likeness to his God, though it involves the shedding of blood. But for the guiding finger and constant fostering care of a wise Creator over the efforts of the few, comparatively, who waged a successful warfare against the mother country, this Republic would never have been founded. Was it sacrilege then to provide the means of vindicating the justice of that cause, even within the portals of the House of God? If not, then it is not sacrilege now, to make provision for the settlers of Kansas to defend themselves and their rights against wild beasts and border ruffians, even though that defence should call for Sharp's rifles.

We almost pity our cotemporary in its painful sense of outraged sanctity and propriety. We could pity it quite, if we believed it sincere, but we do not. What cares it for the sanctity of the church, the bible, and its holy religion, when it is wedded to an institution and a party which tramples all these under foot together with the civil rights of man, to give vitality and extent to human bondage. The moaning of the *Courier* over the terms "treason" and "sacrilege," wears too much the spirit and mien of that animal whose instincts lead it to the sepulchres of the dead for its evening repast.

If the *Courier* really possesses such a nice perception of propriety—such a respect for God and his works—such a reverence for the teachings of His Son; why, let us ask, did it, in the same paper wherein it cantis so piously of those things—insult God by casting shameless and heartless ridicule upon his works. Why seize upon FRANCIS P. BLAIR and drag him into the arena, and there heap ridicule upon his form and shape, because God had not endowed the venerable and noble man with all the comeliness of person that attaches to our good looking cotemporary of the *Courier*. There is a total want of respect for the Creator and his works in this act, that far outstrips the sacrilege that might by the power of possibility be ascribed to the New Haven Kansas meeting. Mr. BLAIR is ridiculed as a being so ugly that his countenance should be transferred to the front of andirons to frighten children from approaching the fire. This heartless ridicule of that person does not reach him, for he did not make himself, but extends to God, whose creature he is. We fancy that the opin-

son of what is sacrilegious from a mind that bears no more respect than this, for the Creator of all things will weigh but little with those who do revere the Maker and observe a proper respect for His Creation.

Dorwich Evening Council.

TUESDAY, APRIL 1 1856.
If Any One

Shall dare to claim that it is not, and has not been, from the beginning, the intention of the men at Washington who are at the head of affairs and lead or are led by, Franklin Pierce, to make Kansas a slave state, ask him, why, then, was that territory despoiled of its consecration to Freedom, and why are the twenty one federal officers appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, all, with only two exceptions, pro-slavery men? Was there ever a time before when a Northern man emigrating to a new State was obliged to provide himself with a rifle to protect his life because he was a lover of liberty?



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NEW HAVEN:

TUESDAY, APRIL 1, 1856.

FAREWELL MEETING.

A very interesting meeting was held at Brewster's Hall last evening. The object was a farewell to the New Haven Colony destined for Kansas under the lead of its President, CHARLES B. LINES, Esq. Prof. Silliman, Senior, was called to the Chair, when prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Bacon, after which was sung by the whole audience "The Kansas Emigrant Song," by J. G. Whittier, as follows:

THE KANSAS EMIGRANT SONG.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

TUNE—*Auld Lang Syne.*

We cross the prairie as of old
The pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West as they the East,
The homestead of the free.]

We go to rear a wall of men
On Freedom's Southern line,
And plant beside the cotton tree,
The rugged Northern pine!

We're flowing from our native hills
As our free rivers flow;
The blessing of our motherland
Is on us as we go.

We go to plant her common schools
On distant prairie swells,
And give the Sabbaths of the wild
The music of her bells.

Upbearing, like the ark of old,
The Bible in our van,
We go to test the truth of God
Against the fraud of man.

We'll sweep the prairie as of old
Our fathers swept the sea,
And make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free.

After the singing, Mr. Lines made his farewell speech. He seemed quite affected, though he bore himself manfully through the trying hour. He complained of great physical exhaustion, having so much of the labor of preparation on his hands. His remarks were listened to with apparently very deep interest on the part of the people. Rev. Dr. Bacon then ascended the stage and read a letter from Rev. Henry Ward Beecher to Mr. Lines, in which Mr. Beecher presented a number of Bibles in the name of one of his parishioners, and twenty-

five Sharpe's Rifles in behalf of several others. The letter was a masterly production, full of vigor, beauty, courage, strength and truth. Dr. Bacon then made a brief but powerful speech. He was succeeded by Prof. Silliman, Rev. Dr. Hawes, Wales French, Esq., Rev. Mr. Dutton, and Mr. J. D. Farren, late private school teacher. All these speeches were to the point, and well received.

The exercises were concluded by the singing of the following beautiful song, composed by the Rev. Mr. Bingham of this city, formerly of the Sandwich Islands. During the singing, sixty of the seventy-two members of the Colony took position on the platform. Twelve of the colony had previously gone forward. Others will join at different points, making the whole number about eighty:

**THE WESTERN COLONISTS' SONG,
DEDICATED TO THE
CONNECTICUT KANSAS COLONY.**

BY REV. H. BINGHAM.

Our fathers' faithful God,
The Pilgrims' safe abode,
Our way prepare:
O shield us by thy power;
Thy guidance we implore;
In every trying hour,
Make us thy care.

All hail, our glorious West,
Destined to be possessed
By Liberty!
By compact firm and pure,
While Truth and Right endure,
From Slavery's blight secure,
Realm of the free!

We go for Freedom's cause,
Justice and equal laws—
Come life or death:
God's truth we fain would hear,
His Sabbaths blest revere,
And in his praise sincere,
Employ our breath.

May Freedom's banner blest
Be o'er the ransomed West,
For aye unfurled;
At Liberty's command,
Near each Freeholder's land,
May Schools and Churches stand,
To bless the world.

There, cheered by Freedom's light,
May every home be bright,
With hope and love:
Then, when life's toll's are o'er,
Called to remove once more,
Safe may we reach the shore
Of peace above.

The members of the Colony, after giving the farewell shake of the hand to troops of friends at the hall, were kindly escorted to the boat by the Elm City Guards and by Croton Engine Company, No. 1. It was announced by the Chairman that already 3,000 men from the North were on their way to the "Land of Promise," to take up their abode upon the rich soil beneath the clear skies of Kansas. Glorious mission. May the Good Being, who rules over all, guard and keep them, and they be successful in establishing Freedom and free institutions in that land of beauty and fertility. We expect to keep our readers posted in regard to them and their future proceedings.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 1, 1856.

☞ The editor of the Springfield Argus evidently has no idea where Kansas is. He thinks it is a long distance from Missouri. Will some intelligent and liberal democrat send him a map, which can be had at the book-stores for 25 cents. Henry Wilson stated in his speech in the United States Senate, a fact that has been confirmed by scores of reliable witnesses, that "hundreds of men breakfasted in Missouri, voted in Kansas and returned on the same day to Missouri." The Argus with the gravity of an owl, argues the impossibility of this fact on account of the distance! "All this without railroads, in a country where they could not even vote by telegraph!" it exclaims, in a tone of irony that is absolutely withering. When the Argus gets sight of a map, or reads the Kansas-Nebraska bill, it will be astonished to find that Kansas is bounded on the east by Missouri, and that two-thirds of its eastern line can be stepped over by men of

ordinary legs; while one-third has the Missouri river between, across which there are regular ferry boats plying between the principal points. He will also learn that some half dozen of the Kansas voting places are on the banks of the Missouri, and a man might cross over and back from Missouri to any one of them a dozen times a day without over exertion. When the Argus gets this astounding piece of geographical learning fairly through its hair, it can then perhaps also comprehend that Kansas has other voting places farther interior and less easily accessible. When it has learned both these facts it will perhaps be able to laugh over the statements and logic of its leader of Monday morning, as heartily as its readers did.

The Atlas.

TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 1, 1856.

THE POST AND THE NEW HAVEN MEETING.—We referred on Saturday to the insolence of the attack made by the Boston Post upon the New Haven meeting. We have a few words to say touching its untruthfulness. This is made the less necessary, however, from the fact that the very quotations which the Post gives refute it charges. Before giving extracts describing the proceedings, the Post says:

"Here is a meeting that sustains the cause of insurrection; that was engaged in hounding on men to the dreadful position and crime of forcibly resisting the laws and constitution of their country. No cloak can cover this up—no sophistry can evade it."

The Post then gives a long extract from the report in the New York Times; after which it again indulges in its anathemas against the meeting and misrepresentations of its objects. Among other things the Post says:

"The idea that Missourians will invade the territory is a sham; and these men know it. President Pierce, in such a case, has ordered the United States forces to protect this very company. These men know this, too."

Further on the Post adds:

"Yet Beecher and his kindred fanatics are subscribing money to send Sharp's rifles to Pomeroy, and recognize the existing authority to be Robinson!"

The Post concludes with:

"To whom much is given much will be required, and they should be supporters of the laws. These men know the vital FACT that this C. Robinson, who is playing his part as governor, is not recognized as such by those who, alone, have the power, in this case, to recognize who is the governor of Kansas; and, as good citizens, they are morally and legally bound to govern themselves accordingly. They do not do so, and their action is demagoguish and seditious. For this they deserve to be held up before the nation as disturbers of its peace."

The manifest falsehood of all this is, that the object of the meeting contemplated any other than perfectly lawful and proper things. The very quotations which the Post gives show this. Mr. Lines it quotes as saying that the sole object of possessing Sharp's rifle, was that the company might be put at any moment in a posture of self-defence. Professor Silliman, in his quoted remarks, speaks also of self-defence as the only uses to which the desired rifles were to be put. The assumption of the Post that they are to be used either as against Gov. Shannon, to uphold Gov. Robinson, or in any way to resist the lawful authorities, is pure and wilful untruth. No speaker at the meeting intimated any such purpose; self-defence, and that only was the object sought to be accomplished, and this the very extracts the Post gives clearly prove. What makes the untruthfulness of the Post the less excusable is, that the writer also knows that Gov. Robinson himself has most positively announced his intention not to resist the authorities of the United States; but to submit even to arrest and imprisonment, however unjust, rather than oppose force against the federal authorities. What pretence, then, can the Post invent for its allegation that the New Haven rifle were raised to assist Gov. Robinson in resisting the United States authorities, when even he proposes no such resistance? How base and inexcusable, in view of these facts, are such unwarrantable accusations! But then the Post very coolly tells us that this talk

Post at Arms, instead of Clerk) is a Massachusetts

of Missouri invasion is all a sham, that no dangers are to be apprehended from border ruffians, that this company has no need of any weapons to protect themselves, that President Pierce will extend over them his kind and paternal arm! All this might possibly have been swallowed, but for the experiences of the past year. We have seen, unfortunately, that border ruffianism and murderous invasions are no sham. President Pierce, it is true, has issued paper proclamations, but their only effect has been to encourage ruffianism, to give impunity and protection to crime and outrage, and not to the peaceful and law-abiding citizen. Where was the protecting arm of government when Dow was deliberately shot down and murdered? President Pierce's officers, in Kansas, arrested whom? The murderers? No; only the friend and companion of the murdered man. And to this hour not the first effort has been made to arrest or punish the miscreants! The only arrest was that of the innocent friend of the victim, to effect which the whole military force of the Territory was called out. Where was the protecting arm of government when one of President Pierce's office-holders deliberately shot poor Barber in the back? Does not the murderer retain his official position? Is not complete impunity awarded to his crime? And more recently, when the unfortunate Brown was hacked to pieces by the hatchets of murderous border ruffians, where was this protection which the Post promises? Why have not the perpetrators of these murders been sought out and punished? Why is it that the only threats that we hear of arrests, on the part of the government, are made, not against the authors of these outrages, but against men whom the people of Kansas have invited to rule over them, but who will make no resistance whatever to the federal authorities?

All these things were not unknown to the people of New Haven. They knew full well that border ruffianism is no sham, but that all the protection they could hope for from Pierce, or his murderous Kansas officials, was a sham and a cheat of the most deplorable description. They knew that Pierce retains in office, in Leavenworth, a man who is constantly shrieking and calling for the murder of all "abolitionists," meaning, by that term, all who are opposed to slavery in Kansas. They knew that thus far the fullest impunity has been extended to every outrage of border ruffianism. Knowing all this, they also were but too painfully aware of the hopelessness of looking for protection from such a government, and that they must rely upon their own trusty weapons for self-defence and protection against the dangers of their new settlement.

THE KANSAS COMMISSION.—The officers of the Kansas Commission are George G. Fogg, of New Hampshire; Mr. Bowen, of West Chester, Pa.; and S. P. Hanscom, of Boston. The particular duties of these gentlemen have not yet been defined.

Messrs. Fogg and Hanscom arrived in this city last evening. The party will rendezvous at St. Louis on the 10th.

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, TUESDAY, APRIL 1, 1856.

"RELIGIOUS." The Hartford Times copies from the editorial columns of the N. Y. Observer a malignant article against the Free State men of Kansas, and heads it "The Kansas Difficulty as Viewed by a Religious Paper." A "religious paper"! But that sheet professes to be religious. We are reminded of a conversation with a Western clergyman, in which he gave some account of a visit he had made to Virginia. While there he spent one or two days with a clergyman who was "religious" much after the fashion of the New York Observer. One morning during our friend's visit, this religious man became furiously angry with one of his female slaves for accidentally breaking a pitcher. He took her into a basement room, stripped her back naked, and with a heavy raw hide gave her a

terrible flagellation, drawing blood at every stroke. At the second blow the poor creature, writhing with pain, began to exclaim, "Oh! Lord! Oh! Lord!" The holy man paused in his fury; his religion was shocked, and he rebuked her with severity as follows: "You wicked slut! How dare you take the name of the Lord in vain!"

Doubtless this "religious" Virginian was a regular subscriber for the New York Observer. They greatly resemble each other.

(Correspondence of the Albany Journal.)
KANSAS MOVEMENTS IN THE SOUTH—Mississippi River, March 16, 1856. I have just come up from Tennessee, and let me assure you the South are now moving in earnest in sending settlers to Kansas. I heard a letter from Kansas to a gentleman in Memphis, read at a Kansas meeting, in which the South were urged to send their men on immediately. "The only hope," the writer stated, "is in sending on enough to whip the d-d Abolitionists before the 1st of July, or the Territory would be lost." The writer says: "there are now at least three Abolitionists to one friend of the South, and if anything is to be done it must be done quickly." On the boat now there are 27 from South Carolina bound for Kansas. Send on friends of Freedom faster and faster or all is lost. 200 from Alabama are to come up next week.

A regular and continued flow of emigration from the free States to Kansas, this spring, will settle the question of freedom in that territory. Nothing is easier than to furnish ten emigrants from the free States to one Southern voter for slavery.

Boston Journal.

TUESDAY EVENING, APRIL 1, 1856.

MOVEMENTS OF THE SLAVERY EXTENSIONISTS. The Washington correspondent of the *Charleston (S. C.) Mercury* communicates the following, which shows how intent the slavery extensionists are on gaining a victory in Kansas:

"Immediately upon my arrival, I made the acquaintance of Gen. Whield, and a specimen, indeed, he is of a Southern man. Would he not be the type of the whole South! My conversations with him have been of a most interesting nature. He says that there are over two thousand slaves already in Kansas, and that the Southern party are now, and have always been, in the majority; but that the Abolitionists are gaining fast upon them, and will soon overpower them, unless the South acts promptly and energetically in the matter. I asked him particularly in what form aid was needed, and his reply was: 'Young and enterprising Southern men.' 'Missouri,' said he, 'has done nobly for Kansas. She has given money by thousands, and her sons are ready for the struggle. But she cannot hold out against the entire North.'"

"When I left Kansas, the hopes of Southern men in Kansas are sinking and sinking, and every day I receive adds fresh proof of this. They feel that they are battling not for themselves only, but for the South; and that while the North marshals its hosts to crush them, the South looks coldly and indifferently on. They see that the last issue is coming; that the North is intent upon violence, and they will be forced to yield up Kansas to Abolition, or sink and sink, and sink. When I told him of the efforts made in Charleston and throughout South Carolina in behalf of Kansas, he expressed himself most warmly. 'Tell them,' he went on to say, 'to press on; for, if Kansas becomes a free State, Abolition will triumph in Missouri in three years. It will sweep Arkansas, and what next it is too hard to conceive. The South can save Kansas by this aid, and this is the only chance for her future course as the past. See what the North is doing. Have you read the news from Yale College, where the very Professors have subscribed money to the cause of Abolition in Kansas? Yet this is the college to which Southern youth are sent to imbibe their principles and education. Say for me, that Kansas is lost without the aid of the South; and inspire the people of South Carolina not to fail us in such a cause.'"

THE KANSAS COMMISSION. Mr. Greeley writes to the *Tribune*:

"It is rumored that the President wishes in some way to strike a blow at the Kansas Commission, and that a message or proclamation questioning the power of the House to raise it will be transmitted on the slightest pretext. The Southern movement in the House raising this question, is thought to have Executive backing. I only know the fact that the Committee have not chosen to apply either to the President or to the Secretary of War for authority to employ the military force in or near Kansas, as contemplated by the House."

The correspondent of the *New York Times* says that the officers of the Commission were finally settled on on Saturday: George G. Fogg of Concord, N. H., Mr. Bowen of Westchester, Penn., and S. P. Hanscom of Boston. The particular duties of the above have not yet been defined. There were between four and five hundred applicants.

KANSAS MATTERS.—The District Court of Kansas meets at Leecompe on the 7th, when the case of the members of the Legislature, Governor and others, will be presented to the Grand Jury.

A party of 28 emigrants for Kansas left Charleston, S. C., on the 28th ult., and 15 started from Orange borough district on the next day.

Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON:
TUESDAY, APRIL 1, 1856.

Correspondence of the Traveller.
LETTER FROM KANSAS.
LAWRENCE, K. T., March 20, 1856.

Editors of the Traveller:

As a change of subject may be agreeable, allow me to say a few words upon peace affairs, which aspect of things is now most prominent. I have just returned from attendance at the sitting of the first State Assembly. You may form some idea of the enthusiasm of the people in this movement, from the fact that a complete organization was effected on the first day. Many of the members came more than one hundred miles on foot, crossing streams on floating cakes of ice and over roads almost impassible. More than a full quorum were present at the opening of the session, and every member but one readily and boldly took the solemn oath "to support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Kansas." No finching, and there will be none in the work of demanding and maintaining their rights.

We have heard of "times that tried men's souls," and I have been permitted to witness the bearing of true men in such a crisis. It was known that Gov. Shannon was in the neighborhood, and it was believed that he was clothed with power to arrest the officers and members for high treason. Place yourself in such a position, in a remote corner of the country, with the whole influence and power of the Federal Executive arrayed against your rights, and you can form some feeble estimate of the degree of moral courage required to stand up boldly and assert and demand your rights. During the fortnight they were in session I visited them twice, and spent several days in watching the proceedings and in making the acquaintance with the members. In the whole Assembly of both houses I am told but one member ever sat in a legislative Assembly before; yet for intelligence and character they would compare well even with your Massachusetts House of Representatives. The short session was spent in arranging preliminaries and in passing such laws as were necessary to complete the first organization of a government.

But to set themselves right before the country and to close the mouths of their adversaries, they passed at the outset a joint resolution, suspending the operation of all laws until such time as they were admitted into the Union, unless by special act. So confident are we of the justness of our cause and of the expediency of an immediate State organization that we cannot believe that our plea will be rejected when the facts are truly known.

Messrs. Reeder and Lane were elected U. S. Senators and able memorials adopted to the President and the two Houses of Congress, setting forth fully and truly our grievances and necessities. If these, with the Governor's message, produce no effect, and we are to be ruthlessly deprived of our rights and subjected to all the horrors of civil war, for presuming to enact laws for our own protection when we are without law or protection, the responsibility rests not upon us. But we expect no such thing. Our neighbors of Missouri will hardly be likely to interfere with us, if we are well armed and prepared for self-defence, and the country will demand, in tones not to be misunderstood or disregarded by their servants at Washington, that we shall be at once admitted to the brotherhood of States.

As I watched the proceedings from stage to stage, I became impressed with the feeling that it was no boys' play, but that men of stout hearts and strong wills were at work in earnest, and that in Western phrase there would be no "backing down."

At the close of the session, a Committee of twenty was appointed to draft a code of laws, with instructions to sit during the recess. There seems to be a strong determination to prepare codes of laws that shall be worthy the State, such as will make Kansas the pride of the Union. Codes, Digests and Reports are solicited from which to select. We shall have an eclectic code, discarding the old and useless, and adopting with modification such as will be adapted to our rising greatness. With a good code of laws, and liberal provision for, and wise arrangements of, our school system, we are destined to become, through the bountiful provision of Providence, an envied State. Let politicians, and demagogues, and pro-slavery nullifiers say what they will, there can be no question of the fact that the State movement is a spontaneous movement of the people, and the whole people.

If Congress should be so foolish as to order a new movement for the formation of a Constitution, the people, unless invaded, would unanimously vote to take the one already formed, officers and all. So, what would be gained but an opportunity for invasion and bloodshed. Sure as there lives a God in Heaven, any further attempts at interference will be followed by the most awful consequences. Our people are strong and their patience is exhausted. The ruffians are at the length of their chain, and another step will involve them in ruin most signal. They will be swept from the face of the earth as with the beam of destruction.

I see a short paragraph in your paper of March the third, stating that the Kickapoo Rangers were making preparations to drive out the Free State settlers, and

violates the laws of the State. That the U. S. forces had been ordered to rendezvous at Fort Scott. Now permit me to remind you that said despatch originated in Missouri. The Kickapoo Rangers will soon find more profitable business at their accustomed employment, that of black-leg gamblers on board the river boats. Their commander is the most notorious black-leg to be found on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. During the close of navigation they were employed to harass the settlers. As to the U. S. forces, the facts are, that one company of dragoons have been for the last four weeks stationed upon the Miami lands, in the south part of the State, to protect those lands from encroachments. Yesterday they passed through this place en route for Fort Leavenworth. The hue and cry, as it comes from Missouri, has a purpose, and I suppose a portion of their threats towards us may be referred to the same end. Yet, not knowing what may occur, it is safe for us to take them at their word, and be prepared for the worst. They intend, no doubt, to do all they can to frighten away free emigration, by representing in dark colors the dangers to which they expose themselves by coming here. Slaveholders of Missouri acknowledge that in a fair emigration they stand no chance. The slaveholding emigrant must build two houses, the free man one;—by squatter title only 160 acres can be held, which is no plantation;—add to this the uncertainty of slave property in the prospect, and you can well understand why slaveholders are shy of coming here. But what would they do? I had it from the lips of one of the leaders, who spoke without knowing in whose presence he said it, that the slaveholding policy was, by noise and bluster, threats and violence, to deter emigration from the free States, and thus preserve the land open to settlement until the public sale was ordered, and then they (the slaveholders) could come in and purchase as large farms as they wanted.

Let the emigrants of the free States note this and act accordingly. If our route could be made through Iowa, so as to avoid the disagreeable necessity of passing through Missouri, it would increase the emigration. This is beginning to be the case to some extent; and the disposition to trade at St. Louis is growing less and less. Since the recent robbery of Mr. Hoyt by the leading men of Lexington, on his way up the river, the determination to quit St. Louis at the earliest possible moment has been fixed. Certainly it will be the case unless her Merchants, who have influence over the boats, promptly interfere to restore Mr. Hoyt his property and to prevent further outrages. They have the power in this case in their own hands, and if they refuse to exercise it they should be held strictly accountable.

I know of no way to close this somewhat extended and still more rambling epistle, than by an anecdote to show the spirit of our men or rather women in the free State cause. At Topeka I became acquainted with an old gentleman, a member from Sugar Creek, near Arkansas. He was born in Kentucky, and had lived, except one year, there and in Arkansas. That year he spent in the South part of Illinois, where he removed to get away from slavery; but finding so much hypocrisy there among men, who, though living in a free State, still owned slaves and hired them out in Missouri, he returned in disgust to Arkansas. On the opening of this territory he removed here to aid, as he said, in making a free State of the right sort. He arrived at the Capital on the second day of the session at the time the members were expecting an arrest. Some of his party hesitated about taking the prescribed oath, but by the persuasions of the old man they were induced to do so. In speaking of it afterward to me, he said, "If I had gone home without taking the oath, wouldn't my wife have given me scissors. She would have called me coward and that is what she never yet did." Such are the men and women who have moved here from slave States, and do you think freedom can be crushed out? Sooner will the heavens fall and this Union be shattered into fragments.

Yours truly,
W.

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, APRIL 1, 1856.

The Speech of Gen. Pomeroy at the Anti-Nebraska Caucus.

WASHINGTON, Monday, March 31.
The prominent feature of the Anti-Nebraska Caucus at the Capitol to-night, was the speech of General POMEROY, who responded to the call to hear from the "State" of Kansas. In regard to public opinion, he said, the people were anxious to have the State admitted with the Topeka Constitution. Emigration was going on at the rate of 1,000 a week. He graphically described the alleged invasion by Missourians, and threatened capture by them of Lawrence, and denounced the elections in that city as illegal. His assurance that the sentiment of the people of Kansas was overwhelmingly on the side of Freedom was hailed by the Anti-Nebraskaites in Freedom with wild delight. He was certain that any caucus with wild interference with their rights would be sternly resisted. He made a long and eloquent speech, and answered many questions propounded by his delighted listeners.
Adjourned to Monday.

News From Kansas.

ST. LOUIS, Saturday, March 29.
Gen. LANE, Senator elect from Kansas, arrived here yesterday, bound for Washington. The United States District Court for Kansas meets at Leocompton on the 7th of April, when, it is expected, the Grand Jury will take into consideration the charges against the members of the new Legislature and the Free-State Government. Affairs in Kansas were quiet when Gen. LANE left.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Senator Harlan's Speech on the Kansas Question—The Committee of Investigation—The Tariff, &c.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, March 27, 1856.
MR. HARLAN ON KANSAS.

Washington has been rather dull for the last day or two, presenting little of novel interest for my pen. To-day, however, Senator HARLAN, of Iowa, gave us a speech on the Kansas question, full of telling points and sound doctrine. One fact to which he adverted is especially suggestive. He stated that all the Anti-Slavery papers of the Northwest, nearest to the border of Kansas, have for months charged upon the Missouri ruffians the force and fraud which controlled the elections in the Territory, and made "popular sovereignty" the work of a mob, and charged it to condemn. On the other hand, the Pro-Slavery Presses do not deny, but confess the violence and wrong, and attempt its defence. Thus we have the facts confessed; and the only question left to discussion here is whether this bold and reckless defiance of popular rights is or is not justifiable. There can be but one opinion on this subject. Even DOUGLAS, with all his subserviency, does not justify the acts of REEDER & Co.—he seeks only to palliate their guilt by pleading provocation.

RESISTANCE TO FRAUD ONLY.

MR. HARLAN also drew another distinction too often lost sight of,—and that is, that the Free-State men of Kansas make no resistance to the laws of Congress,—but only to the local laws, enacted by a Legislature confessedly imposed upon them, and which exercised its power to appoint for an indefinite period the tools of the slave power to execute and enforce said local laws. The people of Kansas were clearly opposed to Slavery. That fact was evident to the Archibson men,—and in order to maintain a hope of ever establishing Slavery in the new Territory, it became necessary to obtain control of its first Legislature, in order that its local laws might invite, encourage and protect Slavery, and repress the aspirations for Freedom. This they did by means of their armed bands of marauders,—and hence the resistance to laws conceived in iniquity and brought forth in crime.

THE EVIDENCE IS AMPLE.

But, say honorable Senators, there is no evidence of all this, except the oral testimony of those who favor the erection of a Free Government in Kansas, and the newspapers. It is not enough that the fraud and force has been so often confessed,—gentlemen want "proof!" MR. HARLAN exposed the insincerity of those who quibble thus, by reminding them that they fully believe that LOUIS NAPOLEON established his throne by force and fraud, although they take that upon newspaper and oral testimony. And he reminded Senators, also, how often they cite the London Times or Telegraph, or some other European journal, as evidence not only of facts, but of the sentiment of a Government or a people. Why then this affected disbelief of notorious facts presented by the Press of the United States?

MR. SEWARD—HIS PURPOSES AND SENTIMENTS.

MR. GUYER next addressed the Senate, and MR. SEWARD hopes to follow. The latter will address himself to the advocacy of the right of Kansas to come into the Union at once, with her existing Free-State organization. Those who remember the Governor's splendid effort of 1850, in behalf of the admission of California, anticipate a rare feat when the Senator takes the floor upon this question. It has been charged, by the way, that Governor SEWARD has urged the suspension of all appropriations to carry on the Government, in the event of the failure by Congress to admit Kansas into the Union at this session. I do not so understand him—but I do understand him to be opposed to making special appropriations to place extraordinary power in the hands of the Executive, to be used in the subjugation of the white people of Kansas to the institution of Slavery.

THE KANSAS INVESTIGATION.

The Kansas Committee of Investigation is actively engaged in preparations for departure, MR. OLIVER having already left, as you were heretofore advised. GEORGE G. FOGG, Esq., of Concord, New-Hampshire, will probably be made chief Sergeant-at-Arms, instead of Clerk, the former being deemed the position of highest responsibility. He is the editor of the Independent Democrat, and now in the city as a member of the Republican Executive Committee. He is well known through all New-England as an able, ardent and energetic opponent of Slavery extension. He did not seek the post to which he is now called, nor does he feel at liberty to decline it.

THE APPOINTMENT.

MR. S. P. HANCOCK (who may be Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, instead of Clerk) is a Massachusetts

for many years a member of the Boston Press, and correspondent from that city of some of the leading New-York journals. He was an official reporter of the late Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts in 1853, and subsequently a clerk in the State Department of that State, until recently removed by the present Know-Nothing Administration of Gov. GAMBELL, which he actively opposed on the stump last Fall. He was also the Republican candidate for Clerk of the present Massachusetts Senate, and possesses energy, "pluck" and firmness.

WM. BLAIR LORD, appointed official Reporter to the Committee, is a native of Maine, but was a resident of Baltimore, and one of the most able phonographers in the country. He was for five years an official Reporter in the United States Senate,—and has quite recently fulfilled some similar in the Legislature of South Carolina. He is wital, honest, faithful and true—and will discharge his responsible trust with perfect fidelity and impartiality. The same being auxiliary to the cause of Abolition will consist of one gentleman from Chester Co., Penn., and another from Ohio. Their names will be telegraphed ere this reaches you. Altogether, I think the Commission will be about as near perfect in its organization as can well be. The Committee hope to complete their labors and return within a month. It is doubtful whether they can return in less than ninety days.

Progress of Abolitionism Southward.

From the Richmond Enquirer, March 27.

There is a set of politicians at the South, (once numerous, now few in numbers) who have been dispirited and temporizing and compromise with Abolition, hoping to hold their slaves during their lives, and willing to let posterity take care of itself. They do not believe Slavery right, yet are willing to enjoy its profits and advantages. They do not believe it will be permanent, and are only anxious to relieve themselves from the horrors of a revolution, in which they are quite willing to involve their children. But their timid measures, if not counteracted by bolder, wiser, less selfish and more patriotic men, would be sure to precipitate the revolution which they dread. Prince METZENSCH, when reminded that the conflicting materials of the Austrian Empire could not hold together long, replied, "it will last my time." Yet revolution has broken off the Prince to-day—and may do so again. Those heartless and selfish politicians, whom we have described, are the bane of the South. They would put up with the gross insults and injustice of the Missouri Compromise, in order that Slavery might "last their time." But another generation is arising, who must correct the errors of those selfish men, or bear the woful consequences of their cowardice, treachery and folly.

It is needless to conceal the fact that there is now an organized Abolition Party at the South.

THE SEMI-WEEKLY TIMES.

FROM KANSAS.

Legislative recess—Atchison's Inroad—The Rifle Seizure.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, Monday, March 17, 1856.

Our Legislature took a recess on Saturday last until the 4th of July, when they intend to meet again at Topeka, to close up the business of the session. Besides the Standing Committees in both Houses, they appointed a Joint Committee of twenty, fifteen from the House and five from the Senate, to draft and codify a code of laws, and report at the adjourned session. This Joint Committee is to meet at Topeka, in two weeks, and enter upon its duties. There is a great amount of labor to be performed in reporting a complete Statute for the Government of a State, and there could be no better way devised, probably, than the appointment of such a Committee, expressly to perform this labor. Then, when they come together in July, the report will be referred to the several Standing Committees, to be amended or adopted, according to the will of a majority. But very few acts were passed, and those were of an exclusive character. Nothing was done to bring us in collision with the Government that has already "collapsed." They passed an appropriation bill; an act regulating the duties of the State officers, authorizing the Auditor and Treasurer to issue State Bonds for the relinquishment of current expenses; an act fixing the salaries of the several officers—fixing that of the Governor at \$2,500, and the others in proportion. But all have not yet been signed by the Governor, and it is rumored that he intends to veto one or more of them. A memorial to Congress was reported and signed by all the members, which will be forwarded soon.

POLITICS.

An effort has been made, since the commencement of the session, and even before, by a few restless political spirits, to draw over the National Democratic Party—distinct from the Republican, or true Free-State Party. The high-backed Democrats have held several caucuses for this purpose, but generally Republicans enough have met with them to show their fallacy in argument, and, what was more perplexing, out-vote them. This kind of Democrats includes some men of prominence among us, such as ROBERTS, HOLLIDAY, DICKET and GARVEY, and even LANE is not able to show a clean hand when driven to define his position, which he generally does after all the rest have taken sides—so can contrive to jump between them and not founder.

GOV. SHANNON.

SHANNON is at Leocompton, but did not appear at Topeka, nor make any Missouri demonstration while the session continued. Our friends can rest

assured that Kansas is to have an immense emigration the coming season, from both the North and South. They are already beginning to come in with arms and money. It is yet uncertain what course will be taken concerning the rifles robbed from the boat *Arabia*. No boat has come up the Kansas yet, but it is not for want of water; we expect one now every hour. The weather is warm and most delightful; we work without fies through the day and the noisy hammers are heard in every corner of our town. I should have mentioned that we applied for a City Charter, to our Legislature, and it passed the House without opposition, but was lost in the Senate.

RANDOLPH.

Senator Butler's Doubts about Atchison—The Facts of the Case—The Rifles—A Receipt.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

TOPEKA, K. T., Saturday, March 15, 1856.

I have seen a copy of Senator WILSON's speech in the United-States Senate, and read, with some astonishment, the apparent sincerity with which Mr. BUTLER questioned his statement that DAVID R. ARCHIBSON came into Kansas at the last Spring election, at the head of a company of "border ruffians." The fact has been admitted by ARCHIBSON himself in one of his letters, and is nowhere questioned in this region. I have this day seen and conversed with a most respectable gentleman named COX, who tells me some incidents of that trip. He himself saw ARCHIBSON on his way at Salt Creek, a few miles west of Fort Leavenworth. He was armed to the teeth, and headed a party of sixty men. They stopped at Salt Creek to drink, and it was remarked that ARCHIBSON took the largest drink ever known at that place! and that too, a point on the California road. He led the party to Marysville, 120 miles from Fort Leavenworth, the place where the California road crosses the Big Blue River. At that place, they deposed the judges of the election, and substituted others from their own party. It was a very small precinct, and most of the voters were intimidated from coming out. One of the deposed, whose name can be had if needed, states that these sixty men polled about two hundred and seventy votes! It is believed that ARCHIBSON himself did not vote.

An incident on their way out is noticeable. They stopped and dined at the house of a Pro-Slavery woman, (a great curiosity in Kansas,) who said she hoped they would not leave alive a single Free-Soiler! So pleased were they with her spirit, that ARCHIBSON proposed a contribution for the purpose of purchasing her a set of jewelry, and headed the list with a \$20 gold piece. Some \$300 are said to have been raised; at all events, a fine set of jewelry was bought with the money and sent her. This would seem to indicate, what indeed is very probable, that this party was composed of the upper-crust of border ruffianism.

If Senators think it of so much importance to prove these things, the names of abundant and unimpeachable witnesses can be had.

The "National Democrats" have had a meeting this evening, and nominated Delegates to the Cincinnati Convention. This meeting was thinly attended, and produced no enthusiasm whatever. I shall send you the resolutions whenever. The most prominent man concerned is Lieutenant-Governor ROBERTS. Do not for an instant suppose that this meeting indicates any division whatever in the Free-State Party. It is only a spasmodic yearning after old party associations, and a vain attempt to gain something like sympathy from former friends. As well might one get blood from a turnip, as aid to Freedom from the present Democratic Party.

THE RIFLES.

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THE MERCURY

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But I do not mean to congratulate your State for mere originality of thought and speculative acumen. She has a much higher claim to National regard and admiration. The ensuing Presidential canvass, which will probably determine the fate of the Union, will turn almost solely on the question of State equality. None can consistently or effectively contend for State equality, who do not hold that the institutions of the South, and the social forms of the South, are equally rightful, legitimate, moral, and promotive of human happiness and well-being, with those of the North. If slave society be inferior in these respects to free society, we of the South are wrong and criminal in proposing to extend it to new territory, and the North right in exerting itself to the utmost to prevent such extension. Nay, more: if slave society be an inferior social organization, we should all become at least gradual emancipationists. But I go farther with the South Carolina politicians. We must contend that ours is the best form of society; for social organisms, so opposite as those of the North and the South, cannot be equally well suited to people in all other respects so exactly alike. We must surrender the doctrine of State equality and of slavery extension, unless we are prepared to meet the attacks of Black Republicanism on our institutions, by making equally vigorous assaults on theirs. The President, in his annual message, has clearly indicated this as the proper mode of defence, the true answer to Abolition.

Let not the South longer rely on the half-way, apologetic grounds of negro slavery, or of constitutional slavery. We may thus excuse or extenuate the temporary continuance of slavery, but cannot justify its extension. If all other forms of slavery but negro slavery be wrong, then is the Bible untrue, and the history and experience of mankind worth nothing. Besides, by such admission we offer a premium to amalgamation that in a few generations might change the Ethiop's skin. We condemn, too, our own laws, which retain in slavery men whose skins are whiter than the Spaniard's or Italian's, simply because they are of distant negro extraction. Far worse will it be for us to rely on the Constitution—thereby admitting that all slavery is immoral, unjust, and inexpedient, but contending that the Constitution is a bargain or contract between the North and South, which, although it

assured that Kansas is to have an immense emigration the coming season, from both the North and South. They are already beginning to come in with arms and money. It is yet uncertain what course will be taken concerning the rifles robbed from the boat *Arabic*. No boat has come up the Kansas yet, but it is not for want of water; we expect one now every hour. The weather is warm and most delightful; we work without a stop through the day, and the noisy hammers are heard in every corner of our town. I should have mentioned that we applied for a City Charter, to our Legislature, and it passed the House without opposition, but was lost in the Senate.

RANDOLPH.

Senator Butler's Doubts about Atchison—The Facts of the Case—The Rifles—A Receipt.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

TOPEKA, K. T., Saturday, March 16, 1856.

I have seen a copy of Senator WILSON'S speech in the United-States Senate, and read, with some astonishment, the apparent sincerity with which Mr. BUTLER questioned his statement that DAVID R. ARCHIBUS came into Kansas at the last Spring election, at the head of a company of "border ruffians." The fact has been admitted by ARCHIBUS himself in one of his letters, and is nowhere questioned in this region. I have this day seen and conversed with a most respectable gentleman named COX, who tells me some incidents of that trip. He himself saw ARCHIBUS on his way at Salt Creek, a few miles west of Fort Leavenworth. He was armed to the teeth, and headed a party of sixty men. They stopped at Salt Creek to drink, and it was remarked that ARCHIBUS took the largest drink ever known at that place! and that too, a point on the California road. He led the party to Marysville, 120 miles from Fort Leavenworth, the place where the California road crosses the Big Blue River. At that place, they deposed the judges of the election, and substituted others from their own party. It was a very small precinct, and most of the voters were intimidated from coming out. One of the deposed, whose name can be had if needed, states that these sixty men polled about two hundred and seventy votes! It is believed that ARCHIBUS himself did not vote.

An incident on their way out is noticeable. They stopped and dined at the house of a Pro-Slavery woman, (a great curiosity in Kansas,) who said she hoped they would not leave alive a single Free-Southerner! So pleased were they with her spirit, that ARCHIBUS proposed a contribution for the purpose of purchasing her a set of jewelry, and headed the list with a \$29 gold piece. Some \$300 are said to have been raised; at all events, a fine set of jewelry was bought with the money and sent her. This would seem to indicate, what indeed is very probable, that this party was composed of the upper-crust of border ruffianism.

If Senators think it of so much importance to probe these things, the names of abundant and unimpeachable witnesses can be had.

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violates the laws of God and the ordinary notions of right and wrong, justifies us not only in holding our slaves, but in inflicting the institution on new societies. The Constitution will not be respected when those who invoke its protection admit that it is the guarantee of iniquity and crime. We have abundant materials in the history of all emancipated slaves, or serfs, in the famines and revolutions of Western Europe—in the prevalence of Socialism and infidelity in Europe, and of all kinds of isms in our North, and in the better moral and physical condition of the South, as exhibited by the census, to enable us to vindicate and justify our institutions. The North will be sure to continue to denounce slavery, and hold up theirs as model and pattern social forms, although their politicians, their clergy, their philosophers, their mobs, and their women, are equally busy with "assiduous wedges" in knocking those forms to pieces.

It our common agent, the Federal Government, finds the North thus boasting of its institutions, and the South admitting slavery to be a "moral, social, and political evil," another Missouri Compromise is the best we can expect for the present; with certain Abolition in the not distant future. The worst enemies of the South are its half-way friends; for their admissions furnish unanswerable arguments to the North. A people who do not consider their institutions and government better than those of any other State, invite and justify aggression, and should be ashamed to propose to inflict on others what they cannot recommend.

If the press of the South will do its duty—compare and weigh the evils of Northern and Southern Society—of slavery and the so-called universal liberty—of the dominion of human masters and the despotism of Capital—they will easily convince al honest conservatives at the North that Southern slave property has equal right to protection and extension in the new territories and unoccupied domain of the Union with all other kinds of property. The issue in the ensuing Presidential canvass must be, we repeat, State equality. None can consistently contend for such equality but those who deem their own laws and government equally good with those of other States.

his place, the Committee will stand—Messrs. Sherman, Howard and Oliver. Geo. G. Fogg, of Concord, N. H., Chief Clerk; S. G. Hanscom of Boston, assistant Clerk; Wm. B. Lord of Baltimore, Reporter.

The complexion of the Committee is decidedly favorable to a thorough investigation of the frauds and outrages which have been perpetrated upon the people of Kansas. Messrs. Howard and Sherman have the reputation of being strongly anti-slavery in sentiment, while Mr. Oliver is a Missourian, and supposed to favor the border ruffians. If any difference of opinion should occur between him and the majority of the committee, he will of course be outvoted, but will still have an opportunity to show up his side of the case in a minority report. Mr. Fogg, Chief Clerk, is the editor of the *Independent Democrat*, published at Concord, N. H., and decidedly anti-Nebraska. Mr. Hanscom was the official reporter of the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts in 1855, and subsequently a clerk in the State Department of that State, is a practiced writer for the press, and possessed of firmness and "pluck." Mr. Lord, appointed official Reporter to the Committee, is a native of Maine, but was a resident of Baltimore, and is one of the most skillful phonographers in the country. He was for five years an official reporter in the United States Senate, and has quite recently fulfilled some similar in the Legislature of South Carolina. He is reputed to be honest and impartial.

The Committee hope to complete their labors and return in two months, but probably a longer time will be required, as a great amount of evidence will have to be sifted, and the truth gathered from a mass of contradictory statements.

One's first impulse is to ask, Why send a committee all the way to Kansas to prove facts which are patent to the whole country? Why seek evidence to disprove what even Mr. Douglas is forced to admit in his special plea for the ruffianism by which the will of the bona fide people of the Territory was overborne? But, on reflection, it is obvious that the appointment of the committee was a judicious step on the part of the opponents of slavery extension. The acts of the sham Legislature are sufficiently damatory on their face, but it is very desirable to have the frauds and outrages by which that body were elected fully shown up in an official form. Then when Congress comes to act upon the matter there will be no opportunity for members, however prejudiced in favor of the ruffians, to dodge the facts which tell against them. We trust the Committee will do their work thoroughly. If they do, they cannot fail to make such an exposé as will render it impossible for Congress to indorse the acts of the sham Legislature. If they are engaged three months in their task, it will be all the better. Meanwhile the population of the Territory will have very greatly increased, with a very large majority from the North, and a strong plea can then be made for the immediate admission of Kansas as a State. Mr. Douglas, in his bill, has fixed upon 93,400 as the requisite number, that being the apportionment for a Representative in the House, but Congress may, if it see fit, change this condition altogether, and it would be justified in so doing by several precedents.

conceit, and exclaim how excellently suggestive is the giver's name of the humane purpose of his heart.

The day for carrying the Bible in the one hand and the brand in the other has happily gone by; the new dispensation inculcates no such doctrines; and when we see men who claim to be messengers of glad tidings, bearers of such words as "peace and good will," encouraging by their presence, their words and their deeds, the rampant spirit of "Young America," the "Mose" of reform, who is in for "making a muss" upon all possible occasions, we cannot help regretting that they were born so many years behind their time; regretting that an office we consider eminently sacred and peaceful should have incumbents so erratic.

Let "pure and undefiled religion" be proclaimed everywhere in its force and beauty, and Sharpe's rifles may be dumb forever. The church and the clergy libel the bible, and confess to the weakness of the truth, when they attempt to flank it with a rifle corps.

Of Mr. Beecher individually we have nothing to say; neither of the purity of his intentions or the honesty of his heart, but only of him as the exponent of a class, who are occupying, not to say, usurping, the sacred desk; who are in an uncertain twilight between the world and the church; who make the cross which they hold up so very narrow and so decidedly transparent, that they themselves are visible in all their proportions behind it. The world wants more of the old-fashioned ministers, a few of whom are lingering here and there, trembling of voice but firm of purpose; with frosty locks, but hearts warm as summer in all love and gentleness; men who seem to be the link 'twixt this world and a better; whom we reverence in their profession on Monday as well as the Sabbath—reverence them because they reverence their calling; because they render it an ever present homage.

There were such men, but of them has been written, "passing away."

Mr. Beecher's church, we see, has made the meek and Christ-like contribution of twenty-five Sharpe's rifles to the cause of liberty, and we are not surprised at their extraordinary manifestation of the missionary spirit considering how they have been taught. Had they been among the poor, persecuted disciples that met in an upper chamber, of old, they would have had a battering ram trained at the gate and a portable catapult at every window. O for the genius of a Sharpe in those days! Faith at the point of the bayonet, hope and charity carried round the world in a scabbard!

The rarer the gifts and the richer the graces of the representatives of the *right addenda* to the New Testament, the more dangerous their influence.

We want brakemen in these fast days, more than engine drivers; men occupying a standpoint as far back and as far away as the days when the great Orator to the Gentiles uttered earnest words upon Mars Hill.

Discoveries in political economy, in science, in art, have been made, but religion is not among the "improvements" of this or any other age. Did it not comprehend all time; were it not equal to all intelligence; had it not been "finished" from the beginning, it would not be religion, and would be unworthy of the name.

And the men to-day who are the expounders of its doctrines and the exemplars of its practice should belong to no Flying Artillery of reform, the gunners of no new Paixhans, the patrons of no rifle maker, but men living everywhere the great doctrines of truth—not fretful with quills, not glistening with bayonets, but like the sun, beaming hope and beauty and an abundant harvest.

Dubuque Daily Tribune.

A. W. HACKLEY, Editor and Proprietor.
Wednesday, April 2, 1856.
From Kansas.

The James H. Lucas arrived yesterday from the Missouri River, crowded with passengers. Among them we hear, was Col Lane, elected as a Senator to Congress from the State of Kansas, by the sham Legislature which recently held a week's session at Topeka, and then adjourned until the 15th of July, to see what would "turn up." He is on his way to Washington. Gov. Charles Robinson of State Government notoriety, is a passenger on the Omaha, with, it is presumed, an Eastern destination.

Kansas was as quiet as any other section of the country up to Monday last.

The District Court for the territory of Kansas, it is stated, will meet at Leecompton on the first Monday April. At that time the case of the members of the Bogus Legislature, and of the Mock Governor, and other State officers, will be presented for the consideration of the Grand Jury. Under the laws of the Territory now in existence, it will be strange if all these men are not indicted. That their arrest will follow, if they do not make their escape from the Territory, is equally certain. —*St. Louis Republican*, 29th.

CHICAGO DAILY JOURNAL

R. L. WILSON, } Editors.
C. L. WILSON, }

WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 2, 1856.

Sharpe's Rifles.—Peace.—Henry Ward Beecher.

Our neighbors, of the *Journal*, do not like the purchasing of Sharpe's Rifles for Kansas emigrants, and think those ministers over-zealous who commend this course.—*Chicago Tribune*.

We not only think clergymen over-zealous who go into public meetings "to teach young ideas how to shoot" their fellow-citizens in time of peace—we believe them criminally wrong.

While Mr. Killam may very appropriately furnish a friend going to Kansas with a Sharpe's Rifle, we think it is very unbecoming for a divine to heap up as if electrified with the happy

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 2, 1856.

The Kansas Commission.

The Kansas Investigating Committee will, it is said, meet at St. Louis on the 9th inst., and thence proceed to Leavenworth to organize for action. Mr. Campbell having declined the appointment, and Mr. Sherman been appointed in

DAILY HERALD.

A. HARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDICT.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

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The reverend agitators who have figured so conspicuously in Sharpe's rifle meetings, ought to have foreseen this consequence. The effect of any extreme measure is to provoke retaliation. When one party arm themselves with deadly weapons, the other will do so too, and the danger of bloody collisions is much greater when both parties have arms in their hands, which they will be tempted to use.

The Daily Republic.

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TOLEDO BLADE.

TOLEDO:

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A Free State Representative.

Capt. Horne who emigrated to Kansas from Massachusetts, two years ago, being on his return east, called upon us this morning, and favored us with a little chat about the affairs of the new territory. Capt. H. is a resident of Topeka, which he describes as a very beautiful town, situated on a high prairie, upon the south bank of the Kansas, by which it is accessible to boats of the largest class. Topeka will, in all probability, be selected as the capital of the

territory. Real estate in the town and for many miles around it has been taken up by settlers. City lots range in prices from fifty to one thousand dollars, according to location. Buildings of brick and stone are going up rapidly, and improvements of a permanent character are in the process of construction.

Capt. Horne informs us that the Free State men number four to one over the pro-slaveryites—and that they are now in a state of organization, which will enable them to carry out their designs. They will fight before they will again submit to surrender their right of suffrage—and a fight, the Captain seems to think, is inevitable, before affairs can be peaceably adjusted.—Companies of the citizens of Lawrence, Topeka and Council City have been organized, and they meet for drill three times a week, and are ready to march at short notice. There is an effective military force composed of citizens, who will favor Free State measures, amounting to eight hundred or a thousand men. Capt. H. says that the free party will not submit to a single measure that has been adopted by the pro-slavery party, and that it is not and never can be in their power to enforce them.

In soil and climate the Captain speaks in most enthusiastic terms. Corn and wheat yield abundantly, and vines of all kinds flourish well. The country is easily tilled—coal of superior quality abounds throughout the territory, and wood and timber can be obtained in sufficient quantities for building and fencing. Great preparations are making for an extensive cultivation of the lands in the neighborhood of Lawrence and Topeka, during the present season.

The cities of Lawrence and Topeka are 25 miles asunder, on a strip of 30 miles of territory on the Kansas, between a reservation owned by the Pottawatomie Indians on one side and the Shawnees on the other. Many of the old Chiefs who used to live in this valley still exist in Kansas. The Indians are friendly to the Free State cause, and have extended the hand of welcome to the settlers. Game and fish are abundant.

Capt. H. is en route for Massachusetts where he intends to organize a company of young men, and return immediately to Topeka. He is the agent for several of the territorial papers, and will receive subscriptions from such of our citizens as may wish to keep posted on the progress of Free State principles, in this interesting territory.

In this connection we direct attention to the account of an anti-Nebraska meeting at Washington, in our telegraphic column of yesterday's Blade: When Capt. H. left, he thought the immigration of the pro-slavery men was the greatest, but it seems that this order has been reversed since, and that free State men are now on the gain.



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Kansas has availed herself of "the right of self-government." She has chosen, with due forms of law, a Convention to frame her Constitution. The Constitution has been framed. It has been submitted to her people, and ratified by a majority. She has elected under it, State officers and a Legislature. She has chosen her

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U. S. Senators and Congressman, and sent them on to Washington. Last week, she knocked at the doors of the two Houses of Congress, in accordance with her "right to govern herself," and asked admission as a free and sovereign State. There she stands, knocking yet. Who says "Come in?"

Not General Cass. The Nestor of "the Democratic Party of the Nation," and the great Discoverer of Squatter Sovereignty does not hear the knocking. A little while ago he was up and garrulous about Lord Clarendon and by-gone gossip of the London Times. But now that Kansas is come, he sinks into his arm-chair. Upon that topic he is both deaf and dumb. What, General, not a word for the Squatter and his Constitution? Not a word. Peradventure the old gentleman sleeps. Knock again, Kansas. Wake him up.

Who says "Come in?" Not Stephen A. Douglas. Two years and a half, he has sworn till all was blue, "that the sole intent and purpose of the Nebraska Bill was to let the actual residents of Kansas determine whether they would have a Slave State or a Free one." Well, Stephen, they have determined. They have concluded, on the whole, to take a Free State. Why—are not you going to hand it over to them, as per agreement? Here is your old friend Popular Sovereignty, Mr. Douglas, arrived rather unexpectedly, perhaps, but of course welcome to you. This is he, knocking at the door of the Senate Chamber. But the "Little Giant," scowling at the doorway, fiercely informs the intruding "actual residents," who want "to govern themselves"—not that they are welcome, but that "We, (Little Giant & Co.) are going to subdue you!"

Not Senator Toombs, who declared that, were he in the Senate when Kansas applied for admission, be her Constitution free or slave, he should vote for it. Most unexpectedly to himself, there he is, and here is Kansas. But her knocking does not reach his ears. Cotton in them, perhaps. We fear his promise is destined to add another block to the pavement of the place not to be mentioned. It will be fulfilled when that other promise of his is, to "call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill."

Not Augustus Caesar Dodge. With eighteen thousand dollars of the current coin of the Union in his pocket, cash down for selling his neighbor Territory into Slavery, he has gone to foreign parts, to ornament the Spanish Court.

Knock again, Kansas. They are dull of hearing at this end of the Capitol. Try the other door. Who says "Come in," from within the Hall of Representatives?

Not William A. Richardson, who engineered the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise because "it restrained the people of Kansas from governing themselves." He is too busy helping the Missourians to restrain them now. Not Wilson Shannon, who, losing his seat by his zeal in the same employment, has found a more effective field to continue it, in Kansas. Not Mr. Ingersoll, who avowed his "willingness to go before the People on the Nebraska issue," went before them, and got left behind them. Not Mr. Haven, who, by voting against the bill, regained his seat and now uses it to vote in its favor. Not the Cobbs and Smiths and Stephens of the South, for they never believed in the right of the people of Kansas to govern themselves, but only in the right of the Slaveholding States to govern the Union, and voted for the bill on that account. Not the Disneys and Olds and Walbridge and Westbrooks of the North, who, having immolated themselves for the benefit of Slavery, are permitted to remain at home in peace. Not a response to Kansas from the whole "Democratic" side of the House, except the hollow echoes of

her own knocking. It is a great place for echoes—the House of Representatives. Remarkable.

But where are all the supporters of the "doctrine of self-government." Where is that "great Democratic Party of the Nation," the Atlas tells of, which "proposes to allow the actual residents in Kansas the right to govern themselves, and to protect them in that right?" There is no such Democratic Party in Congress. It is all gone. Meanwhile the Argus—poor old soul—is decking itself with the cast-off fashions of last year, harping on the old string, crying out "popular sovereignty" never knowing that Gen. Pierce has changed all that, and that "popular sovereignty" is no longer considered good Democracy in Washington. The men who stand up for the right of the State of Kansas to govern herself and to be protected in it, are the Republicans of the North—the representatives of New England, of New York, of the Free Middle States, and of the Free Northwest—the men whom the Atlas accuses of trying "to deprive the feeble people of the Territory of the right of self-government." They hear the knocking, and they bid Congress open the door, and admit the new State of Kansas into the Federal Union. They acknowledge the right of her people to frame their own Constitution and they advocate their admission into the Confederacy under the Constitution and State organization they have framed. They are for "protecting them in these rights," both from fraud within and from violence without. And they mean to do it. And the People mean to uphold them in it.

Call of the National Committee.

The following call has been issued by the National Committee of the Republicans, lately convened at Washington, for the election of delegates to the Philadelphia Convention, of the 17th June next.

To the People of the United States:—
The people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present Administration, to the extension of Slavery into the Territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State, and of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, are invited by the National Committee, appointed by the Pittsburgh Convention of the 22d of February, 1856, to send from each State three delegates from every Congressional district, and six delegates at large, to meet in Philadelphia on the 17th day of June next, for the purpose of recommending candidates to be supported for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States.

- E. D. MORGAN, New York,
FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Maryland,
JOHN M. NILES, Connecticut,
DAVID WILMOT, Pennsylvania,
A. P. STONE, Ohio,
WILLIAM W. LACE, Rhode Island,
JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts,
GEORGE RYE, Virginia,
ABNER R. HALLOWELL, Maine,
E. S. LELAND, Illinois,
CHARLES DICKEY, Michigan,
GEORGE G. FOGG, New Hampshire,
A. J. STEVENSON, Iowa,
CORNELIUS COLE, California,
LAWRENCE BRAINERD, Vermont,
WILLIAM GROSE, Indiana,
WYMAN SPOONER, Wisconsin,
C. M. K. PAULSON, New Jersey,
E. D. WILLIAMS, Delaware,
JOHN G. FEE, Kentucky,
JAMES REOPATH, Missouri,
LEWIS CLEPHANE, Dist. of Columbia,

WASHINGTON, March 20, 1856. National Committee. Kansas Movements in the South. Correspondence of the Journal.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER, March 16. I have just come up from Tennessee, and let me assure you that the South are now moving in earnest in sending settlers to Kansas. I heard a letter from Kansas to a gentleman in Memphis read at a Kansas meeting, in which the South were urged to send their men on immediately. "The only hope," the writer stated, "was in sending on enough to whip the d—d abolitionists before the 1st of July, or the Territory would be lost." The writer says, "there are

now at least three Abolitionists to one friend of the South, and if any thing is to be done it must be done quickly." On the boat now there are 27 from South Carolina bound for Kansas. Send on friends of freedom faster and faster or all is lost. 200 from Alabama are to come up next week.

TO KANSAS EMIGRANTS.—The robberies perpetrated by the Missouri Ruffians, and the insults and outrages suffered by free State emigrants on their way to Kansas, have induced the enquiry whether it would not be better for such emigrants to seek some other than the St. Louis route. A correspondent enquired of the Editor of the St. Louis Democrat on the subject, and he made enquiry of the Agent of the Missouri River Steam Packet Company, who responded as follows:—

STEAMBOAT KEY STONE, March 24, 1856.

B. GRATZ BROWN—Dear Sir: Your note of this morning, and letter accompanying, were duly received, and contents of latter noted.

In reply, permit me to say that Missouri river packets will, I am confident, not make any difference between consignments from the North and South—but charge all alike; and either will, if they demean themselves properly, be protected from insult. True, there is a good deal of excitement in Western Missouri, but I do not think the citizens there will offer violence to any one who may go to Kansas, unless provoked to it by imprudent conduct or conversation. My opinion is, however, that Northern emigrants had better come in small parties, as coming in that way will not create any alarm in Western Missouri. I would, by all means, advise emigrants to take the Missouri route, as being the quickest, most comfortable and certain.

Hoping my answer will prove satisfactory in giving an intimation at least of the purposes of the Missouri river packet captains, permit me to subscribe myself,

Very respectfully yours, THOMAS L. GODDIN.

P. S.—In a meeting of the Association on Saturday this matter was talked of, and an agreement came to take emigrants to Kansas for \$12 a-piece during the season—say to 1st of August. T. I. G.

"The South Carolina Joint-Stock Pro-slavery Emigration Aid Company" requires this pledge of its emigrants.—"We agree to go to Kansas Territory and locate there until it be declared whether it shall be a Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery State, and we further agree to support, when there, the Pro-Slavery Party."

It would not do to trust even a South Carolinian in Kansas without some such pledge as this. Freedom, and its beneficent influence upon the happiness and prosperity of the individual and community, has a resistless attraction to an intelligent mind. It has won over scores of emigrants from the Slave States; and, if left to their own good judgment, unrestricted by pledges, whether Kansas should become a Free or a Slave State, we should not fear their verdict.

Nor, as it is, do we apprehend any serious mischief from pledged emigrants, unaccompanied by property in slaves. Men of moderate sense must soon see, by contrasting new settlements in Free and in Slave States, that Slavery is not an element of prosperity. If the hired "Ruffians" from the border counties of Missouri but leave the ballot-boxes unobstructed, these South Carolina emigrants will form no obstacle to the triumph of Freedom in Kansas.

LOUISVILLE COURIER.

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WEDNESDAY, : : : : : APRIL 2, 1856.

Kansas Meeting in Gallatin.

At a meeting of the citizens of Gallatin county, Ky., held in Napoleon on Saturday the 23rd day of March, to deliberate on "Kansas Affairs," Dr. Wm. L. Richards was called to the Chair, and J. D. Lillard was appointed Secretary. The object of the meeting having been explained by the President, in mention of Thomas M. Lillard, the resolutions drafted and presented by J. D. Lillard were read and unanimously adopted, which are as follows: Resolved, That the Missouri restriction line was

unconstitutional and unjust and oppressive to the South, and its repeal was demanded by every principle of justice and equality to both sections of the Government.

Resolved, That the principles embraced in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, settling and determining that Congress has no right or power under the Constitution of the Federal Government to legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories, but leaving to the bona fide citizens thereof the right and privilege of regulating and establishing for themselves their own domestic institutions meets our approbation, and its enforcement should receive the aid and co-operation of every good citizen.

Resolved, That the act of the Abolitionists of the North in sending men, arms and ammunition to the Territory of Kansas for the express purpose of making it a free State, should receive the scorn and condemnation of every lover of order and law.

Resolved, That if this flagrant and diabolical scheme of those vile agitators and wild fanatics of the North, to control by fraud and villainy the domestic affairs of a Territory, is persisted in, we deem it our duty as Southern people to make some effort and exertion to check them in their base purpose or design.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting and these resolutions be published in the Louisville Courier, Times, Journal and Democrat, and all the St. Louis papers.

J. D. Lillard being called on, addressed the meeting.

On motion of Capt. Joseph L. Lillard, the meeting adjourned. J. D. LILLARD, Sec'y.

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 2.

The Position of the Administration Party.

Messrs. Editors:—Can you inform me respecting the issues of the Administration party in the present canvass? What are the views of the Hon. SAMUEL INGHAM and the other nominees on the Administration ticket on the question of extending Slavery in the United States Territory? I am a constant reader of the *Hartford Times*, but up to this time that paper refuses to give the desired information. Is Mr. INGHAM in favor of making Kansas a Slave State, or is he not? Can any tell? Does he desire the re-election of ISAAC TOUCET in the Senate? AN OLD SCHOOL DEMOCRAT.

Our correspondent is not the only one who is in the dark as to the position of the Administration party and its candidates in this election. They are fighting a bush fight. They dodge. They know that if they were to reveal the enormity of their real position they would receive an overwhelming rebuke from the electors of Connecticut. They have a faint hope of succeeding, by crawling through the contest. General PRATT has issued orders for these snake-like tactics.

Kansas is "hundreds of miles away," they say. There's no use in worrying about that. And yet they do not present any other issues. They have no avowed principles. They hope to keep their forces together by the crack of the party whip, and the drill of the organization.

Mr. INGHAM stands with his party. They support the Administration. The Administration's position is well known. The party then, in this State, are doing all they can for the extension of Slavery and dooming Kansas to be cursed by it. As for the re-election of ISAAC TOUCET: they have no choice about it. It is forced upon them by their rulers at Washington. He is too valuable a tool to be lost. If the Administration party carry the Legislature, ISAAC TOUCET will be re-elected.

"Don't Talk about Kansas?"

The Administration partisans are dissatisfied that so much is said and such general interest manifested in the affairs of Kansas, which is "hundreds of miles away." When on the wrong side of a losing cause, this dissatisfaction always shows itself among those who feel not only that they are to experience, but deserve defeat. They are ready to talk upon any subject but the real issue in such cases.

But the Administration Convention presented the Kansas question. The members disclosed themselves in favor of Kansas being a Free State, though they are unwilling to do anything to make it such, or to

oppose PIERCE and TOUCET who have brought these difficulties upon the Territory and the Country. They claim that their party is national, the same North and South, in the face of the fact that while they declare themselves in favor of freedom in Kansas, the Administration party in all the Slave States insist on planting Slavery there. The Administration party in Connecticut does not place itself on the same footing as the Administration party in South Carolina and Mississippi.

With much gratification we accept the compliment of the dedication of the following beautiful, spirited, and patriotic, song from our dearly beloved brother of the Hopkinsville Patriot. The song will go to all true American hearts, but it can go to no nobler heart than that from which it comes:

[From the Hopkinsville Patriot.]

Will our excellent friend, George D. Prentice of the Louisville Journal, allow us to inscribe to him the following lines?—A far better American song might be written—it could not be dedicated to a truer American heart:

THE UNION SHIP.
BY S. C. W.

Wild winds round us fiercely blow,
Darkly rolls the briny billow,
In their coral halls below,
Mermaids spread the seaman's pillow,
To-night we man our Union bark,
A nation's hope, a nation's ark!

Well our gallant bark we love,
Bright her name shall be in story!
And you bannered stars above
Are our galaxy of glory,
Oh brothers, guard her high renown,
Nor let our gallant bark go down!

Proudly has she braved the gale,
Fires and wreck and battle gory,
Coming time with joy shall hail
Washington's heroic story,
And millions see with fond delight
The flag that sweeps the storm to-night.

Through the gale we speed away,
Wave and breaker proudly scorned,
Heeding not the blinding spray,
Not the stormy petrel's warning,
Above the storm the song we swell
Port! port! good cheer! all's well, all's well!

The Atlas.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 2, 1856.

Washington Correspondence of the Atlas.

WASHINGTON, March 29, 1856.

I find in the *Globe*, of yesterday, a speech of Mr. English, a pro-slavery representative from Indiana, from which I take the following extract:

"That there has been improper outside interference in the affairs of that Territory, I am not disposed to question; and that it is so must be a source of regret to every well-wisher of his country. I deeply regret it, and condemn it as unqualifiedly as any gentleman upon this floor. Whether it is now in the power of this House to remedy the irregularities which have occurred is another question. But they ought not to be repeated—*must not be*; and to this end I am glad to know the President of the United States has issued his proclamation and taken the proper steps to maintain law and order in the Territory."

Mr. English had elsewhere argued, in common with all his political friends, that it is not "*now in the power of this House to remedy the irregularities which have occurred.*" The "*irregularities*" referred to, and thus delicately characterized, are nothing more, or less, than the invasion of Kansas on the 30th of March, 1855, by bodies of armed Missourians, the driving from the polls of the peaceable citizens, and the election by these intruders and by these means of a pretended Legislature, to impose laws and institutions upon a defenceless and subjugated Territory.

I make the extract above from the speech of Mr. English, exhibiting, as it does, briefly, the ideas universally promulgated by pro-slavery speakers and writers, as a text upon which to make some observations.

The conquest and subjugation of Kansas were completed and consummated by the acts of March 30, 1855. The work was then done, and thoroughly done, and does not need to be done over again. If the usurping government then established in Kansas is sustained as the legal one, the pro-slavery interest has no occasion to resort to further acts of violence. As Mr. English says, these acts "*ought not to be re-*

peated—*must not be*," and he might have added "*need not be*" repeated. It is certainly the intention of the Administration that they shall not be repeated. The Missourians having installed themselves in power in Kansas, what is intended to be done, is to maintain them in it, by the army of the United States; and in my judgment, this will certainly be accomplished, if the executive power of the nation remains in its present hands. It is impossible that the free State men of Kansas can hold out against the combined pressure of the Missourians and of the national government. Their only salvation is a change of the Executive power of the Union, in the election of next November. Mr. Greeley, of the *Tribune*, "*joyously*" believes that Kansas will come in as a free State next winter. I hope the same thing, not "*joyously*," however, but with fear and trembling, and only because I hope that we can elect a President in the interest of free institutions.

made to dispose of it for that use, and for the United States offices in this district.

KANSAS MEETING. A meeting of the friends of free institutions in Kansas convened at Tremont Temple last evening, to hear addresses by several gentlemen of that Territory, and to encourage by their presence and contributions the emigrant party which starts thither to-day. The assembly was not as large as the interest and importance of the occasion should have collected. Remarks were made by Judge Schuyler and Col. Emory, of Kansas, and by Rev. Mr. Garnet, a colored man, whose especial forte is West India Emancipation. While the speeches were in progress, about a dozen of the emigrating company occupied the platform. They were a fine, sinewy looking set of young men, and will do yeoman's service in subduing the wilderness and causing it to blossom as the rose.

In the question of settling Kansas, and forming its institutions, there appears now a fair battle ground between the North and South. The section which sends the most men, which sends them the earliest, that is the most careful in its selection of emigrants, relying only upon those of tried mettle, will be likely to win the triumph in the plastic work of moulding the new State. If Northern enterprise, Northern energy, and Northern determination are foiled in this strife of forces, then the first real victory of slavery will have been achieved on the continent, and the South, with reason, may shout their peans of triumph. But no such results, we are confident, await the issue. It were absurd to suppose that in a contest in which slavery and freedom are fairly marshalled against each other, where the elastic influences and energizing efforts of liberty have to contend with the sluggish, entebled opposition of the advocates of servitude, that the contest should be decided in favor of the wrong. The victory must be for the right, and Kansas increase the number of free States in the Union, unless the flagrant supineness of the North allows slavery to fix its viperous fangs upon the incipient legislation of that new applicant for admission to our confederacy.

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 2.

KANSAS MEETING AT TREMONT TEMPLE. The meeting in behalf of Kansas at the Tremont Temple last evening, was opened with prayer by Rev. Phineas Stowe. Judge Schuyler of Kansas, was the first speaker. He spoke of the opposition of the pro-slavery men to freedom, and of their determination to do all they could to drive the Yankees from the territory. He believed the territory to present more pecuniary advantages to the farmer and settler, than any other region in the country. He said that it was a fact full of hope that people from all parts of the country there met together, and that by mingling with Northerners, ninety out of a hundred Southerners are made Free State men. The Missourians were trying to make divisions among the men of Kansas, but with poor success; for even settlers from the South opposed their efforts, and refuse to obey the laws of the Missouri Legislature. Judge Stowe spoke of the sufferings of the settlers and of their need of aid.

Col. Emory of Kansas said that though the laws of Kansas territory came into existence last September, he could not find a copy of them in the territory up to January last. In this city he had found the only copy of these laws that he had seen. He quoted from these laws against the freedom of the press and of speech, so far as they are opposed to slavery, and prohibiting persons conscientiously opposed to slavery from sitting on juries. The election law reads—"Whenever any person shall offer to vote, he shall be presumed to have a right to vote."

He said the great want of Kansas now was Northern men. The South were now sending large parties there, and that the struggle for supremacy will be severe. But if the people can have the support of the North and East, they will struggle on and conquer.

Rev. Mr. Garnet a colored minister, who is to speak to-night on West India Emancipation, was next introduced, and spoke of the great change and progress which has been made in anti-slavery sentiment during the past fifteen years. He believed the cause to be now

On the right basis, and it must go forward. He had been a slave and knew Southerners, and believed they would not stand before New Englanders in this struggle.

At the close of the meeting a collection in aid of Kansas was taken up. It was said that the people of Kansas had contributed \$20,000 to the common defense of Kansas, and that but about \$8000 have been repaid to them.

Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON:

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 2, 1856.

Reported for the Traveller

Public Meeting in Behalf of the Pioneers in Kansas.

A public meeting in behalf of the pioneer settlers in Kansas, was held in the Tremont Temple last evening. The exercises were commenced by Rev. Phineas Stowe.

Judge Schuyler, of Kansas, was the first speaker. He did not intend to speak of the wrongs of the Free State settlers in Kansas, but to take a hopeful view. It was no fiction though, that there had been suffering, dreadful suffering, in that territory. He dwelt upon the political opposition, and said that strong efforts had been made to inculcate upon the minds of the people the impression that they were doing God's service by crushing the Free State settlement. This fact he illustrated by giving an account of an address delivered by Stringfellow.

The speaker next gave a glowing account of Kansas, which he thought would be the centre of the American Republic, and offered greater inducements to the settlers than any other Western State. He thought that the hand of Providence was clearly discernible in having the struggle which is to decide whether slavery is to be a national institution or not, take place in Kansas, offering as it does such attractions for settlement, such flattering prospects for acquiring wealth on its fertile soil. He dwelt on the benefits of gathering there emigrants from every State in the Union, and thought that prejudices were broken down by social intercourse. Southerners, he said, soon became friends of free State principles. There is, he remarked, only one political question in Kansas, and that is, shall free State principles prevail in the territory or not.

He thought there was hope, real hope, great hope. Prejudices are being broken down. Northerners and Southerners go to Kansas strongly prejudiced against each other, but they soon become warm friends and unite in one common cause and fellowship. Bad feelings are gradually removed. It was, he thought, a good work.

He said much of the trouble in Kansas had been caused by the circulation in Missouri and other slave States, of wilful falsehoods relative to the course pursued by the Free State men. The most ridiculous and wicked stories have been circulated, of such a character as to exasperate the pro-slavery men in the neighborhood of Kansas.

