

Notwithstanding there is a great agitation ~~about~~ the slavery question going on in and out of Congress, yet I have never known slaves sell at such high prices in this country, at public sale, as they now command. In fact, you never hear of a man being cheated in buying one now at any price. If he gives too much, his friends will tell you he is not cheated, but his bargain is a little harder than some one else's. There is a company of young men in this county buying young ones to carry to Kansas to sell to those who are in want of such property. I understand they are going to carry about 200 the first trip.

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J. C. VAUGHAN, C. H. RAY, EDITORS.

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Wednesday Morning..... April 23, 1856.

The Cities of Kansas.

[Correspondence of the Chicago Tribune.]

TOPEKA, K. T., April 13, 1856.

I am on my way to Fort Riley. The stage starts in an hour. I will employ the interval in writing you a few notes of the principal "cities" (including villages and hamlets) of the State—including Territory and inchoate State) of Squatter-Sovereignty-cursed Kansas.

WYANDOTT.

Kansas is bounded on one side—of course you know which side—by the Missouri River. It is divided from the State by the Kansas River. On a high bluff at the mouth of the Kansas, stands or will stand, or at least is expected to stand, the city of Wyandotte. Wyandotte is on the Indian reserve. The site is laid out in streets and lots; and half a dozen cabins have been built on it. Its prosperity depends on the possibility of rendering the Kansas a navigable stream. If boats can be built to ply between Lawrence and the Missouri for three or four months every season, Wyandott will unquestionably be "quite a place" in a year or two; but, as Carlyle remarks, "if not, not." I doubt the possibility. The Kansas is a shallow stream, full of snags, and shifting sand bars. Its banks resemble, on a small scale, the banks of the Missouri—a bluff on one side, a low level surface on the other. Wyandotte is the head-quarters of General Calhoun and the Land Agency Department. The General is worthy of the Administration who appointed him. He is so drunk, it is said, four days per week as to be utterly incapable of attending to business; and his staff of assistants exemplify the proverb of "like master like man." "Their main business," a squatter told me, "is improving the Indian race!"

DELAWARE.

A few miles above Wyandotte, and six miles below Leavenworth, situated also on a precipitous bluff, and on the Indian reservation, is the thriving little town of Delaware. Delaware is on the Missouri river. It contains, I was told, about three or four hundred inhabitants, is growing rapidly, and promises to be "considerable of a town." It was laid out by pro-slavery men, but they did not bring their Black Institution with them. It is nearly hidden among young oak trees. The population, like the favorite English beverage, is "alf and alf," the Free State men, as usual, being "the better half." It is the County Seat of Leavenworth County. The history of its election to this distinction, forms an interesting episode in the political history of the Territory.

The Legislature—the Border Ruffian Assembly—after appointing Commissioners to select the County Seat in all Anti-Slavery Districts, provided for the election of their County Seat by the inhabitants of all "reliable" districts! Leavenworth County was supposed to be one of the "sound" districts. The day of election was appointed. Leavenworth, Delaware and Kickapoo were the rival candidates. The population of Kickapoo was between one and two hundred; of Delaware, between three and four hundred; of Leavenworth, between eight and nine hundred. The people of Leavenworth made no exertions to secure a victory because they fancied that they were certain of success. But, as the race was not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong in Israel—so, in Kansas, at least, a political

victory is not always the reward of superiority of population.

Some weeks before the election came off, advertisements and handbills were extensively circulated in Platte, Clay and Buchanan counties announcing that a grand free picnic party would be given—on the day of voting—at Kickapoo and Delaware; and that the ferry-boat between Missouri and the Territory had been chartered to carry every one who wished to come over "without money and without price."

The Missourians came over in troops. Excepting on the famous 30th of March, they had never before crossed the river in such numbers. But there was a difference in the manner of their coming. Then they came in regiments, with officers and rifles; now they came in companies, with ladies and parasols. The polls were opened. The Missourians, as usual, tendered their votes; and the judges of election, as usual, accepted them! Imagine the amazement and horror of the Border Ruffians of Leavenworth when the result of the election demonstrated that Leavenworth was defeated! Defeated by their own weapons—defeated by votes which they had previously courted! They frowned; they cursed and swore; they gnashed their teeth, but they could hardly complain aloud. They knew how their charges, if they made them, would be answered.

Leavenworth had cast over 500 votes; Kickapoo about 700; Delaware more than 900!

But Leavenworth did not remain silent. The *Herald* complains of foreign interference in the local affairs of the Territory, and proved that an overwhelming force of Missourians had voted at Kickapoo and Delaware. It always italicised local; a quiet way of showing to its friends in Missouri that it had nothing to say against foreign interference in the national affairs of Kansas.

This complaint created a feud in the Border Ruffian camp. "The Leavenworth *Herald*," says the Kickapoo *Pioneer*, an equally rabid pro-slavery sheet, "complains that Missourians voted at the last election. Will the editor tell us who elected him?" The editor of the *Herald* was a member of the Border Ruffian Senate. This query silenced him. He merely said in reply:—"We thought that the editor of the *Pioneer* was a Know Nothing; and we know it it now." This reply was probably intended to be funny, but I confess I cannot see the point of it myself. Can you?

LEAVENWORTH CITY.

Leavenworth is a young San Francisco. It is the largest town in the Territory. Little less than a year ago, the frog, snake and whip-poor-will enjoyed an undisturbed existence where stores, churches, and hotels now stand. It has a population of eighteen hundred souls, and will probably have five thousand persons within its corporate limits in less than one year from the present date. It is a busy, bustling town. The population is chiefly from the North-Western and Middle States. It was the stronghold of Douglas Locofococracy before the recent invasion. That event changed its politics. It is a Republican city now. The destruction of Delahay's press was the death blow to its Nebraskism. Squatter Sovereignty is below par; National Sovereignty is quoted high. It is only the Border Ruffians who believe in Douglas now.

Before the *Register* was submerged, it was rather strange, I thought, to see it—a Free State paper—and the Pro-Slavery *Herald* both zealously and incessantly eulogizing the National Administration and your Little Giant. But, perhaps it only proved the admirable "Nationality" of Pierce—as Douglas' plantation and negroes, and his property in Illinois, demonstrates how exceedingly unsectional he is!

Leavenworth is situated on the Indian Reservation and is to be sold to the highest bidder. A secret association, composed of men of both parties, exists—it is stated—whose object is to prevent—peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary—its sale to any company other than its present proprietors. I should hardly wish to occupy the position of any man who should presume to out-bid the Town Association, in order to make a profitable speculation by selling the City and the property of the Squatters. Certainly, if a Director of an Insurance Company, I would not accept the "risk" of his life.

Emigrants from the North should invariably land at Leavenworth. Kansas City, where hundreds of our Northern friends land, is a Pro-Slavery town in Missouri, whose Mayor aided the invaders who surrounded Lawrence. It also publishes and supports one of the most ultra Pro-Slavery papers in the service of the Border Ruffians. Pass by it!

There are no trimmers in this Territory. Every

one has earnest opinions on the grand issue of our time. Politics invades every circle. There are pro-slavery balls and free state balls; pro-slavery hotels and free state hotels. Hearing a young man of my acquaintance, the other day, speak in glowing terms of a Kansas beauty, I asked him what she was:

"Free State!" said my friend—"Free State up to the hub—hub and all."

More anon.

Leaving Kansas.

A fact, ominous of the decay of the Pro-Slavery faction, is that many of the prominent men who have been active and efficient agents in the many outrages which have made that party notorious, are abandoning Kansas and returning to Missouri, where is a better field for their operations, and greater security for their property. One man, who a year ago was the general of the Pro-slavery forces in this vicinity, has sold his claim which cost him altogether not less than \$1500, for \$350. Another man who has claimed a number of slaves, is preparing to leave this "Abolition State," but one of his negroes refuses to go with him. Tom came to Kansas to establish the "divine institution," and help to make this a slave State—and he is not to be frightened by the Abolitionists—and declares his attention to stay here, let his master go where he will. Good luck, he has, and shows that he is true to his principles. This is spunk that will manifest itself in many of those who are sent here to maintain appearances. When wishing to return, as they soon will, they will find that they have no law by which they can force their slaves back into bondage. —*Kansas Free State.*

All Acknowledged.

ORR, of South Carolina, in a letter addressed to the Hon. W. C. Dudley, gives the Democratic party the following credit "for work and labor done and performed"—

"The northern Democrats aided us to bring into the Union, Texas, a magnificent slaveholding Territory—large enough to make four slave States, and strengthened us more in that peculiar interest than was ever before done by any single act of the Federal Government. Since then, they have amended a very imperfect fugitive slave law, passed in 1793, and have given us now a law for the recovery of fugitive slaves, as stringent as the ingenuity of man could devise. Since, they have aided us by their votes in establishing the doctrine of non-intervention with Slavery, by Congress, in the Territories. Since then, they have actually repealed the Missouri restriction, opened the Territories to settlement, and enabled us, if the South will be true to herself, and aid in peopling Kansas, to form another slave State. In 1843 a man would have been pronounced insane, had he predicted that slavery would be introduced there by the removal of Congressional restrictions."

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 23, 1856.

Our Kansas Correspondence.
Thoughts and Things in Kansas.

NO. II.

KANSAS CITY, April 15, 1856.

I arrived at this place last evening, after an extremely pleasant trip from St. Louis in the steamer David Tatem. I had formed an unfavorable opinion of the boats on the Missouri River. I had been informed by those who were familiar with traveling on this river, that I should encounter a multitude of ineffectives. But I am not aware that I met them. If I did they were certainly in disguise. They must have been latent in the last degree. Pleasant company, novel and often picturesque scenery, a well-provided table, accommodations for sleeping by no means to be despised and an obliging disposition on the part of all the officers of the boat—these and such as these were my experiences on the passages up the Missouri River. There were grumblers on board, it is true, whole platoons of them; but these were men, no doubt, who make it a matter of principle to grumble at everything, and who seem to regard it as an unpardonable sin to be happy in any circumstances whatever.

Navigation on the Missouri, however, is a very different thing from navigation on the Ohio or the Hudson. It cannot be denied that the water is turbid, and unless it is filtered—which it is

factory to those who are accustomed to it. To the eye it resembles lemonade. The taste is not unpleasant, and I am not quite sure that with my eyes closed I could single out the Missouri water from its sisters, the Cochituate, the Croton or the Detroit River. It is said, moreover, not to be unhealthful, if the novice makes its acquaintance a little cautiously, and accustoms himself to it by degrees.

Another unpleasant circumstance connected generally with the navigation of the Missouri, though one providentially with which we especially did not become intimate, is the imminent danger to the boats from the snags which abound in the river. These snags are formed from the branches of whole trees which drift into the channel, and lie there with their roots anchored up stream, and their broken branches make an angle of forty-five degrees—the most convenient angle for effecting the greatest amount of mischief—with the surface of the water. I have often wondered how the Mississippi and the Missouri were supplied with such a multitude of snags. But the mystery was cleared up before I was one day on the Missouri. The rapid current of the river—and by the way the rapidity of it astonished me not a little—is continually wearing away the banks on one side, while the water on the other side is encroached upon in a corresponding degree by the sand, making out in the form of a sand bar. The bank thus gradually worn away is often covered with huge cottonwood and sycamore trees, which are undermined and fall, and are carried into the channel in great numbers. Two steamers, both nearly new, have been snagged on the river since the opening of navigation this season. One of them, a very beautiful boat, terminated her career for the present, if not forever, the very day we left St. Louis, by striking one of these snags, which sunk her in a very few hours; we saw her as we came up. She was not entirely submerged, as the water was shallow where she sank; but she is so completely imbedded in the sand and mud that it is feared she will be a perfect wreck.

The amount of business done on the Missouri River is immense. There are upwards of sixty boats now running between St. Louis and the different ports on the river; and they were all filled with passengers and freight. They are built of light draught from necessity, as the water, at most seasons of the year, will not admit of heavy boats; but it is astonishing what a load they will carry. The absence of the heavy engine and boilers necessary in a low pressure boat, and which these Missouri steamers do not need, gives the latter class a great advantage over the former in their capacity for carrying freight. Most of these steamers run as high as St. Joseph, about 600 miles from the mouth of the river. Some of them proceed as far as Council Bluffs, 775 miles. Emigrants to Nebraska generally stop at this point, and proceed up the valley of the Platte River, from Omaha City. Above this point the river is only navigable by boats of still smaller draught. But there is a brisk tide of emigration far beyond this. Steamers of light burden, but crowded with passengers and loaded down with freight, proceed to Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellow Stone River, which, if my memory is not culpably at fault, is more than 2,200 miles above the junction of the Missouri. More than this: Our captain informed me that, when the water of the Upper Missouri was highest, which frequently embraces a period of some two or three months, boats run up 3,000 miles. Let our English brethren put this fact in their pipes and smoke it, that one of the tributaries of a river in America is navigable with steamers of light draught for three thousand miles!

"And where are these swarms of people going to?" More to Kansas than to any other section of the country; some to Nebraska, some to Salt Lake, some to New Mexico, some to California. The rush to Kansas surpasses all the previous notions, and these were by no means on a small scale, which I had formed of it. During the week, which I had been in Kansas, more than two days I have been in Kansas, more than two hundred at this point alone have arrived from the different steamers. Most of these proceed up the Kansas River. They all seem desirous of getting as near Lawrence as possible, though the land is now all taken up within eight or ten miles

of that city. The tide will eventually, perhaps soon, turn towards the tributaries of the Arkansas River. A gentleman who resides on one of these tributaries—and his statement was subsequently confirmed in my presence by Gov. Reeder—informs me that it is the best grazing district in the Territory, with abundance of fine timber, the want of which is felt so seriously in many other sections.

Most of the emigrants come with their families. I am glad to see this; for it is equivalent to a declaration on the part of these emigrants that Kansas is to be their future home, and that they mean to throw around that home all the refining influences (without which any society would make rapid strides towards semi-barbarism) of virtuous wives, mothers and sisters. It is a little amusing—amusing to us lookers-on, for it makes a vast difference from what point you look at the thing—to watch the different groups of emigrants, as they get some of their first experience of life in a new country. Many of them, it is plain to perceive, have been accustomed to the comforts and luxuries of life, and some of them look a little—a very little—crest-fallen, when they are forced to tumble into a huge, ungainly-looking wagon, on the top of meal-bags, and barrels, and stacks of cod-fish; and when the lazy oxen start on a journey which must last three or four days. The predominant feeling, however, among all classes is cheerful, contented, hopeful. One lady, who, with her husband, came out to settle on the banks of the Osage for life, and who had been accustomed from her childhood to all the comforts of a pleasant Ohio village, spoke with the utmost satisfaction of the little log house to which she was about to be introduced.

The scene at the American House, where we are stopping, is worth coming a thousand miles to see. I have heard of crowded hotels before, and seen some of them. But my wildest flight of imagination had never before pictured such a crowded house as this. There are beds in the office, beds in the ladies' parlor, beds in the dining-room, and beds in the barn, and still many of the guests, who pour in are unbedded. As for me I am well provided, as usual. Somehow or other, I scarcely know why or how, a good place comes to my lot. I am in Gen. Pomeroy's room. There are three other occupants in it, and they are right hand men of the General's, and fine fellows as any one could desire to room with. True, my bed is not as soft as some I have slept on—the bedding and the boarding coming in closer contact than would be agreeable to some people—but I get along finely, and never slept better in my life.

The Congressional Committee of Investigation have not been able as yet to commence their labors. Messrs. Howard and Sherman, in whose company I have been from Chicago, are here, waiting for Mr. Oliver, the other member of the Committee. It was expected that he would join the party at Lexington, but he failed to do so, and it is not quite certain whether he has passed up the river to Leavenworth, or whether he is still behind in Missouri.

"Border Ruffians!" I scarcely think the term uncharitable, as it is the one which a large share of them apply to themselves, and love to have applied to them, as plenty here as the frogs were in Egypt once on a time. They all carry a pair of pistols and a bowie-knife, somewhat ostentatiously exhibited, bluster a good deal, seem to have an uncomfortable amount of leisure on hand, swear the biggest possible oaths, drink the most incalculable number of "horns" of whisky, and withal are the veriest swaggers I ever met.

Speaking of their warm attachment to whisky, let me tell you a secret I have discovered in my short acquaintance with the disturbers of the internal affairs of Kansas. It is this, that no matter what other elements a man may have in his constitution—and he needs several peculiar ones—without whisky, or some branch of that family, no power on earth can make a "Border Ruffian" of him. I am perfectly sure of this fact. I have seen these high-spirited Missourians when they were sober, and I have seen them when they were drunk; and I have uniformly found them, in the first

state, gentlemanly, courteous, obliging, while in the other state I have as uniformly found them ungentlemanly, turbulent, quarrelsome.

The general impression among the Kansas citizens with whom I have conversed, seems to be that, in this investigation, Stringfellow and his coadjutors will not dare to face the music. But we shall soon see what are to be their tactics. I cannot for my life see how they can make any other than an extremely lame case of it, if they are to rely on facts; for, from every intelligent citizen whom I have heard express his mind on the subject, I hear that the amount of evidence in favor of the Free State, and against the pro-slavery claimants, is perfectly overwhelming.

GRADGRIND.

Detroit Evening Tribune.

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 23, 1856.

Storey versus Storey.

The *Free Press* of yesterday morning attempts to break the force of the overwhelming array of testimony we produced on Saturday of its inconsistency on the Kansas question. But it makes but a sorry business of it. The only point in its reply designed to convince the public that it has pursued a straightforward course on that subject, which deserves the slightest notice is the following:

"The Legislature originally elected for Kansas we did not regard the legitimate legislative authority of the Territory, because reliable advices concurred that a majority of it was chosen" by the votes of invaders from Missouri. If it was subsequently legitimized, it was by the act of Governor Reeder."

A few words from his own paper of Feb. 9, 1856 will dispose of this defence of himself from the charge of inconsistency. In condemning the President's special message recognizing the Border Ruffian legislature as legal, the editor of the *Free Press* of that date says:

"The President's argument, that it was legitimized by Gov. Reeder's recognition, has no force, for the reason that the argument has no foundation. We assume the broad ground that the legislature, BEING UNDENIABLY OF MISSOURI MANUFACTURE, was *per se*, FRAUDULENT, and that the power did not rest with GOV. REEDER or with any other authority to legalize it."

Is not this "consistency" with a vengeance?—On the 9th of February—but a little more than two months ago—our consistent neighbor asserted that no act of GOV. REEDER or any body else, not even the President or Congress could legalize the Border Ruffian Legislature. Yesterday morning, he justifies himself for now approving the recognition of that bogus assemblage by the President and his determination to enforce obedience to its acts, on the ground that it had been legitimized by GOV. REEDER! But such is the awkward dilemma in which men who blindly follow the dictates of party leaders, and are influenced by self-interest rather than principle, naturally become evermore involved.

We have said the only part of the defence made by the *Free Press* which required any notice was the declaration that it now approves the conduct of the President in recognizing the Border Ruffian Legislature as a legal body because it had previously been legitimized by GOV. REEDER. But there is another paragraph of the article to which, as a matter of mere curiosity, we will call attention. After referring to the Topeka Constitutional Convention and the organization of a free State government under the Constitution formed by it, and adopted by the people of the State, as an "abolition" movement, the *Free Press* says:

"It is this pseudo government that we denounce as rebellions. It is this we referred to when we said that we were confident no spurious government would be permitted to establish itself in Kansas—that we were confident the Executive of the United States would discharge his duty faithfully. It was in reference to this that we said that the Federal government must maintain the territorial government until Congress should abrogate it.—And it was in reference to this that we declared that any act of hostility to the Territorial government was treason against the United States."

This is a dodge unworthy even the *Free Press*—

or rather it is a downright misrepresentation, as a single fact will show. The free State Constitutional convention did not assemble until October last, and a State government was not organized until after that event, as a matter of course. Yet on the 27th of July previous, the *Free Press* further says:

"There are rumors from Kansas that Gov. REEDER has finally determined to ignore the body of men claiming to compose the Kansas Legislature. We hope the rumors are true."

And again on the 32d of August following:

"Had Gov. Reeder, as he clearly ought to have done, refused to issue certificates of election to all those persons notoriously elected to the legislature by votes cast by armed mobs of Missourians—the outrageous conspiracy to over-ride the Kansas-Nebraska law, and to usurp the legislative authority of the Territory, would have been nipped in the bud. By this simple act alone he could have crushed the conspirators. They would have been rendered utterly powerless. The illegal legislature could not have organized, and in another election the disgraceful proceedings at the polls could not have been repeated."

Does this refer to a legislature that did not then exist, and the thought of which had never been conceived? was it a government that was not conceived until two months after that is thus declared to be organized by "ARMED MOBS OF MISSOURIANS," and denounced as illegal? We leave our readers to solve the question for themselves, and the *Free Press* to explain away as best it can these remarkable contradictions. If with such facts before them, it can satisfy the public that it has been consistent, we shall give it credit for more ingenuity than honesty.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

DETROIT. 1856.

Correspondence of the Advertiser—
A Good Move.

EDITOR ADVERTISER:

Perhaps a little amplification would not be deemed out of place. I certainly, if anybody, ought to be rich in experiences, which would be useful to our Kansas-bound friends, for I was once placed in somewhat similar circumstances. At Grand Cairo I was detained a considerable time, inflicting on a caravan to take me a journey of forty days, through the Bedouin robber tribe of "the Long Desert," and I had the same misgiving and the same precautions to take which they have in undertaking a journey through one of the free and independent States of this Union.

And what are you going to do with those old muskets—said I to my Arab attendants, as we were about to commence our journey. "Use them to defend you," was the prompt reply. But can we not go safe without them? "You may try it, but we will not," said they. I soon found that they would not be deemed worthy of the slightest respect unarmed. No Bedouin ever travels without arms.

But this discussion brought out the fact that I was unarmed myself, and I was overhauled at once. They told me I was a child, and nobody would take me for a man, or care anything for me, unless I was armed. There I was, a peace man, fresh from the world's Peace Congress in London, and of course thoroughly fortified; and besides, I could not hit a man at ten feet, should I muster martial spirit enough to shoot. But as I was assured that it was not the shooting, but the show of arms, which would be necessary to my safety, I yielded, and provided myself with a brace of pistols about big enough for Tom Thumb, hiding them away in my pockets. I am sure I never felt meaner in my life, and yet it was quite beyond a Bedouin's comprehension, that I should previously have entertained the slightest self-respect.

And to lay a still solder foundation for my self-respect, they insisted that I should get powder and ball. I should probably have no occasion to use them, but get them I must. And so I laid in a store of ammunition, but took good care to stow it away so deep in my luggage as to be totally inaccessible in an emergency. With such a stock of self-respect, I was supposed to be prepared to look any Bedouin in the face.

All things being now ready, forty days' provisions,

cooking utensils, skins of water, bedding, tents, &c., all being loaded upon the camels, I mounted my dromedary, and we started for the desert, under the lead of a Bedouin Sheik, whose eagle eye and haughty bearing would have done no discredit to old Houssein himself. But I soon found that an occasional incidental exposure of my innocent little pistols had quite an awe-inspiring effect, especially when accompanied with a little display of percussion caps, an article which inspires the Bedouin, not with respect merely, but with terror, as he has nothing better than his old match-lock to offset against it, and he might be shot a dozen times while he was lighting his match.

Nothing special occurred to test my martial spirit, until we arrived at Petra, the celebrated rock city of the desert, where we pitched our tents for three days, to be spent in surveying the wonders of the place. Upon our entrance into it, I paid the Sheik of the neighborhood the customary fee of one pound sterling, a tribute which he exacts from all travellers, ostensibly in compensation for a guard he furnishes them during their stay, but really as a boon or bribe to himself, to keep him from robbing them. We asked no guard, and wanted none, and least of all one made up of professional robbers. But all remonstrance was vain, a guard we must have, and down the mountain ledge poured the bipedal hyenas, half-naked and half-starved, to the number of a hundred or two, and for three entire nights we were kept in a state of wakeful solicitude by the noisy demonstrations of these ferocious beings, the only drawback upon our enjoyments in that wonderful place.

Notwithstanding the fascinations which held me to the spot, I hailed with joy the rising sun which was to light me on my way. And now came "the tug of war." As my men were engaged in taking down my tent, I stayed a little way off to take a last look at some ruins, but scarcely had I arrived at the spot, when I looked around and lo, some fifteen Bedouins, musket in hand, approached my tent, and my men, desisting from their work, retired. Instantly I repaired to the scene of action, and learning that the demand was for money, a certain sum to be paid to each one before the tent was taken down, and knowing that if the demand was complied with, a hundred or two more would come forward with their claims, it being uncertain where the matter would end—in this dilemma, I felt not for my purse, but for my peace pistol, and no sooner did I draw it out, so that they got sight of the percussion cap, than they began to scater, and by the time I had got it cocked and leveled, I was left pretty much alone. At this juncture, the old Sheik, who had kept himself back among the crowd, and who doubtless encouraged the attempt, came forward, and interposed his authority in my behalf, and I had no farther trouble. It so happened that other travellers had their tents pitched a little way off, and they were all looking on, being interested in the common cause, and well they might be, for, as a consequence, no demand was made upon them. Had my pistol been loaded, I should not have been so bold.

But a percussion cap is not a greater terror to a Bedouin, than is a Sharp's rifle to a "boarder ruffian." To those true-hearted men then, who are going to take up their positions by the watch-fires of liberty which have already been kindled upon our Western borders, I would say, if you would secure respect from the marauding tribes through which you have to pass, arm yourselves—if you would cause them to tremble with apprehension, and sneak away from your presence, have your Sharp's rifle where they can get a glimpse of it. This can be very readily done without any belligerent display, by the exercise of a little common sense. But be sure not to load it, and see that you put your powder and ball where it will be safe from molestation until you reach Kansas. So will you pass safely, quietly and triumphantly through all peril to your destination.

Go then to the rescue, noble spirits, for "freedom shrieks," not in despair, but for help—go to the rescue, with the sole conviction upon you that the issue of the struggle is to determine the fate of this land, and give it up to Freedom or to Slavery—go, with stout hearts and willing hands; millions of eyes shall follow you, and millions of hearts throbbing high for freedom shall cheer you on to a bloodless triumph.

Wyandotte, April 21. W. I.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 23, 1856.

Gen. Lane and Senator Douglas.

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, April 20, 1856.
The reported challenge of Senator Douglas by Col. Lane has very little foundation. No challenge has been given, and no correspondence between them yet exists except a note from Col. Lane handed to Mr. Douglas, to relieve Col. Lane from the imputations upon his honor and integrity which were implied in that Senator's comments upon the Kansas Memorial, styling it a forgery, etc. To that note it is expected a satisfactory reply will be made, as Col. Lane only asks for justice. An answer was promised on Saturday at 1 o'clock. At that hour an additional period of several hours was asked, and when that elapsed Col. Orr (for Mr. Douglas) requested that the time be extended till Monday morning. This is all that has passed on the subject.

The effort to bully Gen. Lane out of the Senate, to which he has been elected as a representative of the Free People of Kansas, is characteristic of the border ruffian tactics that have been adopted in all the preconceived attempt to make a new slave State in the West. And like the blustering of Atchison, who led three thousand men against the city of Lawrence; it is likely to fail of its object. Douglas succeeded in throwing out the Kansas Memorial, by stigmatizing it as a forgery, and intimidating an old man like Gen. Cass. But when he comes to back up his assertions out of the Senate, in obedience to a demand couched in a style that convinces him he must respect it, he will probably show the white feather at once. It would be no honor to Gen. Lane to fight with Douglas. A resort to the duel is unjustifiable in any case. We have no evidence that such was the intention of the person demanding a retraction of personal defamation in this instance. A resolute man, however, who is conscious of his position and powers, will as readily compel an act of justice to his own character and motives by resolutely holding a recusant responsible to the bar of his own conscience and public opinion, as by threat of the wager of battle. The "satisfaction" in the former case, to a really honorable man, is worth greatly more than the proof of brute courage shown in facing the chance of death or mutilation.

Col. Lane, in a circular which he has published, shows that the memorial was genuine, and duly authorized. As to a charge that a section relating to the residence of free blacks in the Territory was omitted from the draft of the Constitution presented by the Free State representatives, it is shown that no such clause was ever inserted in that instrument. But a resolution was adopted by the Convention, submitting the question to the people; and if the popular verdict was against the black man, the next Legislature was to pass a law excluding him. The Constitution was not to have any clause in it making the exclusion perpetual.



WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 23, 1856.

The Missouri Democrat, in commenting upon the recent outrages on the Missouri river upon the persons and property of the Kansas emigrants, and their probable consequences to the commerce of St. Louis, has the following:—

Men will not ship when they have no security of transportation, and the attack was therefore aimed against the most vital point of our commercial prosperity. The idea that a few desperate politicians, whose

phrenical agitation, should be privileged to lay an embargo upon a river that receives the tributary streams of half a continent, was as preposterous in its conception as it would be disastrous in its execution.

We regret to add, however, that we are now beginning to reap the consequences of this silly outbreak, and to find all our fears realized. We see the traders of the East and the traders of the West meeting at Alton and Chicago, to organize a system of transport that shall contribute nothing to the wealth of Missouri. We find what promises before the end of the year to be the most wealthy and enterprising state of the West, seriously contemplating a diversion of its travel and traffic from St. Louis, the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley, and all because of the lawless action of a few men who have been influenced more by passion than patriotism.

Missouri reaps as she has sowed. Her blows at Kansas are beginning to recoil on herself. Her violence towards unoffending Emigrants and seizure of their property are producing their natural results. Travel avoids her. Travellers go around through Iowa. They go across through Nebraska. They pass up the River by night without landing, much less stopping to trade.

Nobody consigns Kansas goods any longer to the care of St. Louis. Nobody comes down to St. Louis from Kansas any longer to bargain. St. Louis has flung away the golden harvest, and Chicago and Alton get it.

Her Merchants now long for the customers that their folly has driven from their stores. Her Taverns are empty for lack of the lodgers whom they could not treat with common courtesy. Her Mechanics have plenty of idle time to spare, if they want it, for political crusading. Business stagnates.

And yet Missouri makes all this sacrifice for nothing. Probably not one Emigrant has been turned back, by her crusade, from going to Kansas, and certainly she has not converted any, by it, to a belief in the blessings of Slavery.

Professor SILLIMAN, in an able letter to the National Intelligencer, replies to the imputations cast upon him and others for having contributed to furnish Rifles to Kansas Emigrants. He exposes the falsehood of the charge that the arms are to be used for any but self-defensive and just purposes. All Colonists of all new Territories have a right to go armed, and the prudent among them always do go armed, both against wild animals or predatory gangs of men. In the case of Kansas the lawless hordes infesting its borders, render such a precaution especially necessary. He adverts to the fact that while Emigrants to Kansas from all parts of the Union now go out armed, complaint is made of it only against those who go from New England. He adds:—

The real issue in the present case is whether the arming which is conceded to persons emigrating from all other parts of our country, whether going to Kansas to settle or to vote, should be denied to the emigrants from New England. May they not also carry arms and munitions, and all other supplies and defences necessary to the settlement of a new country on the very frontiers of civilization and one of its most extreme posts? Can any issue be more simple or reasonable?

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23.

Truckling to the South.

The *New Haven Register* contains a characteristic communication, written by a doughface 'who feels' and fears the lash of his Southern master. It would not have been at all inappropriate to the editorial columns of the *Register*, and we are not sure that it does not rightfully belong there, notwithstanding it purports to come from a correspondent; for who should fear more keenly the growth of the free sentiment of the North than an office-holder under the present corrupt Administration? Take from the Administration party the custom-house officers, the postmasters, those who have contracts with government, and the numerous class who have relatives or friends in some public berth, and the strength of the party would be gone. The bands which hold it together, are not principle and patriotism, but love of

power and place. Remove these: the leaders are lost, and the heterogeneous mass falls to pieces. Take for instance a certain small place in this State, a port of entry, the Collector of which died several months since. The office has been kept open, and has been promised to no less than half a dozen Straight Whigs. As a natural consequence the half dozen simple and straight Whigs, each ignorant of the others' chances, possessed their souls in patience, and voted the Administration ticket throughout, (as did the most prominent Straight Whig in the State by the way.) All their friends did likewise, which goes to account for the two hundred and odd votes cast for sham democracy in that town.

The communication in the *Register* commences (or it would not be characteristic) with a false assumption,—that the Republicans and other opponents of the traitorous policy of the Administration, believe in "meddling with the domestic affairs of the Southern States." Such a barefaced assertion hardly needs a denial. They lament the existence of Slavery in the Southern States. They believe it to be a vast evil,—a moral evil,—a social evil. It is eating out the life of the commonwealths in which it is; it weighs upon their industry like a nightmare, impoverishes the soil, and enervates the men bred among its influences. But with it there, politically they have nothing to do. They can not abolish it, and do not propose to meddle with it. With the territory of the nation, they have to do, and for its freedom and highest prosperity are their efforts directed.

The *Register* proceeds to moan that for the citizens of New Haven to exercise their privilege of entertaining what opinions seem to them right,—if these conflict at all with Southern and custom-house notions,—is the greatest folly that can be indulged in. That is, if the mechanics of New Haven or Connecticut dare to think for themselves, they will lose Southern purchasers for their wares. If the merchants of New Haven or elsewhere will not truckle to the South, they are to be marked by Southern customers, and must expect to lose money. We do not believe this to be true, but even if it were, how base is the *Register's* appeal, and how sordid the argument! All principle is to be abandoned, all independence to be surrendered, on penalty of losing the Southern traffic. The man who would falter a moment, for any such consideration, or retract one honest sentiment in opposition to the wickedness of Slavery and the outrage of its extension over virgin soil, does not deserve to breathe free air, and should be despised as heartily at the North as he is by high-minded men of the South.

The *Register's* croakings are false. Aside from the general truth that "honesty is the best policy," and that in the long run a man loses nothing by doing what is right, there is this to be considered, that the Southerners despise the Northern doughface who serves them as a tool, and respect a firm, manly opponent. BOWEN & McNAMEE lost nothing by the assertion that their goods were for sale and not their principles! *Putnam's Magazine* still lives and flourishes, notwithstanding it has dared to publish able and not mealy-mouthed articles combating the encroachments of the South. The *Saturday Evening Post* in Philadelphia, espoused the side of PASSMORE WILLIAMSON when he was under the tyranny of Judge CAIN, lost thereby southern subscribers largely, and could richly afford to. Its manliness strengthened its foundation, and the Southerners will not be long in coming back.

Take another instance. A gentleman in Boston, a commission merchant, had received large consignments of cotton from a house in Mobile. When the Shadrach case came off, the Southerners threatened to cut off all trade from Boston and leave grass to grow in its streets. The Mobile house wrote to their Boston factor, that if such were to be the conduct and sentiments of Boston men, they could consign no more cotton to him. He replied that he should be very happy to receive their cotton, but if a continuance of the correspondence was to require a sacrifice of principle on his part, it must stop. And the house in Mobile did send him more cotton than ever. Nothing is gained by cringing and fawning. The mechanics of New Haven and the many busy

drawals fill Connecticut, need not fear a withdrawal of Southern purchasers. Their ingenuity, skill and industry, may laugh at competition, and their wares do not go begging for a market. They are hostile to no true interests of the South, but look first of all to their own,—which are those of Industry and Free Labor. These Kansas must have, else free men of the North can not go there. These STRINGFELLOW and his allies would disgrace. These the laboring men of the North will uphold.



NEW HAVEN:
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 1856.

OUR KANZAS COLONY.

We lay before our readers, to-day, a very interesting letter from the President of the Company, written after arriving in the Territory. It will be seen that the colony experienced no bad treatment from the Border Ruffians. Indeed, it has not by any means been their practice to attack large and well armed companies. Especially unwilling would they naturally be to face seventy-five men well armed with that potent argument, a Sharps' Rifle. Our company were known to be fully equipped for defense, for the story of their being furnished rang throughout the Union, and undoubtedly went up the Missouri River before the company did. The President's account then of the immunity of our colony confirms the truth that there is a cringing spirit engendered by slavery, which bows to superior strength in numbers and resources, only waiting for an opportunity to wreak its vengeance on some party inferior to itself in those respects. The Ruffian army retreated from Lawrence in the same way, last December. That we may not seem simply to offer assertions and no proof, we give the following, which we take from the Boston Journal, a Fillmore paper, headed "The Perils of Kansas Travel:—"

The Daily Spy.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 1856.

We will Subdue You.

This is the language of the great "Border Ruffian" leader in the Senate, addressed to the friends of Kansas, who are struggling to preserve that fair and fertile territory free forever from the pollution of slavery. Having, as he thinks, succeeded, through Missouri incursions and Presidential proclamations, in subjecting the people of the territory to the dominion of a border ruffian legislature, Senator Douglas next turns his endeavors toward a reduction of the free people of the North into the same humiliating subjection. The language in which he conveys his threats to subdue us, is of a piece with the character of the Senatorial traitor to his constituency, who led off in the advocacy of the Nebraska act.

"We will subdue you!" is the threat uttered by the recreant Illinoisan, and self constituted embodiment of "border ruffian democracy," to all those throughout the free States who dissent from the dicta of the slaveholding oligarchy, and adhere to the once so much vaunted doctrines of "popular sovereignty." From this issue, thus raised by the South and their doughface allies, there can and will be no retreat by the North. It has gone forth to the people, and in two of the sovereign States of this Republic, the verdict has been already rendered.

Rhode Island and Connecticut have spoken, and notwithstanding attempts were freely made

in certain quarters to stifle their utterances by cotton and woolen gags, their voice has rung out in strong and emphatic tones, in bold denunciation of the Pierce & Douglas machinations to subdue them, and in repudiation of those two suppliant and pliable tools of the Administration, Senators Tooney and James. This is the result thus far of Douglas's threats to subdue the North into endorsement of the border ruffian policy.—Every other New England State would give a similar verdict, were an election now to come off. The whole North would reverberate with similar utterances.

"We will subdue you!" was the threat of Lord North and his colleagues of the British Ministry, toward the American Colonies in 1774. But the result of that threat was, the Declaration of Independence and the final establishment of our American liberties. Can any less be the result of the present contest with the slave power, under the stimulus of its recent insulting demands?

"We will subdue you!" was the language of the proud and haughty Xerxes, to the infant Grecians, when that imperious Persian monarch ordered the angry waves of the Hellespont to be lashed with chains, that his vast hordes might pass over it in his bridge of boats to "subjugate" the "rebellious" inhabitants of the Grecian Peninsula. But the sudden and complete route of his immense forces at Thermopylae, by Leonidas and his brave little band, is emblematical of the fate which will await the imperious attempts of the satraps of the slave power of the present day to "subdue" the free born citizens of Republican America, into subjection to an oligarchy, more tyrannical in its designs than any which has stained the page of history.

BOSTON POST.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 1856.

THE ADMISSION OF KANSAS.

The President's strong, admirable and conclusive message on the Kansas question closed with two specific recommendations: the enactment of a law providing "regular and lawful means" for the admission of Kansas as a state; and the passage of a special appropriation to defray any expense that might be necessary to execute the laws and maintain order. This policy, faithfully carried out, would settle the Kansas question. This message received a general approval throughout the country; and the proposition to admit Kansas into the Union met with hearty a response from the democracy.

The terms of the bill are simple, plain, easy to be understood, and not easy to be misapprehended while Senator Douglas, in its introduction, clearly defined its meaning and conclusively defended its policy and necessity. The first section provides that when Kansas contains 93,420 inhabitants,—the present ratio required for a member of congress—a convention may be called by the legislature of the territory to form a state government. The second section is as follows:—

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the said convention shall be composed of delegates from each representative district within the limits of the proposed state, and that each district shall elect double the number of delegates to which it may be entitled to representatives in the territorial legislature; and that, at the said election of delegates, all white male inhabitants who shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and shall have been actual residents in said territory for the period of six months, and in the district for the period of three months, next preceding the day of election, and who shall possess the other qualifications required by the organic act of the territory, shall be entitled to vote, and that none others shall be permitted to vote at said election.

The third section provides for the usual grants of land to Kansas. And this is the whole bill.

In the great speech of Senator Douglas, on submitting this bill, he stated that the condition of voting, to wit, a residence of six months in the territory and three months in the district in which the vote may be given, is the medium of the precedents running through our whole territorial history. In the preparatory acts of Illinois, the residence required was

six months; in Indiana it was twelve months; Ohio, twelve months; Mississippi, twelve months; Missouri, three months; Louisiana, twelve months; and in Alabama, three months. The other qualifications, such as are enumerated in the organic act of the territory, are already determined by congress.

Such is the bill of the senate. It provides for a peaceable mode to settle even local questions; its object is to enable the actual settlers to start *de novo* and frame their organic law. Its effect would be to substitute political action, proceeding from legally constituted authority, representing the whole people, for political action, proceeding from a party assembled in convention, which resolved to forcibly resist the laws, and resolved to raise for this purpose an armed force; it would substitute wholesome and regular action for action proceeding out of rank disorder and anarchy. A proposition like this would seem to have had claims on the consideration of fair and candid men.

But this quiet mode of settling this question is the very last mode that freesoil demagoguery desires. It would deprive it of its occupation. It would stave out the abolition element so that it would die. Suppose that the actual settlers, the six months' old settlers only, should really frame a constitution for Kansas; suppose that this constitution, unlike that framed at Topeka, should allow free negroes to live in Kansas; suppose it should peradventure be a free state constitution, and suppose the so much slandered democrats of the south and democrats of the north should advocate and secure the admission of Kansas with such a constitution into this Union—why, where then would be the field of glory of the self-styled champions of freedom? The heaviest blow that could be dealt out to this abolition element would be just such peaceable action as this. These malignant philanthropists know this well. Hence their loud outcry, their wild lamentations, their crocodile tears at the torn and bleeding state of freedom in Kansas.

Look at their course now. The whole tribe of black republicans, aided by those who should be in better business, have treated this bill of Mr Douglas with the same sort of clamor and misrepresentation as they poured upon the President's noble Kansas message, and that has characterized their whole course as to Kansas. To show this, we take as a specimen, in place of rabid abolition journals, the Boston Daily Advertiser, of this city—a press which has justified, and now justifies, the present rebellious and anarchical attitude of Kansas, and which said that its "real governor was C. Robinson." This press enlightened its readers (17th) with one of its characteristic articles, in an editorial entitled "Mr Douglas's Enabling Bill." The following are given as some of the reasons why this bill should not command the vote of a single friend in Kansas:—

"It is true that it pretends to leave the constitution of the state to an election where all the people of the state shall vote. But it provides that this election shall be held by those very judges of election whom the invading legislature appointed—whose authority three-fourths of the people disown. It provides that the election shall be held under the laws passed by that legislature. These laws provide—that any person may vote who is an inhabitant of the territory, though he have entered it the moment before—if at the moment he be willing to pay a territorial tax (one dollar in amount.) It provides, also, that any voter may be challenged at the polls, and compelled to swear that he will support the 'fugitive slave law and the Kansas-Nebraska bill.'"

We read this with utter astonishment at the Daily's boldness. It is, however, in perfect keeping with its run of matter for six months past on Kansas. It is like those articles in which the proceedings of the Kansas legislature were described as of no more account than "those of a caucus in Tammany Hall;" in which it was contended that A. H. Reeder was the legal delegate to congress, and that Robinson was "the real governor."

Let us compare the assertions of the Daily with the words of the bill:—

1. The Daily says the act provides that the election shall be held according to the local laws; there is in the act no such thing.

2. The Daily says under Mr Douglas's bill any person can vote, though he entered the territory but a moment before the election: the act says that the voters must be actual residents SIX MONTHS, and of a district where they vote THREE MONTHS.

3. The Daily says the voters may be challenged at the polls and be made to swear to support certain laws as a condition of voting: the act says that they shall have only the qualifications required by the ORGANIC ACT OF THE TERRITORY.

This tissue of false facts constitutes the basis for the continuance of the Kansas clamor; and makes the capital of abolitionism. Yes: though Senator Douglas, in his place, has thoroughly exposed the whole of the outrageous calumny of such statements as those in the article in the Daily we have cited, they continue to be repeated by the opposition press with as much coolness, assurance, and positiveness as though they were real facts.

The black republican presses presume a good deal on the ignorance of the people, but what shall we say of presses that, like the Daily, affect to defend national and constitutional ground? What can such say for themselves? Will the community tolerate such downright deception?

The Two Bills.—Mr Seward's Kansas bill, the Washington Star says

"Proposes that congress shall acknowledge the validity of the action of the abolition party of the territory at Topeka, admitting Kansas, as a state, into the Union, on the Topeka made constitution, which it is not pretended is the work of more than single political party of the territory, who, in adopting it, did an act of revolution. That is, they assumed authority to substitute their abolition-party made state government for the territorial government enacted by congress, and in force according to all existing law. When Mr Seward brought forward his bill, his party believed they would be able easily to pass it through the house, and their purpose was, next, to go before the country upon it in the fall. But it is already apparent that it will be beaten perhaps fifty votes in the house. Indeed, so clearly and emphatically do the conservative opposition members from the north express themselves in conversation against Mr Seward's project, as to make it questionable, in our mind, whether his partisans will seriously essay to press it."

The bill of Senator Douglas will pass the senate by an overwhelming majority. In the house it, at this moment, has a clear majority of fifty, or we are greatly mistaken. It simply provides that when Kansas has the requisite population she may enter the Union with such a constitution as her citizens may adopt, without reference to the slavery question, provided it be republican. The spirit of the constitution of the United States runs through its very position, while it carries out to the letter, and without fear or favor, the great principles of the Nebraska Kansas act."

BOSTON DAILY TIMES.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 1856.

Kansas! Kansas! Kansas!
We commend the following from a contemporary:

"KANZAS AT REST.—It is extremely difficult to arrive at the truth, amid the contradictory statements made by the letter writers and the newspapers, respecting the actual state of things in Kansas. So much is it for the interest of the contending factions to influence public sentiment in their own favor, that we are constantly liable to be imposed upon by the partial and perverted views of partisans. The following is from a paper that would not put forth such statements as these unless the facts justified and compelled them."

The Herald of Freedom, the leading Free State paper of Kansas, published at Lawrence, in its issue of March 15th, says:

"We published the proclamation of President Pierce about a week or two ago in regard to Kansas matters. We are glad of the proclamation. It has already prevented an invasion from Missouri, and a resort to bloodshed by citizens in self-defence. The people of the territory have nothing to fear from the federal troops. During the late invasion their greatest hope was that Col. Sumner, at Fort Leavenworth, would march with his troops to Lawrence, and interpose them between the mob and the citizens. Gov. Shannon has the military of Fort Leavenworth at his command, and this he will use to put down insubordination on the one hand, and prevent invasion on the other. If he does this, if he

Down, or... will be... no more illegal... box will be allowed... and tranquillity will be restored to our distracted country.

The proclamation of President Pierce is not so villainous a document as the self-prophets made it, and as for the instructions to Gov. Shannon, they are all we could expect, of even desire. While the Governor abides by the letter of these instructions, it will afford me pleasure to sustain him.

No sane man dare deny that an invasion was contemplated for the first of March from Missouri. Evidence fully conclusive of such intentions can be produced; but the President's proclamation dissuaded them, and now an attempt is being made to show that our preparations for defence were uncalculated for.

A Kansas correspondent of the Hillsdale Gazette, under date of February 11th writes: "I will here state upon my honor that the war humbug is really a humbug indeed. It is calculated to intimidate many an honest man, and to prevent them from coming to Kansas and enjoying this beautiful country, its climate and soil. Believe me when I tell you there is no need of rifles, muskets, revolvers, bow-knives, or any other deadly weapons. The articles are useless here as in any of the States."