He next deplored the privations of the settlers of Kansas, stating that they did not enjoy the comforts of life, but are obliged to put up with the most rude and unpleasant accommodations. He said that the character and climate of Kansas is not understood by the settlers. It has a healthy locality, but of course its peculiarities must be known. It has not been known, and the result is, a large number have been sick and have suffered most severely; indeed their distress has been very grievous. At Council City, a settlement of eight hundred, almost every man has been sick. In closing, he appealed to the audience to contribute what they might be willing in aid of the suffering, who are actually in distress for the necessities of life.

It was stated that the contributions which might be made would not be devoted with party feeling. All the suffering will be aided without respect to their political character.

A collection in aid of the suffering settlers was then taken up.

Col. Emery of Kansas next addressed the meeting. He said that although the laws of the territory of Kansas went into operation on the 1st of September last, still, up to the last of January no copy of these laws could be found within the limits of the territory. He said that yesterday he found in Boston an authentic copy of the laws, and the document occupying 1100 pages. And yet the document have been arrested and sentenced under these laws. He then proceeded to show that the citizens of Kansas, by these laws, are deprived of the right of free speech, a free press and a trial by an impartial jury.

He said that what is needed now in Kansas, are men, bona fide settlers. The South have changed their tactics and are crowding men into the territory while Eastern emigration is checked. Men are wanted, and must be had. The settlers in Kansas want to feel that they are supported and backed up by the citizens of New England. Let them have that, and they will stay and struggle until Kansas is received into the Union as a free State. The contest is not for a day or an hour, but will last long and untiring efforts.

Rev. Mr. Garnet, a colored clergyman of Jamaica, late of Troy, N. Y., made a few remarks. He said he had been absent from the United States six years, and was surprised when he reached these shores to find such a change in the public sentiment relative to slavery. He thought the cause of liberty was one which must succeed.

He was himself born in slavery at the South, and knew the character of the Southerners, and felt that it needed calm firmness to succeed with them, and this firmness he thought actuated the free settlers in Kansas. He alluded to the prohibition in the laws of Kansas of free negroes settling in the territory, and facetiously remarked that it would not be so long. The white men cannot get along without the blacks, and when the fighting is over and some good houses are built, then the negroes will be seen as residents in Kansas. He wished that all should give a strong pull, a long pull and a pull altogether, and then victory will be secured.

Mr. Garnet was quite eloquent in his remarks. The meeting was quite small, but was of a quite interesting character. During the evening, ten young men who were to leave on the morrow for Kansas, occupied seats on the platform.

For the Traveller.

Kansas and the New Haven Clergy.

Editor of the Traveller:

In a late number of your excellent journal there was a notice of a Kansas meeting at the North Church, New Haven (Mr. Dutton's). Since that notice, I have been waiting for some correspondent to take up the subject, in a suitable spirit; but as no one appears to do so, will you allow me to express the views entertained by myself and some others, and many others, indeed, of your readers, on that affair.

I would preface the few words I have to offer by saying that no one is more opposed to the extension of slavery, or more anxious for a free state organization in Kansas than myself. Most sincerely are my feelings and sympathies with that division in Congress, on the side of freedom. But my feelings do not blind me to the proprieties of place, persons and things. I will, therefore, say at once that the New Haven meeting strikes me as in bad taste, and as an inconsistent and unhappy affair. A meeting got up in the spirit substantially of war and violence, in the House of God, and conducted by speakers mainly the ministers of the Prince of Peace, does not accord, to my mind, either with consistency or piety. There were the venerable professors of a Christian institution, the guardians of hot-headed youth; and there was the pastor of the church, Mr. Dutton, and many others of the clergy. And what was the theme of discourse in this Temple of the God of Peace, and among these disciples of the lowly Saviour? Was it the evangelization of Kansas—to send the Bible, to enlighten the ignorant, and calm and comfort and bless the poor emigrant, and tame the savage heart of his enemy? No, it was Sharp's rifles—the deadly instruments of death and slaughter. And the great emulation among those grave Professors and Rev. Pastors was, who could pledge and supply the largest number of those destructives.

If we must have war meetings, to raise the material of human bloodshed, let not our churches, dedicated to peace and mercy, open their doors to receive them. There are places enough for such meetings, without profanely obtruding them on the house of God; and if speakers be needed on such platforms, to stir the passions of men, in a cause always too exciting to our fallen nature, let not reverend ministers and sober professors leave their appropriate and pacific duties, to shock the general sense of consistency and religion in the community, by prominence in a questionable work—pledging rifles and calling for contributions to the means of civil war in Kansas. If there must be such calls and discussions, in Heaven's name, let not ministers and teachers of youth perform the unseemly work.

But at the present time, the necessity of such a meeting as was held in New Haven seems uncalled for. All the latest accounts from Kansas agree in indicating the restoration of quiet and order to the Territory. The ruffian Missourians, sick and ashamed of their aggressions, have slunk back into their homes, and, it is believed, will interfere no more in Kansas affairs. What need, then, of this New Haven eruption of clerical blood and thunder—this call for Sharp's rifles? Is it to stir and fan the dying ember, re-open the war, and provoke those half savage men to recross the border, and repeat the scene of the past autumn? Under present circumstances, it is the duty of the country to strengthen the foundations of peace and good understanding among the people, and to avoid every cause that might, in the remotest manner, tend to awaken the violence and passions of the past.

Moreover, did I entertain a doubt of the ultimate freedom of Kansas, which I never have, the way to decide the question, in my judgment, would not be by violent means. The rifle, the bowie knife is not the way, and certainly the last thing

to be advised by ministers. Kansas is to be saved by the influence of the Bible, and its mild and pacific institutions. Between the sword of carnal vengeance and "the sword of the spirit" there is no congruity, and Christians are called on only to employ the latter.

How ministers of the Gospel of peace can throw themselves into a movement of violence and war, so gratuitously and inconsistently, seems wonderful. Such scenes are painful exhibitions of the infirmity and indiscretions even of the best of men, they try the feelings of many, and tend to impair public respect for the ministry of the Gospel. CANDIDUS.

Correspondence of the Traveller.

LETTER FROM KANSAS.

LAWRENCE, K. T., March 20, 1856.

Editors of the Traveller:

As a change of subject may be agreeable, allow me to say a few words upon peace affairs, which aspect of things is now most prominent. I have just returned from attendance at the sitting of the first State Assembly. You may form some idea of the enthusiasm of the people in this movement, from the fact that a complete organization was effected on the first day. Many of the members came more than one hundred miles on foot, crossing streams on floating cakes of ice and over reefs almost impossible. More than a half quorum were present at the opening of the session, and every member entered readily and boldly took the solemn oath "to support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Kansas." No flinching, and there will be none in the work of demanding and maintaining their rights.

We have heard of "times that tried men's souls," and I have been permitted to witness the bearing of true men in such a crisis. It was known that Gov. Stanton was in the neighborhood, and it was believed that he was clothed with power to arrest the officers and members for high treason. Place yourself in such a position, in a remote corner of the country, with the whole influence and power of the Federal Executive arrayed against your rights, and you can form some feeble estimate of the degree of moral courage required to stand up boldly and assert and demand your rights. During the fortnight they were in session I visited them twice, and spent several days in watching the proceedings and in making the acquaintance with the members. In the whole Assembly of both houses I am told but one member ever sat in a legislative Assembly before; yet for intelligence and character they would compare well even with your Massachusetts House of Representatives. The short session was spent in arranging preliminaries and in passing such laws as were necessary to complete the first organization of a government.

But to set themselves right before the country and to close the mouths of their adversaries, they passed a certain joint resolution, suspending the operation of all laws until such time as they were admitted into the Union, unless by special act. So confident are we of the justice of our cause and of the expediency of an immediate State organization that we cannot believe that our plea will be rejected when the facts are truly known.

Messrs. Reeder and Lane were elected U. S. Senators and able memorials adopted to the President and the two Houses of Congress, setting forth fully and truly our grievances and necessities. If these, with the Governor's message, produce no effect, and we are to be ruthlessly deprived of our rights and subjected to all the horrors of civil war, for presuming to enact laws for our own protection when we are without law or protection, the responsibility rests not upon us. But we expect no such thing. Our neighbors of Missouri will hardly be likely to interfere with us, if we are well armed and prepared for self-defence, and the country will demand, in times not to be misunderstood or disregarded by their servants at Washington, that we shall be at once admitted to the brotherhood of States.

As I watched the proceedings from stage to stage, I became impressed with the feeling that it was no boys' play, but that men of stout hearts and strong will were at work in earnest, and that in Western phrase there would be no "backing down."

At the close of the session, a Committee of twenty was appointed to draft a code of laws, with instructions to sit during the recess. There seems to be a strong determination to prepare codes of laws that shall be worthy the State, such as will make Kansas the pride of the Union. Codes, Digests and Reports are solicited from which to select. We shall have an eclectic code, discarding the old and useless, and adopting with modification such as will be adapted to our rising greatness. With a good code of laws, and liberal provision for, and wise arrangements of, our school system, we are destined to become, through the bountiful provision of Providence, an envied State. Let politicians and demagogues, and pro-slavery nullifiers say what they will, there can be no question of the fact that the State movement is a spontaneous movement of the people, and the whole people.

If Congress should be so foolish as to order a new movement for the formation of a Constitution, the people, unless invaded, would unanimously vote to take the one already formed, officers and all. So, what would be gained but an opportunity for invasion and bloodshed. Sure as there lives a God in Heaven, any further attempts at interference will be followed by the most awful consequences. Our people are strong

12 and their patience is exhausted. The ruffians are at the length of their chain, and another step will involve them in ruin most signal. They will be swept from the face of the earth as with the besom of destruction.

I see a short paragraph in your paper of March the third, stating that the Kickapoo Rangers were making preparations to drive out the Free State settlers, and that the U. S. forces had been ordered to rendezvous at Fort Scott. Now permit me to remind you that said despatch originated in Missouri. The Kickapoo Rangers will soon find more profitable business at their accustomed employment, that of black-leg gamblers on board the river boats. Their commander is the most notorious black-leg to be found on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. During the close of navigation they were employed to harass the settlers. As to the U. S. forces, the facts are, that one company of dragoons have been for the last four weeks stationed upon the Miami lands, in the south part of the State, to protect those lands from encroachments. Yesterday they passed through this place en route for Fort Leavenworth. The hue and cry, as it comes from Missouri, has a purpose, and I suppose a portion of their threats towards us may be referred to the same end. Yet, not knowing what may occur, it is safe for us to take them at their word, and be prepared for the worst. They intend, no doubt, to do all they can to frighten away free emigration, by representing in dark colors the dangers to which they expose themselves by coming here. Slaveholders of Missouri acknowledge that in a fair emigration they stand no chance. The slaveholding emigrant must build two houses, the free man one;—by squatter title only 160 acres can be held, which is no plantation;—add to this the uncertainty of slave property in the prospect, and you can well understand why slaveholders are shy of coming here. But what would they do? I had it from the lips of one of the leaders, who spoke without knowing in whose presence he said it, that the slaveholding policy was, by noise and bluster, threats and violence to deter emigration from the free States, and thus preserve the land open to settlement until the public sale was ordered, and then they (the slaveholders) could come in and purchase as large farms as they wanted.

Let the emigrants of the free States note this and act accordingly. If our route could be made through Iowa, so as to avoid the disagreeable necessity of passing through Missouri, it would increase the emigration. This is beginning to be the case to some extent; and the disposition to trade at St. Louis is growing less and less. Since the recent robbery of Mr. Hoyt by the leading men of Lexington, on his way up the river, the determination to quit St. Louis at the earliest possible moment has been fixed. Certainly it will be the case unless her Merchants, who have influence over the boats, promptly interfere to restore Mr. Hoyt his property and to prevent further outrages. They have the power in this case in their own hands, and if they refuse to exercise it they should be held strictly accountable.

I know of no way to close this somewhat extended and still more rambling epistle, than by an anecdote to show the spirit of our men or rather women in the free State cause. At Topeka I became acquainted with an old gentleman, a member from Sugar Creek, near Arkansas. He was born in Kentucky, and had lived, except one year, there and in Arkansas. That year he spent in the South part of Illinois, where he removed to get away from slavery; but finding so much hypocrisy there among men, who, though living in a free State, still owned slaves and hired them out in Missouri, he returned in disgust to Arkansas. On the opening of this territory he removed here to aid, as he said, in making a free State of the right sort. He arrived at the Capital on the second day of the session at the time the members were expecting an arrest. Some of his party hesitated about taking the proscribed oath, but by the persuasions of the old man they were induced to do so. In speaking of it afterward to me, he said, "If I had gone home without taking the oath, wouldn't my wife have given me scissars. She would have called me coward and that is what she never yet did." Such are the men and women who have moved here from slave States, and do you think freedom can be crushed out? Sooner will the heavens fall and this Union be shattered into fragments.

Yours truly,

W.

Portland Advertiser.

Wednesday Morning, April 2, 1856.

The Great Friend of Kansas.

The State of Maine generally praises with a drawback which leaves it in doubt how much the praise is worth. The following may be taken as an instance:

"The courage and foresight of the free-State men of Kansas, after being relieved of the malign influence of Gov. Reeder and of his vacillating policy, are now generally admitted and praised by men of all parties."

We wonder how the "free-State men of Kan-

sas" would relish this compliment? As soon as they were "relieved of the malign influence of Gov. Reeder and of his vacillating policy," by the favor of President Pierce, they chose the same Gov. Reeder as their delegate to Congress, thus perpetuating their connection with his malignity and vacillation! And not satisfied with that, or fearing the connection might be dissolved, they next chose him as one of their U. S. Senators for the term of six years! These, of course, are some of the instances of their "courage and foresight" which "are now generally admitted and praised by men of all parties!"

But again the same great friend of Kansas says:

"Isn't it about time for another war in Kansas? Can it be that those Sharp's rifles will be put to no other use than shooting prairie wolves and deer? Can't somebody scare up a 'border ruffian' to practice upon? Something must be done. The country is getting to be too quiet."

The former paragraph was probably intended for a serious statement and this for fun—but it is hard to tell which is the poorest joke. But they should go together, as the meaning evidently is, that the "courage" of the free-State men of Kansas has been exerted in a fictitious war with scared-up border-ruffians. It sees nothing but amusement in the Kansas difficulties, and calls out for their renewal. But the editor may be serious (his genius is so incomprehensible)—and if so, we would remind him how he recently charged the N. Y. Tribune with manufacturing topics of excitement. Now he himself is wanting "another war in Kansas" and inquiring if "somebody can't 'scare up a border ruffian'! It would really be a kindness to those who are puzzled by the riotous fancies of our contemporary if when he means a joke, (and is sure of it) he would simply preface it with, "This is a joke and our readers will have the kindness to enjoy it." People would be sure to heed the request who have laughed at him so much when he didn't wish it.

Thrice-Weekly Journal.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 2, 1856.

Resolved, That when the people act in their original sovereign capacity in forming new systems of government, they are not bound of conform to any rules or forms of proceeding not instituted by themselves."

The above resolution was introduced in a meeting in Concord, New Hampshire, in 1842, by one FRANKLIN PIERCE, now President of the United States. It had reference at that time, to the Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island. It applies now with marked pertinency to the abused citizens of Kansas, whom the President is endeavoring to crush because they dare to "act in their original sovereign capacity in forming a new system of government." The President now thinks that they "are bound to conform to rules and forms of proceeding not instituted by themselves." He insists that they shall form a State government, not as they themselves wish and as they themselves have done, but according to an Administration programme lately introduced in the U. S. Senate by Stephen Arnold Douglas. How long will the American people coolly endure these outrages?

Rhode Island Telegraph.

WARREN, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 2.

PICKWICKIAN LEGISLATION.

Those of our readers who have also been readers of the "Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club," will remember the altercation which once took place between one of its members and the immortal founder of the Club. The worthy Pickwick and his antagonist allowed themselves to use language toward each other, which ordinary mortals regard as extremely offensive, and the post of those who uttered it was very similar to that assumed by non-members when expressing themselves in like manner. The sneer of scorn, the tone of anger and the flush of excitement, were as strongly evident in the club-room debate as when any two hackmen outside its walls preface a fist-cuff affair by a war of words. But the chronicler of the club shews how grossly mistaken we should be in supposing that the members of that valuable institution were indulging in such vulgar expressions in their vernacular meaning. They used them merely in the *Pickwickian* sense, and had the very highest opinion of each other, while the uninitiated would have supposed them to be on the point of a most violent physical exhibition of their mutual hatred.

Kansas, that land of so many mythical occurrences, has seemingly become either the present abode of the Pickwick Club itself, or the locality where the veritable successors to its honors are to be found. Certain men, some of whom were previously not unknown to fame, by and with the consent of such others as took pains to pass upon the matter, formed a club, which they denominate the Legislature of the State of Kansas, thus initiating their odd proceedings by a phenomenon. State of Kansas there is none—and yet this non-existent State had a Legislature.

With much parade of the forms of legislation, and, as we learn, with a very creditable imitation of legislative bodies, the club proceeded to enact sundry laws, which a few of the uninitiated supposed were of the force and virtue which Webster's Dictionary would give to them. That excellent lingual expositor is undoubtedly the highest authority to be found in the case, either etymological or legal—save and except the code of *Pickwick*. The supremacy of that illustrious authority was shortly proclaimed in effect by his Kansas disciples—for, finding that "the powers that be" were so deluded as to misconstrue the purpose of the proceedings of the club, whereby the personal comfort of its members might be endangered, this *Pickwickian* Legislature declared that the laws which it had enacted were *not laws*, except in a *Pickwickian* sense: that is to say—they would be laws whenever they *do* become laws, and not before!

Evening Standard

NEW BEDFORD:

Wednesday Evening, April 2, 1856.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES IN SLAVE STATES.—A demonstration has recently been made in Loudoun county, Virginia, in favor of Republicanism, which seems to have excited no little apprehension among the slaveholders. A meeting was called to ratify the American nomination and platform made at Philadelphia, and in the course of the discussion several gentlemen took occasion to express themselves in favor of the Republican party. Their remarks, it seems, were received with much applause.

The Virginia *Sentinel* and the Loudoun *Mirror*, appear to be greatly alarmed at this indication of the spread of what it terms Black Republicanism, and lament the dangerous spirit which is beginning to manifest itself in the old Dominion. The *Mirror* asks—"is the lion with impunity to be bearded in his den, and shall Northern Vandal-

ism, after having murdered our citizens in the pursuit of their property, flourish the sword of Brennus over the citadel of the South? Has the monster of abolitionism grown to such huge proportions as to flap its dark wing over the territory of the South without causing a feeble cry of resistance to arise from a grossly outraged and insulted people?"

The *Sentinel* demands "in the name of all that is dear to our peace, and the safety of our firesides, what are we coming to, when citizens of Virginia in large numbers, proclaim or applaud the most dangerous and incendiary doctrines—in the light of day, and in a violent and overbearing spirit! When a Virginia gentleman cannot express himself in favor of protecting those interests of our State which are inseparably fastened upon us for weal or woe—without being hissed by a public assembly on his native soil, what have we already come to?"

The encroachments of the slave power have been carried so far that the better part of the citizens, whose sense of justice has not been entirely obliterated by a blind and obstinate devotion to the "peculiar institution," have at length been induced to take a stand on the side of Freedom, and thus they hope to check the suicidal policy which has heretofore prevailed in the South.

These indications in Virginia, taken in connection with the recent action in Baltimore by F. P. Blair, and others, are very encouraging to the friends of Freedom in the non-slaveholding States. The cause is prospering wonderfully, and we trust before long to witness many similar expressions on the part of the people of the South in favor of Republicanism. When the Southern people perfectly understand our creed, which is in short, no more slave States, and no more slavery in the territories of the United States, they will see the soundness of our doctrines, and then we hope they will gradually fall into the ranks of the friends of Freedom.

SETTLERS FOR KANSAS. The New York Kansas League are daily sending more good men to Kansas, and have an active and extensive correspondence far and wide. On Monday about seventy men from New Haven passed through this city, and went on by the Erie Railroad. The favorable footing on which the House of Representatives have placed the Kansas question is regarded as most satisfactory here and in the West; and thousands who have been in correspondence with the Kansas League, and waiting for their prospects to brighten, are likely soon to be on the way. A remarkable fact has now been fully proved by actual experiment since July, 1854: that multitudes of good men are ready in the East and North to remove Westward, and carry their families institutions with them, if only informed where they can find such a territory as they want. They ask only for information, and then go at their own expense. It has been owing to this state of things that the New York Kansas League, without paying a dollar, have been the means of sending to Kansas more than ten Southern States would have done, in case they had accomplished what Mr. Atchison proposed, by legislative authority and at an expense of a million or more of money.—*N. Y. Eve. Post April 2.*

Southern people. COL. WOODSON, who is a Native of Kentucky, now a resident of Missouri, addressed the meeting at considerable length, and in a most impressive and forcible manner, and by many particulars and statistics, confirmed and authenticated the most favorable reports that had reached us concerning the capabilities and adaptation of Kansas under Southern labor.

He gave also a summary review of the political history of the territory, under its incipient organization, and a plain statement of facts in relation to the acts of the Missourians, which have called forth so much indignation in certain quarters. Extracts were given also from the acts of the territorial legislature, and an amount of details and information on other topics of actual interest, which although not all new, were invested with fresh interest and authority, by the testimony of so intelligent and eloquent a speaker.

After Col. WOODSON had concluded, with loud and enthusiastic applause, WM. WHALEY, Esq., read a portion of the following letter from the Senator of St. John's, Colleton, in our General Assembly.

BLEAK HALL, March 18, 1856.
My Dear Sir: I had been for a long time desirous of sending some aid to our friends in Kansas, who with so much gallantry, but with so much peril to themselves, were fighting for us the battles of the South on that interesting frontier. Whilst waiting in my retirement here, for some movement elsewhere, which would embrace the names of some individuals with whom I might be sufficiently acquainted to take the liberty of sending my contribution, my eye accidentally fell upon a paper from the capital of our State, which gave an account of a meeting which had taken place in Fairfield, at which, I believe, Gov. Means presided, and at which a very proper spirit appeared to prevail. I instantly determined to ask of the committee there appointed, and having charge of that matter, the privilege of uniting my contribution with theirs.

Just as I was about sending it, however, I received the circular of your society, coming to me, I was told, from you especially. Upon examining it I found that you were the Chairman of the Executive Committee, with many of whom I have the pleasure of being acquainted. Will you then allow me to impose upon you and your colleagues the trouble now, which I had intended to inflict upon the Committee in Fairfield—the trouble of receiving the enclosed check (\$500.) and applying it to the purposes for which your society has been organized. Be assured I cordially sympathize with you in the object in which you are engaged—and such I think you will find to be the case with a large number of quiet men throughout the South, who, from their retirement, are watching with no little interest the stirring drama, which is now being acted on that far-off stage.

But you will ask, if they indeed sympathize with us, why have they not contributed any aid? To us who live beyond the strife and the busy scenes of an active political society, the reason is obvious, although it may not be so to you. The way has not been opened and made plain to them, how their contributions can be made useful. They have no personal friends, no acquaintances in Kansas, from whom they may obtain assurance that their contributions will be properly applied, and they have not had, until recently, any middle agent in whom they have confidence, and through whom their offerings to the cause of the South might pass, for the benefit of their political brethren, so sorely beset in that far distant land. Moreover, they have had no information whether any suitable men are desirous of becoming emigrants who need assistance. In other words, and in few words, they know little of the matter; and although wishing to do something, they know not how they can be useful.

Organizations like yours, which I now see springing up in various parts of the State, remove all these embarrassments; and, if the subject be now properly pressed upon the attention of our people, a spirit will be waked up in the South which will rescue Kansas from the "frogs, and lice, and locusts" of abolitionism, with which she is threatened to be cursed.

The individuals composing your Society, standing as they do among the first of our citizens, and deserving that position from their intelligence and public spirit, and enlightened forecast, are a surety to them that their contributions will take the proper direction, and tell with effect upon the interests of the South; and the information given at your public meeting, (which I have just received by mail) "that there is no want of men" to emigrate to Kansas, removes the other difficulty, and will, I trust, be responded to by there being no want of money to send them there.

And is not Kansas worthy of such a sacrifice? Look at the map, and consider her position. With Missouri on her east, separating her from the free-soil States of Illinois and Iowa, both teeming with our enemies, and with an extensive Indian Territory on her South and West, to some extent already slaveholding, and requiring only the support and example of Kansas to make it thoroughly so, now in suffering Kansas to be abolitionized, Missouri will be environed on three sides by her enemies, and become almost isolated from her sisters of the South, and finally we shall lose her, too.

In gaining Kansas, we shut out an enemy from our camp: we support Missouri, and immeasurably

strengthen our out-posts on that important frontier; and, with her, we not only secure Missouri to our ranks, but the Indian Territory, which is large enough for two or three States, will cease to be debated ground, as it now is, and will be certain for the South.

Kansas, then, is the Malakoff fortress, the taking of which will decide our victory in this battle with abolitionism in that quarter—a battle in which from three to five States are to be the prizes to be won or lost to the South and her cherished institution.

I have never, then, had any sympathy with those who think that the possession of Kansas is a matter of indifference to us; nor have I ever been able to see the force of the argument, "that by obtaining that Territory, we diffuse slavery, and, therefore, weaken it." Putting out of view the considerations to which I have just adverted, of political strength, which she will be the means of bringing to us, the argument is, in itself, founded in mistake, since our most resolute and unflinching slaveholders are our small slaveholders—they, I mean, with two or three slaves—and the reasons are obvious, if this was a suitable occasion to give them. The concentration of slavery within limited areas, and the accumulation of the slaves in the few hands, is not as favorable to the strength of the institution as the distribution of them among many owners; nor is each slave as profitable or as much valued in the former as in the latter case. Now, all the information which we have from Kansas in relation to her soil, climate and agricultural resources, tend to show that there is no territory on our continent where such ample inducements are held out to the slaveholder (and especially to the small slaveholder) of abundant reward to their labor—and, therefore, none which it better becomes the South, in an enlightened spirit of fostering care for her citizens, to secure for them.

Kansas then becomes important to the slaveholding South, and is worthy of the earnest efforts of Southern men, from the consideration, first, of the political strength, which we shall acquire to ourselves through her, as long as we may remain in the Union; and not less so after we may leave it; (a Union which, in passing, I will remark, is becoming less desirable every day, from the unnatural position which public affairs are taking in making it a Union with our enemies.) From the consideration, 2d, of the benefits which the institution of slavery itself, will derive in the estimate of the world, as one of the forms of political society—which benefits will arise from the strength and wealth which it will acquire, by diffusion among greater numbers and over larger territory—and lastly, from the consideration of the intrinsic benefit Kansas will be to our citizens as a territory, where they can spread themselves, and find ample remuneration for their labor and capital.

Are not these advantages worth contending for? Who doubts that the institution of negro slavery, as it exists among us, will be influential in the councils of nations, and command respect in the estimate of mankind, according to the power and wealth which it can wield in its defence! Should we ever hear more of the "fine sentiment," and "philanthropy," and "higher law" of the abolitionist, if the wealth and power of this whole continent, instead of that of fifteen small States, acknowledged the sceptre of the slaveholder? I think not. As a question then of power and influence to the South, how weighty is this issue in its consequences for our future—in benefits innumerable, if we exert ourselves and win, or disasters which will have no end, if we sleep at our posts, and lose.

Our enemies show their appreciation of its importance to them; and they have, accordingly, addressed themselves to the work with a zeal and an energy, which, (although they have no interest in the matter at all to be compared with ours) should shame us out of any apathy which may possess us. They judge, and they judge truly, that if they conquer that out-post, and get possession of Kansas, the large territory now temporarily occupied by the Indians, must fall before them; that Missouri must next become an easy conquest, and that the South being environed by their enemies in that quarter, will be walled in from all further progress and aggrandizement. Will the South permit this? Will she play the imbecile, or the craven, or the dishonored dolt, and suffer to be taken from her what is rightfully her own, and which is so essential to her future well being? I am persuaded that she will not.

But, how is success to be achieved? The answer is comprehended in a single sentence—by colonizing the country with the right sort of men; and as there are many men of courage and enterprise who may desire to emigrate, but who have not the means—by aiding such in making Kansas their home; men of a different character will waste the fund without benefiting the cause. The thriftless loafer at home, will be a thriftless loafer in Kansas, if he be not worse—a tax and an incubus upon our struggling friends here. For we should not forget in the kind of men we send, that we have a great warfare there to wage; a warfare, which, it is true, is to be decided at a certain stage, by numbers, at the ballot box; but one, in which mind, intelligence, prudence, sagacity and resolute courage will be essential in securing those numbers, and winning the victory. The first battle will be that of Reason and Truth, or the field of argument. The emigrant then, with courage and the strong right arm to strike for his rights, when rudely invaded, is good. But the one, who in addition to these qualifications, "can give a reason for the faith that is within him," and can scatter the errors, delusions and mistakes which are driving on our adversaries with such ferocious zeal against us, is beyond comparison a far better man for our purpose.

THE COURIER.

BY A. S. WILLINGTON & CO.

CHARLESTON.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 2, 1856.

Kansas Colonization.

In accordance with previous notice, a public meeting of the Kansas Association of Charleston, was held last evening in the Institute Hall, and was largely attended. The President, JAMES ROSE, Esq., introduced Col. Woodson, an agent and authorized advocate and representative of the Kansas Association of the border counties of Missouri, whose chief object and mission were to communicate facts to the

I would, therefore, not merely have them armed with the rifle and the bowie knife, to match them, in weapons, with those whom our enemies have armed and sent out there, and which, I fear, will be too readily resorted to; but I would arm them also with the "pro-slavery argument," and let them go, both as propagandists and as settlers. I have confidence in the intellectual strength of our position, and I believe in the mighty power of the press. Our enemies have used it to pervert truth, to disseminate falsehood and error, to blacken and distort our system of slavery, and to vilify us before mankind. Let us take the weapon from them, and use it for better purposes—to establish truth, and reason, and common sense—and to verify history, which they have falsified—and to vindicate Revelation, which they have blasphemed. Let us rescue, as far as we may have opportunity, the dupes in the ranks of our enemies, who know no better, from the delusions and falsehoods of the fanatics and knaves who are leading them on. Let us gain this moral victory over their forces, and then our political conquest of the country must follow, and be permanent.

I desire, then, (and I send it for that purpose,) that one-fifth of the contribution now enclosed, be appropriated to the purchase of some of our ablest Pro-Slavery Essays, (of which I know of none equal, certainly none superior, to those which are collected under the title above given;) and a copy given to each emigrant to Kansas, with a pledge from him, that he will carry it with him there. If, from his education and pursuits, he may have no taste for such investigations, he will doubtless find many in Kansas whose minds will seize with avidity upon the arguments, and to whom the Essays will be a valuable donation from the emigrant.

But, my dear sir, I must proceed no further. I fear I fatigue you in following my thoughts upon this interesting topic, on which I have, for the first time, taken up my pen. I commenced, only intending to write you a short private letter, as to a personal friend, giving you the particulars of my own tardiness in this matter, by which you might judge what your Society might expect from others in similar circumstances; but before I was aware of it, I found myself addressing you in your official capacity, as the Chairman of a most important Committee. I have but one thought more, which I deem it proper for me here to add. It is this: It appears to me that aid to Kansas will be most valuable the sooner it is rendered. Now, as the elections there will take place in August, as I have somewhere seen it stated—if fifty other citizens of this State will unite with me, between this and the first of June, in contributing a similar amount, I will double mine, and make it a thousand—which you may draw on me for, as soon as you inform me that the number is made up.

Wishing you success in the public-spirited duties in which your Society is engaged, I beg you to believe me, with respectful and friendly regards,

Truly yours,
JOHN TOWNSEND.

To WM. WHALEY, Esq.

The meeting then adjourned.

The Daily Picayune.
NEW ORLEANS.
WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 2.

SOUTHERN AID TO KANSAS.

The Southern expedition to Kansas, under the command of Gen. Jefferson Buford, of Alabama, is expected to start about the 5th of this month. Its force is estimated at from five hundred to eight hundred men, who go to make Kansas a *bona fide* home, and with the additional design of carrying with them the institutions under which they were born and reared. They are not merely emigrants seeking a new home, but representatives of a principle and defenders of great constitutional rights against a daring and dangerous conspiracy. Kansas is a contested field for political supremacy in the Union between the South and its assailants; perhaps we ought rather to say that it is the field upon which the Southern States are called to meet and resist the struggle of their sworn enemies to obtain a political predominance, which shall have unlimited sway hereafter in the Federal Government over all subjects of slavery; or, failing to resist successfully, they must look for their own utter subjugation and prostration forever.

While the Emigrant Aid Societies of New England have been pouring in settlers in large numbers, for the single purpose of shaping the institutions of the Territory so that it shall be a Free Soil State—the outpost of an aggressive fanaticism on the frontier of the slave States—the South has done comparatively little in its own defence. It has argued, remonstrated, and indignantly protested, while its enemies have organized men and armed them, and prepared them to control the new State by the force of numbers, if they can, and by the power of Sharpe's rifles, backed by an Abolition majority in one House of Congress, if they must. The revolutionary

movements to force Kansas into the Union as a free State, formed by the irregular Free-soil Convention, is supported in very powerful quarters. At the late caucus of the anti-Slavery members of Congress, convened for the purpose of uniting all shades of opposition upon one Presidential ticket at the next election, Mr. Seward, the most able and the most trusted of the statesmen of that school, advised the House of Representatives to pass the bill admitting Kansas into the Union at once as a free State, with the Free-soil constitution adopted at Topeka, and to send it to the Senate. He did not anticipate its passage there, for the Senate is the last citadel of Southern rights, and the adversary has not yet obtained ascendancy there. But Mr. Seward broadly intimated that, in the event that the Senate should refuse admission to the State organized by his party associates in Kansas, the House of Representatives, by its power over the money bills, could paralyze the power of the President to support the Territorial authorities, and thus compel an issue between the inhabitants of the Territory who preserve allegiance to the regular authorities of the United States, and the partisans of the spurious State, sustained by arms from the East, and abolitionism sympathies everywhere. He said that "the President might find difficulty in obtaining money from Congress to crush out the free settlers of Kansas," a threat, coming from him, which is to be understood as announcing that the Free Soil majority in the House will refuse appropriations for any army to be employed in maintaining the officers and laws of the United States in Kansas, against the Free Soil rebellion. Preparatory to this, large sums are subscribed in the Northern States to buy arms for the Free Soil emigrants, and reverend clergymen and sober professors, go to public meetings, subscribe money to pay for rifles, and make inflammatory speeches to encourage the holders to kill, kill, kill the Southern slaveholder who asks in Kansas for an equality of rights under the constitution.

There is a good deal of animation in the Northern States on the subject. The necessity of some counteracting exertion has been universally confessed; but the expedition of Col. Buford, a citizen of Alabama, of high position and chivalrous character, is the first which has been organized on a scale of magnitude sufficient to be of essential service.

It has received liberal endowments in Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama, but Louisiana has as yet done but little for the enterprise. A meeting held last week made some arrangements for obtaining material aid in this quarter, and we trust the committees appointed have been diligent and successful. Our letters inform us that the troop will be here within ten days or a fortnight on their way to Kansas, and we do trust that they will have a hospitable welcome, and such assistance, to aid in carrying them successfully onward to the accomplishment of their chivalrous purposes, as will become the pride and the patriotism of Louisiana.

THE REPUBLICAN.
ST. LOUIS.
THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 3, 1856.

From the Chicago Daily Times.

'Outrage' not before Made Public.

We have long waited, expecting some one of the ix Abolition organs of Chicago to speak of a "gross outrage" upon the cause of "Human Freedom," which took place in Chicago during the present winter. They persisting in their silence, we are, "as faithful sentinels on the watchtowers of Freedom," compelled to relate the occurrence ourselves. Before doing so, however, we wish to remind our readers that our statement may not come up to the Fusion standard of excellence, because we shall omit the "agony," and in its place will substitute Truth. With this preface we proceed to the facts.

Some weeks ago, on the way to our office on every post, fence, wall, placard, board, and even on the pavements, were posted large bills, announcing that the Hon. John P. Hale, U. S. Senator, would lecture that evening on Kansas. Upon reaching our office, we turned over the pages of our six Abolition daily newspapers, and there, in each paper, we read the announcement of Mr. Hale's lecture, accompanied by special admonitions to go early and secure a seat, and be enlightened upon "the iniquities of Douglas and his atrocious Nebraska bill." In the evening, Metropolitan Hall was crowded, and the Senatorial clown, with his admirable imitations of Dan Rice, held all Abolitionism spell-bound under his declamation.—When Hale was about half through with his perform-

ance, he attempted an argument of affairs in Kansas. At this juncture, a thin, spare man, looking extremely weak, with face covered with whiskers and moustach, with a hook cane hanging on his left arm, arose, and addressing Mr. Hale, told that gentleman he was mistaken, and asked permission to set the Senator right. Abolitionism, being present in about the proportion of two thousand to one, felt brave, and there arose a storm of hisses, accompanied by exclamations of "he is one of Douglas' spies," others called out "he is a border ruffian," whereupon many ladies rose up, anxious to see the "fellow." A general storm of indignation followed, in which repeated calls were made "to throw him out of the window." But this suggestion, we are glad to say, was not carried out, because if it had been, the "ruffian" would have been killed. He was, however, seized, and under the force of the seizure he was soon stretched supinely on the floor, from which he was allowed to get up, after giving various pledges. Mr. Hale, proceeding with his lecture, the "Douglas spy" and "border ruffian," who had dared to call in question the correctness of an assertion by Hale, occupied during the rest of the evening the humiliating position of being compelled to keep silent on pain of being—well, we will not mention the cause of freedom, and it has often occurred to us that our Abolition neighbors have been exceedingly remiss in their duty to the cause of humanity in allowing this wanton breach of order, by this "pre-slavery tool of Douglas," this defiance of "freedom in the person of her chosen apostle, John P. Hale," to pass, without at least one or two good rousing "gbericks."

P. S. Upon reading over the above we find we have made a remarkable omission, and that is a description or designation of the individual. We are no daguer-reotypist, but upon reading the telegraphic report of events at Washington, we learn that this individual lately presented to Gen. Cass for presentation to the Senate, the Constitution of the Free State of Kansas. We learn also, that the same individual who so narrowly escaped lynching at the hands of the Chicago Abolitionists, is endeavoring to be admitted to the House of Representatives, as a member of Congress from the State of Kansas.

For the Republican.

Party No. 2, of young men from Charleston, South Carolina, emigrating to Kansas, arrived here this morning. They are forty-two in number, and are composed of young men representing the various honorable professions of life.

They are orderly and enthusiastic, and will direct all their energies so as to honor their native Palmetto State. The party left Charleston, Thursday, 27th inst., under the direction of Capt. FRANK PALMER, a graduate of the State Military Academy.

On their arrival in St. Louis a meeting of the members was held, for the purpose of giving expression to the following:

At a meeting of the Kansas party of emigrants on board of the steamer Helen Jewett, at St. Louis, on the 1st April, the following resolutions were regularly introduced and unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, we, emigrants for Kansas from South Carolina, having reached St. Louis after a safe and pleasant travel, deem it our duty and pleasure to express our thanks to all parties who may have by their kindness and consideration brought about this agreeable result; therefore,

Resolved, That our acknowledgments and thanks are due, and are hereby given to the following Railroad Companies, who have by the exercise of a becoming liberality, transported us over their roads, namely: South Carolina Railroad, Georgia State Railroad and the Chattanooga and Nashville Railroad.

Resolved, That we return our thanks to the Captain and officers of the steamer Rock City for their polite care and attention to our comforts and wants while passengers aboard that vessel.

Resolved, That we tender our warm esteem and respect to Major James S. Rollins, of Missouri, for his sympathy, his courtesy and friendship uniformly expressed in his deportment towards us during several days travel together, and to him we feel much indebted for valuable information having reference to matters of peculiar interest to us.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the respective parties, and that the papers be requested to publish the proceedings.

I am, with much respect,
WM. H. JENKINS.
St. Louis, Monday evening, April 1st, 1856.

DAILY TRIBUNE
Thursday Morning, April 3, 1856.

The South on War against Great Britain.

There are queer views prevailing in the Old Dominion, and the Carolinas, and strange fears, also, are shaping themselves into words, showing that the Slave Power dread the future. It has no quiet. Its rest is disturbed, and it starts forth at this, and then at that, as if haunted by infernal spirits.

The Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, for instance, discusses in sombre vein the possibility of a

war between the United States and Great Britain, and gives, "with no pleasure," certain belligerent extracts from the English Papers. It is, however, quite frank, neither evading the certain effect which a conflict must cause upon the main products of the South, nor ignoring the peril which might arise from the slave population! It says:—

"The extracts in another column from the British press clearly reveal the design of the British government to strike the first blow at the heart of the South. Whether their confidence in the defection of our slave population proves a foolish or a wise calculation, it is certain that the effect of a war with Great Britain on the general interests of the South, will involve manifold and irreparable injury. It is very doubtful if the conservative spirit of our State Rights government could survive the conflict. It is not absolutely certain that some extreme States of the North might not be detached from alliance with the South, and be seduced into a crusade of arms against Slavery. In any event, the productions of slave labor would be reduced to a value altogether inadequate to the support of the institution.

"The cotton of the Carolinas and the tobacco of Virginia would waste in the fields of the planter, and he might accept the emancipation of his slaves as relief from an intolerable burden. The South, now so rich and powerful, might be impoverished and humiliated; and on its ruins abolitionism would erect the commercial and political despotism to which it aspires. The plunder of privateers, the monopoly of the markets in the purchase of cotton, and the sales of manufactures, and, above all, the conquest of Canada, would aggrandize the North in proportion as the South sinks in the scale of wealth and power. So inseparably are the interests of the South bound up with the preservation of peace with Great Britain.

The belligerent tone of the abolitionists, habitually so meek and averse from violence, admonishes us in this conjuncture, to pursue a policy of pacific moderation. They act, not from impulse, but from calculations of the profoundest policy; and when we hear Seward, Sumner and Wilson clamor for war with Great Britain, we need no assurance that they seek not the vindication of national honor, but the degradation of the South. They contend not for the sanctity of public faith, but extol the particular treaty which sets arbitrary bounds to the expansion of slavery.

"Against a contingency of such fatal portent to the South, it is proper that the legislature of Virginia should oppose all the influence of a formal expression of the popular sentiment of the State."

Now pause, reader, and consider the position of the Slave-Power as thus exhibited by one of its chief organs.

In regard to the North, it is insolent and blustering and seems anxious to prick and goad it into a contest. In regard to Kansas and Slavery extension, this Slave-Power is overbearing, grasping, and despotic. To hear or read its bravado, to mark or consider its action, one would suppose it master of itself and the Republic, invincible in its own domain and out of it. Yet we hear it begging the Legislature of Virginia and of the Southern States, "to interpose a voice of wise admonition between the country and that great disaster," a war with Great Britain!

Now why this want of manliness? Whence this fear of England? The tone of the Richmond *Enquirer* is really abject, craven. That a war with Great Britain would be calamitous to the Slave States—that it would seriously injure, if not ruin, the majority of the rice, cotton and tobacco planters—that it might stir up insurrection, are facts which the *Tribune* has asserted over and over again. But the Richmond *Enquirer*, while admitting these facts, goes one step further. It declares, that the institution would topple over under such a war. "The productions of slave labor," we quote its exact language, "would be reduced to a value INADEQUATE TO THE SUPPORT OF THE INSTITUTION." Thus it admits, what we have long made familiar to the readers of the *Tribune*, that the South is really defenceless against a war with any first-class power, and, therefore, unable to protect itself! Slavery makes it so. That saps its strength for home insurrection or for foreign invasion, and

it dares not face either. It is the *Union*—it is the population outside of the Slave region, it is the power of the Freemen of the Free States, which secures that region either safety or the stability of their institution.

Now no sane man seeks or desires a war with Great Britain, and such an event, with all the gasconade of the Administration, is hardly a possibility. We need not be disturbed, then, on that score. But on another point we beg leave to press the reader's attention, and that is the extreme folly of letting this Slave Power, so essentially helpless in itself, dictate to the Republic, and the positive necessity of limiting the spread of an institution which curses whatever soil it touches with an inherent weakness utterly unable to protect itself. We should blush to make the confession for the North-West which the Richmond *Enquirer* does for the South; aye, hide our heads in very shame and sorrow. Yet this North-West is the bantling of a day. Heads not yet grey witnessed its birth, and the men who worked to rescue it from savages and wild beasts are stout and stalwart still. But it is able and ready to protect itself against any power which should dare seek to tread its soil with hostile foot, while the Southern portion of the Original Thirteen States, old as the Republic itself, would sink before an invasion, hopeless and helpless.

It is a shame that the selfish few, the monopolists and Oligarchs of the South, should uphold an institution so imbred with decay and weakness, and a greater shame still, that any class of freemen of the North should slave themselves to their narrow, sectional and aristocratic will. It is a marvel, as well as a shame, that either should sustain a class when that class rests, not only upon a rotten foundation, but makes the white race itself powerless to defend itself, wherever it is established. But such articles as this from the Richmond *Enquirer* will open the eyes of the people, North and South, and compel both to work on and work together, like men and brethren, to rid the Republic of an element which blasts it alike by its weakness and its wrongs.

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 3, 1856.

More Outrages on the Missouri River—How that Route can be avoided

When lawless ruffianism becomes rife among any people, society cannot at once resume its original stability and good order: Those who imagined when the Missouri Ruffians, with a becoming regard for the influence of Sharpe's rifles, withdrew in disgrace from the vicinity of Lawrence, that their forays and lawless violence were to cease forever, based their opinion on a superficial knowledge of human nature. Much less could such a result be expected when the President of the United States, Senator Douglas and all the immediate supporters of the Administration apologize for and in fact encourage these lawless desperadoes. Foiled in their attempt to drive the Free State men from Kansas, they have now, it would appear, organized with the determination to guard the Missouri River, and thus keep all Free State men out of Kansas, till the fetters of slavery can be firmly riveted upon her. We much mistake the energy and the temper of the settlers from the Free States if this, their last card, is permitted to win.

We have late and startling news from the Missouri River. A gentleman from New York, well known in the business circles of that city, arrived here on Monday evening direct from Kansas. We have the name and the address of the gentleman, and his character is vouched for here by those who know him, but we withhold his name, and for convenience sake will call him Mr. Jones.

He started from Kansas on the same boat with Gen. Lane, Gov. Robinson following in the next

boat. After proceeding down the river for some distance at Brunswick landing, a party of armed men came very quietly on board the boat, seized him and his trunk, took them ashore, and very soon the boat left. His captors at once made preparations to tie him to a log and start him off on his lonely voyage down the Missouri. Mr. Jones protested that he was strongly an administration man and always had been, and to treat a friend in this way was an outrage. The captain of the band, who was said to be a son of Gov. Price of Missouri, asked for the evidence, and the letters in Mr. Jones' trunk fully established all he had said. The truth is, the ruffians supposed they had captured Gov. Robinson, and had planned this lonely voyage on the Missouri for the special benefit of his Excellency.

It seems from the statement of Mr. Jones that the ruffians were stationed at several other points on the Missouri, for at two other places he was treated to nearly the same courtesy as in the first instance, the ruffians supposing that they had the body of his Excellency Gov. Robinson. The description of the Governor in the possession of the desperadoes, it seems, could not have been exactly accurate. Gen. Lane, it is said, escaped any violence from the fact that he is a Free Mason, the signs of that ancient order being potent in every case to ward off all danger.

Mr. Jones declares he would not again undertake to pass up or down the Missouri without a passport from Pierce and Douglas indorsed by Atchison and Stringfellow. He says there are organized bands of ruffians at every principal landing on the Missouri, and that every boat going up or down the river has some one or more of their spies among the passengers. They are sworn to abduct all suspected persons, and seize contraband goods, having a sharp eye on every thing that looks like Sharpe's rifles.

Mr. Jones also states that from reliable information derived from persons on the ground, he is satisfied that three thousand men are banded together to take care of the next election in Kansas! And why not? If the acts of the first ruffian Legislature are to be indorsed by the Administration at Washington, why may not those of the second and so on to the end of the chapter?

The question arises, what shall be done? Shall the immigrants from the Free States who have determined to make Kansas their future home stay away and leave the noble band of Free State men now there, constituting nine-tenths of the population to the tender mercies of Mr. Pierce and Mr. Douglas administered by Atchison and Stringfellow? Never, NO NEVER!! There is a way to get to Kansas costing a very little more and requiring only a few days more time, by which St. Louis and the Missouri River can be entirely avoided. A few days since we published what purported to be the result of a meeting of Missouri river steamboat captains pledging themselves that persons and property should be safe while passing up the river. We expressed the hope that they would do as they agreed, but our information leads to the conclusion that most of them and their clerks and crews are leagued with the ruffians, and will favor their schemes.

The *Tribune* of yesterday morning published a letter from Lawrence proposing that the business men of Chicago, Cincinnati and Alton establish an independent line of steamers to run up the Missouri from Alton direct to Kansas. As a temporary expedient, we should like this plan much, provided it could be successfully carried out. In our judgment, there seem to be insurmountable obstacles against the success of this plan. The whole of the present Missouri steamers would be at once pitted against the new line, and how easy would it be for them to select some old tub and run into and destroy every opposing boat on the river. And again, spies of the ruffians might take passage on the steamers and watching their opportunity might set them on fire and probably burn or drown nearly all on board. Of course they could easily provide means for their own escape.

With our present information, there seems to be but one resource left. Let the Free State settlers go entirely around the State of Missouri. This can be done with far less trouble and expense than might be imagined. It is but three

hundred and fifty-five miles from Iowa City to Lawrence, and it is not much further from Burlington. Emigrants will nearly all want teams when they get to Kansas, and they can purchase them in Iowa City or Burlington probably with as much or more advantage than in Missouri or Kansas. Let but the tide of travel take this course and these towns would at once be supplied with every requisite for the journey across Iowa. As to the distance, it can be accomplished in eight or nine days very comfortably. The country through which they would pass is very beautiful, and as the emigrants would go in companies, it would in fact to many be an agreeable episode after a railroad journey of a thousand miles. Men think nothing of starting off across the plains, a journey of some fifteen hundred miles from Independence to San Francisco or the mouth of the Columbia. Surely this journey of three hundred and fifty miles, through a beautiful, fertile country, is no great matter.

We have another suggestion. Arrangements might be made in a few weeks to start regular caravans two or three times a week from Iowa City and Burlington, to carry passengers and freight through to the Missouri for a reasonable charge. Stages are now running, but of course these could not begin to accommodate the emigrants. Abundant means should at once be provided to take all who come. Will not those at the East who are interested in these matters form a company at once, and see that all who wish to go to Kansas are provided with a safe and reasonably expeditious route to get there? If these suggestions are worth anything, they should be followed at once with vigorous action. A few months' delay and all may be lost.

The pressing importance of the remarks we made on Monday morning in reference to the early completion of the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad to Council Bluffs, becomes most apparent. It can be finished to Fort Des Moines, a hundred and twenty miles, in little more than a year, and to the Missouri River by the fourth of July, 1858. No intelligent man who examines the map of the country for a single hour, with the proper facts before him, can resist the conviction that, when completed, it will be one of the best paying roads in the United States. The friends of the road and of freedom should act at once and with untiring energy. Let that be done, and the stock can be subscribed, and fifty miles of the road beyond Iowa City commenced, within the next sixty days. There is money enough, and energy and patriotism enough in the free States, to defeat, peaceably and gloriously, all the schemes of the wily traitors at Washington, who have determined to make Kansas a slave State, and at any and at all hazards. Let there be proper exertion for the next six months, and these troublesome questions will be settled forever.

We have ceased to write or publish much in reference to the soil and climate of Kansas. It is now universally conceded that it is one of the finest sections in the Mississippi Valley. There cannot possibly be found a more inviting field for the emigrant. Lands can now be had for a dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, which in ten years will be worth from twenty to thirty dollars. For the prudent, the industrious and the enterprising there are fortunes there in abundance. Let our enterprising young men "enter in and possess this goodly land," and consecrate it to freedom, intelligence and religion, and posterity will embalm their names in undying honor.



THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 3, 1856.

To-day the U. S. Senate resumes the consideration of the Kansas bills. There are two of them; Mr. Seward's proposing the immediate admission of the new State under the Constitution her people have adopted; and Mr. Douglas's setting aside that Constitution, and ordering another Convention, the assembling of which shall be postponed until the Territory has 93,420

inhabitants. Neither of them contains a word in reference to involuntary servitude; but it is manifest that the one will conserve the State to Freedom, while the other attempts to keep it disorganized until it can be made the prey of Slavery.

If Kansas is admitted, peace will be at once restored. If she is rejected, her present condition of anarchy must continue, threatening to end,—who knows how soon,—in civil war?

If she is admitted, the gangs of armed Missourians will be obliged to retire to their homes, and leave her actual residents to manage her affairs. If she is rejected, they stand ready to pour over her frontier and control, by fraud and violence, her organization as a State, just as they did her organization as a Territory.

If she is admitted, her inhabitants can return to their peaceful occupations; her fields will be cultivated, her forests cleared, her villages will thrive and spread, her mills resume their work, and a profitable trade spring up between her and the States. If she is rejected, her fields must lie sterile, her forests stand, her towns decay, her mills stay idle and motionless, and her trade stagnate, while her inhabitants shoulder their rifles and stand on guard against foreign invaders.

If she is admitted, it will no longer be a crime there to ring a Church-bell or open a School. If she is rejected, the present rule continues, under which Teachers are tarred and feathered and Clergymen knocked down with bludgeons, and set adrift in the Mississippi, for the expression of religious opinion.

If she is admitted, her magnificent lands and water-power will invite immigration and settlement from all parts of the Union—an immigration alike conducive to her prosperity and that of those who engage in it. If she is rejected, immigrants will be kept away by the disordered and dangerous state of society, and the apprehension that the State may be hereafter cursed with Slavery.

If she is admitted, her citizens will be allowed to cast their votes, and control their government for their own advantage and peace. If she is rejected, she remains under control of Missourians, and subject to the most infernal code ever enacted since the days of Bloody Mary; persecuting men for opinion's sake, and sacrificing every citizen's plainest rights, in order to introduce the buying and selling of men.

If she is admitted, she will from that day cease to cost the Government a penny, raising her own taxes and paying her own expenses. If she is rejected, we shall from time to time be called on to pay, through our Representatives, a spurious Legislature for oppressing her, spurious officers for committing outrages on her inhabitants, United States troops for shooting down her citizens if they resist foreign rule, and a President for neglecting the rest of the Union, to aid in the nefarious work.

If she is admitted, no man's right will thereby be infringed, no provision of the Constitution or of law violated, no established usage even, departed from. If she is rejected, no man in her borders will be permitted to write, speak, or vote contrary to the dictation of the Missouri Ruffians, the Constitution will continue to be violated, all law and established usage trampled on, and bloodshed, arson, riot and murder, reign as they have reigned there during the past year.

If she is admitted, the nation will no longer be convulsed with angry political strife in regard to her, her Government, the Government of Missouri, and the Government of the Union, will return to their peaceful and ordinary functions. If she is rejected, any day may bring us news that the conflict between the Settlers and the Missourians (hitherto only averted by the

prudence and courage of the Free State authorities) has begun, and once begun, no man can tell where its baleful effects will end, or to what now unexpected events an armed struggle between Slaveholders and Freemen will lead.

NEW HAVEN DAILY PALLADIUM

BY BABCOCK & WILDMAN:

NEW HAVEN:

THURSDAY, APRIL 3, 1856.

LUCKY!

The Register makes the Kansas lecture of the Rev. Mr. Beecher, at the North Church, almost the whole burden of its lamentations. It has found an elephant's nest, surely. Now supposing "Capt. Dutton" and "Colonel Beecher," and so on, did very wrong in the matter of the rifles, which we do not admit, what then? They are not candidates for the suffrages of the people. What have the voters to do with the matter? Nothing at all, and the Register knows it. But it has been driven to the wall of late. It knows that its party is nearly broken to pieces in Connecticut, and that it has nothing to offer in the way of apology for the outrages in Kansas, in regard to which there is an intense feeling all over the State; so it seizes upon this lecture at the North Church and makes a terrible clatter about it, for the purpose of diverting the minds of the people from concerns of vastly more consequence. That is an old trick of the office holder's paper. It reminds one of the heathen sacrifices, who when they kindle the flames around their victims, make a terrible thumping on their *tum-tums* to drown the cries of the distressed. The Custom House is in danger! Rally democrats to the support of the Collector, let Kansas take care of itself, and down with the Rev. Mr. Dutton and Rev. Mr. Beecher! Brave men! these obedient democrats. Disinterested leader, this United States Custom House officer!

The Courant.

HARTFORD:

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 3, 1856.

United, we Stand; Divided, we Fall.

There is no reason, in the policy of the country, or the political exigencies of the times, or the various antecedents of the different Anti-Nebraska men of the State, why they should not unite in the coming campaign, heartily, effectively, successfully. They are all equally opposed to the present Administration—equally hostile to the spread of slavery—equally desirous of making Kansas a free State. Whether as Whigs, or Republicans, or Americans, they were opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and are now desirous of a practical restoration of its conditions by preventing Kansas from becoming a slave State. To accomplish the objects each has in view, a union or "fusion," if the term is preferable, is necessary. It can be effected on proper and just grounds, without affecting in the least, the peculiar tenets of each separate organization, and without relinquishing a single principle which is important to be retained.

As Lieut. Gov. Ford of Ohio very pertinently said, when different monsters are to be attacked and destroyed, that one is to be first met which is nearest and most dangerous. The extension of slavery over free territory, and the increase of the slave power over our Government, are the nearest, monsters. They are ready to spring upon the nation. They are already crouched for the fatal blow. Let them be met first; let them be conquered and chained. Let them be confined within the limits of their own cages. Then there will be time enough

to seek and destroy the other monsters we dread. The first principle which we must seek to establish, whether as Americans or Republicans, or Whigs, is, to make "slavery sectional, and freedom national."

This object cannot be accomplished without a union of feeling and a concentration of strength.—"United we stand; divided, we fall." If the opponents of the Administration in Connecticut unite in the coming election, they can carry it. They are in a majority. Neither section of the Opposition has strength enough of itself to contend with the giant of the pro-slavery democracy that seeks to govern our State. United, there will be a victory unparalleled in the political history of Connecticut. To shout over this triumph, there must be a complete union on Senators and Representatives.

To perfect this union, much must be given up on all sides. Personal prejudices and personal preferences are to be sacrificed. To defeat the common enemy is a higher object than to gratify individual spleen. In voting for a candidate of another organization, many feelings are to be given up for the good of the common cause. Shall not this sacrifice be made by every Republican, and American and Whig in the State?

We feel that we have a special right to call upon true AMERICANS to make this sacrifice. Their vote of last spring shows that they are the largest section of the Opposition party. Their vote, this spring, will show it. To their magnanimity a powerful appeal can be made, that with the consciousness of this strength, they should be willing to make the first sacrifice, and meet their allies more than half way in the selection of Representatives. They can do battle for their own distinctive principles hereafter.

What do you say, Anti-Nebraska men of Connecticut—shall there not be among us a complete and cordial UNION?

Great Gathering Last Night—Speech by John P. Hale.

Agreeable to an announcement in THE PRESS, the Hon. JOHN P. HALE of New Hampshire, addressed, at the City Hall, last evening, a large and enthusiastic audience.

B. HUDSON, Esq., was chosen President of the meeting, and WAIT N. HAWLEY, Esq., Secretary.

Mr. HALE was introduced by Mr. HUDSON, and commenced by saying that he had not come there to address any party, but individuals. "God," said he, "made individuals, and—somebody else, politicians." And speaking of party, he said that party had its uses—and its abuses. Its uses were, that men might come together and act for one common cause; and its abuses were, when a few leading minds would control the masses. Let individuals think for themselves, and not, as parties, let others do the thinking for them. He commended the Connecticut platform of the American party.

But the great question he had come to discuss was this:—"What shall be the character of the Government to be wielded over Kansas as a State?" Shall it be a free State? or shall her hills and plains be trodden by the fevered feet of slaves, and her soil drenched with their blood and tears of agony? It is not a question of this year or the next, of this generation or the next, or of this century even, or the next, but a question of all coming time.

The next question is not "What shall we do to defend our liberty," but "What shall be done to defend liberty in Kansas?" In 1775 we were fighting for principles on Bunker Hill. The principles we were fighting then, are the same as those "for which we must now contend; but the field of battle is removed from the heights of Bunker Hill, to the plains of Kansas; then powder and ball decided the battle; now the ballot box takes the place of the cartridge box. Should Kansas be a free State or a slave State? As far as the power lay in the people of Connecticut, he was willing to leave it in their hands.

Mr. HALE dwelt at some length upon the old fogy idea of the meaning of the term "Popular Sovereignty." Gen. PIERCE and Judge DOUGLAS have at last discovered its true meaning. WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, HAMILTON, and other old fogies—some even of the present day—supposed that under a republican government, people chose their own rulers, but Pierce and Co. placed a ruler over Kansas.—Old fogy supposed that under a republican government "popular sovereigns" made their own laws; yet Congress made the laws for Kansas;—old fogy supposed that under a republican government, the "sovereigns" did their own voting; and a band of ruffians march from Missouri into Kansas, with banners flying, drums beating, all well armed, and elect for the people of Kansas such men as they, the ruffians, may think proper.

We do not aim to give a report of his speech, and have only touched upon a few points.

Mr. HALE spoke something over an hour, and was frequently interrupted by applause that made the old Hall ring again.

At the close of his speech, Mr. Hawley announced that Mr. CAMPBELL of Ohio, would address the citizens of Hartford, at Touro Hall, on Friday evening, of this week.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 3, 1856.

THE JUST DEMAND OF KANSAS.—The New York Journal of Commerce, distinguished for uttering its appeals for the perishing heathen and its falsehoods and fallacies in support of slavery in the same solemn and sepulchral tone, continues to repeat the unfounded declaration that the free state men of Kansas have backed down from their former position. It must require an astonishing amount of impudence to assert this in the face of the facts in the case, with which the majority of the people are pretty familiar—no thanks to the administration organs, however. The position of the people of Kansas is to-day what it

has been from the outset of their movement against outside tyranny; obedience to the general government and its laws; disregard of the interfering and fraudulent legislature, and contempt and disobedience of its monstrous enactments; organization of a state government, under the constitution and the territorial laws, and subject to the will of Congress. This is the extent of their treason, and from this they neither have receded nor will recede. With so clean a record, and so just a claim to admission as a state—the only means by which their acknowledged and insufferable wrongs can be righted and the people obtain the protection of law and government, of which they are now entirely destitute—we shall see if for mere partizan effect and to obtain border ruffian support for some democratic aspirant to the presidency, they shall be kept waiting and knocking at the door of the Union, when their admission would be the pacification of the slavery agitation and restore peace to the country. Let us have justice to Kansas first, and then make your presidents as you best can.

MEN, BIBLES AND SHARPE'S RIFLES FOR KANSAS!—Sixty more of the New Haven emigrants to Kansas started on Monday evening, making with the twelve who went forward in advance and others who will follow, over eighty good and true men. A farewell meeting was held in the evening, before the boat started, at which the venerable Prof Silliman presided, and speeches were made by Charles B. Lines, leader of the emigrating company, Rev Dr Bacon, Rev Dr Hawes, Wales French and Rev Mr Dutton. A letter from Rev Henry Ward Beecher was read, presenting to the company from members of his church several bibles and 25 Sharpe's rifles. At the close of the addresses those members of the company present were gathered on the stage, presenting as noble a set of men, in personnel, as ever left Connecticut. They were received with repeated rounds of cheers, after which a fine farewell song, to the tune of "God Save the King," written by Rev Mr Bingham of New Haven, was sung by the whole audience, and the emigrants after many adieus with hosts of friends, took up their way to the New York boat, under the escort of the Elm City Guards and Croton Engine company No. 1.—An interesting Kansas meeting was held in Tremont Temple, Boston, Tuesday evening, which was addressed by Judge Schuyler and Col Emery of Kansas, Rev Phineas Stow and Rev E. N. Kirk of Boston, and Rev Mr Garnet, a colored preacher. Ten young men were on the stage, who composed a portion of the party that started for Kansas on Wednesday.

When such men as Prof Silliman, Rev Dr Benjamin of Troy, Rev Baron Stow of Boston, and many others of like character, enter with such earnestness into the movement for the freedom of Kansas, it indicates a depth and sincerity of public feeling on the subject that superficial observers cannot appreciate. These men are not enthusiasts, carried away by momentary excitement, but the most calm, reflective and considerate of men, and when they urge the sending of men, bibles and rifles to Kansas, it means something. The stupid ridicule of a debauched partizan press is not of the slightest account with such men. They believe in the right of self-defense as fully as in any other doctrine of religion, and they know well that some of the noblest emigrants to Kansas have been brutally murdered for lack of sufficient weapons of defense in the hands of the peaceful settlers. Where government officers amuse themselves by shooting down unarmed citizens in cold blood, and are still retained in office by the administration, it is every man's duty to go armed, and we rejoice that every emigrant to Kansas this year is likely to have a weapon so efficient in case of emergency as a Sharpe's rifle.

The fare from St Louis to Kansas City, by the boats up the Missouri river, is but \$10 to those who go out under the auspices of the New England emigrant aid company; or \$2 less than the ordinary charge, whatever that may be.

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
THURSDAY, APRIL 3.

Republicanism at the West.

The persevering determination of the Administration to crush Freedom in Kansas has thoroughly aroused the great West. At a State Convention of the Republicans of Michigan which met at the Ann Arbor on the 26th ult., the Detroit Tribune says even 2000 delegates were in attendance, and that all parts of the State were represented. Among those were who conspicuous on this occasion we notice the present Governor of the State, with other old leaders of the Democratic party, and the utmost harmony and enthusiasm characterized the proceedings of this large body of true men. The resolutions adopted expose the false pretences and wicked designs of the Administration, and the following is impressive for its truthfulness and patriotic spirit:

Resolved, That in the light of the developments of the last two years, we are authorized to declare that the object of the authors of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was the establishment of Slavery in territory from which it was then excluded; that all the pretences which were urged to justify or excuse it, have been shown to be unfounded or insincere. Instead of quieting the agitation of the Slavery question, it has increased that agitation a thousand fold; instead of affording the people of new Territories the right to form their own institutions in their own way, it has been practically construed by its authors to justify the establishment by force of the institutions of a neighboring State; and to promote the work of subjugation, the President has exercised in the most arbitrary manner the power of removal from office, and now threatens to subdue, by military force, a people which have emigrated to Kansas under the provisions of an Act passed to confer on them the right of sovereignty in their new homes—and all that Slavery may triumph over Liberty. In this controversy we hesitate not to declare that we are for the people of Kansas, against the President and his Border allies; and that we will stand by them until that Popular Sovereignty which they have so ably vindicated shall "crush out" the Presidential despotism that seeks to destroy them.

The Daily Transcript.

Z. K. PANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS.,

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 3, 1856.

Arguments against the Clergy.

It has been a favorite occupation with a certain class of editors and politicians, to abuse every minister of the gospel, who happens to be honest and bold enough, to preach in condemnation of political sins, or to urge in the pulpit the discharge of one's political duties as a citizen, according to the law of conscience and of right. Only let a clergyman venture to speak a word of truth, that has a bearing on politics, and forthwith he is assailed by these pious demagogues and party puppets. They manifest the same symptoms of discomfort and rage, which always characterize the servants of the devil, when they are stirred up by an expose of their misdeeds.

The latest instance of this kind is the howling which the pro-slavery, democratic organs set up, because certain distinguished ministers have recently, in public, urged the sending of rifles to Kansas, as a means of protection to the free State settlers, and of civilizing the border ruffians. Because the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and some other clergymen have advised the sending of Bibles and rifles to Kansas, and have intimated, that, if only one could be sent, the rifles should be furnished at any rate, the pro-slavery servants of President Pierce cry out with well-affected horror, "Ministers should not meddle with politics." Why not, pray? Is it any new thing under the sun for ministers to give good advice and exhortation to the people in relation to political matters? Is it an unheard of thing for pious pastors to stimulate the zeal of the citizen soldier, and while he places the rifle in his hand, he invokes the blessing of heaven upon him and exhort him to take good aim?

If we remember rightly the history of our country, it was quite common about the time that one George the Third was sending over his "border ruffians" to subdue the rebellious Yankees, for ministers to preach politics.—Reverend pastors in those days not only furnished arms to the members of their flocks, but some of them shared the privations and dangers of the camp in defence of freedom. Then, the Tories were the only class who abused the clergy for espousing the cause of freedom, and it is the Tories of this day, the abettors and tools of despotism, who now are so exercised, when the "man of God" speaks out as he should for liberty and humanity. Is it any worse for Mr. Beecher to recommend that Sharpe's rifles be supplied to the free State men in Kansas, than it was for a minister in the days of the revolution to stir up the rebels to fight against King George?

In that case men resorted to arms, because they were required to submit to a tax on tea and stamped paper; in this case men are obliged to take up arms to protect their homes from invasion, the ballot box from violation, and themselves from assault, robbery and murder. For our part, we think the occasion for advice from the clergymen, or anytody else, is sufficient, and the experience of the settlers in Kansas thus far, in the use of Sharpe's rifles, shows that the advice, to have them in readiness is wholesome.

In the name of common sense, we ask, if a clergyman may not denounce sins in politics and must not advise men to do right in any case where a political question is involved, then where is the use of having clergymen? And if a minister must be silent upon the subject of slavery, then what sin or abomination may he condemn? We do not see how a

conscientious minister can keep silence on this subject; we hold that it is his bounden duty to denounce it, and all the crimes and wrongs that are attendant upon it—and do it boldly and in the fear of God. And especially now, when we have some clergymen, who having received a "South side" inspiration, under which they seem to feel it their duty, to preach the doctrine, that the Bible sanctions slavery, and so also of course sanctions man-stealing, adultery, cruelty and murder, all of which are acknowledged to be evils inseparable from slavery, especially, we say, in view of this fact does it become the duty of the Christian minister to lift up his voice and cry aloud in condemnation of slavery, just as he would in the case of any other work of the devil. And now, if in order to extend slavery, its servants resort to border ruffianism, lynch law and bloodshed, then these works of slavery become also proper subjects of clerical attack; and still further, if in order to repel these assaults of the border ruffians, and defend their homes and their rights, nay more, their lives, the free settlers find it necessary to use Sharpe's rifles, why is it not most reasonable and proper that a minister, or anybody else, should aid in supplying them with those much needed instruments, which exercise such a powerful moral and reformatory influence upon the attelites of Atehonson.

We believe in ministers and all others, who have decided opinions in relation to important questions which concern us all, having the privilege of speaking their sentiments; and more than that, as good citizens, as honest men, as conservators of the public welfare, we do not see how they can excuse themselves, for keeping silent, when they have any opportunity or occasion to speak.

The Third

THURSDAY, APRIL 3, 1856.

TORREY SIDE.—We gave a few days since, an account of a seizure of arms on the Arabia, for Free State men in Kansas. The General Inspector of the New York Kansas League, has just received a letter dated St. Louis, March 10th.

"I leave in the steamer A. B. Chambers this day for Kansas, in company with about 300, the largest portion of whom are also bound for Kansas. We also have some 70 or 80 cases of rifles on board for the Border Ruffians. You know a man from Mississippi was in New York some time ago, buying rifles. I presume these are the same."

Nobody meddles with rifles for the Missouri folks; of course not, but arms of the Free State are quietly taken possession of, and converted to the use of the Border Ruffians.

BOSTON POST

THURSDAY, APRIL 3, 1856.

THE BLACK REPUBLICANS AND SHARPE'S RIFLES.

It makes the black republicans wince to exhibit, just as it is, their factious and rebellious proceedings before the community. We have done this in the New Haven Beecher-Sharpe-rifle meeting, where men claiming to be the agents, and to do the work, of the Prince of Peace, went for war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt; and where the constitution of our country was arraigned, and officials acting in pursuance of laws under it were ignored; and where sham authorities, not recognised by the political power of the country, were upheld. We put this matter, on this occasion, as we have on previous occasions, just as it is out of the mouths of these black republicans. We have taken them at their word. We say these deacons and ministers and Yale professors were engaged in hounding men on to the horrible work of civil war; and for this the Boston Atlas chooses to accuse us of insolence and falsehood.

Let us come to a plain understanding of this Kan-

sas case. Let us inquire into the meaning of language. Words are things. What thing is meant by the Sharp rifle remedy? What do C. Robinson & Co. in Kansas mean to do in wielding Sharpe's rifles in Kansas? What do the black republicans out of Kansas urge them to do? The whole thing lies in the intent; for we urge no war with that glorious, noble, constitutional right of any people to keep and to bear arms! No, no! The representative people of this country, in the congress assembled, have in the exercise of an unquestionable right, enacted territorial law; this law is the people's law; made by them and their authority. Now in Kansas this law and authority are represented unquestionably, by Governor Shannon. Our point is, that to set up by force another governor and another legislature and other laws in opposition to existing laws, is bold treason! Let us come to a plain understanding. Is this what C. Robinson and his party mean to do in Kansas? Is this what the aiders and abettors of this party out of Kansas urge them to do?

Now we respectfully ask of these black republicans, What did you mean at the Kansas Big Springs convention when you resolved to resist the existing laws and authorities "unto blood"? What did you mean when you announced the purpose of setting up a new, independent authority for this purpose? What did you mean in forming and adopting a constitution? In electing a governor? What do you mean by declaring, month in and month out, that the existing legislature is a "bogus," a "mock" legislature? that its acts are null and void; that no obedience is due to them? What do you mean, you of the New Haven meeting, who cheered and clapped, when Beecher rejoiced that C. Robinson was inaugurated the governor? What did that holy man of peace, Beecher, mean by his pun on *Kill-am*? What did he mean by the factious speech he made? Take the very latest of these republican issues: A letter in the Bunker Hill Aurora of March 29, 1856, under the signature of a member of the republican party, a delegate to the Pittsburg convention, who says that Shannon has been sent "to enforce obedience to the laws enacted by the mock legislature," and further says—"The people of the territory, who are not themselves fit for slaves, cannot and will not submit to those laws, and a collision seems inevitable." What does this mean? What did Governor Chase mean, when he sent in his message recognizing C. Robinson governor, and defending his party? What did his partisans mean in introducing into the Ohio legislature a resolve to raise regiments to march into Kansas to support Robinson—and this in bold defiance of the provision of the federal constitution, that prohibits a state from making war unless invaded? What do the press mean by holding up C. Robinson as "the real governor of Kansas"? We have gone over the whole ground; cited the very resolutions, messages, acts and proceedings. Who comes forward to say that these are not genuine? Nobody! We might fill our paper with citations from the black republican press urging the Kansas settlers to proceed to a bloody issue in refusing obedience to laws enacted by what is termed a "mock" legislature. Now, in the name of common sense, what do these men mean? We take them at their word. When at the Big Springs convention the Robinson party resolved to resist the territorial laws to a "bloody issue," we took these words in their proper sense; and all through we have done the same. We have delineated accurately, plainly the character of the issue thus made—supporting by the highest legal authority in the country our positions—and run it out to its proper result—treason to the laws.

But we are now told that "Governor Robinson has most positively announced his intention not to resist the authorities of the United States." This has a wide scope. Are we to understand by this that "Governor Robinson," whom we have been so long told, was "the real governor," will surcease the exercise of authority and leave the field to Governor Shannon? that the new legislature will not exercise a legislature's vocation? that the new secretary of state, and treasurer, and crowd of officials, are not to exercise their functions? As there cannot be two

legislatures, then the "bogus," "mock" "bogus" must be the Robinson affair! There may be sham laws, but they are not the laws of the territorial legislature called under the act of congress! Is this the conclusion of the whole matter? Is this the entertainment to which Governor Clark and Governor Chase and the "friends of freedom" were invited? Is his, forsooth, the interpretation of the bloody resolves and bloody speeches of the Big Springs convention? This turns the whole thing into farce! The real authority of Governor Robinson in Kansas is about on a par with the real authority of Don Sancho Panza in Barataria; and the self-styled "friends of freedom" must expect in the latter case as in the former case, as much as two bushels of laughter from the accounts of the gubernatorial proceedings. It must be admitted that C. Robinson's second, supplementary, apologetic, back out message to his legislature looks like this. It does not speak like one having authority. It rather speaks like Nich. Bottom playing the Lion; and we agree with the Albany Argus that since Nicholas Esquire played Lion, and put his head through the skin to assure the ladies "he was no lion, but plain Nich. Bottom!" we have had no parallel to the case of Gov. Robinson.

We repeat: let us understand this matter. This Sharp's rifle remedy for local evils is either excessively comic or it is terribly serious; men supplying these rifles to Robinson and Pomeroy are either engaged in the greatest of political farces, or they are aiding and abetting in treason to our country. There is no middle ground. There are but two horns on which to dangle. Choose either, gentlemen black republicans! but dangle on one of them you must.

The Atlas.

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 3, 1856.

PROTECTION—NATURALIZATION—SLAVE STATES.—No. III.

It is neither treason nor fanaticism, nor sectional prejudice that most anxiously watches the first results of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Sober conservatives, stern Constitutionalists, who feel that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance," purpose to pay their part of it for this generation; by opposing any increase of slave representation; because they believe that such increase will corrode the principles which, underlying the Constitution, are recognized by it, and give value to the Union. When equal suffrage and the supremacy of the intelligent majority cease to be the rule of our Republic, the principle of republican liberty and the value of the Union die together. This fatal consequence, and the bearing of slave representation upon it, were recognized by the Constitutional Convention, which provided, by Article IV, Sec. 4, that

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government," and by Article I, Sec. 9, admitted the power of Congress to prohibit the increase of slave representation, by prohibiting "the migration or importation" of slaves. The warranty, although having no reference to slavery, indicates the paramount importance of Republicanism; and the prohibitory power indicates the means of defending it from one kind of invasion.

Any attempt to include those who oppose the fugitive slave law, and those who deem the repeal of the Missouri Compromise an outrage, in the same category, is an absurdity. For the fugitive slave law was the re-acknowledgment of Article IV, Section 3, of the Constitution, providing that—

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

The manner of proving the "claim" was not agreed upon; but the principle of surrender was as fairly admitted as the rule for taking the census. They were equally parts of a solemnly ratified bargain. And those who oppose the principle of surrendering fugitive slaves, might as justly contest the seats of State representatives elected in the old slave States, by slave votes, under the three-fifths rule. They were both original concessions, made by Freedom to Union; and, perhaps, a similar spirit may have yielded its strict rights of trial by jury in the one case, as it did of equality in the other. But it is much to certain, that the surrender of fugitives to their masters was a part of the original consideration which secured the Union.

Our compact, which removed the abstract question from our jurisdiction, before the fugitive slave law was passed.

But the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is another thing. The right to extend slavery to new territory was no part of the Constitution. The right to repudiate a bargain and to retain the consideration was no part of any original compact; on the contrary, the Constitution, by the clearest language, rebuts any assumption that slavery can be extended, as of right. The repeal was an inroad upon a principle of government which the Constitution recognizes as fundamental, and was a violation of justice. This repeal, which extends the provisions of an instrument to territory not contemplated by it, and is contrary to its principles and recognitions, is supported by "strict constructionists," in defiance of strict construction, and in denial of the constitutionality of a Congressional exclusion of slavery from the territories; although the power to prevent the migration of slaves into the territories, and the power to make all needful rules for the territories, are clearly set forth in the instrument. It is probably the same strict construction that originates appropriation bills in the Senate, and abrogates treaties without the authority of Congress! All these are Democratic inventions.

The principle of liberty, the intent of the Constitution, the original understanding and subsequent agreements, are all violated by that repeal; opposition to which rests on such well recognized constitutional grounds, that a rupture of our Union cannot be predicted, except on the supposition that the logical capacity deserts the Southern mind whenever it reasons upon the nature of republican liberty—the importance of intelligent suffrage—the right to political equality among freemen, irrespective of their modes of investment—and the relations of Union and Compromise to slaveholders. This question is one of government, independently of parallels of latitude. And therefore, wherever, through the length and breadth of the land, philosophy forms the political creed that, independently of contracts, republics should obey the intelligent majority; and that ten men are more likely to be intelligent and unprejudiced than one, which is the basis of trial by jury; and that a district of 30,000 freemen, owning lands, ought to have as much power as a district of 30,000 freemen owning slaves—the will the "eternal vigilance" of the patriot repel the attempt to introduce a larger hostile element of slave representation than was originally purposed for the sake of union. And wherever equity and honesty are not ignored, the repudiation of a bargain, for which a consideration injurious to free suffrage had been paid and is retained, will be deemed a fraud. The North does not insult her brethren of the South, by supposing that their logic and ethics are defective; and therefore it may be presumed that, without a sectional issue, constitutional and equitable principles will be arrayed against their opposites, irrespectively of natural lines. The defence of liberty and equity can never be a cause of disunion.

Moreover, the time will come, when the existence of slavery in the present slave States will depend on the compromises of Congress, and it now depends upon union. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was so far suicidal. For slave representation is so foreign to principle, and so injurious to other property, that the spread of the anomalous exception will hereafter be resisted, as of right, and in self-defence. The admission of States without free constitutions will be difficult. And yet territory will be occupied and grow into States, which will owe their political complexion partly to the fact, that the emigration from the free States will be greater than from the slave States, because the first have been raising a crop of emigrants, and the second a crop of slaves.

The ultimate preponderance of free States will secure to them, first, a law making, and then an amending, majority. Whenever a legislative majority shall prohibit the migration of a slave, and make his freedom the sanction of their law; or whenever three-fourths of the States shall pass an amendment destructive to the present rule of slave representation,—a Congressional compromise, protecting the rights of masters and slave owning voters, will be demanded, as just and constitutional. The best argument and precedent, however, to support the demand, will hardly be found in "the great measure of pacification." In such an emergency,—and the Kansas-Nebraska bill has enormously increased the probabilities that free States will preponderate, and the disposition for retaliatory legislation—slave policy will feel, that, in repealing the Missouri Compromise, on the untenable ground that compromises are unconstitutional, it scuttled a life boat, on which it must hereafter depend. Such anti-slavery legislation is indefensible on any ground of equitable and Constitutional intent. But so is the legislation of Mr. Douglas; and we are considering powers, not proprieties. The ultimate power of the free States to amend the Constitution may be safely predicted. A sparing use of that power is hardly to be expected by those who recollect the dæmonic legislation that introduced nullification repudiation, and our own personal liberty bill, into the majestic company of Laws.

Compromise will be the only ark of salvation to the

slave States. An attempt to exclude new free States from the Union will not hinder the growth of free territory, and the escape thither of fugitive slaves. And the proposition to preserve slavery by a dissolution of the Union is criminal nonsense. For when the slave States cleave from the free, the fugitive slave laws are annulled, and every slave that crosses a mathematical line becomes *ipso facto* free. Pursuit will end in border foray, and that in the unequal struggle between unequal numbers; a struggle, too, complicated but shortened by a servile war. If no pursuit be attempted, no slave can be trusted within a hundred miles of a frontier as safe for him as Canada is now. A strip of land, therefore, will be left practically in abeyance. Neither slavery nor freedom can claim the fee. It will be a sanctuary, whether it be left a desert or occupied by non-slaveholding freemen. By the nature of things, the slaveholder must withdraw his slaves more and more; and this strip will broaden into a territory occupied by men, who being unable from their position to enjoy the fruits of slavery, will sooner or later revolt into the society of free States. Thus, by slow processes of exfoliation, will slavery be sloughed off, till the frontier dwindles into manageable proportions for a line of military posts, a protection hardly to be relied on, till slavery retreats beyond the Isthmus. Disunion is the dedication of the Southern States to freedom.

Moderation is necessary; but silence is useless. The slave question involves enormous, fearful, fatal issues, some one of which we or our sons must meet, if compromises be contended. Either the equality of freemen before the laws must be yielded up to an anomaly, with an utter disregard of constitutional power and intent; or we must have disunion or civil war, the two last being not merely inadequate to their proposed end, but fatal to it.

Can it be that men are blind enough to believe that other men will abandon the general principle of political equality for the sake of a union, which is valuable because it guards that principle? Will men surrender the jewel for the sake of the casket, when they can retain and embellish both, by a restoration of insulted Congressional power to her indubitable throne? Is it treasonable agitation to discuss a political measure which will diminish more and more in each generation the value of free suffrage, till at last a few millions of planters can govern many millions of other freemen—not by numbers—not by intelligence—not even by wealth—but by the mode in which they have invested their money? The strife of liberty has been called treason before!

This is no fanatical abstraction. It does not touch the ethics of slavery. It is the old question, between a republic and an oligarchy, or privileged aristocracy. Its high argument has been pushed to conclusions in other times. If we are to live in peace and good neighborhood,—if the Union is to be preserved,—if the only object of the Union, republican equality, is to remain intact, except so far as intended by the Compromise of 1820 or the members of the Constitutional Convention,—nay, further, if slavery is to exist in the Union at all, the Constitutional power of Congress to make compromises must be recognized, or "the great measure of pacification," which outraged free suffrage and equality throughout the land, will end, whatever may be the fate of the Union, in the extinction of the slave. H. B. S.

Washington, April 2.—GOV. ROBINSON'S VISIT.—The object of the visit to Washington of Mr. Robinson, the Free State Governor of Kansas, is to ascertain the true state of feeling here relative to that territory, the reports transmitted thither being contradictory, and wholly unreliable. He will return this week. While on the way from Kansas to St. Louis, the passengers on board the steamboat organized a meeting, and listened to his statement of affairs with respectful attention.

THE SOUTH AND KANSAS.—The Journal has a letter from St. Mary's, Ga., dated March 24, which says: "I have only time to say the whole South is up on the Kansas question—raising money and volunteers to emigrate. If they do not outstrip the North in this matter, it is a wonder. You would be astonished at their patriotism for adding slavery to Kansas. As a witness on the ground, I ask, would it not be proper to give the alarm to the whole East and North and West, through the press, on this subject? One thing is clear, that numbers of voters will decide the question finally, if not now in the present session of Congress."

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, THURSDAY, APRIL 3.

The Boston Post of this morning has another of its characteristic articles on the Kansas question,—such an article as its Southern masters require and expect. If the conductors of that paper would face the issues raised by this question, and treat

as honest men usually treat important questions, what they say on this subject would deserve and receive respectful attention. But they can not afford to treat the question in this way. They are not at liberty to do so. They must defend any and every thing that may be proposed by the administration. The fat things supplied by government patronage must be paid for,—and the pay required is an entire exclusion of candor, honesty and manhood from the discussion of all questions which involve any scheme or interest of the slave power. Hence in the articles of the Post on the Kansas question there is no more place for reason or manliness than in the howlings of a plantation bull dog. It is ridiculous to expect these qualities in Northern retainers of the slave power who never scruple at the dirtiest work their masters provide for them, and who can always with alacrity

"Stoop to pick up what they want
Through any depth of mud."

The Boston Post dare not give its readers a true account of the doings of the Missouri border ruffians in Kansas; but it can libel and denounce those who seek to have the honest settlers of that territory defended against the murderous outrages of these villains. It will not show its readers the lawless and ruffianly character of the notorious "Baronial Assembly;" but it is quite capable of undertaking to persuade them that the infamous assemblage in question was the lawful legislature of Kansas. It will not allow those to whom it speaks to see the unconstitutional and infernal character of the "Baronial" edicts which it constantly speaks of as "local laws" of Kansas; but it is quite base enough to maintain that the people of Kansas should be hung for treason for attempting to secure deliverance from the rule of border ruffianism.

In its present article, the Post is greatly troubled about Sharpe's rifles, and sympathising deeply with that agony of dismay and terror which shook and disordered the ranks of the border ruffians when they first heard of those weapons, it asks—"What is meant by the Sharpe rifle remedy?" It means resistance and death to every gang of border ruffians who invade Kansas to murder the people and control the elections by means of riotous and murderous outrage. Will the Post tell us what the President intends to do with that Government official who shot down Mr. Barbour in cold blood, near Lawrence? Will it tell what will be done with that other Government official, Woodson, who issued circulars throughout the border counties of Missouri, calling for volunteers to invade Kansas and destroy Lawrence? These scoundrels are retained in office, probably because the President and Jefferson Davis entirely approve of what they did. The Post will not censure them; but it affects to be very anxious to know what the "Black Republicans" mean in regard to Kansas. Here are some of its questions:

"What did you mean in forming and adopting a constitution? In electing a governor? What do you mean by declaring, month in and month out, that the existing is a 'bogus,' a 'mock,' legislature? that its acts are null and void; that no obedience is due to them? What do you mean, you of the New Haven meeting, who cheered and clapped, when Beecher rejoiced that C. Robinson was inaugurated the governor?"

The shortest, and, for the Post, the most satisfactory reply to these questions is a resolve which was introduced in a political meeting at Concord, N. H., in 1842, by FRANKLIN PIERCE. We believe the editor of the Post has some knowledge of this gentleman. The resolve is as follows:

"Resolved, That when the people act in their original sovereign capacity in forming new systems of government, they are not bound to conform to any rules or forms of proceeding not instituted by themselves."

In 1842, the Post itself, following the example of prominent leaders of its party, defended this doctrine as a fundamental point in the Democratic creed. If its editor will turn back to his files of that year, he will find in many of the editorial articles, a complete reply to his questions in regard to Kansas. But the resolve above quoted is quite sufficient. We leave it for the Post to compare this resolve with some of the President's utterance in regard to Kansas, and say whether Franklin Pierce in 1842 was honest and meant what he said.

In organising a State government and asking admission into the Union as a State, the people of Kansas have done nothing more than they had a right,—nothing which is not sanctioned by the

great idea on which political institutions are based, nothing which they were not encouraged to do by such oracles of the Post's party as Gen. Cass and others. There can honestly be no question in the matter. The important question now, is, will the President, under the dictation of the slave power, undertake to crush out this right and force them to submit to the border ruffians?

fire of his own secret reflections.—N. Y. Observer
The Register April 3, 1856

KANSAS CHURCH BUILDING

A correspondent of the Boston Commonwealth, referring to this subject says:—

MESSRS. EDITORS.—In your paper of Nov. 30, is a communication from Rev. T. H. Rood, of Goshen, Mass., volunteering from one of his lady parishioners, an offering of \$500 as the nucleus for a fund to be applied to the building of churches in Kansas, and if deemed expedient, orthodox churches throughout the West—payable whenever a plan should be adopted for carrying the designs of the donor into effect.

Notwithstanding the importance of the object, it was seriously feared by some, that the proposition would be unheeded.

Now, "aid for Kansas" seems with much propriety, to be the order of the day.

She wants men, free men to defend her against an oligarchy that would desecrate her domain by making it a land of slaves, and who will make her one of the bulwarks of liberty and a strong hold of freedom.

She wants the means of strengthening her men, of giving character to those who shall seek a home within her borders, of instructing her children in the ways of virtue and holiness.

Already enlisted in her aid, she has those who have gone out from among us, members of our own households, our own neighborhoods, our own churches.

They want to hear the same gospel there which they heard here; they want to see the church spires rising heavenward from every village of their land, to remind them that the same kind Father watches over them there that watched over them in their far-off New England home; that they may be often reminded of the good old Puritan doctrines and principles, they learned in their youth, that they may meet together under its shadow from week to week, and make a Sabbath day's journey towards that better land to which it points.

But their privations and necessities forbid luxuries, forbid privileges, forbid much that adds to their happiness as men, their progress as Christians. Whence then shall they receive aid for building houses of worship?

The proposition referred to above, is one step towards meeting this want.

The offered contribution of \$500 is now on its way to fulfill its mission, and the initiatory steps are taken for the prosecution of a work which will cheer the hearts and strengthen the hands of Kansas, Christians can do much it is hoped, in advancing the interest of religion throughout our land.

THE EVENING MIRROR.

H. FULLER,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

NEW YORK,
THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 3, 1856.

Bullet Headed Parsons.

Ward Beecher and Willard Jones are full of bullets. They think bullets, talk bullets, and write bullets, but are careful enough not to get in the way of bullets—especially of "Border Ruffian" bullets. These two fighting parsons are vying with each other as to which can come up most roaringly and rampageously "to the help of the Lord against the mighty." They interpret the saying of Christ, "I come not to bring peace but a sword," literally, only they prefer Sharpe's rifles to sword's. "The sword of the Spirit," cleaving to the marrow, they have no faith in. They have aided their loins, and from a discreet

stand-point (2000 miles from the battle field) they blow their horns to assemble greener warriors to do the real fighting, while they declare war on the Hivites, (squatters) and Hitites, (Kickapoo ranges) and all the "Border Ruffian" tribes—even upon the whole multitude of the camp of Wakarusa. Though "Vengeance is mine," saith the Lord, Beecher and Willard cry "we will repay!" Verily, these are pretty specimens of followers of the meek and lowly Jesus, who said to bellicose Peter, "put up thy sword they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." But Beecher and Willard will not perish by Sharpe's rifles, (though their dupes may) they will keep clear of that "moral" instrument—they will!

Newark Daily Mercury.

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 3, 1856.

The Hon. Edward Everett.

This distinguished orator was born in Dorchester near Boston, in 1794, entered Harvard College at the age of thirteen, and graduated with distinguished credit in 1811, when 17; when only 18, he was appointed Latin tutor at Harvard, and Greek tutor at 21; commenced preaching in the Unitarian church at 19, and before he was of age published an admirable Defence of Christianity, displaying an extensive acquaintance with biblical literature. In 1815, he travelled in Europe, and made the acquaintance of Scott, Byron, Jeffrey, Campbell, Mackintosh, Romilly Davy and other distinguished literary and political characters. From 1820 to 1824 he was editor of the North American Review, to which journal he contributed from time to time no less than 110 articles.—From 1824 to 1824 he was a member of the House of Representatives at Washington. From 1825 to 1849 he was four times elected Governor of Massachusetts, and needed only 1 vote to secure a fifth election. From 1841 to 1846 he was Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James. From 1846 to 1849 he was President of Harvard College. On the decease of Daniel Webster, Mr. Everett was appointed Secretary of State of the United States, and in 1853 he succeeded John Davis as a national Senator for Massachusetts. The failure of his health obliged him to resign his seat in the National Councils, and he has since been living in retirement at Boston, occupied in the preparation of a great work upon international law.

The political reputation of Mr. Everett suffered much from the lack of force which he threw into his opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, while occupying a seat in the Senate. Indeed he felt himself unskilled to the post, and unable to meet the political questions which threatened to disturb all old party affinities. In the Whig party, Mr. Everett's reputation has always been of a high character, and, although he lacks every element of impassioned eloquence, his carefully prepared orations and addresses will live and be admired long after he has departed from among us. He has never assumed the position, and has no claims to the character, of an original statesman, and in all his political trusts he has aimed at preserving the conservative features of the Government, with but little regard to any great or humanizing questions of public policy. If such public men, however, do little to reform abuses, they are never known to imitate your Douglasses in striking down time-honored Compromises, and they are uniformly found sustaining peace and order against the influences which threaten to disturb society.

The Commercial.

WILMINGTON, N. C.
THURSDAY, APRIL 3, 1856.

BIBLE LORE IN MISSOURI.

A correspondent of the St. Louis Republican, writing from Jefferson City, gives an amusing description of a trial which recently came off at that place, in which all the counsel engaged rank high at the Missouri bar. Although lawyers were never considered remarkable for their erudition in the Scriptures, urges the editor of the Republican, yet such unpardonable neglect of the holy book as the counsel in this case exhibited calls for prompt action upon the part of the American Bible Society, or greater Sunday school facilities. Here is the letter:

A few days since, I was serving as a juror in a case of slander. Three of our most prominent lawyers were engaged—one for the plaintiff the others for defendant. The counsel attempted to impeach the veracity of one of the witnesses—an

old man named Mayhew. They failed entirely, and when the counsel for plaintiff came to sum up the evidence, said: "Gentlemen of the jury, the counsel on the opposite have endeavored to impeach the veracity and destroy the character of the witnesses and particularly of my old friend Mayhew. I must confess, gentlemen, I trembled for my old friend, when the senior counsel for defendant, with his stern countenance, demanded of the old man whether he had not told a different story to his neighbors, and introduced Mr Harris to prove it. But, gentlemen, he failed; and my old friend Mayhew came out unscathed.— Yes, gentlemen, like Daniel of old, out of the lion's den, without a hair of his head having been singed."

This excited the risibles of those familiar with the authority quoted; but some very broad grins were seen when the senior counsel for defendant rose, and remarked to his hearers. "That his friend, the counsel for plaintiff, had not quoted correctly the passage from the Higher Law; that he had read and heard much of Daniel but that was the first time he had ever heard of his being in a lion's den."

All was silence, however, compared with the roar when the junior counsel made his reply. In alluding to the remarks of plaintiff's counsel, he said: "My worthy friend on the other side is not quite as familiar with the volume of the higher law as he is with those of Chitty and Blackstone, or he would not have attempted to release his friend Mayhew from the lion's den without having a hair of his head singed. Unlike my senior, I have heard of Daniel being in the lion's den; but until to-day, I never heard that his roaring majesty made use of fire. My worthy friend has, I suppose, mixed up the escape of Daniel from the lion's den with the passage of Nebuchadnezzar through the fiery furnace, who had not a hair singed!"

One good effect has resulted from this trial.— Many who were present, and others who have since heard the above, have been conning their Bibles; and, as an instance, I will mention that I went into the post office after the trial, where I found two old gray headed codgers busily engaged in hunting up the places referring to the passage of Shadrach, Meshack and Abednego through the furnace, and the escape of Daniel from the lion's den. When I entered, they were about to give up the search in despair, one of them saying he thought it was not in the Bible; that they had thumbed from 1st Genesis to last Jeremiah, and could find no such names.

Some of these gentlemen would no doubt be as good commentators of the highest law, as many of those ministers who pretend to find their authority for the use of Sharpe's rifles.

Should these limbs of the law again attempt to explore unknown regions, I shall wish, as did the writer of John Gilpin's story,
"May I be there to see."

BIBLES AND GUNS.

The spectacle presented by Henry Ward Beecher, of a pastor appealing to his people for instruments of death to kill their countrymen, is too much for the stomachs of even the free soil journals. A soldier of the cross converting himself into a recruiting sergeant of the devil, is a sight which shocks the nerves of many who are opposed to slavery, but are not yet prepared to call in the powers of darkness to their aid. The Philadelphia Sun says:

"A Bible and rifle the gift of a pastor to a deacon of his church! Henry Ward Beecher indulging in miserable puns and indecorous jokes in the Lord's holy temple, where it is enjoined 'let all the world keep silence before him!'— Clapping of hands, laughter and applause in the sanctuary! A fleshly gloating over the 'significant' Killam, in connection with a Sharpe's rifle! An appeal to the four classes in Yale College to send the weapons of death to the West! Are these the scenes for a Christian community to be acted under the shadow of the venerable clms of its academic groves? Are not these

things enough to make us ask 'what madness rules the hour?' Are they not calculated to make us despair of the republic?"

THE MERCURY
BY HEART & TABER.

CHARLESTON

Thursday Morning, April 3, 1856.

FOR THE MERCURY.

To Professor Silliman, of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

SIR: You have distinguished yourself, after a new fashion, at the late Kansas meeting in New Haven. From promoting Science, you turn your attention to the promotion of civil war. To your philosophical achievements you add those of a public abettor of sedition. Men, mad with faction, you furnish with arms.

We, who remember Yale with pleasure, are disappointed in you. Your contribution of a SHARP'S rifle to a frontier fight is not, as we think, quite as much in character as contributions to a scientific journal. Philosophy, ay, the commonest discretion, should have saved you from this undressed exhibition of yourself, at once lamentable and ludicrous. Who can refrain from weeping or laughing, when ATTICUS plays the fool, or something worse?

Why invade the province of half-crazed parsons like BEECHER, or fanatical knaves like GARRISON, or unprincipled politicians like SEWARD? Would you exchange the serene air of your philosophy for the vulgar excitements of the profane? Would you desert your pure carbon to wallow in the mire? Leave to the fitting parties their dirty work. We are accustomed to think of you as a teacher of science and cultivator of letters, and so a softener and refiner of manners. Do you covet the honors of a pulpit brawler, or a sectional demagogue?

If the distinguished gentlemen named—OR HALE, or PARKER, or GIDDINGS, or BANKS—should break into your study, and go to work with your crucibles and retorts, how ridiculous and mischievous would be the results! The consequences of your inroad into their workshop have been equally farcical, and more pregnant with evil. They may burn their own fingers, or put out their own eyes, by the explosion of a mismanaged gas, but your extraordinary performances, where you have no calling, may inflict injuries not on yourself only, but on others—may deprive of life men better, perhaps, than any one of your Kansas meeting.

You do not intend your gun to be idle. It is to be employed in killing Border Ruffians—men not skilled in the properties of the diamond, but useful citizens, husbands, fathers, quite as important to their families, and even to the State, as professors of chemistry. They are the men who advance the terminus of the Republic. They subdue the forest. What have you done for the country more important? Can you lay your hand on your heart and say that you perform the duties of life better than they do? Have you any personal knowledge of any one of them? You would shoot them with SHARP'S rifle on hearsay evidence. Your friends have just voted an inquiry; you proceed it with an execution. Their enemies—the hired men of a Massachusetts society—denounce the Border Ruffians, and you send the denouncers your patent gun to make short work with the borderers.

Your age, perhaps, prevents you from enjoying the pleasure of shooting these people in person; it would be fortunate for your reputation if the same cause had prevented you from shooting them by deputy.

When, of old, as VIRGIL tells us, in the midst of a sedition of the people, a man interposed, venerable from age and piety, it was to subdue, by words of eloquent wisdom, the angry passions of the multitude; to disarm their hands, and calm their hearts, by the lessons of long experience. Your course, in like circumstances, seems to be different. You supply them with SHARP'S rifles. Whence the difference? Is it because the Roman was a Pagan, and you have lived a long life under the influences of the Sermon on the Mount, with its blessings on the peace makers? Do you believe that your patent persuader to peace, law and order, is in accordance

with the Divine Teacher, or that the old Roman induced the angry people to lay aside their stones and staves only because these were not the right sort of arms? How different the result! if you had been there with your rifle, and reasons for using it—your sharp weapon and sharper logic. The civic turmoil would have taken another course. Are you satisfied with your mode of proceeding as contrasted with that of the Pagan-poet's wise and good citizen? What a moral grandeur is exhibited in the one, what a poor pandering to the popular excitement in the other! Which is the Pagan's and which the Christian's?

Have you not mistaken your place of worship? The shrine of the "Homicide," which MILTON describes as smeared with blood of human sacrifice, still exists in our hearts. Many of your clergy are priests rather of Moloch than of Christ. To which mode of faith is your SHARP'S rifle, on the late occasion, a fit offering of devotion?

When the frenzy of discord seizes on wise men philosophers, on grave divines and whole colleges, classes and faculty, where will it end? The war, which you seek to promote by your rifle, will be in a wild country—in the land of the Indians—it may take the shape of Indian warfare. Scalps may become trophies. Your gun may be successful beyond your expectations or hopes. The grateful hired man into whose hands it may fall, will probably send you a share of its spoils. He may bring down WOODSON or ARCHISON himself, and your study may be adorned with the hairy scalps of your greatest adversaries. Did you dream of such happy results in your paroxysm of enthusiastic rage for the "bloody issue?" What an ornament to your library! With what pride will you point to those productions, not of your pen, but of your rifle. Your nicest analysts has given nothing like them.

Or the case may be somewhat altered. The scalps that you receive may come from other quarters. Your provocation to blood may end in shedding that of your friends who are inviting the "bloody issue." These Border Ruffians are rough customers—hard riders and sharp shooters. Your hired men may prove deficient in border qualifications. It requires something more than even SHARP'S rifle to make a good shot. Your Eastern people are very clever, but they are not a military people. In the war of 1812 they were distinguished chiefly by their exploits at Hartford. In the Mexican war they produced no heroes. Massachusetts, since the revolution has been living on Bunker's Hill. She will never get through it. She sings it in poems, builds it in monuments, talks it in speeches, tells it in histories, even preaches it in sermons, and publishes its wonders to the world in shapes as numerous as the Thousand and One Stories of the Arabian Nights. She is so much delighted with her past measure of military success, as to need no more. The truth is, your people have something better to do than fighting. They are engaged in wide-spread commerce, and in manufacturing poor goods at high prices for their Southern brethren, whom they love so dearly. They are no longer frontier men, half hunter, half warrior. What will they do with ARCHISON, who backs an untamed horse, and drives the nail at a hundred yards, even without the help of SHARP'S rifle? May not the end be different from what you hope? Still the warlike trophies and ornaments may be yours. The Border Ruffians will not be unobservant of your Kansas meeting performance, and zeal to produce a fight. One distinguished as you are, is always so well known that even his names are noted and remembered. They may send other evidences than your hope for, of your success in provoking civil war. You may receive-scalps, but not from the heads of Border Ruffians. They will not be as pleasing a spectacle, they may lead you to reflect that a Christian philosopher and gentleman, as we have always supposed you to be, may be better employed than in promoting civil broils and rebellion against authority and law; and that in helping his friends to do mischief, he may only expose them to the wrath of their enemies.

Think of the evil you may bring upon your own College and City. Your SHARP'S rifle is to set at naught the authorities of Kansas as recognised by the Government of the Union. I don't know whether the young gentlemen were aware of your high opinion of the virtues of your gun, in their late outbreak against the tyrannical government of Yale, as they regard it. But in their next vindication of their rights, who knows what consequences may

come from the example of a distinguished teacher? What greater respect can they show for his example than to follow it, and to prefer in future the neat work of SHARP'S rifle to brickbats, bludgeons, and broken heads. They join you in sending it to others resisting authority; why not use it in their own quarrel? In both cases, in College and Territory, the elements of action are the same—resistance to established authority; the right of the resisting party to be his own judge in his own case; the expediency of using Professor SILLIMAN'S favorite weapon recommended by him for such emergencies.

You think, perhaps, that there is a great difference between College Professors and Border Ruffians. There is very little, be assured, in the eyes of young gentlemen at College, and there will be still less if all Professors follow your salutary example. For my part, I prefer the borderer who encounters the danger, to the philosopher who, from a safe distance, supplies the weapons of civil war.

What spirit of misrule has tempted you to take a part in misleading the silly women and sillier men, who are giving their money, with you, to buy SHARP'S rifles? The simpletons are prone enough to self-satisfied self-sufficiency without your help. They believe that they are doing God service. No doubt they think so. Not an idiot or madman, Protestant or Catholic, has done his adversary to death, by fire or sword, musket or rifle, in civil quarrel, but with the assurance that it was in the discharge of a high duty, and the assertion of an undeniable right. Have they not legitimate leaders enough in the reverend clergy—men ready, at all times, for preaching a crusade to promote a creed? It is quite in their way to dispense the elements of the Christian Supper on Sunday, and SHARP'S rifles on the day following. We are not surprised at them. We always knew what their moral easion would end in. But you are not one of these unfortunate men who, in their closets or coteries, fancy themselves entrusted by the Deity with the power of consigning to death and perdition, sometimes with the fire-brand, sometimes with SHARP'S rifle, every man who may not hold their dogmas in ethics, theology, or politics. From you we expected better things. What carried you into the camp of the Philistines? Was there no relative near to save your reputation for wisdom or prudence from their pernicious companionship? We know that the tendencies of your faculty of Yale have lately been anti-Southern. Now that Southern youths are kept at home—not without exceptions I regret to say—when Southern money is not so much received, or so much needed by our College, amid the increase of wealth and population in our neighboring States, the soft, affable talk of your College authorities is grown into something bitter and denunciatory of Southern character. It is natural enough. When one vein fails, the cunning miner turns forthwith into another. The working of the new one may require the filling up of the old shafts. But your age should have been allowed to preserve you from the position of a prominent laborer in the work.

You receive the applause of the Tribune, the Liberator, the New York Times; does it not remind you of the inquiry of an ancient orator, when applauded by the Tribunes of his time? Is there one judicious friend, of any party, who approves your act? I doubt it.

It has been said, somewhere, that Nature bestows upon every man a certain amount of folly together with his good qualities—a vein of base metal intermingled with his silver and gold—and that one day or other, in youth, manhood, or age, it is worked out by the unhappy possessor. I am afraid that you have just fallen upon yours; that in your old age, which ought to be venerable, you will not falsify the popular saying, and that your name will prove after all to be not altogether inappropriate.

Your admirer and friend,

JOHN BROWN.

Daily Democrat.

[From the Kansas Enterprise.]

A Card.
KANSAS CITY, Mo., March 25, 1856.
TO THE PUBLIC:

Whereas, the occurrence at our wharf of the unlawful seizure and breaking open of a box or package, consigned to one of our shipping merchants, has caused an impression unfavorable to

our good name; and, whereas, we deem it but just to ourselves, and the public that such impression should be contradicted; a meeting of the merchants and shippers of Kansas was called, which meeting submits the following:

The box was opened by persons from Lexington and Independence, who came up on the boat, unknown to our citizens, and the act performed before even all the people on the wharf were aware of an intent so to do. The box contained a Piano-forte and bore no evidence of anything else whatever. Was consigned to Messrs. Simmons & Leadbeater, the latter only being in town, and being a comparative stranger here, did not feel able to resist:

We condemn the act as unlawful and sinister, and believe it to have been premeditated on the part of those inimical to our interests, and jealous of our prosperity, and by some largely interested in removing trade from this place to Leavenworth and other towns. And we hereby declare that property consigned to us shall be protected from undue or improper molestation, and that at the peril of our lives, this declaration shall be maintained and made good.

J. RIDDELSBARGER & Co.,
WALKER & CHICK,
J. A. INSOLEE,
WEST, JAMES & HOUSE,
ISAAC M. RIDGE,
J. & D. M. JARBOE,
T. B. LESTER,
WM. E. PROCTOR,
JAMES A. FRAME,
F. H. JARBOE,
W. J. JARBOE,
ROBT. CHARLES,
FRANKLIN CONANT,
SIMMONS & LEADBEATER,
J. W. AMMONS,
R. G. RUSSELL,
J. G. BOARDMAN.

THE EVENING NEWS.

Saint Louis:

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 4, 1856.

MR. JONES FALLS INTO THE HANDS OF THE BORDER RUFFIANS.

The Chicago Press has an account of a purported outrage perpetrated on the person of one so-called Mr. Jones, of New York, by the Border Ruffians at Brunswick, in this State. Here is the tale:

We have late and startling news from the Missouri river. A gentleman from New York, well known in the business circles of that city, arrived here on Monday evening direct from Kansas. We have the name and the address of the gentleman, and his character is vouched for here by those who know him; but we withhold his name, and for convenience sake will call him Mr. Jones.

He started from Kansas on the same boat with Gen. Lane, Governor Robinson following in the next boat. After proceeding down the river for some distance, at Brunswick landing a party of armed men came very quietly on board the boat, seized him and his trunk, took them ashore and very soon the boat left. His captors at once made preparations to tie him to a log and start him off on his lonely voyage down the Missouri. Mr. Jones protested that he was strongly an administration man and always had been, and to treat a friend in this way was an outrage. The captain of the band, who was said to be a son of Governor Price, of Missouri, asked for the evidence, and the letters in Mr. Jones' trunk fully established all he had said. The truth is, the ruffians supposed they had captured Gov. Robinson, and had planned this lonely voyage on the Missouri for the special benefit of his Excellency.

It seems from the statement of Mr. Jones that the ruffians were stationed at several other points on the Missouri, for at two other places he was treated to nearly the same courtesy as in the first instance, the ruffians supposing that they had the body of his Excellency Gov. Robinson. The description of the Governor in the possession of the desperadoes, it seems, could not have been exactly accurate. Gen. Lane, it is said, escaped any violence from the fact that he is a Free Mason, the signs of that ancient order being potent in every case to ward off all danger.

Mr. Jones declares he would not again undertake to pass up or down the Missouri

without a passport from Pierce and Douglas, endorsed by Atobison and Stringfellow. He says there are organized bands of ruffians at every principal landing on the Missouri, and that every boat going up or down the river has some one or more of their spies among the passengers. They are sworn to abduct all suspected persons, and seize contraband goods, having a sharp eye on everything that looks like Sharp's rifles.

Mr. JONES further enlightens the editor of the Press by imparting a bit of news to the effect that, "from reliable information derived from persons on the ground, he is satisfied that three thousand men are banded together to take care of the next election in Kansas."

The Chicago Tribune publishes a letter from Lawrence, proposing that the business men of Chicago, Cincinnati and Alton establish an independent line of steamers to run up the Missouri from Alton, direct to Kansas.

To this the Press objects, for the reason that, if adopted, "all the present Missouri steamers would at once be pitted against the new line," "and how easy," asks the Press, "would it be to select some old tub and run into and destroy every opposing boat on the river?" or, "spies of the Ruffians might take passage on the steamers, and watching their opportunity might set them on fire, and probably burn or drown nearly all on board!" In view of these insurmountable obstacles, the Press proposes the following plan:

Let the Free State settlers go entirely around the State of Missouri. This can be done with far less trouble and expense than might be imagined. It is but three hundred and fifty-five miles from Iowa City to Lawrence, and it is not much further from Burlington. Emigrants will nearly all want towns when they get to Kansas, and they can purchase them in Iowa City or Burlington probably with as much or more advantage than in Missouri or Kansas. Let but the time of travel take this course and these towns would at once be supplied with every requisite for the journey across Iowa. As to the distance, it can be accomplished in eight or nine days very comfortably. The country through which they would pass is very beautiful, and as the emigrants would go in companies, it would in fact be many be an agreeable episode after a railroad journey of a thousand miles.

Arrangements might be made in a few weeks to start regular caravans two or three times a week from Iowa City and Burlington, to carry passengers and freight through to the Missouri for a reasonable charge. Stages are now running, but of course these could not begin to accommodate the emigrants. Abundant means should at once be provided to take all who come. Will not those at the East who are interested in these matters form a company at once, and see that all who wish to go to Kansas are provided with a safe and reasonably expeditious route to get there?

The Daily Journal.

B. R. SULGROVE, } Editors
R. VAILE, }

FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 4, 1856.
Kansas Intelligencer.

We clip from the St. Louis Democrat the subjoined condensation of Kansas news. It will be seen that measures are already being taken to prevent free traffic in intoxicating liquors, and banish from the virgin soil of that fair territory that "social hilarity" which is the curse and ruin of any community. Success to temperance there and elsewhere. It is a fair—yes, the most hopeful sign that Kansas will be a free State, when we see the people moving in the temperance cause. No great reforms spring

from slave States. Slavery, being a great moral as well as political evil, shrouds in the gloom of night all measures having for their tendency the amelioration of the condition of men. It is odious by comparison unless that comparison is with kindred evils. With beastly intemperance it is tolerable; but root out the one and the hideousness of the other is but the more apparent. It is where slavery exists that the great reforms of the day receive their fiercest opposition. We hail with joy this new sign of liberty for Kansas—liberty from Rum and Crime—liberty from Slavery and the "Privileged Class."

We have received from our Kansas correspondents several letters by the last mail, which our crowded columns prevent us from inserting entire as we would have wished. The chief items of news may be found however in the following condensed statement:

The Free State Assembly was still in session at Topeka on the 13th. On the 11th a memorial was presented to the House from the wives and daughters of citizens of Kansas, praying for a prohibition of the introduction of liquor into the Territory, resting the petition on the ground that the people are now laying the foundations of the society of a new State, and that it is proper they should endeavor to banish the evil of intemperance at the start, and not wait for it to become incorporated into the habits of the community before its cure is attempted.

The two Houses went into joint session to elect commissioners to abridge and codify the laws, whereupon Messrs. J. K. Goodin, G. W. Smith, and Josiah Miller were chosen a committee of three for that purpose.

On the 12th, in the House, the subject of taking a recess was considered, the 1st of August substituted instead of the 4th of July, and the whole matter laid over until Saturday. A bill incorporating the town of Lawrence was passed. In the Senate a bill regulating the salaries of officers was taken up and discussed.

On the 13th the House was engaged in discussing bills relating to the militia and the accounts of the Executive committee. Resolutions in regard to the death of Thomas W. Barber were presented and passed.

MORNING EXPRESS.

ALMON M. CLAPP, EDITOR.

BUFFALO, FRIDAY, APRIL 4, 1856.

The Perils of Kansas Travel.

We yesterday received a call from our friend SAMUEL TAYLOR, of New York city, who has been spending some time in Kansas. He went out there with pro-Slavery proclivities—so he says—but the treatment which he received at the hands of the border ruffians on his way home has changed his views, and he now discovers the importance of securing that country to freedom. He was mistaken, for once in his life, for a great man, and the rewards of greatness, under the circumstances, came very near being the death of him. He tells his own story something after this manner. He took the steamer *Omaha* at the city of Leavenworth for St. Louis. It happened that Gov. ROBINSON and Gen. LANE had taken passage on the same boat, on their way to Washington. The trip went along very well until the boat reached Brunswick, Missouri, when the spies who now infest the steamers, to scent out the Abolitionists as they call them, discovered that Gov. ROBINSON was on board, but had not the means of identifying him. The fact that the Governor of Kansas was there, was communicated on shore, when a party headed by a son of the Governor of Missouri boarded the boat and made search for him. Soon after, TAYLOR was pointed out to them as the Governor, he bearing some slight personal resemblance to him. This was sufficient—he was seized and dragged on shore—in spite of his protestations that he was no Governor. There he found in waiting for him a rope and other implements belonging to the Court of Judge Lynch. The rabble which had collected on shore demanded that he should be hung at once as a d-d Abolitionist, and preparations for such an accomplishment seemed to be going on with more rapidity than was pleasant to

our friend who desired to see his friends in the Empire State once more. He produced papers to prove his identity. The first was a letter from Hon. THOS. CORWIN of Ohio. That was sufficient—CORWIN was an Abolitionist and so was he. He ought to be hung for knowing TOM CORWIN. Finally, he produced a paper from ROBERT J. WALKER, and some Western Governor, and that seemed to satisfy the Missourians that they had got "the wrong pig by the ear" this time. He was permitted to return on board, thankful for a longer lease of life and glad when the boat shoved off and was once more under way.

This is but one of the innumerable instances that occur on the route between the free States and Kansas, where personal rights are outraged by a lawless mob. The Slave Propagandists can travel with their Slaves and their rifles unmolested, but a free man has no guarantee of protection from insult and perhaps death, from the moment he steps on board a Mississippi steamer until he reaches his point of destination. The Missourians have determined, if possible, to force Slavery into Kansas at all hazards, and the Administration has determined to aid the attempt.

THE MATTER IN A NUTSHELL.—GOV. SHANNON gets out the following:

"Missouri has 50,000 slaves in that portion of her Territory which borders upon Kansas. Estimating them at \$600 each, their total value is \$30,000,000. Should Kansas become a free State, it would be ruinous to the slave-holding interests of Missouri."

Thus, Gov. SHANNON is preparing a market in Kansas for thirty millions of dollars worth of human flesh and blood, which must otherwise deteriorate in value; and acts as the accredited agent of the Administration in so doing. This prospective loss on the part of the Slave owner, should, perhaps, be favorably considered by the people of the free States, but we have serious doubts whether they will consider it a good and sufficient reason for extending Slavery North of 36 deg. and 30 minutes.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 4, 1856.

Connecticut Men in Kansas.

We print some extracts from letters received from a man well known in the northern part of this State, that will be read with interest.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Dec. 3d, 1854.

Dear Father:—We had a fair representation of Missouri squatters on election day. They came up strong-handed, about every man had his rifle with him; near by was a whiskey wagon, where they recruited and worked their courage up to fighting point. One fellow was full of fight; swore he could whip any two Yankees in the Territory, &c. But no one paid him any attention, and he left swearing, "He had tried his damndest to get up a row, but should have to go off without one."

The next letter is dated

LAWRENCE, K. T., March 8th, 1856.

Dear Brother:—In the coming election, Missourians it is understood, will direct their attention mainly to Lawrence. They have sworn to carry the polls and burn the town in case of resistance. Every contrivance that devils could invent has been set on foot to hatch up some shadow of palliation for the crime meditated. I will mention one. A colored girl was induced to represent herself as a free girl, bound out till she was eighteen; but she said her free papers were withheld and her employer was evidently about to sell her into slavery. A man known to be on the point of starting for Lawrence, was induced to bring her along and put her under the care of Mr. Wiles a strong Anti-Slavery man, who got her a place with a widow woman where she could earn her living. Some weeks afterward, a brutal looking specimen of humanity named Wade, seized the girl as she was

getting water from a spring and claimed her as a runaway slave. She was permitted by her captor to go to Mr. Wiles' house for her clothes. When they got there, Mr. Wiles asked the man Wade, if he had any authority to take a person in that way. Wade said, "No! he had not and did not want any!" Wade had been joined by this time by two other confederates. Wiles said, "You can not take her from my house then." They swore they would. Wiles stepped back into his house, shut the door, took down his rifle and told the men if they entered, it was at their peril. An excitement was raised in the village forthwith; an investigating meeting was called, and facts were elicited not favorable to the truth of the girl's statement. The meeting came to the conviction that the girl was an accomplice of these fire-eaters; she soon had orders to pack up and leave, and the ruffians lost their game."

The above are extracts from letters from my brother now in Kansas.

G. S. CRANE.

Suffield, Ct., April 1st, 1856.

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
FRIDAY, APRIL 4.

The Dishonesty of the Times.

Is the *Hartford Times* honest, when it says it hopes Kansas will be free?

Hope is composed of desire and expectation. Has *The Times* any desire that Kansas, shall be free, when it is in favor of sending ISAAC TOUCEY to the Senate,—a man whom it knows to be in favor of Border Ruffianism, and who would cast his vote against the freedom of Kansas? Does it have the appearance of desire that Kansas shall be free, when it stigmatizes and attempts to brand with contempt and vileness, those men that are sacrificing their time, comfort and means to establish freedom there, and casts all its influence with Northern doughfaces, Southern slaveholders and Missouri outlaws?

Or does *The Times* expect it (after taking the course it has to bring it about), when it represents that there is not a majority in Kansas in favor of freedom?

The component parts of hope being absent, *The Times* is not honest when it professes to hope that Kansas will be free. YANKEE DEMOCRAT.

The President's Proclamation.

In stating that the President in his Proclamation, and the Secretary of War in his orders to COLS. SUMNER and COOKE, intend to repel "outside invasions," *The Times* is very innocent, or supposes its readers are so. What have been the facts?

A spurious and usurping Legislature, elected by Border Ruffians from Missouri, who came with their arms in their hands and drove from the polls the people of Kansas, has undertaken to impose laws upon the Territory. Gov. Reeder informed the President, while yet holding the commission of the President, and announced to the whole union, that Kansas was a conquered country,—that the people had been overborne by the Ruffian invaders. The laws enacted by this usurping Legislature, thus elected by power from abroad, the people of Kansas have never regarded as of any validity. They are not laws emanating from the people of Kansas, but from the invaders and oppressors.

But President PIERCE, acting in concert with ATCHISON and STRINGFELLOW, the leaders of the outrages, proclaims that these laws shall be enforced, one of which declares that any person who writes, speaks, prints or circulates anything against Slavery, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than five years, and no person opposed to the law or to Slavery, shall sit on the jury that tries him. Other acts of infamy were enacted, and constituted what are called the laws and organized government of Kansas—that unfortunate people, who are "hundreds of miles away" according to our Postmaster, and therefore it is "folly" for us to interest ourselves in their behalf.

Now, said Mr Hallett, turning to his interrogator, will you go with me in that doctrine?

Mr Swett—No, sir, I deny it.

Mr Hallett—I thought so. Then you don't like this "national democratic doctrine" which Senator Wilson has deluded you into believing was the anti-slavery resolutions of the democratic convention of 1849, written by Mr Hallett and endorsed by Col. Greene?

Mr Swett—No, sir, I don't agree with that; but are you in favor of freedom?

Mr Hallett—Yes, all over.

Mr Swett—I thought you were in favor of slavery.

Mr Hallett—That is another of your unhappy delusions. Now let us test this clamor of anti-Kansas men about "freedom" by definitions. Allow me to ask, are you, sir, in favor of freedom?

Mr Swett—Certainly I am.

Mr Hallett—Are you in favor of the freedom of the white people of Kansas, Nebraska and other territories to settle the question of slavery for themselves?

Mr Swett—No, sir, I am not.

Mr Hallett—Then you are not in favor of white freedom, but only negro freedom! That is the test point. When an abolitionist or black republican shrieks out for "freedom," he means nothing but negro freedom. In all free government and the rights of man he can see nothing but a negro. To rescue one fugitive slave he counsels the murder of the marshal and his posse, the overthrow of the Constitution and the laws, and the reign of riot and anarchy. To free three millions of negroes in fifteen states of this Union, he would willingly look on and see seven millions of white men, women and children butchered! That is his "one idea" of "freedom," and that is his philanthropy. But let me tell you that "freedom" consists not in the right of fanatical men and women to steal negroes, violate oaths, and trample on the Constitution and laws of the Union. The only true republican "freedom" is liberty regulated by law; the liberty of the people of every political organization to govern themselves by framing their own form of government and making their own laws under their own constitution, subordinate in every state and territory of this Union to the Constitution and laws of the United States, as to all granted powers.

That is "freedom" in New Hampshire, that is "freedom" in Missouri, that is "freedom" in Kansas, and that is "freedom and freesoil wherever man lives throughout God's heritage," in any community where the majority enjoy and exercise that right in government. That is what the portion of the resolutions of 1849 (quoted by Mr Wilson, without its qualification) affirmed as an abstract proposition of government. By including color, it embraced the northern sentiment common to all men north of a sectional line, and then distinctly declared that because it was a sectional sentiment as to slavery, it could not be made a national party test.

"Freesoil," why, what is "freesoil?" New England was "freesoil" when she held slaves till they ceased to be profitable. The south is "freesoil" though continuing to hold slaves because they are profitable, and she likes it. Massachusetts was "freesoil," though down to the year 1836 she had a law on her statute book which subjected every African or negro, male or female, who should come into the state and tarry more than two months, to be whipped ten stripes every tenth day until he or she should depart out of the commonwealth. [Massachusetts Laws. Vol. 1, page 324.]

Now this whipping of blacks or denying to them citizenship (as is the case in several northern states, and even in this pretended free state constitution of Kansas, which prohibits free blacks from settling there) is just as much a qualification of "freesoil" in a northern state as is domestic slavery in a southern state, so far as republican government is concerned. And although we of the north are opposed in sentiment to slavery, yet we have no right as citizens of the Union to interfere with it politically wherever it exists or may exist by the laws of the state or territory which chooses to establish it; for the plain reason, as to states, that to do so is a violation of our oath to support the constitution, and, for as strong a reason as to territories, that to do so is a violation of the fundamental principle of free government, viz: The right of the people of every organized political community to make their own local laws.

The common sense of the people of the Northern States will compel them to understand and admit this great truth, when the temporary fanaticism about negro "freedom" in Kansas shall have exhausted itself, and they will find in it the only true solution of the slavery question, consistent with the duties of the North and the rights of the South in the Union. Let me ask the gentlemen who has questioned me, whether he does not believe that he and all other citizens of New Hampshire are capable of making their own laws, without Congress undertaking to dictate to them what local laws they shall not make? Every body says yes. Well now, how comes it, that when he and other New Hampshire men emigrate to Kansas they there become incapable of self-government, and have to call upon Congress to take away their rights and prohibit them from making their own local laws!

But I have not done with those resolutions of 1849, which Mr Wilson has twice misquoted in his seat in the Senate as anti-slavery resolutions. It has furnished a large amount of his political capital, and I mean to settle it now so as never to have occasion again to recur to it.

I have shown to you how unfairly, I will not say dishonestly, the Massachusetts Senator perverted their meaning, by suppressing the whole sentence which contained the express qualification that these sentiments concerning slavery common to the North and repudiated at the South, are sectional, and therefore they cannot be made a national party test. Not content with that suppression of the truth, he also suppressed the very next resolution, which stated him in the face of these emphatic words—

"Resolved, That we are rejected to see the people of the Territories taking this question into their own hands, and settling it upon the fundamental principles of republican government,—the right of the people to establish such forms and institutions of government as the majority shall elect."

That is the democratic doctrine of 1849, which Mr Hallett reported to the Convention, and which they and the Boston Post endorsed. It is the precise declaration in spirit and meaning of the act establishing the Territory of Kansas, viz: "it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

That is the freedom which even abolitionists claim for themselves in every state in New England, but which they deny to New England men and southern men the moment they remove to Kansas!

Now I have one more question to put to the gentleman who began this interrogation, and that is, had Mr Wilson quoted the whole of the resolutions of the democratic convention of 1849 as I have just read them from the record, would you sir have undertaken to hold them up before this assembly as anti-slavery resolutions?

Mr Swett—I don't know as I should.

Mr Hallett—No sir, I don't believe you would. I won't press you further on this point, because you see everybody here seems to be against you, and I don't wish to say anything harsh or unkind, but I hope you will take this as a caution how you quote Mr Henry Wilson as an authority to be relied on. He stands no fairer in this respect, by quoting detached sentences and half sentences of a series of resolutions and leaving out the rest which give them all their political force and meaning, than would an atheist who should undertake to prove by the Scriptures his denial of God by quoting from the Psalmist the declaration "There is no God," and leaving out the rest of the passage, "The fool hath said in his heart." I will not say that the senator is a fool or a knave in this matter of misquoting, because he may never have read those resolutions of 1849 as a whole, but if he ever did read them, his repeated perversions with which he has misled others were anything but honest or befitting an honorable senator.

The fact is the whole of those resolutions of 1849 were strongly national, and directly condemned political abolitionism, in its sectional war upon the South; and it was only by garbling and separating a few sentences and half sentences, and suppressing all the rest of the resolutions, that anybody could be deceived as to their national character.

I beg leave to read now, from the resolutions which immediately followed those already quoted, the whole of which Henry Wilson has assumed to pass upon the Senate of the United States as "the anti-slavery resolutions of the democratic party of Massachusetts in 1849," and which he says could not be circulated in Kansas.

From the Resolutions of the Massachusetts Democratic Convention of 1849.

"Resolved, That upon every issue which the federal or whig party have made with the democratic party since the first election of Jefferson, in every question of the extension of territory, from Louisiana to Texas—the voice of the people has pronounced the whig party wrong and the democratic party right.

"Resolved, That in every choice of a President by the people since Massachusetts and Virginia severed upon the federal and democratic platforms, the democratic candidate has succeeded by the union of the democrats, North and South.—That by the union of Northern and Southern democrats, and in the guidance of democratic administrations chosen by them for fifty years, on a DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM COVERING THE WHOLE UNION, the expansion, prosperity and true glory of these United States have advanced beyond all parallel in the history of political communities of ancient or modern times.

"Resolved, That in the present retrograde action of liberty in Europe, (1849) a lesson may well be taught the democracy of this country, that if they persist in wasting their strength upon a sentiment or an abstraction, and quarrel about a sectional test, which for fifty years was never raised by democrats, North or South, on a national issue, the reaction of federalism will be as certain to advance here to its consummation, as the reaction of legitimacy in France.

"Resolved therefore, that in their vigilance and sagacity, as the old guards of the Republic, democratic

is every section ought to see and understand—that all the sectional issues of the day are designed to ferment the federal party quarrel, through which, as in New York, the federal party may steal into power; and hence it becomes the solemn duty of the democracy everywhere, to draw closer and firmer the bonds of brotherhood, in the strength of which they have thirteen times elected democratic Presidents and have always held the chain of this glorious Union bright, its sword invincible, its laws just and equal, its expansion progressive, and its power and its glory a name and a praise in the nations of the earth.

"Resolved finally, that few or many, in majorities or minorities, in or out of office, we will continue to resolve and act and vote as members of the great national democratic party: STANDING UPON A PRACTICAL PLATFORM AS BROAD AS THE UNION, and hallowed by the injunctions of Washington and Jefferson, of Madison and Jackson, TO BEWARE OF GEOGRAPHICAL PARTIES AND CLING TO THE UNION AND THE CONSTITUTION AS OUR REPUBLICAN FATHERS MADE AND ADMINISTERED IT."

That, said Mr H., is national democratic doctrine in which no abolitionist could live, move or have a being. The emphatic applause of our opponents, prove it to be the sound Union-loving creed of the national democracy of to-day in their contest with the sectional and "geographical" party who, under the purloined name of Republicans, are seeking to sever that old bond of brotherhood between the democracy of the North and South, and thereby read the Union and destroy the Republic.

Mr Hallett said that he did not stand there to vindicate his personal opinions. They might often have been wrong, or partially formed, and were not of sufficient importance to raise a public issue upon; but although he should never have taken the trouble to notice Mr Wilson's repeated misrepresentations in the Senate, had he not been called upon in this public manner, he was happy in the occasion to put the record right and vindicate the National Democrats of Massachusetts upon their resolutions of 1849, some portions of which were the suggestions of others, at the time, but all of which he had the honor to report by direction of the Committee. And in order to take away all pretexts for any honest man ever to quote or construe any of those Resolutions as containing political anti-slavery doctrines, he would show that even in the garbled portion of the resolutions which the Senator had quoted (out of the context that distinctly explained them to be the exclusive sentiments of the North, and therefore, repudiated them as the tests of a national party), the qualifications then made took that portion entirely out of the political creed of the anti-slavery and anti-Kansas men. One of Mr Wilson's disjointed quotations affirmed the doctrine of the Supreme Court of the United States in Prigg vs. Pennsylvania, which was concurred in by all the Southern Judges on the Bench, that slavery could not exist in States or Territories except by the local law of the place; and from this principle the deduction followed in that resolution that the then only existing Territories in 1849, (Oregon, California and Minnesota) being free Territories as to any local law establishing slavery, "it could not exist there but by a local law of the Territories, sanctioned by Congress or the legislative act of a state in its sovereign capacity."

Senator Wilson, either ignorantly or designedly, assumes that the term "sanctioned by Congress" means the power of congress to abolish slavery in all the territories. Not so. The term "sanctioned by Congress" then applied to every territorial law that could be passed in 1849. It merely stated a legal fact in the organic law establishing all of the then Territories, which provided that "all the laws passed by the Legislative Assembly shall be submitted to the Congress of the United States, and, if disapproved, shall be null and of no effect." It followed that if a Territorial Legislature enacted domestic slavery, that with the whole body of its acts each year would be reported to congress. It gave a sort of veto to Congress over all Territorial legislation, but no power to make local laws for the Territory, or to prohibit local laws being made there. The same provision exists as to all the laws of the territory of Utah, and yet Congress has never interfered to veto any law in that Territory. In the Nebraska and Kansas Acts no such provision exists in the organic law.

Another half of a resolution declared the universal Northern sentiment against the extension of slavery to free territories, but it did not affirm or imply any power in congress to prohibit slavery when it organized a territory in which it then existed. And so far from opposing the admission of new states holding slaves, it recognized the right in future states, viz: "in states where it does or may exist by the local laws."

And here, said Mr Hallett, I leave the subject and the senator who has so sadly deceived my honest interrogator, to that sober and sagacious judgment of the people, which, however misled by false reasoning, false facts and persistent misrepresentation, never fails in the end to detect and detest those, who, assuming to be their religious or political teachers, have made them, for a time, believe a moral, religious or political falsehood.

Note.—Mr Hallett, when making the above remarks, did not have at hand the speech of Mr Wilson in the Senate of the United States, Feb. 23, 1856, on the bill concerning suits against officers of the United States, for serving process in the execution of the fugitive law. The senator then appeared as the expounder of the know nothing party. He said, as reported—

"Sir, we believe that over the territories of the United States we have absolute power and jurisdiction. I wish to read to you from a sound democratic authority on this point. I hold in my hand resolutions written by the chairman of the National Democratic Committee of the United States, the Hon. B. F. Hallett, a gentleman of talents and national reputation, or he would not have been placed in a position so high—a gentleman who was appointed district attorney by this administration. And, sir, this administration leans upon his arm to support it in that section of the country. I will read one or two of these resolutions; and I wish to say that in regard to them, there is in Massachusetts hardly a dissenting voice. At the time they were written and adopted, Mr Hallett was chairman of the National Democratic Committee and chairman of the State Committee of Massachusetts. They were passed on the 19th of September, 1849.

Mr Benjamin, of Louisiana.—Where?

Mr Wilson.—In the State Democratic Convention, at Springfield. They were published in the Boston Post, the leading democratic organ of New England, then, and now edited by Col. Greene, who was appointed naval officer by the present administration."

Mr Wilson then proceeded to read the garbled extracts from those resolutions substantially as before stated, and then added—

"Now, sir, we in Massachusetts agree with these resolutions. We believe we have the power to abolish slavery in all the territories."

It is very palpable that Mr Wilson, by these quotations, paraded with the elaborate circumstances he drew around them to implicate the administration, meant to induce the senate to believe that the resolutions reported by Mr Hallett, and adopted by the Massachusetts democratic convention at Springfield in 1849, actually affirmed the freesoil doctrine of the absolute power and jurisdiction of congress over slavery in the territories. Mr Benjamin, of Louisiana, was obviously deceived, by the answer of Mr Wilson, into the belief that the paragraphs read by him were actually the political platform of the national democrats of Massachusetts, formally laid down and affirmed in their state convention of 1849. And yet Mr Wilson held in his hand, under his eye, the next two paragraphs, which he suppressed, and which read as follows:—

"But resolved that these sentiments are so universal at the north as to belong to no party, being held in common by nearly all men north of a sectional line, while they are repudiated by most men south of that line, and therefore they cannot be made a national party test.

Resolved, That we are rejoiced to see the people of the territories taking this question into their own hands, and settling it upon the fundamental principles of republican government—the right of the people to establish such forms and institutions of government as the majority shall elect."

Now if the senator had thus read to the senate the resolutions he held in his hand, how palpably false would have been his assertions that they were an authority for the absolute power and jurisdiction of congress over slavery in the territories, and that they maintained the power of congress to abolish slavery in all the territories of the Union! So far from this they denied that the sentiments of the north on the subject of slavery could be carried into congress by any party as the basis of national legislation, and they affirmed the right of the people of the territories to make their own laws, and establish and regulate their own domestic institutions, as the majority might elect.

Whig and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

FRIDAY, APR. 4, 1856.

Mr. T. L. Clingman a Southern member of Congress has come out as is the fashion with southerners, in a long letter to his constituents. Like all these Southern letters the essential topic is slavery, and the real design is to teach those to whom they are addressed how to vote. This letter is as far from truth, and from all right and just views of the American government and the spirit of the age as it is possible for mortal to be. Gloomy forebodings of the dissolution of the union, accompanied with striking demonstrations of the necessity for this result if the present contests between north and south continue, acrimonious and distorted ca-

catore of northern sentiment, and a general detestation of all things liberal furnish the whole material for these elongated epistolary drenches. Mr. C. is to be sure a little ultra, as he declares the final object of the Anti-Nebraska rangers, to be the amalgamation of the black and white races, and that finding themselves defeated by the settlers in Kansas, they continued to forward large bodies of "abolitionists and other ruffians, armed with rifles, cannon, and the like weapons" to carry out their diabolical plans there. "Nothing would be more gratifying to them than to see the southern men and women whom they have so long vilified, degraded to the level of negroes.—Long observation has satisfied him that envy and malice have more to do with the abolition movement than fanaticism.

THE FREE PRESS.

BURLINGTON:

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 4, 1856.

To the People of the United States.

The People of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present Administration, to the extension of Slavery into the Territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a Free State, and of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of WASHINGTON and JEFFERSON, are invited by the National Committee, appointed by the Pittsburgh Convention on the 23d of February, 1856, to send three Delegates from every Congressional District, and six Delegates at large, to meet in PHILADELPHIA on the seventeenth day of June next, for the purpose of recommending candidates to be supported for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States.

E. D. MORGAN, New York. GEORGE G. FOGG, N. H.
FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Md. A. J. STEVENS, Iowa.
JOHN M. NILES, Conn. CORNELIUS COLE, Cal.
DAVID WILMOT, Penn. LAWRENCE BRAINERD, Vt.
A. P. STONE, Ohio. WILLIAM GROSE, Indiana.
WILLIAM M. CHASE, R. I. WYMAN SPOONER, Wis.
JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Mass. C. M. K. PAULSON, N. J.
GEORGE IVEY, Virginia. E. D. WILLIAMS, Delaware.
A. R. HALLOWELL, Maine. JOHN G. FEE, Kentucky.
E. S. LELAND, Illinois. JAMES REDPATH, Missouri.
CHARLES DICKEY, Mich. LEWIS CLAPHAM, D. C.

National Committee.

WASHINGTON, March 29, 1856.

Authorizing the District Courts to change the names of persons applying for such process.

DEPARTURE OF THE CONNECTICUT COLONY FOR KANSAS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

NEW-HAVEN, Tuesday, April 1, 1856.

One of the largest mass meetings ever held in this city assembled last evening to bid our New-Haven Colony farewell, on the eve of their departure for Kansas. The meeting was held in Brewster's Hall; and, although this is the largest hall in the city, it was found to be too small to hold the assembled multitude. Every seat and standing place in the hall was filled, and hundreds went away, unable to gain admission.

Prof. Benj. Silliman, senior, was Chairman of the meeting, and, on taking the chair, made a pertinent address. The Rev. Dr. Bacon opened the meeting with prayer, and then the vast multitude present joined in singing the "Song of The Kansas Emigrant," (by J. G. Whittier) to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne." Charles B. Lines, esq., President of the Colony, then made the farewell address in behalf of the Colony, and spoke in an earnest and eloquent manner. He was followed by the Rev. Dr. Hawes of Hartford, the Rev. Dr. Bacon, the Rev. S. W. S. Dutton, and Prof. Silliman of this city, and Wales French, esq., of Westville.

The sympathy and kind wishes of the distinguished speakers who addressed the meeting must long be remembered by the noble band of freemen who leave their homes in Connecticut to plant a freedom-loving colony on the plains of Kansas. Every heart in that great meeting beat in unison with the emigrants, and, as cheer after cheer went up for "freedom in Kansas" and the success of the Colony, every person present seemed to take a deeper interest in Kansas. Nowhere in the whole country is there more sympathy for the freemen of Kansas than in New-Haven, and this meeting was proof of the fact. The meeting closed by singing a farewell song, com-

posed for the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Bingham of this city. The members of the Colony then assembled on and around the stage to receive the farewell greetings of their friends. A nobler looking body of men were never seen than our New-Haven Colony. They were mostly large, athletic men, with strong hands and strong hearts, and some of them are the flower of this, the metropolis of Connecticut Yankeeedom. Among the Colony are two ex-Members of the Legislature, one clergyman, one physician, one or two theological students; and quite a number of the members of the Colony have their diplomas from Old Yale. In point of education, talent and ability, the Colony stands unrivaled, and may well challenge competition.

At 10 o'clock the Colony prepared to leave the Hall, to take the boat for New York, and thence proceed directly to Kansas.

The Elm City Guards and Croton Engine Company No. 1, (composed of freedom-loving sons of the Puritans) preceded by a band of music, escorted the Kansas Colony and their friends from the Hall to the steamboat landing. About four hundred of our citizens accompanied them to the steamboat. On the line of march several buildings and private dwellings were illuminated in honor of the occasion, and ladies assembled on balconies and in windows, and waved an adieu to the departing Colony, and cheered the escort that so kindly volunteered its services.

About seventy left on the steamboat last evening for Kansas, and quite a number of others will follow in about two weeks. A vanguard of twelve men left more than a week since to make preparations for the colony and are now in Kansas. Including the women and children there are over one hundred that have left here already to become permanent settlers in Kansas. Every man in the colony is provided with a revolver and one of the best rifles, and each man knows how to use this last-mentioned article. The junior class in Yale College presented to Chas. B. Lines, esq., President of the Colony, a splendid rifle, richly mounted, having a silver plate, on which is inscribed "Ultima Ratio Liberarum"—the last resort of freemen.

Several hundred people waited at the steamboat landing to see the boat leave the wharf, and wave a last adieu to their departing friends. The boat was finely illuminated, and, as it left the wharf, loud and long-continued cheers were given for our New Haven Colony, and for the "Free State of Kansas." The friends of freedom in Kansas will no doubt hail such a Colony as we have sent there as just what they need. A few such colonies from other northern cities would wrest Kansas from the Slave Power. Will they not send them on this Spring?

The people of Kansas have been oppressed, but they can now rejoice and truly say

"There is a midnight blackness
Changing into gray,
Men of thought, and men of action,
Clear the way!"

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, FRIDAY, APRIL 4, 1856.

Border Ruffians Searching a Young Lady's Piano—They Found no Rifles—Call for a Public Meeting.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, Monday, March 24, 1856. The border ruffians of Missouri seem disposed to annoy our people as much as possible. Emigrants to this State are carefully watched, and compelled to undergo a surveillance humiliating to them. And traveling through Missouri is rendered very unpleasant and unsafe by this lawless band. A few days since, a steamer, on its way up the Missouri, was boarded at Lexington, and searched by this same band of desperadoes; after looking a while they found a rather long box, directed to a town in this State; their curiosity was excited; they determined to examine the contents, and proceeded to open the box. The captain of the steamer then made his appearance, and forbade the examination of any baggage while it was under his care. The ruffians at the word of command, desisted for the present from opening the box, but concluded to come on to Kansas City with it, which they did. Soon after it was landed on the levee, and the captain had left, these brave men pounced down upon it, pryed open the cover and looked in, expecting to see some Sharpe's rifles or Yankee cannon nicely stowed; but imagine their disappointment on discovering the contents of the very suspicious looking box to be nothing more nor less than a piano-forte, which was sent to a young Yankee lady in Asanatomie.

They concluded to return at once to Lexington and report what they had discovered.

Coming into the city this afternoon, I found that a handbill, a copy of which I send you was being sent out to different towns in the State, calling upon the citizens to meet in Mass Meeting on the 5th inst., to consider the subjects set forth in the bill.

The following is a copy of the Call. It is very numerously signed:

"A meeting of the merchants and other citizens of Kansas is hereby called at the Free-State Hotel, in Lawrence, on Friday next, the 5th inst., at 3 o'clock P. M., to take into consideration the condition to which we are subjected by the acts of an organized band of lawless men along the Missouri River, by whom our goods are broken open and searched, our property stolen, and our persons as well as emigrants, subjected to a surveillance degrading to humanity, humiliating to us, and unknown in a civilized country; also, the imposition of an unreasonable and oppressive tax by the combination of boat owners of the Missouri, of 25 cents

A VIRGINIAN IN KANSAS.

Lecompton—Lawrence—The Captured "Carpenter's Tools"—Coal in Kansas—Virginians, &c. &c.

LECOMPTON CITY, March 16th.

I take advantage of pen, ink and paper, to give you an idea of Kansas Territory, as it appears to Virginia eyes, and of the situation of things in general. In reaching the point from whence my letter is dated, I had to experience seven days staging over a Missouri road, and the novelties of a new country and sights of "Border Ruffians" had no effect in alleviating sore limbs and much fatigue; but being neither a woman nor cretchery—though brought part of the way in a crockery grate—I arrived at Westport, safe and sound.

Here I found a little excitement, emanating from the assembling of the bogus, Legislative body in Topeka which place they have pitched upon as the capitol of the Territory, and organized military companies, for the protection of its Legislative wisdom. Sentinels are regularly posted, which gives the place the appearance of a besieged town.