If designing demagogues and ultra politicians would only let Kansas be governed in the natural course of events, our Union a free State would be at this day. But it is manifestly the object of the extreme men on both sides to prevent that, in order that, existing as a hot-bed of contention, extreme parties may be formed, and these extreme men profit thereby. Presidents are to be made out of Kansas; Cabinets are to be formed out of Kansas; parties and politics are to be shaped out of Kansas. Any quantity of fire-iron and vaporing are to be distilled from Kansas.

Kansas is a perfect golden Chertona to those political miners, who go out to dig and speculate, and who leave all their morals and all their honesty at home. What a God send Kansas is to Mr. Wilson, your Sowards, your Greeleys. Were it to become free, and be admitted as a free State, like the silver-mines that made silver shavings for Diana, their crop would be in danger of being set at naught, and consequently Kansas must be kept in the market, like a fancy stock, to be cried up and down between the bulls and the bears of the political broker board.

The Atlas, that has fought wild beasts at Ephesus, would not on any account have it come to pass that there were no wild beasts there, lest people might suspect that, like Mrs. Sairy Gamp's Mrs. Haughty, they were nothing but a myth.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 1856.

MR. HILLIARD, a highly respectable member of the late Whig party, and who made a very good figure as a member of the United States House of Representatives, from Alabama, spoke at a meeting in Montgomery, a short time since, on the occasion of the departure of Major Buford's company for Kansas. He said that the people had assembled "to give emphasis to a practical assertion of the principle that the people of the South had a right to go into and settle the territories with their property," that is, with their slaves. This is altogether a gratuitous assumption on the part of Mr. Hilliard. It may be remarked, that the people of the South have very little to do with the institution of slavery as property holders. Not one in twenty of their number is a slaveholder, and the whole number of great slaveholders is still more out of proportion to the body of the people. Not one person out of a hundred, in the fifteen slave States, has a large property in slaves. To talk, therefore, about "the people of the South" being interested in the right to establish slavery in Kansas, is to talk against reason. They have no other interest in getting slavery into Kansas than what can come from their desire to send away as many slaves as possible from their own vicinity. In this sense they may have a deep interest in getting

the principle admitted, every white man is endowed with a number of unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of "niggers," the same precedence being assigned to the "pursuit" over life and liberty that the apostle assigns to charity over faith and hope. That the Southern people feel any sensitiveness about slavery, for its own sake, is the merest sham that ever was set up even by the slavery extensionists. The slaveholders are thus sensitive, but we have yet to learn that they constitute the people of the South, or the twentieth part of their number. Unfortunately, they not only rule the South, but also the North, and it is against their ascendancy—which is at once the consequence of slavery and the cause of its extension,—that the people are protesting. Were it possible to convert the South into the Palace of Truth, for this year, the number of those there living who desire to see the slave power overthrown, and the very life "crushed out" of it, would be counted by hundreds of thousands. No where is that power so hated as in the places where its rule is apparently the best established. We shall have facts enough to show how true is this assertion, should the Southern Democrats, the slavery-extensionists, be defeated at the next Presidential election. Let the Southern people be assured that the power of the general government shall not be used for their destruction if they see fit to exercise the right to speak, and the right to act, and there would be such a change seen among them as would astonish the world.

Mr. Hilliard said he "believed there were rational men yet remaining in the North," who would sympathize with the South in the movement it was making for the practical assertion of what he called its constitutional rights, meaning the establishment of the doctrine that slaveholders have the right to establish slavery wherever they shall be powerful enough to do so. He will find himself mistaken. There are few Northern men who are desirous to see slavery extended, and that is what is meant by upholding the constitutional rights of the South when slaveholders speak. The Democrats of the North, much against their will, are the allies of the Southern slaveholders, and by their action they afford aid and comfort to them. But their hearts are not in the work, and if the Presidential election could be decided solely with reference to the Kansas question, the Democratic candidate would not get as many votes in all the free States as Gen. Pierce received in New England alone, not even if the bastard Whigs should go over to his support, as most likely they would if he should be found sufficiently debased for their purposes. There is not a Democrat in the North, inside of a custom house or out of it, who would not be glad to have it in his power to remove all memory of the Nebraska business from men's minds. We know that among them there is not a man who is sincerely in favor of the outrageous principle which is embodied in the Nebraska bill, always excepting a few fools who cannot understand the plainest ideas. There are indications that the Democratic party is about to be rudely shaken in the approaching national campaign, to suffer more than it ever yet experienced, whether in victory or in defeat. The future is in the hands of the opposition so far as it is controllable by mortals. The cant of "nationalism" has lost its weight with men, who see that it means that the power of the nation shall be used for the advancement of a purpose that is flimsy and flagrantly in violation of that spirit which, until the last few years, has been supposed to animate the American people. We are not, we never have been, and it is by no party proposed that in the future we shall be, a nation of propagandists, even for the advancement of freedom; but those mistake the opinions of the country very strangely who believe that we can be conveyed into missionaries of slavery. We do not say that the Democratic party will not suc-

ceed. We think that frank speaking is the best in every sense, and therefore we tell our friends that we believe the chances of success are with the Democrats, but not because they can, even under the most rigorous party drill, obtain a majority of the popular vote in support of a candidate in whom Nebraskaism shall stand incarnate, but because we still entertain fears that the opposition are not yet sufficiently aware of the necessity that exists for perfect union on their part. With such union, which implies a disregard of some secondary points of policy, they will be invincible. They may be defeated, but that defeat must be the work of themselves, for their enemies are utterly unable to bring it about by their own unaided exertions.

A letter from a free State man in Kansas says—"The women are not idle. Practicing at the target and running bullets are amusements in which they delight."

Essex County Mercury

Independent in Politics and Religion.
Salem, Wednesday, Apr. 23, 1856.

SPIRIT OF KANSAS INVADERS.

We do not find room to print a hundredth part of the evidence which comes into our hands, in regard to the motives which inspire the inroads upon Kansas—countenanced and instigated, we are sorry to say, by the President of the United States. The following brief quotations show the import of many columns.

The Kickapoo Pioneer, the official organ of the administration, says:

"The South must be up and doing—Kansas must and shall be a slave State. Mark what we say, southern freemen, come along with your negroes and plough up every inch of ground that is at this time disgraced and defaced by an abolition plough—send the scoundrels back to whence they came, or send them to hell, it matters not which destination—suit your own convenience. * * * Sound the bugle of war over the length and breadth of the land, and leave not an abolitionist in the territory to relate their treacherous and contaminating deeds—strike your piercing rifle balls and your glittering steel to their black and poisonous hearts. Let the war-cry never cease in Kansas again until our territory is cleared of the last vestige of abolitionism."

The Squatter Sovereign, says:

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.

At a recent 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 a 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 vote. The only chance is to assist General Atchison in the way of men and means of fighting. If there is not a fight before the meeting of the Convention to prepare a constitution for Kansas, the Union will be preserved."

The New York Courier and Enquirer says that the New York Kansas League has information that Mr. Silas Woodson is engaged in delivering lectures in Southern cities in order

no more... Dows, or... will be ruthless... no more illegal... box will be allowed... On the contrary, peace and tranquility will be restored to our distracted country.

The proclamation of President Pierce is not so villainous a document as the telegraph reports made it, and as for the instructions to Gov. Shannon, they are all we could expect, or even desire. While the Governor abides by the letter of these instructions, it will afford us pleasure to sustain him.

No sane man dare deny that an invasion was contemplated for the first of March from Missouri. Evidence fully conclusive of such intentions can be produced; but the President's proclamation dissuaded them, and now preparations for defence were uncalled for.

A Kansas correspondent of the Hillsdale Gazette, under date of February 11th writes: "I will here state upon my honor that the war humbug is really a humbug indeed. It is calculated to intimidate many an honest man, and to prevent them from coming to Kansas and enjoying this beautiful country, its climate and soil. Believe me when I tell you, there is no need of rifles, muskets, revolvers, bowie-knives, or any other deadly weapons. These articles are as useless here as in any of the States."

If designing demagogues and ultra politicians were to be the cause of... in the nature of...

Union a free State... day. But it is manifestly the object of the extreme men on both sides to prevent that, in order that, existing as a bone of contention, extreme part may be formed, and these extreme men profit thereby. Presidents are to be made out of Kansas; Cabinets are to be formed out of Kansas; parties and politics are to be shaped out of Kansas. Any quantity of rhetoric and verbal vaporing are to be distilled out of Kansas.

Kansas is a perfect golden California to those political miners, who go out to dig and speculate, and who leave all their morals and all their honesty at home. What a God send Kansas is to your Wilsons, your Sawards, your Greeleys. Were it to become free, and be admitted as a free State, like the silver-smiths that made silver shingles for Diana, their crop would be in danger of being set at naught, and consequently Kansas must be kept in the market, like a fancy stock, to be cried up and down between the bulls and the bears of the political broker board.

The Atlas, that has fought wild beasts at Ephesus, would not on any account have it come to pass that there were no wild beasts there, lest people might suspect that, like Mrs. Sairy Gamp's Mrs. Harris, they were nothing but a myth.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 1856.

MR. HILLIARD, a highly respectable member of the late Whig party, and who made a very good figure as a member of the United States House of Representatives, from Alabama, spoke at a meeting in Montgomery, a short time since, on the occasion of the departure of Major Buford's company for Kansas. He said that the people had assembled "to give emphasis to a practical assertion of the principle that the people of the South had a right to go into and settle the territories with their property," that is, with their slaves. This is altogether a gratuitous assumption on the part of Mr. Hilliard. It may be remarked, that the people of the South have very little to do with the institution of slavery as property holders. Not one in twenty of their number is a slaveholder, and the whole number of great slaveholders is still more out of proportion to the body of the people. Not one person out of a hundred, in the fifteen slave States, has a large property in slaves. To talk, therefore, about "the people of the South" being interested in the right to establish slavery in Kansas, is to talk against reason. They have no other interest in getting slavery into Kansas than what can come from their desire to send away as many slaves as possible from their own vicinity. In this sense they may have a deep interest in getting

the principle admitted, and practiced upon every white man is endowed with a number of unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of "niggers," the same precedence being assigned to the "pursuit" over life and liberty that the apostle assigns to charity over faith and hope. That the Southern people feel any sensitiveness about slavery, for its own sake, is the merest sham that ever was set up even by the slavery extensionists. The slaveholders are thus sensitive, but we have yet to learn that they constitute the people of the South, or the twentieth part of their number. Unfortunately, they not only rule the South, but also the North, and it is against their ascendancy—which is at once the consequence of slavery and the cause of its extension,—that the people are protesting. Were it possible to convert the South into the Palace of Truth, for this year, the number of those there living who desire to see the slave power overthrown, and the very life "crushed out" of it, would be counted by hundreds of thousands. No where is that power so hated as in the places where its rule is apparently the best established. We shall have facts enough to show how true is this assertion, should the Southern Democrats, the slavery-extensionists, be defeated at the next Presidential election. Let the Southern people be assured that the power of the general government shall not be used for their destruction if they see fit to exercise the right to speak, and the right to act, and there would be such a change seen among them as would astonish the world.

Mr. Hilliard said he "believed there were rational men yet remaining in the North," who would sympathise with the South in the movement it was making for the practical assertion of what he called its constitutional rights, meaning the establishment of the doctrine that slaveholders have the right to establish slavery wherever they shall be powerful enough to do so. He will find himself mistaken. There are few Northern men who are desirous to see slavery extended, and that is what is meant by upholding the constitutional rights of the South when slaveholders speak. The Democrats of the North, much against their will, are the allies of the Southern slaveholders, and by their action they afford aid and comfort to them. But their hearts are not in the work, and if the Presidential election could be decided solely with reference to the Kansas question, the Democratic candidate would not get as many votes in all the free States as Gen. Pierce received in New England alone, not even if the bastard Whigs should go over to his support, as most likely they would if he should be found sufficiently debased for their purposes. There is not a Democrat in the North, inside of a custom house or out of it, who would not be glad to have it in his power to remove all memory of the Nebraska business from men's minds. We know that among them there is not a man who is sincerely in favor of the outrageous principle which is embodied in the Nebraska bill, always excepting a few fools who cannot understand the plainest ideas. There are indications that the Democratic party is about to be rudely shaken in the approaching national campaign, to suffer more than it ever yet experienced, whether in victory or in defeat. The future is in the hands of the opposition so far as it is controllable by mortals. The cant of "nationalism" has lost its weight with men, who see that it means that the power of the nation shall be used for the advancement of a purpose that is flatly and flagrantly in violation of that spirit which, until the last few years, has been supposed to animate the American people. We are not, we never have been, and it is by no party proposed that in the future we shall be, a nation of propagandists, even for the advancement of freedom; but those mistake the opinions of the country very strangely who believe that we can be converted into missionaries of slavery. We do not say that the Democratic party will not suc-

ceed. We think that frank speaking is the best in every sense, and therefore we tell our friends that we believe the chances of success are with the Democrats, but not because they can, even under the most rigorous party drill, obtain a majority of the popular vote in support of a candidate in whom Nebraskaisn shall stand incarnate, but because we still entertain fears that the opposition are not yet sufficiently aware of the necessity that exists for perfect union on their part. With such union, which implies a disregard of some secondary points of policy, they will be invincible. They may be defeated, but that defeat must be the work of themselves, for their enemies are utterly unable to bring it about by their own unaided exertions.

A letter from a free State man in Kansas says—"The women are not idle. Practicing at the target and running bullets are amusements in which they delight."

Essex County Mercury

Independent in Politics and Religion.

Salem, Wednesday, Apr. 23, 1856.

SPIRIT OF KANSAS INVADERS.

We do not find room to print a hundredth part of the evidence which comes into our hands, in regard to the motives which inspire the inroads upon Kansas—countenanced and instigated, we are sorry to say, by the President of the United States. The following brief quotations show the import of many columns.

The Kickapoo Pioneer, the official organ of the administration, says:

"The South must be up and doing—Kansas must and shall be a slave State. Mark what we say, southern freemen, come along with your negroes and plough up every inch of ground that is at this time disgraced and defaced by an abolition plough—send the scoundrels back to whence they came, or send them to hell, it matters not which destination—suit your own convenience. * * * Sound the bugle of war over the length and breadth of the land, and leave not an abolitionist in the territory to relate their treacherous and contaminating deeds—strike your piercing rifle balls and your glittering steel to their black and poisonous hearts. Let the war-cry never cease in Kansas again until our territory is cleared of the last vestige of abolitionism."

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to induce the people to combine in a systematic plan for colonizing Kansas, at least temporarily, with a sufficient number of men of Pro-Slavery principles to outvote the Free Soilers in case Douglas's bill should pass, appointing a new election and State Convention. The plan is to take the Free Soilers by surprise, by sending among them a majority of Pro-Slavery voters, just in time to comply with the requisitions of the law, that the scale may be turned. According to Mr. Woodson's representations, a secret association has been formed in a large number of counties in Missouri, the members of which pay \$25 each, to form a fund to purchase land in Kansas, after the opening of the land office. The most eligible locations are to be secured. It is said \$200,000 has already been subscribed. A secret agent is now engaged making selections of land, and also in taking an accurate census of the Free State and Pro-Slavery settlers in the Territory. If pacific measures fail, an appeal to force is to be made to make Kansas a Slave State. It is said that several parties have been forwarded to Western Missouri, together with about a thousand slaves, but to conceal their object, have not yet crossed the line into Kansas.

KANZAS. Matters at present appear unusually peaceable in the territory. The editor of the Herald of Freedom estimates that the emigration in the next six months will reach 30,000. It appears that about 1000 young men are on the point of leaving Ohio. Judge Curtis has been elected pro tem. Speaker of the Senate of the Free State Legislature, and owing to the absence of the other higher official is now acting Governor. The committee appointed at the late commercial meeting in Lawrence to visit Alton and other points in the Free States and establish a business connection, have started on their mission. The corner stone of a new Unitarian Church has been laid at Lawrence. The clergy of all denominations assisted in the ceremony.

New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 1856.

Southern Emigration to Kansas.

The movement in several of the slaveholding States, to send slaveholding emigrants to Kansas, meets with opposition at home. We have already expressed the opinion that the South could not afford to compete with the North, in this struggle for Kansas. The slaveholding States cannot spare slaveholders enough to make any sensible impression upon a Territory, into which the stream of Northern emigration has once been directed. The slaveholders already constitute a very small minority of the free white population, in every Southern State; and any further diminution of their numbers deprives the system of support which ere many years it will need at home. The political power in those States rests with the class of slaveholders:—whatever diminishes the numbers of that class, weakens its political power.

We find these views repeated in Southern journals. Although most of the Southern papers have fallen into the current of thought to which the apparent political necessities of Kansas have given rise, some of them see clearly that there is more zeal than wisdom in the emigration projects that elicit so general applause. The Winnsborough (S. C.) Register, in commenting upon this movement, says:

"We negatived the idea that South Carolina should send men to Kansas—and why? Simply because she cannot spare them. Her population is daily decreasing from emigration, and already she has peopled more Western and Southern States than any State in the Union. Not only so, but each Kansas emigrant diminishes the size of our ballot box; and many of them leave behind them wives and children to follow them, if successful, but to welcome them back to old Carolina if failure follows their enterprise. Some of them carry slaves with them, but how small a minority do they comprise? Those who do not are not slave-

owners in South Carolina, either from necessity or choice, and we think it extremely problematical whether their gains in Kansas will ever be invested in this species of property. For a few years past our State has been decreasing in political power, because she has been so severely taxed by the loss of citizens to populate other States; but this diminution in numbers is of far less importance than that occasioned by the emigration to Kansas, because the former carried with them their slaves to settle Slave States, and the latter are lessening our tax-paying voters, who emigrate to populate a Government Territory, whose future admission as a State is so wrapt in doubt as to make it prudent not to carry slaves there yet a while, at any rate."

The Charleston Standard concurs in this view of the case. It insists that the South is not populous enough thus to enter into competition with the North, in peopling a new territory, and that the effort to do so will only weaken her at home. The South, says the Standard, "has long been tasked to the accomplishment of inconsistent objects. The one has been to expand her material development,—build towns and cities, and maintain respectability in the eyes of the world; the other was to march with equal pace upon vacant territory, and preserve equality within the Union." While it is capable of either, it is not, the Standard says, "competent to both."

The Standard goes further than this, and exposes another peril which threatens the South, which has hitherto been carefully concealed from public notice. Every one who has at all reflected upon the fact we have already stated,—that the slaveholders are a very small minority of the free whites in the Southern States,—and that the interest of the white non-slaveholders must be directly against the whole system of slave labor, must have seen that eventually their sentiments will coincide with their interest, and that there will thus spring up a very powerful Anti-Slavery Party in the heart of every slaveholding State. Whatever tends to increase the numbers of the non-slaveholding whites at the South, of course increases this tendency, and tends to hasten the issue which will eventually be made upon Southern soil. The Southern press has uniformly ignored this danger:—but the Charleston Standard thus clearly and forcibly depicts it:

"Thus we felt, but we also felt that there was danger from an increase of population. While Slaves have been excluded, the white race has still come in upon us. They can no longer come as masters, for the ranks of masters are full and nearly closed; they must come to offices of labor; in offices of labor they will be in competition with the Slave; the competition they must find irksome and repulsive, and, whatever may be the theories upon the subject, it must be the instinct of the white laborer in opposition to the Slave, to seek a release from the securities of that condition.

It was to be apprehended, therefore, that from a sudden increase of population, under existing laws, there would be aroused in the ruling race a sentiment of opposition to our institution; without such increase there was, as we have shown, no possibility of successful competition with the North, in both the fields before us; it was hard to be defeated of equality in the Union, and be forced to dissolution to preserve the functions of self-government; it was hard to leave our homes and native States the subjects of contemptuous speculation, and for this it was that, years ago, we took the position that 'the want of Slavery was the Slave-trade,' and we have certainly not seen, since, the cause for its abandonment."

The Standard holds that the restoration of the Slave-Trade is the only means by which Slavery can retain the balance of political power, and by which the Union can be preserved. Hear it:

"We believe that the Union will be temporarily prolonged by the introduction of Slavery into Kansas, but we believe it might be extended to an indefinitely distant period by the measure we propose—[the restoration of the Slave-Trade.] With the certainty of turning the balance of political power, we would have little motive to a dissolution; while the stability and repose to the North from the predominance of Slave power in the Government, would counterbalance any inclination they might have to leave us."

It remains to be seen whether the North will purchase "stability and repose" at such a price.

JUST A WORD.

When the battle is set, we who stand for Free Kansas will all put together, and any one who now proclaims that he will have such a candidate, or won't have such another, is only damaging the

man of his choice in case that choice should be ratified by a majority of his compatriots, or preparing a mortification for himself in case it should be overruled.

There is no warrant for a presumption that the Philadelphia Convention will nominate candidates who are not heartily and wholly with us on the great, controlling issue. And what more can any one require? Are we so sure of success that we can afford to disregard all considerations of popularity or availability? Nay: have we any moral right to overlook such considerations?

To us, the Cause is far above any man or clan. Our first question is, "Where is the man who can most probably lead the Republicans to victory "and secure Kansas to Freedom?" That man, whatever his name or his antecedents, is our candidate. We are willing to hear reasons why this or that person is likely to be stronger in the popular vote than others; but anything calculated to disaffect and alienate any portion of our compatriots, in case the nomination should be adverse to the writer's wishes or judgement, we are unwilling to publish and disinclined even to hear.

Winnsborough Virginian.

Wednesday Morning,.....April 23, 1856.

The Columbus (Ga.) Times and Sentinel, one of the most uncompromising Democratic papers in the South, relieves its conscience by the following sweet confession concerning the President and the Free State men in Kansas:

"We, and we doubt not the whole country, are astonished that they have not been arrested by the officers of the United States in the Territories. If Governor Shannon is too timid and irresolute to maintain the authority of law in the Territory, it is the duty of the President to remove him at once, and place at the head of the Government a man equal to the occasion. We do not doubt the good intentions of President Pierce, but we confess that we would be better pleased if, instead of patriotic messages, he would give us an example of firm, decided and states unalike action in this matter. Why does he continue Northern men at the head of the Government in Kansas? Can no Southern man be found worthy to be trusted with power in the Territory? If he is determined to maintain law in the Territory and to put down rebellion, it seems to us that he would much more efficiently carry out his purposes by recalling Shannon and sending Jefferson Davis to Kansas!

Why didn't President Pierce send a Southerner to Kansas—is a question that seems to stagger many of his supporters, tho' to others the true answer is quite apparent. President Pierce had two opportunities of sending a Southerner to Kansas, but, in each instance a Northern man was selected. He has also had abundant time to arrest and bring to justice the traitors who have been endeavoring to subvert the government of Kansas—but he has lacked either the disposition or the nerve. It would be difficult to imagine a clearer case of overt treason than that of the Topeka Convention and Legislature—but the public criminals who were engaged in it have been allowed to pass unmolested, and the violated laws remain dead and void. The country can only vindicate itself by hurling from power those who have so betrayed their trusts.

THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS.

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 24, 1856.

LETTER FROM THE SOUTHERN KANSAS EMIGRANTS.

Mr. Editor: Believing that a synopsis of the trip of Major Buford's Kansas emigrants would be interesting to your Southern readers, we embrace the present opportunity to give it.

We left Montgomery, Ala., on the 8th inst., amid the cheers of parting friends and waving of handkerchiefs. Our trip to Mobile, under the circumstances, was a pleasant one; for there were about three hundred Kansas emigrants, besides a large number of passengers, on board the Messenger, Capt. Cox. The trip was not attended with any important event, with the exception of the landing of the boat, and putting

commended by the president and reported by Senator Douglas, and Kansas will quietly come into the Union with just such a constitution as a majority of her actual citizens prefer. If, as the republicans claim, and as we are inclined to believe, the majority is opposed to slavery, she will, of course, be a free state. At any rate, further agitation will not change the result.

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 24, 1856.

Our Kansas Correspondence.

Thoughts and Things in Kansas.

KANSAS CITY, April 17, 1856.