The people are getting rather impatient at Gov. Shannon's listlessness in not dispersing the body over which Robinson presides, as they are going into legislative functions, electing officers, issuing scrips, &c., the scrip is said to be at par in Lawrence and the Eastern States, from which sale the members draw their per diem. Governor Shannon excuses his delay on the plea of awaiting the presence of the marshal, whose business it is to arrest the body.

Upon leaving Westport, where I had some letters to deliver to the Governor and Secretary at Shawnee Mission, I passed through Lawrence, the hot bed of abolitionism and the seat of last fall's "war" as it is called. The war-like appearance of the town is nourished with great care and redoubts stare the wayfarer in the face on every side, while a large "stronghold," with loop and port holes, stands boldly from the centre—a monument of belligerent intentions. I stopped for the night there, at the Cincinnati House, under the supervision of two spinsters. Where beef was served up sufficiently raw to suit the tastes of cannibals.—While I was there, news arrived that some one in charge of one hundred Sharp's rifles and two brass six pounders had been robbed of his precious charge by the Border boys; in a moment all was in a state of excitement. The abolitionists adjourned to Lane's and had their runners on foot immediately. Some fellow had been sent by the Northern Aid Society in charge of these arms to the people of Lawrence; he smuggled them on board the steambot Arabia in boxes, marked "Carpenter's tools," while on the boat he dropped a letter, addressed to his mother, which was picked up and read by a passenger, the boxes opened and the arms secured, and left in the hands of some citizens of Lexington, Mo., who gave the fellow (Hoyt) a bond for them, promising to give them up on receipt of an order from Gov. Shannon. I was present when Hoyt presented his credentials to the Governor, and I never saw a man more severely rebuked the Governor refusing positively to give such an order. He did give one, however, which was that the fellow should leave his office. The Governor is undoubtedly "all right" on the slavery question, and a true friend to Southern institutions. He reached the capitol on the 13th instant, from Shannon Mission his temporary headquarters.

Lecompton city, the capital of the territory, was named after Judge Lecompt, a man of great reputation in the Territory. It is on the Kaw or Kansas river, about 70 miles from its confluence with the Missouri, located in a beautiful rolling country, with vast prairie lands on the west, and heavy timber in other quarters. It is laid out on a grand scale, and is at pre-

erty of share holders. They are now engaged in erecting the Capitol and other public buildings. I have often thought that the valley between the Blue Ridge and Alleghany Mountains was the garden spot of the United States, but the rich, fertile and picturesque country of Kansas surpasses it by far. The scarcity of timber is complained of; but if the Indians could be prevented from firing the prairie, in twenty years timber would be plentiful, as the young acorn bushes spring up in every direction. Coal, too abundant; some Virginia gentlemen found several mines, which, on a survey, I can and do truly recommend.

Kansas is particularly the home of the mechanic. Public buildings and houses are springing up everywhere; and wages from \$2 to \$3 per diem—I have never felt so proud of old Virginia until I came here. Its people stand so high, that to know that you are a Virginian is a passport to respect and confidence. Every man to whom you are introduced, tells immediately that either his grandfather, father, or himself, was born in Virginia, and tries to impress upon you the fact that he has Virginia blood. The Governor, in appointing a committee at the law and order convention, appointed three-fourths of the committee persons from our State; it was remarked as invidious, and a charge made.

Tell your professional men and your mechanics, those who are kept in the back ground by old fogies, to come out here, where honest worth meets its reward in purse and position. Tell your farmers, who toil year after year sowing guano on their red clay lands, to come where grain and hemp only needs a sowing to reap a plentiful harvest. And tell those who are willing to battle in a quiet and modest manner for Southern institutions to come to Kansas.

P. J. W.

per hundred lbs. on roads to Leavenworth, in addition to the rates to Kansas, Mo., with a view to the establishment of a line of steamers direct between Alton, Leavenworth and Lawrence."

Emigrants are coming every day from the Northern and Eastern States, and report many more on the way about leaving their homes to settle in Kansas. The emigration of freemen to this State promises to be very large the present season. But few have yet arrived from the South. A few weeks since 50 arrived from Georgia determined to remain here long enough to make it a Slave State, but four-fifths have already left, gone back, and in a short time they will doubtless report themselves in Georgia as having seen the Kansas elephant as much as they want to.

Yours, OLIVER.

EMIGRATION TO THE WEST.—From all parts of New-England we receive accounts of the swelling tide of emigration to the West, not to Kansas merely, but to all parts of the Great North-west. From Worcester we learn that a large number of mechanics and business men are preparing to seek their fortunes at the West. The New-Hampshire Patriot recently stated that persons in all sections of the State were preparing to start for the West, while many have already gone this month. The State of Maine says that the same remark holds good in that State, and that the tide of emigration to the West is stronger now than it has ever been since the "California fever" of some eight years since. This large infusion of the New-England element into the Western States cannot fail to exert a healthful influence in shaping the destiny of one of the most important sections of the country.

Lynchburg Virginian.

Friday Morning, April 4, 1856.

The Border Ruffians.

The citizens of Lafayette county Missouri have held a public meeting to vindicate themselves against the slanders of the free soilers of Kansas. In an "address to the President and people of the United States" they declare:

In consequence of the many slanderous misrepresentations of the conduct of the people of Western Missouri, industriously circulated by the chieftains of the rebel forces in the Territory of Kansas, and especially with reference to the recent unfounded allegation, addressed to the President of the United States and various Governors, the citizens of the county of Lafayette, at a mass meeting assembled in the city of Lexington, deeming the exposure of the falsehoods incumbent upon them, do, through the undersigned, respectfully represent to the President of the United States and all the people thereof, that there is not in the county, nor do they believe there exists in any portion of the State, an organized force for the invasion of Kansas, and the butchery of its Free State inhabitants. Having acquaintances and correspondents in all the counties adjacent to the Territory, we feel confident such a state of affairs could not exist without our knowledge.

West of Jefferson City, (save those which are mounted on the bristling ramparts of Lawrence) we know of but one piece of artillery, not in the keeping of the arsenals of the general government; that exception may be found at Independence—a brass six pounder, captured at the battle of Sacramento by Col. Doniphan's regiment, and presented by the State of Missouri to the Jackson County Company as a tribute to their gallantry in the memorable conflict.

We therefore pronounce the statement of C. Robinson, J. H. Lane, and others, that "a large force of Missourians, amply provided with artillery, are being organized for the invasion of Kansas and the butchery of its Free State inhabitants," or for any other purpose, an unmitigated falsehood.

CHARLOTTESVILLE

Friday Evening, April 4, 1856.

Going to Kansas.

The seven or eight young men of this place, who design making Kansas their home, will leave about the 11th inst. A more industrious, upright, and estimable set of young men than those who leave us, have not, we venture, gone to that new country. They are all good mechanics, and will be an acquisition to Kansas. We have learned that several students of the University have left that Institution to unite their fortunes with those of Kansas.

THE MERCURY

CHARLESTON

Friday Morning, April 4, 1856.

Correspondence of the Mercury.

NEW ORLEANS, March 28, 1856.

DEAR MERCURY: I promised to drop you a note in regard to our political movements in this quarter of the South-West. You know that we are reputed great filibusters here, and it cannot be denied that our hearts have ever been fixed upon Cuba, and that we are doing as much as anybody else in solving the vexata questio of Central America. WALKER has a large part of the sympathies of the community, and COLT'S revolvers will be more potential in that quarter, in extending Southern power, than can SHARP'S rifles by any possibility be in Kansas in restricting it. The development of Central America must be by the slaveholder. Its soil, climate, and productions, are of the South.

Appropos of Kansas, the course of President PIERCE and of the Administration meets with unqualified approval. The President has evinced himself a man for the South, and has been growing in public estimation everywhere. He stands upon the highest platform of States' rights and States' equality, and exactly where THOMAS JEFFERSON always stood. The South, in her hour of peril, relies upon him as the Ajax of the constitutional party. He has braved everything on this issue, and receives the "well done" of every honest Southern heart. Our people will again call him to the helm. The action of the Democratic State Convention at Baton Rouge, evidencing a preference for DOUGLASS, shows nothing against PIERCE. DOUGLASS, you know, has always been the favorite in this quarter, and for causes antecedent to Nebraska. His friends, however, will support PIERCE, I think, against BUCHANAN, or any other candidate; and if the South—as I see evidences everywhere—will cast its vote for PIERCE unitedly, Louisiana will not be absent at the roll call.

I quote, from an appeal to the Democracy of Virginia, which has just been placed in my hands, the reasons which move me:

1. He has been tried and found true—tried as with fire and found true as steel.
2. From experience he is more equal to the position of President than when Virginia first brought him forward.
3. His nomination would exalt, purify, and consolidate the Democratic party of the Union.
4. The example of constancy and fidelity in the attachments of the South, would incalculably strengthen our interests in the North.
5. He has established his claim to our gratitude and confidence, by devotion to our principles, attachment to our cause, and the most splendid services in support of our rights and interests.
6. If we desert him, we proclaim an ingratitude and inconstancy, which will inevitably alienate our Northern friends, and which will leave the South in a state of helpless isolation.
7. He is the truest exponent of our principles—being sound, both in the present and in the past, on all the cardinal doctrines of Democratic faith; on Bank, Tariff, Land Distribution, Internal Improvement, Freedom of Conscience, Equality of Privilege, and on all the great issues of Slavery.
8. He was among the earliest and the most uncompromising opponents of Know Nothingism.
9. In the energy, wisdom, and purity of his Administration, the country has an assurance that its interests and honor will be protected, and the South a guarantee that its rights will be maintained against all invasion.
10. It is a maxim of selfish policy no less than a principle of personal honor, to adhere to a friend who approves his fidelity by incontestable acts of devotion. President Pierce has been true to the South, and it would be equally ungrateful and unwise in the South now to desert him.
11. He fought the battle of the Constitution and the Union against Abolitionism, and is entitled to the reward of the victory.

From the Marion Star.

Kansas Meeting.

At an adjourned meeting held at Marion Court House, on Tuesday, the 25th inst., on motion of Dr. W. R. Johnson, Dr. Robert Harlee was called to the chair, and D. J. McDonald was requested to act as Secretary.

The Chairman, after having taken his seat, in a brief and appropriate manner expressed the object of the meeting.

Dr. W. R. Johnson reported, as Chairman of the Finance Committee, that a fund of \$1000 was subscribed to aid in transmitting emigrants to Kansas. After which he presented the following preamble and resolutions, viz:

Whereas, the existing state of affairs in the Territory of Kansas calls loudly upon the people of the Southern States to interfere speedily for the protection of their own rights and the defence of their fellow-citizens in that Territory, who represent our institutions by every constitutional means: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting it is the duty of Southern men to aid in colonizing Kansas at once, by contributions of money, and by sending forward Southern emigrants.

Resolved, That the following persons be appointed a committee to canvass their respective beats and solicit contributions to a fund for forwarding emigrants to Kansas, to wit: Harleesville Beat—Malcolm Stafford, A. L. McCormick, Hector McKay, and W. W. S. Sellers; Cross Roads—Wm. Adams, Maj. Haselden, Henry Berry, and Samuel Hall; Marion C. H.—Nathan Evans, Barfield Moody, John Shackelford, and Rev. D. Leggett; Maiden-down—Dr. Gilchrist, W. W. Braddy, and John L. Smith; Highhill—Elias B. Ford, P. Floyd, and Levi H. Hays; Britton Neck—Dr. J. Dozier, Wm. F. Richardson, and Dr. Wm. M. Davis; Stone's—J. R. Harrell, G. J. Myers, and Ezra Eaddy; and Jeffries' Creek—Samuel A. Campbell and R. G. Howard.

Resolved, That this meeting recommend that each slaveholder shall pay over to said committee the sum of fifty cents for each slave he owns.

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of the following persons, viz., Hector Cameron, Dr. D. R. Gregg, Thomas Eaddy, Benjamin Gause, Malcolm Stafford, James R. Bethea, Maj. S. F. Gibson, and Averett Nichols, be and hereby is appointed, to whom shall be paid all moneys that have been or shall be collected.

Resolved, That said committee shall have the active control and disposal of said funds, shall receive such persons to be sent as emigrants to Kansas as they may deem proper, and make such rules and regulations for the management of the whole enterprise as to them may seem right.

Resolved, That this meeting recommend to the Disbursing Committee above appointed, to act, as far as possible, in concert with other Committees appointed in this Congressional District for a similar purpose, with a view to the union of all the expeditions, if practicable.

The meeting was ably addressed by W. S. Mullins, Thomas Evans, and J. B. LaBorde; after which, the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

On motion of Thomas Evans, the following resolutions were passed, viz:

Resolved, That this meeting is hereby organized into an Association, for the purpose of aiding the Southern population in the settling of Kansas, for the protection of Southern rights and property, to be called the Old Liberty Kansas Association.

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed by the Chair, consisting of Dr. W. R. Johnson, W.

S. Mullins, Gen. Wm. Evans, Dr. Alfred Bethea, and James Tart, to draft a Constitution and by-laws for the government of the same.

Resolved, That the Committee already appointed by this meeting be and the same is hereby made a Standing Committee of this Association.

Resolved, That the Chairman and Secretary of the present meeting be adopted as the standing officers of the Association.

Mr. W. S. Mullins remarked, that though the meeting had been convened for another purpose, yet as it was a very large assemblage of the people from all parts of the District, and was, beyond doubt, able to represent truly the opinions of the whole District, he desired to submit a resolution complimentary to the President of the United States. If there was any objection, he would withdraw the proposition; as he did not desire, in the slightest degree, to disturb the harmony which prevailed. He introduced the following:

Resolved, That the citizens of Marion District desire to express their high admiration of the conduct in the Executive office, of the present Chief Magistrate of the United States; to acknowledge and applaud the fidelity to the Constitution which he has shown; and to express their decided desire for his re-election.

The resolution was adopted unanimously and with enthusiasm.

It was then, on motion of William Evans, ordered that the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Marion Star, Darlington Flag, and Charleston Mercury, with request that the other city papers publish the same.

On motion of William Evans, the Association then adjourned until it shall be recalled by the Chairman. R. HARLLEE, Chairman. D. J. McDONALD, Secretary.

New Orleans Daily Delta.

FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 4, 1856.

JUDGE DOUGLAS AND THE SOUTH.

There are many American politicians who are in the habit of boasting continually of their fidelity to the South, that is to say, we presume, of their fidelity to the Constitution of the United States, some with proof at their back, some without it, but the truest and most reliable constitutionalists have generally preserved a dignified silence as to their own responsibilities and actions, patiently awaiting the verdict, not of the demagogic passions, but of the common sense of the people. Mr. Dickinson has been true to the South, but he is eternally poking the fact in our faces, as if his fidelity to the rights of every section of the Union was not a matter of duty rather than favor—a creed rather than a political convenience—and many others of less capacity and conscientiousness are constantly trading on their devotion to Southern principles, (like a certain distinguished "American" candidate for the Presidency,) with no better guarantee for the honesty of their professions than an undeniable and signal success in preventing the annexation of Cuba, or any other slave State, which, according to John C. Calhoun, was necessary to restore the "equilibrium" of the Government, and place the South on a political equality with its enemies of the North and East.

Judge Douglas, the distinguished Senator from Illinois, is not one of this demonstrative class, and rarely alludes to the many services he has rendered to the South in the face of fanatical opposition in the West as much as in the North—in Chicago as well as in New York. He is not an autobiographical statesman who regards his own deeds as the most striking and praiseworthy incidents of cotemporaneous history. He does his work, looking steadily to the future, and seldom or ever referring to his own labors in the past—realizing, in its true meaning, the aphorism of Fleming the Student: "Look not mournfully into the Past, wisely improve the Present, and go forth with dauntless heart to meet the shadowy Future." And assuredly few statesmen of the present day have so honorable and noble a past to look back upon, or less cause for mournfulness in the retrospect. His adherence to the Constitution has been lifelong; his consistency never wavered: his escheteon is without stain, his career without a single blot. The Nebraska-Kansas bill is but the obvious continuation and mature expression of the opinions he has always expressed and entertained—the consummation, in one signal instance at least, of his well-known views of the American Constitution, the rights of the States, and the rights of the people.

As a proof of this consistency, which we fearlessly claim for Mr. Douglas—this modest, undemonstrative, but ever-abiding consistency—we may refer to his conduct during the great dis-

ussion on the admission of California into the Union, and his course on the compromise measures which settled that difficulty. Whether he ever was a willing "compromiser" or not, we are not prepared to say, though we incline to the belief that he despised the spirit which endeavored to join a right and a wrong, a lie and a truth, and solder them both together.

We were in Chicago when the famous Congress of 1849-'50 had expired, and Judge Douglas had just reached the city on his homeward journey. Chicago was then as it is now deeply leavened with abolitionism or incendiarism, which is the same thing, and the Common Council was filled by a set of ignorant, bigoted and narrow-minded fanatics. Previous to the arrival of the Judge, they had passed a resolution to the effect that he was "a Benedict Arnold and a Judas Iscariot." (We give their resolution in their own phraseology,) because he had not voted against the Fugitive Slave Law, which formed an integral portion of the compromise measures. Harsh words, no doubt, but they were pointless weapons against the buff coat of truth and honesty, which the distinguished Senator wore then, and wears still.

A meeting was convened at the City Hall for the ratification of the resolutions of the Common Council, and a large crowd assembled which was vociferous as might be expected from the peculiar constitution of society in Chicago six years ago, before the city had assumed the giant proportions and refined character of which it can boast to-day. The abolitionists had the stump to themselves. Several young lawyers, with plenty of philanthropy and a scarcity of briefs delivered themselves of fiery and exuberant speeches, in which the changes on the names of Benedict Arnold and Judge Douglas were regularly rung, and occasionally we could not determine whether Mr. Clay was not playing the part of Judas Iscariot in the declamation of the sophomoric statesmen and vehement "friends of humanity" who were resolved to climb into office by the broad shoulders of the negro race. The Wapurgis Night of abolitionism was far advanced when it was announced that Judge Douglas was in the room, and a *sursum* of expectation and anxiety passed through the densely-crowded hall.

Incontinently Benedict Arnold ascended the stand. Judas Iscariot was present to defend himself. A dark-browed, keen-eyed, square-set man, with a mobile and rapidly-varying expression, a lip tremulous with nervous excitement and a mein and bearing conscious of latent power, an aristocrat of nature, a Mirabeau diminutive in size but magnificent as the French revolutionist in intellect, stood silent for a brief space before the eager assemblage. At last he spoke. His first sentence was a defiance. He expressed his regret that private business, involving a large sum of money which he could not afford to lose, prevented him from leaving New York in time to vote for the Fugitive Slave Law, and his absence on the occasion of its passage was all he could regret so far as his senatorial conduct was concerned. This singular exordium took the audience by surprise, and a dead silence of admiration and awe reigned through the building as the orator proceeded in fiery words to denounce the hypocrisy and traitorism of the abolitionists. "No Representative or Senator of the United States," he said, "no Vice-President or President, dare infringe the constitution of our fatherland with impunity—not even a Common Councilman of Chicago!" and the sarcasm went home like a barbed arrow to the hearts of his assailants. His oratory was, like Grattan's, "a combination of smoke, whirlwind and flame." It swept its enemies before it like mere chaff and draft. It rose in grandeur and power every minute until the victory was won. During four hours and a half it held the people in breathless attention, and then it stopped: with what result? The orator was cheered to his hotel by the very multitude which was ready that morning to brand him as a Benedict Arnold and a Judas Iscariot. We never witnessed a greater triumph of reason over fanaticism, of patriotism over demagoguery, of genius over blatant and bombastic folly.

Such is the man who is now the prominent Democratic candidate for the Presidency in '56. The South can conscientiously adhere to him as a tried friend and supporter, who has the manhood, the courage and the talent to do her full and unstinted justice in every emergency.

The Memphis Appeal admits that Mr. Fillmore is a national man. The admission, to be sure, comes like drawing an eye-tooth; but we hope the editors now feel better. They have admitted what every well informed politician knows to be true, and the mere partisan, who for party purposes, would seek to soil the fair name and national character of such a man as Millard Fillmore, deserves the scorn and contempt of every honest man. Hear what the Appeal says:

We never have, and never will, knowingly, do any political opponent injustice, and have always been willing to admit that, while acting under his oath of office, MR. FILLMORE Demeaned himself in SUCH A MANNER AS TO ENTITLE HIM TO A PLACE IN THE CATEGORY OF WHAT WE TERM NATIONAL MEN.

KANSAS.—A correspondent of the Charleston Mercury, now in Washington, has had a conversation with General Whitfield, Delegate from Kansas, in which he stated that the pro-slavery party now had a majority in Kansas, but that the exertions of the free soilers abroad are fast giving them the preponderance. He urged the duty of the South to aid its friends in Kansas, declaring that if Kansas become a free State, Missouri will follow in three years. He added that the Southern men in Kansas, and the people of Missouri, were depressed and almost despairing at the indifference of

WEEKLY
ILLINOIS STATE REGISTER.

SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1856.

Getting their Eyes Opened.

The Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati Times, a fusion know-nothing organ, has the following admission as to "coming events" which are casting their shadows about fusion in all directions:

It does not require a very sapient judgment to foresee that the Nebraska bill is fast becoming and will soon be a popular measure! The feeling in and out of congress, the signs of the times in every state, is ample evidence of this fact.—And it is perfectly clear that agitation upon the subject is only kept up by strenuous efforts, forced and unhealthy! I feel confident that the resolution in favor of the restoration of the Missouri compromise would not command in this house a respectable vote! Another evidence, the change of feeling towards Mr. Douglas, so abundantly manifest throughout the country by intelligent and rational men, to whom the Nebraska bill has lost its terrors. The people are rapidly coming to their senses again; and noting that neither ruin or desolation shocks our country, as was predicted—that Mr. Douglas, in the language of the great Daniel, "still lives;" that demagogues are making capital of the whole matter for their own aggrandizement; that the overwhelming influence of the north, its wealth, its industry, its tireless enterprises, renders slave in Kansas perfectly impossible,—nothing all these self-evident facts, the people, confidently believe are looking upon the Kansas-Nebraska bill in a more deliberate and reasonable manner.

It is especially so with those who have been allured from the American true course by the false lights of republicanism, and wrecked upon the smoken rocks of old party prejudice! This has been the legitimate result of bad pilotage, and still worse seamanship.

Senator Douglas.

The Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati Times thus speaks of the late speech of Mr. Douglas, in the senate of the United States, upon his bill organizing the territory of Kansas into a state. As what he says comes from a political opponent, it may safely be concluded that Mr. Douglas made a speech of surprising power and excellence. The correspondent observes:

"A buzz of conversation ran through the throng as Mr. Douglas took his seat, and almost instantaneously scores of fingers were seen among the spectators pointing him out to eager gazers. A little preliminary business being disposed of, Mr. Douglas prepared to take the floor, but yielded an instant to Mr. Hale, who, in his usual good natured style, observed that as the occasion was one of special interest, a great number of specta-

tors were present, a large proportion of whom were of that sex which every gentleman loved to honor, and as they not only felt a great interest in the subject, but also under the circumstances, (Mr. Douglas is a widower,) in the orator, he, therefore, moved to suspend the rules and allow the ladies to take seats in the lobby. This movement, on the part of Mr. Hale, created bland smiles upon the faces of the ladies, but indignation among the gentlemen, which they exhibited by sour looks and murmurs of disapprobation, very naturally wishing to preserve their seats. Senator Hunter, of Virginia, however, came to their rescue; but objected to Mr. Hale's motion, and it was withdrawn.

"Mr. Douglas then rose. He was dressed in a suit of black, with his frock coat buttoned to the chin, and his thick, dark hair swept negligently back from his massive forehead. In a clear distinct voice he read his bill, just introduced, providing for the organizing of a state government in the territory of Kansas. This bill is precisely like others of a similar nature in its chief details. Having thus laid down a text, Mr. Douglas commenced the exordium of his speech. I shall not attempt to give an abstract of the long powerful and logical argument which followed, for space will not allow; but I may say, without feeling or favor, that it was the strongest, the clearest and the most unanswerable vindication of the Nebraska bill—the most scathing criticism upon Governor Reeder—the most triumphant vindication of the state-rights doctrine—the severest condemnation of emigrant aid societies and their conduct—the most able, constitutional argument that I ever had the privilege of hearing; and the same opinion was expressed by many of Mr. Douglas' political opponents."

Abolition Conscience.

Greeley writes to his Tribune in regard to Douglas' comment upon his Kansas report, and in reply to Mr. Trumbull:

"True, it was an adroit, clever effort, and its delivery was set off by an impressive, emphatic manner. Mr. Douglas has one point of superiority as a speaker over most of his cotemporaries in congress—he never hurries through or slurs over his sentences, but wisely assumes that what he thinks it worth his while to say, he may justifiably take time to say well, and that if it be fit that he should speak, it is fit that his peers should hear and understand. As a fluent and practiced lawyer's plea at bar, this might count as a creditable effort; but it could not rank as an exhibition of statesmanship. From first to last, it made no appeal to conscience, to humanity, to the spirit of liberty, to the sense of universal justice."

It made no appeal, doubtless, to the *gutta serena* consciences of the Tribune school, but, if Senator Douglas pursued the same line of argument which has characterized his former efforts, of which we have no doubt, he appealed to and reached the "conscience," "the spirit of liberty," and the "sense of universal justice" which finds its patriotism based in a sincere recognition of the behests of the national constitution. His "conscience," and that of the party of which he is a gallant leader, know no "higher law" than the constitution of the country, and eschew the demagogue appeals which characterises niggerism in its efforts to overslaugh the fundamental law in its mandlin theories based upon what it pharisaically terms "conscience," which knows no law but its own fanatical prejudices and the will of corrupt leaders, who have neither conscience or political honesty.

It is something conceded by the Tribune, which the little Tribunes should make a note of, that Douglas' remarks were not altogether a "failure," as the Journal has it, and that what he said was well said and fit for the hearing of his peers.

That his arguments were founded upon a constitutional basis instead of the abolition "higher law" is the chief of Greeley's objections, and which will prove its highest merit with those who look to the constitution as the ark of our political safety, and the text-book of American "justice" and "liberty."

From the Albany Atlas and Argus.

A New Patent Medicine.

The republican national committee is very comprehensive in its call for a national convention. All sorts of people are invited to attend. Whigs and democrats, abolitionists and slaveholders, know-nothings and anti-know-nothings, tariff men and those who would not extract a "snag" from the Mississippi, plunderers of the treasury and its guardians—all are welcome to walk in and take seats, on subscribing to the dogma that

"the people of Kansas shall not be allowed to govern themselves." The call is as affectionate as that which Judge Edmonds "rapped" to "dear Potter," and in the same winning accents it says to all sorts of stragglng politicians, "come, Potter, come!"

This is a notable attempt, in addition to the many which have hitherto met with shipwreck, to build up a party with a single idea in common, but entertaining heterogeneous notions upon all other questions of government. Does all statesmanship end in the cry of "Kansas and freedom?" Can the government be administered upon that single principle? Can all other questions be ignored? Is it of no consequence to have good government in the residue of this broad Union, as well as Kansas?

And, so far as Kansas is concerned, what is the one idea upon which it is proposed to build up a great party, in opposition to the democratic party of the nation? The latter proposes to allow to the actual residents of Kansas the right to govern themselves, and to protect them in the exercise of that right with the whole power of the general government, if necessary. The "one idea" of this new party is evidently intended to be in opposition to this—however shadowy and undefinable it may be, even in the minds of its votaries. It will certainly be something new under the sun, especially in this age of progress, and of liberal ideas, if the experiment of building up a great party for the purpose of depriving the feeble people of a territory of the right of self-government, shall prove successful. And it would add still to the novelty of the thing, if such a blow against freedom should be struck in the name of freedom. The leaders of this movement are like quack-medicine venders, and have similar faith in the gullibility of the people.—They have discovered a panacea for all the ills with which the republic is afflicted. The celebrated "Kansas pills," these doctors advertise, will speedily physic the body politic into vigorous health. They should be taken at all times of day and on all occasions. So say those notorious quacks, Seward, Hale, Chase & Co. But the people will not trust to their prescriptions, and will reply to their solicitations,

"Throw physic to the dogs. I'll none of it."

Janesville Gazette.

SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 5, 1856.

A KANSAS ATTORNEY GENERAL.—MR. MITCHELL Moore, attorney general, a thick-set, dark complexioned young man, of short stature, and with a bull dog expression of countenance, is somewhat celebrated in border ruffian annals. He resided at Weston, the home of bully ruffian Stringfellow, for several years, and was connected with the Weston Reporter, the organ of the Benton party in that district. His fearless denunciations of the ruffians, and his free soil proclivities drew down upon him the indignation of the nullifiers. They threatened to throw the Reporter into the Missouri river.—He defied them, and said, in his journal, that if they attempted to execute their threat, the Platte County Argus, Stringfellow's organ, would speedily follow it. This threat was effectual. The ruffians did not molest him nor his paper either. Gen. Stringfellow then attempted to put him down. At a public meeting of the Platte county "Self Defence" association, the ruffian said, among other things, that "every woman who did her own household work was no better than she should be;" that the working women had been alike—from the time of Abraham, and would be to the end of the world. Moore denounced the bully ruffian for this assertion, in his paper, and created great indignation against him. Stringfellow saw that he was beginning to stand on rather uncomfortable ground, and undertook to deny that he said so. Moore got several affidavits from the most respectable citizens of Weston to prove the truth of his assertion, and then publicly and personally branded Stringfellow as a coward and liar, and told him to resent the insult if he dared. "If you've got any fight in you," said Moore, "I mean to get it out of you; but I believe you dare not take me up—you are too arrant a coward!"

Stringfellow bore this insult with the most christian or calf-like resignation.

CRITENDEN AND DOUGLAS.—They are having amusement at Washington at the way in which Douglas backed out when Critenden took him to task for abusing the know-nothings. But Douglas meekly replied that his remark did not apply to southern know-nothings! They are good fellows, because they desire to see negroes in Kansas. So it would appear that a know-nothing is a bad fellow only when he is an anti-slavery man. They favor the extension of slavery, and that pleases Douglas.—

Tendencies of Freedom.

Why is it that in taking emigrants from the Slave States to Kansas, the leaders of the expeditions find themselves compelled to place their followers under the most stringent articles of agreement, in reference to their movements and doings after reaching the Territory, while at the North, emigrants are taken freely, without reference or prejudice to their future movements or acts? Unless somebody furnishes us with a better answer, we shall conclude, that the human heart is not prone to Slavery, in the abstract, and that unless men who are not Slaveholders, are kept well in hand, when brought in contact with a free population, they will prefer Freedom. Jesse DeBrulh, the head of the South Carolina Emigration Association, among many other restrictive provisions, imposes the following upon his followers:

"And the undersigned persons, desiring to emigrate in company with the said Jesse DeBrulh and under his care, to place themselves under his command as their leader and captain, and strictly to obey him as such; and to remain under his direction and command for twelve months from the day of leaving Columbia, if from the time above mentioned he should be able to provide for their subsistence so long, or otherwise for such length of time as he may be able to provide for their subsistence and to send and to accompany themselves, during the period for which they have so placed themselves under his command, to remain in such part of the Territory of Kansas as he may designate, and never to absent themselves to a greater distance from him than will allow them to be summoned by him and to assemble in a body within twenty-four hours after he may issue his summons. It is understood that their clothing is to be provided by themselves."

The following extracts from Southern papers, show how many thanks are owing to Slavery, for the preponderance of free emigration into Kansas, about which the Free Press crowed so lustily yesterday:

SLAVES FOR KANSAS.—The Highflyer, in this morning from Louisville, brought between fifty and sixty slaves, belonging to families who are on their way from Kentucky to Kansas. The slaves who came in the Highflyer consisted of persons of all ages, sexes, and shades of color, and were a good looking, well-dressed, and apparently well-fed party. Since the opening of the river full five hundred slaves have arrived from the Ohio river on their way to Kansas. The J. H. Lucas took up nearly 100, the Star of the West 100, the Chambers 60 to 75, and almost every boat that has started up the Missouri river since the opening of the river has taken up a larger or smaller number.—St. Louis News, March.

EMIGRATION TO KANSAS.—We understand that a pioneer party, consisting of numerous members of the Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies, after making considerable purchases in this city, are proceeding up the Missouri river to Kansas this week, with a view to commencing a new settlement. They seem to be thrifty, industrious, and intelligent men, and we hope that all the inhabitants of our State with whom they may come in contact will treat them with such courtesy as will secure the transit of their numerous friends by this route.—We are informed there will be another party passing through this city on the first week in April, and another on the third week of the same month.—St. Louis Democrat, 26th.

KANSAS MEETING.—At a meeting of the two committees which were appointed last week, held at the court-house in Abbeville (S. C.) the 22d of the month, it was determined that all suitable emigrants to that Territory, who are desirous to emigrate to Kansas will be accepted, and shall receive an outfit of two hundred dollars; that Thursday, the 10th day of April, be the time for their departure from Abbeville court-house; and that those who accept the outfit will be required to remain in Kansas until a constitution shall be adopted by the people of the Territory in due form of law. The committee are anxious to announce to the world that they have a true and gallant men have enrolled their names as emigrants; and that handsome contributions of money have been made. The committee are encouraged by their present success to hope that twenty-five or thirty men will be enrolled, and amply funds to equip them obtained by the day appointed for their departure. The emigrants to Kansas will go out as a mere colony, without military organization or equipment. They will carry only the implements that are useful in the private and peaceful pursuits of life. It is not expected that they will be called on to engage in any military expedition or enterprise; but, if it becomes necessary to defend the Constitution of the country or the cause of the South by the might that is in a free man's arm, they will be expected, every man of them, to do their duty.—Abbeville (S. C.) Banner.

SOUTH CAROLINA EMIGRANTS.—The Kansas Association of Charleston forwarded its second corps of emigrants by railroad this morning at seven o'clock. It is composed of a fine body of spirited and active young men, numbering twenty-eight, who go with a firm purpose to advance by industry their private fortunes, and to maintain by their manliness as citizens the order and Southern rights in Kansas. They proceed under the business charge of Mr. F. G. Palmer, a practical civil engineer. They embrace a number of mechanics and artisans. Not a doubt can be entertained that they will well represent the South in Kansas. Their equipment has cost the association a considerable amount, a portion of which has yet to be met by voluntary contributions. It is to be hoped that our citizens will promptly step forward and meet them, and also enable the association to continue its patriotic and urgent work. A body of fourteen or fifteen other emigrants, mostly from Orangeburg district, proceeded on from Branchville yesterday. Capt. Ball, informed us that his company will pass through Abbeville on Saturday afternoon next for Alabama, by John Major Bland's corps of emigrants. He offers to take twenty-five men from Charleston, if our citizens will advance two hundred dollars to pay their expenses out to Major Buford. The only equipments required for each is a good common country rifle.—Charleston (S. C.) News, 27th.

Administration Press and Kansas Rifles

From the Buffalo Republic.

The history of the wrongs and outrages growing out of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, by which territory consecrated to freedom was opened to slavery, has been so frequently written, and is so familiar to all that it seems almost superfluous to allude to it. And yet the administration, makes it necessary to repeat the thrice told tale for the purpose of exposing their hypocrisy, dishonesty and slavery extending proclivities.

The Missouri restriction was abrogated with the design to plant slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, but for the ostensible reason of inaugurating the new theory of "popular sovereignty," and territorial non-intervention on the part of Congress—a theory which, the Administration and its disciples claimed, was so Democratic that it must be made a test of Democratic orthodoxy only, but that it justified the repeal of a compromise of thirty-four years standing, and the deplorable agitation of the slavery question, which was its legitimate fruit.

What followed! Why, the moment the Nebraska bill became a law, large bodies of lawless and desperate Missourians organized themselves on the borders of Kansas, crossed the line, and with pistols and bowie-knives took possession of the polls, and drove the rightful electors of the Territory away. Electing their own instruments to the Territorial Legislature, they usurped the functions of government, and enacted laws which would disgrace the most barbarous state in Christendom. In enforcing the laws, they have resorted to force, and bloodshed has been the consequence. Armed bands of reckless men traversed the Territory, and in cold blood murdered the advocates of a Free State, so that every mail brought us the news of some fresh outrages perpetrated by the border ruffians for the purpose of forcing slavery upon the people of Kansas.

While all this was transpiring, the administration press remained silent. Indeed, it had not a word of condemnation for the outrageous conduct of Atchison and Strangefellow. But now that the real settlers in Kansas are determined to maintain their rights, and to accept the theory of popular sovereignty, which the national administration forced upon them, by organizing a government in conformity with that theory; when their brethren throughout the entire north are holding meetings to extend sympathy and material aid to the free state men, and, perchance, some good Sharpe rifles wherewith to defend themselves from the numerous assaults of the Missouri invaders, the journals in the interest of the administration open their eyes with horror and pronounce such proceedings "disgraceful." Pistols and bowie-knives in the hands of a band of desperate ruffians, who intend to plant Slavery in Kansas, are respectable weapons; but Sharpe's rifles, in the hands of free state men, who wish to make Kansas a free state and to protect their lives and property and firesides from the attacks of murderous intruders, are not to be tolerated. This is the position of the administration press.

We are not aware what necessity exists at this moment in Kansas for the use of deadly weapons. Recent intelligence from that Territory seems to favor the idea that the free State men are getting along very well, and are successfully protecting themselves in the enjoyment of their rights as citizens and electors. But if there is good reason to believe that there will be occasion to use Sharpe's rifles, in the defence of the rights and privileges given to the people of that Territory by the Constitution and the laws of Congress, we hope the North will forward an ample supply, and that the free State men will use them against ruffians who lawlessly invade the Territory. The Missourians have taken the initiative in this matter; let the Free State men adopt the practice so long as their rights are endangered and until Kansas is free.

MO'NING EXPRESS.

ALMON M. CLAPP, EDITOR.

BUFFALO, SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1856.

Pierce and Buchanan.

There is a very pretty quarrel fomenting between the friends of PIERCE and BUCHANAN regarding the succession. They seem, now, to be the two prominent competitors for the honor of bearing the Democratic banner through the ensuing campaign. Each has planted his batteries and opened fire. The Washington Union serves as the long-tom of PIERCE, while the Pennsylvaniaian is casting up shells for Mr. BUCHANAN. The fight begins to wax quite warm and interesting. The Pennsylvaniaian recently gave its readers an article recommending Mr. BUCHANAN for the Presidency, giving as a reason therefor that he would be more acceptable to the Democrats of the North, with free soil tendencies, than either PIERCE, DOUGLAS, HUNTER, BRIGHT or CASS,

could possibly be. The article was a mere echo of the opinions of the New York Herald, and when the Pennsylvaniaian was taken to task for recommending a candidate because he was not absolutely committed to extreme Southern doctrines, extricated itself, according to the Union, by berating the hypocrisy and friendship of the Herald in its advocacy of Mr. BUCHANAN upon such grounds, and subsequently declaring that it got into its columns without the knowledge of either editor or proprietor. That print again tacked ship and made amends in the following language:

"In commending to the attention of our readers the striking views, so ably presented by the Herald, upon the question at issue between the two countries, and placing the American minister conspicuously in the foreground of the admirable picture, we avail ourselves of the opportunity to tender our acknowledgments for the important services, rendered by that widely circulated journal, to the cause of Pennsylvania's distinguished candidate for the Presidency. The perspicuity, spirit and power which pervade its articles, read in every section of the country, must have a telling effect."

This was soon followed by an article in the Pennsylvaniaian, of ten columns in length, in which it is urged that—

"At the period of Mr. Buchanan's departure from his home, in July, 1854, his views and opinions upon every national question were known and approved of by the democratic party. Since that time a new flood of agitation has been let loose upon the 'slavery question' by the opposition of our political enemies to the passage of the 'Kansas Nebraska' bill and repeal of the law known as the 'Missouri Compromise.' Upon the new phase of sectional agitation, now under discussion, Mr. Buchanan has not had an opportunity to declare his views and opinions, except by private letters to his intimate friends. His position and arduous public duties abroad did not permit him to embroil himself in party disputes at home. We must, therefore, refer back to his antecedents for light upon the subject. There are three among many important letters upon record, which will be found to give sufficient information with regard to the 'Missouri Compromise' of 1820, and the 'compromise measures of 1850,' including the 'fugitive slave law,' to enlighten the public mind in reference to Mr. Buchanan's views and opinions upon these agitating questions."

This is followed by the famous Berks County letter of Mr. BUCHANAN in which he eulogizes the Missouri Compromise and declares that "it is not for the descendants of either party in the present generation to cancel this solemn compact." The Pennsylvaniaian remarks further on this letter, that the opinion of Mr. BUCHANAN upon this subject "were formed after due deliberation, and with his characteristic candor he published it in the face of the country. The Missouri law was enacted by a Democratic Congress, and was approved by a Democratic Southern President, who had the counsel of a Southern member of his cabinet. When Mr. BUCHANAN wrote, it had had an undisturbed existence for nearly thirty years, and had so far answered all the purposes of its enactment. The most distinguished, Democratic statesmen of the South and of the North aided in securing its passage, and all acquiesced in its continuance on the statute books for more than thirty years, and until after Mr. BUCHANAN left this country on his mission to England."

The great object of the Pennsylvaniaian appears to have been to place Mr. BUCHANAN in a position where he could present a Northern and Southern view of himself at the same time. This did not seem to be relished by the Union, which had evidently determined upon smoking Mr. BUCHANAN from his concealment. It calls upon him to show his head and adds:

It is equally due to candor to say that if we believed he would hesitate to repudiate the position to which the Pennsylvaniaian seeks to assign him as a candidate, we should consider him unworthy of the confidence of our party. We must have higher authority than the Pennsylvaniaian, as it is now controlled, before our confidence in James Buchanan can be shaken. The battle is to be fought on the great issue involved in the

Nebraska question—the Democratic party have made up that issue, and they will have no stand-ard-bearer who cannot furnish the guarantee not only of sound antecedents, but of present hearty and undisguised and outspoken advocacy of the principles of the Nebraska bill.

This last shot took effect in the BUCHANAN camp, and brought that gentleman from his cover. The Telegraph of yesterday brought the announcement that the Union of that morning contains a letter from Hon. JAMES BUCHANAN, dated Dec. 28th, in which he declares that the Missouri Compromise is dead and gone, and says that the Nebraska bill is the only basis upon which the Slavery question can be settled—that it must be adhered to at all hazard, and every storm faced that can be brought against it.

Here is a bid for the Presidency, which, if Mr. B. does not gainsay it, must put PIERCE, DOUGLAS, and the whole troop of Democratic expectants to their wits ends to perform a more abject prostration to Slavery than the Statesman of Pennsylvania has made in this declaration and sent forth through the Union. The coalition between Federalism and Slavery in this instance is complete.

Atchison and his bandits are determined that Slavery shall be extended into Kansas. The North took effectual means to prevent what Congress ought to have prohibited. Now, no dogma of "popular sovereignty," or any other mere abstraction, should stand in the way of effecting the result aimed at by the North, which works no injury to any section, but is the best thing for all. This is, in brief, the reason why the delusion of the Administration cannot befoeg the clear-sighted people of the North.—If Kansas is now admitted, all will be well. But if Sharp's rifles must be invoked to defend free institutions, there are enough of them, and plenty of men to use them. When it comes to that, let the Argus and its coadjutors "stand from under!"

There are, of all these, if true to principle, enough to send the Act of Admission to the Senate for its concurrence, by thirty-one majority. More than that, every friend of peace of whatever party, if sincere, is bound to go for it, for it is the only step that can restore the harmony of the Union. And lastly, every honest believer in popular sovereignty (if such there be) is bound to vote for it, for it is the only bill that endows the "actual residents" with "self government," and sustains their "decision of the Slavery question" in the way they have "deemed fit."

The issue thus tendered the Administration men will doubtless endeavor to shirk, evade and avoid in every possible way. But the friends of Kansas have only to stand firm,—as well they may, in the confident expectation of popular approval—to ensure their success.



SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 5, 1856.

The Courant.

HARTFORD: SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 5, 1856.

The Daily Republic.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 5.

NECESSITY FOR THE IMMEDIATE ADMISSION OF KANSAS.—A correspondent of the *N. Y. Evening Post* states that Gov. ROBINSON and Gen. POMEROY, are now in Washington, with others of their free state associates; and their representations have done much to increase the desire among their friends in Congress, for the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, and the rejection of DOUGLAS, enabling a resolution providing for its prospective admission. They say that a scheme is now thoroughly organized by the Missourians, to flood the territory with a sudden invasion of temporary settlers, who shall mark out their lands, occupy them, and become citizens in accordance with the requirements of the laws of the Border Ruffian legislature. They will not go armed as before, and infringe the rights of the free state men, by breaking up the polls and fraudulent voting; but they will none the less make Kansas a slave state. Hence, the necessity, in the opinion of free state men, for the immediate action of Congress in their behalf. Both Gen. POMEROY and Gov. ROBINSON intend to return to Kansas so as to meet the House Investigating Committee, on the ground of their examination. POMEROY, whom I have seen in years gone by, is a fine specimen of the strong-limbed, wide-awake, and untameable yeomanry of western Massachusetts, from which state he emigrated. I presume his military title was earned in the recent struggles which have signalized his adopted residence.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 5, 1856.

Why should northern men object to the policy adopted by the Kansas act? If the South is content with it, why should the North murmur at it? [Argus.]

There is one part of the question,—and an essential one—ignored by the Administration press. Before the abrogation of the Compromise, Slavery was proscribed in Kansas. It could not enter there. By the repeal of the restriction, the territory was opened to its admission. The North believes that the entrance of that institution would work deep and lasting injury to the interests of that country, not only, but to the whole North and West. They further believe that Slavery is anti-Republican, and should be prevented from spreading, by the power given to Congress over the territories.—Douglas and his friends are of an opposite opin-

ARGUS.
"Futile agitation," "pursuit of impossibilities," "impracticable chimeras," have been the epithets with which its opponents have stigmatized the Republican movement to check Slavery Extension, and have shown by elaborate statistics the length of time it must take the new party to obtain control of all branches of the Federal Government—Executive, Legislative and Judicial. Whatever weight this objection might have in other questions, it carries none at all in the measure now proposed by the Republicans in Congress. The admission of Kansas is a direct, practical measure, and one that not only can pass the House of Representatives, but if Senatorial professions could always be trusted, would pass the Senate also.

A general act for the prohibition of Slavery in all the Territories of the United States would doubtless receive a full Republican Party vote in the present House, but it could command little or nothing more. An act for the restoration of the repealed 8th section of the Missouri Compromise, were such restoration immediately practicable, would receive a similar and perhaps larger vote, since the majority of the members of the House were elected just after the passage of the Nebraska Bill, and were pledged to oppose the pernicious efforts contemplated by it. But the strongest shape in which the issue can be presented to the House of Representatives, is that in which it presents itself. "Shall Kansas be admitted, with the Constitution she has adopted?"

The general sentiment among all parties, here, was in favor of the repeal of the Nebraska Bill, as long as such repeal would have saved Kansas to Freedom. But that sentiment is now giving place to one equally general, that the Restoration of the Compromise can only be effected too late to avert the impending evils in Kansas. A State has been organized; armed invaders, backed by the President, are gathering to crush it out of existence, and to deprive its citizens of property, liberty, and life, unless they will submit to enforcement of the Slave Code of Missouri. There is one remedy, and only one that is at once safe, speedy, and effectual—the admission of the State under her Free Constitution into the Federal Union.

For that remedy, every Republican in the House is ready to vote. Every member who voted for Mr. BANKS is ready to vote for it. And not only these, but every Anti-Nebraska Representative,—Northern or Southern, Democrat, American, Independent or what not, is bound by the instructions of his constituents, and his own past acts and pledges, to vote for it also.

Interest of the South in Kansas.

The mere extension or diffusion of slavery is not what the South are desirous of alone. There is another and higher object in view. The extension of slavery and the construction of new Slave States are necessary to enable them to retain the control over the General Government which has hitherto been given them by the Pro-Slavery Democracy, and which they fear to lose from the rapid increase in population and prosperity of the Free States.—*The United States Senate is their object.* This body changes slowly. There are always in it more or fewer dough-faces who are ready, for the sake of the offices for themselves and friends, to continue the control of the Government in the hands of the South. To keep up an equality in the number of States, as near as possible, and thus to preserve an equality in the United States Senate, is their desire and aim. This leads them to grasp at Kansas. In the popular branch, the majority in the Free States will, of necessity, gradually increase. They can have no hope from the House, but can neutralize the Free State legislation of that body by a control of the Senate.

We have lately pointed out to our readers the strides which that body is making towards an usurpation, or, at least, an assumption of the powers of Congress. The danger of an aristocratical change in our Government is from the Senate, who will remain for years under the control of its Southern members and the miserable dough-faces which the North, in its folly, sends thither. To make Kansas a Free State will serve to keep back still longer the control of the oligarchy of the South over the Union.

Free Labor.

That is the great issue in the present contest—the establishment of *Free or Slave Labor* in Kansas. The Administration cannot shirk this issue now. They forced it upon us by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The Hartford demagogues of that party, even if they can march "eleven hundred" foreigners to the polls, and thus place our liberties and our rights in the care of men who have still the soil of Ireland clinging to their brogans, cannot dodge this question. When they impel this mass upon the ballot box, they do it with the full knowledge that it strengthens the principle that *Free Labor is degrading*, and, whether in Kansas or South Carolina, none but slaves should work.

WORKING MEN OF HARTFORD—MECHANICS—LABORING MEN—are you prepared to assent to the conclusion to which the Irish Democracy of Hartford would drive you, that **LABOR IS DEGRADING**? No: you know its value—its worth—its nobleness—its power over the heart, and the morals, and the happiness of man, both for time and eternity. You know, in a Republic, that **Labor, FREE LABOR**, is the only true Democratic principle, and that all

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 ple is Aristocracy. *Slave Labor*, which Franklin Pierce and Isaac Toucey wish to establish in Kansas, and the worth of which James L. Orr preaches to you, *Slave Labor*, is the declared enemy of Free Institutions—of Republican principles. Come out then, on Monday next; stand, shoulder to shoulder, for Free Labor, and let the "eleven hundred" tools of Slave Labor go to the ballot box without your help to hold them up.

Mr. Orr's Speech to the Democrats.

If any one heard his remarks, and was not previously a thorough opponent of the administration, I am sure he could not have left that hall without feeling that the sham democracy had a most miserable cause and a poor defender. I was desirous to hear what a genuine slave holder had to say in defence of his institutions; and the reason why freemen should not interfere and prevent the soil purchased by the blood of our fathers from being cursed with slavery. About one-half of the time Mr. Orr was occupied in showing that the North ought not to interfere with slavery in the States; that the South, in exercising the right of voting on slaves, was exercising a power conferred by the constitution and that the slave representation being equal to about twenty representatives in Congress, was permitted by the constitution.—The remainder of the discourse was spent in showing the perfect similarity of sentiment between the slave holders of the South and the Northern democracy; that if there was anything iniquitous in the course of the South, she was backed up by the North; that Northern democrats were the responsible parties; in fact, that if there was any dirty work to be done for the South. It could always rely on Northern democrats to do it. (Great applause—joined in by all the K. N's. and Whigs present.)

As to Kansas he spoke very gingerly; admitted all ever stated by the friends of Kansas; that there had been great outrages, but charged them on the Emigrant Aid Societies; and that as we, at the North, had no right to send settlers there, the State of Missouri had a right, or if not, a just cause, for forming town organizations, and send men and out-vote the true settlers. Then Mr. Orr wanted to know what we were going to send armed men to Kansas for. What was the use of stirring up bad impressions by opposition to the will of the South—thus driving to disunion!

Mr. Orr then made a hit at the K. N's., saying that they wished to disfranchise the Irish and Germans, and were affiliated with the Abolitionists who wished to elevate the blacks and give them the social position of whites. He also came down with considerable warmth on the anti-administration party, because it formerly was opposed to the Missouri Compromise, and now wished its restoration.

The whole of this speech, so far as there was any argument at all, was based on assertions without facts to support them. The first half was of course entirely thrown away; for there was not a man in the room, (and many anti-administration men were there,) who ever entertained a thought of breaking up slavery in the States where it is now by law established; nor does the North demand it. Nor has an attempt been made to alter the constitution, allowing five slaves to equal three white voters; the North admits the constitutional right of the South in this matter, and does not propose to attack it. As to the North and South being one in sentiment, I cannot see how an honest man, a freeman if a member of the sham democratic party, could have heard the remarks, without a blush of shame mantling his cheeks. Yes! the party is the same, North and South! The South, fierce for slavery and its extension! the Northern democracy with cheers and stamping admit it! Yes! admit they are fully committed to the policy of the South; sold, body and soul, to Southern slave masters!!

Mr. Orr's admissions respecting Kansas, covered all that free soilers claim. Armed bands were admitted to have gone over and driven off the settlers; the sacredness of the ballot violated, and then an impudent cry raised, "why will you send men to protect the ballot box—why not let the ballot decide it?" I say, simply for the reason that you will

not let the ballot decide it. You have taken this territory, consecrated to freedom, by a solemn compact; and when there was danger that in spite of this, it might be free, then you send armed men to prevent the rights of freemen, and then cry, "why will you not let the ballot decide the question?" As long as the South can have its own way, everything has to be very quiet; but resist the least, then we hear disunion! disunion!! As to the hit at the K. N's., as there was not a word of truth in the statement, we let it pass; but it deeply grieved the "democracy" to learn that there was a party which proposed to elevate the democracy to the dignity of manhood; to instruct it, and teach it that it was something more than a beast.

Mr. Bigler afterwards came on the stand. He was laboring under indisposition, and spoke with difficulty. So far as I heard him he seemed to treat the so called democracy as so many children; and when the party demanded to know what was to be the character of the institutions of Kansas and Nebraska, he plainly told them "it was none of their business." I should very well like to know if the freemen of Connecticut will subscribe to that doctrine; that it is none of their business, whether the lash is to resound through the length and breadth of these glorious territories? Can we raise the cry, "am I my brother's keeper?" Does it not concern us what influence the vote of Senators and Representatives of these States are in future years, to have open the foreign relations of our country and its domestic policy? If nothing more can be said for the Administration than was said by Orr and Bigler, no honest or intelligent man, it appears to me, could uphold it for a moment.

HAMILTON.

A Question.

Why do not our American laboring men and mechanics migrate to the genial climes of the sunny South? Because they know that in those beautiful regions, *Free Labor* is considered a degradation. *None but slaves work* in the State which James L. Orr represents. Is this the kind of life proper to be introduced into Kansas? Will American working men assist, by their votes, to introduce slave labor into this Territory? All votes given for the nominees of the Administration party for Representatives in this town, will be for ISAAC TOUCEY, who has done his utmost to introduce slave labor into Kansas.

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
 SATURDAY, APRIL 5.

DON'T be Cheated.

Gov. Shannon has returned to the Territory. He has all the troops at Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley, about 1,200, subject to his call. The laws of the Territory will be sustained at all hazards, and good order maintained, despite the efforts of the fanatics to agitate and keep up strife. Col. Sumner, at Fort Leavenworth, has received his instruction to keep his troops in readiness, subject to the call of Gov. Shannon.—*Kansas Herald, March 8th.*

The late accounts from Kansas by letter confirm the above. The Border Ruffians are quiet, waiting to see "if SHANNON, with the United States troops, will whip out the Free State men." If SHANNON does not do this, "the Border Ruffians swear they will."

ORR says the so-called Democratic party are perfectly agreed at the North and the South. If he tells the truth, they are agreed to force slavery into Kansas and keep it there. No doubt the leaders of the party are thus agreed.

Men of the North, will you ratify this agreement? Voters of Connecticut, what do you say?

Is not every vote given for the Administration candidates a vote for Slavery in Kansas? Do it if you will, but do not be cheated.

Mechanics.

Every vote for the Administration, sham Democratic party, is against your own interests, which are those of Free Labor. ATCHISON, STRINGFELLOW and their ruffian comrades are endeavoring to

thrust Slave Labor upon Kansas. They consider Free Labor degrading. The Ingham men in this State, are their allies. Their Democracy is false and without meaning. Do not vote against yourselves, but against the Administration crew, and for the noble interests of Free Labor.

Let it be Remembered!

That the pretext of the Administration for repealing the Missouri Compromise was to give the people of Kansas and the other Territories the right to form their own institutions, and that now that the people have formed their own institutions, the same Administration is threatening to hang them as traitors, for doing so.

Let it be Remembered!

That every vote for the sham "Democracy," is to deprive the people of Kansas of the right of self-government, and to subject them to the cruel laws of their invaders from Missouri, which laws PIERCE, TOUCEY, and *The Times* say shall be enforced.

Let it be Remembered!

That every vote for the sham Democracy is to sustain laws, making freedom of speech and of the press in Kansas a CRIME, punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary. These laws PIERCE, TOUCEY, and *The Times* say shall be enforced!

Let it be Remembered!

That while the Administration presses and leaders deny the outrages of the Missourians upon the people of Kansas, their members of Congress persistently and unitedly voted against an investigation.

The History of the Territories.

The facts in relation to our territorial history are very imperfectly understood by many who attempt to discuss them.

In the contest waged by the thirteen colonies with Great Britain, resulting in the establishment of their independence, there was no central government, nor any territory possessed by them in common.

When allegiance was severed from the Crown each State assumed sovereignty, but for their mutual benefit they united and sent delegates to a congress that was clothed with extremely limited powers, but which had the general supervision of the war that was waging. It soon became obvious that for the purpose of effecting union at home, and of securing respect abroad, as well as to give the congress more distinct and defined powers, the alliance or compact between the States, should assume a more specific character.

This led to what is known as the articles of confederation, which were formed at an early period of the war, and to which most of the States immediately assented. But some of the States which had specified and limited boundaries, and little or no unsettled territory, declined to come into the arrangement, unless the States which had extensive regions covered by their charters, should consent to a curtailment of their limits and a cession of what was called the vacant or waste land, to be erected into new States, and the avails of which should become a common fund to defray the expenses of the war in which they were all engaged.

The States which were required to make this surrender, were reluctant to do so, and yet they could not meet the argument pressed upon them, that the war was for their common defense, and that in protecting the vast regions west, all were entitled to participate in the benefits derived from that defense.

In addition to this, there was urged the fact that there were conflicting titles between some of the States, particularly in relation to the territory west of Pennsylvania, and north of the Ohio river; also between South Carolina and Georgia in relation to the south-west. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Virginia had claims under their charters, to the north-western territories. None of these indicated a disposition to make the required surrender, and Virginia assumed an aggressive and domineering position that gave offense, and called forth from Maryland a strong rebuke, with an emphatic declaration that she would not subscribe to the articles of confederation until the territorial controversy was adjusted.

This dispute, which was kept up from 1778, finally led New York, after the Maryland remonstrance, to pass an act in 1781, ceding to Congress all her claims to lands west of her present limits. Virginia was compelled by the decided expression of the other States, to abstain from her aggressive policy, and eventually in 1784, she ceded her title north of the Ohio, making however large reservations for her citizens. Massachusetts made an unreserved cession in 1785, and Connecticut, in 1786, surrendered her claim, reserving however her title to the soil in the northern portion of Ohio, constituting at present some ten or twelve counties in that State, and still known as the Connecticut Reserve, the title to which, never was vested in Congress or the general government.

It is common for Virginians and for a class of politicians in modern times, to give no credit to any other State for ceding to the country the Northwestern Territory. Yet Virginia was not the first to make that grant, for that credit belongs to New York. She did not do it cheerfully and without making reservations, like Massachusetts. Her title was less strong than that of Connecticut. Still a class of persons who are never willing to allow just credit to the States of the North, never speak of that territory otherwise, than as a manifest grant from Virginia.

The States of the north having made this cession of the Territory north of the Ohio, how did the States owning territory South of that river, conform to the requirements? Virginia after covering the whole territory of Kentucky with grants to her citizens, finally consented in 1789 to a surrender, and the admission of Kentucky as an independent State. But none of the domain was ever permitted to go to the general government.

North Carolina in 1790 ceded Tennessee to the federal government, after imitating Virginia in granting away all the available lands to her citizens, and in her deed of cession expressly stipulating as a condition, that Congress should pass no laws for the emancipation of slaves.

South Carolina gave up any claim she might have, but she had nothing to give, having adjusted her boundary with Georgia, in such a manner as to extinguish her title.

Georgia whose limits extended to the Mississippi, covering the present States of Alabama and Mississippi, obstinately held out, and refused to make a cession in conformity with the understanding during the war of the Revolution. She granted to companies and donated to individuals large amounts of land, and had continued difficulties with the Indians, until 1802, twenty-one years after New York surrendered her western claim. Georgia finally executed a deed of cession, ceding the territory west of the Chattahoochee, her present western boundary, on the condition that the federal government would pay therefor \$1,250,000,—would extinguish the Indian title to all lands within her limits,—should confirm the Georgia grants already made,—and the further condition that the federal government should pass no law prohibiting Slavery in the Territory thus ceded. The power and authority of Congress to prohibit Slavery in any and all the Territories, without the limits of the States, was not then questioned. This is a modern discovery. Hence the States of the South, at that period, made it a condition that the federal government should not exercise the power with which it was clearly invested, of extinguishing Slavery in the Territories by them respectively granted.

While the States having title to the territory North of the Ohio made an unconditional cession, with the exception of the reservation of land by Connecticut and Virginia, it was far otherwise with the States owning territory South of that river.

They made these lands available to themselves respectively, and to their citizens, and Georgia sold at a hard bargain hers to the General Government, for in addition to the million and a quarter of dollars paid to her, many times that amount was expended in extinguishing her Indian title, which was not accomplished until the administration of JACKSON, and then by giving to the Natives the fairest portions of Kansas and the West, in exchange.

Such, briefly, is a history of the Territorial acquisitions to the Federal Government, of the original territory belonging to the thirteen colonies.

In 1784, supposing that the States would at once comply with the understanding made previous to adopting the articles of confederation, Mr. JEFFERSON, then a member of Congress, brought in a bill dividing the Western country from the Southern limits of Alabama and Mississippi to Lake Superior, into seventeen territories, from each and all of which, slavery was to be forever excluded. But the bill did not then pass, for the reason that the States owning lands South of the Ohio, had not made and perfected their cession. They had not taken up and appropriated to themselves all the lands and the avails to their own special use.

We may pursue this Territorial question further, and the policy of the government therewith. It will be found, that from the commencement, the course has been that of aggression on the one side, and concession on the other, from the days of the Revolution, to the abrogation of the Missouri compromise in 1854. Not a State North retained for its benefit any part of the Western country, except Connecticut, and hers was for extraordinary services and sacrifices made in the Revolution on her own individual responsibility. But Connecticut, as well as all the other States gave up, not only soil, but the entire and absolute jurisdiction. The States South took to themselves the whole of the soil, and ceded only a qualified jurisdiction to the Territories South of the Ohio. The States South, contributed nothing to the common territorial domain which was to discharge the Revolutionary debt, but by delay, and dickering, and management, contrived to take all to themselves, and then came in and shared in common with the others, of the Territory North of the Ohio, which was generously surrendered by the less mercenary and less selfish States. The States North which donated to the Federal Government that vast empire, had borne the heaviest burdens of the war, and poured out their golden and their living treasures with no stinted measure, to sustain their country, and the cause of freedom. While they made the greatest sacrifices in war, they gave all that was given for a common fund to sustain the public credit.

The States South, which made less sacrifices, retained their territory to themselves, gave nothing to the national resources, but came in and participated equally with the North in the benefits derived from the cession that was made of the North West.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 5, 1856.

"RELIGIOUS."—The Hartford Times copies from the editorial columns of the N. Y. Observer a malignant article against the free state men of Kansas, and heads it "The Kansas difficulty as viewed by a religious paper." A "religious paper!" But that sheet professes to be religious. We are reminded of a conversation with a western clergyman, in which he gave some account of a visit he had made to a clergyman who was "religious" much after the fashion of the New York Observer. One morning during our friend's visit, this religious man became furiously angry with one of his female slaves for accidentally breaking a pitcher. He took her into a basement room, stripped her back naked, and with a heavy raw hide gave her a terrible flagellation, drawing blood at every stroke. At the second blow the poor creature, writhing with pain, began to exclaim, "Oh! Lord! Oh! Lord!" The holy man paused in his fury; his religion was shocked, and he rebuked her with severity as follows: "You wicked slut! How dare you take the name of the Lord in vain!" Doubtless this "religious" Virginian was a regular subscriber for the New York Observer. They greatly resemble each other.

Boston Telegraph.

☞ The Boston Post is afflicting itself at great length about the Sharpe's rifles that go to Kansas. It feels nearly as bad as its ruffian allies did when they encamped three weeks before Lawrence, but were kept at safe distance by salutary fear of these same weapons. The Post had better ask president Pierce to proclaim that none but slaveholders and their northern white slaves

are to be allowed to have arms. Guns are considered treason at least in free hands. What a very unique and beautiful thing this "democracy" is, as set forth by the mouthpieces of the administration.

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY IN KANZAS AND GEN. PIERCE.—We really cannot see how the advocates of squatter sovereignty can repudiate the proceedings had under the Topeka convention. If that was not an assemblage of squatters and a fair representation of squatter sovereignty, we don't know what would be. It is reported that Gen. Cass so considers it, and that he has pledged himself to speak and vote for the admission of Kansas as a state under that constitution; and Pierce and Douglas must also recognize the new legislature, or be false to their avowed principles.

Here is the doctrine of Gen. Pierce, as written out and offered by himself, and adopted at a meeting held in Concord in 1842—the occasion being the struggle then going on in Rhode Island, in which the New Hampshire democrats took the part of Gov. Dorr:

"Resolved, That when the people act in their original sovereign capacity in forming new systems of government, they are not bound to conform to any rules or forms of proceeding not instituted by themselves."

We submit it to every man of common perception, if the doctrine of this resolution does not cover the proceedings of the Topeka convention? How then will he repudiate them, except he repudiates his squatter sovereignty heresies—a thing which in our opinion he cannot do too quickly.—*Mobile (Ala.) Advertiser.*

The Daily Transcript.

Z. K. PANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS.,
SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 5, 1856.

Correspondence of the Transcript.

LETTER FROM KANSAS.—We publish this morning another letter from Kansas, written by the same gentleman whose letters we have before published. He is a member of the Free State Legislature, and we ask our readers to mark the contrast between the calm, reasonable yet firm tenor of his letter, and the insolent and ruffianly correspondence which emanates from the other side.

LAWRENCE, K. T., March 22, 1856.

DEAR

I have felt gloomy since reading your letter, and cannot now refrain from expressions of regret and chagrin at the position of our cause in the hearts of some of the good men of the North. Not that we as a party, or as citizens of Kansas, have done anything to merit the chastisement by the Federal Government, through Shannon, by the standing army, but that our cause is so basely misrepresented by our foes.

I have to-day seen for the first time the correspondence between Shannon and the President, and I must say that, with no other evidence before him than that contained in those letters written by Shannon, I cannot so much blame Pierce for the course he has taken; but he, as well as Shannon, is culpable in relying on *ex parte* evidence, and acting upon it in such haste.

Shannon based his first warlike proclamation on the same kind of evidence, which he obtained altogether from the statements of those unprincipled ruffians who have sworn by a solemn oath to force slavery upon Kansas, with the knife and pistol, if need be.

If our case can be fairly examined in Congress, it is all we can ask at present. Until this can be accomplished, the poison will remain in the public mind, and we shall not, I am satisfied, get anything of an encouraging nature from either our friends or the general government.

You give, in yours of the 31, as your opinion that the federal troops will be brought to bear against the enforcement of enactments of the State Legislature. This to you may appear to be a weighty argument in favor of relinquishing our hold upon our rights and giving up the Free State organization, but to my mind it has no comparative weight. It is the least of our fears that we shall have to enforce those laws in opposition to the Federal Government. We have not, and do not propose to enact laws or resolves that will in any way conflict with the legitimate authority of the Federal Executive or his appointees. We know

that, if our cause is examined, justice will claim for our delegate a seat in Congress; and we know also that if he gets a seat, the House at least will be in our favor, and if in our favor they can do no less than cut off appropriations to the Territorial Government—and it will of course fall to the ground, as all its enactments have already done. I see that there has been a bill introduced into the House, annulling a portion of the enactments of that legislature; and even there it was opposed on the ground that it was giving such a Legislature virtually an existence, which is as much as intimating that it has had no legal being.

Our only excuse, and all the one that we needed, or that any order-loving people ever did or ever will need, is, that in forming our State Government we were driven to it by a need of operative laws, of such wholesome and fitting character as a free people require. To tell us that we are "a mere party" is only a waste of words. We do not claim that there was not a dissenting voice in the forming and adopting of our constitution; where in the history of new States can be found the record of a constitution being adopted by a unanimous voice. The appointees under the old constitution or government would of course object, and in our case they are not few, nor are they idle in the work of opposition. We do not even claim that the vote on the adoption of the constitution was a large one. The reasons are various: many were afraid to vote, more were of the opinion that, although the cause was a good one, and the means used justifiable and legitimately within the pale of our constitutional rights, yet they despaired of success, knowing that the character of the opposition, and they were willing to bear the burdens rather than boldly claim their own, for the sake of peace.—Many were afraid that our voting places would again be overrun, and our attempt fail for that reason. And these fears were not without grounds, inasmuch as they had threatened as hard as before that we should be invaded.

However much I might wish for the peace and quiet of a home in Iowa or any other civilized country, or however much I may dislike civil strife or political wrangling, I can but hear above all this noise the call of duty, to fight until the last ray of hope shall have died away.

Dr. Cutter has been here, and is now on his way to New England, to present our cause more intelligibly to our friends. He says we are bound to win, and that soon, if we only pursue the even tenor of our way.

H. W. Beecher I see has opened his mouth in our behalf.

The communications of Shannon, as published in the New York Tribune of March 1st, are a tissue of base misrepresentations and foul slanders. No houses were burned by the Free State men—no writ was served legally, or that pretended to be legally, upon Branson, who is a quiet, unoffending man—whose family are suffering in his absence, but he dares not go home to them openly, although guilty of no crime, not even the threats of which he has been accused.

Shannon claims for his party that they are the law-and-order party. This is merely a ridiculous lie—they are so far from it, that every disturbance of order and every breach of law has had its origin with his drunken followers.

Truly yours,

of the Vicar of Wakefield; and remembered now Moses traced his horse for a lot of green spectacles, with shagreen cases; he did not suppose the Vicar proved that he had never heard that the horse-jockey after using up his horse, had come back to demand his green spectacles again. [Laughter.] Mr. Douglas replied to some of Mr. Collamer's criticisms of the majority report, maintaining that the purpose of the free State men in Kansas was to resist the Federal Government's application as a State was rejected. They had given notice that unless they were admitted, they would resist to a bloody issue, and, for the purpose of preparing themselves for such resistance, they had procured Sharpe's rifles, and organized the Kansas Legion, with its horrible outfit. Yet the Senator from Vermont, in his two days' speech, omitted all these facts. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Douglas said it was a remarkable fact that the first intimation that an election was to take place in Kansas, on the 31st of March, came from the Emigrant Aid Society, through the agent of the Emigrant Aid Society. This, he contended, was proof that there was a private understanding between them (the agents) and Gov. Reeder, to influence the election by sending voters from the North, consequently these facts refuted the charge of invasion by Missourians.

[For the Atlas.]

KANSAS AND THE NEW HAVEN CLERGY

Editors of the Atlas.—"Candidus," in an article entitled "Kansas and the New Haven Clergy," published in the Traveller last Wednesday, arraigns the recent Kansas meeting at the Rev. Mr. Dutton's church, in New Haven, as an "inconsistent and unhappy affair." It is surprising that a person who writes for the newspapers should so grossly mistake the object of that meeting. The writer says, it was a movement of "war and violence," got up in the spirit of "war and violence." On the contrary, it was a movement of peace, got up by men who love peace rather than war. The authors of this meeting maintain that the only effectual method of preserving the peace of Kansas, is to put the people in a complete state of defence—that is, to arm them with Sharpe's rifles or other weapons equally effective. I think *candor* on the part of the Traveller's correspondent, would have prompted him to state fairly the reason which the advocate of Sharpe's rifles puts forth to justify their use, and not beg the question by assuming that he counsels war and violence.

Now I contend that the act of sending Sharpe's rifles to Kansas, to be put in the hands of men who will defend themselves from the ruffianly attacks of a band of desperadoes, who acknowledge no Bible, and who can be made to do right, at least for the present only through means of physical resistance, is not only consistent with but actually demanded by Christian duty. This proposition is neither new nor strange. The gospel is a gospel of peace; its final triumph will be peace—peace throughout the whole earth. There will then be no border ruffians; no Sharpe's rifles. But before this glorious consummation shall be effected, the gospel will have passed through perhaps more scenes of violence and bloodshed than it has already met. Hence our Saviour, who preached peace and good will to man, also said, "Think not that I am come to send peace on the earth; I come not to send peace but a sword." The meaning is plain. The grand object of the gospel is peace, but paradoxical and lamentable as is the fact, the sword is sometimes necessary to "conquer a peace."

Did the writer ever hear of the declaration of George Washington, "in peace prepare for war?" Washington knew that a nation well prepared for war is not so likely to be attacked as one which is deficient in the means of defence.

Arming the people of Kansas with Sharpe's rifles is merely an application of this advice, the wisdom of which is now acknowledged by the world. Prepare them to maintain their ground—give them a plentiful supply of the means of defence, and you will find that the border ruffian will not be hasty to begin his attack. Sharpe's rifle exercises a salutary restraint over him. He fears it. There is, indeed, a moral power in it. It will keep a border ruffian at bay, when the Bible might fail to exert the slightest influence. See what occurred during the late siege of Lawrence. In the negotiation of the settlement, the Missourians insisted that the free State men should give up their arms. What was the object of such a demand? Did the border ruffians love peace more than war? or were they fearful of an attack by the citizens of Lawrence? No sane man believes a word of it. No motive could have prompted such a demand, other than impunity in razing the city of Lawrence to the ground, and murdering its defenceless inhabitants. Sharpe's rifles alone prevented that awful catastrophe.