The Kansas Commission from Washington are just about to leave for Lawrence. Your correspondent will leave in their company. There is no certainty yet as to the time when the investigation of the knotty election affairs will commence. Mr. Oliver has not joined the party. Gov. Reeder, who came down from Leavenworth yesterday, reports him as en route for Leecompton. That being the case, it will be more than a week before the Commission will come together. Mr. Whitfield is here, and will go up to Lawrence to-day. To hear him talk one would suppose he had no more doubt of an issue favorable to him and his party, than he has of the rising of the sun to-morrow about the usual time. But the pro-slavery party generally are not so confident. They hope, but with much fear and trembling.

The immigrants are pouring into the Territory every day. There is not a boat touching at Kansas City or Leavenworth that does not bring scores of them, mostly from the free States. You can form no idea of the intense interest which the people here feel in learning from what portion of the Union these different colonies come.

Yesterday there was a party landed here from Georgia. Immediately crowds of Borderers went down to the levee to greet them. Three cheers were given for Georgia, Slavery and Stringfellow. It was reported that there were fifty of these immigrants; but it leaked out in the course of the day that there were not quite a dozen, and there transpired another fact at the same time, that Ohio had a larger representation on this boat than Georgia. This morning two boats arrived. One of them brought forty from Ohio and neighboring States, and the other one hundred and forty-five from Ohio and Pennsylvania. Tell me now, you who are inclined to be slightly despondent in relation to the success of free institutions in Kansas, what do these facts prove? In the light of them is it not overwhelmingly clear that no power on earth can make this Territory a slave State? I think so; and for this conviction I thank God and take courage.

I have had disclosures since I have been here, from reliable men, in reference to the elections, which, if the facts can come out before the country in an authentic shape, are sufficient to cover the principal pro-slavery actors in the drama with eternal infamy. Their cause is far more rotten than I had supposed. It will not bear a ray of light. I have heard from Missourians themselves, prominent in the management of the machinery which was brought to bear upon the elections, confess enough to destroy their cause utterly.

Acts of violence on the part of the Borderers are now few and far between. A box, however, another box—supposed to contain Sharpe's rifles, was seized the other day at Leavenworth and opened. No rifles were found, though, and the inspectors, entirely satisfied, allowed the box to be closed again, and to pass on.

GRADGRIND.

The Daily Journal.

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 24, 1856

The importance of the approaching Presidential contest, and the necessity of union, and co-operation among all opponents of the Nebraska swindle, and all advocates of Free Kansas, are

so well set forth in the following extract from the N. Y. Tribune, that we hope all our readers will give it careful attention:

"The contest which opens before us appears to us at once arduous in its character, momentous in its consequences, and dubious in its results. We hope for success in it; but that success can only be secured by wisdom, by conciliation in the choice of a standard-bearer, and by the most entire and hearty surrender of personal preferences to the good of the cause. The only man, who, in our view, can have any claims to the support of the Republicans is he who, being devoted to the good work of making Kansas a Free State, shall seem likely to concentrate more strength and obtain more electoral votes than any other. Show us that any man who is heartily with us in the Kansas struggle can obtain the electoral vote of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois, Delaware and California, or three-fourths of them, and we will favorably consider his claims to the nomination; but to talk of nominating a man only because we should prefer him as President, without considering what vote he can probably obtain, or how he is to be elected, is sheer lunacy.

"The great issue of Slavery Extension is now to be decided. Let Kansas be admitted as a Free State, and there will never be a Slave State organized west or north of her; and Slavery can only extend its dominion through Texas towards the South-West. Let Kansas be enslaved, and Utah, New Mexico, and the new State to be formed in the rich mining region of the Gila, will follow in its train. Let the friends of Free Kansas triumph in the Presidential contest, and the game of the Border Ruffians is blocked evermore. Even Missouri will repudiate and suppress them. But with the President elected by their exertions and votes, with Virginia, the Carolinas, Alabama and Georgia at his back, we should still struggle and plead for Free Kansas, but it would be the pleading of the vanquished—the struggle of despair. Men who agree with us on the main point! we must not lose this contest if it be possible to win it; and to this end we must, in selecting candidates, inquire first by what sign we can conquer."

The certainty that Kansas is doomed to slavery if the "old line" party succeeds, is becoming every day more palpable. Even those who once condemned the manifestations of pro-slavery zeal that boiled over on the Kansas forays, now defend them, and condemn those who opposed them. The *Sentinel*, that six months ago spoke in terms of just reprobation of those outrages, now stands foremost among their apologists, and among the bitterest revilers of those who worked and fought only for the right which the Nebraska Bill gave them. The inhabitants of Kansas are refused a hearing by an "old line" Senate—their respectful petition is contemptuously thrown aside, and a man who stands foremost among the candidates for President is most active in this infamous effort to strike down freedom. If these are not indications that the slave Democracy are determined to sacrifice Kansas to the South, in the hope of maintaining their hold of the Administration, they are nothing.—To the people of Indiana, in no small degree, is left the power to say whether this great wrong shall be perpetrated. They have a voice in rebuking this last and worst development of party servility and depravity, and in rescuing the nation from the slavery slough into which "old line" policy has thrust it, and is resolute to keep it. It is idle for the *Sentinel* to devote its columns to "slandorous falsehoods," in the hope of convincing anybody with eyes and brains that the hope, and strength, and aim of its party is not the extension of slavery, and its recognition as an institution to be protected and cherished by the national government. Every fact in the career of the party for two years proves that it lives for nothing else. Every effort has

DETROIT EVENING TRIBUNE

WORTHILY SPOKEN.—The following lines, sent us by a friend, were spoken at the examination at the close of the winter term of the Seminary at Princeton, Illinois. They were written and spoken by a nephew of America's noble poet, Bryant, bearing his full name, we believe, and not yet 16 years of age. They show that the poet's blood runs in the veins of the lad who promises to be worthy of his descent. There are some three brothers of the poet, we believe, all residing near Princeton and all wealthy farmers:

In the broad western wilderness, there lies a goodly land,
Where a few generous spirits have taken a noble stand—

And whom, methinks, the powers that be, with Satan's imps combined,
To overthrow, or to "crush out" an overmatch will find:

For Freedom is the watch-word—free bodies and free souls—

As free as air and water, where the great Missouri rolls.
Against that wicked power which seeks to rivet slavery there,
An overwhelming influence must now be brought to bear.

What, though the border ruffians come—a squalid bare-foot clan—

And Franklin Pierce's windy puffs, essay the flame to fan,

And Georgia's minions bristle up, just like her swamp-bird swine,

And Carolina's sand-hill ghosts come wheeling into line:

One gallant son of the free north, with rifle in his clutch,

In the defence of liberty, would drive a dozen such.
Come, up! and let's be doing toys, with rifle in our hand,

March quickly to the succor of that gallant little band.
It is the cause of righteousness, and surely will succeed,

If we but crown our thoughts and words with that grand cap-stone—DEED.

I'm sorry for our President—a yankee boy by birth.

Who soils his little driving soul for what the thing is worth;

He gropes the nether side of things, and cuts a woful figure—

Gets caught fast in a southern trap that's baited with a nigger.

The station high we venerate—the incumbent we despise,

A craven tool of rottenness, that bears the nation's eyes.

I'm sorry for his dough-face herd, of moral sense unmanned,

Whose sordid souls for place or pelf would curse their father land.

Despond not, boys, for we can see days better, coming on,

Bright beams of hope are gleaming now, above the horizon.

One day we will be rid of him, that faithless yankee boy,

And the Floods and Hills from east to west will clap their hands for joy.

And we'll fill his place with a better man,—a man of honor bright—

A man who has a soul, imbued with Justice, Truth and Right,

And in that western wild we'll rear the TREE OF LIBERTY.

And we'll write above it—KANSAS IS, AND EVER SHALL BE FREE.

The Daily Republic.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 24.

Southern Emigration to Kansas.

Some time since the *New York Times* expressed the opinion that the south could not afford to compete with the north, in this struggle for Kansas. That the slaveholding states could not spare slaveholders enough to make any sensible impression upon a territory, into which the stream of northern emigration has been directed. That the slaveholders already constitute a very small minority of the free white population, in every southern state; and any further diminution of their numbers deprives the system of support which, ere many years, it will need at home. The political power in those states rests with the class of slaveholders:—whatever diminishes the numbers of that class, weakens its political power.

These views are repeated in a few of the south-

ern journals. Although most of the southern papers have fallen into the current of thought to which the apparent political necessities of Kansas have given rise, some of them see clearly that there is more zeal than wisdom in the emigration projects that elicit so general applause. The Winnborough (S. C.) Register, in commenting upon this movement, says:

We negated the idea that South Carolina should send men to Kansas—and why? Simply because she cannot spare them. Her population is daily decreasing from emigration, and already she has peopled more western and southern states than any state in the Union. Not only so, but each Kansas emigrant diminishes the size of our ballot box; and many of them leave behind them wives and children to follow them, if successful, but to welcome them back to old Carolina if failure follows their enterprise. Some of them carry slaves with them,—but how small a minority do they comprise? Those who do not, are not slave owners in South Carolina, either from necessity or choice, and we think it extremely problematical whether their gains in Kansas will ever be invested in this species of property. For a few years past our state has been decreasing in political power, because she has been so severely taxed by the loss of citizens to populate other states; but this diminution in numbers is of far less importance than that occasioned by the emigration to Kansas, because the former carried with them their slaves to settle slave states, and the latter are lessening our tax-paying voters, who emigrate to populate a government territory, whose future admission as a state is so wrapt in doubt as to make it prudent not to carry slaves there yet, at any rate.

The Charleston Standard concurs in this view of the case. It insists that the south is not populous enough thus to enter into competition with the north, in peopling a new territory, and that the effort to do so will only weaken her at home. The south, says the Standard, "has long been tasked to the accomplishment of inconsistent objects. The one has been to expand her material development—build towns and cities, and maintain respectability in the eyes of the world; the other was to march with equal pace upon vacant territory, and preserve equality within the Union." While it is capable of either, it is not, the Standard says, "competent to both."

The Standard goes further than this, and exposes another peril which threatens the south, which has hitherto been carefully concealed from public notice. Every one who has at all reflected upon the fact we have already stated—that the slaveholders are a very small minority of the free whites in the southern states—and that the interest of the white non-slaveholders must be directly against the whole system of slave labor, must have seen that eventually their sentiments will coincide with their interest, and that there will thus spring up a very powerful anti-slavery party in the heart of every slaveholding state. Whatever tends to increase the numbers of the non-slaveholding whites at the south, of course increases this tendency, and tends to hasten the issue which will eventually be made upon southern soil. The southern press has uniformly ignored this danger; but the Charleston Standard thus clearly and forcibly depicts it:

"Thus we felt, but we also felt that there was danger from an increase of population. While slaves have been excluded, the white race has still come in upon us. They can no longer come as masters, for the ranks of masters are full and nearly closed; they must come to offices of labor; in offices of labor they will be in competition with the slave; the competition they must find irksome and repulsive, and, whatever may be the theories upon the subject, it must be the instinct of the white laborer, in opposition to the slave, to seek a release from the severities of that condition.

It was to be apprehended, therefore, that from a sudden increase of population, under existing laws, there would be aroused in the ruling race a sentiment of opposition to our institution; without such increase there was, as we have shown, no possibility of successful competition with the north, in both the fields before us; it was hard to be defeated of equality in the Union, and be forced to dissolution to preserve the functions of self government, it was hard to leave our homes and native states the subjects of contemp-

uous speculation, and for this it was that years ago, we took the position that "the want of slavery was the slave-trade," and we have certainly not seen, since, the cause for its abandonment."

The Standard holds that the restoration of the slave-trade is the only means by which slavery can retain the balance of political power, and by which the Union can be preserved. Hear it: "We believe that the Union will be temporarily prolonged by the introduction of slavery into Kansas, but we believe it might be extended to an indefinitely distant period by the measure we propose—(the restoration of the slave-trade) With the certainty of turning the balance of political power, we would have little motive to a dissolution; while the stability and repose to the north from the predominance of slave power in the government, would counterbalance any inclination they might have to leave us."

It remains to be seen whether the north will purchase "stability and repose" at such a price.

Troy Daily Whig.

TROY:

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 24.

☞ KANSAS MEETING.—There was another Kansas meeting at the Court House on Tuesday evening, the Secretary's account of which appears in another column. There were about one hundred and fifty people present to hear Gen. Pomeroy and the other speakers. The performance is represented as having been dull and spiritless.—We are quite sure the repeated failures of Kansas meetings here, ought not to be attributed to any want of real interest on the part of our people to have Kansas a Free State. Indeed, about everybody who reads anything but "freedom shrieking" papers, knows that freedom is the inevitable destiny of Kansas, and hence there is very little occasion felt for these "freedom" demonstrations. In this city, out of a population of 40,000 people, there is probably not one single man—Democrat, Whig, Republican, or American—but who desires to see Kansas a Free State. And were there any danger of her becoming anything else, "no one supposes that the protestants here, if protesting could change the result, would be confined to the gentlemen who have the Republican party in Troy—what there is of it—under charge. Far from it. Americans and Democrats, and all parties, would make common cause in the matter, and the "Kansas Meeting" we should have could not crowd into the Union Depot. It would pass off in a blaze of glory.

But the "Kansas meetings" which are got up to make capital for Mr. Seward, and the race of corruptionists and political tatterdemalions in this State who follow him—his friend † JONES, Bishop of New York, included—this kind don't amount to much. Such meetings are sorry burlesques on the noble cause of human freedom.



THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 24, 1856.

☞ Gov. HUNT, in a Letter to the Lockport Journal, accuses us of "perversion of some remarks by him at the recent celebration of Henry Clay's Birth Day," and sends to that paper, for publication, what he says is "a correct report of his remarks in respect to the abrogation of the Missouri compact." Here it is:—

In an evil hour that Compromise was disturbed by Congress, under the auspices of the Administration which is now in the last year of its power. In the repeal of the Missouri compact a great wrong was inflicted upon the country, and the people of the Free States justly feel that their rights and sentiments were wantonly disregarded. The floodgates of sectional strife and bitterness were re-opened. But it was the work of aspiring politicians and faithless representatives, and they must be held to a faithful responsibility. As the repeal was not accomplished or demanded by the people of either section, it is not to be corrected by the indiscriminate assaults upon one entire section of the country. If the question could have been submitted to

the people of the South in 1850, I believe a large majority of them would have pronounced in favor of preserving the Compromise of 1820, as a settlement binding them in honor and patriotism to a faithful observance of its conditions. (Applause.) Many southern men whom I have known in public and private life years ago assure me that it is so, and that the honest public opinion of the South does not approve either the abrogation of the compact or the wrongs which have followed it. Ought we then to work ourselves into madness, and form a party purely sectional, assuming that the whole South is willing to violate its pledged faith? Will this course redress the wrong and remedy the existing grievances? (Cries of No! No!) What Kansas now requires is a firm and faithful execution of the law which invests the people of the territories, actual residents, with the free and uncontrolled decision of their own affairs. Let it be proclaimed that they are to be protected in the exercise of their political rights, without external interference, and Slavery will be excluded by the healthful action of popular sentiment, without intestine violence, or scenes of anarchy from which patriotism recoils. (Applause.) Let us assume that a majority of the American people in all sections will sustain this vital principle of our Republican system. I believe in my heart that the enlightened and reasonable men in both sections will speak and act, as well in the South as the North, in support of the principles and in vindication of the national spirit of which Henry Clay was the true embodiment.

It may appear to Gov. HUNT that this revised and corrected edition betters his position. It does not so strike us. What remedy does he propose for the usurpation in Kansas? How does he propose to restore to her defrauded people their political rights? "Let it be proclaimed," says he, "that they are to be protected in their exercise, without external interference." Well, it is proclaimed. PIERCE has proclaimed it. He proclaimed it three months ago. But is it done?

Gov. HUNT knows as well as we do that the proclamation of protection to the people of Kansas, might as well have been waste paper, for all the good it has done them. With one hand the President flaunts the mocking document before their eyes, and with the other maintains an armed gang of foreigners in their Legislative Halls, to rob, and steal, and murder. And this is Gov. HUNT's Panacea!

He says, "What Kansas now requires is a firm and faithful execution of the law which invests the people of the Territories, actual residents, with the free and uncontrolled decision of their own affairs." But who does he expect to "invest" them with it? Will PIERCE? Not if he stays in the White House till doomsday. Will DOUGLAS? He has just introduced a bill to "vest it" in the borderers of Missouri. Will the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention, be he whom he may? Nobody expects anything from that quarter. Will FILLMORE, in case he should have a chance? His friends dare not promise that he will, and his history very decidedly promises that he will not. Who, then, is there that can and will "invest the actual residents with the control of their own affairs?"

Why, the Republican Party. That "sectional," "fanatical," "abolitionist," "hypocritical" Party which WASHINGTON HUNT spends his leisure time in going up and down seeking to denounce. That "aggressive," "angry," "indiscriminate" Party that he and Silver Gray Statesmen eat Birthday Dinners at. That "wild," "one-ided," "isolated" Party that he lavishes these choice epithets upon; that he travels from Lockport to New York, and New York to Buffalo, and Buffalo to Lockport again, to denounce by Speech and misrepresent by Letter. That Party is the one, and the only one, to which the country looks, directly or indirectly, for protection of Kansas, in Congress and out. That Party is the only one that has the disposition or intention to give expression to "the popular will." If that Party was disbanded, as he urges it should be, to-day, Kansas would become Slaveholding to-morrow, and remain so to the end. And yet that Party is the only one on which Gov. HUNT has any investive to bestow, and the only one which Silver Gray Diners-out ever exert their feeble muscles to oppose.

—Enough for the argument. One word as to Gov. HUNT's complaint of "personal imputations and reproaches." Six months ago he cut loose from long-tried and faithful political

friends, on the ground that they contemplated a violation of their Constitutional obligations, by an attack on Domestic Slavery in the Southern States. Charges of such a character, honorable men are not accustomed to make without previous deliberation; nor prudent men without adducing evidence to sustain them. It has been disavowed, denied, disproved. There is no evidence to show it in any authorized exposition of Principles, by Conventions or individuals. And yet to this day, Gov. HUNT has not seen fit to retract, or even modify, the gross aspersion he then cast upon them. On the contrary, he maintains and by implication reiterates it. In replying to him, they have not forgotten their high regard for him as a cherished personal friend and an efficient public officer; and have had the candor to charge him with no opinions but such as he has avowed. Has he been equally candid towards them? Let his charges, given above, answer. And yet he complains of "personal imputations and reproaches!" He who is not willing to take blows should not be so ready to give them: and he that is sensitive to personal imputations, should at least abstain from casting such imputations himself.

THE FIREY CROSS.—Virginia is roaring for emigrants and money, to save Kansas from Freedom. Her domestic papers come loaded down with editorial appeals upon the subject, and reports of public meetings, and communications from the patriots of Slavery. The red cross is running through the State. The competition is a fair one. Yet we cannot think the Pro-Slavery prospect of getting ahead very promising, when such towns as Richmond have to be whipped up to the strife, with the threat from its leading journal, that it will lose "the confidence and the commerce of the South," unless it takes a vigorous "part in the Kansas movement," and shells out men and money.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 24, 1856.

FOR LATEST NEWS—SEE THIRD PAGE.

Democracy and Slavery.

The Administration papers of New England deny that the Democratic party are connected with the pro-slavery tendencies of the South, or are ready to extend slavery. No greater proof is needed of the falsity of this denial than their approval of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise which permits slavery to enter territories solemnly consecrated to freedom by a compact of the South itself. No one who approves of this repeal can with any truth deny his willingness that slavery should be extended wherever the people choose. Such men would allow even slavery to pollute the soil of Connecticut, and would rejoice at seeing Robert Toombs call the roll of his slaves at the base of Bunker Hill. With them, the success of party is of more moment than the support of principle—the emoluments of office of more value than the freedom of man.

The Boston Post having pretended that the Democratic party is not in favor of the extension of slavery, the New York Day Book, a Democratic organ says:—"There is not one single Democrat in the whole broad North, opposed to the expansion of Southern Society, or so called extension of slavery."

The Day Book is not alone in this assertion. We lately published a proof that Caleb Cushing, a member of the Administration, held the same views. It is useless for our Loco-foco papers to deny it. They only stultify themselves in so doing. Their Southern allies take a different view. They know

to whom to look for the spread of their favorite institution. Hear the Hon. JAMES L. ORR, member of Congress from the nullifying State of South Carolina, and principal Administration Missionary in favor of slavery extension to benighted New England. Mr. Orr has published lately a letter to "Hon. C. W. Dudley," upon the subject of the Cincinnati Democratic Convention in which he thus acknowledges his gratitude to the "Democratic" party of the North for their services rendered to the cause of slavery extension:

The northern Democrats aided us to bring into the Union Texas, a magnificent slaveholding territory—large enough to make four slave states, and strengthened us more in that peculiar interest that was ever before done by any act of the Federal government. Slave law, passed in amended a very imperfect fugitive slave law, passed in 1793, and have given us now a law for the recovery of fugitive slaves, as stringent as the ingenuity of man could devise. Since they have aided us by their votes in establishing the doctrine of non-intervention with slavery by Congress in the Territories. Since then they have actually repealed the Missouri restriction, opened the Territories for settlement, and enabled us, if the South will be true to itself, and aid in peopling Kansas, to form another slave State. In 1843 a man would have been pronounced insane had he predicted that slavery would be introduced there by the removal of congressional restriction.

We wish the intelligent and freedom loving voters of New England would read this extract carefully, and digest it thoroughly. The admission of Texas with its four slave states was the work of 'Northern Democrats,' by which the "peculiar interest," was most singularly strengthened. The new and stringent "fugitive slave law," is the work of Northern Democrats, according to the testimony of this South Carolinian. Mark this: the "Northern Democrats" have "aided us in establishing the doctrine of non-intervention with slavery by Congress in the Territories. They have "repealed the Missouri restriction"—have "enabled us," "to form another slave state."

Does any one need higher proof of the absolute connection of "Northern Democracy" with the spread of slavery? Will not every voter hostile to this extension—every opponent of the principles and policy of the present Administration, drop all minor considerations and unite in the election of an Administration which will confine slavery within its constitutional limits? *In Union only will there be success!*

The Charleston Mercury makes the following important concessions. The paragraph is very suggestive, and we commend it to the special attention of Northern "Dough-Faces."

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 right, 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.



NEW HAVEN:

THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1856.

The editor of the Savannah Ga., Journal says in relation to the admission of Kansas under her present free state constitution:

"An able and influential Massachusetts statesman has declared, in a conversation with a Georgia representative, that the measure is soon to be proposed, that it will pass the House, that it will pass the Senate, and that the president will not veto it. This may be a matter of opinion only. It has not been thought possible that such a measure could pass through the Senate. But there are few impossibilities. The gentleman who has made this declaration is too well informed and too wise to talk boastfully or carelessly. We may hence look to the matter as a thing that may happen. The free states are settling down upon an issue in which those who sympathise with the South are likely to be crushed."

Correspondence of the Palladium.

From our Kansas Colony—Their Progress—Health—Ventilation on Missouri Steam-boats—The River—Missourians in their Company—Their Vote in our Election.

KANZAS CITY, April 11, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—Our company arrived here yesterday, after a somewhat tedious journey upon the Missouri river, of nearly five days. We were all sick on the way, most of us with diarrhoea, and all, without exception, with colds, and why should we not be? for the water is totally different in its qualities from what we use at home, thus having a decided tendency to "diarrhoea," and so very muddy as to finish the work by physic more effectively all who partake of it freely for the first time. The people here, however, seem to regard it as very fine, and say that if they were compelled to live at the East, they should find it necessary to mix mud in their water before drinking it.

As to colds, it would seem impossible to avoid them, for we were crowded into small state-rooms, in some instances two in a bed, making ventilation indispensable, and yet so variable as to render colds almost inevitable. I think, ordinarily, with the best care, the temperature in these rooms alternates from ten to fifteen degrees several times every night, and unless some ventilation is attempted, the air becomes so close as to render respiration anything but free or agreeable, and besides the crowded state-rooms, the floor and tables in the saloons are covered with robust specimens of the animal creation, to the number of from fifty to sixty men, throwing into the atmosphere of the area the noxious gases created by their conjoint respirations, thus making the material on which the denizens of the state-rooms were dependent for fresh air.

If any man, accustomed to sleep in a well-ventilated room, sixteen feet square, upon a good spring-bed, can be subjected to such "accommodations" without cavering in, he must have reached a point in the acclimating process where he is no longer influenced or controlled by the laws of health and life ordinarily recognized among men; and besides, the style of cooking and the quality of the food is by no means suited to the habits of New England people; but we are here, all of us, and one more, having "taken in" a gentleman from Maine, on the way. Our course up the river was not signalized by any remarkable events, and there is but little in the scenery or settlements to demand special attention. The magnificent views so frequent on the Mississippi, are altogether wanting here. The stream is broad, shallow, turbulent, muddy, and full of snags. Ducks and geese are abundant, and occasionally swans and pelicans are seen. We run a large part of the time by the lead, and frequently were jostled by the boat thumping on the bars. Soon after leaving St. Louis, Mo., it was quite apparent that we had on board several Missourians, who looked upon us with suspicion and dislike; but we made their acquaintance as soon as practicable, and after appropriate preliminaries, discussed with them very freely the various interesting topics connected with our mission. Some of our company, however, were unnecessarily suspicious, and one person not connected with us, but who hailed from Massachusetts, was very much disposed to manufacture a blow up, if possible. We were assured that in all probability, we should be molested at some of the landings and have our baggage overhauled and the "Sharps' Rifles" taken away, and so certain were some that on our arriving at "Lexington," the Quarantine Committee would be after us, that we consented to be ready to defend our property, and we were so, but it all passed off with the most quiet,—and so far from being any way embarrassed, we secured the good will of all on board,—the dreaded border men we looked upon at the commencement of our trip, becoming agreeable companions before we separated, assuring us that they never met anywhere before, a body of seventy-five men with whom they were so well pleased. They were specially interested in the quiet, orderly and intelligent appearance of the entire company,—the absence of profanity or drinking,—for the bar was very little patronized except by a few very strong temperance men, at home, who really felt that a little ale, at ten cents a glass, would do them good. One instance of this kind would excite some surprise among the "Sons of Temperance," and not a little amusement in other quarters. But the poor fellow was really sick and looked as sober as the grave, and honestly believed in the fitness of the remedy. Several of these Missourians whose acquaintance we made, were men of influence, and they said to us distinctly, that when men came from the North with no other object than to become actual settlers in the Territory, and as such, do whatever they thought best to make "Kansas" a free State, they had nothing to say; but it was the belief, that many were sent by "aid societies" for no purpose but to vote and to disaffect their negroes,—that caused

all the excitement and trouble. We assured them that our object was narrowed down to that point; that we came upon our own hook, and that while we believed the whole slave system to be bad, we did not purpose to interfere with it in any manner inconsistent with the laws of the country and the rights of the States.

In order to show to what extent this good understanding existed, it is only necessary to state that a few hours before our final landing from the boat, we convened a meeting of the company—when every member was present—and unanimously passed complimentary resolutions acknowledging our obligations to the Captain, Clerk, Steward, &c., and instructing the Board of Directors to make to the Clerk and Steward some testimonial of our regard, the result of which was the presentation to the Clerk, to whom we were much indebted for many acts of courtesy and kindness, of a "Sharps" Rifle, and some trifling gifts to others. This may strike our friends at home, as a somewhat singular use of the weapon, but we were satisfied it would do more to remove false impressions and prepare the way for a free and fearless emigration from the East, than any other use we could possibly make of a dozen of them. After the presentation, the Rifle was exhibited freely and carefully examined by the Missourians on board, and it was quite evident that we were not mistaken in our judgment in the case. One thing is now well settled in the mind of every man in our company, that no fear of molestation need deter any persons from coming here if they come as they ought, and that "Plows" and "Bibles" will be more useful than "Rifles" and "Revolvers,"—and yet it may be well for those who trust chiefly in weapons of defense when exposed to molestation, to bring them along, but my own mind is, as it has always been, in favor of peace, and as a means of promoting peace, to have little to do or say about deadly weapons. This letter is written in the Hotel that was threatened with destruction last season, because it was supposed to belong to the "Emigrant Aid Company," but all things here are now very quiet, and we understand the same is true in the Territory. We have purchased to-day about thirty yoke of oxen, with wagons, plows and other implements of husbandry; also a sufficient quantity of provisions to serve us for about two months, and intend to start to-morrow morning for our destination in the Territory. We hear all sorts of stories about the country, but forbear saying anything definite until we see it for ourselves. We pay here for potatoes, one dollar per bushel, but they are worth five in the interior; all other articles are high, except apples, which can be bought for fifty cents the bushel. The great articles of trade here are whiskey and tobacco; 150 casks of the former are now lying upon the levee, and more than 400 boxes of tobacco, all of which, together with many similar facts, show clearly that here is work to be done by somebody.

It is now the 11th of April, and we know nothing of the result of the Connecticut election, but in order to show where we stand, a vote was taken from all the members of our company legally entitled to vote in our good old State this spring—each man being requested to vote as he would have done had he been at home. The following is the result:

Whole number of votes,	59
For the Republican Ticket,	27
" " American "	24
" " Whig "	4
" " Democratic "	3
Free State Temperance "	1
	59

Attest: C. B. LINES, } Tellers.
J. P. Root, }

If, therefore, you should find any difficulty in figuring out a clean majority against the Nebraska Democracy, please add the foregoing where they belong.
Yours, &c., L.

It is stated in the border-ruffian presses of Missouri that the judges of the free state elections in Kansas have been indicted by grand juries in every county. No arrests are mentioned. It is also stated on the same authority that several citizens of Lawrence have been indicted for belonging to a military organization under Colonel Lane, called "Regulators." Gen. Hutchinson of Lawrence a staunch Vermonter, refused to answer questions before the grand jury, and in contempt of the authorities left and went home. At Leavenworth three of the grand jurymen were of the party that killed Brown with hatchets, and one of the murderers being up for that offense they were unable to find a bill against him. They found a bill, however, very easily against a Pennsylvanian for shooting at a Missourian, and on a summary trial convicted him, although he offered to prove

an alibi, if they would allow him to send for witnesses.—A stranger who had arrived at Leavenworth, with a suspicious looking box, was visited in bed at midnight by the mayor and others who insisted on seeing the contents of the box. They found nothing but books.

A large company is organized in northern New Hampshire, and the first detachment of 50 were to leave Haverhill the 21st, for Kansas. They have selected a location called Millard City, on the Kansas river, 140 miles from Missouri. They will go to Cincinnati, purchase their outfit there and take a steamboat for the whole route, avoiding St. Louis. A party organized to start from Rochester, N. Y., May 1st, already embraces thirty persons. An agent has gone forward to look up a location for about thirty substantial farmers of Carroll county, Ohio, who have resolved to remove to Kansas. Quite a number of farmers in Jefferson county are also about to settle in Kansas. But the published details embrace, it is believed, only a small portion of the actual emigration, many families and small and large parties going forward from all portions of the free states unannounced in the papers.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

NEW-LONDON.
THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1856.

For Editorial Matter, News Items, &c. see Third Page.

The Border ruffians of Missouri have made a most blatant appeal to the sympathies of the South. The Charleston Mercury publishes this appeal with great unction, and the Slaveholders of Santee, Waccamaw, St. Johns, Colleton, Goose Creek, & all over Palmetto Land are loudly called upon for help in the present most distressing emergency. The "appeal" comes from the "Kansas Association" and is we can assure our readers a pretty pathetic State paper. It says to the Slaveholders that unless they send succor soon it will be all over with the blessed institution in the Territory. The Slave power will be utterly and irredeemably routed in that quarter. The great struggle will come off at the next election in October next, and unless the South can at that time maintain her ground all will be lost. The crisis has arrived. The time has come for action. The Southern Chivalry must come on, and come on by thousands and tens of thousands—not in dribbles. A few will do no good. If ten thousand should be needed and only 9,999 should be sent all will count for nothing! These fellows do really seem to be in a tight place, and Goose Creek and Gander Pond are in the language of the poet called upon
"Most promptly to respond."

Portland Advertiser.

Thursday Morning, April 24, 1856.

The Republican Party, and Papers Claiming to be Straight Whig.

There are political papers that profess a strong feeling of opposition to the administration of Frank Pierce, and especially to his course on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the affairs of Kansas, but still lose no opportunity to prejudice their readers against the Republican Party, the only party organization in the country that has the slightest prospect of being able to oppose the party and the politicians who have done these great wrongs, and who now openly defend them. The most common method to

which they resort, is to call the Republican Party a sectional party, an abolition party, and that its leaders are the abolitionists. The Boston Courier quite recently had an article, in which it urged this objection, and in which we find the following singular paragraph:

"If a party is to be formed at the North in opposition to such a lick spittle as President Pierce and to such a ruffian as the renegade Douglas, it should carry with it not only the abusive Abolition element, but also the broad feeling of the people upon both sides of Mason and Dixon's line. There is no contempt in the language of politics low enough to reach them, for the language has no term of reproach and the mind has no idea of contempt and detestation which might not be applied to them, and to those who follow them, and be exhausted in its application."

We would like very well to be informed how such a party could be formed, except in the manner adopted in forming the Republican party. Why should it not carry with it, not only "the abolition element, but also the broad feeling of the people upon both sides of Mason and Dixon's line"?—Has there been anything, either in the initiatory process of forming the party, in the principles it has put forth, or the events which have marked its progress, which should exclude sincere opponents of slavery extension and Pierce's Administration? Of course, such a party as the Courier would seem to be willing to support, must be composed of men from all the old parties—whigs, democrats and free soil men—for the opposition was confined to no particular party. It could hardly be expected, then, that the name of either of the old parties from which such a new party should be formed, should be retained as the name of the new party. Whigs might be expected to object to the party title of their ancient opponents, while democrats could hardly be expected to be less fastidious or strenuous, while surrendering the title of democracy, with all its charms, more fascinating than the music from "a harp of a thousand strings," and neither of them would assume the title of the third party which embraced those whom the Courier is pleased to term "the abusive abolition element." We submit, then, that nothing could be fairer or more appropriate, than that these old party names and old party organizations should be mutually abandoned, and that they should all come together, on common and equal grounds, and adopt a new party organization with a new name, the great fundamental principle of which party should be, opposition to the extension of slavery into territories now free, and especially to the policy of "such a lick spittle as President Pierce and such a ruffian as the renegade Douglas," as developed in their course with reference to the affairs of Kansas.

And why should not this movement—this party—carry with it "the broad feeling of the people upon both sides of Mason and Dixon's line"?—Many at the South have joined the standard thus unfurled. The veteran Blair approves it. The people of Delaware, Kentucky and other Southern States are moving in favor of it. Then, why is the Courier outside of this movement? Was it excluded by the original call? Not at all, for the call was broad enough to include even the Boston Courier, if it had chosen to have joined in the movement. Was there anything in the Address which was adopted and sent out to the American people, which could be stigmatized as sectional? If so we have not seen it pointed out, not even by the Courier. And the call for the National Convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice President—is that sectional? Is there anything in that which should exclude any of that "broad feeling" which the Courier represents? It is true, it may embrace also the "abolition element," but we do not understand the Courier, in this extract, to object to this—for it is of opinion that a new party should embrace "not only the abolition element, but also the broad feeling, &c."

What has there been, then, either in the manner in which the party has been formed, in its

in its avowed principles, in the general tenor of its advocates, or in the events which have marked its progress, which should deter any conservative men from joining, if indeed he be sincerely attached to the one great principle of its creed? It has been called sectional, and it has been said that violence would result from its success. The election of Speaker Banks furnishes a full and complete answer to all such talk. When did the free North ever occupy a prouder position than in that contest? Never—and never did northern men stand higher in the respect of the South, than when Mr. Banks was conducted to the chair—and what we have since witnessed in that body is but an evidence of what would follow the election of a Republican President. The election of a Republican President, upon the issue now before the American people, would do more to settle the slavery question than could any other possible event.

But we fear that we must look to other causes for the opposition to the Republican party manifested by some who profess to abhor the administration of Franklin Pierce, and to be strongly opposed to the extension of slavery. We fear that personal and party prejudice is at the bottom of it, whatever other reasons may be assigned. It is not to the manner in which the party has been formed—not to its name, its professed principles, its course or its general tone and tenor, but to some of the men who have joined it, and because they have not had the chief control and direction in forming the new party! In other words, their ambition for distinction, and their personal prejudices are stronger than their devotion to the principles they profess. We think this is made manifest in the article in the *Courier* from which we have quoted, and it crops out still stronger in other articles, and in other papers, which have come under our observation. In the "State of Maine" of last Tuesday, there was a long article upon the slavery question, professing very decided opposition to the extension of slavery, in which it was said:

"The determination of the South, aided by the President to make Kansas a slave State, aroused the people of the free States who returned to the House a majority of free States members.

The small abolition faction of the North sought to guide and control the movements of this great majority. They discarded at once, and even endeavored to care more for the old party leaders, and seemed to care more for personal success than for principles or measures."

The Progressive Age.

Belfast, Thursday, April 24, 1856.

Sharp's Rifles versus Border Ruffians.

The devoted soul of Collector Smart is greatly perturbed because emigrants going to Kansas have taken precaution to provide themselves with the proper means of self-defence. It is extremely ludicrous to witness the inimitable contortions of the collector as exhibited through the columns of the *Free Press*, and were it not for the fact, that all this sound, fury and bombast are all make believe, to convince his master at Washington of his fidelity, one might pity the demented man who is wont to make such a display of folly and stupidity. But everybody knows he is not in earnest,—that he does not believe in what he says,—that he only talks for effect,—that the collector, in going into these spasmodic convulsions, is only playing *possum*, one of his old tricks. During his whole political career, he has been like the organ grinder, ever ready to turn out any tune that will pay best for the time being. In 1848, he was a flaming free-soiler, going much further towards abolitionism than the republicans, whom he affects to despise: he is now doing the dirtiest work of a reckless pro-slavery administration. Where he will be after the present national dynasty

has become defunct, the Lord only knows. It might seem to be folly to refute the calumnies of the *Free Press* in relation to the Kansas emigration meetings, were it not that this sheet is only re-echoing the unmitigated falsehoods of these influential papers. Reference is made to the meeting held at New Haven on the departure of a company from that place for Kansas, in which meeting Henry Ward Beecher, Prof. Silliman and others took part, and that means were raised to purchase Sharpe's Rifles for the emigrants. Now is there anything wrong in this? Is it not right for these men who leave comfortable homes for lives of toil and hardship in Kansas, to provide themselves with protection? The lively philanthropy manifested on this occasion by Mr. Beecher, Dutton and Prof. Silliman, will be remembered as crowning acts in their lives of distinguished usefulness. The Kansas emigrants from New Haven and other parts of the North, do not go forth as invaders, but as peaceful citizens, and who only mean to use their arms in the last extremity. Their mission is the noblest recorded in the annals of history, and will redound to their honor while men keep in remembrance the noble and heroic acts of their fellowmen. The administration sought to enthrall Kansas, at first, under the delusive name of popular sovereignty; failing in this, it is now endeavoring to accomplish the same object, by permitting the inhabitants of a contiguous State to take forcible possession of the territory. The men who go to Kansas from the North, do not go there to make war upon the rights of others, but to cultivate the soil and build up useful and flourishing communities. They only wish to be left alone; and to be allowed to make their own laws, and form their own institutions. They are willing to submit everything to a fair expression of the ballot-box—they offer no resistance to laws that are fairly enacted, and are emphatically law and order abiding men. Desperadoes from Missouri go into Kansas, usurp the ballot-box, elect a spurious legislature, which enacts Draconian laws; the *Free Press* calls resistance to these laws, resistance to the authorities of the United States. They are not laws of the United States; they cannot be recognized as such on any principle of justice; they have no binding force upon the inhabitants of the territory, because they were made by the people of Missouri. Suppose men enough from the adjacent States should come into Maine and enact the most tyrannical code, such for instance as the border ruffians have made for the people of Kansas, would Col. Smart have us obey them? Such is precisely the case in Kansas. What can be more despotic? Is it possible to suppose a greater outrage upon justice and humanity? Can greater tyranny come from the House of Hapsburg? or may intenser despotism exist under the imperial sway of Alexander of Russia? If such is our freedom, let us no longer boast of liberty; let us own ourselves slaves. The *Boston Post*, *Augusta Age* and other hunker papers call it treason for the citizens of Kansas to refuse to obey Missourian laws. Had these pampered hirelings of a shameless administration lived in the times of our forefathers their very nature would have made them Tories. They would have been Stamp Act officers or filled any other place as minions of King George; for they now controvert the doctrine of the Independence that "gov-

ernments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." These men would have been the persecutors of the pilgrim fathers who came to this country with the bible in one hand and the musket in the other, not to make war, but to maintain peace. They would have been menials to do the base work of James II. had fortune cast their lot in the seventeenth century instead of the nineteenth.

The *Free Press* speaking of Beecher, Prof. Silliman and others, says, "Let them go to Kansas themselves, and resist the territorial authorities and the proclamation of Franklin Pierce if they dare!" Territorial authorities of Kansas! what are they? O! the bogus laws of Stringfellow and Atchison. Laws which make it a penal offence to print, publish or say anything against the "peculiar institution." Yes, these are the authorities which it will be treason to resist, and then comes Franklin Pierce's proclamation; what is that? nothing only a mere supplement to the authorities beforenamed. We are glad Mr. Smart that your policy of sustaining the border ruffians, is open and avowed, that you acknowledge that your master, Frank Pierce, by his proclamation, means to crush out liberty in Kansas. Go on, tell the people of Maine that liberty is an obsolete idea, that that it is altogether too old fashioned for this fast age, that it does not at all answer the purposes of Franklin Pierce's administration. Tell the people that they have no right to defend themselves and their liberties when they stand in the way of slavery. Can't you go a little further Mr. Collector, and induce the said Franklin Pierce by his proclamation to shut up these rifle manufactories which are making Kansas free; and when that is done, you may move on another step and legalize slavery in the whole free North, and consign every man, who dares utter his protest against it, to the penitentiary or to the hangman's rope.

You say that men who favor freedom in Kansas are disunionists, this is another of your false statements. Can you point to one leading member of the republican party who ever uttered the first sentence against the Union? But you yourself are in open communion with the most noted disunionists.—These men are placed in the cabinet of the United States by Franklin Pierce, the same source from which you hold the tenure of your own office. Jeff Davis and the nullifiers of South Carolina dictate the policy of your party, dare you deny it? You would trample upon the constitution and prostitute it to the shameless purpose of extending the area of human bondage; we would preserve it inviolate, and make it as our fathers intended, the *magna charta* of our liberties.

The falsehoods of the *Free Press*, that fifty rifles were sent to Kansas from New Haven and only one bible, that the constitution was denounced, et cetera, are too bare-faced and palpable to need refutation.—

It is passing strange to witness the fawning, crawling, cringing servility of the haugers on of the administration. What is too low, base, mean and shameful, that they will not resort to, to retain a paltry office? for this they will sell their honor, their souls, nay their very existence; they will creep into the lowest depths of political infamy to gather up the official garbage; they will become the veriest political gamblers and

backlogs, with not one tittle of political honesty in their stock in trade, for a remote chance of winning. The lackeys of a Persian despot cannot be more obsequious than they. Let whatever mandate come from Washington and they are ready to cry, yea lord. They are like Caesar's slaves, who, when Caesar says do this, remember that 'tis

New-York Daily Tribune.

THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1856.

HOUSES FOR NEW TERRITORIES.

We have already given an account of the mode of building log cabins, and houses with balloon frames, as they are called, which, we trust, those of our readers who are looking to a home in the new Territories, have not found altogether without interest. We have also to inform them of another cheap kind of frames that have been used to some extent in the West, and are much liked where sawed stuff can be had conveniently. These are made wholly of boards about one inch thick and four or five inches wide. The sills are laid down as for a balloon frame, and then the door frames are set up plain and stay-lathed, with also a guide strip at each corner. Then the strips are laid one upon another, and nailed, until high enough for the window frames, which must then be fastened in place, and the walls continued till high enough for the joists, which are to be locked on with projecting ends, upon which the rafters will stand. If the house is to be of more than one story, the joists should be cut flush with the sides, and must be nailed very strong; but we do not think it advisable ever to build a house of this kind higher than one story, on account of the difficulty of preventing the rafters from spreading the sides. Where the feet of the rafters stand upon the joists, this difficulty cannot occur. We have seen these strip houses put up by allowing the strips to sit over half an inch each way, and then plastering, inside and out, right upon the walls, the roughness of the edges of the boards forming sufficient hold for the mortar. The better way is to lay up the walls smooth, and lath the inside and clapboard the outside; but a very warm house can be made without either plastering or siding, if pains are taken to make the walls tight, which they can be to the almost entire exclusion of air. The most primitive way to do this is to lay the strips in mortar, which should be made of equal parts of well-worked clay and fresh cow-droppings, mixed into a pasty consistence, and spread thinly with a swab. The best material, however, is strips of paper dipped in hot pitch, which are laid between each course of strips, and where the ends join the door or window casings.

At the corners each alternate layer laps over and is nailed to the other, and when sided is covered with corner boards. Instead of plastering, or putting pitched paper between the strips, the cracks can be made tight in the same way that seams of a ship are payed over with hot pitch and a swab. This plan of making new-country houses has its advantages over all others. The whole can be built without using any timber heavier than two men can conveniently handle. It is quickly built, without much mechanical skill; it can be made warm and comfortable without plastering, and it is not expensive. The cost of the lumber is easily calculated by reducing the solid contents of the sides into board measure. Houses of this description, without plaster, make very good new-country school-houses. For dwellings and other buildings, where lumber and nails are cheap and carpenter-work dear, they are particularly commended.

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION.

The People of our State who are in favor of Free Kansas and opposed to Slavery Extension are invited to meet in Convention, by two Delegates from each Assembly District, at Syracuse, on Wednesday, the 28th of May, for the purpose of choosing Delegates to the Presidential Convention which will assemble at Philadelphia on the 17th of June.

This State Convention affords a much-needed opportunity for effecting an organization of the friends of Free Kansas in every County and Township of our State. For want of such organization, the cause suffered a disastrous and dispiriting reverse last November. Such a misfortune suggests the appropriate remedy. A thorough organization must insure us a triumph this Fall by at least fifty thousand majority. Ours will be the only ticket in the field which stands up openly and manfully for the right of the People of Kansas to come into the Union under their Free Constitution; and whoever opposes this virtually recognizes the Border-Ruffian assemblage at Shawnee Mission as a valid Legislature for Kansas, and by inevitable consequence affirms that Slavery not merely may be, but *already* is legalized and established there. Last Fall, the hostile parties professed to agree with us in desiring and striving to make Kansas a Free State; hereafter, this pretense is impossible. With union and organization, then, it is morally certain that our triumph must be overwhelming.

Let each County, each Assembly District, be fully and strongly represented at Syracuse.

KANSAS MEETING IN ALBANY.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

ALBANY, Tuesday, April 23, 1856.

A large and enthusiastic meeting was held last evening at the Court-House to hear Gen. Pomeroy of Kansas. Many of those present contemplate removing to Kansas, and the information furnished them by Gen. P. was both interesting and valuable. The General stated that his first Kansas speech was made in this city about two years ago, when passing through here en route for Kansas. He had now come to report progress; and all present seemed delighted and satisfied with the account he had given. After the address, the thanks of the meeting were unanimously extended to Gen. P. for his able and interesting speech.

A meeting will be held this evening at Troy, at which Gen. Pomeroy is noticed to speak. Again, tomorrow evening at Utica, and so on to Kansas. He is very anxious to return to the Territory, and will pass on as quickly as possible.

A company of fine-looking and substantial Americans left this city last Wednesday to make a home in Kansas. Another company will leave on the 14th of May next.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Special Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, April 22, 1856.