On the other hand, withdraw the means of defence from Kansas, send no more rifles, take away those already there, and our brothers, our sisters, and our friends will be at the mercy of the border ruffian. Perhaps "Candidus" knows what it is to be at the mercy of a border ruffian. If not, let him recur to the brutal murder of Dow, of Barber—to the worse and more brutal murder of Brown, who was literally cut to pieces with knives and hatchets. If Brown's party had been thoroughly prepared to meet those desperate villains, that martyr might now have been living. Now are ministers to have no part in this work? It is a Christian duty to save the lives of our friends in Kansas, by whatever means God has placed in our power, shall they be held up to scorn or ridicule.

Our fathers went to the church with rifles in their hands, to defend themselves from the attacks of savages. Instances are on record of ministers who preached the word of God and the gospel of peace with their rifles near them, loaded and ready for use. Was it wrong for them to defend themselves from the tomahawk and scalping-knife? Was it wrong in their friends in England to send them the necessary means of defence? Is it right for a layman and wrong for a clergyman to do this? Not so taught our revolutionary ministers, who not only preached from their pulpits that "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," but, as true men, buckled on their armor in defence of their country.

But I have hopes of "Candidus." In spite of the purpose of his article, he says, "The rifle is the last thing to be advised by ministers." This is precisely the true ground. The rifle should be resorted to only when all other means fail. If our friends in Kansas are attacked by Atonish, Stringfellow and their minions, it would be perfectly proper to read the Bible to them, if there was any prospect of penetrating their consciences, but when it is so exceedingly doubtful whether they have any conscience, or such as can be penetrated, I think a Sharpe's rifle sure of penetrating their ruffianly bodies, would exert a more healthful influence upon them, and be a better security to our friends. Use the kindly offices of friendship, the softening influences of social intercourse, of commerce, of schools, of the Bible, of all other agencies of civilization, when they can be used. But when they fail, as they sometimes do fail, when you are attacked in your own homes, at your own firesides, by a band of desperate villains, who though you and your Bible to scorn, then make use of such physical weapons as will compel a respect to your dearest rights.

ARMATUS.

The Fall River Monitor.

SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 6, 1856.

FREE STATE MEN FROM SLAVE STATES.—The Savannah (Ga.) Republican states that several companies of emigrants from that State are about to start for Kansas, but that few, if any of them are slaveholders. The Republican doubts if even the votes of these men are to be safely relied on, and mentions the case of a party of nine who went last year from one of the upper Counties of Georgia, eight of whom afterwards voted with the free State men. The same thing is true of the emigrants from Missouri generally, who vote against the invading ruffians from their own State.

This confirms what Gen. Pomeroy said, and is the best commentary on the efforts of the Northern doughfaces to make it appear that the Kansas troubles are instigated by the fanatics of the North and the Emigrant Aid Society, whose noble objects have accomplished so much good.

EVENING BULLETIN.

SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1856.

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, April 4th, 1856.

Mr. Collamer addressed the Senate yesterday and today in support of his minority report upon Kansas affairs, and partly in reply to Douglas' speech and majority report upon the same subject.

In his preliminary remarks he endeavored to show the importance of contemporaneous legislation, as a means of throwing light upon the constitution, and fixing the true meaning of its language. He referred to the fact that nowhere in the constitution was the word *slave* used, and in no part of it was slavery *per se* recognized. He said that a large pamphlet had been sent to him, and he presumed to every member of Congress, which assumed the ground that, as slavery was nowhere mentioned in the constitution, and the word *slave* was not to be found therein, therefore slavery was unconstitutional. But he said, that words were used which meant slaves and slavery in that instrument, no one could reasonably deny. How did we know this? Only by contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous legislation. For instance, the constitution declares that "the migration or importation of such persons, as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808." Who would suppose that this meant *slaves*, except from certain extraneous lights and contemporaneous or subsequent legislation? The fact that Congress passed an act prohibiting the importation of slaves after the 31st of December, 1807, shows what this meant, and nobody doubted or questioned it. But Congress in 1793 did prohibit the importation of slaves into the Territory of Mississippi, thereby legislating on the subject; and Congress also, in 1804, legislating on the subject for Louisiana,

The Atlas.

SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 5, 1856.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session

WASHINGTON, Friday, April 4.

SENATE.—In the Senate this morning Mr. Seward gave notice of the introduction of a supplementary Copyright Law, but after debate, it was postponed.

The House bill, appropriating \$300,000 for restoring and maintaining peace with the Indian tribes on the Pacific coast, and \$150,000 for gunpowder, passed.

Mr. Collamer resumed his remarks on Kansas affairs, and contended that the Missourians went into the Territory to control the elections, fearing the free State men would triumph unless they interfered. He believed that 5000 illegal votes were cast, and that the Missourians were driven from the polls, not being permitted to vote, in some districts. As to the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, he thought it rather hard that the North having made a bargain, which they were not very well satisfied with, but which they were content to abide by for the sake of good faith, should now lose the little advantage they derived from it. He presumed gentlemen were familiar with the story

then the... of the States if they had been... into the country subsequent to 1788. Did any one ever question the right of Congress to do this? Never. He then proceeded to show that so far from the doctrine of non-intervention being recognized, Congress had always exercised the right to legislate upon the subject of Slavery in the Territories; that this subject had never been left to the control of the people of the Territories until 1854, when such a flood of new light was poured upon the country, by new men, who had new views—that is to say, views never entertained by the framers of the Constitution nor by the great statesmen of the country who had been supposed to know something about the Constitution. In the admission of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Iowa and Wisconsin, Congress had legislated upon the subject of slavery. But in forming Kansas and Nebraska into Territories, in 1854, for the first time in the history of our government, the subject of slavery was given to these Territories to contend over and fight about, and the consequences have been what any wise man might have foreseen they would be.

He then went on to show that the legislative body of Kansas had not been elected by the people of the Territory, but by those who had invaded the Territory in an armed and hostile manner, and who had driven the people, the true, loyal voters, from the polls, and would not permit them to vote. He said that the people of that Territory, and we, are told that they must obey the laws enacted by this legislature, and to rebel against them is treason!

Mr. Douglass will find it a hopeless task to attempt to refute this constitutional argument, and the logical relation in regard to the former case to Congress of the power over the subject of slavery and all other subjects in the Territories. His doctrine of non-intervention, if established, would blot out the whole legislation of the country for sixty or seventy years past; and would be virtually declaring that those who made the Constitution, and immediately afterwards entered Congress, filled the offices of President, Vice President, Judges of the Supreme Court, Governors of States, &c., were a set of green-horns and novices, who knew nothing about the true intent and meaning of the Constitution; which it was left to the present giant race of statesmen to discover and promulgate to an astonished and an admiring world! What a fortunate age! How proud should we be to have lived till a "little giant" of a statesman had sprung into existence and enunciated the great truth that Congress has no right to legislate for Territories of its own creating, and which it may any day or hour uncreate! Wonderful discovery!

Mr. Bayard, some days ago, introduced a bill into the Senate to establish a government printing office, binding and engraving establishment, and which of course provides that the public printing, binding and engraving shall, after this Congress, be done by persons employed by the government, under the superintendence of competent and proper persons, to be appointed over each branch. It also provides that a suitable building shall be at once erected for a printing office, bindery and engraving establishment, with ample room for storing paper and other materials. This of course looks to the trial of an experiment; will it succeed? If a superintendent could always be secured who would be strictly honest, faithful and competent, I think it would. If, for instance, such a man as Mr. Farham, of this city, could be placed and always kept, at the head of the Public Printing Bureau, hundreds of thousands of dollars might be saved; but if some broken down politician, some dishonest knave, some one who has been brought up in the modern school, where the first lesson taught is "get money; never mind about honesty, but get money; make all you can by cheating and stealing while you have a chance," should be thrust into the place of superintendent, the great problem in all governments is, "Who shall watch the watchman?" If you appoint a superintendent of Public Printing to prevent the Public Printer from cheating, how do you know that the superintendent will not enter into an arrangement to sanction fraudulent charges, and share the plunder thus obtained from Uncle Sam? Suppose that instead of giving out the engraving to the lowest responsible bidder, he gives it to another at much higher rates? But I might make many suppositions. Let them pass. The subject of making appropriations of enormous sums to make up deficiencies for printing Gillis's report, Commodore Perry's Japan report, and the Pacific Railroad reports, and the accompanying engravings, was up in the House on Wednesday and yesterday. But though condemned, the appropriations are made, and other immense sums will hereafter be appropriated to complete these expensive works. The more money is expended here the more profligacy and corruption will ensue, and there never was a time when money was as large as it is at present.

The \$300,000 asked by Mr. Lane, of Oregon, to protect the inhabitants against the hostile Indians, have been appropriated for that purpose, together with \$120,000 for the purchase of powder, &c.

In connection with this subject, the following extract from a letter to the Editors of the National Intelligencer, from a source they pronounce reliable, is worthy of attention, and shows how Indian wars are gotten up. It will be seen that twenty-four friendly Indians—eighteen of whom were women and children—were in one instance massacred in cold blood, by Major Lupton and his party of volunteers, and another similar massacre took place on Rogue river; and yet we hear great outcries and heart-rending tales about Indians murdering the whites!

"In October last twenty-five Indians, of whom eighteen were women and children, were met by Major Lupton and his party of volunteers, and all were barbarously murdered. These were friendly Indians going to the military reservations for protection. In December last, the military reservations for volunteers were committed on the similar massacres by volunteers near Butte Creek, north and south side of Rogue river, near Butte Creek, about fifteen miles from Fort Lane. Such conduct causes all the difficulties which General Wood has to contend with.

"In Southern Oregon there are not to exceed two hundred warlike arms against the whites, although the citizens report three hundred. To meet these, in a few days the General will have six hundred and fifty regulars in the field. With Lieutenant Colonel Buchanan and Major Garnett in command, the force in the Rogue River Valley, the General anticipates the most favorable results, proving the general anticipations of the honorable determination to exterminate the Indians and give up private war, and withdraw the volunteers from the field.

"Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs of Oregon, is ~~going~~ under a strong escort from Fort Lane, four hundred friendly Indians to the coast reservation. The inhabitants on the route have threatened to kill not only the Indians, but all who may accompany them. Such conduct needs no comment."

If the Oregonians choose to bring on Indian war in this manner, they should be left to fight them out without aid from the Government; or rather the Government should put a stop to their outrages upon the Indians. Millions have been expended to protect the Oregonians and Californians against the Indians, and as long as there is an Indian remaining west of the Rocky Mountains, the Government will be called upon for appropriations for the same purpose. The money is what they want. OLIVER OLDSCHOOL.

Lynchburg Virginian.

Saturday Morning,.....April 5, 1856.

"Black Republicanism."

The Boston Times winds up a powerful article upon "Black Republicanism," with the following statement.

"Republicanisn goes in for Democracy, and is and will be its best ally. It prefers Mr. Pierce or Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Fillmore, just as it did Mr. Polk to Mr. Clay. It is true that it keeps up a great blaze of warfare against the Democratic party, but that is all a sham. It is done to build itself up and get possession of local spoils. It pretends to have great regard for Kansas and freedom; but it takes very precious care that Kansas shall remain where it is, as professional beggars take care that their children shall remain ragged, sore, and distressed, as their capital in trade, to make sympathy. Take the sore and sickly infant that is beaten daily till it bleeds, from the arms of the mendicant mother, and restore it to health and cleanliness, and you will take away the whole stock of trade of the begging vagabonds. So take away Kansas from Republicanism and make it free, and its vocation will be gone. No, no; that would never do—When Whitfield, Border, Ruffian, and Reader, "Free State," came up before the House of Representatives, the principle was surrendered at once, by allowing the 'Border Ruffian' to take his seat without resistance."

New Orleans Daily Delta.

Office—78 Camp street.

SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 5, 1856.

MORE ABOLITION FANATICISM.

The proceedings of the Black Republican Caucus, lately held in the city of Washington—an account of which appeared in this paper a few days ago—are not devoid of importance to the citizens of the South. They not only show in the strongest possible light the fell spirit which animates the minds of the members of that party, but also clearly fore-shadow the policy which they are determined to adopt in case that their nefarious schemes in Kansas be frustrated. Among those who figured most prominently in that motley and treasonable assemblage was L. D. Campbell, of Ohio—a man who was received with tremendous shouts of applause at the Fillmore and Danielson Ratification meeting, which took place some time ago at Washington, and upon whom the Washington Organ showered with no unsparing hand its choicest praises and congratulations. He was represented by the presses in the interest of the American party as a statesman of sound, conservative views, as a patriot in the true acceptance of the word, as a man that would lay aside all his sectional prejudices, and even pursue a course in direct conflict with the opinions of his constituents, in order to contribute to the success of the Philadelphia nominees. So national were his principles represented to be, that he was ultimately compelled, in order to remove the doubts entertained of his Free-soil proclivities by the people of Ohio, to address a letter to the Abolition-Know-Nothing Convention of that State, unequivocally repudiating Fillmore and disapproving the Philadelphia platform. We remind our readers of these undeniable facts, to show to what extent partisan zeal will blind Southern men into admiration of their bitterest enemies, and the sympathies which it excites towards men whose every act is stamped with the impress of fanaticism and disunion. This gentleman took occasion, in the Caucus above alluded to, not only to reaffirm all the opinions enunciated in his letter, but also to urge, as a matter of political necessity, an union of all the opponents of the Nebraska bill upon a Presidential candidate, pledging himself never to vote for one of its friends.

In the same meeting, Mr. Seward of New York said that "the great practical question was to rescue Kansas from the tyrant's grasp, by her

admission into the Union as a State. He hoped the House would push the bill for that purpose through its passage, and send it to the Senate. In the event of failure in the latter body, the President might find difficulty in obtaining money from Congress to 'crush out' the free settlers of the State of Kansas." There is an expressed threat in the foregoing declaration, which should at once arouse the South to a consciousness of the crisis which, in our opinion, cannot be long deferred. We are no alarmists—nor do we wish to instill into the public mind apprehensions, the realization of which is merely conjectural, but the fact becomes daily more patent and striking, that the combination organized in the halls of Congress is now assuming such proportions and power as to threaten most seriously a complete suspension of the working of our government machinery. The prophetic ken of Senator Benjamin, in his address last fall, to the people of Louisiana upon the encroaching tendencies of Northern negro-philism, will now be admitted by all who have bestowed the least attention upon the subject. His statesmanlike views were then received with sneers, and the practical recommendations which he submitted were openly characterized as the offspring of a distempered imagination. Those who had formerly been his warmest political partisans, and who had held him up to the South as a safe guide and custodian of her interests in any emergency, scrupled not to turn their backs upon him, to give him the cold shoulder, and to impute to him sentiments incompatible with his character.

And yet, how changed the scene now! How verified, almost to the letter, have been all his predictions! The Abolitionists, by an infamous coalition with all the Anti-Nebraska Know-Notings of the North, have succeeded in obtaining the preponderance in a branch of one of the co-ordinate Departments of the Government. The torch of civil war has already been kindled by their emissaries in Kansas to an extent which will require more firmness and nerve than the present faint-hearted Administration can muster to extinguish. The power is in their hands to withhold the supplies necessary to maintain the civil and military operations of the country, and there cannot now exist the least doubt in the mind of any reflecting man that a strong effort will be made—a successful one, perhaps—to append the Wilmot proviso to the Appropriation bill at the close of the session. This is virtually the meaning of the threat made by Mr. Seward in the Republican caucus, and the catastrophe anticipated by Senator Benjamin. If this measure be carried into execution it is impossible to foretell the consequences to which it may lead. Goaded on, as the South has been for years, by the unjust and unconstitutional attack of the North—driven to exasperation by the daily attempted violation of State rights and of the federal compact—harassed by the continual agitation of a question in which her dearest interests, nay, her very vitality, are involved, she may find that the time has come when her honor requires her to sever a connection which debases her to the rank of a vassal and despoils her of her most sacred rights.

The period is at hand when the South must present an undivided front to those who would vainly crush her—when her sons must array themselves in solid phalanx to repel the aggressions of her foe, to maintain her dignity, and to preserve unscathed her proud escutcheon. True patriots now should lay aside upon the shrine of their country's weal all prejudices, discord and wrangling. The enemy is on the alert and active—we, distracted by side issues of secondary importance. Let Union be our watchword, and resistance to sectional tyranny our motto. With this determination on our part, the South may yet undergo the ordeal unscathed, and prove victorious in the end.

Mobile Daily Tribune.

SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 6, 1856.

FREE-SOILERS BECOMING ALARMED.—The free-soilers of the North are beginning to discover that there is a South as well a North. A Kansas correspondent of the New York Tribune, under date of the 13th, says:

Misourians are now and have been for about two weeks pouring into the territory—They come in companies, take claims, squat, and claim to be citizens. Misourians have somewhat changed her tactics. Emigrant Aid Societies have been formed, it is said, in various places, for the purpose of helping men to

come to Kansas. The Society at We... I am told, offers to give one year's provision and money to enter into a quarter section of land when it comes into market to any man true to slavery, who will come in the territory and remain here. It is this effort that is now pouring them in upon us. The territory will soon have a large population, if they continue to come for a few weeks as they begun.

Another letter runs in this wise: *Mississippi River, March 18, 1856.*—I have just come up from Tennessee, and let me assure you the South are moving in earnest in sending settlers to Kansas. On the boat now there are 27 from South Carolina bound for Kansas. Send on friends of freedom faster and faster or all is lost. 200 from Alabama are to come up next week.

Putnam's Monthly.

We yesterday noticed the reception of a copy of Putnam's Monthly from Mr. Bidgood, instead of Goetzl & Co., Dauphin street. The correction of the error gives us a graceful opportunity of noticing the leading editorial of the number entitled "The Real Question"—the sentiments being ultra abolitionist and written by a person who is profoundly ignorant of what he so magisterially presumes to elucidate. There is hardly a true proposition within the whole article. Its facts are false, and even presuming that they were true, the deductions from them are false. The whole thing is a most melancholy exhibition of prejudice, and it ought certainly to stop forever the circulation of Putnam's Monthly within the South. We say this not because it chooses to oppose slavery, but because it has either a knavish or an ignorant editor who is allowed to give expression to his knavery or ignorance without hindrance. A fool or a madman with a sharp instrument in his hand may be the occasion of a great deal of evil; and, therefore, there ought to be some power to separate the madman and the instrument.—As far as the south is concerned, a part of this desirable object may be attained; and we trust that hereafter no Mobile bookseller may continue to be the agent of the folly or ignorance of Putnam.

Rational discussion of the merits of slavery within the northern periodicals we can very well tolerate; but how can we, and the rest of us here, with propriety help to strengthen the hands of those who, influenced by ignorance and prejudice, insult our morals and our intellects, as is done by this silly editor of Putnam's Monthly?

But, perhaps, it is better for us to illustrate the character of the dunce or knave by an extract. We select it not because it is the most offensive, but because it betrays more especially the stupidity of the editor. It is as follows:

The real question, let us remark, arises out of the struggle of two incompatible orders of civilization for the mastery of a common field. It has fallen to the lot of this country to make the attempt to confederate a series of states, separated by two distinct social systems; and, though the attempt is not impracticable in itself, nor was it impracticable under the original conditions, nor is yet impracticable, could these conditions not be adhered to—the actual working of the experiment has developed a broad and serious antagonism. The evidences of a latent difference have appeared, from time to time, from the beginning; but they were adjusted by our wise statesmen of the past, as they appeared, on the principle of peaceful compromise. In a late fatal and perilous hour, however, that principle was flung to the winds, and the elements of discord left to the chance of a hand-to-hand encounter. As the first result of the abandonment, the western breezes burred to our ears, from the plains of Kansas, murmurs of warlike preparations; and long before our article shall be read, perhaps, the din of civil war will have broken the distant solitudes.

The controversy, between what may be termed our northern and southern civilizations, presents two aspects: first, whether the influences of the one or the other shall predominate in the federal government; and, secondly, whether the one or the other of these influences shall prevail in the organization of new territories. Virtually, these questions are one; for which ever side succeeds in regard to the first point, will be sure to succeed in regard to the second, and vice versa.

As to the first aspect of it, we are all aware what the facts of the case have been hitherto; we are all aware, that for many years the interests of slavery have been carried the day completely, in nearly every department of the national government.—The executive has always inclined to that side, and so has the judiciary, and, with occasional exceptions, both branches of the legislature. It came to such a pass, indeed, at last, that no man, whatever his capacities or claims, who was in the least adverse to that interest, was allowed to hold the lower offices of profit or honor under the general government, and much less to achieve any of its higher places. It is true, at this hour, that the most illustrious poet of his country, that its most illustrious historian, that its most illustrious philosopher, that its most illustrious novelist (were she a man)

could not be made a gate-keeper of the public grounds at Washington, if he desired to be; and that for the simple reason, that having formed a different theory of social life from the one which obtains at the south, he has been honest enough to express it.

Let us briefly examine the prominent fallacies and ignorances of this extract. In the first place, there is no essential "incompatibility" between a free and a slave social system. This combination has existed within all ages of the world in as much harmony as any other system. It could have existed within this country in that way, if New England and the other northern states had been fitted for slave labor. It exists to-day within Russia; it exists to-day within nearly all parts of the world. The only difference between its existence within those parts and this being simply a word. There a slave is not called a slave—and the "friends" of the slave there lift themselves high up into the seventh heaven of benignity because he is not called a slave.—The fools have not sagacity enough to distinguish between a word and a substantial thing. This is the stupidity under which the editor of Putnam's is laboring without any hope of relief.

However, this is not the most stupid portion of the above extract. It is therein assumed that both sections are arrayed the one against the other on the subject of slavery—and it is implied that the south puts itself in antagonism in order to make slavery the rule of the government. This is untrue. The south belongs to the Union, under a general charter called the Constitution. That charter is a bond and a law binding the two sections. That charter provides for the rendition of fugitive slaves. The north has violated that portion of it. The citizens of the south have a right to settle in Kansas. The north the moment that territory was put in shape for self-government, formed Jacobin associations, raised money and armed men and sent them to it, in order to keep the southern citizens, who had as much right as they, from settling within it. It was this foul wrong and violation of the common charter which provoked similar movements in Missouri and in all the south; and we trust that these similar movements may continue until the northern ruffians shall be made to swallow the portion which they have prepared for us.

But there is something more within the above extract. The statement that the south seeks to control the government in order to propagate slavery and carry it into new territories is false. There has never been a claim set up by the south which sought this object. The south has all the time been trying to make barriers against a tide of northern fanaticism which has no respect to the obligations that unite the south to it. The south has never asked any thing of the government which was in violation of the compact that binds the two sections. The whole knavish herd of miserable fanatical politicians of the north have never shown that it has, and, we suspect, cannot show it.

But the silly editor assumes positions in the last paragraph above quoted which actually, (if there be any faith in man) takes away the whole of his ignorant argument.—He states that "the interests of slavery have carried the day completely in nearly every department of the national government."—The statement is true, but the inference of the writer is false. The truth which lies at the bottom of the fact proves that the bond which unites the two sections demands of conscientious men in office a recognition of the principle which the south contends for. The "executive has always inclined" to the southern construction of his duties, because he could not conscientiously incline towards any other. A most brilliant exposition of this fact is the case of Mr. Fillmore. That gentleman was essentially an abolitionist, and never suspected that he was wrong until he went to Washington and took the oath, first as Vice President and afterwards as President. Like an honest man he found that it was impossible to take the oath and be an abolitionist. He took it and ceased to be an abolitionist. If this were a story without authority it might be doubted, but Mr. Fillmore has repeatedly confessed as much.

Even John Quincy Adams was not fanatic

enough to ignore the duties which, as President, he owed to the south. He would have tried to crush slavery, if he had not taken a solemn oath to act as President under the law of the Constitution.

And so it turns out that the President and other men (conscientious, and not fanatical) in office, take sides with the south. This very fact proves the very opposite of the inference of the editor of Putnam's Monthly.—It proves that the South has the fundamental law on its side; and, by consequence, that the fanatics of the north are seeking their ends by the violation of that law.

It may be true, as the editor says, that Bryant, "the most illustrious poet of his country"—that Prescott, "its most illustrious historian"; that Emerson, "its most illustrious philosopher," and Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, "its most illustrious novelist," could not be made a gate-keeper of the public grounds at Washington, because they belong to the fanatical party. We assert that if they could be, they ought not to be, and simply for the reason that they have a disregard of the bond which unites the south with the north. Certainly, it is not to be presumed that their "illustrious" characters are a sufficient reason for putting them into places where they may be instruments of violating a national obligation, and destroying a Union which is infinitely more "illustrious" than they or a million of them! And yet the opposite of this is the rational deduction from the positions of the silly man who edits Putnam's Monthly!

THE REPUBLICAN.
ST. LOUIS.
MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 7, 1856.

ON THE WAY TO KANSAS.
NEAR JEFFERSON CITY,
Missouri River, April 2d.

Aboard the J. H. Lucas—Lots of Children and Negroes
—I ankers scarce—A new plan to cure Abolitionists
—A Kansas Committee from Georgia—Duty of the South—One-sided business.

Aboard the fine steamer, James H. Lucas; making first rate time; crowded with passengers; lots of children and negroes, and many bound for Kansas. So much for a beginning, for with me to begin is to be half done; I believe it is harder to start than to write after starting.

I have looked about me, and mixed a good deal with the passengers to find out whom we have on board.—The investigation is most satisfactory. After hard searching, I have not been able to find a single Abolitionist; no doubt there are some on the boat, but if there are, they are like those Sharp's Rifles that were marked "Carpenters' tools," having no outward sign to show what they are. It is well for them that they keep under cover; not that we would hurt them, that is not in the mind of any one. But we are determined that if we catch a "blue belly" talking to the slaves, of whom there are at least fifty aboard, or showing their thievish instincts in any way—I say we are determined, "in such case," to make him eat at the fourth, which is the darkies' table. He shan't breakfast, dine or sup with white folks: if he likes the black better than the whites, as all true Black Republicans do, let him stay with his favorites.

There are a party of Southerners on the Lucas, some of whom have negroes, and all "sound on the goose," going to Kansas. I have got acquainted with five gentlemen from Newnan, Georgia, who are an exploring committee from their section of the State. They tell me if they report favorably, which they doubtless will do, several thousand good citizens will come on their recommendation, so as to be in the Territory in time to vote at the October election. W. F. WRIGHT, Esq., Dr. W. W. BRUCE, Dr. A. B. NORTHERN, and Messrs. J. L. DOONS and I. J. COLLIER, are the committee. They are all gentlemen of influence and means. Dr. BRUCE is a distinguished physician, of great wealth, well known, and very popular in Georgia. From what I am told, no doubt that glorious State will do a great deal for Kansas, by sending intelligent emigrants of the right stamp. Why will not all the South do something? It is time; the cause is good; the benefits of action are great; union and peace are the ends, and let the people of every Southern State arouse. It is their duty; and the danger is

more and more imminent daily. Let Kansas be a free State, and then farewell to Southern rights, peace and the Union. The South cannot do without Kansas; it must be a Slave State, and let the other Southern States help Missouri to make it so. If, however, this trip of the James H. Lucas is a type of the emigration to Kansas, it is all a one-sided business—in favor of the South and slavery. H. C. P.

DAILY TRIBUNE.

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Monday Morning, April 7, 1856.

Kansas Connecticut Colony.

One of the largest mass meetings ever held in New Haven, Prof. SILLIMAN in the Chair, met in that city the last day of March to bid farewell to the Kansas New Haven Colony. Rev. Dr. BACON opened the meeting with prayer. The vast multitude present then sang the "Song of the Kansas Emigrant." Addresses followed by Prof. Silliman, Rev. Drs. Hawes of Hartford, and Bacon, and Rev. S. W. S. Dutton and Wales French.

The Colony took up its line of march for Kansas about 10 P. M. They were escorted by a large body of citizens, and the fire companies; many houses were illuminated. Just before leaving, the Captain, *Chas. B. Lines*, was presented with a splendid rifle by the Junior Class of Yale College, on which was inscribed "*Ubi-
ma Ratio Liberarum*"—the last resort of Freemen. Cheer upon cheer followed, as the boat left, bearing away the brave fellows who have thus sacredly pledged their lives to the most sacred of all causes.

There is a midnight blackness changing into gray;
Men of thought and men of action, clear the way!

A letter from HENRY WARD BEECHER appears in the proceedings. We publish it below. What he said before shocked certain sensitive men, and frightened a class of evangelical believers. We think it will do both good to read it. It explains the reason why the Bible and the Rifle should go together, and how any man, how any Christian, can gainsay or question his reasoning is more than we can understand. There is heart in what he says—brains; and men of heart and of brains will understand and second it:

WEEKLY COURIER.

MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 7.

THE CASE PLAINLY STATED.

We take the following article from the *St. Louis Sunday Herald*:

The editor of the *Democrat* publishes a letter, which he says was received from Chicago, making inquiries about the treatment Abolitionists will receive on their passage up the Missouri river to Kansas, at the towns lying on that stream. His answer to the queries of his Abolition confrere may be satisfactory to the negro stealers, but is not so to the people of Missouri.—We, therefore, volunteer a few items of information for the benefit of Gratz Brown's emigrating friends, and hope they will profit by our advice.

In the first place, we say to these fellows, that if you want to settle in Kansas for the purpose of prosecuting the trade of negro stealing, you had better give up the idea. It won't pay. There is a law in Kansas which provides for the hanging up by the neck of every white man who may be caught running off a negro.

Secondly, The South has decreed that Kansas shall be a slave State. If you go there, you must act the part of either a negro or a white man—not an amalgamationist.

Thirdly, Your principles of socialism, woman's rights, free-love, infidelity, and equality of races, will not thrive in Kansas. The God of Nature has promulgated a different law, and you must submit to it, or suffer the consequences.

Fourthly, You had better remain where you are; for in Chicago you can steal all the negroes you want, but in Kansas you will have to buy them. You know very well that slavery of some kind must exist wherever civilization exists. If

you think the negro equal to the white man, turn your attention to Africa—emigrate to Liberia and amalgamate, to your heart's content. You cannot do so in Kansas, for there will not be enough negro wenches there to supply you with wives.

The *St. Louis Herald* is the only un-mixed Nebraska Democratic paper in St. Louis. It is true that the *Pilot* is Nebraska in politics, but it is also the catholic organ, and compared with the *Herald* is a conscientious journal. The *Republican* is also a Nebraska organ, but its politics are so diluted with dish-water, that there is no danger the people will imbibe from such a fountain. The *Herald*, however, deals out the pure, unadulterated article of political poison, and does not attempt to vend it under a patriotic name. In the above article, the *Herald* states the issues which the South has against the North, and indicates the policy of the Nebraska party that the territories are only free to the South, and only to such inhabitants of that section as will fight to establish human bondage on free soil. In addition to the conservative remarks of the *Democrat* so treasonably perverted in the above article, the *Democrat* published a letter from a leading steamboat captain, running up the Missouri, written in reply, to a letter from the Editor of the *Democrat*, accompanying the letter from Chicago. The captain replied that he thought emigrants from the free States would be protected by the officers of steamboats on the Missouri; but suggested that they should go in small parties, and avoid political discussions. At the time that correspondence was published, it seemed to us that the reply of the captain was not such as was requisite to restore confidence to the traveling public, after the outrages that have already been perpetrated on the Missouri river; and we thought if an equivocal opinion was all that could be given under existing circumstances, that the safety of emigrants from the free States was not guaranteed to that extent that equal rights required.

We have seen a suggestion in a Northern paper, that steamers be chartered to start from Quincy or Alton, for the express purpose of carrying emigrants from the free States with their goods. Under such circumstances, they would be in a condition to protect themselves if they were assailed. Whether this course shall be adopted, or some other more feasible—if it can be devised—we feel confident that the enterprise of the free States is equal to any emergency that may be manufactured to prevent their colonization. The people of the free States have equal rights in Kansas now, notwithstanding the nullification of constitutional compromises by Southern slaveholders and Northern political speculators, and those rights will be vindicated.

The *firstly* of the *Herald* is ridiculous and absurd in its premises, and in holding up a scarecrow of unconstitutional laws, the editor only exhibits the shame of his party which common decency would prompt him to conceal.

In his *secondly* he presents the issue between the Nebraska Democracy and the country, and the result of that issue will be the triumph or overthrow of free institutions in this country.

In his *thirdly*, the editor embodies a social outrage, and utters a foul slander on a par with others that have appeared in the same paper.

His *fourthly*, in its initiative, is libelous,

in the intermediate, it is barbarous, in the finale, it is scandalous, and as a whole, his article is a clear and just, though not a very judicious, exhibition of border ruffian views and policy.

SOMETHING WORTH CONSIDERING.

The following is a project which the emergencies of the times demand, and which, as appears to us, is feasible. The matter explains itself.

[From the Chicago Tribune.]

PUBLIC MEETING.

A MEETING OF THE MERCHANTS AND other citizens of Kansas, is hereby called at the Free State Hotel, in Lawrence, on Friday next, the 27th inst., at 2 o'clock, P. M., to take into consideration the condition to which we are subjected by the acts of an organized band of lawless men along the Missouri river, by whom our goods are broken open and carried off, our property seized, and our persons, as well as emigrants, subjected to a surveillance degrading to humanity, humiliating to us, and unknown in a civilized country; also, the imposition of an unreasonable and oppressive tax by the combination of boat owners on the Missouri, of 25 cents per hundred lbs. on goods to Lawrence, Mo., in addition to the rates to Kansas, Mo., with a view to the establishment of a line of steamers direct between Alton, Ill., and Lawrence, Mo., and Lawrence, Kansas. SIGNED BY SIXTY-EIGHT BUSINESS HOUSES. Lawrence, Kansas, March 24th, 1856.

Accompanying the above, we find the following letter, explanatory:

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, March 26, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS: Enclosed please find a call for a public meeting, for the purpose therein indicated. The public mind here is in a state of violent excitement, in view of the outrages, unparalleled in the history of the internal trade of our country, committed by the piratical organization along the Missouri river, which has its head quarters at Lexington, and has avowed its intention and determination to search and seize whatever is obnoxious to it. Nothing shipped for this Territory is safe from its prying scrutiny and its unlawful seizure.

Our merchants addressed a very respectful, but strong memorial to the Board of Commerce of St. Louis, some weeks since, setting forth some of our commercial grievances, and asking its influence in correcting the same. Nothing has been heard from it, only that it was published in, I think, one of the papers of that city.

The present movement has in view the making Chicago, and, to some extent, Cincinnati, the proximate places of the trade of the Territory or State as the case may be, instead of St. Louis, and we are confident in the expectation that the merchants of your city would find it obviously to their interest to assist us to such a line of boats as would do the required business. This business is now very great, and will be immensely increased during the present season, and they do not need to be reminded of the immense advantage of the establishment of courses, centers and habits of trade, in the infancy of a community and country. At a more subsequent, but still not a remote period, Kansas must and will have a railroad connection with her sister free States, by the way of Southern Iowa; passing of necessity through a little of the northern part of Missouri; but it will be through a portion powerfully under the influence of the free territory adjoining.

If you think this subject worthy your consideration, and that of your business men, you will please give it the attention its importance deserves. Yours, &c., L.

This plan is the legitimate offspring of the suicidal policy of the people of Missouri in disputing and resisting by villainous frauds and outrages, the right of the enterprising people of the United States to emigrate to and colonize in the free territories of the Union. Our institutions are the result of colonization, and the history of the colonization and enterprise of their ancestors, rouses the people of the United States to emulate their example. This emigrating disposition has been of necessity the wing of liberty in the past, and present aspects indicate that it will continue to be such in the future until the oppressed of all nations shall have found a home on the Western continent, or the decree shall be established by the occupancy of all its broad acres that there is no

longer room for more. The language of the orators of '76 could never be more appropriately quoted since that day by our countrymen than now. Particularly appropriate to the subject now under consideration is the eloquent language of Otis, in the days of British oppression: "England might as well attempt to dam up the waters of the Nile with bulrushes, as to fetter the step of freedom, more proud and firm in this youthful land than where she treads the sequestered glens of Scotland, or couches herself among the magnificent mountains of Switzerland." The people of the Northern States have become so inured to the arts of peace, that for years they have known no strife but such as is incident to moral and intellectual improvement, and improvement in agriculture and mechanics. Our undeveloped commerce and unexplored territories have furnished inducements which have aided to keep alive the spirit of adventure inherited from our ancestors. The settlement of Kansas opened a new field for enterprise. The short-sighted cupidity of the people of Western Missouri attempted to check this enterprise by measures repugnant to the rights of freeman.— Their violence undoubtedly restrained the timid, but it roused and invited those of firm and bold purposes, and to the violence of the border ruffians may we attribute the unexampled growth, circumstances considered, of the young territory of Kansas. The colonists in that territory seem determined to conquer by peaceful strife the violence of those who would invade their rights. When obstructed in one peaceful plan of operations they mark out another and a better. When assailed by violence they arm only in self-defense and to preserve the peace. Now when their trade is obstructed by those who should encourage it, they seek out a policy to avoid those obstructions. First they appealed to the merchants of St. Louis. That appeal was disregarded, not even a promise of indirect influence to protect them being given.

Personal insult, violence, and the confiscation of property would provoke the effusion of blood with brave men who had not learned the lesson that forbearance gives moral strength, and that discretion is the better part of valor. A peaceful conquest of this difficulty is to be attempted, and the plan proposed is feasible, for there is money in it, and the spirit of the age will fill every such channel which enterprise may open. This plan may be carried into effect immediately, it being only necessary to purchase steamers, and sufficient money for that purpose, we believe, is already subject to the order of the men who called the meeting above mentioned. The passengers and the freight are sure, and the proposed line will at once have a monopoly of an extensive and valuable trade.

The construction of a railroad through Iowa to Kansas is suggested in some quarters, but that may be, it must be if at all, a plan for the future. The present requires a plan for immediate operations, and a line of steamers up the Missouri is the only plan that can be carried into immediate effect.

Alton as a terminus for a line of packets to Kansas, possesses advantages second to no other point, from the fact that it is only three miles from the mouth of the Missouri river, while St. Louis is twenty miles below. Alton is the terminus of two railroads, having direct communication with the East. It is the head of navigation for N. Orleans boats, and is accessible at all times by water when St. Louis is. It is one of the best markets for pine lumber on the Mississippi river, and its

wholesale business in all other articles necessary for supplying a new country is already large, and is daily increasing.

Steamers can be run from Alton to Kansas cheaper than from St. Louis, as coal can be had at one half its cost in St. Louis.

Emigrants coming by the Ohio river could contract through to Alton without extra charge, and on their arrival here would find temporary accommodations for themselves, their stock and other moveables, at much less rates than at St. Louis.

The above are only a small portion of the advantages which might be enumerated favorable to the establishment of such a line of steamers from this point, in preference to any other.

Where is the man of enterprise and courage who will grasp at once an honorable fame and a certain fortune by carrying this plan into execution?

TIP BITS FOR DOUGH-FACES.—A border ruffian organ discloses:

"If Kansas is not made a slave State, it requires no sage to tell that, without some very extraordinary revolution, there will never be another slave State; and if this is not enough, then we say, without fear of successful contradiction, that *Kansas must be a slave State, or the Union will be dissolved.*"—*Squatter Sovereign.*

Another says:
"Slave society is the oldest, the most common, and the most natural form of society; while free society is a little experiment, small in extent and short in duration."—*Richmond Enquirer.*

The *Richmond Whig* says:
"The signer of the *Fugitive Slave Law*, and the inveterate foe of Abolitionism and Black Republicanism in all their protean forms, he (Fillmore) is pre-eminently the man for the oft-deceived people of the South."

Troy Daily Whig.

TROY:
MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 7.

The *soi-disant* "Republican" Party lives and breathes on the Kansas excitement, and only on the Kansas excitement,—and hence, when that is over, as it is about to be, the great "Republican Party" dies for want of stimulus.

General Pomaroy,—we see, reiterated in Washington, in a Congressional caucus, that the population of Kansas is "overwhelmingly free soil," and that the emigration there is a thousand persons in a week. The superior power of the North for colonization in Kansas, was admitted originally by every one, and, even without the aid of the Northern Emigration Societies, the result would have been about the same. It is impossible for slave colonies of emigration to keep pace with free colonies,—when both are marching to the same soil. Hence the result in Kansas.

Now, as Kansas is already, in principle and substance, "free soil,"—and as it must and will be admitted as a free State,—upon what will this great Republican Party feed, when all its support is thus taken away? It has but one idea, one thought, one impulse,—and yet it promises to found a Party upon a foundation that cannot stand a year or more.—*N. Y. Express*

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a god send to the people who live, move, and thrive on preaching about the wrongs of slavery. Under the compromise measures of 1852, the country was settling into a repose long needed, and from which, had it been left undisturbed by Douglas & Co., would have arisen again fraternal relations between the North and the South, and the time and attention of legislators would have been given to practical matters. But unfortunately, there are agitators South who ride to Congress and to Governorships on the backs of negroes, proclaiming that "slavery is in danger," precisely as the Northern demagogues profit in the same way by declaring that "freedom" is in danger. The Southern agitators demanded a repeal of the Compromise of 1820, and Douglas helped them carry out their wishes. The consequences have been seen in two years of ceaseless agitation about Kansas. "Agitators" in both sections, have

gained by it all they wanted. Conservative Southern men who opposed the repeal, have been sacrificed to make room for Douglas men, and here at the North in some localities men who have thought the Union worth preserving even after the repeal, have lost caste before the superior claims of those who shout for "freedom," and who talk longest and loudest about Border Ruffians and Sharpe's Rifles.

But few well informed people ever supposed that Kansas would become a slave State. Neither its soil or climate favor it. Left to depend on circumstances, independent of any movement either in the free or slave States to crowd upon her population, the North would have sent an hundred emigrants to Kansas where the South sent one.

But the abolitionists of New England immediately set up the cry that Kansas should be a free State, in spite of the South, a declaration which made an excellent text for the agitators in Missouri, who agitate for slavery. The people of Missouri were told that the New Englanders proposed to take possession of Kansas, make it an abolition State, and that they would entice all the slaves they could over the river from Missouri and refuse to give them up. Soon the Emigrant aid Societies began to arrive from New England, and soon, too, the people along the border of Missouri began to turn Kansas emigrants themselves. What followed—mobs, riots at elections, and all manner of collisions, &c.—is well known. These contests were inevitable from the nature of the elements pitted against each other. Neither party was predisposed to be wholly fair and just.—The New Englanders said the Missourians were pandits and "Border Ruffians," the Missourians retorted that the former were Yankee digger stealers. Though the most untiring efforts have been made to raise the troubles in Kansas to the dignity of "a civil war," and all that, they have failed.

We are glad to have so good authority as the word of Gen. POMEROY, that Kansas is sure to become a "Free State." But in that event, what becomes of the Republican party? With all the territories "consecrated to Freedom," and slavery in the States confessedly beyond the reach of either the free States or Congress, what will there be left to "shriek" over?



MONDAY EVENING, APRIL 7, 1856.

It is with reference to the Senate. Suppose the bill passed, as it can be, by the House, and submitted to the Senate for concurrence.

The Republican Senators are ready and willing to vote for whatever constitutional measure will save Kansas to Freedom, most speedily and safely. Such a measure pre-eminently is the admission of the new State under its constitution.

But besides these, who constitute only a minority of the Senate, there are a score of gentlemen, who by their avowals during the debate on the Nebraska Bill have put themselves on record as intending to assent to the admission of Kansas, whether she came Free or slaveholding, though it is needless to say that few, if any of them, are ready to act up to their avowals, now.

MEASRS. DOUGLAS, CASE, TORCEY, HUNTER, BRODHEAD, WELLES, BRIGHT, JONES, RUSK, TOOMBS, all declared at that time, that they intended by the Bill, to grant to the people of the Territory the right to frame a Constitution, either

prohibiting or allowing slavery, as they deem fit; and all announced, in advance, their assent to such particular action, be it whichever it might. Kansas has taken them at their word. She offers them the opportunity to make their professions good, or to break them. It is for them to say whether Kansas shall be admitted, or no. They and their supporters constitute the majority of the Senate. If they say "Aye"—well and good: they fulfil their pledges, and Kansas, restored to the benefits of the Missouri Compromise, is "free forever." If they say "No," Kansas is remanded into the keeping of Archibson & Co., while the question goes down to the People—"Shall the decision of the Senate stand as the decision of the People?" "Shall the Senators themselves stand, who have twice broken solemn Pledges: Firstly, that of Congress dedicating Kansas to Freedom: Secondly, their own to admit her under whatever Constitution she might frame?"

Shall he have the Money?

Kansas appears at the Capitol, by her Representatives, and makes application for admission as a State. At the same time, also appears President PIERCE. He also makes an application. His application is for money to maintain the illegal and nefarious Territorial Government of the Missourians—money to pay STRINGFELLOW, SHANNON, and their tools, for their time and trouble in invading Kansas, and for mobbing and murdering there!

The House has, at this moment, a Committee on its way to Kansas, to examine whether the pretended Territorial Government is not altogether a fraud and forcible usurpation. But the President would have them, (without waiting for that Committee's Report,) prejudge the case, and endorse the legality of the Usurpers, by voting them Supplies!

This much, at least, the Representatives of the Free States are strong enough in Congress to deny. We are confident they will nip the scheme in the bud. Not one dollar should be voted to maintain that spurious Territorial Government. Every dollar given to it, is a contribution towards outrages hereafter like those that have occurred heretofore.

The people of Kansas need to have no Territorial authority exercised over them by the People of Missouri. They are able and willing to take care of themselves. They have a State government of their own. They have a right to be admitted as a State. But whether admitted or not, we look with confidence to the Representatives of the North to see that no money is voted, under the guise of Territorial appropriations, or otherwise, to uphold and continue the rule of the Missouri invaders. "Millions" if need be "for defence" of the Union and the safety of Popular Rights, "but not one cent for tribute" to the Border Ruffians!

any of his freight, and they concluded to go forward with it. When it was landed at Kansas city they burst it open, and found in it a piano forte. They returned to Lexington somewhat crest-fallen.—A meeting of merchants and others was called to meet at Lawrence, the 27th ult., to take some measures to break up the system of surveillance and robbery on the Missouri river.—A company of fifty Georgian emigrants entered Kansas the first of March, but in three weeks forty of them had left the territory and started for home, satisfied that the establishment of slavery by emigration was hopeless.

The Herald of Freedom of March 23, says that the streets of Lawrence are beginning to be thronged with strangers and present a lively appearance. Pro-slavery men from the South are hurrying in and taking up claims. The border ruffians have cooled off very sensibly, and it is apprehended their principal outrages for a month or two will consist of piracies, which are continued on every boat up the river. The most false reports were constantly set afloat by the Missourians; among others that the House committee on the territories had reported against the free state movement, and that Mr Collamer had done the same thing in the Senate.

The Atlanta, Ga., Intelligencer of the 29th ult. stated that companies passed through that place almost daily for Kansas, chiefly from Charleston and other points in South Carolina. A company organized at Atlanta, was to start in a few days.—At a recent Kansas meeting in Columbia, S. C., letters were read from Atchison, saying among other things, "it is understood by all parties that the fight will begin in the spring; that he had at any moment the power to bring about a civil war; that their organization is complete; that they have taken steps to provide for those who come to the territory without means of support." Mr Tradewell made the principal speech, and regarded the Kansas quarrel as the most hopeful means of bringing about the dissolution of the Union, which he avowed was his object, as he believed it to be Mr Atchison's; but, he said:

"There is no chance on earth for the South when it comes to votes. The only chance is to assist General Atchison in the way of men and means for fighting. If there is not a fight before the meeting of the convention to prepare a constitution for Kansas, the Union will be preserved."

It is of no particular use to quote democratic precedents to a party so progressive as the present administration party, but it is a curious fact of history that Mr Buchanan of Pennsylvania reported in Congress the bill by which Arkansas was admitted to the Union. Now Arkansas not only did not get permission from Congress to form a state government, but Congress had positively refused to grant such permission. Nevertheless the settlers' convention framed a constitution, presented it to Congress, and asked admission. Not a single remonstrance on the score of "illegality" was uttered on the democratic side of the House. Arkansas was admitted to the Union in 1836. The difference between her case and that of Kansas is, that the former presented a slave and the latter a free constitution to Congress, and if Kansas is excluded, that, as everybody knows, will be the efficient reason.

stimulated to a great degree the growth of this Territory, and when the superior advantages which we enjoy in climate, soil and locality are considered, it is not surprising.

The fallacy of the common reports relative to the extreme inclemency of our Minnesota winters is satisfactorily demonstrated, and it is my fixed opinion that they are less rigorous, and less hurtful in their effects than our common winters East. Our weather here is unchangeable in its season.—The snow which falls in the earlier stages of winter, mantles the earth until the breaking up at spring time. We have no alternate days of heat and cold, sunshine and frost, rain and snow, but an uninterrupted succession of clear, cool weather during the entire season; and here where I am located, we have had but one stormy day since early in January. But the most marked peculiarities of the weather here, are its healthful and invigorating influence, and its bracing qualities, which prevail to so great a degree that, whatever the fatigues or labors of the previous day, a night's sleep completely reconstitutes the powers and restores the tone of the system, permitting and inviting a renewal of the previous exertions. I am not insensible to cold myself, yet I have never, with but one or two exceptions, deemed it necessary to put on even my overcoat, a common shooting jacket answering all purposes, as far as warmth is concerned, and yet this is by far the coldest winter that settlers here have ever known. So much for our polar winters.

If Minnesota could but urge the talismanic word of "Slavery" in its behalf, it would be an unnecessary effort to attempt to describe its situation and the really superior facilities it offers to emigrants who desire a home, but as it rests entirely upon its own advantages, they are comparatively unheralded, the only just descriptions of its beauty being gathered from private sources.

Those who desire something more than the rich blessings with which Providence has gifted this country, in short who require that in addition to the usual inducements for emigration the land which is to be to them a home, should be, by the possession of some evil, a fit object for their commiseration and therefore the more in need of their purifying help and influence, (which I conceive to be the great reason for the immense excitement about Kansas,) need not hesitate to emigrate to this Territory in preference. To such I say come, you will not be disappointed, it being an utter and impracticable impossibility to afflict any community with a greater scourge than we have endured in our territorial legislatures. Patriots come on.

I have had, both from a long journey by stage and numerous lesser excursions, some little opportunity of judging of the real merits of Minnesota and for comparing its topographical features with those of Iowa, and for richness and fertility I will venture to pit the Minnesota valley against any State or Territory in the Union. Its prairies are small, and extremely fertile; surrounded by timber lands where the soil is of a richness you would scarcely credit. There is no one now cultivating any part of them who will live to feel the necessity for fertilizers. Upon one of the most level, blooming and beautiful of these prairies, fringed on three sides by a heavy growth of timber, washed by the Minnesota river upon the fourth, stands the embryo city from which I have the honor to address you. Belle Plaine is so called for a reason for which your French will furnish you a sufficient excuse, should the description strike you as adequate. Our advantages it may be needless to recapitulate, since they will not be sufficiently striking to attract the attention of those who consider that emigration to Kansas is undertaken with not so much an idea of emolument as of duty or of sacrifices necessary to be made to the Juggernautical car of slavery. I will however barely hint that the Minnesota is navigable and our back country well settled and fertile. The pioneer of this section, the Hon. A. G. Chatfield, at present U. S. Judge of the third district resides here and is about the oldest settler. It is to him that we are indebted for the commencement of our flourishing town, and to his efforts and extensive influence we owe our rapid advancement. He is a gentleman of large intellect and of great legal acumen, a profound scholar and eminent lawyer. You may be sure I was astonished at discovering in a place, which I suppose you would call remote from civilization, so rare a specimen of the *genus homo*.

But it is quite possible to weary you, and I am fearful this effusion will prove an example. I may however, as well abstain from apologizing for troubling you, and sign myself,
Yours,
MINNESOTA.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 7, 1856.

Kansas.

Dr Cutter of Warren has returned from Kansas. Rev Richard Knight, who went out as minister to the Hampden colony a year ago, and afterwards removed to Lawrence, has returned to Holyoke, where he is visiting Jonas Kendall.
A private letter received at Syracuse, N. Y., mentions another seizure of 500 rifles and six cannon, at Lexington, Mo., but we doubt the truth of the report. The Lexington robbers were very handsomely sold recently. They went upon a steamboat bound for Kansas, and in their search found a large, suspicious looking box. The captain forbade their opening it or molesting



NEW HAVEN:
MONDAY, APRIL 7, 1856.

From Minnesota—Kansas Emigration—
Weather—Judge Chatfield,
Belle Plaine, Scott Co.,
Minnesota T., March 18th, 1856.

EDITORS PALLADIUM:—I received per last mail a copy of your weekly, containing as usual a fund of general and local news extremely acceptable, among which and occupying a conspicuous position was a series of articles on Kansas, from which I gather that, since I left New Haven, the vigor of your exertions in behalf of that Territory has in no wise abated.
The agitation of the Kansas question, and the political difficulties by which colonization in that Territory is retarded and rendered vexatious, have

MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 7, 1856.

For telegraphic and other late intelligence, see first page.

No notice can be taken of anonymous communications.—We must know the names and addresses of our correspondents as a guarantee of their good faith. We cannot undertake to return communications that are not used.

SOUTHERN EMIGRATION TO KANZAS.—We have, from time to time, called attention to different propositions, made in the Southern States, to promote a Southern emigration into Kansas, large enough to overpower the immense Northern emigration. We have not commented upon these accounts separately, and we have reserved many similar notices, without publication, because they are really not of sufficient importance to demand very constant attention. They are of interest, chiefly, because they show that in every part of this country, men understand that they have a right to emigrate into the new territories, and to encourage others to do so. The theory of the President, that all the States but Missouri, have no real right in Kansas, and that its interests are "foreign" to them, is repudiated by all the men of the Southern States who unite in these efforts.

The efforts, themselves, will prove powerless. The natural emigration westward, in this country, is, in large measure, from the free States. Two persons move from them, for one who moves from the Southern country. It is not in the power of one society, nor of ten,—not of one State legislature, nor of ten,—to create a counter-current which shall resist the inevitable flow of this natural tide.

We propose, now that these movements have got some head, to name the more important ones together. For this purpose, we will speak of the Southern States in order.

In **MARYLAND**, the only emigrant organization of which we have heard, acted in co-operation with the New York Kansas League for the introduction of free emigrants into Kansas. Dr. Snodgrass, formerly of Baltimore, appealed to the citizens of the State in behalf of this organization; and we may say in passing, that many Southern States have co-operated more or less with the Northern emigrant organizations.

In **VIRGINIA**, we have accounts of a single meeting held in one of the agricultural counties, to promote the emigration of those who wished to make Kansas a slave State. But no money was raised, and so far as we are informed, the meeting adjourned without day. The fact that one Virginian planter, with six negroes, started for Kansas last autumn, was widely announced in the Southern prints, and more widely copied at the North. The other fact, of greater importance and interest, that when he came to St. Louis, he was discouraged, and never went to Kansas at all, has not been so widely repeated. Indeed, though the State of Virginia, as now cultivated and ruled, is an excellent State to move from, the emigrants from Virginia are not men attached to what is commonly called the Southern interest. Kentucky is always spoken of as settled from Virginia. Yet in 1850 there were but 54,000 Virginians residing in Kentucky, while 85,000 had chosen their residence in the free State of Ohio. Of nearly 400,000 persons who have emigrated from Virginia to other parts of this country, almost two-thirds have chosen to remove into free States. We may add, that

unless we are deceived, the same advertisements in Northern papers, offering large districts of land to Northern settlers there is more reason to expect a considerable emigration of free labor into Virginia, than of slave labor from it.

NORTH CAROLINA has also the reputation among her own children, of being a good State to move from. Of 839,000 persons born there, nearly 300,000 were residing in other parts of the United States in 1850. This shows an emigration half as large again as that from our own crowded territory, though the men of Massachusetts have a popular character as wanderers. We have heard, however, of no movement whatever, for the organization of emigration in North Carolina, excepting some slight assistance to Northern companies.

SOUTH CAROLINA has been less drowsy, and more active. The Charleston Emigrant Aid Society has reported that it has collected nearly six thousand dollars, and has appealed for more. This society is said, in the Charleston papers, to have sent twenty-nine persons, in one party, and twenty-five in another. The Columbia Society has sent fifteen. It is said that the Southern railroads have, thus far, carried these persons free to the Mississippi river. It appears, however, that the emigrant companies provide their rifles, and expect to pay their expenses.

This transaction, small as it is, is yet the most considerable movement which has, as yet, gone into operation in the South. It has attracted quite as much attention from the Northern press, as ever did movements of our own Emigrant Aid Company, on a scale fifty times as large.

The fact that the Charleston society has found it necessary to bear the expenses to Kansas of those who have gone there under its auspices, places it in very unhappy contrast with the New England society, which it affects to imitate. The New England Emigrant Aid Company, with a capital stock approaching \$200,000, has never found it necessary to pay a cent towards the travelling expenses of any person who has gone to Kansas under its auspices. Our emigrants are men of more or less property, who pay their own travelling expenses, and take up their own land, when they arrive. Five thousand dollars expended by our company, builds a saw-mill in Kansas, and there collects around that mill, in two years' time, a free population of five thousand people. Five thousand dollars, spent by the Southern society, buys seventy-five rifles, perhaps, and pays the passage of as many young men. What becomes of these seventy-five young men, we shall have occasion to show. We may remark in passing, that our company has not had occasion to spend anything for arms for its emigrants. They have supplied themselves from independent sources.

In **GEORGIA**, the arrangements for Southern emigration have made more noise than elsewhere, but we have not seen that they have been more effective. After some pretty hot speeches, by Mr. Toombs and Mr. Iverson, before different emigrant societies, the funds came in so slowly that an appeal was made to the State legislature for help, and there the subject received a quietus. It appeared that in the "intelligent city" of Columbus only \$950 were subscribed. This was the centre of the movement. The matter was pretty thoroughly discussed in the legislature, and some curious facts came out, to which we will allude presently. A bill, appropriating \$50,000 to assist the societies, was lost, 68 to

49, and with it they lost their brightest hopes. Some emigrants have gone forward under their pay; but in no considerable numbers nor with much inducement to them to send more.

In **ALABAMA**, the movement took a more business-like character. The gallant Major Jefferson Buford, as we find its leader always called, volunteered to command a Kansas party of three hundred men. He proposed to sell his plantation and slaves, in Alabama, and with the proceeds pay \$20,000 towards the expenses of the expedition. He also called upon patriotic citizens to contribute, and promised that for every fifty dollars contributed—

"I will, within six months, thereafter, place in Kansas, one bona fide settler, able and willing to vote and fight, if need be, for our section, or in default of doing so, I will, on demand, refund the donation, with interest, from the day of its receipt."

To "ministers of the gospel, mechanics, and those with good military or agricultural outfits," he proposed to offer greater inducements than to others. But to the rank and file of his little army, he guaranteed a free passage to Kansas, the means of support for one year, and forty acres of land. On the strength of this offer of the Major's, the public was exhorted to attend the sale of his negroes, and to bid high, by way of promoting the enterprise. The whole affair, however patriotic in its motive, assumes the aspect of a spirited land speculation. For it appears that in compensation for his outlay, the emigrants were bound to deliver to Major Buford, each his pre-emption claim, for one hundred and sixty acres, of which he would receive back only the forty acres, spoken of above. If the plan were carried out, therefore, Major Buford would receive in exchange for "\$20,000 of his ample fortune," which he proposed to invest in it, 36,000 acres of land in Kansas, to be paid for, years hence, at \$1 25 an acre, having established on 12,000 other acres, in the neighborhood of his own property, his three hundred settlers. This is what he calls throwing himself into the breach. If he could carry out the scheme, he would make some fifty thousand dollars by his investment.

He was not able to start as early as Feb. 20, as he proposed, and at our latest dates from Kansas, a month later, he had not arrived there. We believe, however, that he has started, with a much smaller number than he proposed.

Thus far, as the reader will observe, not one negro has been provided for in these hopeful schemes.

In **MISSISSIPPI**, however, the politicians have perceived, what we have found it hard to make any one understand or remember, that there cannot be a slave State without slaves. So long as Southern gentlemen feel that slave property is insecure in Kansas, so long they will not carry it there,—and all the Emigrant Aid Companies they can form will not persuade them to. Senator Brown, of Mississippi, wrote a letter, therefore, on his way to Washington, for publication in the journals in his own State; in which he proposed a poll-tax of a dollar a man to be expended in buying slaves on State account, and establishing some bona fide slave plantations in Kansas, to be owned by the State of Mississippi,—which would serve as an index to all the world that slaves could be held there. Mr. Douglas, who is greatly troubled that a Massachusetts corporation should own property in Kansas, does not touch on this proposal made to a State to invest there.

We observe that the idea has been now brought before the Mississippi legislature. Our impression is that a difficulty in levying taxes in that State, which has now become chronic, will be the end of the whole plan. If these remarks should meet the eye of any statesman there, we add the suggestion to him, that the property of the State of Mississippi is safest when in such form that no process from a United States Court can get hold of it. There are certain obligations of that State afloat, on which nothing has been paid for some years past. If she should invest any considerable amount in Kansas, it might happen, that some ill-natured State abroad or at home, into whose treasury some of these repudiated obligations have fallen, would institute a suit in the Supreme Court of this country for recovery of these demands, and attach the Kansas investment, to satisfy the claim if judgement should be obtained. The Constitution has provided expressly for such suits between States. This is our ground for suggesting that the dollars of the Mississippi voters are safest in their own pockets.

In FLORIDA, we believe, no emigration has been attempted. As there are scarcely twenty thousand white male adults there, they may well be kept at home.

We have heard of no "Emigrant Aid" movements in LOUISIANA.

ARKANSAS is offering vacant lands for nothing in every labor market in the world; and yet, it is said, attracts fewer emigrants than she would wish. A body of her people went up into the Neosho country of Kansas, at the request of the Missouri regulators, liked the region, stayed, and are now reckoned good Free State men. We know of no other organized emigration from those parts.

MISSOURI has made herself quite prominent in her Secret Lodges for Emigration, for a day. As Judge Douglas charges on our Emigrant Aid Company the blame of all her ruffianism, the fact becomes of importance, that the secret society of citizens of Western Missouri, which, under the lead of General Atchison, has interfered so often in the affairs of Kansas, was the earliest Kansas Emigrant Company in this country. The operations of this society have been very distinctly avowed by Generals Atchison and Stringfellow.

In KENTUCKY it is certain that there existed secret societies affiliated with those in Missouri, and acting with the same purpose. They sent a hundred or more armed men, to act in the election a year ago; paying their passage to and from Kansas, and a dollar a day, besides their expenses.

We have seen it stated that this affiliation of secret societies runs through the Southwestern States. This is quite probable, but we know of no public evidence that it is so.

In TENNESSEE, the only slave State of which we have not spoken, there have been some combinations for assisting emigrants to Kansas, but we are not informed of the details or extent of their operations.

We have thus gone through, in order, the different slave States, for the purpose of comparing the movements of their emigrants to Kansas with that great unsolicited tide of emigration which pours in, as an "unsubsidized ally" of freedom, from those States where work is not dishonorable.

We have not the slightest desire to underestimate the magnitude of the effort which is thus made, at the South. But no person who knows anything of the daily flow westward of our surplus population, will fail to see that in

this magnificent rivalry, the poor South plays with the odds terribly against it. Northern men have a passion for emigration to the West. Among Southern men, that passion has to be created by artificial means. While the South has been languidly building up the State of Arkansas, the North has created Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, California and Minnesota. In the present particular instance, Northern men want to move into a region of more genial climate than their own. Kansas offers no such inducement to settlers from the South. The consequence is, therefore, that from the moment it was made certain that an effort would be made to retain Kansas as free territory, a steady flow of free emigration has filled up Kansas, with a rapidity which answered every purpose as well as when Cadmus's settlers sprung, full grown, from the soil. To the New England Emigrant Aid Company, belongs the honor of initiating the effort, of showing how Kansas might be saved, and of calling on free men to save it. But it is to the unbought action of those free men themselves, that the honor of the victory will be due.

The result of such a difference between Western and Southern emigration,—as the arrivals of this season in Kansas show it,—is, that four out of five of the new-comers are from free States. Even thus early in the spring, a thousand emigrants entered the territory, every week. These are the statements of General Pomeroy, one of her newly chosen Senators, a gentleman whose judgement may always be relied upon, as unbiassed by his hopes or wishes.

But such statements of numbers as these, are not to be regarded as the only index to the fate of Kansas. For, in the first place, there is no doubt that twenty-five blustering fire-eaters from Charleston, hired to fight, and going to Kansas to do so, will make an amount of trouble in Kansas, which will be by no means counterbalanced by the pacific labors of twenty-five emigrants from Wisconsin, scattered about on their farms, in different parts of the territory. Besides, there is no doubt that with these settlers, that is true which is true of every other community, that more than half are completely indifferent as to any local question, except as it concerns their own personal interests.

Our reasons for our firm conviction that Kansas will be a free State, and that before many months are over, rest on other observations than the mere count of the Northern and Southern emigration, this spring. In one word, we are certain that Northern or Southern emigrants, once in Kansas, see that they are interested, personally, in making Kansas free. The Kentuckians, who moved first into Kansas, chose to vote a free State ticket. Of eighty-nine men sent from Tennessee, word was sent back that eighty "proved false."

Of nine men sent from one county in Georgia, eight were reported as false to those who sent them. We have already mentioned the experience of Arkansas. The Missourian explanation of this change is that "the Yankees contaminated 'em." Let it be so. They are as likely to contaminate a great many more, holding as they and their North Western friends do, all the towns, all the churches, all the schools, and almost all the presses in Kansas. But we do not rely simply on the power of "contamination" of the handful of New Englanders who are there. The "contaminating" influences extend much more widely than theirs.

The settlers of Kansas are men with

little capital. They do not own slaves, therefore, and cannot soon expect to own them. They have thus no personal interest in their introduction.

2. Those of them who have moved from slave States, have always lived under the shadow of the commanding influence of large slaveholders. Such men have a personal prejudice against the institution of slavery.

3. Every man in Kansas knows that the railroad reserves in Iowa, sell at prices varying from ten to twenty dollars an acre:—that the corresponding reserves just south of them, in Missouri, may be bought for a fifth part of those prices,—at from two to five dollars. Every man knows, too, that the difference in price between the Missouri and Iowa lands is simply the contrast between a free State, and a slave State. Now every man in Kansas owns land, and it is, therefore, so far, a matter of personal interest to every man in Kansas, that her institutions shall prohibit slavery. Major Buford's recruits will discover this, as did their neighbors from Georgia. And as yet, there is no vested interest in Kansas, opposed to such a prohibition.

Such are the reasons for our own conviction that so soon as the rapid emigration shall have brought up the population of Kansas to ninety thousand, they will reaffirm the decision of the Topeka Convention, that slavery shall be prohibited in the new formed State. As we have often said, we do not see why this population should not be attained in the course of the present year. The South and the North are uniting to supply it. In that case, the Kansas members should take their seats in Congress next winter.

Eveing Telegraph.

BOSTON, MONDAY, APRIL 7, 1856.

EMIGRATION TO KANSAS. Emigration into Kansas from the Northern and Western States is immense. Our advices from St. Louis are of a highly encouraging nature. Every boat up the Missouri river is immensely crowded with men, women and children—a large proportion of whom are going to Kansas. A party of forty left this city last Wednesday; another party will leave to-morrow, which will receive a large accession at Providence. Still another party will start a week from to-day, to be joined by companies at Albany and Rochester—all composed of men intending to make their homes in Kansas.

Boston Journal.

MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 7, 1856.

[From our Regular Correspondent.]

Waifs from Washington.

Utah—Curious Prediction of H. G. Otis—Democratic Discard—Fillmore Prospects—Senatorial Squabbles—The Little Giant—Kansas—Personal—Departing Diplomats—Theatrical and Musical.

WASHINGTON, April 3, 1856

To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

The remarkable position of "Utah," though just now kept in the back-ground by Kansas, will soon give rise to an interesting debate, unless the Administration succeeds in smothering inquiry, that the perplexing questions involved of territorial vs. national sovereignty may be left as a legacy of trouble to Millard Fillmore. Curiously enough, this very state of affairs was prophesied on the floor of the United States Senate, in January, 1820, by the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, on the great debate of the admission of Maine and Missouri.

"Mr. Otis said he would suppose another case not likely to happen, but yet, he trusted, not outrageously improbable. There were, as was well known, in many parts of this country societies of people called *Shakers*, of good moral characters, and exemplary habits of industry, whose fundamental doctrines were founded on the duty of celibacy. They are a rich people, and in some of the States experience interruptions in their endeavors to augment their numbers, and inconven-

ences from laws which press upon their consciences, especially in military concerns. I imagine, sir, (said he) all these sects combined and determined to make a pilgrimage, and become sojourners in the new country of promise. Figure to yourself four or five thousand adults of both sexes, with their children, marching beyond the Mississippi until they should find a spot suited to their occasions; then halting, and sending you a missionary, with the intelligence of their demand to be admitted as a State. Are you bound to admit them without stipulation that they shall make no laws prohibiting marriage, at the moment you know this to be the main design of their emigration, and thus secure to a set of those peculiar and anti-social tenets a monopoly of the entire State, and a power of virtually excluding from its jurisdiction the great mass of your citizens? There is no end to the instances which might be multiplied, wherein your interference would be indispensable for the protection of your citizens, and the prevention of contagious customs and institutions adverse to the policy and nature of our government."

Substitute "Mormons" for "Shakers," and "polygamy" for "celibacy," with the consequent changes. The paragraph then becomes a picture of that wonderful fanatic emigration which commenced in 1847, and now numbers 18,000.

The *Sentinel* of this morning came out boldly for James Buchanan, who is evidently to be used for breaking down the present incumbent's prospects of re-nomination to the Presidential chair, though it is not quite so certain that he will be the candidate himself. We even hear rumors of a defection in Massachusetts, and learn that the ill-favored Colonel of Lowell rebels against the handsome Colonel of Boston, and will neither beajoined or pulled into the ranks of the faithful.

Mr. Fillmore grow brighter every day, no careful observer can deny, and on every hand the old Whig guard is wheeled into line with young America. An intelligent member of the Society of Friends, who was in the city last week, said that (with the exception of the radical abolition faction) this powerful sect would use the same influence in behalf of Mr. Fillmore that it did for General Taylor. His letter to Friend Newton of Philadelphia is highly satisfactory to them, and has been seen by their leading speakers.

Mr. Bell and Mr. Clayton have made the Senate Chamber a scene of angry discussion and reprimand on the recent question of the Navy Retired List, and now Mr. Jones is about to enter the lists with Mr. Iverson. That the main features of the reform will be triumphantly sustained, there can be no doubt—the attempted defense of those retired shows the necessity for the measure. Commodore Stuart may be put into the place vacated by the death of Commodore Morris, and other special cases may also be provided for; but the action of the Board will be sustained.

Mr. Douglas has made no capital by his late speeches, and must have discovered that vituperation neither convinces opponents or satisfies friends. It is true that the *Heights* and *Xantippe* live in our classical diocesanaries by the sides of *Nestor* and *Minerva*, but such a scold as the "Little Giant" does not appear to advantage on his records where are enshrined the dignified efforts of *Webster* and *Clay*.

The House is resting after its Kansas Committee struggle, and preparing for a fresh struggle on the question of admitting the new Free State. Meanwhile here is to be a war of words in this District, about the aqueduct, the bridge-bar across the Potomac, the Metropolitan railroad, and other local matters.

News from Kansas is awaited with great anxiety, as many think that the committee will not be very civilly treated by the Government officials!

Daily Journal & Courier.

Lowell, Monday, April 7, 1856.

Kansas.

The recklessness of party spirit and the disposition to misrepresent the position and views of an opponent have never been exhibited in this country in a greater degree than by the Administration presses in treating of the operations of the Free State men in Kansas. Not content with supporting the lawless marauders from Missouri, nor satisfied with justifying their too successful efforts in controlling the election of territorial officers who might mould the laws of the infant territory so as to cover with slavery a land that by the most solemn enactments was dedicated to freedom, these democratic organs are now endeavoring to prejudice the public mind by arraigning the free state men in that territory as traitors to the United States, and calling upon all good citizens to discountenance the effort of the Topeka convention, which offers to the country the only mode of disposing of the exciting question at once in accordance with the usages of the nation.

The people of Kansas have formed a constitution which will be presented to Congress with a petition to have the territory admitted as a State, a proceeding to which the country is not unaccustomed, and one that if successful will at once settle a question that threatens at this time to disturb the peace of the nation to no small extent. But this proceeding, harmless

as it appears and usual, as it certainly must be considered, is denounced by the supporters of the general government as treason. A large number of the new States, seven we believe in all, have met in convention, formed their constitutions, and then applied to Congress to be admitted as States, without asking Congress for permission to initiate these proceedings.—Some of these were slave States, some of them were free, yet in no instance has a State so acting been refused admission, and in no case, as we remember has the cry of treason been raised. Michigan, we think, not only formed her constitution and chose her state and national officers, but actually put her state government into operation and lived under it before Congress, owing to a dispute about the boundary of Ohio, was prepared to admit her. Indeed, we believe, she voted at a presidential election and transmitted her vote to Washington whilst the question of her admission was pending. Yet all that was not treason.

Treason against the United States consists in levying war against the government, or in adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort. Now it is difficult to see how Kansas can be considered as levying war against the government, or as adhering to its enemies, when she is seeking to be admitted as a sister state into the union, bringing her strength and resources to aid the general government in war as well as in peace. A party must have a peculiar care of slavery, to find treason in this effort of Kansas, merely because this effort promises to drive slavery from her borders.