The first half of Senator Clay's speech on Kansas was read to the Senate yesterday, and the remainder to-day. The Southern speeches for Slavery are purely amateur performances. They count for something at home, by denoting the officious ardor on the part of the performers, but are not reckoned of any consequence as being necessary parts of the drama. The real battle for the extension of Slavery is handed over to the Northern portion of the Sham Democracy, who are relied on to debauch their constituencies to a sufficient extent to secure it. Slavery does not need championship at home, but abroad. It has got it through the corruption of the Democratic organization and the demoralization of its leaders in the North. The South being a unit in behalf of Slavery, the only real work to be done is in the North. Southern men cannot help much in this, except by cracking the whip over the dough-faces.

No man of sensibility from the North can regard the present contest except with feelings of humili-

CONNEAUT REPORTER

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 24, '56.

KANSAS LANDS.—Col. Harriman, of New-Hampshire, one of the Commissioners appointed to classify and appraise the Delaware Indian lands, leaves to-day for Kansas. He carries out commissions for Col. Rolfe and Mr. Spencer, and instructions from the President to disregard all improvements in fixing the valuation. 600,000 acres of the finest land in the world are to be sold to the highest bidder, including Leavenworth city.—*Boston Atlas*.

Here is a game worthy only of a President who devotes millions for slavery, but not a cent for Freedom. He has, through his border ruffians aid, harrassed and worried the honest bona-fide settlers in Kansas, until they are poorer even than when they went there, and now to give the pro-slavery speculators who have money, chance to rob the settlers of their claims, these lands "the finest in the world" are forced into market, to be sold to the highest bidders. A greater outrage never was attempted.

PITTSBURGH GAZETTE

PUBLISHED BY D. N. WHITE.

PITTSBURGH:

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 24, 1856.

We learn from the St. Louis *Republican* of Monday that the first instalment of Alabama emigrants to Kansas, numbering 120, arrived there on Sunday, and would go forward on Monday. A letter in the same paper, dated Kansas City, April 14, announces the arrival there of the Congressional commission, and adds that Yankees were quite thick there, the arrivals of emigrants from the north and east having been large.

FOR KANSAS.—A party of fourteen, from New Castle, Pa., left here for Kansas on Tuesday.—Another party of ten leaves to-day; and we learn that another and larger party will leave about the first of May. Altogether, so far, some eighty-three persons have gone forward from here, under the auspices of the Kansas Aid Association, and the total number will probably reach one hundred and twenty-five.

A SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC VIEW OF SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY.

Among the fair but false and fatal cries of the day none attracts so much homage as the "Squatter Sovereignty" courtesan. There are none so radiant with meretricious charms, none so ready with deceitful promise, and none so sure to cover their victim with shame and reproach. The sovereignty of the people is a noble principle, and should command universal homage. "Squatter Sovereignty" is an imposture, a counterfeit copy, an ugly idol wrought by man's hands, and should be kicked off the pedestal where it sits in mock majesty and courts the adoration of fools and demagogues.

We cannot conceive how any doubt can arise as to the full, perfect, unlimited, and sovereign power of the Federal Government over the Territory of Kansas as the agent or trustee of the existing States. By the purchase from Louisiana, and the subsequent extinction of the Indian titles, the Territory became ours to dispose of and govern as we pleased, for the common benefit of all the States. The States can only exercise their sovereign administrative and governmental rights through the instrumentality of the Federal Government. The writers on national law, it is true, affix this limit to the exercise of such powers, "that no nation has a right to keep unsettled a large and fertile domain." This is, however, mere speculative morality, which can never become a practical question between civilized nations.

The practice of the Government corresponds with our doctrine. When Louisiana was acquired, the President alone was entrusted with almost absolute power over its government, till Congress should make other regulations, (2d vol. United States Statutes at large, page 245, session 1803.) At the next session (see vol. 2d, p. 283) Congress authorized the President to appoint a Governor and a Legislative Council of thirteen, all to be land owners, who might enact laws, subject to the approval of Congress. Thus the Federal Government continued, through officers selected by itself, to exercise sovereign power over a numerous and wealthy people, without allowing that people any voice whatever in their own government. A similar course was pursued in the Northwestern Territory, where a Governor and three judges, appointed by the Federal Government, exercised legislative, executive, and judicial powers, their laws also being subject to the approval of Congress. (United States Statutes at large, vol. 1, page 51.)

The ordinance, however, of 1789 gives to this Territory the right to elect a Legislature so soon as it shall contain five thousand free male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one, (that is, when its population should amount to about twenty-five thousand.) None were to vote for members of Assembly unless possessed of a freehold of fifty acres of land. The whole tenor of these acts shows that it was deemed clear that the people of the Territories had no right to a voice in their own government till such right was conferred on them by Congress.

This absolute dominion over our Territories is essential to our existence as a nation. It might happen that a newly-conquered territory, or a territory occupied by free negroes, Indians, Chinese, hordes of robbers, or lawless, ignorant, and immoral people of any kind, could not be trusted with any voice in their own government, even as a Territory, much less would such people be entitled to admission as a State simply because they had population sufficient to elect a member of Congress. The Federal Government is bound to govern all the Territories. It may and should exercise its powers through a Territorial Government elected by the people, to be governed when the people are sufficiently moral and intelligent for self-government and are well affected to us and our institutions. It should admit no people as a State who are not in all respects fitted for self-government, and should look closely to the provisions of the constitution of the people so applying to see whether the great interests of morality, religion, property, and liberty are adequately secured.

THE MERCURY.

CHARLESTON

Thursday Morning, April 24, 1856.

FOR THE MERCURY.
The Charleston Kansas Meeting. --No. 6.
 A scientific history of the world, if it ever be written, will establish the fact, that there are a greater number of dead than living nations. Nations live just so long as each maintains within its jurisdiction the ethnological elements which gave it existence. To illustrate: A homogeneous people assemble together and constitute a nation. They have their own method of thought, and that leads them to establish a government, a social system, a civilization, suited to their condition, and in conformity to their method of thought. The nations which environ them, progressing under other methods of thought, and composed of different ethnological elements, make war upon them. Armies penetrate their interior; soldiers of a different race are quartered among them; marriages are contracted; the races mix and amalgamate; conquest or peace ensues; many soldiers remain as friends, who came as enemies. Years roll on, and the process of amalgamation and ethnological change is repeated. The doors for emigration are opened; foreigners pour in, and at last predominate. The old method of thought is fundamentally changed; the old ethnological basis is abolished, in a hybrid, cosmopolitan population. The old social system and civilization, and the system of thought of which they were born, are no longer suited to the new order, or rather disorder, of things. The original nation is dead, and

at last, its monuments and its tombs are all that remain to tell the traveller the spot where it rose and fell. And often, in the world's history, other nations have succeeded, who, careless of the past, know nothing of the history, the birth and death, of the mighty people who reared the temples and palaces among the broken arches and fallen columns of which they wander, and tread with irreverence and contempt upon their crumbling ruins, their dust and ashes. But the old nation is dead forever, and will enter upon its career no more. The World will no more see the great type of the old Greek and Roman—of PERICLES and THEMISTOCLES—of CATO and BRUTUS. The irresistible eloquence of DEMOSTHENES and CICERO will be heard in the forum, and by deeply listening Senates, no more. Their magic voice—the voice of the people, over whose tombs a cloud of glory still hovers, whose social system, civilization, and method of thought, they represented,—is hushed in the silence of the grave forever. So it has been with Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. So with Palestine, Jerusalem, the City of Zion. So with Carthage, Balbec, Babylon, Nineveh, and Troy.

Now, what does all this teach us? This most plainly: that nations are born of certain ethnological elements peculiar to the race—their social systems, from their methods of thought, and not of their political systems, which are effects and not causes. By the operation of their sociology, and their method of thought—both of which are but the natural offspring of the race to which they belong—they progress and prosper, and by the loss of which they die. Have we not witnessed, in our own times, that by attempting to force our method of thought, and our civilization, upon the Indian tribes of America, we doom them to utter extinction?

From these premises, the great fact is clearly deducible, that the Constitution does not govern the Government of the United States, as it was framed to do. Nor does the Federal Government govern the people of the United States. We yield our assent to the laws of the Union, and for the reason that, in theory at least, they are intended to protect us from disturbances from without, and thereby leave us to pursue our own method of thought, and to pursue our own social system, which are but phenomena produced by the law of the race to which we belong, which act upon the masses of America with supreme effect, and are leading them on to their destiny. The destiny of the Union, then, depends not on our political system, but upon our method of thought and our social system, to both of which the Federal Government will be forced to conform, in spite of the Constitution.

But to what method of thought, social system, civilization, will the Federal Government be forced to conform?—for in the North there is one system of each of these, and in the South another, which is fundamentally different. The answer is plain: *Whenever two forms of civilization are associated in political union, under the same form of free government, if it be a representative government, that method of thought and civilization which, by any manner of means, obtains the greatest amount of political power, will predominate and control the government, and the weaker civilization will be absorbed by the stronger. And the only way to prevent the weaker from being absorbed by the stronger, and consequently the subjection of the weaker to the stronger, is for the two forms to separate, and each form a government for itself.* This postulate evolves one of the great laws of the human races, and the phenomena of that law may be seen now in the progress of the methods of thought in the social systems of the Union. We may still hope on that the Constitution and the Union may be perpetuated, and peace restored to our distracted country; but our hopes cannot alter the law of the human races. Either the Union or the public liberty must fall,—for if the public liberty of the South be preserved, it can only be done out of the Union; and if the Union be preserved, it will be without the Constitution; and, like the various parts of the British empire, it will be held together by standing armies, navies and the sword.

If there be any one phenomenon, which may be more clearly understood than any other which is presented by the development of civil society in the United States, it is this—that the social system and civilization of the North, and the Northern method of thought, completely Europeanized as it is, will

predominate in the American Union, if that Union lasts; and the Federal Government, yielding to the pressure of that social system and method of thought, will, by the action of the representative body upon it, become, and in a great degree is now, merely the agent and instrument by which that predominance is to be accomplished. Thus it is demonstrated with mathematical certainty, that the Federal Government does not govern, but is simply one of the powers by which the laws of the human races act upon American society, and lead it on to its final destiny. This is not all. That the South is even now undergoing the process of absorption, by the Northern method of thought, in the manner stated in the above postulate or law, needs but a common sense observation to determine. Is proof required? Then I put Senator BUTLER on the stand as my witness. Measure the testimony he gives deliberately, for it evolves great facts, both as to the absorption of the South into the whirlpool of Northern society and thought, and the disastrous, fatal effects which that absorption is producing upon our whole body of Southern representatives, with, perhaps, a few exceptions in South Carolina: for I am persuaded there is such an exception.

Senator BUTLER, in his late letter upon the subject of the Cincinnati Convention, says: *"The tide of events and the current of popular opinion, emanating from the North, and running to the South, have brought to bear upon us a force which our people cannot, I suppose, resist."* And our Senator concludes by advising South Carolina to yield to that force, and send delegates to the Cincinnati Convention—thus making the broad admission that he, himself, has, so far as his counsels to the State are concerned, surrendered his own, and reluctantly, though decisively, yielded to the requirements of the Northern faith.

Lacedaemon, stern in her inflexible integrity and manhood, while her sister States of Greece were ignobly abandoning their national creeds, and, with blurred and blighted escutcheons, sinking, pale and ghastly, into the death-embrace of the remorseless conqueror, was the last State of Greece that was absorbed by the Roman Empire. The proud example exhibited by Lacedaemon to the world has been again exhibited by South Carolina, in our own times. In the heart-thrilling language of the Senator himself, she has stood firm and unshaken, "like a promontory of the deep," while the turbid waves of a vicious public opinion roared around her and broke harmless at her feet. On the firmly based rock which crowned the topmost pinnacle of that promontory, stood that Senator's illustrious ancestor, his trusty blade gleaming in his right hand, while the storm clouds of the Revolution broke over him and illumed his war-worn face with their electric flashes. And yet, unmoved by the distant braying of the bloodhounds of British tyranny upon his track, unshrinking in his fidelity to his republican creed, his heart, his arm, his voice, responded to the foe, in the stern and defiant tone of Fitz-James to the gathering clans of Roderick Dhu:

"Come one, come all; this rock shall fly
 From its firm base as soon as I."

To that patriot, worthy to stand in the temple of fame by the side of BRUTUS and CATO, South Carolina is, perhaps, as much indebted for her national creed, as any other man. And yet, with sorrow be it said, his son, whom the State has delighted to honor, as a willing need to both sire and son, and which has placed upon his shoulders the robes of senatorial rank and dignity, yielding to the popular

ti'e emanating from the North and running to the South, tells the people of the State to abandon the creed his father gave them, and adopt the creed of the North. Is that Senator aware that when a State abandons her national creed and adopts another, either by force or fraud, her glory has departed forever? Is he willing that the State shall be thus bastardized, and become the sold appanage and pander of a remorseless empire? While looking on this scene, sad and mournful as it is, well may the faithful few exclaim: whom shall we confide in hereafter? Thus the parallel of Lacedaemon and South Carolina is nearly complete. For, as Lacedaemon was the last State of Greece that was absorbed by the Roman Empire, so South Carolina is the last State in the Union which abandoned the national creed she derived from the Revolution, and became absorbed in the empire of the North; and as the glory of living Lacedaemon departed forever at the moment she surrendered her national creed, so, too, will it be with South Carolina; for that is the stern decree of national destiny. But the "Old Guard" of South Carolina have

something more to do yet, than to find for themselves "dishonorable graves;" and even Senators may find it so. They have at least some truths evolved by their old faith to announce to the State, and one of which is, that the representatives in Congress from the South, if the people cease not to confide in them, will bring utter ruin and disgrace upon their country. It is a remarkable fact, that the people of the South derive their method of thought on government and politics, in a great degree, from their representatives. Even the conductors of the public press often fall into the same error. So the people of South Carolina, still confiding in their representatives now, as they were wont to confide in CALHOUN, McDUFFIE, and HAYNE, are being dragged down into the cess-pool of federal politics by them. Every new step they take in leading the State, the State sinks lower and lower. A new creed for South Carolina was drawn up ere CALHOUN sunk into the grave, and his death was the signal for its inauguration. And whereas the political mind of the State, under the operation of its old State Rights creed, scorned the "wretch who would owe his greatness to his country's ruin," the new creed teaches its disciples to live themselves though their country dies. In days of old, the aspirants for the honors of statesmanship based their hopes of success upon their maintenance of the great principles of human rights, dignity and honor. Now they compete with each other in their efforts to determine who can descend the lowest; believing, as they do, that success lies at the bottom. When they make their way to Congress, forgetting representative duty and obligations, they receive a new faith, dictated to them by the Government, return to their people, and abuse and betray their confidence by converting them to the governmental faith. Thus the joint process of Southern absorption and degradation goes on, not only unchecked by our representatives, but aided and assisted by them; and with this revolting difference, too, between the North and the South, that while the representatives of the North, true to the national instincts of their people, make the Federal Government subservient to their civilization and social system, the representatives of the South, by yielding to the "current of popular opinion, running from the North to the South," and thus misrepresenting and betraying the people of the South, reverse the law, and make our social system subservient to the Federal Government and Northern opinion. I envy not the Southern man who can view this state of things, without feeling the warm blood of indignation and resentment coursing through his heart.

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come of his adventures among the "Border Ruffians" during the late "war." The meeting was organized by the appointment of LYMAN CLARY as Chairman and P. H. AGAN as Secretary.

Among other things, the General answered the charge of the "Democratic" press, that the "unnatural way" in which the Free State settlement of the Territory was begun was the cause of all subsequent trouble there. He clearly proved this charge to be unfounded.—He showed that "organization" for influence in Kansas was first begun in Missouri; public meetings to that effect having been held in at least three counties in Missouri before the Kansas bill passed, "to extend the institutions of Missouri over Kansas at whatever cost of blood and treasure." A secret society for this same purpose was formed there at the same time. These facts will come out soon in Congress, or at least when the Kansas Committee reports. The original plan of these Missourians was to have Kansas admitted early, and afterwards vote to establish slavery there. So the organization of the Free State immigrants was eminently defence. The elections of the territory have been controlled by Missourians who at once returned across the line. The Territorial Legislature turned out every Free State man elected, and admitted members from Indian reservations which are, no part of the Territory. After this action Gov. Reeder vetoed all the enactments; yet they passed a code of laws which freemen are censured for not obeying.

The Constitution under which the people of Kansas now ask for admission into the Union as a State, he said, was formed in accordance with the provisions of the territorial bill; that is poor enough for freedom, but we insist upon every letter of the bond. We now ask in good faith for admission to the Union. All we ask of our friends in the States and of Congress is that we may be supported in the exercise of the rights guaranteed to us by the Nebraska Bill. An election is ordered for November, and if DOUGLAS' bill is passed, every free state man is legislated from the ballot-box, and from the jury room. No person having conscientious scruples about holding slaves is admitted to sit as a juror on cases involving that question. No person will be allowed to vote without swearing to support the fugitive slave law, and the territorial laws, as a condition. If Congress passes the bill of DOUGLAS, the election will be the most bloody ever held on this continent. The Free State men will vote, but they will not swear. The right to vote belongs to them as an attribute of manhood, and no condition other than citizenship can be required of them or will be regarded. Yet if Congress calls upon them to vote, the Free State men will vote.

Gen. POMEROY spoke eloquently, combining with a clear and earnest statement of facts, a thrilling appeal for the right of the men of Kansas to freedom and to admission as a Free State, humorous sketches of stirring incidents, and a manly declaration of determined and courageous purpose.

LOCAL BREVITIES.—Rev Mr Knight gave his admirable lecture on Kansas at South Hadley Falls, on Wednesday night, and the hall was crowded with earnest and interested listeners.—

A MORAL SHARPS' RIFLE.—Rev Mr Knight's history of his experience in Kansas. It has hit the Springfield Argus right amid-ships.



FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 25, 1856.

The Next "Compromise!"

From the Charleston (S. C.) Standard.

We believe that the Union will be temporarily prolonged by the introduction of Slavery into Kansas, but we believe it might be extended to an indefinitely distant period by the measure we propose—(the restoration of the Slave trade). With the certainty of turning the balance of political power, we would have little motive to a dissolution; while the stability and repose to the North, from the predominance of Slave power in the government, would counterbalance any inclination they might have to leave us.

The Missouri Compromise was adopted to "save the Union." Texas was annexed, (with power to cut it up into five Slave States) for the same holy purpose. To "save the Union," the Compromises of '50 were enacted. To prevent the catastrophe of "Dissolution," the Missouri Compromise was repealed. And to still further avert it, it is demanded that Kansas shall come into the Union as a Slave State. This result is rendered possible. But if it shall succeed, we are gravely told that it would only "temporarily prolong" the Union! Nothing but the "restoration of the Slave trade" can postpone a dissolution to "an indefinitely distant period!"

It is useless to say that this proposition will never be seriously entertained. SLAVERY HAS NEVER YET MADE A DEMAND THAT HAS NOT BEEN COMPLIED WITH. Not one of her exactions, from the adoption to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, seemed more likely to succeed than this demand for the restoration of Slave Piracy. Every new aggression was combatted, but finally conceded, as the last. But every new concession was followed by a new demand, which, like its predecessor, was granted to "save the Union."

If we acquiesce in the repeal of the Missouri Compact, and admit Kansas as a Slave State, we must, to postpone dissolution to "an indefinitely distant period," restore the Slave Trade. And this—if the North now succumb—will follow!

What say you, men of the North? Shall we continue these disgraceful concessions? Are we willing to be forever bullied and browbeaten by Slavery? When will the Union be "safe" if, as we have seen, after every new concession to "save" it, it is thus menaced by new dangers? Is it not time to make the experiment whether concessions to FREEDOM are not as effective in "saving the Union" as concessions to Slavery? As ACQUIESCENCE has failed, shall we not now try RESISTANCE?

All we ask is, that the people should look calmly on and decide who is responsible for this wastefulness of the public time and money; and who, instead of doing the business of legislation, converts Congress into the tilting ground of political demagogues.

[Atlas and Argus.]

The movement made by a slaveholder in behalf of the interests of Slavery, to get Congress out of Washington, and Pierce's Administration out of the hands of Congress, is fitly supported by the Atlas and Argus. Congresses of the People have always been odious to tyrants, and the foes of Freedom. It is a part of the programme of the proceedings to enslave Kansas, to adjourn at an early day the Representatives and Senators at Washington, and to leave the Government unchecked in its midsummer operations for the extension of Slavery in the West. Cobb's move to get rid of Congress also contemplated an escape from the action of the Kansas Investigating Committee. It was hoped that the South could stave off their report till after the adjournment, and deprive any publication of its facts made in the recess, of the influence of an official character, and put it in the mouths of the servile at the

North and West to lie them down.

The Administration has adroitly succeeded in having the Appropriation Bills made special orders till they are disposed of, and will now steadily drive on its policy of an early adjournment. We shall daily look to see it employ the last year's Norfolk fever, to scare the People's Representatives from their posts of duty. The baseness of this dodge, will be exceeded only by the impudence which talks of economy in connection with Pierce's Government.

THE LANE AND DOUGLAS CORRESPONDENCE.—

We publish elsewhere this spicy reading. Mr. DOUGLAS in his remarks in the Senate on the Kansas application, made a very gross and uncalled for personal attack on the character of Col. LANE, whose reputation, gained on the battle fields of Mexico, and among the Free State defenders of Kansas, is of a much more untarnished character than that attained, as yet, by the author of the Nebraska bill. Col. LANE, in exposing the falsehood of the charges made against him, does not hesitate to use pretty severe, tho' deserved terms, towards his assailant.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 25, 1856.

Col Fremont and the Presidency.

The Fremont movement is certainly quite threatening. At the present time, it stands well before the country, promising to aggregate a stronger party for free Kansas, and against the pro-slavery Cincinnati nominee, than any other name. The dissatisfied democrats bite at it quite freely. As an illustration of how it is working, a leading Ohio member of Congress, who is for Judge McLean as the republican candidate and therefore a fair witness, has just returned from a visit home, and was quite surprised to find how, like prairie fire, the name of Fremont was being caught up by the people there. Americans, republicans and at least one third of the democrats greeted the idea of such a nomination with cordial enthusiasm. There seemed but one voice among the anti-Nebraska men of all parties, and that was that Col Fremont was the man of all others on whom they could unite, and through whom they could win a national victory. Coming back to Washington through Pennsylvania, he found the fever had seized the Pennsylvania legislature. Not only had the Americans and republicans fallen victims, but a dozen or more of the democratic members were prepared to embrace such an opportunity to disengage themselves from a slavery-sustaining and worn-out organization.

The anti-Nebraska press very generally welcomes and urges on the movement for Col Fremont. This is particularly true of the democratic portion of it, representing the element which it is necessary should be attached to the free Kansas party to give it any reliable hope of success. There is uneasiness at the mention of the name among the Fillmore and administration papers. They cannot believe that the republicans really think of taking up so good a fellow as Col Fremont, and a democrat too. No, no, it cannot be—they are only fooling him—say these presses, with an ill-concealed wish that they might really believe their own doubts.

There is also uneasiness at the promise of the Fremont movement, among some portions of the anti-slavery men of the country. These are the devoted friends of other candidates, as Gov Seward, Mr Chase, Judge McLean, or they distrust a new man without "the smell of fire upon his garments." Forgetting how much the American people shape their politics by their personal or party prejudices, fired themselves with a deep appreciation of the rightfulness of the cause they espouse, they feel that the principle is strong enough, under the aroused state of feeling growing out of the conduct of the administration, to carry the country with any candidate, and thus insist that the selection shall be from the ranks

of those who have been longest and most conspicuous in the contest against the slavery party, and who have often vindicated by vote and speech not only their attachment to the principles of freedom but their fitness wisely to administer the government. Such reasoning ought to be true, but unfortunately the experience of the country does not sustain it.

Certainly it is very clear that, if the friends of free Kansas and slavery restriction, expect to triumph in the pending national election, their candidates must avoid clashing harshly with any of the various and heretofore conflicting political elements that are sought to be rallied around them. Half the voters let principles go to the dogs, or satisfy conscience with the fatal dodge of a third party, or by not voting at all, if, as their representatives, they find men whom they have been educated to hate, fear, or despise. Granted that these feelings are prejudices, and false and unjust at that—they are nevertheless facts, and hard facts, too. It would be fatal, therefore, for a new and not yet formed party, expecting to draw votes from the old democratic, whig, American and free soil parties, to put up for president a man who, however worthy, had so fought the old battles as to draw down a bitter enmity upon himself from either one of the material elements in the new organization. What the combined anti-slavery elements of the country want in a candidate is fidelity to the great practical question of the struggle—straight freedom for Kansas,—and ability to ensure an election. The North don't want so much to make this man or that man president, as a triumph. Nor can she afford to wait for this, when, by consulting expediency in the choice of candidates, it is to be gained now.

Col Fremont's antecedents as a politician are few—perhaps happily so if he is to be the candidate of a new party, created out of the debris of half a dozen old ones, in its first national conflict. A party of the future, not of the past, should not seek to be encumbered with a man of the past. Without antecedents itself, what right has it, really, to demand them of its candidate, so that he stands squarely and fairly with them in their present purposes, and looks forward with them to their future hopes. Col Fremont was but a short time in the U. S. Senate from California, and took but small part in its debates. We know, however, that he was chosen to that place by free state influences, and we are assured by those who were his fellow-laborers in the really severe struggle that thus ended, that he contributed greatly to the making of California a free state. If so, few men have stronger claims upon the anti-slavery sentiment of the country for practical service in its behalf. The decision of California to interdict slavery within its borders, was a great triumph to the interest of freedom in the nation, at a time when it sorely needed such help. Col Fremont's letter to Gov Robinson of Kansas, assures the country where he stands in this other and more national and pressing struggle between the interests of slavery and freedom. Small though his antecedents are on this question, they are certainly right, and ought to be decisive. His existing political associations are all thoroughly with the republican movement; and there is no better evidence of a man's political position in this country than the company he keeps. It is that more than anything else that is so fatal to Mr Fillmore among the people of the North. His political friends, associates and advisers are in the South and with the pro-slavery interest.

Col Fremont's antecedents as a man are more abundant and telling, and upon these his friends may well rely with great confidence for his success with the country, if once fairly placed before it. A man of courage, self-reliance, education, nerve, and heart, he has never exhibited himself to disadvantage. The greater the emergency, the greater has he appeared. There is no man of his years around whose history clusters so much of that chivalric self-reliance and that determined development, which form so marked elements in the American character, and appeal so strongly to the American heart for sympathy.

Whether Col Fremont is "the man for the times,"—the instrument by which freedom can most surely win its needed national triumph, and arrest the progress of slavery by interposing Kansas as an impassible barrier on the North and

West,—remains yet to be seen. Just now, the prospect is that he is; that he can draw off more votes from the democratic party in the disputed middle and western states, than any man yet considered as a candidate for the new national freedom party. If he can do this, he should be nominated, not only by the disaffected democrats at Cincinnati, but by the northern Americans at New York, and the republican or anti-Nebraska convention at Philadelphia. So nominated, he will be elected.

We think none but the pro-slavery parties need give themselves uneasiness about the Fremont movement. If it is what it promises now, it will over-ride all objections in the anti-slavery ranks. If there is not strength and reason in it, it will break down before the June conventions. The next six weeks will give it a severe test, for it will be assailed on every side, and if it stands the trial, we predict it will go flying through not only the various anti-Nebraska conventions, but the canvass that follows them.

We say give Col Fremont and his friends a chance. We have said thus much that he and they might stand fairly before our readers. If his friends can show in the next six weeks that he can command those portions of the democratic and American parties, which are necessary to give unity and fullness to the republican movement, those who have originally connected themselves with that movement would be false to their professions, did they fail to welcome him as the happy instrument of fitting good. If he is the Moses who can lead the country out of its captivity to the slavery party and the office holders, let the country make haste to put itself under his banner.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 25, 1856.

How to "FILIBUSTER."—The government of this country has deserved, and won, great credit for its success in detecting and arresting the movements of Gen. Walker's allies in this country. One and another steamer has been searched, and one and another vagabond put on trial, for violating the neutrality laws.

All the while, however, Gen. Walker is receiving recruits from the United States. Gen. Pierce, Gen. Cushing, and the lesser generals, are beside themselves in efforts that nothing shall go out of the reservoir; yet the stream below seems to be growing larger, all the time.

We have got hold of a clue which accounts in part, for this mystery, and it is a good illustration of the character of the government under which we live. It happens there is another country in which a domestic struggle is apprehended, somewhat nearer us, than Nicaragua. It happens, too, that Gen. Pierce, who does not care a straw whether the Reds or Whites carry the day in Nicaragua, is eager that the Southern Blue lodges should have their way in this nearer country, which is called Kansas. And so it happens, that, all through the southern country, the parade of recruiting fighting men "for Kansas," and providing them with arms, can go on freely, and no one dares ask whether they will go to Kansas, after all.

In fact, therefore, any agent of Gen. Walker, in the southern States, has only to give out that he is raising men and arms "for Kansas," and he can enlist his troops, and carry them and their munitions to and from New Orleans, without a hint of objection from the government. We have good authority for saying that this course has been adopted already, and we have no doubt that it will be adopted, as long as Gen. Walker wants more men for his army. The President has declared that Kansas and its interests are "foreign" to Massachusetts and New Hampshire; and yet, such

is his position, that if a cunning officer of Walker's wanted to enlist a hundred rascals, in the city of Washington, he could do it, and would do it, if he had only tact to call Nicaragua "Kansas," in his printed or public addresses to his men.

In our paper of the 7th we summed up, as far as we could, the various southern enlistments of men to serve in Kansas, and we stated that of the number reported, which was by no means large, only a part had made their appearance in the territory. For this falling off, we could not then account. The news from the territory, since, does not account for the remainder. Even of the arrival in Kansas of the gallant Major Buford's party, from Alabama, we have here, as yet, no distinct intelligence. But, as we now know what has befallen some of their brethren under the same banner, our impression is that most of them also lost their way, and that they will turn up, in Central America. And we warn our readers of two things; first, that if they do not hear of large recruiting for Gen. Walker, they must not be too certain that he has raised no new forces; and second, that if they do hear of large bodies of soldiers raised in the South, "for Kansas," they must not suppose that all of them expect to arrive there.

There are ways of filibustering, with the assistance and sympathy of this most vigilant of administrations.

Boston Journal.

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 25, 1856.

THE ADMISSION OF KANSAS. Senator Douglas's bill for the admission of Kansas authorizes the Legislature of the territory to call a convention to frame a State constitution, when the population numbers 93,420, the ratio now required for a member of Congress. The present population of Kansas is less than half that number, and it will be at least two or three years before the territory will contain the requisite number of inhabitants to entitle it to ask admission into the union under this bill, even if emigration goes forward as actively as at present. The slavery propagandists will thus have ample time to take the requisite measures for shaping the institutions of the territory. With the control of the territorial government, and aided by the code of laws enacted by the bogus Legislature, and by the Missouri code, which was also adopted and extended over the territory, they can introduce slave property and make themselves secure in its possession. At the same time they can make the territory very undesirable for freemen. Recent accounts from Kansas tend to show that the slavery propagandists have adopted a new system of tactics by which they doubtless hope to make Kansas too hot for the Free State men. They are harassing them with suits under the local laws of Missouri, and prosecuting them for daring to exercise their rights under the principle of popular sovereignty. It is doubtless hoped that Kansas will be made so undesirable to Northern emigrants by these measures that they will seek for homes elsewhere, where they can enjoy their political rights, and the privilege of thinking, speaking and acting, without fear of some statute of which they have never heard, or of the bowie-knife and revolver of some whisky drinking and fire eating tool of the slave holder.

If there was no other objection to the bill of Senator Douglas, the mere fact that it postpones for an indefinite period the settlement of the troubles which have grown out of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, would make it obnoxious to every true friend of Kansas. Kansas is a magazine of gunpowder, which a spark may explode. We may hear at any day of sanguinary conflicts between the contending parties, and the territorial government is not competent or strong enough to afford protection. Kansas ought not to remain for years the battleground between slavery and freedom, the scene of broils and bloodshed, and the cause of bickering contentions, and reckless political agita-

tion in other sections of the Union. She must not be kept out of the Union during the long period contemplated by the administration bill, if the most earnest efforts can prevent it. Political demagogues have made capital enough out of Kansas. The conservative and truly patriotic and peace-loving portion of the community should put their shoulders to the good work with renewed zeal, and remove this source of violent agitation, by securing the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union.

The New York *Evening Post* calls attention to a piece of trickery in Douglas's bill which is worthy of its progenitor. The bill provides that at the election of delegates to the Convention "all white male inhabitants who shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and shall have been actual residents in said territory for the period of six months, and in the district for the period of three months, next preceding the day of election, and who shall possess the other qualifications required by the organic act of the territory, shall be entitled to vote, and that none others shall be permitted to vote at said election." On referring to the act under which the territory was organized, it will be found to provide that "the qualification of voters, and of holding office, at all subsequent elections, shall be such as shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly." Now it is well known that the bogus Legislature, which is recognized as a legal body by the administration, and by Mr. Douglas, passed a law which made the support of the fugitive slave act a test for aliens, requiring of them an oath to support the Constitution, and that law in particular. Of course, under the provisions of the bill of Mr. Douglas, the Legislature can impose whatever qualifications it pleases on the voters for the Constitutional Convention, and can make such tests as would practically exclude from the polls many of those who desire to make Kansas a free State, and who are now excluded from the jury box because they are, in the language of an act of the bogus Legislature, "conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, and do not admit the right to hold slaves in this territory."

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 1856

THE RICHMOND ENQUIRER asks with all the vehemence of desperation.—"Shall the South give up Kansas?" It tells us as follows what the slave power meant by a repeal of the Missouri Compromise:

"The repeal of the Missouri restriction, in relieving the South of an odious badge of inferiority, and restoring us to an equality of right and dignity in the confederacy, was in itself a triumph of no inconsiderable consequence. But the South never meant to rest upon this sort of metaphysical advantage. From the beginning of the struggle we anticipated more tangible results; and we are now to say whether we mean to surrender partial success, and ingloriously abandon our object, or persevere with courage and consistency in our deliberate purpose."

This is plain enough. The Richmond print openly avows that the purpose of the Administration was to establish Slavery in Kansas, for "the South," and the Pierce administration, in this matter, are the same. This is why the Missouri Compromise was repealed; this is why the administration patronises border ruffianism; this is why the Pierce party in the Senate spurn and spit upon the petition of the people of Kansas who ask to be admitted into the Union with their Free State Constitution; and this is why the slave power and its Northern creatures manufacture and circulate all sorts of monstrous lies in regard to the settlers in Kansas,—such, for example, as the following, which we take from an editorial in the Richmond Enquirer:

"The Abolitionists were not disheartened by their defeat, but rather stimulated to renewed energy and more desperate effort. They saw how they might wring victory from the grasp of the South, and they set about the work with characteristic ingenuity and contempt of honest principle. All the vagabonds, paupers and discharged convicts who infested the Northern cities, were shaken together and precipitated upon Kansas. For a time, honest immigrants were suffocated by the load of filth and stench; and although they partially recovered their energies, there is danger lest they be at last overborne by an incessant supply of refuse from the penitentiaries of New England."

This sheet, which is now probably the most

prominent and influential organ of the Slave Power in the Southern States, openly and earnestly advocates a restoration of the slave trade. Various other papers in the South, and some in the Free States, such as the *Pennsylvanian*, advocate the same thing; and, if the Slavery party carries the next Presidential election, it will not be long before the Boston Post, and other sheets of the same class, will be denouncing the treaty by which the slave trade is suppressed, and recommending a revival of the trade as a measure pre-eminently Democratic and Christian. This is as certain to follow such a success as any thing can be. Our Government and its officials, in the hands of the Slave Power, is already very kind and forbearing towards this infamous business. Slavers fitted out at our ports clandestinely, do not seem to stand in much awe of government officials, and generally contrive to slip through their fingers with great ease. Men convicted of being African slave traders, are tolerably sure of being pardoned; but such convictions are so rare that they are commonly regarded as well nigh impossible. The black Democracy are nearly ripe for that revival of the African slave trade which "the South" is beginning to demand. The following, from the Richmond Enquirer, will show the tone of the slavery press on this subject:

"The accusation against slavery involved in the Convention with Great Britain, was seized upon as an advanced position whence Abolitionism might discharge its battery against the guarantees of the institution, and is the remote origin of the violent abolition agitation of the present day. We do not propose the revival of the slave trade, for, as the slave trade has never been suppressed, it needs no revival. We only protest against the principle of a treaty, which is based on an assumption that slavery is an evil in politics and a crime in morals. The accidental evils of the slave trade are a legitimate subject of international convention, and may be corrected by regulations which shall afford adequate protection to the personal security of the negro. The Convention with Great Britain, while it has failed to accomplish its object, infinitely aggravates the sufferings of the negro, and prevents the supply of African labor from keeping pace with the growing demands of an agriculture which is essential to the wants of civilisation. For these reasons we say abrogate the convention."

This tone of the slave power sufficiently explains why the slavers fitted out at our ports have so little to fear from our government, and why detected slavers are treated by our government with so much forbearance and tenderness. But this is not all. The slave power is beginning to avow openly its purpose to subdue the whole continent, and to use the whole power of the republic to defy and mock every humanising and exalting influence of modern civilisation. We find this purpose distinctly expressed by Southern men in connection with their discussions of the Kansas question. We find "the South" which proclaims this purpose, very justly characterised by the St. Louis Democrat. That paper, speaking of the policy of Mr. Calhoun and South Carolina, says:

"This has foisted a few half cultivated States, under the nomenclature of the South, into an undue prominence in our internal politics, and subordinated every issue to the one bond of sympathy—I. e. slavery—upon which Mr. Calhoun planted himself. It has been successful too, far above even his expectations. It has terrified the leaders of our party into compliance with its demands. It now threatens to override even the Constitution and the Union itself, and make them subservient to its lust of power, and its aggressive propagandism."

The few slaveholders who really constitute this half cultivated South are haters of the Union as it was established by our fathers. They hate the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. They hate free principles. We must resist their infernal schemes, or we must submit to their all-destroying tyranny and give up the republic to the barbarism which they are so busily propagating in all directions. Now is the time to organise that resistance which the welfare of the country demands; and how contemptible and wicked it is, at such a time as this, for freemen in the North to seek to evade the slavery question, and talk of politics as if this question were not the great question of the day!

DOUGLAS CAUGHT IN A SCALY TRICK. Douglas lately denied with great vehemence the charge that by the provisions of his bill to enable Kansas to form a constitution, the voters were to be brought under the rules prescribed by the Border Ruffian Legislature. But the New York *Evening Post* shows that his bill provides that at the election of delegates "all white male inhabitants who shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and shall have been actual residents in said terri-

tory for the period of six months, and in the district for the period of three months, next preceding the day of election, and who shall possess the other qualifications required by the organic act of the territory, shall be entitled to vote, and that none others shall be permitted to vote at said election." On referring to the "organic act" it will be found to provide that "the qualification of voters, and of holding office, at all subsequent elections, shall be such as shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly." The Border Ruffian Legislature, it is well known, "prescribed" among the qualifications of voters an oath to support the Fugitive Slave Act. If there is any possible escape from this dilemma, Douglas is impaled upon another "horn," and though supposed to be inimical to "horns" in the abstract or concrete, he may well be shy of this one. If he shows that his bill does not compel the voters of Kansas to come under the Border Ruffian laws, he is detected in setting those laws at defiance, and committing an act which in the settlers is styled rebellion and treason.

The Sentinel.

KEENE, FRIDAY MORNING,
APRIL 25, 1856.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SENTINEL.

I was glad to see published what may be properly styled the national call for a FREE nomination of candidates for President and Vice President, to be holden at Philadelphia on the 17th of June. Is new Hampshire in favor of Freedom or Slavery?—free Kansas and slave limitation, or slave Kansas and no limitation! All other subjects of national policy, are very properly absorbed in these great questions.

Now as there is no general organization of the opposers of the Pierce and Douglas policy, who comprise a handsome majority of the State, and it is desirable to unite all such, who have had heretofore separate organizations, permit me to suggest the plan of electing delegates for the five Councillor Districts, as early as may be convenient. The call is for fifteen delegates from this State to the Philadelphia Convention—so that each Councillor Convention may choose three, and three substitutes. There are also five Electors of President and Vice President to be nominated for November. Each of the Councillor Districts may elect one at the same time. The nomination for Governor may more properly be called and held next autumn.

I would suggest, if this simple plan is approved, that the call be at once made by the signatures of well known individuals, five, ten or more, in each county, who have acted under old organizations. There is now emphatically but two parties, and it is exceedingly desirable for the friends of freedom to consolidate their strength, irrespective of all old associations. At the Councillor Conventions, County, and perhaps Town Committees also, should be designated. Any better suggestions, promising better results, will at once be adopted by

CHESHIRE.

New-York Daily Tribune

FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 1856.

DUTY OF NORTHERN REPRESENTATIVES.

Special Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, April 23, 1856.

It may turn out that the result of our Nebraska controversy will show that the body of our people are, after all, only a half-civilized race, and in no degree entitled to claim that superior intelligence which has been their boast. If Slavery is to be confirmed in Kansas (it is already established there), it will show that the Free States, as a political

body, possess no claim to the consideration of the historian and philosopher over the masses of any other nation—indeed, that they must be set down quite below those of some other nations. The subjection of this people to the yoke of the Slave Power, which the enslavement of Kansas would imply and demonstrate, would be quite as degrading to them as the submission of the French to the yoke of Louis Bonaparte. And it would ill become us, after such an event, to be scornful of the intelligence of the masses of the French people. In fact, the comparison would be to our disadvantage, since the one domination needs, in our case, only the will to resist it successfully, while the other is established and enforced by the bayonet upon people without the means of resistance.

The national character is thus deeply involved in the existing struggle, and if it ends prejudicially to Freedom, the peculiar national reputation, acquired by and grown up since the Revolution, will be almost wholly lost, and hereafter we must take rank as a people who, though energetic and after a sort intelligent, are yet rude and unenlightened in reference to the most precious national and personal concerns—as a people who are, in the main, a mere raw mass of political material, which, like the masses of all other nations, may, by skillful manipulation, be made to take one political form as well as another.

The struggle of the Anti-Nebraska men is thus not only a struggle against the spread of Slavery, it is a struggle to preserve the national reputation in the eye of the world and for history. It will be bad enough to find the masses of the people unaware of, or indifferent to, the true nature and consequences of the contest. It will be far worse to find the Representatives of the North hesitant or dull-sighted in regard to the course which the crisis demands. Kansas ought to be the one word the sound of which should link Northern members to one another with hooks of steel, and prove the dissolvent of every other point of difference, till her wrongs are avenged and the intelligence of the North and the ancient character of its people vindicated. Our history hardly shows a case where the motives to the most resolute action on the part of the Representatives of the Northern people were so lofty and impelling as in this. It is a crisis in which they should be on fire.

J. S. P.

THE PROSPECTS OF KANSAS.

Special Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, April 23, 1856.

What do the managers of the party in power intend in regard to Kansas? Doubtless to make it a Slave State. Everything thus far has been driven with direct intent to that end. Every step in the proceedings, from the day of the initiation of the Nebraska bill, making two Territories out of what was only designed for one, has been a step in that direction. Kansas has already been converted from a Free Territory into a Slave Territory, and the transition from that into a Slave State is less than the transmutation already undergone. It is too late to say that the Northern men who have engineered the surrender will fear to consummate it, in the face of their promises or pretenses to their followers that Kansas would be sure to be a Free State anyway. The excuse for the consummation is already on their lips. It is foreshadowed in the Report on Kansas and the speeches in the Senate and House. When Kansas is finally set over, the transfer deeds signed, and possession fully given, the men who will have earned an immortality of infamy by the transaction will coolly turn round to their inquiring adherents, who once believed a little in Freedom, and quite too much in them, and say, "Oh, it has all been done by the 'Abolitionists,' all done by Emigrant Aid Societies, who provoked the Slavery people to rush in and take possession. Kansas is a Slave State, to be sure; but it is not our fault. It is all to be attributed to those same fanatical Abolitionists, who have done all the mischief on the Slavery question from the beginning." And these same virtuous engineers of the great surrender will expect the same confiding followers to turn to at the

next subsequent election and work harder than ever against the fanatical Abolitionists. And in this expectation it is quite probable they will not be disappointed.

If those who have had the beginning of this business are going to have the ending of it, we may conclude that Kansas is inevitably to be a Slave State. A different opinion has been entertained of late in the North. It has been and is now supposed that if a decided majority of the settlers of Kansas wish to make it a Free State, it will be done. This is the presumption of all unsophisticated and fair-minded men. It is the presumption that forms the basis of the temporary subsidence of that indignant and fiery agitation that marked the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

People everywhere in the North are quieted by the tale, "O, Kansas is all safe enough. Everybody admits that four out of five of the population are in favor of making her a Free State, and this settles the question. Whether she comes in this year or next, is of small consequence; when she does come, it will be as a Free State."

This supposition is a grievous error, as we will show. In the event of the dominant party being able to maintain their power in the Presidential election, the course of things will be this: Douglas's bill will form the basis, with or without modification, for an immediate effort of the Pro-Slavery men to admit Kansas as a State. A census will be ordered by the Border-Ruffian Legislature. This census will be measurably like Louis Napoleon's popular election. As many people will be returned as citizens of the Territory as are necessary to fulfill the terms of the bill authorizing the making of a State Constitution. Does anybody doubt that if that bill requires 90,000 population, the Border Ruffian census takers could find means to count them out of 50,000 to 60,000 or 70,000 real dwellers in the Territory? Of course not. It will be for the interest of the Pro-Slavery men to push on the proceedings as fast as possible. The sooner the job is done, the smaller the number of Missourians necessary to do it. The requisite population will thus be found at the earliest moment after the Presidential election. The question arises, Can that election be carried by the Pro-Slavery party?

We will suppose that when the Convention to form a State Government is ordered, there are 12,000 bona fide voters in the Territory. There is no reason to believe there will be more. Of this body of 12,000 we will suppose 8,000, or two-thirds, to be in favor of making Kansas a Free-State, giving to the Free-State party a majority of four thousand, or two to one in a fair canvass. Let us see how this majority of 4,000 can be whittled down and turned into a minority. The Pro-Slavery men are in power. They have the holding of the ballot-boxes and the counting of the votes. Assuming that they will be as reckless as before, the Free-State men would probably be defrauded of every member of the Convention. But assuming that a show of fairness will be maintained, (upon what grounds we should assume it Heaven only knows), we know that hidden frauds will be practiced on every ballot-box in every precinct and election district in the State. An unfortunate predominance of Free-State votes at some particular point, will be the understood signal for a preconcerted row, in which the ballot-box will come up missing, or with some unaccountable infusion of Pro-Slavery votes. At some unknown wild cat locality, a very extraordinary number of Slave-State votes will be found to have been cast, regularly done and certified, and stamped with all the forms of law, rendering their rejection impossible to the virtuous men who will be called to judge of their validity. Votes here and there and everywhere will be smuggled in by handfuls by the connivance of the ballot-box holders; rigid tests of voting, intimidation and violence will be applied by the ubiquitous Pro-Slavery officials of the Territory, to all Free-State men, excluding them from voting, with and without pretence, while Pro-Slavery voters will be manufactured to order and allowed to slip through without an obstacle to impede their progress.

It may be that, to save appearances, the squadrons of Missourians may not make such a pretentious show of their strength as before, but be stowed round the Territory in smaller bodies ready for equally and indeed more effective service, but it will be merely to save appearances. All the men from Missouri wanted to swamp the Free State majority will be there ready for service in the Territory, on the day of election. And the numbers, under our supposition, will not need to be one whit greater than it took to conquer the Territory in the first instance. Can any man doubt, after what has occurred in the Territory, that all this will be done, and more, if necessary? But after all the business of voting is performed, then comes the counting of the ballots by the Border Ruffians.