But we see it stated that Kansas acts in this movement independent of her territorial government—that the convention to frame the constitution was held without the authority of territorial law, and therefore the movement is subversive of all law and order in the territory, and in direct defiance of the legal government established by the United States. It would be well for people who thus reason to consult the laws forming the territorial governments. In none of them is any authority given to call a convention to frame a constitution. No territorial legislature has ever been authorized to make any such call. In a majority of cases Congress has authorized the people of territories to form their constitution. When Congress has not so authorized them they have acted without any legislative authority. But the act of the people in such cases has always been sanctioned by Congress. Kansas has thus precedent in her favor. Where then is the treason? Will the democracy say it consists in excluding slavery from territory that has heretofore been free?

Portland Advertiser.

Monday Morning April 7, 1856.

A Southern Slaveholder Sending to New York for a Sharp's Rifle.

The following is an extract from a letter of a citizen of the interior of Kentucky, dated February 28, and addressed to an active and efficient friend of the free state men in Kansas, now in this city. It shows that Mr. Pierce's Kansas policy is by no means so universally popular in the slave states as he and his advisers suppose:

DEAR SIR:—My object in writing to you is to know how I can procure a Sharp's rifle, or any other equally as good. I intend to emigrate next month to Kansas, and I will be on the side of freedom.

"Although I am a slaveholder, yet I am, in the broadest sense, anti-slavery, and as a proof of my principles, intend to take my slave to Kansas and liberate him. It is a cruel, wicked, unjust law of our state that prevents a slaveholder from liberating their slaves here. The free state men in

Kansas have been greatly outraged. There is a man now in this county who voted in Kansas whilst on a trip to Missouri.

Mr. * * * who was the controlling spirit of the Kansas legislature, and who emigrated from this county to Missouri, gathered up his voters in Missouri and went over to Kansas and was elected by them to a seat in the legislature. Persons from Missouri have told me that they went over to Kansas and voted. But you are well informed on this subject. Although my religion requires me to love law, yet when the law of God, and the law of man comes in conflict, we must obey the law of God. Every man, guided by reason and an enlightened conscience, is to determine when the law of man and of God come in conflict.

I have no patience with those who are continually glorifying our revolutionary patriots for resisting laws of England "imposing upon the colonies laws of taxation without representation," and yet insist that the people of Kansas must submit to unjust anti-Christian and iniquitous laws passed by a legislature representing the people of another state. Out upon such hypocrisy!

"I would be glad to have one of Sharp's rifles sent to me here, and if I were certain this letter would reach you, I would enclose the money, and let you send it by express to Lexington. If you will send a rifle to some person in Cincinnati, I can pay for it there, or you can send it direct to me, and I will send you the money by mail, or you can send it to Kansas with the other rifles, and I can pay for it when I receive it from the agent.

"If it is known when the rifles pass through Missouri, they may be taken possession of by the "Law and order party." Let me suggest that you do not make public through the newspapers any aid that you may be rendering to the free-state men in Kansas, for it will all be copied into the southern papers, and for all the aid rendered by the North the slave oligarchy will endeavor to render twice as much to their supporters. I also want one or two good pistols—where and how can you get them?"

"Please let me hear from you immediately."

New-York Daily Tribune.

MONDAY, APRIL 7, 1856.

GEN. LANE AT HARRISBURG.

Correspondent of the New-York Tribune.

HARRISBURG, Saturday, April 5, 1856.

On the morning of yesterday a resolution was adopted by the House of Representatives of this State to grant the use of their hall to Gen. James H. Lane of Kansas, to address the members of that body and the citizens of this place upon the admission of Kansas into the Union under her present State Constitution. This resolution was introduced by Mr. Johns of Fayette, who, although a Democrat of the Douglas school, yet had the magnanimity to fight this resolution through in the face of a decided party majority. The Nebraskaites sought to kill it by all kinds of side motions and excuses for voting against it; but the steady support of the Union party minority, and a few Democrats following the lead of Johns, carried it through.

James H. Lane has just arrived, in company with Gov. Robinson, from Kansas. He made this appointment as he went through this city to Washington. He is, as you are aware, one of the newly elected Senators from the Territory, Gov. Reeder being the other. He served gallantly in the bloody battle of Buena Vista, as Colonel of the Third Indiana regiment. He is about five feet ten inches in height, and slenderly but actively built. His form indicates that he is wiry, elastic, and full of vigor. He has a keen, black eye, deeply sunken in his head, but restless and energetic in expression. His age is, perhaps, forty.

The audience was very large. The orator was introduced to them by the Hon. E. Joy Morris of Philadelphia in a most beautiful and appropriate speech, complimentary to the orator and highly befitting the occasion.

Gen. Lane spoke at length. He gave a graphic picture of the wrongs the Territory had suffered from the invasions of armed bands of Missourians—how they had come to the number of 7,000 to vote at the March election in 1855. They carried Whitfield's first election—the March election of

1855—and Whitfield's second election. They had murdered—persecuted and committed outrages that would have driven almost any people but those of Kansas to madness and open rebellion. The people of Kansas had appealed to Congress—memorialized the President, but all aid had been refused. They had never yet shed blood. He argued at length the necessity for, as well as the legality of the admission of the Territory into the Union as a State. He declared that the Pro-Slavery party in Kansas consisted entirely of the President's appointees and the Territorial officers appointed under the action of the Territorial Legislature. He declared that Gov. Shannon now boarded with the Indian Agent, who openly boasted that he had murdered Barbour. Shannon had

nothing to do now but to receive letters occasionally notifying him that some of the Sharp's rifles for the Free State men are taken. The Territorial Government is perfectly helpless, powerless, contemptible. A friend of his was sued for \$75, and the costs of the Justice were \$12. The fellow accepted \$1 25, laid upon a stump, as full satisfaction. The Free State man would not pay, if to him openly, as that would be a tacit acknowledgment of the legality of the Territorial Government, and for which the Justice was appointed.

Gen. Lane cited the resolutions introduced by Pierce in Dorr's case to show that he himself was in favor of the right of a people to change even a regular State Government, without regard to the existence of that State Government. He declared that it was a fact well known, that there are Blue Lodges all along the Missouri border, the members of which have taken an oath before high Heaven to drive the Free-State men out of the Territory, even if bloodshed be necessary. He cited facts to prove it. He closed in a most glowing appeal to the people of Pennsylvania to save their own sons and daughters from civil war by the admission of Kansas into the Union. Many of the people of Kansas came from the mountains and plains of the old Keystone State. At the close of the speech, a resolution was offered to the meeting for adoption, expressive of the sense of the meeting, avowing it to be the wish and desire of this meeting that Kansas should be admitted into the Union. This resolution was offered by R. H. Kerr of The Pittsburgh Post. It was adopted by a loud, hearty affirmative vote.

This speech has evidently done good here, coming as it does from one who has occupied Lane's position in the Democratic party heretofore. If such a speech, from so eloquent and courageous an advocate, could be delivered in every township in the State, R. M. Brodhead and Wm. Bigler would not nor dare not vote to refuse to admit this suffering Territory into the Union.

The conduct of Mr. Kerr in offering the resolution was so contrary to public expectation and to the avowed principles of his paper and party, that every one was taken by surprise. It is to be hoped, however, from this symptom, that he may henceforth be found on the right side.

FROM WASHINGTON.

KANSAS INCIDENTS.

Editorial Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune. WASHINGTON, Thursday, April 3, 1856. A friend just arrived from Kansas was witness of a characteristic scene at Kansas City, Missouri, a fortnight ago, which I will relate:

A steamboat had just come up the Missouri, conveying passengers and goods (in part) to Kansas. Among the goods was a large box marked "Furniture," directed to some person in Osandatomie, Kansas. This had been accompanied by the river for some distance by a band who insisted on breaking it open, saying it contained Sharp's rifles for "the Abolitionists." The captain, to his honor be it said, refused to have it opened while in his charge, saying it was his duty to deliver it safe and whole in Kansas City, which he should do. When it arrived there, however, and had been landed, the hard cases got around it, and, with the help of the loafers of the place, broke it open and discovered—

a piano! Who will pay the owner for this wanton injury to his property, does not yet appear; but I trust the inquiry will be pushed. And I further trust, if St. Louis cannot devise the ways and means of protecting from outrage property consigned to shippers for Kansas, that some one of the Iowa Railroads will be pushed through to Kansas, or as near as may be, forthwith. If St. Louis and the Missouri river steamboats don't want the trade of Kansas, it will find some other channel to the seaboard.

—Gov Robinson came down on a Missouri steamboat, and was regarded at first by his fellow passengers with aversion and suspicion; but he was ultimately invited to speak to them, and did so to an attentive audience. In the evening he spoke again, in exposition and defense of the Free-State movement in Kansas, and was heard to the end. After that, he had no trouble.

St. Louis must soon decide whether she prefers to have the Free State of Kansas for customer and friendly tributary or her wronged and resentful enemy. I trust she will decide wisely as well as justly. Surely her merchants and freighters must realize that they cannot afford to make their neighboring and rapidly growing State their deadly adversary.

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 7, 1856.

KANSAS AFFAIRS. Mr. COLLAMER resumed his remarks on Kansas affairs, and contended that the Missourians went into the Territory to control the elections, fearing that the Free-State men would triumph unless they interposed. He believed that 8,000 illegal votes were cast, and that the inhabitants were driven from the polls, not being permitted to vote in some districts. As to the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise he thought it rather hard that the North, having made a bargain, which they were not very well satisfied with, but which they were content to abide by for the sake of good faith, should now lose the little advantage they derived from it. He presumed gentlemen were familiar with the story of the "Vicar of Wakefield," and remembered how Moses traded his horse for a lot of green spectacles with shagreen cases. He did not suppose the Vicar proud of that bargain, but he had never heard that the horse jockey, after using up such a quantity, demanded his green spectacles again. [Laughter.]

Mr. DOUGLAS replied to some of Mr. COLLAMER'S criticisms on the Majority report, maintaining that the purpose of the Free State men in Kansas was to resist the Federal Government, if their application as a State was rejected. They had given notice that unless they were accented of their protest to a bloody issue, and for the purpose of preparing themselves for such resistance, they had procured SHARP'S Rifles, and organized the Kansas Legion, with its horrible oaths. Yet the Senator from Vermont omitted all those facts in his two-days speech. In the course of his remarks, Mr. DOUGLAS said that an election was to take place in Kansas on the 30th of March came by way of Boston, through the agents of the Emigrant Aid Society. This he contended was proof that there was a private understanding between them (the agents) and Gov. REEDER to influence the election by sending voters from the North, consequently these facts refuted the charge of invasion by the Missourians. Adjourned till Monday.

KANSAS AFFAIRS. Mr. GEYER addressed the Senate on Kansas affairs, saying that his position in the Senate, as the sole representative of the State of Missouri, would not permit him to decline participation in the debate. He engaged in it as a work of necessity rather than inclination. The circumstances under which the debate was inaugurated, seemed to indicate a purpose to make circumstantial capital out of the Kansas disturbances, with the view of controlling the coming National and State elections. In such a controversy he had no disposition to engage, but as a controversy in regard to defend his constituents against the grave and serious charges brought against them. He then proceeded to consider the constitutional aspect of the Slavery question, contending that the power of Congress to make all needful rules and regulations in regard to the territory and other property of the United States, extends to the public domain only, and not to the domestic affairs or institutions of the territory. Without concluding, Mr. GEYER gave way to a motion to adjourn.

MEMORIAL FROM THE KANSAS LEGISLATURE. Mr. CASE said: I desire to present a memorial from persons composing the self-styled Legislature of Kansas, and moved its reference to the Committee on Territories. Mr. SEWARD—Which of them? Mr. CASE—The honorable Senator understands just as well as I do him. Mr. SEWARD—I desire to know from my honorable friend from Michigan, whether the memorial he presents is a memorial which purports to come from the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, organized under the act of Congress, as I am led to infer from the manner in which he describes it, or whether it is a memorial from the Provisional Legislature of

don't know. If he does not say that, I have no further answer to make. [Laughter.] Mr. SEWARD—Well, let it go; I have no concessions to make. Mr. HALL—(To Mr. CASE)—Very well done General—I never knew you to do better. [Laughter.] Mr. CASE moved that the report be printed. Messrs. BUTLER and BAYARD opposed the motion, and— Mr. SEWARD demanded the yeas and nays. Mr. CASE thought the report would be interesting to a great many persons, and therefore urged its printing. Mr. DOUGLAS could not imagine what this bogus Legislature could have to say for itself. Mr. COLLAMER'S SPEECH ON KANSAS AFFAIRS—Douglas' Efforts to Change the Issue—Injustice to Private Claimants—Mr. Granger's Speech, &c.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

WASHINGTON, Saturday, April 5, 1856. KANSAS AFFAIRS. It is to be regretted that the able speech on the Kansas question, concluded yesterday by Mr. COLLAMER, of Vermont, is not to-day in the hands of every man, woman and child in the United States. "Truth is mighty and will prevail,"—and this speech in support of the report recently made by the Senator from Vermont on the whole subject of the troubles in Kansas,—carries truth in its every line, and must fasten conviction on the hearts of all who attentively peruse it. It would be impossible to present its general ideas in the brief limits of my letter; so, until the speech itself is published, I will only say that it triumphantly maintains every proposition and argument contained in Mr. COLLAMER'S minority report, (published exclusively in the DAILY TIMES not long since,) and leaves the report of Mr. DOUGLAS, sustaining the policy of imposing Slavery by force upon the new Territory, a shattered, sinking wreck. Read it, every man who wants a text-book upon this great overshadowing issue of our day and generation.

CHANGING THE ISSUE. Mr. DOUGLAS tried to change the issue, yesterday, after Mr. COLLAMER had concluded. Instead of devoting his attention to the recent controversy between popular sovereignty and Freedom on one side, and illegality, tyranny, oppression and Slavery on the other, he started off to the realms of futurity, and charged it as the purpose of the Free State men in Kansas to resist "the Federal Government," if their application to be admitted as a State should be denied. I take issue with the Senator. No resistance is proposed to be made against "the Federal Government." He begs the question when he thus ingeniously uses the words I have quoted. No resistance is threatened, except as against the lawless perversion of the authority of "the Federal Government," and Mr. DOUGLAS might as well charge treason against a man who refuses to be murdered because a maniac insists that he is a United States Marshal, and clothed with authority to hang whomsoever he shall suspect of loving

DARE DOUGLAS REFUSE THE STATE OF KANSAS? Freedom better than Slavery. But even if DOUGLAS' indictment were true, this is not the time to press it. There is another and a present issue pending. Let him stick to that. Congress has not yet refused to acknowledge the State Government of Kansas. The crisis which he anticipates may never arise. The House of Representatives will pass the bill to admit Kansas now into the Union, and it remains to be seen whether even the senior Senator from Illinois himself, with all his boldness, dare vote against her admission. It is better that he should wait awhile, and prove that he is ready to keep Kansas out of the Union, before he abandons the pending question, and seeks another in the dim and uncertain future.

SHAMEFUL INJUSTICE TO PRIVATE INTERESTS. Yesterday was private bill day in the House, but, after a brief time spent in the discussion of an incidental question, the regular business of the day was dropped, and the Deficiency bill was taken up, in order to permit speeches to be made upon the Slavery question. In the name of the hundreds of private claimants upon the justice of Congress, I protest against this course of proceeding. Private bill day should be sacredly devoted, except in extraordinary cases, to the business of the citizen who, not being allowed to sue his Government, is compelled to come to Congress and petition for his rights. There are now cases on the Calendar involving the pecuniary ruin of honest and industrious men—men who ask a hearing only. Some of these have sacrificed thousands of dollars and months of valuable time in the vain effort to get Congress to give attention to the business for which they are elected, and now ruin stares them in the face because Congress will not observe its own rules, but holds out a false light, only to allure and deceive them. I submit that this is cruel and heartless, and that common honesty demands a reform. If members will be so thoughtless of the wrongs thus suffered at their hands by the humble citizen, it is to be hoped the yeas and nays will hereafter be taken upon every motion to rob private claimants of their right to be heard on Friday, and that the country may know who are they that care so little for their fellow citizens writhing under the heel of oppression and neglect.

A RADICAL ABOLITION SPEECH. After a speech from Mr. SMITH, of Tennessee, in

4 defence of Southern conservatism. MR. GRANGER, of New-York, made a severe onslaught on the institution of Slavery, denying its constitutionality, and generally presenting the GAZETTE'S views on the subject. The speech was a strong one, and will create a stir; but I question whether it was a prudent one. Certainly it does not express the sentiments of the great mass of the Anti-Slavery men of the North. These are opposed to the extension of Slavery to free territory, and in favor of the divorce of the General Government from the support and maintenance of the institution in any way, manner or shape; but with SLAVERY as a municipal institution, in the States, the mass of the people of the North freely admit they have nothing to do,—no right or power of interference. The attempt was made by Southern men to get Mr. GRANGER to admit in the course of his speech that he was a member of the "Republican" Party,—but he declined the challenge. Nevertheless his speech will be circulated all through the South, and in the more conservative districts of the Northern States, and its sentiments be heralded as those of the party who oppose the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the Administration and party which sustain that iniquity.

THE DEFENCES IN LAWRENCE.—The several fortifications that were hastily thrown up during the late war in this city, have been manned, and sentinels are at each constantly keeping guard. There are four of these fortifications which are circular in form, and are raised about five feet high, with a ditch on the outside. Within these, temporary barracks have recently been made, and here the citizen soldiery are quartered. Fort Necessity—or Fort Smith as it is called by some—is situated near the foot of Massachusetts street, commands the fording place over the river, and is designed as a retreat for the women and children, if the town should be besieged or bombarded. A high staff is placed in the centre of this fort, from which our national ensign floats in the breeze.

About fifty rods south of Fort Necessity, and a few rods east of Massachusetts street, is Fort Hunt, now in command of Hon. Morris Hunt, recently elected Judge of our Supreme Court. He has twelve men under his command each armed with a Sharp's rifle. Fort Holliday is a few rods west of Massachusetts street, and designed as a protection of the town from cannon at Oread Mount. This is the best built fortification of the four and will probably have to stand the principal charge when the contest is opened upon us. Fort Dirkey is somewhat north of the latter fort and is designed to protect the town against an invasion from the west.

A circular redoubt is thrown across Massachusetts street between forts Hunt and Holliday, and would be a very effective resort for the citizens with arms in case of a charge from the South. All along Massachusetts street, between the last mentioned entrenchment and Fort Necessity, are breast works thrown up between the houses, forming a sort of fence on either side.

The Emigrant Aid Company's fine hotel, which is still in an unfinished condition—though laborers are at work upon it, is also under guard constantly, and is made the Head Quarters of the Generals and their Staff, as well as of the Committee of Safety, Executive Committee, &c. Expresses have been sent to the different towns along the border in Missouri to purchase ammunition, and every arrival brings some. One team succeeded in getting half a ton of lead and several hundred pounds of powder; others are able to buy one or two hundred pounds, and a keg of powder. These our women are engaged in manufacturing into cartridges, to be used with Sharp's rifles. Not a pound of lead or powder can be bought at the stores here; they have all been secured by the Committee of Public Safety, and will be saved for use when necessity shall demand.—Corresp. N. Y. Cour. and Enquirer.

THE HERALD.

NORFOLK:

MONDAY MORNING, April 7, 1856.

SOUTHERN COMPANIES FOR KANSAS.—The Atlanta Intelligencer of the 29th inst. says:

"Judging from the number of companies passing almost daily through our city, on their way to Kansas, we doubt not there will be a 'smart sprinkling' of Southerners in that region before many weeks. On Wednesday night a company of eighteen or twenty passed through Atlanta, and on Thursday we noticed another company of forty-one, all armed and equipped, going on their way rejoicing. They were from Charleston, and other points of South Carolina. A company organized in this city is expected to leave in a few days for the same destination."

THE MERCURY

CHARLESTON

Monday Morning, April 7, 1856.

FOR THE MERCURY.

The Kansas Question.—No. 1.

I have read, with feelings of the deepest interest, the report of the proceedings of the Kansas meeting in Charleston, which was held in the Hall of the South Carolina Institute, on the evening of the 14th inst. Entertaining, as I do, the highest respect for the people of Charleston, and having much confidence in their patriotism and high political intelligence, every political demonstration they make commands my respectful consideration and reflection. While devoting my usual attention, therefore, to the proceedings of the recent Kansas meeting in Charleston, the following clause in the address of the Special Committee attracted my special notice:

"Political sagacity has long perceived that 'Free-soilism is not a sentiment, a conviction, a primary element of moral faith and political principle, entering as an essential into the organic polity of our Republic. It is but a political element of Northern party tactics. It is a dogma for popular use and effect; a cry which catches the vulgar morbid ear. It is an electioneering subject; a stimulant to fanatical passion. Its potency at the hustings and in the pulpit, alone foisted it upon the social, moral and quiet circles of the North. It has thus become the powerful engine there of political demagoguism and sectional statesmanship. A power of this kind depends solely on success and its prestige. In itself it possesses no inherent force, either as a moral or political tenet—a social or organic good. Adversity ever best subdues and controls passion, either in individuals or empires. Let Free-soil, by our united efforts, meet it in Kansas. Let there its prestige of success and power find dissipation. Nor adversity nor defeat having yet been its portion, it has become imperious and aggressive to the last degree; but the first instance of either will be a touchstone to its hollow pretensions, mad designs, and inherent weakness. A defeat on the plains of Kansas, and in the restoration of the Compromise line of 1820, will send a panic doubt through the Northern heart, a chill through the pulses of Northern fanaticism, which may distract and prostrate Abolition at home, repel political ambition from its failing fortunes, and in thus dispelling the illusion of its invincibility, enable right reason and rectitude in civil affairs to resume their constitutional sway. Peace and the Constitution may thus be restored to our distracted country."

The above extract, from the address of the Special Committee, is remarkable for its sweeping comprehensive. It has seldom been my lot to read a paragraph, from the pen of any writer, which, in so few words, comprehended so much, and presented such a wide field for comment and elaborate criticism. But it has, I think, one great fault; and with the most unfeigned respect for its authors, I am constrained to say, what I believe to be true, that the teachings of political science prove every material proposition it contains, to be erroneous, save one, and that is the following: "Nor adversity nor defeat having yet been its (Abolition) portion, it has become imperious and aggressive to the last degree."

That is true, and we should learn from it a lesson of the greatest import.

I regard the above extract from the address of the special committee, as evolving ideas of the utmost importance; for that brief extract from that able and patriotic address embodies, in few words, all the standard ideas upon which the resistance of the South to the Anti-slavery aggressions of the North proceeds. It embodies the precise basis of Southern statesmanship, in reference to Free-soilism at the present time; and it is because it is so, that Abolition has not met either adversity or defeat, and has therefore become imperious and aggressive in the last degree.

The above extract begins thus:

"Political sagacity has long perceived that 'free-soilism is not a sentiment, a conviction, a primary element of moral faith and political principle, entering as an essential into the organic polity of our Republic."

Now, "political sagacity" has long thought it perceived these things, but that sagacity has been greatly in error; for I am persuaded, and before I close I will, I think, produce the proof, that free-soilism is "a sentiment, a conviction, a primary element of moral faith," &c.; and it is because it is so, that it cannot be quashed by Congressional legislation. It is because it is "a sentiment," and even more,

a religious sentiment and faith, that it gains victory after victory over the statesmanship of the South; and unless the people of the South shall change; their present faith, and adopt one that accords better with the facts of history, their civilization, and not free-soilism, will be quashed as a consequence of their present erroneous faith. It is because free-soilism, Abolition, is a religious sentiment, that a Kansas Association in the South has become an imperious necessity. It is a fact which now stares us in the face, that these very Kansas Associations are but practical appeals from our Senatorial and Congressional Representatives at Washington, to the people, telling them, as the tribunal of the last resort, that Southern statesmanship, and the impotent mummeries of party tactics, have failed to protect our rights in the Union,—that the Federal Government has failed to accomplish the purposes of its formation,—and that we must now look to ourselves instead of the Government,—to private means instead of the common treasury—to our private citizens instead of our representatives, or the Federal army,—to protect and save our civilization from overthrow. This is well. At last we have begun to take steps in the right direction. And when we shall clearly see and comprehend the truth, that we may no longer expect protection from the Government, and turn our faces away from Washington forever, we will have taken another step, more important still, and more necessary and essential to our safety.

But I recur again to the above extract from the address. It proceeds: "It (Free-soilism) is but a political element of Northern party tactics. It is a dogma for popular use and effect—a cry which catches the vulgar morbid ear. It is an electioneering subject—a stimulant to fanatical passion. Its potency at the hustings and in the pulpit alone foisted it upon the social, moral, and quiet circles of the North. It has thus become the powerful engine there of political demagoguism, and sectional statesmanship."

My limits confine me to a very brief reply to these comprehensive propositions.

It is true that Free-soilism, Abolitionism, have entered into the arena of Northern politics; but that is but one of the effects, and not the cause, of Abolitionism. The originators of the Abolition idea were not politicians. The founders of the school, both in Europe and America, were religious enthusiasts. It had its source in the European idea of religious liberty. It was brought over to America by British Abolition missionaries, and engrained first upon the mind of the religious sect called Quakers. From that hour to this, it has progressed as a religious idea, and has not for one moment been divorced from its absurd adjunct, evolved from the metaphysical brain of John Locke, "all men are created equal." And a few weeks since, the leader of the Black Republican party in the House of Representatives of the United States, announced to that body, that the political organization and action of that party proceeds upon the authority and under the sanction of that clause in the Declaration of Independence. When the British Parliament, under the lead of Wilberforce, resolved that Abolition should not be a party question, that great fact in its history was announced to the world under the solemn and imposing title of "THE TRUCE OF GOD." It originated in religious fanaticism, and progressed by the pressure and power of the same sentiment; but it sought a union with the political parties at the North, before those parties manifested any desire to coalesce with it. And it sought that union, in order to obtain the control over the State and Federal Governments, as the most certain and powerful means of accomplishing its purposes. It acts with the great precedent of the British Parliament for its guidance, and not by blind impulse, or the promptings of political preferment, as many suppose. The sentiment which impels it on to its destined purpose and end, the sagacity and skill which direct its movements, lie deeper in the hidden recesses of the human heart; and the world has never yet seen a party which acted with more consummate skill and unity of purpose. It is able thus to act, and to secure the inflexible fidelity and faithfulness of all its members, because it is not a political party; for no political party can act so harmoniously.

When the religion of Abolition (for it has a religion of its own kind) was diffused abroad into the Northern heart, and took root in the Northern mind, and the number of votes under its control became sufficiently numerous to constitute the balance of power between the two prevailing political parties, then the Abolition party, so to speak, became politicalized; and, in its turn, it Abolitionized all parties at the North, with but an inconsiderable exception, as the phenomenon of seventeen Democratic Representatives in the House of Congress proves. But this absorption of all parties into one, has not taken away from the Abolition party a single element of its original creed. There are doubtless many in its ranks who act from a hope and expectation of political rewards; but the dark spirit which invokes the storm, and charges it with its muttering thunders, seeks only the infamous glory and immortal renown, of disrupting society by success. Like the army of the Allies, it has attracted to its standard every element of successful war; every class of warlike material; but the idea and aim which gave it life at first, are its springs of action still. It was in this way, and this alone, that Abolition became a school for demagogues; for it offered to these vultures of civil society bribes too tempt-

ing to be resisted. But it should be borne in mind, that these demagogues are only the puppets, not the mighty magician, whose voice the demon dogmatical, in the true meaning of the word. Its leaders can point to the authority of great names, and great precedents. It has a history which includes a century of recorded time; and it would require volumes to record the wrongs, the crimes, and the ruin, it has wrought. It is too late; its power is too fearful for evil, to justify us in speaking lightly of it. We should rather, for the sake of our country, and its mighty interests, see the truth as it is, and make at last the reluctant admission, that it will require the strength of full-grown manhood to grapple with it, and arrest its march.

Even now, the Federal Government is partly in its hands; and who shall say it will not have entire command of every department of it before five years more shall pass away.

But enough for to-day. You shall hear from me again.

BRUTUS.

New Orleans Daily Delta.

Published at 26 Canal Street.

AN APOSTLE OF THE YOUNG SOUTH IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a meeting of the Kansas Association of Charleston, (S.C.) on the 1st instant, William Whaley, Esq., amidst loud applause read a portion of a letter from John Townsend, Senator of St. John's, Colleton, in the South Carolina General Assembly. The letter enclosed a contribution of \$500, to be applied to the purposes for which the Association was organized, and expressed the earnest desire of the writer to see Kansas rescued from the "frogs, and lice, and locusts," with which she is threatened to be cursed. But what we most admire in the letter is the genial and hearty spirit of the Young South Militant which pervades it. Heretofore, South Carolina, though great and strongly fortified in political abstractions and theories of Constitutional organization, has been too prone to put its faith in a policy of "masterly inactivity," in a position of self-insulation, seeming to struggle only to preserve a state of *status quo* in its relations to the Federal Government, and to have no higher aspiration than to perpetuate its own past and present. It seemed forgetful of that political as well as philosophical fact, that agitation can only be met successfully by counter-agitation, action by reaction, and propagandist schemes on one side by organization and apostolism on the other. But we think we observe an improved diagnosis of South Carolina politics. John Townsend, of St. John's, writes like one who had manfully shaken off the crust of the old political provincialism of that State. He is evidently convinced that a more vigorous and expansive policy is wanted for the future; in short, that the creed, aye, the militancy of the creed, of the Young South, political or martial, is the prime necessity of the crisis. And the illustration of this creed requires this simply: that if they agitate against slavery in the North we must agitate against anti-slavery agitation in the South; if anti-slaveryism subsidizes the press and the literature of the North, and scatters insidious sophistries, essays and philippics over the country against Southern institutions, let the press and literature of the South be nobly enlisted in exposing the folly, the iniquity and insanity of its assailants; if the North seek to extend its boundaries, let the South seek to extend its boundaries; if the North seek to abolitionize Kansas by sending out hired emigrants, let the South also send emigrants thither to defeat the unholy and incendiary purpose; and if they send out from New England Sharpe's rifles and bowie knives to be used in Kansas by a sanguinary fanaticism, let there be rifle for rifle from the South, knife for knife, blow for blow, blood for blood.

We make the following extract from Mr. Townsend's letter, touching the important relation which Kansas bears to the South, and the best means of defeating the designs of the Abolitionists upon it:

I have never had any sympathy with those who think that the possession of Kansas is a matter of indifference to us; nor have I ever been able to see the force of the argument, "that by obtaining that Territory, we decrease slavery, and therefore, weaken it." Putting out of view the considerations to which it has adverted, of political strength, which she will have the means of bringing to us, the argument is, in itself, founded in mistake, since our most resolute and unflinching slaveholders are our small slaveholders—they I mean, with two or three slaveholders—their means are obvious, if this was a suitable occasion to give them.

The concentration of slavery within limited areas, and the accumulation of the slaves in a few hands, is not as favorable to the strength of the institution as the distribution of them among many owners; nor is each slave as profitable or as much valued in the former as in the latter case. Now, all the information which we have from Kansas in relation to

show that there is no territory on our continent where such ample inducements are held out to the slaveholder (and especially to the small slaveholder) of abundant reward to his labor—and, therefore, none which it better becomes the South, in an enlightened spirit of fostering care for her citizens, to secure for him.

Kansas then becomes important to the slaveholding South, and is worthy of the earnest efforts of Southern men, from the consideration, first, of the political strength, which we shall acquire to ourselves through her, as long as we may remain in the Union; and not less so after we may leave it (a Union which, in passing, I will remark, is becoming less desirable every day, in consequence of the unnatural position which public affairs are taking in making it a Union with our enemies.) From the consideration, 2d, of the benefits which the institution of slavery itself will derive in the estimate of the world, as one of the forms of political society—which benefits will arise from the strength and wealth which it will acquire, by diffusion among greater numbers and over larger territory; and last, from the consideration of the intrinsic benefit Kansas will be to our citizens as a territory, where they can spread themselves, and find ample remuneration for their labor and capital.

Are not these advantages worth contending for? Who doubts that the institution of negro slavery, as it exists among us, will be influential in the councils of nations, and command respect in the estimate of mankind, according to the power and wealth which it can wield in its defense? Should we ever hear more of the "fine sentiment," and "philanthropy," and "higher law" of the abolitionist, if the wealth and power of this whole continent, instead of that of fifteen small States, acknowledged the sceptre of the slaveholder? I think not. As a question then of power and influence to the South, how weighty benefits innumerable, if we exert ourselves and win, or disasters which will have no end, if we sleep at our posts, and lose.

Our enemies show their appreciation of its importance to them; and they have, accordingly, addressed themselves to the work with a zeal and an energy, which, (although they have no interest in the matter at all to be compared with ours) should shame us out of any apathy which may possess us. They judge, and they judge truly, that if they conquer that outpost, and get possession of Kansas, the large territory now temporarily occupied by the Indians, must fall before them; that Missouri must next become an easy conquest, and that the South, being environed with her enemies in that quarter, will be walled in from all further progress and aggrandizement. Will the Southers, for this? Will she play the imbecile, or the craven, or the dishonest dot, and suffer to be taken from her what is rightfully her own, and which is so essential to her future well-being? I am persuaded that she will not.

But, how is success to be achieved? The answer is comprehended in a single sentence—by colonizing the country with the right sort of men; and as there are many men of courage and enterprise who may desire to emigrate to Kansas, the means—by aiding such in making Kansas their home, men of a different character will waste the fund without benefitting the cause. The thriftless loafer at home will be a thriftless loafer in Kansas, if he be not worse—a tax and an incubus upon our struggling friends there. For we should not forget in the kind of men we send, that we have a great warfare there to wage; a warfare, which, if it is true, is to be decided at a certain stage, by numbers, at the ballot-box; but one, in which mind, intelligence, prudence, sagacity and resolute courage will be essential in securing those numbers, and winning the victory. The first battle will be that of Reason and Truth, or the field of argument. The emigrant, then, with courage and the strong right arm to strike for his rights, when rudely invaded, is good. But the one, who, in addition to these qualifications, can give a reason for the fact that "it is within him," and can scatter the errors, delusions and mistakes which are driving on our adversaries with such ferocious zeal against us, is beyond comparison a far better man for our purpose.

I would therefore not merely have them armed with the rifle and the bowie knife, to match them in weapons with those whom our enemies have armed and sent out there, and which, I fear, will too readily resort to, but I would arm them also with the "pro-slavery argument," and let them go, both as propagandists and as settlers. I have confidence in the intellectual strength of our position, and I believe in the mighty power of the press. Our enemies have used it to pervert truth, to disseminate falsehood and error, to blacken and distort our system of slavery, and to vilify us before mankind. Let us take the weapon from them and use it for better purposes—to establish truth and reason and common sense—to verify history, which they have falsified—and to vindicate revelation, which they have blasphemed. Let us rescue, as far as we may have opportunity, the dupes in the ranks of our enemies, who know no better, from the delusions and falsehoods of the fanatics and knaves who are leading them on. Let us gain this moral victory over their forces, and then our political conquest of the country must follow, and be permanent.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

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MOBILE:
WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 2, 1856.

PIERCE IN THE VOCATIVE.—The Washington correspondent of the Charleston Mercury, thus scientifically disposes of the prospects of Mr. Pierce for the nomination at Cincinnati:

Next in interest to Kansas is the Presidential election. My surmises as to the prospects of Mr. Pierce in the Cincinnati Convention, have been more than confirmed by what I have heard since my arrival here. It is well known that the chief ground upon which South Carolina is urged to participate in the convention, is to

secure the nomination of President Pierce. Yet what will the people of the State, who have been led off by this decoy, say, when they learn that their Representatives in Washington, who urge them to the measure, have no hopes of his nomination? Gratitude to President Pierce for his course of faithfulness to the South, is tortured to serve mere party purposes; and under thin plea of party justice to him, the State is called on to abandon her principles, when it is known that our gratitude is to be defeated, and that justice set at naught.

It is neither expected nor intended that the participation of South Carolina in the Convention shall redound to the promotion of President Pierce. Her sacrifice of principle here will be punished with disappointment, and while fancying herself magnanimous she will find herself the dupe of designing selfseekers. I repeat, and it is a conclusion derived from what I have heard here from prominent men that the argument in favor of the State sending delegates to Cincinnati, to secure the re-nomination of President Pierce, is mere jugglery.

It is supposed by some, that he will get the entire vote of the South in the Convention. But it is not so. Virginia and Louisiana, and perhaps others, will not support him. In Virginia, Gov. Wise is exerting all his influence for Buchanan, while at the same time counting upon his defeat, in the hope that, in that event, Buchanan's friends will support him. In Louisiana, Slidell is also pushing the cause of Buchanan. Douglas will support Pierce in preference to any but himself; and Pierce's friends, when they find his case hopeless, will in all probability rally upon Douglas.

GEN. CASS AND YOUNG KANSAS.—Col. Delahay made a formal presentation of the Topeka Constitution to Gen. Cass the other day, who is to offer it in the Senate. We have a report of Col. D.'s remarks on the occasion, but not of the General's reply. It will be perceived that the old statesman caught a pretty strong dose.—Mr. Delahay said:

HON. LEWIS CASS: In conformity with the wishes of the people of Kansas, hitherto expressed, I have been honored with the pleasurable duty of presenting to you the Constitution framed and adopted by them, as an organic law suited to their condition (which is republican in its form and unobjectionable in its provisions); and while I greatly appreciate the honor, as their organ on this occasion, I do not know that it would do violence to any of the known rules of propriety, on behalf of the oppressed people of Kansas to express their appreciation of your long, faithful and distinguished public services, not only in the Senate of the United States, and on the borders of the frontier of the West, where exposure and the conflict of battle and the sanguinary strife with a deadly foe appealed to your patriotism and courage, but when you have been called to discharge your duty abroad, you have ever been ready to protect and defend the honor of the flag of your country from insult and pay a proper regard to the rights of the American citizens; the people of Kansas, from their peculiar condition, the outrages and insults to which they have been subjected, their patient suffering under the oppression and tyranny of laws not of their own making—laws interdicting the freedom of the press and of speech; that you are their choice you are fully assured. In the name of the people of Kansas, you are respectfully asked to receive and present this Constitution to the Senate of the United States. I take this occasion to assure you that it is pleasing to me, and will be cheering; to your many friends in Kansas, to know that while you have advanced to a ripe age you still retain vigor of intellect and physical energy fully equal to the young man.

In conclusion, may it please a Divine Providence to allot to you many years of usefulness to your friends and country; and when you shall retire from public life your fame will be a boon to the historian, and your most conspicuous moment will be in the hearts of your countrymen.

St. Paul Daily Times.

TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 8, 1856.

WASHINGTON.

From our Regular Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, March 23, 1856.

In the adoption of Mr. Dunn's proposition to send a committee to Kansas armed with the full power of the House for the purpose of investigating whatever has taken place there since the organization of the Territory, which they may deem worthy of being investigated, the Anti-Nebraska members have achieved a great triumph; and not they only, but the cause of civil liberty, the rights of man, law and order. The appointment of this grand inquest by the House of Representatives, gives assurance to the people of the United States that lawless violence and ruffianism shall not go

unnoticed nor unwieldy of justice. It is a guaranty to the people of the whole Union that those of them who choose to go to the Territories may do so without let or hindrance, and shall be protected in their rights and lawful pursuits.

The committee—of three—are authorized to appoint two clerks and one or more sergeant-at-arms to aid them in executing the order of the House, and they are furthermore empowered to call upon the Executive for troops for that purpose should they find it necessary, so that it will lack no power necessary to enable it to make a thorough and searching investigation into all the outrages that have been alleged to have been perpetrated in that Territory. They can, of course send for persons and papers, and therefore, call any man before them, swear and examine them. This will, I think, have a tendency to allay excitement and agitation at the North, and at the same time promote emigration, since those disposed to go to that country can now feel assured that their rights, persons and property will be protected from the lawless violence of "border ruffians."

It is not known who will be placed on the committee, but parliamentary usage and courtesy requires the appointment of Mr. Dunn, the author of the proposition, as Chairman; and yet, it is rumored that he will be left off. If he be, it will be through the personal pique of the Speaker, on account of Mr. D.'s refusing to support him after a week or so of voting.

We have had some intellectual sparring in the Senate lately, between the two Senators from Illinois, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Trumbull. Mr. D. made a very long majority report from the committee on Territories, upon Kansas affairs, Mr. Collamer from the same Committee having made a minority report. On the next day, the question of printing a very large extra number coming up, Mr. Trumbull seized the occasion to correct some of the false assumptions and mis-statements of Mr. D.'s report, and to make some comments thereon.—This was done, however, in a courteous, senatorial manner, and without any personal animosity whatever. But Mr. D. had not been accustomed to being thus commented upon and cut to pieces by a *colleague*, and he was in a towering temper on the occasion.

When Mr. T. had concluded, he took the floor, and in a very bad spirit replied to Mr. T., assailing him personally. Mr. T. replied with spirit and ability, nothing daunted by Mr. D.'s temper and experience in the Senate, and there was quite an exciting passage-at-arms between them, Mr. T. standing square up to Mr. D. in the conflict, and rejoining with promptitude and pungency to Mr. D.'s remarks and personalities. The debate, however, was adjourned to Thursday (tall) when Mr. D. replied at length to his colleague, who promptly, but briefly rejoined to him.

In anticipation of a scene, all the ladies (strange to say there is not a woman, except my wife, in this city,) in Washington flocked into the Senate galleries and ante-rooms, crowding and jamming each other like so many—beautiful creatures squeezed into a place not large enough to contain the half of them comfortably—and there half of them stood for three

or four hours, squeezing each other at which they were aided by a sprinkling of men who had squeezed their way among them, so that there was abundance of squeezing, enough to satisfy the ladies, I should suppose, for a whole week at least.

But the debate was much less personal, and of course less spicy than was expected. Mr. D. had evidently either recovered his temper, or had come to the conclusion that his colleague was not to be either frightened or brow-beaten, and that he himself would lose ground by pursuing such a course with him. This was so apparent that in the outset of his reply Mr. T. said,

"I rejoice, sir, that in the discussion to-day a better spirit has been manifested than we witnessed when this subject was last before us. My wishes are, that discussion should be so conducted as to avoid any allusions of a personal character. If this had been done by my colleague, his speech might have gone out unanswered. As it is, I have a few words to say.

Mr. T. then went on replying to particular portions of Mr. D.'s speech—which had just been concluded—and finally came to the charge of his being a Black Republican or Abolitionist, when he said he had been the political pupil of his colleague, "who in former years," he said,

"I hold with me those same notions of Democracy which he now calls Abolitionism and Black Republicanism. I acted with and supported him for years, supposing him to be a true Democrat, standing upon the old Jeffersonian platform of Democracy; and it never occurred to me at that day that I was cherishing Black Republican and Abolition sentiments unawares, but it seems that I was."

My colleague charges upon me, however, that I am engaged in a crusade against the Democratic party, and hurls at me again those insinuations which he took the liberty of making the other day, that I am associated with Abolitionists. Now, sir, I wish to put this matter right—to put it down so that it shall never be reiterated or heard of again. I have before me the Journal of the last Legislature of the State of Illinois—a Legislature the lower House of which was elected after the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, and elected on the issue of endorsing the Senator's conduct in repealing the Missouri compromise. That was the great question in issue. He canvassed the State upon it. The Senators are elected for four years, one-half going out every two years.—In the House of Representatives consisting of seventy-five members fresh from the people, this resolution was adopted.

"Resolved by the House, (the Senate concurring herein,) That our Senators be instructed, and our members of the lower House in Congress, in this State, be respectfully requested to oppose any and all efforts having for their object the disturbance of the compromise measures of 1850, including the fugitive slave law.

"That the Missouri compromise ought never to have been disturbed; and that our Senators deserve the reprehension of this House for so doing."

Forty-one votes were cast in favor of this resolution, and there were but twenty-three against it, only sixty-four members being present.

Now I wish to say, in reply to the insinuation which has been thrown out that I am associated with the Abolitionists of Illinois, that of the forty-one members who voted for that resolution condemning my colleague's course, twenty-nine refused to vote for me as Senator, and cast their votes, with three or four exceptions, for his particular friend General Shields, or Joel A. Matteson.

Are these twenty-nine members Abolitionists? They did not support me, but—with some half a dozen exceptions—they are the peculiar friends and supporters of my colleague. Is not he, then, associated with Abolitionists? The same resolution would have passed the Senate but for the fact that half its members held over, just as my colleague holds over here, having been elected before the Nebraska issue came up; otherwise

the resolution which passed the House would have passed the Senate also, and I have presented here as a guide for my colleague's conduct; and yet the principle of this resolution is now denounced as Abolitionism, and a proposition is graven on the floor of the Senate, that we should both resign and go before the people of Illinois. Now, I desire to put that matter to rest, and to show the absurdity of the proposition, though it is not unlike many others which are made. I would not undertake to answer it any further than it was replied to the other day, but for the fact that it is noticed in the official paper as if it were a powerful argument in reference to the Kansas-Nebraska question.

Now, what is the proposition? Look at the coolness of the thing.—My colleague was elected before this issue sprang up in the country, while he and I were acting together. He went out to Illinois, and, through his friends, meetings were held and a decree went forth denouncing every man as an Abolitionist or Black Republican who did not endorse the Kansas-Nebraska act. It happened to be one of those sitting at the people's gate, who would neither bow down to, nor reverence this decree, and if I erected a scaffold for me, like Haman of old, another shall be found hanging on it, it is not my fault. [Laughter.] Sir, sitting at the gate, I neither bowed down nor did reverence to my colleague's new test, but thought proper to stand upon the doctrine which he had promulgated in 1849 and 1850, and the people sustained me: On this issue I was elected, first to the House of Representatives; then, through the Legislature, to this body; and now after the elections are over, after we have fought the fight, and the battle is won, my colleague says, "Let us have a new trial." [Laughter.] He says to me: "If you will resign" having just been elected on this issue, "I will resign too and we will go before the people." Is not that a modest proposition? Let the Senator return to his constituents—let him resign and present this issue to them, and then, if re-elected, we shall stand on an equal footing. He and I would both have been elected upon the same issue, and then I should be willing to join him and go before the people for a final decision between us. I am not afraid to trust the people of Illinois. They are sound upon this question—they stand upon the Democratic platform erected for them by his act in 1850 and 1852. His proposition to resign reminds me of an unsuccessful client in court. I never knew one who was not ready for a new trial if he could get it. The Senator has made this issue with me, and he has been unsuccessful. When he shall have had his own trial on it, and shall have succeeded, he will find me ready to meet him.

I have quoted somewhat freely from Mr. T.'s reply to Mr. D., but I think your readers will find what I have selected interesting, and as Mr. T. is a new actor on the stage of public life, it will enable them to form some idea of the capacity of the new Senator as a prompt and ready debater. The opinion here is, that Mr. D. has an antagonist in his colleague on account of whom he will do well to be at all times well prepared; and who is armed *cap a pie* with facts, and has the ability to use them; one whose quiver is full of arrows, his bow elastic and always bent, and his keen lance always in rest. Such a colleague Mr. D. has not been accustomed to deal with, and if he be not particularly cautious he will one of these days find himself unhorsed by him.

But the adoption of the resolutions of Mr. Dann, by the House must necessarily check, if they do not put an entire stop to all debate on Kansas affairs, as it is useless to be making speeches upon an assumed, but disputed state of facts, while the facts themselves, are undergoing a thorough official investigation and will ere long be reported to Congress.

Mr. Clayton spoke a few days ago upon the Central American difficulty with England, and expressed the confident opinion that we should have no war, though he trusted our government would (as I learn that it will) adhere to

construction of the Clayton Bulwer treaty, and refuse to submit the subject to arbitration.

The London Times continues its insolent blustering and swaggering on this subject as well as that of the recruitment, but reliable information from England gives assurance that public opinion is there against their government and in favor of our course.

Various bills for improving the navigation of the Mississippi have been introduced and referred to the committee on Commerce, which is favorably constituted for Western interest.

A bill to authorize the people of Kansas to hold a convention and form a constitution preparatory to their entrance into the Union, when they shall have a population of 93,420, has been reported in the Senate by the committee on Territories. The bill in some form, will, I think become a law. Kansas once admitted as a free state, as she will certainly be, and agitation would cease. Let it be done soon.

MINNETONKA.

Dubuque Daily Tribune.

Tuesday April 8, 1856.

"Injustice to the South."

Our Pro-Slavery friends, are very much inclined to sympathise with "the south." They sadly fear, that the south (poor souls) cannot take care of themselves. They have a great deal to say in favor of "popular sovereignty" and its ideal beauties; but nothing of its glorious results.

For the benefit of those who cry for "justice to the south," and who have forgotten, that there is a "north," and that any other class of men, than slaveholders, have rights—we submit to their inspection, the following laws, which are the legitimate results, of this (so-called) "popular sovereignty—passed, by the popular sovereignty Legislature; for the government of the people of Kansas:

"If any person print, write, or introduce into, or publish, or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published, or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing, or circulating, within the territory, any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, hand bill, or circular, containing any statements, arguments, opinion, sentiment, doctrine advice, or invective, calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves of this Territory, or to induce such slaves to escape from the service of their masters, or to resist their authority, he shall be guilty of a felony, and be punished by imprisonment, at hard labor, for a term not less than 5 years."

What think you of such laws as these?—Which, prohibiting freedom of Speech—shut out from the territory at least two-thirds of the newspapers of the Union; and provides that a man, who carries with him, circulars, or read to his neighbor, the principles contained in our glorious constitution, and in the holy word of God, (both of which, proclaim, the equality and freedom of man—liberty to the captive and love to our brethren,) is liable to be arrested and incarcerated in prison as a common felon!

It is charged, that it is the Republicans, and them only, who are responsible, for this agitation. Is this so? Read the following resolutions passed by the democratic Senate, of the democratic State of New Hampshire; the home of Franklin Pierce, as long ago, as the year 1848—and then tell us, whether or not the doctrines now contended for by the Republicans, were not then, the doctrines of the democracy:

The Legislature of New Hampshire, with an overwhelming Democratic majority, passed the following resolution unanimously in 1848: "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened, That we are in favor of the passage of a law, by Congress, forever prohibiting Slavery in New Mexico and California and in all other territories now acquired, or hereafter to be acquired, by the United States, in which Slavery does not exist at the time of such acquisition."

This was in 1848. Perhaps it will be said they began then to reform. Let us see. In 1849, these resolutions were passed unanimously by the New Hampshire Legislature:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened, That we are opposed to every form of oppression, and that the people of New Hampshire have ever viewed with deep regret the existence of Slavery in this Union; that while they have steadfastly supported all sections, in their constitutional rights, they have not only lamented its existence as a great social evil, but regarded it as fraught with danger to the peace and welfare of the nation.

"Resolved, That while we respect the rights of the slaveholding as well as the free portions of this Union—while we will not willingly consent that wrong be done to any member of the glorious Confederacy to which we belong, we are FIRMLY and UNALTERABLY OPPOSED TO THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY OVER ANY PORTION OF THE AMERICAN SOIL NOW FREE.

"Resolved, That in our opinion, Congress has the CONSTITUTIONAL POWER TO ABOLISH THE SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA; and that our Senators be INSTRUCTED, and our Representatives be REQUESTED TO TAKE ALL CONSTITUTIONAL MEASURES TO accomplish these objects.

(In the language of another) we ask. "Who do you suppose introduced that proposition? Mr. Clement. And do you suppose that merit like his has been passed over by the President? No, sir; but he has been appointed by the present President, collector and superintendent of light-houses, for the district of Portsmouth, and agent of the marine hospital there. Mr. Clement determined to put an end to this continual of passing resolutions. He said to himself, what is the use of that? Here you are passing resolutions year after year on this subject. Now, said he, let us have done with it, and let us declare to all the world and to all time, that we are unalterable. Other things may change; we, never. We live in a granite State; our everlasting hills, tower up higher than the clouds; they may crumble and fall, but the New Hampshire Democracy are unalterable; they, will never turn. And their unalterable position is, that they are opposed to the extension of Slavery over any portion of American soil now free."

What did the New Hampshire Patriot, the mouthpiece of the President, say then in regard to the subject? On the 26th of July, 1849, speaking of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, then recently broached in a celebrated letter:

"The Democracy of the North, did endorse the doctrine, and they never will. The Democracy of this State, are unanimous in the opinion, so far as we know, that Congress has and should exercise the power, and exclude Slavery from California and New Mexico."

So far as they knew, then, there was not a man in New Hampshire who did not entertain these opinions. Did General Pierce entertain them? Why, he was chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee during all this time; and he, was the New Hampshire Democracy. It is idle to say, therefore, that he did not entertain these views. Again, the same paper says:

"Ever since the question of the extension of Slavery to free territory was first broached, the Democrats of New Hampshire have opposed, such extension. They have occupied but one ground upon the subject. In office and out, their united voice has been raised in behalf of the doctrine, that territory now free, shall forever remain so."

For holding doctrines of precisely similar character, the Republicans, are now, by the "Pro-Slavery Democrats," denounced as Demagogues, Woollyheads, Abolitionists and Know Nothings, and are charged with injustice to the South.

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 8, 1856.

An Honest Avowal—The Great Point of the Slavery Issue.

A Washington letter writer, dating on the 1st instant, says:

"Judge Warner, of Georgia, made to-day in the House (Committee of the Whole) the ablest, calmest, most thorough and effective Pro-Slavery speech of the session. He assumed that slave labor impoverishes and exhausts soils; that continued expansion is essential to its existence and must be had. He wanted no federal law for slavery—it made the law for itself."

We have here the great issue of the slavery question fairly stated by an out-and-out advocate of slavery extension. The evil must be extended or it must cease to exist. Of course it is no secret that this is the logic of the whole party of extensionists at the South, but it is not often that an advocate of the policy avows his motive so broadly. Now and then an individual has the effrontery to declare that slavery works well economically, and that the Southern States are much more prosperous than those of the North; that Southern society is on a safer and better basis; and that, at all events, the nation could not exist without Southern cotton. The Calhoun school take high moral ground, and argue from the inherent differences of the white and black races, that the one ought to rule and the other to serve forever. We will not say that here and there an individual may not be honest in holding these opinions, and they perhaps hold them all the more firmly because no sane man can be found who will seriously undertake their refutation.

But we like better the honest position of Judge Warner. Slavery is weak—has no inherent supply of vitality—and must have a continually enlarging basis or it cannot stand. The proper answer to such an argument is, that an institution that cannot stand without propping up from without should be allowed to fall and be buried out of sight as quickly as possible. But knowing the serious difficulties in the way of such a solution of the question, we should not be disposed to argue the point if the people of the South were not determined to force upon communities outside of their territory the evil which gives them so much trouble to manage. When, however, we are gravely told by a leading member of Congress, who is supposed to represent the statesmanship of the South, that the indefinite extension of slavery is the only means by which its extinction can be prevented, we marvel that any man with a fair endowment of common sense, untouched by insanity, could address such an argument to the legislative wisdom of the nation. It is demanding, in effect, that not only the rich prairies of Kansas, but so much of the whole national domain as may be clutched by fair or foul means, shall be smitten with hopeless barrenness, in order that slavery may be perpetuated. But this demand involves a terrible dilemma. Our national domain is large, but the time would necessarily come when it would all be appropriated. What then is to become of slavery? Here is a question for slavery propagandists to ponder. Can Mr. Douglas throw any light upon it?

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

TUESDAY EVENING, APRIL 8, 1856.

Michigan Kansas Aid Society.

At the first meeting of this Society held at Ann Arbor, March 26th, 1856, the President and Secretary were empowered to fill out the Executive Committee by the appointment of one member for each county in the State not provided for by the Society at that meeting.

Agreeable to this vote the undersigned have appointed the following gentlemen to act for their respective counties, viz:

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Jackson, Calhoun, | C. V. DeLand, Esq., | Jackson, Battle Creek, |
| Livingston, Berrien, | Chandler Ford, Esq., | Battle Creek, Howell, |
| St. Joseph, Cass, | Hon. N. G. Isbell, | Howell, Niles, |
| Branch, Lenawee, | Dr. Samuel Niles, | Niles, Centerville, |
| Monroe, Barry, | Hon. Chester Gurney, | Centerville, Cassopolis, |
| Eaton, Genesee, | Hon. Clifford Shasahan, | Cassopolis, Coldwater, |
| Ionia, Kent, | O. B. Clark, Esq., | Coldwater, Adrian, |
| Van Buren, Saginaw, | J. S. Peters, Esq., | Adrian, Monroe, |
| Ingham, | Rev. F. W. May, | Monroe, Hastings, |
| | Hon. Hiram Greenfield, | Hastings, Olivet, |
| | Prof. Bartlett, | Olivet, Goodrich, |
| | R. Goodrich, Esq., | Goodrich, Ionia, |
| | Dr. Cornell, | Ionia, Grand Rapids, |
| | Judge Withey, | Grand Rapids, Paw Paw, |
| | Joseph Gilman, Esq., | Paw Paw, East Saginaw, |
| | Norman Little, Esq., | East Saginaw, Lansing, |
| | D. M. Bagley, Esq., | Lansing, |

ARTICLE 6 of the Constitution of the Society reads as follows: "It shall be the duty of the members of the Executive Committee and of the President and Secretary to see that an Auxiliary Society is organized and funds collected in the several counties of the State."

It is the design of the Society to assist the Emigrant Company known as the "Michigan Settlement in Kansas," and we earnestly entreat the above named gentlemen to interest themselves in this behalf in their several localities. When local associations are formed it is desired that the names of the officers be forwarded to the Secretary. All moneys which may be collected in pursuance of the objects of the Society should be sent to the Treasurer, Hon. DONALD McINTYRE, of Ann Arbor, who will account for the same.

S. S. BARNARD, *President.*

CHARLES S. MAY, *Secretary.*

KANSAS.

For the Tribune

Freemen of the North arise!
Look upon the glorious prize!
Kansas stands before your eyes!
Say, *Shall she be free!*

Statesmen, you deserve our thanks—
You that kept nine weeks your ranks,
You that voted true for Banks,
You have GAINED THE DAY.

Bondsman of the south, arise!
Liberty's a glorious prize!
The *Underground's* before your eyes!
Canada is free!

Shall we extend the slave domains?
Shall emigrants go west in chains?
Shall men be sold on Kansas' plains?
And HURSTED TO THE NORTH?

Republicans, arise and go;
For freedom we will strike the blow;
We'll lay the Border Ruffians low—
KANSAS SHALL BE FREE.

pany organized in this city is expected to leave in a few days for the same destination." What is here said of the movements in the section of country named, is substantially true of a considerable portion of the southern states; but the movements are in no instance spontaneous or unforced, and all efforts to make a slave state of Kansas are certain to prove abortive in the end. Slaves and slave labor are so much more valuable and profitable in the extreme southern states than they can become in Kansas, that prudent men, largely interested in the "institution," will never voluntarily incur the loss necessarily attendant upon transferring their property to a more northern clime. The severity of the past winter alone would be sufficient to settle the question against slavery in Kansas. Negroes must be the most useless of all rubbish in a country where the snow lies for months two feet deep on a level, with the mercury in the thermometer a dozen degrees below zero. But in addition to this fatal objection to slavery there, the growing insecurity of slave property in the neighborhood of free territory is exciting so much alarm, that there is likely to be a stampede of slave-holders from Kentucky and Missouri to the lower Mississippi and Texas, for years to come.

We have never for one moment doubted that the people of Kansas would ultimately form a constitution excluding slavery from the state;—and the desperate exertions of lawless men in Missouri to bring about a different result, while they naturally aroused a strong feeling of indignation throughout the north, have not shaken the confidence of intelligent and reflecting men in respect to the destiny of the embryo state.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 8, 1856.

ANTI-SLAVERY IN THE SLAVE STATES.—It is a noteworthy fact that the only daily journal in Kentucky, out of Louisville, is an open anti-slavery sheet, as much so as the Republican, and an avowed supporter of the republican party. It is the Newport Daily News, conducted by William S. Bailey, an earnest and honest man. It publishes a call for a popular republican meeting for Madison county, Kentucky, for the choice of delegates to the republican national convention at Philadelphia. The call says: "A large meeting is anticipated. Able speakers from the slave-cursed soil of Kentucky will address the meeting." And the News, greeting the call, talks thus "right out in meeting":

"Madison county, in this state, has taken the lead; is the first to proclaim to the world that slavery has enemies, and that no small proportion of them are at work in its very midst and among its worshippers. This is as it should be! Heretofore, with the exception of a few of the noble minds, who had a love of justice that knew no fear, men have not dared to speak against the accursed institution, in words above a whisper; for, with the overbearing tyrannical spirit which has always characterized it, mobs and brute force have been its only arguments. The time has at last come, however, when Reason, together with the broad stream of Enlightenment, have overcome the more uncharitable; and some of those who have been the most zealous advocates of slavery and its accompanying wrongs, are now its most bitter opponents. We hope to see a large meeting; a coming together of men who know their rights, and the rights of fellow-men, and knowing dare maintain them. The ball has been started, and our wish is, that it may never cease to roll until the Presidential chair is filled by one who will ever preserve, pure and unswayed, the principles of the republican party."

This, with the open avowal of anti-slavery sentiments, and their reception with applause, at a late political meeting in Loudoun county, Va., and the movements in St. Louis for a branch of the republican organization, are facts of encouraging and marked significance. There is a large party, in all the southern states, and particularly in those bordering on the free, ready to join a united North in putting a stop to the growth of slavery. A strong conservative element, like this, only wants justification and encouragement in the action of parties in the free states to develop its power, which, it cannot be doubted, will prove adequate to restrain the fanatical ultraism of a portion of the South from the mischief they threaten, if slavery is restricted by Congress.

The hall of the Pennsylvania house of representatives was granted for an address of Gen James H. Lane of Kansas, last Friday evening, and he spoke with great effect to a large audience upon the wrongs inflicted for the benefit of slavery upon that territory. Gen Lane is an old democrat, and was in Congress and voted for the repeal of the Missouri compromise and the Kansas bill. He is about five feet ten inches in height, and slenderly but actively built. His form indicates that he is wiry, elastic and full of vigor. He has a keen, black eye, deeply sunken in his head, but restless and energetic in expression. His age is, perhaps, forty. He declared in his speech that the pro-slavery party in Kansas consisted entirely of the president's appointees and the territorial officers appointed under the action of the territorial legislature. He declared that Gov Shannon now boarded with the Indian agent, who openly boasted that he had murdered Barbour. Shannon had nothing to do now but to receive letters occasionally notifying him that some of the Sharpe's rifles of the free state men are taken. The territorial government is perfectly helpless, powerless, contemptible. A friend of his was sued for \$75, and the costs of the justice were \$12. The fellow accepted \$135, laid upon a stump, as full satisfaction. The free state man would not pay it to him openly, as that would be a tacit acknowledgment of the legality of the territorial government, under which the justice was appointed. He declared that it was a fact well known, that there are blue lodges all along the Missouri border, the members of which have taken an oath before high Heaven to drive the free state men out of the territory, even if bloodshed be necessary. He cited facts to prove it. He closed in a most glowing appeal to the people of Pennsylvania to save their own sons and daughters from civil war by the admission of Kansas into the Union. The facts that a democratic member of the legislature offered the resolution granting the hall for Gen Lane's speech, and with a few other democrats fought it through against the opposition of the bulk of the party in the House, and that, after Gen Lane had concluded, Mr Kerr, editor of the Pittsburg Post, a democratic paper, offered the resolution that Kansas should be admitted to the Union, are encouraging symptoms of a disposition in the democratic party to revolt at the injustice attempted by the administration and the South upon Kansas. We do not believe the democratic party of the North can be marshalled to support the Pierce and Douglas policy towards Kansas, in the presidential election.

The Atlas.

TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 8, 1856.

Kansas Correspondence of the Atlas.
TOPEKA, Kansas, March 19, 1856.
Editor of the Atlas:—The wheels of the new State Government have been fairly set in motion—the Governor, the other State officers and the members of the General Assembly, have taken the oath of office to support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Kansas, and have entered upon the discharge of their respective duties. After a session of twelve days the Legislature has taken a recess, to meet again on the 4th day of July next; in the meantime, a committee of twenty will remain and prepare a code of laws to present to the Assembly for their action. The machinery once set in motion must inevitably go on, and squatter sovereignty must be vindicated in the letter. Having taken the initiatory steps to free themselves from the dominion of the oligarchy, our people look with confidence to the freedom loving sons of the North for sympathy and aid, and though we are a young State, with the force of slavery and power of the Federal Executive arrayed against us, hope burns bright within us as we watch from afar the contest in the States. We believe that over this fairest country of God's heritage, slavery can never exert its blasting influence. Every blow struck by the invaders against us, has but recoiled upon themselves and upon the South. The armed invasion at different times of the peaceful settlers of our Territory, the robbing of our mails, and the inhospitable and inhuman treatment of our respectable citizens while passing through Missouri on our East; the throwing of presses into the waters of the Missouri; the attack upon our polls, while peacefully pursuing the course inevitably placed before us by their own action and that of a sectional President (sectional for the South);

Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Tuesday Evening, April 8, 1856.

THE PROSPECT.—The Atlanta (Ga.) Intelligencer, of a recent date, says: "Judging from the number on their way to Kansas, we doubt not there will be a 'smart sprinkling' of southerners in that interesting region before many weeks. On Wednesday night a company of eighteen or twenty passed through Atlanta, and on Thursday we noticed another company of forty-one, all armed and equipped, going on their way rejoicing. They were from Charleston and other points of South Carolina. A com-

the attempt to annihilate Lawrence, and the Missourians to punish the citizens of Lawrence for an offence (against laws made by our kind friends themselves), if it were an offence, that we had never committed; the murders of Dow and Collins—the butchery of Brown—the assassination of Barber—can such things be in the 19th century? All! all! from the watch-tower of liberty, proclaim "liberty throughout the land, and to all the inhabitants thereof, or slavery worse than death!" Doughfaces will find no hiding-place when the North become sensible of the heartlessness and selfishness of the encroachments of slavery. The dastardly conduct and cowardly policy of the President, will send the name of Franklin Pierce down to posterity with infamy and disgrace.

As I said before, the people of Kansas watch the signs of the time. Notwithstanding the charge of the President, who derives his knowledge, or rather his want of knowledge, of our affairs, from ex-parte statements and stories so palpably false, as to gain to his belief only through the consummate audaciousness of those who get a hearing—or the faith or credulity of a bargained soul, it is easy to prove to those at a distance, who need proof, that our movement was based upon broad national grounds, and is far from partaking of that fanaticism so unjustly charged against the people of Kansas.

The President terms our organization a party movement. If it were not easy to show by the call for the convention, that the whole people were invited to take part in it, or if any thing like proscription appeared to have been used, he might perhaps properly lay the charge upon us, but not now. If one party only acquiesced in the movement, does that deprive a majority, a large majority,—at least three-fourths—of the right to form the institutions of the State? Majorities have always decided the politics of the country, until the majority happens to be on the wrong side of the goose. However, we lay our claims, not only upon national grounds and upon the Constitution, but upon the letter of the Nebraska Bill—Squatter Sovereignty. That Franklin Pierce and the supporters of that bill can now oppose the squatters of Kansas, is well known—the solution of the problem can be given by an American only with shame.

Our organization was not planned or formed under the promptings of sectional or party feeling. As evidence of this the whole history, from beginning to end, can be adduced—we cannot, however, in one or two communications give such a history in full. Memorials to the President and to Congress have been

drawn up by the Representatives of the people in the General Assembly, which give an extended account of the whole matter. One fact I will mention: The people of Kansas have come from all parts of the Union. If any local prejudices exist on the part of any on their arrival, they soon wear away. People from every State unite hand in hand, and with one voice denounce the invaders of our soil. A common sympathy has brought them together, until these prejudices scarcely exist.

The members of our Legislature were from all sections of the Union, and of every shade of politics. What is somewhat singular, a large portion—perhaps a majority—of the people of Kansas were formerly of that party that placed Franklin Pierce in the Presidential chair; but they are now cordial haters and bitter opposers of him and his administration. The State officers represent different parts of the Union, and were of different opinions in politics before coming to Kansas—as follows:

Governor—Charles Robinson, native place, Massachusetts, former politics, Republican.

Lieut. Governor—W. F. Roberts, Pennsylvania, Democrat.

Secretary of State—P. C. Schuyler, New York, Republican.

Treasurer—John A. Wakefield, South Carolina, Whig.

Auditor—George A. Cutler, Tennessee, Democrat.

Judges of Supreme Court—S. N. Latta, Alabama; M. F. Conway, Maryland, Democrat; Morris Hunt, Ohio, Whig.

Clerk of Supreme Court—E. M. Thurston, Maine.

Senators in Congress—Andrew H. Reeder, Pennsylvania, Democrat; James H. Lane, Kentucky, Democrat.

Representative—Mark W. Delahay, Alabama, Democrat.

All these are men who can now be relied upon as strong opposers of the corrupt administration, and who will sacrifice their all for the rights of Kansas to be a free and a sovereign State.

This communication is, I fear, already too long for the patience of your readers. I would like to touch for a moment upon the Conventions recently held in Philadelphia and Pittsburg. The results of both of these give us in Kansas cause for rejoicing. A wise course in the North will possibly give them their choice for President; for between the North and the South the issue must come. The Know Nothings have broken, and the Northern portion are to have a convention hereafter—the Republicans have made no nomination—the Democratic party will break in the convention at Cincinnati, the South refusing to stand up to the doctrine of squatter sovereignty. If the

different portions of the Northern party, these nations will really be, do not unite, they will most certainly pursue a suicidal policy. We trust that such a man will be nominated as will unite the whole Northern vote, and that of the candid vote of the South. No man can do this better than Col. John C. Fremont, who is immensely popular in the West, and whose history affords abundant proof that in him the people would have a representative. We trust that wisdom will mark every movement of these parties, and that they will not operate against each other, when they have one common interest.

The letter of Governor Shannon to the President, laid before the Senate, affords us here a rich source of amusement. Poor old man! After denouncing, by proclamation, the free State settlers of the territory, upon a statement of one Jones, from Westport, Mo., called there a sheriff of Douglas county; a statement, moreover, containing the most palpable falsehood; after calling for help to assist in arresting the criminal, and bring the law-breaking (?) citizens of Lawrence to justice, he condescends to negotiate with the commanders of the forces assembled at Lawrence, from different portions of the territory, to assist in preventing the destruction of the town, and to make a treaty as with a foreign foe, in which he says, "in consequence of a misunderstanding" between him and the people of Lawrence, &c., &c. A beautiful relation between a republican governor and a republican people. He commissions Generals Robinson and Lane, in writing, to disperse the mob over which he fears he has no control, after finding he has sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind. On the day of peace he gets gloriously drunk, and, in a drunken ecstasy, pronounces it the happiest day of his life.

The people of Kansas are determined, though they are poor, and will carry on the State government; they will look to the North for aid.

In another communication I will write in a more practical vein, and also give some extracts from Shannon's letter to the President.

Truly yours,
THERMOPYLEAN.

Portland Advertiser.

Tuesday Morning, April 8, 1856.

ELBRIDGE GERRY'S SPEECH IN CONGRESS.

AS PUBLISHED AND APPROVED BY THE ARGUS IN 1850.

In the House on Tuesday, March 21, in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, on the President's Message transmitting the Constitution of California.

Mr. GERRY said: I have not sought to address this committee for the purpose of arraving the North against the South, or to add anything to the general sum of hostility already existing between the two sections. Neither would I intentionally utter a single sentiment to wound the feelings of any gentleman, although I shall speak plainly and fearlessly the opinions I entertain in relation to the great and absorbing questions that now divide the country. We have approached that period of our history when to disguise our real sentiments in relation to the institution of slavery would be suicidal, and may produce results most disastrous to our common country. A controversy has arisen upon one of the most important, and I may say alarming, questions that ever filled the mind of the American people.—With a prophetic vision, the fathers of the Republic, and the framers of our Constitution, clearly foresaw the evils that now threaten us. They could not close their eyes to the great truth, that the fundamental doctrines of the Revolution which had been promulgated by them to the world were at war with the institution of slavery; hence, speeches were made, measures adopted, and acts of omission and commission, most emphatically and directly looking to the ultimate extinction of the institution. At the period of the formation of this Government, slavery existed to a greater or less extent throughout the civilized world; and, wonderful to say, we are almost the only people that have made little or no progress in the great work of emancipation; and the great and paramount question now is, disguise it as we may, whether this noble and philanthropic design of the ultimate extinction of slavery, in a peaceful, equitable, and constitutional mode, shall be still kept in view, or abandoned. In the free States, I think I am warranted in saying, there is no diversity of sentiment upon this subject. All most ardently desire the last vestiges of the institution obliterated. The people of the North, in common with a large portion of the civilized world, have no sympathy with the institution of slavery; and, while I say this, I feel bound to declare also, that

we, with a few innumerable exceptions, will most sacredly and religiously discharge their constitutional obligations to the Union, and to the slave holding States. There is no disposition on the part of the people of the free States to invade the rights of the South. They are willing to stand by the Union as it was formed; and in seeking to prevent the further extension of slavery, and especially into territory now free, they do not understand that they are infringing upon the constitutional or just rights of the South. They share in the sentiments so widely entertained by the patriots and sages of the Revolution, that the institution of slavery is a curse to any people who would be free. They still entertain the hope—and, as they look through a vista of years, they fancy they see the hand of Providence preparing the way for final and total emancipation. But they do not expect this great work will be accomplished in violation of the Constitution, or in the subversion of the rights of the South. They do not expect the institution will ever be abolished except by the action of the States wherein it now exists. The opinions that we of the North entertain in relation to the evils of slavery, are not new with us. We inherited them from our fathers, who transmitted them to us, as they did the doctrines and benefits of the Revolution. The same opinions were held by the ablest and most distinguished statesmen of the South. And here I would ask gentlemen of that section to pause before they further go, and tell me what appropriation they have made of these opinions. Yes, sir, before they any more deride and denounce the North for their hostility to slavery, and its extension into free territory I would beg to know to what use they have assigned this inheritance.—From the current opinions almost daily expressed upon this floor, by gentlemen from that section, I should imagine they, like the slothful servant, have buried it in the earth, together with all recollection of its existence. We are now told that slavery is a great blessing—not only to the whites but to the blacks; that it is necessary to our social as well as our political existence; that it is an institution of divine origin, sanctioned by the Scriptures and morality and in perfect harmony with the spirit and genius of our institutions of government. Now, sir, to all this I give my unqualified dissent; and, in the first place, reply, that the principles of slavery are in conflict with human rights and human freedom, as set forth and defined in the great American chart of human liberty, the Declaration of Independence; and, in the next place, that these assertions are in direct opposition to the opinions and experience of almost the whole civilized world; and, finally, are in conflict with the views of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and a host of other eloquent names of the South, that adorn the annals of our country.

I have already said the institution of slavery is at war with the fundamental principles of the Revolution. I am supported in this view by what will be regarded as high authority in the South. Mr. Calhoun, on a late occasion in the Senate of the United States, in defence of what is called southern rights, assailed the Declaration of Independence as embodying heresies dangerous in their tendency and subversive of civilization and good government.

On the occasion referred to Mr. Calhoun said:

"Instead, then, of all men having the same right to liberty and equality, as is claimed by those who hold that they are all born free and equal, liberty is the noblest and highest reward bestowed on mental and moral development combined with favorable circumstances. Instead, then, of liberty and equality being born with man; instead of all men, in all classes and descriptions, being equally entitled to them, they are high prizes to be won, and are, in their most perfect state, and only by the highest reward that can be bestowed on our race, but the most difficult to be won, and when won the most difficult to be preserved.

They have been made vastly more so by the dangerous error I have attempted to expose, that all men are born free and equal, as if those high qualities belonged to man without effort to acquire them, and to all equally alike, regardless of the reward that can be bestowed. The attempt to carry into practice this most dangerous of all political errors, and to bestow on all, without regard to fitness either to acquire or maintain liberty, that unbounded and individual liberty supposed to belong to man in the hypothetical and misnamed state of nature, has done more to retard the cause of liberty and civilization, and is doing more at present, than all other causes combined. What is a powerful prevent their construction on proper principles."

If my reading and observation of passed and passing events be correct this is the first time in the history of our Government when any statesman, in either branch of Congress, of eminence and character, has openly and directly repudiated, as a fundamental error, the great truth that all men by nature are equally entitled to the blessings of liberty. Here we have, in the person of him who but lately—but now numbered with the dead—was the great and admired champion of the South and their peculiar institutions, a direct attack upon that principle of eternal justice which lies at the base of this Government. In the same person, we have an attack upon the opinions and principles of those venerable men who purchased the blessings of civil and religious liberty we now

enjoy, with the price of their treasure and their blood, because they loved liberty more than slavery. In the person of the same individual, we have an assault upon those principles which animated our fathers and carried them through that glorious struggle which gave birth to this nation. And for what—yes, sir, I repeat—*and for what end have these attacks been made?* I answer, for the purpose of **REVOLUTION**, and to perpetuate human bondage. And the question then is, whether we are prepared to stand by that platform, dedicated to us by a glorious ancestry, or relapse into that state of inequality of rights and oppression from which our fathers fled? We have it here distinctly announced that Governments should not be constructed upon the principles of equality of rights among men. But we are not informed distinctly upon what basis Governments should be constructed. That is left to inference: and the inference I draw from the language quoted is, that they should be established for the benefit of the few, to the prostration and subversion of the rights of the many. How strangely these sentiments contrast with those entertained by the patriots of the Revolution, and which have been the theme of admiration throughout the civilized world, and which I trust in Heaven will ultimately hurl every spot in Christendom from place and power.

On a more recent occasion the same individual, in a celebrated speech delivered in the Senate, while attempting to define what would preserve the Union, said:

"The North must cease the agitation of the slave question, and provide for the insertion of a provision in the Constitution, by an amendment, which will restore to the South in substance, the power she possessed of protecting herself, before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed by the action of this Government."

[To be Continued.]

To the People of the United States.

The People of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present Administration, to the extension of slavery into the Territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State, and of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, are invited by the National Committee, appointed by the Pittsburg Convention of the 22d of February, 1856, to send from each State three delegates from every Congressional District, and six Delegates at large, to meet in PHILADELPHIA, on the SEVENTENTH DAY of JUNE NEXT, for the purpose of recommending candidates to be supported for the offices of PRESIDENT and VICE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES.

E. D. MORGAN, New York,
FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Maryland,
JOHN M. NILES, Connecticut,
DAVID WILMOT, Pennsylvania,
A. P. STONE, Ohio,
WM. M. CHACE, Rhode Island,
JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts,
GEORGE RYE, Virginia,
ABNER R. HALLOWELL, Maine,
E. S. LELAND, Illinois,
CHARLES DICKEY, Michigan,
GEORGE G. FOGG, New Hampshire,
A. J. STEVENS, Iowa,
CORNELIUS COLE, California,
LAWRENCE BRAINARD, Vermont,
WILLIAM GROSE, Indiana,
WYMAN SPOONER, Wisconsin,
C. M. K. PAULISON, New Jersey,
E. D. WILLIAMS, Delaware,
JOHN G. FEE, Kentucky,
JAMES REDPATH, Missouri,
LEWIS CLEPHANE, Dist. Columbia,
National Committee.

Washington, March 28, 1856.

Lynchburg Virginian.

Tuesday Morning, April 8, 1856

FOR PRESIDENT,
MILLARD FILLMORE,
OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT,
ANDREW J. DONELSON,
OF TENNESSEE.

Foreigners, and the Uses to which they are put—A Warning to the South.

In the Virginian of yesterday morning we gave a pregnant paragraph from a leading Irish journal, in which it was declared that an active cor-

respondence had been going on between Senator Sumner of Massachusetts and the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and that "a perfect league" has been established between the abolition disunionists of the United States and the aristocracy of great Britain. That league we showed related to the slavery agitation, and the importation of foreigners as a means of keeping it alive and rendering it effective. Since that article was written we have come in possession of still more convincing proof of the use to which the abolitionists are putting immigrants, and of the fatal influence they are exerting in building up free states and aggrandizing the power of the free-soil party. That proof is of a character which no man can doubt:—it is the confession of the abolitionists, adopted by Judge Douglas and incorporated by him in his late powerful report on the Kansas question. It is extracted by him from an official publication of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, setting forth its "Organization, Objects and Plan of operations."

"With the advantage attained by such a system of effort, the Territory selected as the scene of operations, would, it is believed, be filled up with free inhabitants. There is reason to suppose several thousand men of New England origin propose to emigrate, under the auspices of some such arrangement, this very summer. Of the whole emigration from Europe, amounting to some 400,000 persons, there can be no difficulty in inducing some 30,000 or 40,000 to take the same direction."

We have been urged by Southern Democrats to regard the slavery question as transcending in importance all party issues, and we have been invoked to forget all secondary subjects of variance, and present an united front from the South. Here, then, is a basis upon which the whole people of the Slave States may come together. The North has grown powerful, even to mastery, by means of addition to its population from foreign countries. Once the South ruled; but the armies of aliens who have poured into the North have snatched the sceptre from our hands, and we now stand ready to be trodden down by the merciless fanaticism of those whom we once overawed by our power and silenced by the simple tone of command. But, not content with the ascendancy they have already acquired, and rioting in the prospect of completely overwhelming and crushing us, the New England abolitionists still urge on the work of extending the dominion of free soil. Foreign immigration affords them a cheap and convenient means of making free states and increasing the preponderance of the Northern vote in Congress. Every free state added to the Union gives two members of the Senate and one or more of the House. A population less than one hundred thousand entitles a territory to apply for admission into the Union. "There can be no difficulty," the Massachusetts abolitionists assure us, "in inducing some 30,000 or 40,000"

of the newly arrived emigrants from Europe to go to Kansas within the year. Of course not! They arrive, for the most part, in a state of utter destitution. They are promised employment, bread, lands, the privileges of immediate citizenship, if they will go to Kansas and vote, as all their instincts and prejudices prompt them to vote, for free labor and free soil. They are furnished money to carry them there. Could any thing be more reasonable than the calculation of these abolitionists that thirty or forty thousand (nearly half the number requisite to make a State) can be induced without difficulty to go to Kansas or any other territory, within any given twelve months? And thus the people of the South—the descendants of the men who conquered the liberties and established the institutions of the country, who beat back its savages, subdued its forests, reared its cities, built its railroads—who made it what it is, one of the most glorious lands

on earth—these men are to be excluded from some of the fairest portions of their heritage, by the hordes of miserable outcasts from the despotisms of Europe, invited to our shores and invested with power by the Democratic party, and turned to their own uses, after getting here, by the abolitionists of the North. By the provisions of the Kansas bill these foreigners, on arriving in the Territory, have but to make known their intention of becoming citizens, when they are at once endowed with the right of suffrage, whether they know a word of English or not. Fished up from the gutters and kennels of Europe, poured out from its jails, its hospitals and its poor houses, as many of them are, steeped in ignorance and degradation, they have but to place themselves in the hands of some abolition "emigrant aid society" to be transported to Kansas, and to be given the privilege of saying that the American born Southerner shall not come, with the property bequeathed him perhaps by his revolutionary sire, upon that soil, to make for himself and his children a home. The American party have, time and again, urged facts like this on the consideration of the South—and yet they have been railed at as unworthy of Southern confidence by the very party which encourages immigration, opposes all change in the naturalization laws, and places this powerful element of mischief in the hands of the abolitionists. The American party would withhold from the newly arrived immigrant the privilege of voting, and thereby neutralize his power of doing an intolerable wrong to the South—but the Democratic party say: No—this is the land of equal rights—let there be no discrimination on account of the accident of birth—let the oppressed of all lands come and share with us our birth-right—We ask American born citizens which is right? We ask the people of the South which party is most friendly to the true interests of the South?

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BY W. G. CLARK & CO.
OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CITY.
OFFICE 44 ROYAL STREET.

MOBILE:

TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 8, 1856.

THE KANSAS MOVEMENT.—MAJ. BUFORD COMING.—Our exchanges from South Carolina and Georgia, and interior Alabama, show that the people here at length aroused themselves to the importance of the movement we suggested some two years ago, and which, had the same zeal and earnestness been then evinced, would have given Kansas, beyond doubt, to the South. We are glad, however, now to see a disposition manifested to make up by superior activity and energy, for the precious time which has been lost by singular supineness. Money and men are being gathered with remarkable celerity, and the prospect is that Major Buford will soon proceed to Kansas with as goodly and well appointed a company, as ever left the South for any purpose. He was at Columbus last week with over one hundred men, and was received and treated with distinguished courtesy by the citizens of that place. We observe by Montgomery papers of Saturday, that he had advanced to that point, his little army having swollen to "one hundred and sixty gallant young men, all robust and healthy, fully capable—we quote from the Journal—of doing good service in a new country—with bold hearts and determined will to do what they undertake." The Journal informs us that a number of "noble young men" were waiting at that place to join him, and there seems to be no difficulty in getting as many men to go as there are means provided for. A meeting was to be held in Montgomery on Saturday night, for the purpose of providing additional aid—and to-day, doubtless, the Major and his party are on their way hither, and will reach here in a day or two.

We received some days since an elaborate statement of Major Buford's plan, which we have not published, partly because the information it contains has been spread before our readers in another shape, and people are generally well acquainted with it, but mainly

for the lack of the requisite space without excluding almost everything else from the impression containing it; we knew, besides, that the leader of the enterprise must soon be here and would be ready and able to answer any questions that proposing emigrants might desire to ask him? In regard to the advantages promised by the acquisition of Kansas, we cannot better present them than is done in the following extract from an able and patriotic letter we find from our townsman, Gen. Lawler, in the Talladega Reporter of Thursday:

* * * * * Kansas is now in the hands of the pro-slavery party. It is adapted to slave labor, and of right belongs to us. Hemp is a leading production, and is now commanding \$165 per ton. It is remunerative at half that price. You see therefore that some of our Southern politicians have been hasty in conceding that it is not adapted to slave labor. The cotton planter is deeply interested in the increased culture of hemp. There is not bagging enough manufactured in the United States to put up a moderate crop of cotton, and but for the introduction of India bagging, we should now be paying thirty cents or more for Kentucky manufacture. If therefore the question is reduced to one of dollars and cents, it commends itself to the favor of the cotton planter. Viewed in any respect and from any Southern stand point, and the indifference manifested by our people is a matter of amazement! If we retain it, it will restore us to equal power in the United States Senate, and perhaps exert some influence in making New Mexico and Utah slave territory. It is the grand battle-field of Southern rights. The extreme Unionist and the ultra fire-eater ought to vie with each other in their efforts to drive the abolitionists from that territory, for whether the preservation of the Union or the maintenance of slavery and Southern rights, be the "paramount political good," the end desired will be attained if we are victorious.

Let us then lose no time in affording succor to our gallant friends now in the territory and who will be there before the October elections. The contest will be then decided. And if we cannot go ourselves, we can contribute our money to sustain those who will volunteer for the defence of our rights.

I have just received a letter from Col. Buford, in which he says, "the indications of a large company are abundant and still multiplying." Every man who will enlist for this expedition—peaceful and legitimate, not practical—who will be received if he be a man of good character. Those who go will need the help of those who remain. The cause is a common one, and the burden of defence should not fall on a few noble spirits.

I shall remain in the county until the 8th of April, and if any of our young men should conclude to join Col. Buford's party of emigrants, and will accompany me to Mobile, it shall cost them nothing—I will guarantee their admission as members of that party, or pay their expenses back to the county. Remittances of money may be made to the Committee at Montgomery, or to the Hon. James M. Withers, Mayor of Mobile—contributions at any time within 60 days will be available, but the sooner made the better, as money furnished now will form the basis of action in enlisting men.

Mobile is responding nobly. Will not Talladega do likewise? Her people are no less interested. Yours respectfully,
LEVI W. LAWLER.

ELECTION IN LEAVENWORTH, K. T.—On the 24th ult. there was an election in Leavenworth for a councilman. The contest was strictly between the pro-slavery and Black Republican party. Beck, the pro-slavery candidate, was elected by 162 majority. Great rejoicing followed, as prior events had left some doubt whether Leavenworth was or was no. a pro-slavery town. This election settles the question.

The Kansas Question.

Three Companies of Emigrants from Alabama—Great Enthusiasm!

We copy the following account of the departure of three companies of Kansas emigrants, numbering about one hundred and seventy men, from Montgomery, Alabama, from the Journal, of that city, of April 8:

We have just time, before going to press, to state that Major Buford's company of Kansas emigrants were drawn up in line before the Madison House about four o'clock. They marched to the Baptist church, and after a solemn and appropriate prayer by the Rev. Mr. Dorman, of the Methodist church, a magnificent copy of the Bible was presented to Major Buford by the Rev. Mr. Tiesnor, the pastor of the Baptist church, who also stated that means had been provided and would be placed in the hands of the Major to furnish each emigrant with a copy of the Holy Scriptures. From thence to the river, on reaching the bluff, a glorious spectacle met their view, which brought tears into many an eye, for there had already assembled some three or four thousand of our citizens to bid them farewell. The ladies, God bless them! were there to cheer them on their way, with bright smiles and happy faces. The spirited and noble-hearted Hon. W. H. Hilliard bid them them farewell from a cotton bale, in his own peculiar, happy style, and gave them good advice, and clearly set forth the cause of this as-

semblage, and the reason why this demonstration was being made. He spoke in the highest terms of their gallant leader, and entreated them to stand by him wherever he led—that he was in a good cause, and on them rested the future welfare of the South, and that they were armed with the Bible, a weapon more potent than rifles, and in the language of Lord Nelson, "every man was expected to do his duty." Major Buford responded in a few remarks, closing with "Farewell!" The Major's heart was too full for words. Amidst the waving of banners and the sound of music, the gallant-hearted emigrants marched on board the boat just as the last bell was ringing. We learn that an accession of 100 men and \$10,000 in money, already await Major Buford's arrival at Mobile.

DAILY NEWS.

BY LANGDON & GILES.

C. C. LANGDON, EDITOR.

MOBILE:

TUESDAY EVENING, April 8.

Movements of Major Buford.

We copy the following paragraph from the Columbus (Ga.) Sun of Friday:

DEPARTURE OF THE EMIGRANTS.—Maj. Buford's company left our city for Montgomery by yesterday morning's train. His colonists numbered about 140 or 150, of whom some 40 or 50 joined him at this place, 20 came from South Carolina under the direction of Captain Bell, of Edgefield, and the balance were brought up by Maj. E. from Barbour and other counties in Alabama below this city. The company will undoubtedly be largely recruited at Montgomery and Mobile, and perhaps at other towns on the Alabama river. About \$1100 was subscribed and paid over at this place in aid of the enterprise.

The Montgomery Journal of Saturday announces the arrival of the company in that city as follows:

MAJOR BUFORD.—On yesterday, Major Buford, with his Kansas emigrants arrived in our city. They consist of some hundred and sixty gallant young men, all robust and healthy, fully capable of doing good service in a new country, with bold hearts and determined will to do what they undertake.

There have been for several days past, a number of noble young men here, awaiting the arrival of Major Buford, to learn his plans and arrangements, and fully understand his propositions, and if they meet with their approbation, to join him in his noble and praiseworthy undertaking. We venture the opinion that there will be no want of reliable men, if the means are secured for their transportation.

A meeting was to have been held in Montgomery on Saturday evening, and the Journal makes a strong appeal to the citizens to take the matter in hand, with that spirit which has ever characterized the people of Montgomery, and make up a sufficient sum to send on the noble youths who are willing to leave their homes and friends to give aid and support to the cause of the South, who, when the "tug of war" shall arrive, should such an unfortunate crisis come, will be found on the right side in defence of Southern interests and Southern rights.

Washington, April 9. — Gov. Seward's speech to-day, appeared to be generally regarded as the great argument for the admission of Free Kansas. Less complete in its history of the Kansas controversy than Judge Collamer's, less effective as an appeal to the popular sympathies than Gen. Wilson's, it stands unsurpassed in its political philosophy and unequalled as an exposition of the true genius of our institutions and of the essential character of the contest whereof Kansas is the arena.— Its delivery was more animated, deliberate, and impressive than that of any speech ever before made by Gov. Seward, and the attention of the Senate was fixed and unabated throughout. The galleries were filled, and so many Congressmen were present in the Chamber as to leave the House without a quorum, necessitating a call; that concluded, the House adjourned, and the members were flocking back into the Senate again. The concluding portion was given with a felicity and subdued force which I have rarely seen equalled.

The Pro-Slavery leaders were especially attentive from first to last; Messrs. Toombs, Butler, Douglas and Mason, emphatically so. Gen. Cass, whose position with respect to Kansas has not yet been openly taken, also regarded the speaker with observing interest; ex-Senator Badger likewise. It seemed universally conceded that no nobler effort had for many years been made in either House.—Ed. Cor. N. Y. Tribune.

THE DAILY BANNER.

PUBLICATION OFFICE,
No. West street, between Main-street and Second.

CHAS. P. BAYMILLER, --- Editor.

MADISON:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 9, 1856.

DOUGLAS WILL DO.—The New Orleans Delta thinks that Douglas will suit the South as a Presidential candidate, for the reason that a failure of the Cincinnati convention to nominate a man as favorable to the Southern construction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill will bring defeat. "The sceptre is with the South and West if they choose to wield it; therefore Douglas or such a man will do," says the Delta. That is, the West and South have the power of making the President if they unite upon the slavery extension platform of Douglas, who, though not exactly the man the South wants, "will do!" Well, if the people of Indiana were of the same way of thinking as Hon. A. P. Willard, no doubt the Delta could drive the kind of bargain it wants.

EMIGRANTS FOR KANSAS.—A party of seventy-seven men, eight women and several children, arrived in this city yesterday evening, via the Railway, en route for Kansas. S. N. Wood, Esq., of Lawrence, Kansas, and under whose direction the company have placed themselves, informs us that the party will leave to-day for St. Louis, on the mail boat, thence to Lawrence, Kansas, where they propose locating. Each male is provided with an ordinary rifle and other arms. They go to Kansas as Free State men, determined that the present government, established in that State, shall be upheld and defended. They have taken rooms at the Gibson House, where they held a private meeting last night to make preliminary arrangements for the remainder of their journey. Mr. Wood leaves this morning via Railway for St. Louis, where he will negotiate for a steamer to take the entire company through to Kansas without any delay.—[Cincinnati Gazette, 9th.]



WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 9, 1856.

The Atlas says the Convention which formed the Kansas Constitution was "irregular" and "illegal." It may have been so according to the judgment of the Atlas; but it is not so, according to the Laws of the United States. Let the Atlas, if it can, name the Law, and point out the page, which makes it either "illegal" or "irregular!"

If the Atlas' assertion is true, ARKANSAS, MICHIGAN and CALIFORNIA, have no right in the Union. All their Constitutions were formed by Conventions, called, elected, held, and applying in precisely the same "irregular" and "illegal" manner as the Kansas Convention.

The bill introduced by Senator Douglas, from a majority of the Committee on Territories, is substantially the measure recommended by the President in his special Kansas Message. It provides for the admission of Kansas to a Member of Congress, and it contains enactments under which the people of the Territory, with the sanction of the law, and under official supervision, may elect delegates to a Convention to form a Constitution, and when the same shall have been framed, may adopt or reject it.

Such is the measure which the Democratic party in Congress, and throughout the country is prepared to support. Is it possible for any candid man to object to it? Wherein is it unsound or unjust, to any portion of the people of Kansas or to any part of the Union?

It is "unsound" in that it rejects and ignores

5 The Constitution which the people of Kansas have already framed, with due forms of law, and adopted by a majority of the votes of all the actual residents. It is "unjust" in that it proposes to subject them to the continued rule of a spurious and usurping Legislature composed of Missourians, and to give that spurious Legislature "official supervision" over the new Convention and Election. To pass Douglas's bill, is as all the world knows, to provide for another Missouri invasion, more frauds, more violence and bloodshed at the Polls, and to give the gang which has usurped the Territorial Government, power also to frame the State Constitution.

This then is the issue presented in respect to Kansas. Immediate admission under her own Constitution, or a Postponement of Admission until the Border Ruffians of Missouri can get up for her a spurious Pro-Slavery one. Which shall it be?

LEGISLATURE OF NEW YORK.

Reported for the Albany Evening Journal.

SENATE—MONDAY, April 8, 7½ P. M.
SPECIAL ORDER—KANSAS.

The resolutions from the Select Committee, of which Mr. RICHARDSON is chairman, in relation to territorial affairs, were called up. [The resolutions were published a few days since.

Mr. SICKLES moved the following substitute for the first resolution:—

Resolved, That under a government and a constitution like those of the United States, founded as they are upon a basis of perfect equality among the different members of the confederacy, the assiduous cultivation of a National sentiment, and a scrupulous adherence to federal authority are essential to the perpetuity of our institutions; and that the existence of any party, sectional in its objects, and its positions, which, whether directly or by implication, assails those principles, is calculated to inspire every true patriot with an apprehension which is only to be allayed by the overthrow of such a party; and that in the organization which assumes the name of "Republican" we recognize these sectional aims and characteristics, and hence we regard its success as fraught with danger no less to the existence than to the peace of the Republic.

Mr. BROOKS moved to strike out that portion relating to the Republican party. [Agreed to—ayes 12, noes 7.

The substitute offered by Mr. SICKLES was then lost—8 to 13, as follows:—

AYES—Messrs. Brooks, Kelly, Nichols, Petty, J. A. Smith, Sickles, Sweet, Wadsworth—8.

NOES—Messrs. Ballinger, Bradford, Cuyler, Fardon, Huntington, Lee, Madden, Noxon, Patterson, Ramsey, Richardson, Rider, Towne, Upham—13.

Mr. SICKLES now moved the resolution as additional to resolutions reported by the Committee.

Mr. BROOKS renewed his motion to amend the resolution, by striking out the section referring to the Republican party. [Agreed to—11 to 9.

The question being on the adoption of the resolution as an additional resolution,

Mr. RICHARDSON opposed it, as not germane to the subject. He regarded its introduction as a substitute, and then as an additional resolution, either to defeat proper action upon the resolutions reported by the Select Committee, or to embarrass them by other resolutions not pertinent to the subject.

Mr. SICKLES' motion to amend was lost—8 to 13.

Mr. WADSWORTH moved the following as an additional resolution:—

Resolved, That any party which seeks to impose restrictions upon the free exercise of religious faith, by establishing ecclesiastical tests for the enjoyment of the right of suffrage, or the tenure of office, or which attempts to discriminate between different classes of our people on the ground either of birth or of religion, or which endeavors, by a secret and oath bound organization, to control, not only the rights and the consciences of its own votaries, but the policy and legislation of the country, assails the spirit of our institutions, is hostile to the idea of republican freedom, which found expression in the charter of our independence, and gave birth to our Constitution, and so far from being American in its character or its purposes, is essentially and unequivocally anti-American.

Mr. BROOKS held that the resolutions were entirely out of order, not germane to the question, and out of place. He should raise the point of order, and await the decision of the Chair.

Mr. SICKLES thought the resolutions equally germane to the subject under discussion as the resolution next the last which was reported by the committee. He read the resolution. If the honorable Senator moving the resolutions considered the fifth resolution germane to the subject, this one was equally so. This question of

the right of suffrage was involved, and fairly involved in the consideration of the Kansas Nebraska act, and the rights of aliens and citizens in the organization of the government.

The CHAIR (Mr. HARCOURT) decided the point of order well taken, and Mr. WADSWORTH'S resolution was ruled out.

Mr. BROOKS now offered a series of resolutions which he deemed quite germane to the subject, and claimed that the resolutions offered by the Chairman of the committee expressed but his individual opinion; and no doubt each Senator around this circle, if called upon to frame a series of resolutions in regard to this matter, would each express different opinions, and we would have the opinions of thirty-two Senators. He sent up his resolutions, of which the following is the substance:

1st. That the admission of Kansas as a Free State is among the certain events of the future, and that public legislation and partizan agitation beyond the limits of the Territory is calculated to retard a result so desirable to the North, and so much in accordance with the sentiment of the State of New York.

2d. That the people of Kansas, acting on their own soil and in defence of their own rights, will better accomplish this result than it can be effected by interference elsewhere.

3d. That the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise was uncalled for by the necessities of the case a breach of faith in violation of the pledges of the Administration, and that the Institution of Slavery ought to derive no advantage from such repeal.

4th. That the Institution of Slavery being local and National, it is a proper subject of toleration of opinion among the people of the different sections of the country.

Mr. RICHARDSON remarked, that it was very plain that those who acted with different political organizations from himself, were endeavoring to avoid an expression of opinion upon the resolutions reported by the majority of the Committee. He believed it was always best when you know the right and the truth, to speak out boldly in regard to the right and the truth. The stronger the language to express that right and that truth the better. There appears to be a disposition on the part of some to avoid giving an expression on this all important question. Believing in the truth of the doctrine upon which these resolutions were based, he did not desire to avoid, but rather to express in bold language the truthfulness of the principles laid down. If the General Government have been guilty both in acts of omission and of commission in regard to the affairs of Kansas and Nebraska, then let us say so, and say so boldly, without shirking or dodging the question.

Mr. BROOKS did not know the meaning of the word "dodge," so far as his legislative course, brief as it was, was concerned. He quoted from the fifth resolution, "that the people are the rightful source of all political power," and claimed that the Senator might just as well have embodied the preamble of the Constitution, which all acquiesced in. Again, we find that "Congress possesses no power over the institution of slavery in the several States." Now no one claimed the contrary of this.

Mr. MADDEN insisted that the policy of the Democratic party and its Federal Executive was such as to strengthen, sustain and extend the institution of Slavery in the States as in the Territories.

Mr. SICKLES: When the Senator from the 9th was a member of the Democratic party we allowed him to speak for the party; since he has deserted the party, he cannot be considered orthodox.

Mr. MADDEN contended that the Senator from the 3d (Mr. SICKLES) and the Federal Executive, and a large portion of the Democratic party of to-day have deserted the principles of Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, and those that Daniel S. Dickinson held but five or six years ago. He denied that he had deserted his principles. He denied that the Senator from the 27th (Mr. PATTERSON) or the Senator from the 1st (Mr. RIDER) had deserted their principles. Douglas himself, not long since, was opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and it was not until Mr. Dixon, Whig, of Kentucky, moved to strike out the Missouri restriction that any number of men were found to advocate such a policy. He remarked that the Senator from the 3d himself had said, that if he were in Congress at the time he should vote against its repeal. Now, who had deserted their principles? For himself, he stood where he always had stood. He had not deserted his principles.

Mr. PATTERSON denied having deserted his principles, and in the course of his remarks stated that he voted for Franklin Pierce—an act that he deeply regretted. He would not now

vote for him for constable if there was no other candidate in the field. He traced the Democratic party through several stages, claiming that for several years past that party had been subservient to the Slave power, ground over by it and affixed to it. He belonged to no party of that character, and it now found few supporters in the Free States.

Mr. SICKLES went on to say that in 1848 he found the honorable Senator from the 9th (Mr. MADDEN) down in Orange county a good Cass and Butler Democrat—a "Hard" Democrat.

Mr. MADDEN: No sir; I never was classed as a "Hard" Democrat.

Mr. SICKLES did not know but he was getting on too fast. It was perhaps a good "Hunker." [Mr. MADDEN bowed acquiescence.] But he (Mr. S.) could not see how a good Cass and Butler Democrat of 1848 could at this time find himself transported into a Seward Republican. He asked if there was a Senator here who, if he was in Congress, would vote to restore the Missouri Compromise?

Mr. MADDEN: I would, and now allow me to ask the Senator from the 3rd (Mr. SICKLES), if he were a member of Congress in 1854 if he would have voted for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise?

Mr. SICKLES replied that if he had been a member of Congress at that time he should have voted for the repeal of that act. He had no doubt that Kansas would be admitted as a free State. His doctrine would be that Kansas should be admitted with such institutions as her people saw fit to adopt. His preferences would be to have her ask admission as a free State. But that was a question for the people of Kansas themselves and not for the people of New York to decide. The regular way and the only legal way was as proposed by the chairman of the Committee on Territories, Mr. Douglass, to call a convention of the people of the territory, form a constitution and apply for admission.

Mr. BROOKS'S substitute for the resolutions was voted down—ayes 11, noes 16.

The question being on the adoption of the resolutions offered by Mr. RICHARDSON

Mr. RIDER called for a division of the question, and the question was on the adoption of the first of the series.

Mr. RIDER now moved a substitute for the first resolution offered by Mr. RICHARDSON. [It was lost—13 to 13.]

The question being on the adoption of the resolutions offered by the committee,

Mr. FERDON moved to amend the fifth resolution by inserting "native born,"—so that it would provide for the election of native born citizens to office. [Lost, 11 to 16.]

The question was then taken separately on the adoption of the resolutions, and they were adopted as reported from the committee. The following is the vote on the test resolutions:—

AYES—Messrs. Ballinger, Bradford, Cuyler, Halsted, Hotchkiss, Huntington, Lee, Madden, Noxon, Patterson, Petty, Ramsey, Richardson, Rider, J. A. Smith, Towne, Upham—17.

NOES—Messrs. Brooks, Hale, Harcourt, Kelly, Nichols, A. M. Smith, Sickles, Sweet, Wadsworth—9.

The following are the resolutions:—

Resolved, That the act of Congress for organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, which abrogated the prohibition of Slavery in said Territories, and opened them for its establishment therein, was a faithless breach of a solemn compact, of which the slave-holding interest had reaped the full benefit, a gross wrong to the free States, and a violation of the natural rights of man.

Resolved, That the armed and unlawful invasion of Kansas by citizens of Missouri, and their illegal and forcible exclusion of the people of that Territory from the political rights to which they were entitled in the government thereof, in order to establish Slavery therein, under the semblance of law, were acts of atrocity without a parallel in our history, unwarranted, and directly subversive of the fundamental principles and the purposes of republican government in the Free States.

Resolved, That the enactments of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, relating to Slavery, are inconsistent with and repugnant to the objects and genius of the Constitution of the United States; in clear violation of the spirit of the act of Congress for the organization of the Territory, and in open disregard and direct assention of the rights of the people of the Free States.

Resolved, That the prolonged non-interference of the present administration of the Federal Government to prevent or punish the outrages committed by citizens of Missouri upon the people of Kansas, which might have been prevented by it, makes the federal executive justly chargeable as accessory thereto, and unworthy of the confidence and respect of the citizens of free States.

Resolved, That Congress possess no power over the institution of Slavery in the several States; but that, outside of State jurisdiction, the constitutional power of the Federal Government should be exerted to secure life, liberty and happiness, to all men, and to prevent either Slavery or involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, in any of the Territories of the United States.

Resolved, That the people are the rightful source of all political power; that all officers should, as far as practicable, be chosen by a direct vote of the people; and that candidates for political offices should be men and citizens of undoubted integrity and capacity, whether foreign born or native born, and pledged to support the policy of restricting Slavery and extending Freedom to all the people of the Free Territory, providing, under severe penalties, against invasion from other States to control or sub-

vert the free action of the people in her government—or, when application shall be made, admit Kansas into the Union as a State with her Free Constitution, already duly formed by a legally constituted convention and fully approved by the popular vote of the actual inhabitants of the Territory.

Mr. WADSWORTH now renewed his resolution previously offered.

The PRESIDENT decided the motion out of order, the Kansas resolutions having been disposed of and the special order being the New York police bill.

The Daily Transcript.

Z. K. PANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS.,
WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 9, 1856.

They must come to it.

The Democratic party has always been able to maintain a better degree of subordination in its ranks, than any other political party. It has been proverbial for the facility with which it has whipped in nearly all its rank and file men to the support of whatever candidates or measures it might bring forward.

Such a thing as rebellion in the ranks, or bolting the nominations, or refusing to endorse any doctrine however undemocratic, which the high priests and leaders of the party may promulgate, has always been considered among Democrats an unpardonable sin. Occasionally they have lost a prominent man from among them, because he could not wholly sacrifice his own independence, and stultify himself, because his party might bid him do so. But usually party discipline and fear of the consequences of exhibiting any independence have proved too much for even the best and strongest politicians in the Democratic ranks. They make a faint show of resistance pretend for a little while which perhaps, that they are not "going to go it," and finally they do "go it;" they submit to the demand made by the dominant spirit in the party, and suffer themselves to become the advocates of principles and measures, while they no doubt, secretly disapprove and abhor.

Since the influence of the southern wing of the party became paramount, and while the whole Democratic party has been under the control of the pro-slavery men, this trial has been pretty severe for many northern men; it has subdued and killed off a large number of prominent politicians, and on the tombstones of their political grave has been written the epitaph "Died of eating southern dirt." The latest case of this kind is that of Mr. Buchanan, who, though he yet lives, is in a fair way to be consigned to the same rest and obscurity as Gen. Cass, Martin Van Buren and many others. Since Mr. Buchanan's name has been brought prominently forward as a candidate for the Presidency, the inquiry has been raised as to his position in relation to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the freedom of Kansas, and the extension of slavery. If Mr. Buchanan had thought it would do for him to keep silence on this question, of course he would have done so; but it would not do; the South will have nothing to do with any man, who is not pledged to go for the extension of slavery. Mr. Buchanan aware of this has made haste to satisfy the Democratic party, that is the pro-slavery men, that he is all right on the slavery question. He has written a letter to Mr. Slidell, of Louisiana, in which he says that "the question of the Missouri Compromise has been settled, and that settlement must be inflexibly maintained." In other words Mr. Buchanan plants himself upon the Kansas Nebraska bill, and goes in for the spread of slavery over Kansas or any other territory where the slaveholders can carry it. This means simply, that Mr. Buchanan recognizes the fact, that no man ever can receive the support of the Democratic party, unless he is a pro-slavery man out and out, and so he has "caved in," and endorsed a measure which he

knows to be wrong, and against which he had before declared himself. For Mr. Buchanan endorsed the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, which is directly contradictory of the Kansas Nebraska bill. This shows the power of party discipline and of the lust for office. Mr. Buchanan wants to be President; he cannot be unless the Democratic party elect him; that party has decided to require its candidate to go the whole figure against freedom, and for slavery in the territories; consequently Mr. Buchanan, with all his honors, his statesmanship and his venerable years, bends low at the command, and when the southern Balaam bawls, replies, "Lo, am I not thine ass on which thou hast ridden these many years?" He labors in his letter to Mr. Slidell to prove to the South that he is a perfectly safe and docile animal to carry their burdens. It is pitiable and somewhat ludicrous to observe the cringing readiness, the nervous haste which such men display in seeking to prove their titles clear to the mansion at Washington, by first proving that they are good negro hunters and drivers, and haters of liberty and equal rights. Is it not time that some political party were dominant in this republic, which could show some better title to authority than the ease with which it reduces even the noblest men to the merest puppets and party slaves?

The Atlas.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 9, 1856.

COL. FREMONT'S LETTER.

The letter of Col. John C. Fremont to Gov. Robinson, of Kansas, which we publish this morning, is not only one of no ordinary interest, whether we consider the subject or the writer, but the manner itself of this timely expression of opinion is full of character. Col. Fremont writes vigorously and earnestly, and with a freshness unusual in these times of hackneyed political phraseology; while his sincerity is apparent in every line. A friendly word from any quarter must have been grateful to Gov. Robinson, while struggling with a powerful and unscrupulous President, and the no less unscrupulous ruffians of the Missouri borders; to have received that word from one by birth and education prejudiced to look with a lenient eye upon the usurpations of slavery, must have been doubly grateful. The letter might indeed have been less welcome, had it been expressed in the temporizing and trimming language too common in these days; had its writer hesitated to use plain and unmistakable language, and contented himself with trumpery commonplaces, coined for the nonce, and though meaningless themselves, still uttered with timidity. Col. Fremont does not write in the fashionable political way. He shows his whole heart, and he gives his whole hand. He declares the territorial government of Kansas to be a usurpation; he characterizes properly the proclamation of the President; he shows that he understands and abhors the diabolical legislation which Missouri has attempted to foist upon Kansas; and more than all, he makes it apparent in every line that he fully understands the importance of the struggle which is going on. He knows it to be a contest between civilization and barbarism, between order and anarchy, between freedom and despotism, between prosperity and pauperism, between humanity and cruelty, and he does not hesitate for a moment upon which side to cast the weight of his name and influence. His letter breathes the best spirit of the nineteenth century—a spirit not only of the enterprise which founds great States, but of the humanity which makes them the abode of industrious, intelligent, unenslaved populations. He writes in the spirit of the true American pioneer, who penetrates forests, and crosses deserts, and seeks unknown lands, that he may carry there not only the prosperity of our beloved country, but those free institutions to which we are indebted for all our happiness. The man who

rescued California from the grasp of slavery, and then lent his aid, among the foremost, to secure to her laborers the products of their hardy toil, could hardly have written differently on this subject.

When great principles are at stake, a man with a heart is sure to find the right side. Col. Fremont only expresses in his letter the best and purest sentiment of the nation—a sentiment most warmly embraced by the young men of the country, whose generous natures, disregarding the ties of decaying and unfaithful parties, and leaving to the dead past the task of burying its dead, will show themselves worthy of the times in which they live—the unserving champions of progress, of freedom, of humanity—the unshrinking antagonists of all that would impede the highest civilization of America.

LETTER FROM COL. FREMONT.

The following letter from Col. Fremont to Gov. Charles Robinson, of Kansas, has been handed to us by the Governor himself, with his consent that it should be published:

NEW YORK, March 17, 1856, }
176 Second Avenue. }

My Dear Sir:—Your letter of February reached me in Washington some time since. I read it with much satisfaction. It was a great pleasure to find you retained so lively a recollection of our intercourse in California. But my own experience is, that permanent and valuable friendships are most often formed in contests and struggles. If a man has good points, then they become salient, and we know each other suddenly.

I had both been thinking and speaking of you latterly. The Banks balloting in the House, and your movements in Kansas, had naturally carried my mind back to our hundred and forty odd ballots in California, and your letter came seasonably and fitly to complete the connection. We were defeated then; but that contest was only an incident in a great struggle, and the victory was deferred, not lost. You have carried to another field the same principle, with courage and ability to maintain it; and I make you my sincere congratulations on your success—incomplete so far, but destined in the end to triumph absolutely. I had been waiting to see what shape the Kansas question would take in Congress, that I might be enabled to give you some views in relation to the probable result. Nothing yet has been accomplished. But I am satisfied that in the end Congress will take efficient measures to lay before the American people the exact truths concerning your affairs. Neither you nor I can have any doubt what verdict the people will pronounce upon a truthful exposition. It is to be feared, from the proclamation of the President, that he intends to recognize the usurpation in Kansas as the legitimate government, and that its secession law, the test oath, and the means to be taken to expel its people as aliens, will all, directly or indirectly, be supported by the army of the United States. Your position will undoubtedly be difficult; but you know I have great confidence in your firmness and prudence. When the critical moment arrives, you must act for yourself—no man can give you counsel. A true man will always find his best counsel in that inspiration which a good cause never fails to give him at the instant of trial. All history teaches us that great results are ruled by a wise Providence, and we are but units in the great plan. Your actions will be determined by events, as they present themselves; and at this distance I can only say that I sympathize cordially with you, and that, as you stood by me firmly and generously, when we were defeated by the nullifiers in California, I have every disposition to stand by you in the same way in your battle with them in Kansas.

You see that what I have been saying is more a reply to the suggestions which your condition makes to me, than any answer to your letter—which more particularly regards myself. The notices which you had seen of me, in connection with the Presidency, came from the partial disposition of friends, who think of me more flatteringly than I do of myself, and do not therefore call for any action from us.

54 Repeating that I am really and sincerely gratified in the renewal of our friendship, or rather in the expressions of it, which I hope will not hereafter have so long an interval,
I am yours,
Very truly,
J. C. FREMONT.
Gov. CHARLES ROBINSON, Lawrence, Kansas.

GOVERNOR ROBINSON ON THE CONDITION OF KANSAS.—Governor Robinson, of Kansas, at the solicitation of a number of friends of the infant State, addressed a small party of gentlemen, members of the Legislature and others, yesterday afternoon, at the rooms of the N. E. Emigrant Aid Company. Senator Wilson was among the audience. The Governor spoke of the prejudices existing in the North as well as the South, against the Emigrant Aid Co., which he regarded as strictly a national, anti-sectional institution. It confined its operations entirely to erecting saw mills, forwarding emigrants, without question as to their opinions on slavery, and generally promoting the well being of the settlers. He believed it would be abundantly proved to the Kansas Commission recently sent out, that at the election of the so-called Legislature, every district was carried by Missouri voters.

The free State men hold that as the Legislature was fraudulent, all their acts are void. Otherwise, the fate of Kansas would be sealed, for the laws they passed would disfranchise all the free State men, who number at least three-fourths of the actual settlers. They also elected Commissioners for four years, who would appoint the same reckless pro-slavery judges of elections. The recent city election in Leavenworth was cited as an instance in the management of these Judges. The free State votes were thrown out and pro-slavery votes put in, making the votes returned much more than the whole number cast.

The admission of Kansas under the Constitution they had adopted through many difficulties and dangers, would ensure the safety of the State; but the slave power demands that they shall abandon the vantage ground already obtained, and try it all over again. They expect the General Government to order this, and have planned accordingly. They have now thousands of men from the South, who are waiting quietly in Missouri, prepared to go into the Territory and remain until the State shall be secured to slavery. In hiring voters the South has the advantage, for no Northern man can be hired to vote, and no Northern man will stoop to buy a vote. He believed that under the present administration, it would be impossible to have a fair election in Kansas, in which slavery is concerned. Governor Shannon was the tool of the slave power.

The new State, he said, proposed, while the great question is pending, to follow the precedents set by other new States, violating no law. They will organize their government, counties and towns, and make all needful laws, and he anticipated no collision or difficulty, except from invasion. As a community, they do not resist the laws passed by the Missourians, but manage as best they may. All the people of Kansas want is, that the anti-Administration party in Congress should make the issue on the admission of Kansas, and that the people of the whole country should accept the issue. The Administration will do nothing against the people of Kansas, which may furnish political capital against themselves. He hoped especially that Massachusetts would take the right ground, and that she would come out with honor in the end.

The examples of California and Michigan, in carrying on independent State governments before their admission into the Union, were adverted to. He thought if the President saw fit to denounce the men of Kansas as traitors for doing the same thing, it would only prove that the unusual course was taken on account of their Constitution, formed in the straightest school of squatter sovereignty. They would not go, however, beyond what the sentiments of freemen would warrant. He hoped Massachusetts would instruct her delegation in Congress to vote for the admission of Kansas, that other States would do the same thing, and that such a whirlwind would be raised before the election, that the administration would be driven forever out of sight of the White House.

The action of the South in sending men to Kansas was further commented upon. Atchison, who is President as far as Kansas is concerned, is reported to have \$3,000,000 at his command, to force slavery into Kansas. Gov. Robinson then replied to a number of questions about Kansas affairs, propounded by various gentlemen present, but we have not space to sketch his interesting remarks further.

It is understood that the Southern interest is pressing the Committee on Ways and Means very hard, and with some prospect of success, to report an appropriation to pay the Territorial Legislature of Kansas for the next fiscal year. Such an appropriation, if made by Congress, would be a recognition of the Bogus Territorial Government, as against the State Government established there by the people themselves, and as such, its legal effect would be to conclude the whole case, on the principles announced by the U. S. Supreme Court in the Rhode Island controversy. Its practical effect would be to encourage the Missouri party in Kansas, and furnish them with the sinews of war out of the National Treasury.

Mr. Collamer's Kansas speech in the Senate was an admirable one, in all respects, and should be extensively circulated.

Daily Journal & Courier.

Lowell, Wednesday, April 9, 1856.

Presidential aspirants are in the field early this year with their letters. Mr Buchanan commenced the ball by his letter to Mr Slidell. The Atlas derives much solid comfort from the above epistle of Col. Fremont, or professes to at least. On the whole we should say that "Barkis was willing," although after careful inspection we can find nothing but vague generalities in this Fremont epistle. The Colonel is waiting to see what "will turn up," what shape the Kansas question will take in Congress, &c., before he can give his views on it.—He is cautious, guarded, indefinite, vague and general to the last degree. His letter is a model for presidential aspirants and might have been written by Talleyrand himself. Martin Van Buren never began to equal it. The ethical principles or moral truisms which the Colonel announces in the last part of his letter, that "great results are ruled by Providence," and "that a man's actions must be determined by events as they arise," &c., &c., are all well enough and may be found equally well expressed in the copy books of school-boys. The letter is well enough, but that there is any particular "vigor," or "earnestness" or "unusual freshness" in it, as the Atlas alleges, we deny. In fact the comments of the Atlas are in a vein of laughable exaggeration.

BOSTON POST.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1856.

The Slave Trade in a New Form.—The Journal of Commerce publishes a letter from Swotow, China. The writer says that his ship, which was about to sail, had on board 700 coolies, and expected to take 200 more. He does not conceal that they are kidnapped, and says they cost from \$15 to \$20 per man, and sell for 250. A nice business, requiring, we think, immediate suppression.—Atlas.

How would a few of Miss Dutton's rifles do in the hands of the poor coolies? Where is Kill-am's benevolence in this extreme case of human outrage, misery, death? Where are Beecher's prayers, and where is the Brooklyn society's sympathy? The reverend Mr Dutton's deacon had better open his Bible and shoulder his rifle in the cause of the poor Chinaman, instead of enlisting under Governor Robinson, who is enjoying himself at one of the best hotels in Boston. If it be the spirit of true Christianity that moves ye—Beechers, Stillmans, Duttons, Kill-ams—if ye are not lying in the very face of heaven when ye turn your eyes to the Eternal Throne above and proclaim that for Its glory alone ye labor—to execute Its will, only, ye strive,—your voices will be raised for the succor, protection, salvation, of your poor Asiatic brethren who are stolen, smothered, starved, drowned, and sold into slavery by thousands upon thousands, while your political tears are running in streams over your lantern jaws for poor Kansas; Kansas, whose only danger is in your gratuitous guardianship. But it is not for the immortal soul

these babbling philanthropists—these noisy, roistering reverends—these pert misses challenge the attention of the world, but merely to subserve the end of cunning, selfish ambition—to gain party power—to feed the fire of fanaticism; to do this they would immerse the Bible in blood while declaring their garments as white as wool, and yet be as deaf to the shrieks of real suffering humanity as the adder whose slimy course they follow!



NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1856.

We have read the new volume of Mr. Bledsoe, of Virginia, on Liberty and Slavery. It is an argument drawn from philosophy, the Scriptures and the public good, against the doctrines of Abolitionists or immediate emancipationists. It is a good book in which to learn the views of a moderate Southern man,—a very able and logical writer,—in defending Southern slavery as it ordinarily exists. Perhaps no one at the North would accept the doctrines taught as a whole, and yet he might enjoy the argument of a strong man, and be thankful for new information on a vexed question.

New-York Daily Times.

POLITICAL.

REPUBLICANISM IN NEW-JERSEY.

GREAT DEMONSTRATION AT NEWARK.

State Mass Meeting at Newark—Address to the People of the State—Speeches, Resolutions, &c.

The Republicans of New-Jersey met in Mass State Convention at Library Hall, Newark, yesterday afternoon and evening. The call for the gathering summoned the people of the State, without regard to past differences, to oppose the policy of the Administration—to insist upon the admission of Kansas as a Free State, and to take effectual measures for the organization of a Republican Party in New-Jersey. The call was signed by a great number of citizens. The attendance at the opening of the meeting was large and highly respectable, and in the evening was considerably increased. Great enthusiasm marked the proceedings.

The meeting was called to order a few minutes past 9 o'clock, by C. M. K. PARSONS, Esq., of Passaic, a member of the National Executive Committee appointed by the Republican Convention at Pittsburg in February.)

Dr. Wm. C. PIERSON, of Essex County, was chosen temporary Chairman, and JACOB SWAZLEY, of Mercer County, Secretary pro tem.

Prayer was offered by Rev. WILLIAM H. BROWN, of Newark.

A Committee of five on Permanent Organization was appointed who retired to deliberate; and in the interim, letters were read from HON. LYMAN TAPPAN and JACOB W. MILLER, and E. W. WHELAN, Esq., of Morris-town.

SPEECH OF COL. DELAHAY, OF KANSAS.

Col. DELAHAY, of Kansas, was introduced and made an effective appeal in behalf of the Free-State men. The Colonel is a tall, thin, earnest gentleman, 40 years old, with a thick, jet-black mustache and beard, and speaks fluently. He said it had been at some sacrifice that he placed himself in the hands of Jersey men, for he desired to speak with those whose brethren were already settled in Kansas. The time has come when the horizon is enshrouded in clouds, and he had to bear his testimony to certain facts which Jersey men should be made aware of. It was known to them that Freedom had been treated with contempt in Kansas. It was for them to say whether, by their opportune interference, they would take care of their brethren and sisters in Kansas. For himself, Mr. DELAHAY did not know exactly where he stood. Once, he was a Democrat; in 1852, he was the first to get up a PIERCE club, in Springfield, Ill., but he had since been read out of the ranks. He could not now abide PIERCE. He held that the passage of an "Enabling Act," of which so much is said, is but the claptrap of the day. Kansas has a Republican Constitution, suited to her people; she says that on the 1st of August, 1854, Slavery shall be taken out of that Territory, [cheers], and you will sympathize with her in that resolution. [Great cheering.] Jersey men are always in the right. Let us trust there will be an expression of all the Free States to compel Congress to admit Kansas with her free Constitution.

We in Kansas have patiently submitted to all manner of wrong. Our fathers never submitted to wrongs with more patience than they. They have as yet the first outrage to commit. The other party have trodden upon our rights, and by the ballot,

with Mr. FRENCH, who is considered to be one of the most outrageous laws in existence of the whole of the people. And in order not to put himself in opposition to Government authority, Mr. D. had finally acquiesced in the enforcement of these laws, by saying them to be so infamous that they would pass themselves. Mr. DEMANAY was on the right side of the Kansas question with the Constitution she has adopted, there will be but little hope. They have signified their desire to undertake the burden of a State Government, and they desire to have no Slavery among them.

He demonstrated, also, that Slavery is not necessary in commerce. It is a grain and grazing country. A good negro is worth \$1,000; many bring 25 per cent.—say 10 per cent. It costs \$300 per year to keep a slave. The argument for free labor is, that a free laborer is 100 per cent. cheaper. As a grazing country it is the best in the country. The beef is extraordinarily good. And then as to swine, it is notorious that the pigs flourish greatly. So for sheep; and as for minerals, the country is full of them.

He spoke of the recent elections. In St. Louis, John How had been elected Mayor of the city by the Benton Democrats—a circumstance which Mr. D. considered equivalent to a Republican victory. In Cincinnati, the result is gratifying. Mr. D. said it would be pleasant for him could be identified with a Party, for he had always preserved an identity. But in Kansas they had no politics. [Laughter.]

ORGANIZATION.
The following permanent officers were elected:
President—Hon WILLIAM PARRY, of Burlington.

- Vice-Presidents.
Atlantic.....Wm. Moore.
Borough.....Robert Rennie.
Burlington...L. D. Hammill.
Camden.....Phillip J. Gray.
Cumberland...Isaac West.
Essex.....Samuel W. Tucker.
Gloucester....John W. Hazleton.
Hudson.....Brinswell L. Grinnell.
Hunterdon....John E. Forman.
Mercer.....George S. Green.
Middlesex....John W. Stout.
Monmouth....John Robbins.
Morris.....Samuel McCulloch.
Ocean.....George W. Corperthwaite.
Passaic.....Henry M. Low.
Salem.....Judge Lowry.
Somerset....Bethuel Mason.
Sussex.....David Ryerson.
Warren.....Robert S. Kennedy.

- Secretaries.**
First Congressional District...W. H. Snowden.
Second Congressional District...Jacob L. Swazey.
Third Congressional District...Mr. Gordon.
Fourth Congressional District...James H. Shuble.
Fifth Congressional District...George A. Emmol.

A Committee of five was appointed to prepare an address and draft resolutions.

Colonel HOWARD, of Rhode Island, in a short speech, denied that the result of the election in that State was an indication of favor to the administration of Mr. PIERCE.

ADDRESS.
An elaborate address to the people of the State was reported. It reviews the questions involved in the Slavery issue, discusses the relations of parties, the acquisition of Louisiana, the annexation of Texas, the Missouri Compromise; showing that the objections on the subject of Slavery have been brought about by the measures of the slaveholding class, whose threats, instead of being disregarded, have been yielded to, and thus they have been taught to regard them as all-powerful. The address then proceeds:

From the hurried survey we have now made of our history, it is clear that, from the time the question of the admission of Missouri arose, the advocates of the extension of Slavery have had a series of unvarying triumphs. In every conflict Slavery has succeeded even in directing the policy of the Government further and still further from that of its framers. So constantly have the Slavery-Extensionists triumphed over the defenders of Freedom, and triumphed—so constantly have the Constitution yielded to the threats of the former, that politicians who seek to be always on the strong side have of late adopted it as an axiom that a political aspirant, in order to be a successful office seeker, must be on the side of Slavery. When, then, in 1854, some one of these ingenious but unprincipled set of men had outdone all others by broaching the Missouri Compromise—since Slavery had nothing more to gain by it, and Freedom everything to lose by repealing it—the whole race of demagogues, repelled not a moment by the infatuation of the proposition, immediately approved its repeal, and sought only to outdo each other in their zeal to carry it into execution. They believed that the highest office of the government would certainly be conferred on those who should excel in this scheme to legalize Slavery and outrage the friends of Freedom. And, therefore, unsuspecting of Freedom. And, therefore, unsuspecting of Freedom. And, therefore, unsuspecting of Freedom. And, therefore, unsuspecting of Freedom.

At the approaching Presidential election these demagogues fondly hope that the object for which they have raised the tempest will be attained. Having forced the Democratic Party and the American party in the South into the support of their schemes, they will soon call on the American people to crown them with success.

The duty of every American who desires to be true to the Constitution and fulfill his obligations under that sacred instrument—in this extraordinary case, is plain. He has but to follow the example of the founders of the Union, and to adhere to its principles. They who made the Constitution unprinciples. They who made the Constitution unprinciples. They who made the Constitution unprinciples. They who made the Constitution unprinciples.

back the Government to the principles of 1787. Let us do as our fathers did—leave Slavery all its rights, but prohibit its extension. Obtain most secretly from interfering with it in the States, but prohibit it forever in the Territory. Maintain every principle of the Constitution—those which protect the rights of the slaveholder just as fully as those which do not, and those which do not just as fully as those which do.

The Republican Party of the United States having but one object at heart, have also but one policy to pursue. We seek only to carry back the Government to the principles of the Constitution. We stand where we have always stood, and, where a few years ago, all the sensible men of all parties stood. We stand by the Missouri Compromise, by the principle of the Ordinance of 1787—and for the prohibition of Slavery in the Territories. That which was constitutional last year, or fifty years ago, must be constitutional now. The Constitution has not changed, because enemies have assailed it.

As for the candidates for office, we shall require of them but one principle—devotion to our cause; but one qualification—ability to maintain it with credit to the country.

Yellow-citizens of New-Jersey, the principles we have thus set forth have long been your principles, no matter what party you have belonged to. Both the old parties have frequently, in the Legislature or in State Conventions, professed themselves. Having so frequently avowed those sentiments when they were men in danger, will you desert them now they are assailed? Having so often declared your devotion to the Constitution, will you now leave that sacred instrument to the mercies of its enemies? Will you allow demagogues whom you detest, to trample it under foot? The time approaches when you may inflict upon these demagogues the punishment they so richly merit, and which is the signal example, so that politicians hereafter may shun their folly and fate. But if you fail to punish, you reward them; and make them examples which other demagogues will not fail to follow. You are soon, as a part of the American people, to utter your all-decisive judgment, and to bid the politicians and the statesmen of the country either to restore the Government to the policy of its framers and to the principles of the Constitution, or to go on, as they have been doing, perverting its principles and undermining the foundation of the Union. There is no doubt which of these is the line of duty and of patriotism. We trust you will not fail to pursue it.

RESOLUTIONS.
The Committee on Resolutions reported the following:

Resolved, That the people of New-Jersey, without distinction of party, in their popular assemblies, having expressed the opinion of the Missouri Compromise and having warned the Pro-Slavery interest that we should regard it as a breach of public faith and a wanton sacrifice of territory forever consecrated to human Freedom to the light of Slavery; that it is only remains for us now to fulfill the pledge so then made, to resist the aggressive spirit of Slavery; and to accept the issue thus forced upon the Free States.

Resolved, That while we do not desire to make war upon any party, yet we regard the momentous issue at the approaching election to be—whether Slavery or Freedom shall be National; whether it shall remain within its original limits, or whether it shall be extended into Territories pledged and dedicated to Freedom.

Resolved, That as citizens of New Jersey, uniformly true to their constitutional obligations, we disclaim, and expressly disavow, any desire to interfere with Slavery wherever by the Constitution it lawfully exists; but that the only design and purpose of the Republican Party is to restore the Government to the policy of its founders.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with our fellow-citizens in Kansas, outraged as they are and have been both by Border outlaws and a weak and wicked Administration; and that, if Congress shall reject their application for admission into the Union as a Free State, it will become our duty, as we regard it to be our imperative duty of the friends of Freedom in all the States, to make the cause of Kansas their own, and seek redress for the great wrong at the ballot-box.

Resolved, That Free Institutions being indisputably the most favorable for the highest intellectual and material development, we regard it as a duty which we owe to the prosperity of our country and to the welfare of posterity, to make every honorable effort to restore to the question of the States which are yet to be erected out of our vast national domain, in such form that Free Labor, Free Schools and Free Speech shall ever be the distinguishing characteristics of their inhabitants.

Resolved, That we recommend that a State Convention be held in Trenton on Wednesday, the 22d of May next, for the purpose of selecting delegates to the National Convention to be held at Philadelphia on the 1st of June, to nominate a Candidate for President and Vice-President, to nominate an Electoral ticket, and to transact such other business as may be deemed advisable for the permanent organization and success of the Republican Party.

Mr. CHAY, of Camden, seconded the resolutions.
Mr. H. N. CONGER, Editor of the Newark Mercury, spoke with earnestness of the result of 1854.

The question was put on the adoption of the resolutions, and they were carried by a unanimous AYE!

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
The following named gentlemen were unanimously elected as a State Executive Committee: Wm. P. Sherman, Elias Cook, David Ripley, John W. Stout, C. M. K. Paulson, Geo. S. Green, Philip S. Gray, and Isaac M. Tucker.
The Committee is authorized to appoint a Corresponding Member in each county.
The meeting then adjourned until 7 P. M.

EVENING SESSION.
The meeting reassembled at the appointed hour, when speeches were made by several distinguished gentlemen, among whom was Hon. BENJAMIN F. WADE, United States Senator from Ohio, who was still speaking at 9 1/2 o'clock, when the train left for New-York, and was to be succeeded by Mr. BRINGHAM, of Ohio, and Gen. NYE, of this City.

Transportation to Kansas.
St. Louis, Wednesday, April 9.
A Committee from Kansas is in this City, delegated by a number of the business men of that Territory, to take steps for the establishment of a line of steamers from Alton, Ill., to Kansas, for the transportation of Northern emigrants and merchandise. The Committee will proceed to Chicago, Cincinnati

and Pittsburg, for the purpose of perfecting the arrangements.

Commercial Journal.

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor and Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 9.

Aid and Comfort.

A ring-leader among the bands of Yankee 'rebels' who have procured rifles and 'squat-tered' on the domain that Pierce has set apart for 'niggers' spoke in Harrisburg and in the Hall of Representatives one evening last week. This arch-abolitionist, was J. H. Lane, Senator elect from the 'reasonable' band that have taken Kansas in hand.

Where is the sense of propriety of those representatives of the administration who voted in favor of giving this reasonable Lane the Hall to speak in? And even the Pittsburgh press is beginning to be recant, for we find the following in Monday's *Inquirer*:

There was a large meeting in the Hall of Representatives to hear Gen. James Lane, former member of Congress from Indiana, and one who voted for the Kansas-Nebraska bill upon the question of the necessity of the admission of Kansas under her present State organization. He is one of the newly-elected Senators under that organization. His audience was quite large, and he spoke for full two hours, making, I should say, a decidedly favorable impression. The following resolution was offered by R. H. Kerr, of the *Pittsburgh Post*, and was adopted by the meeting.

Resolved that we tender our thanks to General Lane, for his eloquent and touching address on the freedom of Kansas to every human being. The territory complying with the provisions of the Constitution, should of right and ought to be admitted a sovereign and independent State of this Confederacy.

What can we call that but giving 'aid and comfort to the enemy'?

THE MERCURY

Wm. CHARLESTON

FOR THE MERCURY.
The Charleston Kansas Meeting—Address of the special Committee.—v. 2.

It would require volumes to do justice to the wide range of thought and reflection which the extract selected from the address of the Special Committee, and incorporated into my first number, suggests to the mind. I shall confine myself, therefore, to a few only of the most prominent points.

The address proceeds—"A power of this kind depends solely on success and its prestige. In itself, it possesses no inherent force, either as a moral or political tenet—a social or organized good. Adversity ever best subdues and controls passion, either in individuals or empires. Let freesoil, by our united efforts, meet in Kansas, let there its prestige of success and power find dissipation."

"A defeat on the plains of Kansas, and in the restoration of the Compromise of 1820, will send a panic doubt through the Northern heart; a chill through the pulses of Northern fanaticism, which may distract and prostrate abolition at home, repel political ambition from its failing fortunes, and in thus dispelling the illusion of its invincibility, enable right reason and rectitude in civil affairs, to resume their constitutional sway. Peace and the Constitution may thus be restored to our distracted country." And in another place: "but the first instance of either" (that is of adversity or defeat) "will be a touchstone to its hollow pretensions, mad designs, and inherent weakness."

The above extract evolves the following group of ideas, among others, viz: That Abolition is inherently weak, its power chiefly its prestige of success. Its prestige can be dissipated by defeat in Kansas. Defeat in Kansas may prostrate Abolition

at home, repel political ambition from its faltering fortunes, dispel the illusion of its invincibility, enable right reason and rectitude in civil affairs to resume their constitutional sway, and peace and the constitution be thereby restored.

Now, in my deliberate judgment, I believe the most gifted imagination could hardly overrate the vast importance to the South of a Southern triumph on the Kansas question. It would give to the South what the people of the South so much need, a "prestige" of success in well concerted measures of practical and manly resistance. I use the words practical and manly resistance, in contradistinction to what I deem the dangerous, and, if persevered in, the fatal policy, of seeking protection for Southern slave property through the action of the constituted authorities at Washington, and the puerile party statesmanship of Southern Senators and Representatives. There will be some hope for the South when our people shall clearly comprehend the great political fact, that no government that ever existed, ever did protect the people from the perpetration of its own wrongs, of its own accord. Inconsiderable reforms have sometimes been effected without drawing the sword; but thirty-two times in the history of the British Empire, has the sword been drawn, to force the Government to guarantee to the people the rights of Magna Charta. Revolution in some form, bloodless or otherwise, is by far the most common, and often the only remedy, against governmental misrule and tyranny. And the sun of the South will rise again, and shine glorious and bright, whenever our people shall clearly see and know that their dearest and most sacred rights will be protected, defended and preserved by themselves alone, and when they shall make the admission, and act upon it, that those rights will be forever lost, if abandoned to the protection of the Government at Washington—to the National Democratic party, or any other party, save the party of the people whose rights are in jeopardy. The Government at Washington is, in fact, the great enemy we have to dread, and against which our defences should be erected; for that is the power, the force, with which Abolition seeks to subjugate us, and to expect protection from our worst enemy, is to reverse and reprobate all the principles and policy of National and individual action, both in war and individual antagonism. It is even more than this; for to act so unwisely and absurdly, is to abandon the simplest teachings of common sense and common observation, and to exchange positions with the Abolitionists, and to become ourselves the madmen.

We want success—victory—triumph, in Kansas; then, that the languid pulse of the South may be stimulated and quickened—that the people of the South may, in their first act of manly and practical resistance, acquire the prestige of future successes, and in the only way that success is possible.

But is the proposition tenable which asserts that the Abolition party is inherently weak—that it has no inherent force or power, either as a moral or political party?

The policy of under-estimating or despising the strength of our enemies, in politics as in war, has often produced national disasters the most fatal. The religion, the moral code of the Abolition party, are not our religion, our moral code; but they are not on that account the less a religion, a moral and political tenet to them. It is not wise to overlook the fact that all men pursue not the same method of thought, either on morals, religion, or politics. Different methods of thought (and no two tribes of the human race pursue the same) lead infallibly to different conclusions upon all these subjects. The history of man proves the fact that the benighted Pagan will pour out his blood in defence of his idols as freely and courageously as the Christian in defence of his sacred altars. The faith of the Abolitionists is false to us, but they may deem it truth to them. But whether it be so or not, it is the same to us, for they act upon it as a belief; and it is their acts at last, and not their faith, with which we have to deal. If their faith, their moral and political tenets, produce fanatical madness, and that faith and madness produce action that may be fatal to us, the inherent power and force of those tenets is not only a fact, but even a fearful one. "That they are thus led on by a wild and unreasoning faith and fanaticism, is conclusive proof that the organization contains within itself the inherent force, the terrible energy of madness, that would gloat over the horrid scenes of blood and carnage as a delicious repast. In vain we urge the considerations of right reason and true religion upon their attention. When men cease to reason, to be rational beings, they become the beast of prey—the tiger in the jungle; and if they have sufficient method in their madness to augment their power, their inherent strength, by a union of their numbers, and to direct their strength to a common effort and aim, they become to the social and political organism what the whirlwind and the storm are to the physical world.

But quitting theory upon this grave question, I appeal to facts. And I point to the history of Abolition both in Europe and America, to prove, what I believe to be true, that no party has arisen among mankind during the last hundred years, which has given such indisputable evidence of inherent strength, or that has gained so many victories over its opponents—over the established orders of society and civilization, with or without resorting to the armies

and navies of powerful States and Empires,—as the Abolition party has done. Let us then briefly survey the line of its victorious march, the fields of its conquests.

When, less than a century ago, a few obscure individuals first met in conclave in London, to form a programme, to commence their intended assault upon the African slave trade, African slavery prevailed as a domestic organism, in very nearly every state in Christendom, and in the isles of Asia, Europe, and America. The people of England, alone, had many millions of pounds sterling invested in that trade. The city of Bristol, situated near the confluence of the Severn with the Bristol Channel, was at that time, perhaps, the greatest slave mart in the world. The Atlantic ocean was literally whitened with the sails of the slave ships owned by the Bristol slave merchants; and so popular and profitable was this great branch of European commerce, that even reigning princes granted peculiar privileges to commercial companies, cities and states, upon the stipulated condition that they should receive a share of the profits realized from the traffic. At this portentous epoch of the history of Abolition, the American Abolitionists find a precedent for their guidance, which they are now adroitly putting in practice. The anti-slave-trade committee in London, disclaimed all intention to abolish slavery, at any place where it existed within the limits of the British Empire. The abolition of the slave trade alone, they declared, was all they sought to accomplish. The Abolitionists were few in number, and had but little political or social influence in the realm of England. They were opposed and denounced by all the power and influence which many millions of invested capital could bring to bear against them. They were treated with contempt, and scorned by the great mass of the English people, as we have seen repeated in our own times nearer home. But they did not flatter—they pursued the even tenor of their way, endured with patience the reproaches which were unsparingly heaped upon their heads. They braved the storm of persecution which broke over them, and the more persecution and denunciation prevailed, the more their number and power increased. They sent missionaries to France in the most stormy period of the French revolution. The immortal Lafayette and his Marchioness, Mirabeau the elder, and other leaders of the revolution, adopted their abolition tenets, and promised concurrence in national action. They sent missionaries to the United States, and sowed the seeds, which now promise a plentiful harvest of ills. The ordinance of 1787 was the immediate effect of the mission to the United States. The United States has a secret history on this subject which has not yet been written.

If the record of the passage of that ordinance be searched, it will be found that Mr. Madison was in the hall of Congress a short time before, and a short time after the vote on the passage of the ordinance was taken, but his name is not recorded for or against it. The ordinance itself had a somewhat mysterious origin. Even then, almost at the birth of the Republic, there was an inherent force at work, and exerting a mysterious power, the end of which is not yet.

They, the London Abolitionists, entered the British Parliament, first by petition, then by their Representatives in the House of Commons. They, too, had a method in their madness. The powerful influence of British gold failed to arrest the career of these despised fanatics. The slave trade was at last abolished, the fleet of Bristol slave ships were turned out of employment, and the armed surveillance of the British navy set to watch over them. They were devoted to other pursuits, or stranded upon the shore to rot; millions of capital was thrown out of investment, and invested in other forms. The prosperity of the then flourishing city of Bristol, its commercial importance, its great social and industrial interests, were prostrated at a single blow, to rise no more. All Christendom, in the end including the United States, united in a common league to put an end to the African slave trade.

But the London Committee were not content with the great victory they had gained against such fearful odds. The slave trade abolished, they boldly elevated the black flag of Abolition, and announced the intention to abolish the institution of slavery itself wherever it existed in the British Empire, and thereby to free the British Crown from all responsibility on the subject of slavery. This is the source, the precedent, from which our Abolition party derives the idea and the language in which they clothe it, of divorcing the Federal Government from slavery and "slave power."

In this second campaign of the English Abolitionists, they met with a stern and uncompromising resistance. The great interests of the British West Indies were at stake. Inch by inch the field was contested, and year after year the Abolition party gained ground upon their opponents.

The immense monetary power of the East India Company was enlisted on the side of Abolition, as the result of a deeply laid and comprehensive scheme of commercial monopoly, which my limits will not permit me to discuss in detail. It is enough for my present purpose to say, that Abolition again triumphed over all its opponents, by means of its "inherent force," the power, mysterious and undefinable though it be, which it exercises over the minds of men. "The will of God" was agreed to in the Parliament, Lords and Commons, and slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire. In this vast wreck and ruin of the existing social system, slave property was not the only property that was involved in a common fate. The landed interests

of the West India slaveowners, perhaps the most valuable property of that class in the world, was remanded back to the dominion of the desert, the jungle and the reptile, by the act of negro emancipation.

Thus, a single Abolition victory demolished, at a single blow, without violence or bloodshed, without the aid of armies or navies, perhaps five hundred millions worth of the property of British subjects, and the semblance of justice was presented to the world, to justify the wrong of paying the owners for the wholesale ruin, twenty millions of pounds sterling; which, if I err not, was paid by the East India Company of merchants.

Since that London Committee of Abolitionists first met in conclave, France, England, Portugal, all Europe has abolished slavery wherever it existed; with the qualification, that Spain agreed with England, I believe, to abolish it in all her dominions, save her West India possessions, in a stipulated number of years, and for a stipulated sum of money. It has been abolished in seven of the old thirteen United States, over two-thirds of the territorial Districts of the United States, where populous States are now running the career of nations, and including a vast country, rich in the elements which enter into the support and maintenance of human life, and capable of sustaining an empire of two hundred millions of souls. It has been abolished in Mexico, in all the South American States, except, I believe, Brazil, and in many of the isles of the sea. In order to form a right conception of the victories which Abolition has won over the organic structure of human society, let us look at the world-wide area of slavery, when the London Committee first met, and then look at its circumscribed area now. It exists in the Southern States of this Union, in the Spanish West Indies, and in Brazil. But where else? Echo answers, where? It may, I think, be safely asserted, that no military conqueror, who has disturbed the repose of the world, and scourged the nations of the earth with the rod of his power, has effected such vast changes upon the social, and commercial interests and organism of society, as Abolition has already done; and still—uncloaked with its mighty victories, meeting "nor adversity nor defeat," insatiable as the grave, it pursues its steady course, unchecked in its march, confident of gaining still more important, more devastating triumphs. And with these great historic facts before our eyes, and the steady tramp—tramp—of the Abolition forces sounding in our ears, and disturbing our mid-night slumbers, we refuse to realize the truth—the perils of our condition—and persevere in ascribing to this mighty element of disruption, and subjugation, this destroyer of civilizations and social structures, "inherent weakness." May a ruling Providence open our eyes to the truth before it be too late;

This article is already too long; you shall hear from me again. BRUTUS.

THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS.

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 10, 1856.

From the Charleston Mercury.

TO PROF. SILLIMAN,

Of Yale College, New Haven, Connecticut.

Sir: You have distinguished yourself, after a new fashion, at the late Kansas meeting in New Haven. From promoting science, you turn your attention to the promotion of civil war. To your philosophical achievements you add those of a public abettor of sedition. Men, mad with faction, you furnish with arms.

We, who remember Yale with pleasure, are disappointed in you. Your contribution of a Sharp's rifle to a frontier fight is not, as we think, quite as much in character as contributions to a scientific journal. Philosophy, say, the commonest discretion, should have saved you from this unadvised exhibition of yourself, at once lamentable and ludicrous. Who can refrain from weeping or laughing, when Atticus plays the fool, or something worse?

Why invade the province of half-crazed persons like Beecher, or fanatical knaves like Garrison, or unprincipled politicians like Seward? Would you exchange these kind of your philosophy for the vulgar excursions of the yachtsman? Would you desert your pure carbon to wallow in the mire? Leave to the fitting parties their dirty work. We are accustomed to think of you as a teacher of science and cultivator of letters, and so a softer and gentler of manners. Do you covet the honors of a pulpit bray, or a sectional demagogue?

If the distinguished gentlemen named—of Hale, or Parker, or Goodins, or Banks—should break into your study and go to work with your crucibles and retorts, how ridiculous and mischievous would be the results! The consequences of your inroad into their workshop have been equally farcical, and more pregnant with evil. They may burn their own fingers, or put out their own eyes, by the explosion of a mismanaged gas, but your extraordinary performance, were you have no calling, may injure us, and do us more harm, than any other—may deprive of life a man better, perhaps, than any one of your Kansas meeting.

You do not intend your gun to be idle. It is to be employed in killing Border Ruffians—men not skilled in the properties of the diamond, but useful citizens, husbands, fathers, quite as important to their families, and even to the State, as professors of chemistry. They are the men who advance the terminus of the Republican. They are the men who have you done for the country more important? Can you lay your hand on your heart and say that you perform the duties of life better than they do? Have you any personal knowledge of any one of them? You would shoot them with Sharp's rifle—on hearsay evi-

desire. Your friends... Your enemies... of Massachusetts society...

Your age, perhaps, prevents you from enjoying the pleasure of shooting at people in person...

When, of old, as Virgil tells us, in the midst of a sedition of the people, a man interposed, venerable from age and piety, it was to subdue, by words of wisdom...

What a moral grandeur is exhibited in the one, what a poor pandering to the popular excitement in the other!

Have you not mistaken your place? The shrine of the Roman Milton describes as smeared with blood of human sacrifice...

When the frenzy of discord seizes on wise men, philosophers, on grave divines and whole classes of society...

Or the case may be somewhat altered. The scalps that you receive may come from the war of 1812...

Massachusetts, since the revolution has been living on Bunker's Hill. She will never get through it...

The truth is your people have something better to do than fighting. They are engaged in wide-spread commerce...

The Border Buffaloes will not be subservient of your Kansas meeting performance, and zeal to produce a night...

Think of the evil you may bring upon your own College society. Your Sharp's rifle is set at naught...

You think, Professors and Border Buffaloes. There is a great difference between the eyes of young gentlemen...

What says the philosopher who, from a safe distance, supplies the weapons of civil war?

We are not surprised at them. We always knew that their moral standard would end in ruin...

sing to death a great many men who may no hold their dogmas in ethics, theology, or politics. From you we expected better things...

You receive the applause of the Tribune, the Liberator, the New York Times, when applauded by the Tribune...

It has been said, somewhere, that nature bestows upon every man a certain amount of folly...

Your admirer and friend, JOHN BROWN.

FULLER ON BEECHER. The eccentricities of this Reverend gentleman, who advocates the use of rifles and Bibles...

BEECHER ON BEVERAGES.—Henry Ward Beecher has the fortune, or misfortune, of keeping those who pin their theology and morals to his skirts...

But it is in quite another direction that Parson Beecher has most offended and provoked. He uses a profane word, utterly "blumfy-ious"...

Whatever views Mr. Beecher has held in past time, as to intelligence, in a little wine for the stomach's sake...

Whatever he may have intended, his article well defined the market for gin and juniper, and many hesitating temperance folk...

Whatever he may have intended, his article well defined the market for gin and juniper, and many hesitating temperance folk...

If Mr. Beecher had been less earnest and explicit, we might have thought his article satirical, perhaps...

"It makes us used to remember the unnecessary days and months of unprofitable chills and fever that we ourselves have had...

out of this grim monster who has had so long a despotism in Western valleys and river bottoms...

If Mr. Wolfe were seeking certificates of the excellence of his Schnapps, could he get better or stronger than Parson Beecher's?

"Among the extraordinary changes which have been going on upon our globe, the recession, or encroachment of the ocean, the fixing or rising of continents...

No temperance man should take a boat on the Ohio or Mississippi, until he has removed his name from the pledge...

With a flask of Juniper in our pockets, we defy the powers of the world!

Among these deliberately uttered eulogiums, who can doubt Mr. Beecher's belief in the beneficence of Schnapps...

Under a potent impulse which lifted him above the narrow logic and morals of the Prohibitionists...

Mr. Beecher has been among the Western lakes and rivers more than his parishioners, and knows better than any what will pleasantly flavor Western water...

From the New Orleans P Leveaux. SOUTHERN AID TO KANSAS.

The Southern expedition to Kansas, under the command of Gen. Jefferson Buford, of Alabama, is expected to start about the 5th of this month...

While the Emigrant Aid Societies of New England have been pouring in settlers in large numbers, for the single purpose of shaping the institutions of the Territory...

and the most trusted of the statesmen of that school, advised the House of Representatives to pass the bill admitting Kansas into the Union at once as a free State, with the Free-soil Constitution adopted at Topeka, and to send it to the Senate. He did not anticipate its passage there, for the Senate is the last citadel of Southern rights, and the adversary has not yet obtained ascendancy there.

But Mr. Seward broadly intimated that, in the event that the Senate should refuse admission to the State organized by his party associates in Kansas, the House of Representatives, by its power over the money bills, could palsify the power of the President to support the Territorial authorities, and thus compel an issue between the inhabitants of the Territory who preserve allegiance to the regular authorities of the United States, and the partisans of the spurious State, sustained by arms from the East, and abolitionism sympathies everywhere. He said that "the President might find difficulty in obtaining money from Congress to crush the free settlers of Kansas," a threat, coming from him, which is to be understood as announcing that the Free Soil majority in the House will refuse appropriations for any army to be employed in maintaining the officers and laws of the United States in Kansas, against the Free Soil rebellion. Preparatory to this, large sums are subscribed in the Northern States to buy arms for the Free Soil emigrants, and reverend clergymen and sober professors, go to public meetings, subscribe money to pay for rifle, and make inflammatory speeches to encourage the holders to kill, kill, kill the Southern slaveholder who asks in Kansas for an equality of rights under the constitution.

There is a good deal of animation in the Northern States on the subject. The necessity of some counteracting exertion has been universally confessed; but the expectation of Col. Buford, a citizen of Alabama, of high position and chivalrous character, is the first which has been organized on a scale of magnitude sufficient to be of essential service.

It has received liberal endowments in Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama, but Louisiana has as yet done but little for the enterprise. A meeting held last week made some arrangements for obtaining material aid in this quarter, and we trust the committees appointed have been diligent and successful. Our letters inform us that the troop will be here within ten days or a fortnight on their way to Kansas, and we do trust that they will have a hospitable welcome, and such assistance, to aid in carrying them successfully onward to the accomplishment of their chivalrous purposes, as will become the pride and the patriotism of Louisiana.

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J. C. VAUGHAN, C. H. RAY, EDITORS.

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Thursday Morning,.....April 10, 1856.

All About Kansas.

TOPEKA, KANSAS, March 31, 1856.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—

I may lay claim to some acquaintance with both the physical and moral elements of Kansas. Firstly, there is no pro-Slavery party in the Territory. It is simply a war between the resident owners of the land and a horde of pirates, robbers and fanatics from Missouri and the other Slave States, collected upon the border for purposes of murder and theft, led on by desperate and hardened officials, protected and backed by all the strength of the Federal authorities, declaring crime to be law and enacting free speech and free thought, treason. An overwhelming majority of the settlers are in favor of a free State, and are resolved to make it so or bury themselves and their families in the soil. Tell this everywhere and always. Anything else is a LIE. The practical condition of Kansas is that of war. If the people would submit to the raid of the Missouri bandits they ought to be made slaves without further distress to the Union. But you may rely they will not submit. They are brave, cool, devoted to the cause of freedom, and they are descendants of the Puritans. They fully realize the relations which free Kansas bears to the future of the Republic. Thank God we have heroes to whom death is by no means the chiefest of evils. The half has never been told you. This virgin soil where I write is stained with the blood of royal souls. They loved freedom better than life.

I am writing from the place of meeting of the Free State Legislature. This is the most beautiful land and scenery which my eyes ever

beheld. It is filling up with a most capacious and energetic population. Men from the North come here to make their homes and enjoy the fruits of their own industry. Men from the South appear on the days of elections, bully the settlers, violate the ballot-box and escape over the border before sufficient force can be collected to chastise them. They have succeeded in this trick for the last time. We seem for the present to be enjoying a calm, but the dark plot is not yet unfolded. There are other scenes in this drama, which will be presented in due time. The brutal menagerie is collecting on the frontier, and one grand attempt is to be made to annihilate the Free State men of Kansas. You may trust us to give the Regulators a show of the virtue there is in Sharpe's rifles, but meanwhile, work for us. The dormant energies of those who love their country. Send us men and arms, but above all send us MEN. God knows how far from us is the desire to shed the blood of anything in his image, but we shall be protected in those rights with which he endowed us from the beginning.

I have not time to write you now of the physical resources of the Territory. Suffice it that in my candid opinion young men of decent energy and capacity can realize independence and fortune more rapidly here than in any other land I have any acquaintance with.

Yours, D.

Making a Free State.

We used to be told by the Black Democratic prints that the object of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was to help make Kansas a free State. Here is the way one of those "democrats" writes to the *St. Louis Republican*, aboard the steamer *Lucas*, on his way to Kansas:

There are a party of Southerners on the *Lucas*, some of whom have negroes, and all "sound on the goose," going to Kansas. I have got acquainted with five gentlemen from Newnan, Georgia, who are an exploring committee from their section of the state. They tell me if they report favorably, which they doubtless will do, several thousand good citizens will come on their recommendation, so as to be in the Territory in time to vote at the October election. Let Kansas become a free State, and then farewell to Southern rights, peace and the Union. The South cannot do without Kansas; it must be a Slave State, and let the other Southern States help Missouri to make it so. If, however, this trip of the *James H. Lucas* is a type of the emigration to Kansas, it is all a one-sided business—in favor of the South and slavery. H. C. P.

"No Free Writing."

Free-Society vexes our friends of the Slaveholding class, and they deal in diatribes against it harsh, if not potent. As we hear them, we are disposed to say: "let them fret and foam away—they cannot succeed." But we must remember they are a power in the Republic, and further, that they are permitted, just now, to control in it.

If we look at the Press, in Slavedom, we must confess, with few exceptions, that there is no freedom in it. No censorship is required to enslave that. A class-power or even society itself may repress free speech as effectually as the statute. The law, in the South, declares the liberty to speak, to write and to argue according to conscience, to be fundamental and inalienable. Yet the Slave-Power decrees the course which the Southern Press shall pursue in reference to its peculiar institution, and that Press obeys as implicitly as a negro does his master.

When the Lords and Commons of England, even two centuries ago, were under a close sectarian influence, JOHN MILTON protested against any censorship of the Press, and pleaded thus for freedom:—

"What should ye do, then, should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge and new light sprung up, and yet springing daily in this city? Should ye set an oligarchy of twenty employers over it, to bring a famine

upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by their bushel? Believe it, lords and commons, they who do counsel ye to such a suppressing, do as good as bid ye suppress yourselves; and I will soon shew how. If it be denied to know the immediate cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assigned a truer than your own mild, and free, and humane government; it is the liberty, lords and commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchased us; liberty, which is the nurse of all great wits; this is that which hath rarified and enlightened our spirits, like the influence of Heaven; this is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged, and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing the truth, unless ye first make yourselves, that made us so, less the lovers, less the founders of true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formal, and slavish, as ye found us; but you, then, must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have freed us."

How true and how far seeing are these words of the sublime Poet and pure Patriot of the Past. The Slave Power is "oppressive, arbitrary, tyrannous;" and hence it does all it can to make the people "ignorant, brutish, formal and slavish." We cannot mistake here. The mental atmosphere of a people will affect the strongest minds, and corrupt the masses. Here and there bold intellects may leap beyond or soar above it; but they are the exceptions. As, then, there is no mental liberty in the Slave States, as their Press, Pulpit and Statesmen labor to repress it, the tendency is downward, and must continue so, until a free spirit shall arise and crush the tyranny which causes this fearful condition of things.

Freedom breeds activity. Let the mind test measures and men by truth, and it will decide promptly, rightly and practically what it should do. No such crucible exists as freedom to separate the gold from the dross. Let any people possess it, and they will reform what is wrong and purify what is foul, in law or in society: let them lack it, and they will become slaves.

Emigration—Railroads.

No Spring has witnessed so early and so strong a tide of travel setting westward as the Spring of '56. "They come by thousands," said an agent of the Southern Michigan Railroad the other day as he pointed to a heavy train alive with "settlers." And so they do. There were on Friday and Saturday of last week upon this road forty-three coaches taken up chiefly with Eastern emigrants, making for or seeking Western Homes.

A glance at them will satisfy any observer as to their "harmony" and character—they are of the best stuff of the sea-board, and will build or help build up States and cities, on a sure basis. The West is beginning to be understood all over the East. Heretofore the timid and the cautious conjured up all sorts of perils and difficulties, and a journey to Galena or Milwaukee was talked of as an event which needed careful consideration and a deal of preparation. Now, the farthest down easter talks of taking a trip to Kansas or Nebraska almost as quietly as if he were going to Baltimore or Norfolk.

The time usually taken in going from Lawrence, Kansas Territory, to Washington, D. C., is nine days. Gov. Robinson made it in less time. But with an ordinary stage of the river, the journey might be performed in a week, and that, too, without the wear and tear which so fatigues and breaks down travelers.

Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota may be reached, in part, in less time and with equal facility. Railways grasp the Mississippi, and pass beyond it; steamers, swift of speed, and with elegant, as well as comfortable cabins, go up to the Falls. So that emigrants are put down, without much loss of time or fatigue of mind or body, within a short ride of their new homes.

But what will not another year effect in over-

coming the few difficulties which are now to be mastered? Iowa City is tapped. Quietly, yet surely, under the wise and efficient management of Mr. Farnham, the iron is being pushed nearer and nearer to the Missouri, and ere long, the emigrant and traveler may defy winter or weather as he shall pass quietly and quickly from Boston to Council Bluffs. Then Northward, the genius of enterprise is binding together by railway lake and river, and preparing to link St. Paul and Chicago, or Minnesota and Maine, by an iron road. What a picture of growth the near future promises for the West! How wonderful will be its expansion and the development of its resources! We must grow with and see them, for imagination cannot paint or words describe either.

We insert, on the first page, a description of railroads in Iowa, which, with Turner's new map of that State, will enable the reader to see what she is doing, and what likely to be.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 10, 1856.

Mr Seward on Kansas.

The New York senator touches no subject that he does not illuminate and exhaust. With the soul of a statesman, the heart of a philanthropist, the mind of a scholar, with coolness, sagacity, learning, and great political acumen, he gives to every discussion he undertakes a completeness and a finish, that no other man in the country can rival. His speech upon the Kansas question, in the Senate on Wednesday, of which we have an advance copy, is fully characterized by all these elements. It is one of his most thorough and statesmanlike efforts. Through it all, we find none of the hair-splitting arts of the mere politician, no twisting or turning of the questions connected with the history of the imbroglio to produce an effect, no appeals to passion or prejudice, but a manly and bold marching up to the vitalities of the subject, and an array of facts and arguments addressed to the reason and practical sense of all men without regard to parties, such as has been presented by no previous speaker in either branch of Congress.

We regret we cannot give the whole speech at once to our readers—we present about half, including the opening and concluding portions, which embrace the most finished and effective passages.

The intervening portion, which we hope to print hereafter, by itself, arraigns the president on the statements of his special Kansas message, argues the facts of the settlement of Kansas and its invasion from Missouri with great completeness, proving as well by the president's own testimony and by Atchison's and that of others of the invading party, as by that of the settlers themselves, all that the friends of freedom have ever claimed on the subject; and then proceeds, in behalf of Kansas, with almost thrilling solemnity and power, to arraign the presidents before the Senate and the country as the cause of all the trouble and suffering which the territory has experienced. He quotes, with marvellous applicability to the case, the arraignment of George III. by the colonial Congress of 1776, and concludes this most effective review of the president's conduct with these words:—

"The conviction of the offending president is complete, and now he sinks out of view. His punishment rests with the people of the United States, whose trust he has betrayed. His conviction was only incidental to the business which is the order of the day. The order of the day is the redress of the wrongs of Kansas."

Then Mr Seward proceeds to the general summing up of the whole question, which we give in full. No man can well say that he has exhausted this subject until he has read what Mr Seward says upon it. What seems to many a threadbare and tedious theme is made attractive and fresh under the light of his illuminating thought and vigorous expression.

Connecticut.

Like New Hampshire and Rhode Island, Connecticut repudiates the administration, and gives

its voice for free Kansas. In all three of the states, the contest was fought under unfavorable circumstances for the opposition, while the democrats stood better than they reasonably can expect to stand in the presidential election. Then the issues will be more plain and direct—Americanism will distract and hamper the friends of freedom less, and their opponents cannot, as they have done to much extent this spring, dodge the question which the history and condition of Kansas presents to the country. But for the distinctive republican movement in each of these states, though nominally a subordinate ally to the American organization, the democrats would have carried the day in all of them. Americanism has ceased to be a positive, controlling political power, and we do not believe could, by itself, carry a single state in the union this year. The history of the present campaigns in the three New England states, which have just held their elections, abundantly proves this. In comparison with the results in the same states, last year, the votes now are vastly significant and instructive. They show the American movement of that year to be but as temporary as it was sudden and surprising.

The popular vote of Connecticut on the state tickets is as follows: democrat 31,133, anti-Fillmore American (on republican platform) 25,025, republican 6,460, whig 1,170. The majority against the democrats is but about 1,500.—The State Senate stands 12 anti-Nebraska to 9 democrats; the House of Representatives 128 anti-Nebraska to 102 democrats. The Legislature will re-elect Gov Minor and his associates on the American state ticket, and probably a sound and able republican to the U. S. Senate, in place of Isaac Toucey.

KANSAS.—A young gentleman from Washington, D. C., not an abolitionist, going up the Missouri river on the steamer Martha Jewett, a few weeks since, was knocked down and violently beaten by a gang of border ruffians, for expressing some opinion disagreeable to them.—The merchants of Kansas City, Mo., have issued a card in reference to the recent breaking open of a piano forte case by Lexington ruffians who had some with it on the boat, supposing it contained rifles for Kansas. They say that they will hereafter protect property consigned to them, at the peril of their lives. There is a movement among Kansas merchants to establish a line of boats from Leavenworth, Kansas, to Alton, Ill., and thus avoid St Louis.—The bogus officers of Douglas county can get nobody to undertake the collection of the taxes levied by the ruffian legislature, although they offer \$4 per day and expenses for the service.—Somebody recommends sending Yankee girls to Kansas instead of Sharpe's rifles. Send both, the last to protect the first.—A private letter from Georgia to an editor of the New York Journal of Commerce, says, "The New Haven Kansas meeting astonishes the people here." Good! Let the astonishment be kept up till the slaveholders find out that the North is not wholly filled with doughfaces.

The Daily Transcript.

Z. K. PANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS.,
THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 10, 1856.

THE PLOT AGAINST KANSAS. Governor Robinson of Kansas left for his home in the far West on Tuesday. He addressed a very large meeting of the citizens of Fitchburg on Saturday evening, in relation to the state of affairs in Kansas. The Fitchburg *Reveille* describes the meeting as very enthusiastic; the people of Fitchburg gave their old fellow-townsmen a warm welcome, as he deserved.

Gov. Robinson visited Boston on Monday, and he there expressed very decidedly as his opinion, that the safety of Kansas as a free State depends entirely upon defeating Douglas' bill for a new Constitutional Convention, as under the present administration, and its bogus laws, there would be no chance of securing a fair election.

It is understood to be the plan of the Douglas-

ites to have large bodies of armed emigrants in waiting in Missouri, just on the border of Kansas, and when Douglas' bill is passed and the new election occurs, they intend to rush over, and once more border ruffianize the election, and overpower the free State men. Atchison has already large funds placed at his disposal for the purpose of carrying on such a campaign.

We hope the admission of Kansas as she is, or the defeat of Douglas' bill, may bring to naught the villainies of these scoundrels. If not, [that] Gov. Robinson and his compatriots will prove themselves a match for the enemy.

Essex County Mercury

AND WEEKLY SALEM GAZETTE.

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 10, 1856.

The main efforts of Pierce, Douglas, Atchison, and Stringfellow, and their confederates North and South, are directed against the admission of Kansas as a Free State, under the Constitution already formed. State after State has been admitted with the same irregularities, and with the same lack of authority from the federal government in the introductory proceedings. And when the friends of a strict construction have objected to such admission, they have been put down by the cry of popular sovereignty, and of the undoubted right of the people to frame their institutions not only to their own mind, but pretty much in their own way. But when Kansas comes, in precisely the same way that so many other States came and were admitted, the slavery men fall back upon technicalities, and suddenly avow themselves the unyielding friends of routine and precedent.

There is much force in the remark of the Providence Journal, that in resisting the admission of Kansas with the same irregularities in the adoption of the constitution that have been overlooked in seven States of the Union, Gen. Pierce is not only contradicting what the Democrats have claimed as their fundamental doctrine, but he is feeding the fires of the Republican, or Free State party. By admitting Kansas with the constitution which the people have adopted, just as the people of Michigan, just as the people of California, adopted their constitutions, the administration might extinguish the Republican party, and gather to itself the Democratic strength of the North. No man is doing so much for the ultimate injury of slavery as Gen. Pierce, with the best intentions in its favor, is accomplishing. But perhaps, it is all right; Providence works in strange and mysterious ways, and overrules the madness of party to the good of the nation. Perhaps it is decreed that slavery shall receive its worst blow from its best friends.

A GREAT MISTAKE. Mr. Geyer, of Missouri, in the U. S. Senate, on Tuesday, 8th, expressed the opinion, as reported by telegraph, that, had it not been for the Emigrant Aid Societies, "Kansas would be a free State, as it requires much more time for slave owners to emigrate with their property than is necessary for northern men, who have no cumbersome material to carry with them. But the South, having been stimulated by the attempts of the North to shape the destiny of that territory, would, in all probability, maintain the present Southern ascendancy therein."

This statement is preposterously incorrect. There is ample proof, that throughout Missou-

ri secret societies were organized, for the purpose of introducing slavery into Kansas, before the first movement to organize free emigration there was made in the Free States. The fact is, the South wanted to take their slaves to Kansas. The State of Missouri, which adjoined Kansas, and which is a slave State, was unwilling to see a free State grow up on her western borders. This was what prompted to the passage of the act which opened the territory to the institutions of the North and South alike; and when the act was passed the North understood it, and could not but understand it, as a challenge from the South to see which could gain the largest influence in that territory. The challenge was accepted; and men in the free States interested in the result, bend their energies to promote emigration thither, and secure a preponderance there of northern influence. This is the whole story of the Emigrant Aid Societies, through whose instrumentality alone freedom will be preserved in Kansas, if it is to be maintained at all.

West.—The number going West is the largest this year of any time for a quarter of a century. The number to Kansas is counted by tens of thousands. We hear of parties from all sections in New England, in particular. The increasing prosperity of the internal improvements, the growing enterprise of our Union, the good feeling returning in the financial world; while provisions of all kinds are flooding the country, is opening vast and boundless resources for the development of our nation's greatness. Ambitious young men are seeking the field of their labors. Speculators are buying and selling—while the insatiable appetite of our Yankees is growing more and more impatient for wealth and position. What the result of a century will be upon this young America, imagination can alone conjecture.

to the long caravan moving to the prairies and rivers of Iowa and Minnesota. The east will not suffer. It is true she will lend many of her best sons. They go forth to feed their mother. Grains will be abundant and the necessities of life move easy to procure.—Stepping westward then, is in successful operation, and we may answer the query of the poet, as he answers, by a simple "yea."

The Independent.

NEW-YORK, APRIL 10, 1856.

KANSAS--WHAT SHALL WE PRAY FOR

ONE thing, worthy of notice, distinguishes the present struggle from every similar one in our national history. There is no disposition on either hand, to undertake saving the Union, by any compromise of the matters in dispute. Two parties are face to face in a conflict of principles, fundamental in the very structure of society. The struggle respects not such political principles as have divided the great parties of the past. It is slavery against freedom, freedom against slavery—nothing more nor less. Forces which for the last twenty years have been in fearful activity have reached their last decisive conflict. The contending parties in this case, are the citizens of the Free States and many in the South who are non-slaveholders themselves, and a company of three hundred thousand, who, by their personal interests and political aspirations, are interlinked with the system of slavery. The field of conflict now is the floor of Congress and the plains of Kansas.

Leaving the political and economic bearings of this matter to be discussed elsewhere, we introduce it here simply in its moral aspects, and, speaking only to such of our readers as know how to pray, we ask, what, in the present crisis, should all "evangelical Christians" beseech God to do?

"We cannot shut our eyes longer to the fact," to use most appropriate and forcible language, "that the slaveholding interest is determined to counteract the tendencies of time and civilization, by its own energy by its bold appropriation of all the powers and agencies of the Government, and by the violation, if need be of the most sacred compacts and compromises. It is determined that the President shall do its bidding (and he has done it), and that Congress shall legislate according to its decrees. It means to convert the only government which professes to be founded on human rights, into the mightiest slave empire the world has ever seen." It boldly declares its determination to subvert the advocates and lovers of liberty!

Now, remembering what that system of bondage is which it is determined shall be established in Kansas—the very heart of this Continent—and perpetuated and made predominant in the land; that it abrogates the law of marriage and breeds human being, like cattle for the market, sundering husbands and wives, mothers and children, at its own caprice; that it rules over its subjects by the terrors of the lash, the blood-hound, and the halter, instead of governing by just and equal laws; that it stands only upon ignorance, and can flourish only so long as its victims can be crushed into a sense of their inferiority; is there, first, any just occasion in this matter, to pray at all? Is there, (to accommodate a heathen conception to our own purpose) a crisis of sufficient dignity and importance, to call for an intervention of the gods? And if so, what shall we pray God to do?

If any Christian who estimates the magnitude of this crisis in its mere moral bearings, can deliberately neglect to pray at all, the fire of true prayer must have burnt very low upon his altar. Which of these two antagonist forces, now in fierce and deadly conflict, shall we pray, may succeed? If any Christian professor can desire and pray that Kansas, in this age of the world, may be given to slavery, "he knows not," in a peculiar sense, "what to pray for as he ought."

Look a moment with us at two or three facts in the history of the struggle, in past years, that you may see the fearful strides of this gigantic despotism, into and over the soil of freedom.

The Mercury.

NEW-BEDFORD:

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 10, 1856.

WHAT, ARE YOU STEPPING WESTWARD?

The question of the great Westmoreland poet, applies this month to many a friend and acquaintance. People are not stepping westward in little parties, a few aspiring youth led by the old heads of the family; this spring they are moving off in armies, in vast numbers like flocks of migratory birds. The western fever which at certain periods seizes upon our novelty-loving countrymen rages fiercely. The western depots for the native emigrant travel will ere long be so crowded, that foreign emigrants will be forced to squeeze themselves closer than ever before. Schnapps absorbing Germans and yellow Swedes must yow mynbeer and eat their black-bread in contracted quarters.

When Yankees begin to step westward, we know they have an inner reason; there is method in their madness; they go not as a man walking in a sleep, but with eyes open, in common speech, wide awake. Last year and the year that preceded revolutionized operations at the West. Gold has grown under foot, marvellous prairies of Illinois have returned their own cost and a great interest for the investment. thanks to the European war, and the western fever. Steamboats on the Western rivers carry cargoes up stream to supply emigrants, instead of making away with all produce for exportation. Corn, not long ago a dime per bushel, now fetches many dimes and during the last two years, the great West has paid for itself, and left the owners a considerable profit. In Illinois, all along the railroads are fertile tracts for an industrious settler. He is upon the best land in the world for farming; he sells his grain at his door to a brisk Eastern agent who has a pocket stuffed with money. In old Illinois days, the emigrant distant from a town, tagged his load of wheat to the market, and received enough to keep himself from starving, but to support the expenses of travel home, must sell his team and wagon. All has changed. Great prices, the immense demand for men in all conditions, to plough, make fences, buy and sell, talk and run,—the necessity that the fortunes reaped during the past two years should attract by an inevitable magnetism, those who have not succeeded in finding at the East, the Fortunatus cap, gives the key to the propulsion of the Western army. Kansas in addition, the land of promise to so many liberal spirits, carries away numbers of our intelligent and stalwart young men.

We sympathize with prosperity; let it come in what form it may, in a whaleship or an Illinois farm and we trust no diabolical revulsion may tread in the path of the Western army. The east in a measure forgot there was a West. She permitted polygamist Mormons and the impoverished subjects of European despotism to occupy the land, and eat the bread thereof in peace. Money was not to be got at the West, and the East wisely staid at home. Now, we recollect those productive farms capable of supporting the nations of the earth, and add ourselves

Green Mt. Freeman

SIDNEY S. BOYCE, Editor.

J. W. WHEELLOCK, Printer.

MONTPELLER:

Thursday Morning, April 10, 1856.

Written for the Green Mountain Freeman.

Kansas.

MEREDITH, DELAWARE Co., N. Y., }
March 15, 1856.

BROTHER THOMPSON:—A severe cold winter is passing, and a terrible storm is approaching.—Are we prepared for it? The dark, thick clouds, that have long been gathering intense blackness, are now rapidly throwing up their "thunder heads." Already the thunders begin to roll, and the forked lightning flashes athwart the political heavens. "Men's hearts are failing them for fear, and for looking after those things that are coming on" the United States. But the righteous are beginning to "lift up their heads," and gird themselves for the conflict: "for the redemption" of their brethren in Slavery "draweth nigh." "The time has come," when the "horns" that "gave their power and strength unto the beast" of American Slavery, "shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked;" so that she "shall be an abhorring unto all flesh."

God is marshaling the hosts of freemen.—"The shield of his mighty men is made red, (blood is flowing in Kansas) the valiant men are in scarlet," and "the chariots" of freedom have raised their "flaming torches." This "is in the day of his preparation," and Slavery "shall be terribly shaken," "thrown down," "and shall be found no more at all." Amen: even so let it be.

I repeat, are we prepared for it? Are the "Green Mountain Boys" ready to act well their part? The conflict is nigh. Not a day should be lost. ACTION, prompt united, determined and continued, will crown the freemen of Vermont, with "glory and honor." Let them remember, that there can be no compromise between Freedom and Slavery. Every word, sentence and act of the past proves it to be impossible. It is, and must be, Freedom or Slavery. Therefore, let us "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

A. A. CONSTANTINE

In 1787 all the States of the confederacy united in ordaining that slavery should be forever prohibited from all the territory belonging to the United States. In 1789 the first Congress of the United States passed a law reaffirming this ordinance and reenacting the prohibition it contained. In 1820 the slaveholding interest, in the face of this solemn ordinance of freedom, thus doubly confirmed, secured the admission of Missouri as a slave State, into the Union, by acceding to a similar prohibition of slavery from the Louisiana territory north of 36deg. 30m. This was the first stride.

In 1854, that prohibition of slavery, made the third time by solemn compact between the contending parties, was repealed, and slavery, it was said, was neither legislated out of nor into the territory, but the people were simply left free to admit or exclude slavery in their own discretion. This was the second step in the march to freedom.

Slaveholders were allowed by law to carry their system of bondage into the territory, if they should choose; a territory from which they had almost sworn to keep clear. But, it was still a question to be decided by the people of Kansas whether slavery should be continued and established there.

Now, mark it! while the friends of liberty have taken up their abode in Kansas, even on those unequal conditions, and while a clear and undoubted majority of the bona-fide residents of the territory are united in the wish and purpose to have a free State, the question is (and is it not a great one?) whether the people of Kansas are, after all, to be permitted to determine their own institutions, or are to be subverted in the attempt it is, indeed, whether the people of Kansas or the people of Missouri shall be permitted to decide that question!

When the citizens of Kansas shall have been subdued by armed invaders from another State, or by the strong arm of national power, or by both allied, if that is to be our history, then the third and final step in the subjugation of this country to an oligarchy of three hundred thousand will have been taken, and republican liberty may live on this continent or on another, if it can. What then shall we pray for at such a time as this?

NORTH BRANFORD.

They have come here for the purpose of voting at the next election, and say that they intend to do nothing until next October, and at that time they intend to vote for making Kansas a Slave State. Doubtless it is well understood in Western Missouri and some of the Slave States that PIERCE, DOWELL & Co. are determined to get an act through Congress fixing a time for the people here to vote for the organization of a State Government, and next October is perhaps the time to be fixed for the election of members to a Convention to frame a Constitution for the State of Kansas. That being the case, the President sees the necessity of having some men here at the time, in order to vote for a Slave State. And this movement just now in the South to send their young men out, well supplied with arms, moneys, &c., shows most conclusively that a desperate effort is about being made to secure this beautiful country to the dominion of the Slave power. The South seems in earnest on this question, and if the North fails to manifest a fixed determination to sustain the freemen here in what has already been done, and to resist the further aggressions of Slavery, our cause is doomed, and Kansas will be a Slave State. It is well known throughout the country that the people of this State have decided to have this a Free State, and to secure that object delegates to a Constitutional Convention have been elected and performed the duties incumbent upon them; their labors have been indorsed by the people by a large majority, and the different State officers and members of the first General Assembly have been elected, taken the oath of office, and entered upon the discharge of their duties. PIERCE & Co. seem determined to disregard, in toto, the doings of the people, and to make provision for the destruction of our liberties. Border Ruffians, headed by ARNOLD, PIERCE, and SYRISOVLOW, rule America, and the North permits them to continue and be successful, we are all doomed to suffer the worst form of Slavery.

OLIVER.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, Thursday, March 27, 1856.

THE RIVER.

We have no boat at Lawrence yet, although there has been water enough for any boat drawing three feet of water the past three months. Almost every day we receive messages that we can look for one in two or three days—sometimes, that they are loading at Kansas, but I doubt whether there is any better prospect now than there was the 1st of March for navigating the Kansas at present. The *Lizzie*, which ran upon a bar some thirty miles below here last Summer, remains there still, from last reports, while the water is at least five feet above low water mark. This shows that she could have been run down to Kansas long ere this, had the managers desired to do so, but I have reasons for distrusting the intentions of the whole Missouri boat craft, and for believing that they only wish to hump us and give us no boats. I hope they may yet prove these suspicions to be groundless, and that in my next letter I may be able to tell you of the landing of some proud little steamer at our levee. Unless this is the case, it is our duty to inquire after the cause of suffering a full stream the size of the Kansas to go without boats a whole season. Boatmen from the Ohio or Illinois Rivers will find an ample field here at once, and our capitalists will not permit the season to pass without looking after their own interests in that respect.

IMMIGRATION EARLY.

Emigrants are beginning to come in much earlier than last year, and appearances are of the most flattering character, that we shall receive the lion's share for the next six months. On Monday a company of fifteen arrived here from Ohio, including two brothers of the lamented BARRE, and they all intend to make this their future home. I will here digress by saying that the widow of Tuo. W. BARRE, who was so inhumanly murdered near this place last December, continues in a state of mind bordering upon despair. She is seldom induced to take a good whatever, is lonely, unsocial, and walks the room, mourning her great loss almost without cessation. The widow of Browns, who was chopped to death at Easton the middle of January, is a *sewing maniac*, and will probably continue in that deplorable state till her death. Such are some of the living evidences of that social and civil injustice we have suffered, which will forever cry to heaven for revenge.

On Tuesday, a small company from New-York arrived, who are the agents for a large party soon to follow, who have over one hundred thousand capital they wish to invest in the most favorable place they can find in the State. They have now passed on up the river, and we feel willing to abide their judgment on their return as to the merits of Lawrence, compared with any other point in the State, as a place for making large investments in mechanical or manufacturing pursuits. A rumor prevailed here three days ago that 500 more rifles and 20 cannon had been robbed from a boat coming up the Missouri, and put off at Lexington; but from latest accounts, such is not the fact. Dr. CUTLER started for Washington last week, but intends to return in June. His purposes are not known respecting the rifles taken from the *Arabia*. He spoke before a large audience in this town on Tuesday evening upon Temperance—an old subject, taking deep root upon our new soil.

Another small party has just arrived from Indiana, who say there are many more on the road. Yesterday Professor DANIELS, of Wisconsin, arrived in

town with later news from the South. He states that he saw 500 emigrants at St. Louis, on his way to Kansas, from South Carolina and Georgia. One hundred and fifty of them came up the river on the steamer *Luca*, in company with him, and by passing for a Pro-Slavery man he learned their intentions somewhat towards us. They are *paid by the day* for coming here, and intend to stay just long enough to vote on the slavery question at the next election. They all come well armed with rifles, pistols, and even cannons. Wonder how they will pass the quarantine at Lexington with so many incendiary missiles about them? The Professor learned that many more were soon coming from the South—and from all he could learn he expects that to Kansas, from that class in the South. He represents them as being the most uncultivated, rough and groveling set of men he ever met with. They are not men who will ever locate here for the purpose of living an industrious and useful life, but they are avowedly coming for the worst of purposes. They say they intend to accomplish that next October. Now it is rumored that Douglas & Co., are intending, by a concerted plan which these emigrants understand, to pass an "enabling act," with a new election law, providing for elections throughout the Territory, in October next, for the purpose of choosing anew another set of delegates to a Convention called to frame another constitution, in which slavery shall be legalized. I believe that this is the case, and that such an election will be forced upon us sometime this season, when all the satellites of satanic Democracy will be hired to invade our country, to renew all the dreaded difficulties of the past.

Congress is at last waking up to our interests, and we have many choice spirits there to plead our cause. The majority and minority reports in the Senate, show that our position is becoming better understood outside of the White House. Governor ROBINSON and General LANE have started for Washington, to aid in piloting our infant bark into the harbor of the Union.

To-day some 15 more emigrants have arrived in Lawrence from the West, and they are making Kansas their residence, and talk already of investing money in our beautiful town. Unlike the history of last year, they all come now determined to stay. City property is going up very fast here now, several lots having been sold this week for from \$200 to \$400. Professor DANIELS has left to-day for a tour through the State, and he intends to return in about three weeks, when he will go to Chicago and Wisconsin, and give directions to several hundred families now ready to emigrate as soon as they get his opinion of the most favorable locality. The future of Kansas never appeared one-half so bright to me before in respect to population as it does to-day, and never did our fine climate seem so unlike anything I ever witnessed before, as since the warm breeze and bright suns—so peculiarly our own—have returned, and begin to faintly adorn the earth again with green.

LAWRENCE.

About twenty houses are commenced already in town this Spring, and at least one hundred more good stone mansions could find permanent employment here in town. The Free-State Hotel is nearly completed, and Col. EXAMBER intends to open it to the public in a few days. Then our friends who visit us can find as good accommodations here as in any city in the West.

RANDOLPH.

From the New York Times, April 10.

The manly and patriotic letter from Colonel Fremont to Governor Robinson, of Kansas which is published elsewhere this morning, cannot fail to receive the attention and consideration to which it is so well entitled. If a man has good points, says the frank and chivalrous explorer, then they become salient, and we know each other suddenly. This is precisely what will be said by all honest men who read Colonel Fremont's letter. His good points have become salient in it, and we know him suddenly. The people of this country already knew that Colonel Fremont was one of the boldest and most indomitable men who have explored our wilderness, and marked out the path of empire; but only his intimate friends knew how heartily and thoroughly he sympathized in every movement towards freedom and the emancipation of the country from the rule of an unscrupulous and oppressive oligarchy. There is no equivocation or hesitation in Colonel Fremont's declaration of sentiments, as regards the government of Kansas. He is heartily and broadly in favor of the free State movement, and entertains not a doubt of the final triumph of the good cause.



NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 10, 1856.

From the Washington Union.

THE SELF STYLED STATE OF KANSAS.—There are giving out by some of the news caterers that the black republicans propose to shift the issue on the slavery question once more. Having the control of the Committee on Territories in the House, the plan is said to be to have a bill reported from that committee for the immediate admission of Kansas as a State, with the constitution lately adopted by the revolutionary party, and on this question to go into the presidential election. This will be only an apparent shifting of the issue. It is an appeal to Congress to sanction a proceeding not only without law, but directly against law. To admit Kansas as a State under the circumstances, will be to decide that a party consisting of only a portion of a political community may organize to resist the constituted authorities, and, in defiance of the laws of the Territory, may claim to have their illegal proceedings sanctioned by admission into the Union as a State. It will be observed that the claim for admission involves either an open

THE KANSAS FUND.—Nearly one thousand dollars have been added to the church-building fund for Kansas during the past week. About one hundred is from the Broadway Tabernacle church, additional to \$200 before subscribed by members of that church; nearly \$700 is from the churches in New-Haven; the balance from other sources. \$8000 more will complete the fund, and \$5000 more will warrant the trustees in making disbursements. It is all important that the work of building should begin early in the spring. If every pastor who comes to the anniversaries will bring with him a collection from his church for Kansas, the whole amount may be made up at the anniversary of the Union in May. Will not the pastors and churches send their spontaneous offerings on that occasion? We have on hand some earnest appeals from Kansas, which are unavoidably postponed.

New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 10, 1856.

FROM KANSAS.

Immigration from the South—A Company from New-York—An Enabling Act—Growth of Lawrence.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Tuesday, March 26, 1856.

SOUTHERN IMMIGRATION.

This forenoon a gentleman arrived in this city from Wisconsin, who reports that there were at St. Louis about 500 young men from the Southern States, who were on their way to Kansas. They were all well supplied with arms and munitions of war. On the same steamer he came up on there were about 150, all well armed, with several boxes containing guns, and directed to WILSON SHANNON. There were two cannon on board belonging to the

rebellion against the government provided for the Territory by Congress, or that the government so provided, and the laws passed by it, are absolutely null and void. To admit the self styled State on the first ground, is to sanction rebellion. To admit it on the second ground is to concede that a part of a community may assume to nullify its government and its laws, and upon that assumption found a valid claim to a place in the Union as a State. The proposition to admit Kansas now made is without precedent and against law. If the black republicans choose to stand upon for their overthrow as on any other phase of the Kansas question that they may adopt, Kansas can never be a State except in accordance with law, and with a constitution fairly adopted by a vote of all the inhabitants of the Territory.

It will be fully developed in the future discussions of the subject that the black republicans are now seeking to appropriate for their objects the doctrine of popular sovereignty in Kansas, against which they have warred, until the evidences show that further resistance is fruitless. Hence it is that with more of adroitness than honesty they desire to make this doctrine available in securing the immediate admission of Kansas as a State. Their effort is a fraud upon the real principle of popular sovereignty; and order, and, under the pretext of carrying out the popular will, to consummate a scheme to rearing out the constituted authorities. The principle of constitutional popular sovereignty recognizes and sanctions no such resort to rebellion, but acts in strict conformity with the government provided by Congress for the Territory. This false principle of popular sovereignty which is now sought to be enforced, is no better than mob law or rebellion, or treason, as the case may be. It bears the same relation to true popular sovereignty that Phariseism does to genuine religion—as counterfeit to genuine coin.

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 10.

SENATOR SEWARD ON KANSAS.—As we have reportedly said, no respite from the agitation about Kansas is to be expected until after the Presidential election. Whether Kansas ever comes in as a free state or not, it is at present in a state of bondage most complete and irremediable. It is bound to the chariot wheels of a violent agitation over the prospective Presidency. It seems as though the political leaders of the day, at least of one party, were willing to forego the consideration of all those other momentous questions affecting the welfare of the country, if only they may be enabled to proclaim themselves conquerors on this single issue. Now we feel as strongly as any, the wrong done to the free states by the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the mischief wrought throughout the Union by the needless and unprovoked re-agitation of the slavery question, the fitness of Northern men standing up for their rights as firmly as do the men of the South, and the desirableness of free institutions in the to-be state of Kansas. But we do not believe that agitation is the best remedy for agitation; that sectionalism is the safe antidote to disunionism; or that revolution and rifles are the surest heralds of civil freedom. We believe further that with Congress and not with the Chief Magistrate rests the right of deciding all the vexed questions connected with this Kansas difficulty, and that therefore a President of this republic should be chosen not alone because he expresses either his desire for the admission of Kansas as a free state, or for its admission as a slave state, but for the qualities which in the aggregate adapt him for that circle of authority and influence, the centre of which is this vast republic, and the circumference the world.

But passing from these general remarks we desire to notice briefly the speech of Senator Seward, delivered in the Senate yesterday, after having been previously transmitted to the press of this and other cities. Frequently and fully as the subject of Kansas has been discussed in Congress and out of it, Mr. Seward's oration upon it occupies no less than eight closely printed columns of the morning papers. Its reproduction entire, or in any fair abridgment, is impracticable. Fortunately it is unnecessary also. Much that he says has been said over and over again. This repetition was of course unavoidable. Even Mr. Seward's admitted powers would be unequal to the production of a speech of such length, on such an exhausted theme, without iteration of facts and arguments already advanced by others, though clothed perchance with less felicitous diction and less happily arranged than in his polished and finished production. What there is new in his remarks we shall endeavor to present to the reader, in substance at least. From some expressions in the earlier part of the oration, we are disposed to think Mr. Seward has spent much time in its preparation, for he alludes to a state of things as now existing, which, if they ever did exist, have passed away with the excitement of the time. The speech also bears indubitable signs of most careful study and finish.

It commences with a review of the history of the Territory of Kansas; charges that Kansas has been

subjugated to a foreign tyranny, the object of which is to force slavery upon it; accuses the President of complicity in the wrong; and lays down the following as the frame work of the discourse:—"I shall first call the accuser into the presence of the Senate; then examine the defenses which the President has made; and last submit the evidences by which he is convicted." The "new state" (?) is the accuser, and at this point Mr. Seward makes an adroit hit at the Executive—"The President of the United States, without waiting for the appearance of his accuser at the capital, anticipated the accusations, and submitted his defenses against them to Congress." The stroke is, however, more adroit than fair. An explanation respecting the affairs of Kansas was required from the President by Congress, and by the whole people; and though it may be smart, it is not just, to pervert that explanation, which the President could not well avoid giving into a volunteered defence against anticipated accusations. The point is a small one, but it is an illustration of a peculiarity in Mr. Seward's more carefully prepared speeches that has not received the animadversion to which it is entitled. We refer to the ease and coolness, and seeming simplicity and innocence—the apparent unconsciousness that he is transcending the limits of fair argument—with which, by a slight but masterly variation of terms or change of language, he assumes certain things as established which in reality are denied by his opponents, and lie at the very basis of the dispute, and so acquires a vantage ground for himself, and an apparent consistency in his argument which gives it great influence with the masses who do not detect the manoeuvre. It also devolves upon his opponents the necessity of a tedious "beginning again at the beginning," in reply to him upon the floor of the Senate.

We have often observed this adroitness on Mr. Seward's part, but perhaps never so much as in this speech. The whole question is, by a very skillful piece of intellectual sleight put just as an advocate on that side would wish to have it put. The Speaker, professing to run within the lines of a course which his opponents have marked out, in reality, under cover of some graceful salutations on entering the course, slightly changes the starting point and skips over one or two impediments before formally commencing the race. Thus we have it assumed that Kansas is already, legally and legitimately, a state—"that state is now here," "this new state is the President's accuser," &c.; and next, that the President is the accused party, and has already volunteered his defence, while it might just as truly be said that the President has not volunteered any defence, having given only the information demanded of him; or if he has volunteered anything, it has been accusations against certain persons in Kansas whom Mr. Seward by the magic of his polished diction has transformed into accusers. His whole speech should be read with these facts borne in mind. To the dissection and criticism of the President's messages, referring to Kansas, the main portion of the speech is addressed; which criticisms are able, occasionally severe, but in the main just. They are not of urgent importance, however, as they only arraign the President without proposing any policy or proclaiming any specific purpose of the speaker, or the party he represents. We subjoin the more practical portion of the speech, that which proposes to the Senate a definite course of action in relation to Kansas, and assigns the reasons for the course.

I propose to allow the people of Kansas to apply the constitutional remedy at once. The President proposes to defer it indefinitely, and to commit the entire application of it to the hands of the Missouri borderers. He confesses the inadequacy of that course by asking appropriations of money to enable him to maintain and preserve order within the territory until the indefinite period when the constitutional remedy shall be adopted. There is no sufficient reason for the delay which the President advises. He admits the rightfulness and necessity of the remedy. It is as rightful and necessary now as it ever will be. It is demanded by the condition and circumstances of the people of Kansas now. You cannot justly postpone, any more than you can justly deny, that right. To postpone, would be a denial. The President would need no grant of money or of armed men, to enforce obedience to law, when you shall have redressed the wrongs of which the people complain. Even under governments less free than our own, there is no need of power where justice holds the helm.

When justice is impartially administered, the obedience of the subject or citizen will be voluntary, cheerful, and practically unlimited. Freedom justly due cannot be conceded to soon. True freedom exists, the utmost bonds of civil liberty are obtained, only where complaints are first heard, deeply considered and speedily redressed. So only can you restore to Kansas the perfect freedom which you pledged, and she has lost. The constitution does not prescribe 32,700 as any other number of people, as necessary to constitute a state. Besides, under the present ratio of increase, Kansas, whose population now is 40,000, will number 100,000 in a few months. The point made concerning numbers is therefore practically unimportant and frivolous. The President objects that the

past proceedings, by which the new state of Kansas was organized were irregular in three respects:—*First*—That they were instituted, conducted, and completed, without a previous permission by Congress, or by the local authorities within the territory. *Secondly*—That they were instituted, conducted and completed by a party and not by the whole people of Kansas; and, *Thirdly*—That the new state holds an attitude of defiance and insubordination towards the territorial authorities and the Federal Union. I reply, first, that if the proceedings in question were irregular and partisanlike and factious, the exigencies of the case would at least excuse the faults, and Congress has unlimited discretion to waive them. *Secondly*—The proceedings were not thus irregular, partisanlike and factious, because no act of Congress forbade them—no act of the territorial Legislature forbade them, directly or by implication—nor had the territorial Legislature power either to authorize or to prohibit them. The proceedings were indeed instituted by a party who favored them. But they were prosecuted and consummated in the customary forms of popular elections, which were open to all the inhabitants of the territory qualified to vote by the organic law, and to no other; and they have in no case come into conflict nor does the new state now act or assume to engage in conflict with either the territorial authorities or the Government of the Union. *Thirdly*—there can be no irregularity where there is no law prescribing what shall be regular. Congress has passed no law establishing regulations for the organization or admission of new states. Precedents in such cases as being without foundation in law, are without authority. This is a country whose Government is regulated, not by precedents, but by constitutions. But if precedents were necessary, they are found in the cases of Texas and California, each of which was organized and admitted, subject to the same alleged irregularities. The majority of the committee on territories, in behalf of the President, interpose one further objection, by tracing this new state organization to the influence of a secret, armed political society.

Secrecy and combination, with extra-judicial oaths and armed power, were the engines of the Missouri borderers in effecting the subjugation of the people of Kansas, as that machinery is always employed in the commission of political crimes. How far it was lawful or morally right for the people of Kansas to employ the same agencies for the defence of their lives and liberties, may be a question for casuists, but certainly is not one for me. I can freely confess, however, my deep regret that secret societies for any purpose whatsoever have obtained a place among political organizations within the Republic; and it is my hope that the experience which we have now so distinctly had, that they can be too easily adapted to unlawful, seditious, and dangerous enterprises, while they bring down suspicion and censure on high and noble causes, when identified with them, may be sufficient to induce a general discontinuance of them.

Will the Senate hesitate for an hour between the alternative before them? The passions of the American people find healthful exercise in peaceful colonization, and the construction of railroads, and the building up and multiplying of republican institutions. The territory of Kansas is across the path through which railroads must be built, and along which such institutions must be founded, without delay, in order to preserve the integrity of our Empire. Shall we suppress enterprises so benevolent and so healthful, and inflame our country with that fever of a civil war which exhausts and consumes not more wealth and strength than the virtue and freedom of a nation? Shall we confess that the proclamation of a national sovereignty within the territory of Kansas was a failure, but was a preface and a fraud? Or will Senators who are not of a Legislature of Kansas, denigrate the authorities of their own, of Executive and of a militia of their own, of revenues of their own, subject to disposal by themselves; practically deprived as they are of the rights of voting, serving as Jurors, and of writing, printing and speaking their own opinions, are nevertheless in the enjoyment and exercise of popular sovereignty? Shall we confess before the world, after so brief a trial, that this great political system of ours is inadequate either to enable the majority to control through the operation of opinion, without force, or to give security to the citizen against tyranny and dogmatic violence? Are we prepared so soon to relinquish our simple and beautiful sentiments of Republican Government and to substitute in their place the Com-machinery of usurpation and despotism? The Congress of the United States can refuse admission to Kansas only on the ground that it will not relinquish the hope of carrying African slavery into that new territory. If you are prepared to assume that ground, why not do it manfully and consistently, and establish slavery there by a direct and explicit act of Congress? But have we come to that stage of demoralization and degeneracy so soon?

We, who commenced our political existence and gained the sympathies of the world by proclaiming to other nations that we held "these truths to be self-evident: That all men are born equal, and have certain inalienable rights; and that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"; who, in the spirit of that declaration have assumed to teach and to illustrate, for the benefit of mankind, a higher and better civilization than they have hitherto known! If the Congress of the United States shall persist in this attempt, then they shall at least allow me to predict its results. Either you will not establish African slavery in Kansas, or you will do it at the cost of the sacrifice of all the existing liberties of the American people. Even if slavery were erected of the American people. Even if slavery were erected and rejected if it forced upon their acceptance by the Federal Congress. The attempt is in conflict with all the tendencies of the age. African slavery has, for the last fifty years, been giving way, as well in this country as in the islands and on the main land throughout this hemisphere.

The political power and prestige of slavery in the United States are passing away. The slave states practically governed the Union directly for fifty years. They govern it now only indirectly, through the agency of Northern hands, temporarily enlisted in their support. So much, owing to the decline of their power, they have already conceded to the free states. The next step, if they persist in their present course, will be the resumption and exercise by the free states of the control of the Government without such concessions as they have hitherto made to obtain it.

The speech closes with a truly eloquent appeal to the Senate on the behalf of the immediate admission of Kansas with its free state constitution.

PITTSBURGH GAZETTE

PUBLISHED BY D. N. WHITE

PITTSBURGH:

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 10, 1856.

Republican Declaration of Principles.

1. We demand and shall attempt to secure the repeal of all laws which allow the introduction of slavery into any territory once consecrated to freedom, and will resist every constitutional means the existence of slavery in any of the territories of the United States.

2. We will support by every lawful means our brethren in Kansas in their constitutional and manly resistance to the usurped authority of their lawless invaders, and will give the full weight of our political power in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas to the Union as a free, sovereign, independent State.

3. Believing that the present national administration has shown itself to be weak and timorous, and that its continuance in power is identified with the progress of a slave power to national supremacy, with the exclusion of freedom from the territory, and with increasing civil discord, it is a leading purpose of our organization to oppose and overthrow it.

Since Mr. BUCHANAN has definitely announced his entire acquiescence in the Kansas-Nebraska outrage, and his opposition to the restoration of the violated compact, either in fact or in spirit, it is said that he has greatly strengthened his position in the South. We have always admired this resolute determination on the part of the slaveocracy, to have a frank and unequivocal expression of views in regard to slavery from every man who asks their votes. They will trust to no mere suppositions, or antecedents, or favorable inclinations. They demand a full and explicit confession of political faith in relation to whatever practical issue exists on the subject of their peculiar institution, or their support cannot be obtained. The consequence is, that the Democratic party, which depends mainly upon Southern support, has become a great pro-slavery and slave-extending party, and is now ruled with a rod of iron by the slaveocracy.

Why should not the North be equally explicit in demanding of their candidates that no doubt, no breath of suspicion should rest upon their fidelity to the cause of freedom? Should not Freedom be as jealous of its interests and its success, as Slavery? Shall we not have men whom every opponent of the extension of slavery can trust?

The Whig party has been deceived frequently on the plea of availability. Availability candidates ruined the party. Mr. TYLER grossly deceived and abused the confidence of that party. Mr. FILLMORE was taken up because of his anti-Slavery antecedents, as an offset to the pro-Slavery of Gen. TAYLOR! What a mistake! Gen. Taylor was true to the principles of freedom, and was hangered to death by the inexorable ferocity of the disappointed slave oligarchy. Mr. Fillmore, who was trusted by the Free-soil Whigs of the Free States, basely betrayed their confidence.

We want no more disappointments of this kind. We had rather meet defeat after defeat, standing on an unmistakable platform of freedom, with good and true men for candidates, than to procure apparent success with uncertain candidates of doubtful position.

The pro-Slavery Democracy have unequivocally endorsed the Nebraska outrage, and have accepted all its consequences, even to the forcible extension of Slavery over all the broad plains of Kansas. If Kansas, by means of Missouri voters exercising the right of suffrage under the laws of the bogus Legislature, asks admission into

the Union as a Slave State, the Black Democracy, whether under the lead of Buchanan, Douglas, or Pierce, will welcome it into the Union.

What the friends of Freedom require is, that our platform and our candidates shall be equally explicit in favor of Freedom in Kansas at all hazards. Without this, there need be no contest at all. If there is no issue made, distinct, clear, explicit, on this question, then there is no issue worth fighting for.

We have no lack of good and true men for candidates. Vermont can furnish her COLLAMER—Massachusetts her SUMNER or her BANKS—New York her SEWARD—New Jersey her DUTTON—Pennsylvania her WILMOT—Ohio her CHASE—and Illinois her TRUMBULL. Any of these men will do for either the first or the second office, and we care not much which is taken.

We trust that the people, when they select their delegates to the Philadelphia Convention, will duly instruct them to vote for none but respectable men, who have thoroughly identified themselves with this great issue, who stand out boldly and distinctly, and challenge the attention and admiration of the world for their able and fearless defence of the interests of Freedom.

The merchants of Kansas City have issued a card to the public exculpating themselves from blame in the matter of a box, containing a piano forte, which a Missouri mob forcibly opened on the wharf at that place, under the belief that it contained Sharp's rifles. They say:

We are glad to see the merchants of that place vindicating under the effects of Missouri violence. We hope it will ruin the trade of every town and steamboat that has winked at or permitted it, and that merchants and steamboat captains, after the fashion of those Kansas City men, will be compelled to promise that property consigned to their care shall be protected.

THE DAILY TIMES.

WM. S. GILMAN, EDITOR.

Circulation larger than any paper in Western Virginia.

THURSDAY MORNING: APRIL 10

AMERICAN NOMINATIONS.

FOR PRESIDENT, MILLARD FILLMORE, OF NEW YORK; FOR VICE PRESIDENT, ANDREW JACKSON DONELSON, OF TENNESSEE.

"The foundation of my preference is that Mr. Fillmore has administered the Executive Government with signal success and ability. He has been tried and found true, faithful, honest and conscientious."—HENRY CLAY.

The two Portraits--by Democratic Artists.

Our neighbor of the Argus judges rightly in supposing that we endorse the extract copied in the Times on Tuesday--attributing the present strength of Abolitionism to the policy which the administration of Gen. Pierce has sedulously pursued since its inauguration. This is certainly no new opinion with us, but one that we have long entertained and frequently expressed. Upon the strength of this extract our neighbor gets in high dudgeon, and eulogizes the administration in a style which throws the pap-few Washington Union completely into the shade. We setjoin a portion of our neighbor's article:

"The fact is, the unrelenting animosity which the Black Republicans have for the President, is occasioned by his soundness on the slavery question, and the love which the South bears to him is founded on the same soundness. The fact that he has, and can have no affiliation with Black Republicanism is demonstrated by every act of his administrative policy since his inauguration. The fidelity with which the administration supported the Kansas Nebraska act, while it was pending in Congress, and the firmness with which

its provisions and the provisions of the fugitive slave law have been enforced show conclusively where the President stands in this regard. Besides these evidences of his nationality, the messages which he has laid before the country on the subject, are monuments of wisdom that will be read by future generations and from which statesmen and politicians may learn lessons on the constitutional relations of slavery. For our part we want no sounder man than President Pierce. In this respect he stands far higher than any Northern President the country has ever had, and not a whit lower than Presidents from the Southern States. He is, in short, a strict constructionist, States' Right Democrat of the Jefferson school. He belongs to that class of statesmen who would enforce the constitution as it is, and protect every State in the enjoyment of the rights guaranteed it by the constitution."

"Franklin Pierce stands far higher than any Northern President." Our neighbor surely had the glorious Matty Van in his mind's eye when he penned this--and not a whit behind Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Jackson--jam satis! If he is conscientious in what he says, (and we will not do him the injustice to question his sincerity,) it is his plain duty to urge day in and day out the re-nomination of the present incumbent of the Presidential chair. He is all that mortal man can be, or that an American statesman can hope to be--the equal of Washington, Jefferson and Madison--and if the Argus, without a decided protest, allows so faithful a servant to be discarded by the Cincinnati Convention it does its country and its party a foul wrong. It is a great pity, however, that very many of our neighbor's Democratic brethren of the press differ so widely from him in their portraiture of Franklin Pierce. The Washington Sentinel, for example, one of the ablest Democratic journals in the country, in a recent number says, to the Argus, and its co-admirers of the present administration, that "all the Democratic presses in the land, with a sea of ink to back them, would not be able successfully to defend Franklin Pierce from some of his outrageous acts, not yet made public."

Beverly Tucker, a Democrat living within sight of the Presidential mansion, is acquainted with all the dirty tricks of his administration--those that we at a distance rarely, if ever, hear of. We know enough, in all conscience, to consign the administration, and the party that placed it in power, beyond the hope of a political resurrection; but if the acts yet undeveloped would require an ocean of ink to blot them out, our neighbor, we imagine, will find far more difficulty in defending it than Hercules did in cleansing the Augean stables. The Sentinel adds:

Franklin Pierce has been weighed in the balance and found wanting--wanting in every element of the statesman or the political sage. Stripped of his hypocritical professions of disinterestedness and love for the people, he stands before us one of the vilest demagogues of the age, talking of nothing, writing of nothing, thinking of nothing but the advancement of his own private affairs.

Can any of the living, or could any of the dead, if they were restored to life, testify in favor of one bold, unmistakable blow on the side of the constitution and the rights of man?

He turned out of office every politician in the State of New York who was not favorable to the interest of Martin Van Buren and his abolition confederates.

He established a press in Washington city, and directed every man depending upon him for bread and meat, to devote his leisure hours to extravagant eulogies on his administration.

He commanded his agents throughout the country to attend all the primary conventions, and see to it that delegates should be chosen favorable to his re-nomination.

He issued many proclamations of his intentions to regard the equality of the States and the compromises of the constitution; nevertheless, he suffered mob law to run riot in the Territory of Kansas for many a month, and dared not for fear of injuring his prospects for the Presidency, exert the power which he admitted was lodged in his hands. Instead of quelling disorder in Kansas, according to his oath of office--according to the constitution and laws of the land, and according to the right which he admitted he possessed--he called upon Congress for authority to that which nobody doubted he had a right to do. His only

6 object was to make a pompous display before the country, and avoid responsibility from which it was impossible to relieve himself.

He abolitionized by his treatment of National Democrats, half a dozen Northern States of the Union.

He telegraphed to New York city to prevent American citizens leaving our shores to settle in Central America.

He and his Attorney General talked learnedly of a war with England, and still suffered the "mother country" to gain a great advantage in the final settlement of the most important political question of the age.

Who does not know that the antagonism of thousands of our own party in New Hampshire to him, and peculiarly to him, is the true cause of this repeated disaster?

The *Sentinel* propounds a series of rather tough interrogatories to his Democratic contemporaries "of the ilk" of the *Argus*. What does your neighbor think of them. What is his reply? Here they are:

Do you endorse the policy of Franklin Pierce in the organization of the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas—his appointing a Southern Governor to the Northern and a Northern Governor to the Southern Territory—his appointment of Governor Reeder to Kansas—his non-removal of him for more than a year after he knew of his complicity in land speculations—his removing him for this cause and never breathing in his "glorious message" one word of reprobation for his greater and more dangerous offence against the constitutional rights of one section of the country? Do you endorse these acts? What have you for answer? only that you approve his late "glorious message!" which we may well believe, came so late that it resembled the silly policy of locking the door after the horse was stolen!

But we will not confine our selection of Democratic gems to the *Sentinel*, as much as we are fascinated with its style. There are other journals, just as Democratic, that have the boldness and the independence to condemn and repudiate the miserable failure of an administration with which the Democratic party has cursed the country. We could fill our columns with similar extracts, but one more, from the *New York National Democrat*, will suffice. We will preface it by saying that the *Democrat* is the organ of that sterling and disinterested though proscribed statesman, Daniel S. Dickinson. It says:

When the odious heresy of Free Soilism was first sought to be vitalized by Mr. Pierce through the recognition, as peers of Democratic, of the Abolition traitors of 1848, it met with prompt, bold and indignant opposition from the Old Guard of New York. True to the rights of the South, not because they were her rights solely, but because they were guaranteed by the Constitution of our country—our Democracy, in the face of power, and at the sacrifice of interest, opposed such policy and demanded a change. Such was their attitude in 1853—such is it still.

We draw but a legitimate conclusion from the Democratic testimony adduced above, when we affirm that the present administration is inefficient and corrupt beyond precedent. What is more, the Democratic party placed Franklin Pierce in power, and it alone, therefore, is responsible for his official acts. For these it should be held to a strict account by a deeply injured peo-

Virginia Herald.

BY J. HARRISON KELLY.

Fredericksburg, Va., April 10, 1856.

THEIR LOVE FOR POOR SAMBO.—The Free State Convention, which recently assembled at Topeka, Kansas, inserted a clause in their Constitution not only prohibiting slavery in Kansas, but forever preventing free blacks from taking up their abode in the future State. This is, to say the least, inconsistent with the boastings of the *par excellence* "friends of freedom," consid-

ering that their "greater lights" advocate the equality of the races! The free soil members of Congress are striving to admit Kansas, as a State, into the Union with this same Topeka Constitution.

The Commercial.

WILMINGTON, N. C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 10, 1856.

KANSAS.

A spirited letter, dated Doniphan Kansas Territory, March 16, appeared in the *New York Day Book* of Wednesday last. The following extract shows what stuff the "Border Ruffians" are made of:

'When abolitionists come among us as settlers, we treat them with respect, but when they come as bullies, we think a different reception would be more befitting. Yet if it is their wish to come with Sharp's rifles, let them come. It but renders them ridiculous in the eyes of all intelligent men throughout the Union, but if they should bring on a collision, (which God forbid,) some of them may repent of it. It will be no child's play then. No target shooting at six or seven hundred yards with Sharp's rifles. No, no, we are too old for that—we are. A double barrelled shot gun, with twenty buck shot in each barrel, a pair of Colt's revolvers, and a bowie knife—a sudden charge—close quarters—and the thing is done. Sharp's rifles will do very well in an open fight, where men attack by rule and kill as science directs, but against us "Border Ruffians"—bah! We say let them come and bring their rifles, and my word for it they will never use them more than once.

We are acced of all crimes on the calendar, from bullying to cowardice. So be it. It pleases our associates without hurting us. This and more we will bear for the preservation of the Union. But there is a limit to all things. We are in the grand vortex, and can feel the danger. The floodgates of passion are up; one blow and all is over. Home, country, friends, and the institutions of our fathers are all at stake, and to be lost or won at one grand hazard. This we have weighed and pondered well. It was this that stayed the hand of the "Border Ruffians" at Lawrence last December, where fifteen hundred men came together at the call of the Governor, under fearful excitement, to protect their friends and enforce the laws, and yet they quietly dispersed to their homes without one riotous demonstration or one unmanly act. And believe me there were not any three hundred of the number who would not have been willing to have staked their lives upon taking Lawrence without any assistance.

Missourians are charged with organizing and arming troops for the purpose of invading Kansas. Now this could not have been done without my knowing something about it, and I assure you there is nothing of the kind among the "Border Ruffians." They have formed an Emigrant Aid Society to counteract the effects of the gigantic monopoly that the State of Massachusetts organized, and nothing more.

From the Louisville Democrat, (Adm.) April 10.

SLAVERY IS RIGHT.—We say that slavery is now right and proper; that it is best for both races; that nothing can be substituted for it without injury to the superior race and ruin to the other. If they want to be thought rational, let them meet us on our own ground and prove it untenable. If we are right as to the capacity of the negro, they are guilty of egregious folly. We affirm that all facts, all experience, and all history in relation to the black race, confirm the southern ground on the subject, and it is most reckless wickedness to destroy an institution effecting the vital interests of a whole race, unless there is something to substitute for it that pro-

vide as well as at least; and we have a right to demand that it should promise something better.

African slavery is right; it suits the race to which it is applied better than any system human ingenuity has devised.

The first step proposed to be taken to prevent the extension of slavery is a mistaken policy, based on false assumptions. It assumes that slavery is wrong, an evil—whereas, it is no such thing, unless the existence of the negro as he is, is a wrong; and there is no sense in the favor to make Kansas free.

THE EVENING NEWS.

Saint Louis:

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 11, 1856.

GOVERNOR ROBINSON, OF KANSAS.

As Dr. CHARLES ROBINSON, Governor of Kansas, according to the Topeka order of things, has got to be a somewhat important personage, a brief history of his career will not be uninteresting. The *Washington Star* has gathered some facts connected with Robinson's life and given them to the world in the form of a brief newspaper biography.

By this we learn that ROBINSON went to California, in 1849, and located at Sacramento, squatting, as several hundred other miners did, on the lands of Col. SUTTER. The attempt by the legal authorities to dispossess the squatters and restore possession of the lands to their rightful owners, led to the famous "Squatter Riots," which so disgrace the annals of California. ROBINSON led the squatters, and aroused them to desperation by telling them that they, and not SUTTER's grantees, were the legal owners of the soil. The results of this movement are thus given by the *Star*:

But to return to Robinson in California. He encountered resistance to the law and the seizure of the lands of others on account of alleged invalidity of title. His advice was followed, and the business of the city was almost ruined by those lawless proceedings. Many of the intruders were removed from the lots by the ordinary legal proceedings, and while that was being done, Robinson and his party appeared in the streets, armed with rifles, headed by a mounted leader, avowing their determination to restore the lands by force to the parties ejected by order of the courts. It was apparent to the law-abiding portion of the community that if they should be permitted to accomplish their purpose, there must be an end to law, and property-holders must abandon all hope of legal protection, and surrender their property to a band of men avowing themselves to be above and beyond the reach of all law.

This armed force, led on by unscrupulous leaders, paraded the streets defiant of the civil authorities. They were followed by thousands whom curiosity or interest prompted to witness so extraordinary a proceeding. Fear and hope alternated in the minds of the spectators as to the result. The suspense did not last long. In turning a corner, the crowd pressing too closely on the armed mob, firing commenced, and a serious fight was the result, in which the mayor and sheriff, and several prominent citizens of Sacramento lost their lives; several of Robinson's party were also killed, and he was conveyed to the prison brig dangerously wounded. Shortly afterwards an election of members to the Legislature took place, and owing to popular sympathy for him, arising out of his brave conduct, he was returned as a member pledged to oppose all grants like that to Sutter, and their holders or assignees. The cry of the party electing him was—down with all such grants and their proprietors; which cry he had taught them.

Col. J. C. Fremont, the most obnoxious man in the State to Robinson's party, because the holder of the most important similar grant, was the candidate for the Senate of the United States of the party obeying the laws and sustaining the authority of the courts. Probably not a single man of all those voting for Robinson himself, would have voted for Fremont; party feeling upon the squatter question running so high at that time. To their utter astonishment he voted for Fremont for the U. S. Senate. Though the Legislature sat until the 31st of May, his name last appeared on the journals on the 27th of February. The steamer left San Francisco on the 1st of March, and leaving San Jose on the morning of the 23rd February, he reached the steamer, sixty miles distant, by a forced ride, in time to step aboard just as she was starting out to sea. Thus he abandoned his post and his constituents, having treacherously betrayed every interest he was elected to represent.

The indignation against him in Sacramento was so great, on account of his course in the Senate last election, and for his flagrant violation of every principle on which he was elected, upon the San Francisco water lots bill, and the question of the change of the seat of government, that his life would not have been safe