Is it to be supposed that any state of things could exist in which the Border-Ruffian party could find, by any possibility, a majority of Free-State men returned to make a constitution for them? It is an idle supposition. Such a vote could never be read or declared.

Let any man of candor reflect upon this subject in the light of the past transactions of the Border-Ruffian Legislature, and of his own experience of desperately contested elections, and he will be constrained to acknowledge that any proceedings to make Kansas a State, under the supervision of the present usurped Territorial Government there, (which is the scheme of Douglas and the Administration), will be sure to end in making it a Slave State.

We conclude, as an undeniable proposition, that the only chance of making Kansas a Free State is to admit her under the Topeka Constitution at this Session, which is not probable, or to defeat the party in power in the Presidential Election. If neither can be done, Kansas passes into Slavery, a hideous monument of unsurpassed political criminality. It is for the Northern people to say whether this shall be her destiny.

J. S. P.

THE DAILY TIMES.

W. S. GILMAN, EDITOR.

Circulation larger than any paper in West Virginia.

Reading Matter on Every Page.

FRIDAY MORNING.....APRIL 25

A Virginian in Kansas.

From the Westport *Border Times* we take the extract given below. Mr. Pate is a warm personal friend of ours, and was, prior to his removal to Kansas, a resident of Kanawha county, Virginia. The occasion of the demonstration alluded to was to welcome a delegation of emigrants from Georgia to Kansas. The *Times*' states that Gen. Whitfield was present, and being called upon made a spirited and an amusing speech.

Next came H. Clay Pate, Esq., who welcomed the Georgians to the West, and made an eloquent speech, concluding in these words:

"Upon a solemn occasion, in a public speech, I said, 'the question may be asked me, when I am for a dissolution of the Union? I answer, never.' Should the question, when I am for disunion, ever be asked me, and I answer not thus, let God put a seal on these lips, irremovable as the mark of Cain. Should this arm ever fail to lift itself in defence of the Union when menaced, let God strike it with a palsy terrible as the curse of Ananias and Sapphira!' But if Kansas is to be kept out of the Union because of Slavery in her Constitution, the Union instead of being an instrument of justice, is an instrument of injustice, and therefore a nullity; and if that is to be the case, I feel absolved from my obligation; and with a hearty good will conclude with the sentiment: Slavery for Kansas, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must."



CHARLOTTESVILLE.

Friday Evening, April 25, 1856.

Kansas Meeting.

The time has arrived when the people of the South should render all substantial means in their power to secure Kansas to the institution of the South and to protect slaveholders who remove thither in the possession of their property. South Carolina is acting nobly in the cause; and counties of our own State are moving in the matter. Shall the large slaveholding County of Albemarle refuse to act liberally and promptly in advancing the rights of the South and securing to slave labor the fertile lands of the new Territory? Will not the slaveholders of Albemarle follow the example of South Carolina, of Petersburg, of Charlotte, and other portions of the country?

One of the largest slaveholders of the County tells us that he is willing to contribute a liberal capitation tax upon his slaves; and we doubt not that others will come forward to lend their aid in sending industrious young men to Kansas, who by their votes next fall will secure Kansas against the designs of Free State emigration Societies. If our people think with us, we suggest that a County meeting be held at May Court for the purpose of effecting a County organization which will receive and appropriate contributions to the advancement of the Southern movement. No time should be lost by the South, as the destiny of Kansas will be decided for or against the South in the month of October next.



THE CONSTITUTION...STATE RIGHTS

RICHMOND WHIG.

FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 25, 1856.

Squatter Sovereignty.

From an article in yesterday's *Enquirer*, on this subject, we begin to indulge the hope that a doctrine more odious than the Wilmot Proviso, will not be formally incorporated in the Democratic creed at Cincinnati, without a struggle on the part of a portion, at least, of the Southern delegates. We have, from time to time, exhibited the most conclusive and overwhelming evidence, that almost the entire Democracy of the North are the apologists and advocates of this foul and dangerous political heresy—a heresy which would inevitably bind the South hand and foot, crush out all her rights in the Territories,

restrict slavery forever to its present limits, and finally result, by thus cabining and confining it, in its overthrow in the States where it now exists. We say the whole of the Democratic party at the North, with here and there an individual exception, are committed to this doctrine; and yet they are continually represented by their allies of the South as conservative, national, States' Rights men, sound to the core on all questions pertaining to the rights of the slaveholder. That this assumption is entirely unfounded and false, is now sufficiently demonstrated by the article in the *Enquirer*, to which we have alluded, an extract from which we here subjoin. Our neighbor thus berates and denounces the doctrine almost universally maintained by his Northern brethren:

"Among the fair, but false and fatal theories of the day, none attracts so much homage as the 'Squatter Sovereignty' courtazan. There are none so radiant with meretricious charms, none so ready with deceitful promise, and none so sure to cover their victim with shame and reproach. The sovereignty of the people is a noble principle, and should command universal homage. 'Squatter Sovereignty' is an imposture—a counterfeit copy—an ugly idol wrought by men's hands—and should be kicked off the pedestal where it sits in mock majesty and courts the adoration of fools and demagogues."

Now, we contend that if "Squatter Sovereignty" is the thing it is here represented to be by the *Enquirer*—if it is an "imposture," a cheat, a fraud—if it is more odious to the South, and more effectually subversive of her rights than Wilmot Provisoism—then those politicians, of whatever party or section, who advocate and maintain it, are necessarily enemies of the South, unworthy of her confidence and deserving her severest denunciations. In what category, then, according to the *Enquirer's* own statement of the case, should we place Messrs. Cass, Douglass, Pierce, Richardson, and all the other Democratic politicians at the North? Is it not notorious that each and all of them are the open and boastful advocates of the "false and fatal theory," which the *Enquirer* so properly and vehemently condemns? And this being so, does it not necessarily follow, from our neighbor's own premises, that they are not sound on the subject most nearly and vitally affecting the rights of the South, and should therefore be repudiated and scouted by the *Enquirer*, and all other Southern men?—We submit that this conclusion is inevitable from the *Enquirer's* reasoning. It has, indeed, furnished an argument against the South trusting these distinguished Northern Democrats, which we defy either itself or any of its party to successfully meet.

But not only is the dangerous heresy denounced by the *Enquirer*, almost universally prevalent among its party at the North, but it likewise has its advocates and defenders among leading men of its party here at the South. The following extract from a speech of the Hon. G. W. Jones, of Tennessee, delivered in the House of Representatives, December 28th, 1855, will emphatically enough attest the truth of what we assert. He said:

"In his opinion, the Kansas and Nebraska act recognized the full force and power, in all its vigor, of the rights of the people of the Territories to legislate over this subject, (slavery,) prior to their organization as a State Government, as fully and completely as was recognized the power of the people of the States over the subject of all domestic questions not delegated to the government. Gentlemen might call it what they pleased, non-intervention, squatter sovereignty, or popular sovereignty, it was a power of the people which they had never delegated to the government, and, in his opinion, they, and they alone, should exercise it, as well while in a Territorial condition as in a State Government."

There is the judgment of a prominent Southern Democrat in relation to the "imposture," the "ugly idol," the "false and fatal theory," which provokes the anathemas of the Richmond *Enquirer*. There is his construction, too, of the Kansas Nebraska act, which, he affirms, recognizes the right of the people of the Territories to legislate on the subject of slavery, prior to their organization as a State Government!

Now, how do Mr. Jones' views on the subject of

"squatter sovereignty"? Square with those promulgated by the *Enquirer*? He maintains that the people, "as well while in a Territorial condition as in a State government," have the unquestionable right to legislate on the question of slavery. That is, to give a "practical application" to his doctrine, that a dozen or twenty vagabonds sent to Kansas by the Emigrant Aid Societies of the North have the right, the moment they reach there, to determine that the slaveholder with his property shall never be allowed to enter that Territory! The *Enquirer*, on the contrary, maintains that, "if a Territorial legislature were to attempt to abolish slavery within the limits of any territory, it would be the imperative duty of the Federal government to interfere and protect the securities of property"—that only "when a territory becomes an independent political organization, and assumes the rights and responsibilities of a State, is it sovereign and master of its own institutions." But we must leave the Tennessee Democrat and the *Enquirer* to reconcile their differences of opinion on this important question, as best they may.

We submit in conclusion, that it is simply impossible for the *Enquirer* to support the nominee of the Cincinnati convention, without first requiring of him a frank and open avowal of his views in regard to the "false and fatal theory" to which it so strenuously objects. We shall, therefore, look for the Cincinnati confession of faith with no little interest—satisfied that unless it contains an emphatic denunciation of the doctrine of "squatter sovereignty," the *Enquirer* and its party in the South will promptly and indignantly refuse to sustain the candidates that may be put upon it.

Evening Advertiser.

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 25, 1856.

The *Herald of Freedom*, the leading Free State paper of Kansas, published at Lawrence, in its issue of March 15th, says:

"We published the proclamation of President Pierce about a week or two ago in regard to Kansas matters. We are glad of that proclamation. It has already prevented an invasion from Missouri, and a resort to bloodshed by citizens in self defence. The people of the territory have nothing to fear from the federal troops. During the late invasion their greatest hope was that Col. Sumner, at Fort Leavenworth, would march with his troops to Lawrence, and interpose them between the mob and the citizens. Gov. Shannon has the military of Forts Riley and Leavenworth at his command, and this he will use to put down insubordination on the one hand, and prevent invasion on the other. If he does this,—if he obeys his letter of instructions,—no more Doves, or Barbers, or Collinsees, or Browns, will be ruthlessly murdered in cold blood; no more illegal interfering with the ballot box will be allowed. On the contrary, peace and tranquility will be restored to our distracted country."

The proclamation of President Pierce is not so villainous a document as the telegraph reports made it, and as for the instructions to Gov. Shannon, they are all we could expect, or even desire. While the Governor abides by the letter of these instructions, it will afford us pleasure to sustain him.

No sane man dare deny that an invasion was contemplated for the first of March from Missouri. Evidence fully conclusive of such intentions can be produced; but the President's proclamation disarmed them, and now an attempt is being made to show that our preparations for defence were uncalculated for."

A Kansas correspondent of the *Hillsdale Gazette*, under date of February 11th writes: "I will here state upon my honor that the war humbug is really a humbug indeed. It is calculated to intimidate many an honest man, and to prevent them from coming to Kansas and enjoying this beautiful country, its climate and soil. Believe me when I tell you, there is no need of rifles, muskets, revolvers, bowie-knives, or any other deadly weapon. These articles are as useless here as in any of the States."

CITY OF CHICAGO.

SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 26, 1856.

Our Kansas Correspondence.
Thoughts and Things in Kansas.

NUMBER IV.

LAWRENCE, K. T., April 17th, 1856.

I arrived here this morning, in company with the Commissioners and their attaches. It was with the utmost difficulty that we could obtain conveyances, so great is the crowd that are rushing westward into the Territory. All the way from Kansas City to this place, we encountered wagons loaded with immigrants and their effects. The accommodations for entertainment on the route are on a very small scale, and are exceedingly poor at that. A small party—the smaller the better, because the safer—may possibly find accommodations, such as they are; but a score or more of immigrants, if they have not the facilities for "camping out," and furnishing their own provisions, will fare poorly enough. The Inns—if Inns they can be called—on the way, are very small; and whatever may be said of their *cuisine*, they are lamentably deficient in the requisites for sleeping comfortably. We stopped over night on the way to Lawrence at a house kept by an Indian, who stowed away a couple of dozen of us in one room, very much as negroes are said to be packed in slave ships. A simple muslin screen divided the sexes. The Inns are very primitive. They are not to be despised, however, and one who has traveled all day over these government roads, is glad to avail himself of even this mode of sleeping. The face of the country for the whole distance, some forty-five miles, is better by far than I had anticipated. Accounts of it which I have seen published, are, in my judgment, by no means sufficiently favorable. It is the most beautiful rolling prairie all the way. The land for productiveness is all that could be desired. The soil is from four to six and even eight feet deep, and we saw the stalks of corn raised last year, at least fifteen feet high. There are streams enough tributary to the Kansas for all practical purposes. Timber is more abundant than I had supposed, and fine timber it is, too, including oak and black walnut. Some of the most beautiful views imaginable are presented from the highest ground on this immense prairie. As far as the eye can reach, there are the same gentle undulations. Now and then there is a little ravine, deeper than the other valleys, through which a clear brook flows. On the margin of all these streams there is more or less timber. I doubt if the sun often shines on land more desirable than this. But please, Mr. Immigrant, don't be in too great a hurry to settle down on any of these quarter sections. There is a belt of some thirty miles wide running from the Missouri line westward, nearly as far as Lawrence, which the Government have set apart for the Shawnee Indians. They are the sole occupants now, and no whites are allowed to settle here. However, a large part of this reservation will be open to pre-emption next autumn. The Indians, according to the late treaty made with them, are to make a selection from these lands of something more than two-thirds—I think this is not far from the proportion—which will leave for the whites a very liberal share. There will be a great rush for this land as soon as they are ready for pre-emption.

I said that no whites had occupied any part of this reservation. There is one exception—that of a man who calls himself an ambassador of Christ, and who aspires to be His missionary among these ignorant red men. By some means or other—I will not undertake to determine what; *fair* means charity inclines us to presume—he has come into possession of a whole quarter section of six hundred and forty acres of some of the best land belonging to the tribe. His house, which we passed, is quite an imposing one for the Territory, and he is a farmer on a large scale. Governor Reeder made his home at this Methodist brother's house, for some time. The reverend missionary is a great lover of the "peculiar institution," as no

oubt my readers have heard, and does all he can to further the pro-slavery cause in the Territory. I have been repeatedly told that no border ruffians in Missouri indorse the measures of that party more openly and cordially than this same missionary of the gospel of peace. Would he be wrong to add a couple of lines to the Litany of the English church in these words, "From all gentlemen in clerical robes, who are intriguing to make slave states out of free territory, Good Lord, deliver us!"

We stopped to dine at the house of the chief of the Shawnees. The council of the nation were in session, their council house, built of logs, looking but a very little show. We were invited in and introduced. Five men, the chief included, formed the council. Rather undignified these dignitaries appeared to me. They were sitting round a small table having upon it some half dozen pipes, a huge canister of tobacco, a large row head, and a book. Their language did not strike me as being in the highest degree musical. They spoke as if they were no more than men in earnest; and I am inclined to think they were scarcely half awake. I hope the admirers of Indian song and Indian romance will pardon me when I say, that altogether these red men's ways seemed unpoetic and unromantic enough.

The weather is delightful. If it were not for the wind, which blows unmercifully over the prairie, and sets in motion on the road a larger amount of *free soil* than is necessary for comfort, a ride over them would be one of the pleasantest imaginable. The grass is becoming quite green. The leaves begin to appear upon the trees. Little flowers are springing up in the ravines. Birds have commenced their warblings. Just at the edge of evening we had the satisfaction of seeing a veritable wolf. He was but a few rods from the path when we passed. He trotted leisurely off a little further, turned around, and looked—I thought rather disdainfully—toward our party, until we were beyond the reach of his vision. Turkey-buzzards are abundant, and especially at the far-famed camp at Wakarusa, where the carcasses of several horses who fell during the war, are still wasting away.

Appropos of the site of this encampment. It is one of the most picturesque between the Missouri River and Lawrence. This will be a memorable spot to the citizens of Kansas, for many generations. Nearly one thousand men were encamped here and in the vicinity, all armed and under the direction of men who were sworn generally to destroy the infant Hercules of freedom in the Territory, and particularly to annihilate the Yankee town of Lawrence. How signally were their schemes defeated, and what an inglorious affair they made of it! A Missourian who was engaged in this camp some weeks, confessed to me that it was one of the silliest things he ever did in his life. I have had a long conversation with Mr. Weaver, who was taken prisoner at the beginning of the war, and who was held during the campaign. I am strongly tempted to give you his statement. But on the whole, I think it would be better to wait until the testimony comes officially before the public, as it will through the Commissioners of Congress.

Of the men and the things in Lawrence, I will say something in my next. GRADGRIND.

Detroit Evening Tribune.

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 26, 1856.

Emigrants for Kansas.

Within the present month from one thousand to twelve hundred emigrants, for Kansas, have arrived in our city. The great majority of these have come from the South. Day before yesterday, the steamer *Oceana* brought half of the company of Alabamians, under the conduct of Colonel Buford; and yesterday, the residue arrived in the America. They were distributed among the different hotels of the city, and will leave for their destination on the *Keystone*, this morning.—*St. Louis Democrat*, April 23.

Unless the friends of free Kansas bestir themselves, the slave power will outgeneral them in the

(Correspondence of the Missouri Democrat.)

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 18th, 1856.

THE BRANSON RESCUERS.

Monday of this week was the time fixed upon for the trial of the Branson Rescuers, before Judge Lecompte at Leocompton. But in consequence of the Clerk's having failed through mistake to summon the Grand Jury, the time was extended until the first Monday in May next, at which time, if "this honor" is well, the Rescuers will be tried and punished, in accordance with one of the enactments of the Barons, by one year's imprisonment at hard labor, and five hundred dollars fine—which will not be paid.

FREE STATE EMIGRANTS ARRIVING.

For the past week the weather has been clear and pleasant. Our city has been full of strangers from the different Northern and Eastern States, to become permanent settlers among us. On Monday the colony from New Haven, Conn., numbering about seventy-five men, arrived, each having a Sharp's rifle with which to defend our rights from being again trampled upon by Drunken Davy's hosts. This colony is composed of the right sort of men. They intend to locate together, erect their cabins, plant some corn, and then send each for their wives and little ones. In the evening of the day upon which they arrived here, Union Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity, and the New Haven colony received from the citizens of Lawrence and vicinity a public reception. Speeches were made by the following members of the colony—Messrs. Lines, Dr. Root, Farmer, and by the following citizens of Lawrence—Messrs. Hutchinson, Harrington, Mallory and Emmerson. The "Stubbs" (a military company of this city) were present, and sang their famous song. Great enthusiasm prevailed in the meeting. On Tuesday a small company arrived from Boston, and one from Indiana. On Wednesday a few families arrived from Illinois. Yesterday afternoon several gentlemen arrived from some of the middle States, and intend to locate in the vicinity of Fort Riley.

ARRIVAL OF THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

In the evening, Mr. Sherman and wife, with others, from Ohio, came into the city, and reported that Mr. Howard, Gov. Reeder, with Clerks, Reporters, Sergeant-at-Arms, connected with the Kansas Investigating Committee, were about ten miles back, and would arrive in the morning. This morning Ex-Governor Reeder, Mr. Howard, and others arrived, and about noon the committee left for Leocompton, to commence their investigation, by an examination of the records, &c. Mr. Oliver, of Missouri, had not arrived. The balance of the committee waited for him nearly a week at Kansas City. The people who sent Oliver to Washington as their representative, are very much dissatisfied with his course, and they accuse him of proving false to them, by voting for Richardson, Orr and Alken, instead of the 12th section Know Nothing candidate, for Speaker of the House. It is reported that they are very much displeased with him for accepting an appointment on the Kansas Investigating Committee. Mr. Oliver considered it necessary to remain at home for a short time, to set himself right with his constituents.

MR. ROBINSON RETURNED.

Mr. Robinson arrived this afternoon, direct from Boston; he made the trip in nine days, was well treated on the route, and met Mr. Oliver and Gen. Whitfield at Kansas City. Both of these gentlemen are at Franklin, and will join the committee at Leocompton to-morrow. The former is in excellent spirits, and enjoyed his trip to Washington very much. Considers the case of Kansas safe. The people's rights will be maintained, and Kansas will be admitted as a Free State or Slave State, as they may determine.

THE CRY IS, STILL THEY COME!

This afternoon, a company of about fifty men, from Ohio and New England, arrived; more, on the road, will be here to-morrow, all pleased with the country, and are determined to remain. This evening, a meeting of the citizens was held in front of the Cincinnati House, to welcome them to Kansas. A committee of about 100 persons formed into line, marched to the residence of Governor Robinson, on Onad Mount, and escorted that gentleman and Hon. A. H. Ruddle down to the dining room of the Free State Hotel, which was soon filled with ladies and gentlemen. Dr. Harrington was called to the Chair. Ruder, being loudly called for, came forward and made an eloquent speech—discoursed the great questions of the day in a masterly and interesting manner. After he had concluded his remarks, Robinson, being loudly called for, came forward and made, what is usual with him, an eloquent and soul-stirring speech, making many good hits, re-levelling briefly our past history, and speaking very encouragingly of our future triumphs. It is, perhaps, needless to add, that both gentlemen were loudly cheered by the people, who are resolute, and determined to sustain our present fearless attitude, well knowing their rights, and daring to maintain them.

Mr. Lines, President of New Haven Colony, made a speech, and Colonel Perry, of Rhode Island—of Know Nothing notoriety—entertained the people with several funny remarks. After which tea meeting adjourned.

Yours,

S. F. T.

struggle now going to determine the future destiny of this State, as it always has done. There is a slave capital of more than fifteen thousand millions of dollars, interested in planting slavery in Kansas, and energetically backing up the effort of the propagandists to accomplish that object. The owners of this vast amount of human "property," have a direct, positive, and all-powerful motive for making Kansas a slave State. This motive is not alone a pecuniary one. Politically and socially, they have a deep stake in the success of their efforts.

If they fail, and Kansas shall be admitted as a free State, it will not only lessen the value of slave property, but it will destroy the balance of political power which they have labored so long, and thus far, so successfully, to preserve, even the admission of California not destroying the equilibrium, and then there will never be another slave State in the Union. This will be a fatal blow at the exclusive privileges they have thus far enjoyed. The very efforts they have employed to secure Kansas to slavery, will recoil upon their own heads, should they fail. The thousands of emigrants they have sent to Kansas, very few of whom are slave owners, when they have tasted the blessings of free institutions, will constitute an army of missionaries in the cause of freedom, and will exert a powerful influence upon the non-slave-holding portion of the southern population.

More than six millions of southern people have no direct interest in upholding slavery. On the contrary all their interests are opposed to it. Their representatives in Kansas will arouse them to a sense of their present degraded condition, and induce them to assert their manhood, and to throw off their galling chains, by emigrating to free territory, if not by a general declaration of independence at home. But it requires a greater and more systematic effort than yet has been made at the north, to secure Kansas to freedom. The paragraph we have quoted from the *St. Louis Democrat*, shows that southern emigrants, thus far, greatly outnumber those from the north. Shall this condition of things long continue? If they do, Kansas will become a slave State, the power of slavery will be permanently established, and the north need never again make an effort to stay the aggressions of the propagandists. Slavery will continue to extend itself indefinitely. Four new slave States will be carved out of Texas, Utah will come into the Union with a slave constitution, possibly Nebraska, and as many other States as the interests of the south may demand.



SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 26, 1856.

The Holes in the Cuirass.

Resolved, 2d. That the public discussion of the institution of slavery, in any form, or under any pretence whatever, in the midst of a slave-holding community, is such an outrage upon the rights and feelings of the general public—and discloses such a wanton disregard of social order, and the peace and happiness of all classes—as merits the stringent expression of our abhorrence and indignation.

Thus wrathfully the slaveholding oligarchs of Hillsboro, Loudoun Co., Virginia, to the orators of the Goose Creek meeting. Question was there made of the policy of involuntary labor, and the lawfulness of treating man as a chattel. Thomas Jefferson's history should furnish consolation to them of Goose Creek. He tells us in his letter to Edward Coles, of August 25, 1814, of the misadventure of his first endeavor to ameliorate the unprotected condition of the negroes of Virginia under the laws of the State. "In the first or second session of the Legislature after I became a member, I drew to this subject the attention of Colonel Bland, one of the oldest, ablest, and most respected members, and he undertook to move for certain moderate extensions of the protection of the laws to these

people. I seconded his motion, and as a younger member was more spared in the debate: but he was denounced as an enemy to his country, and was treated with the greatest indecorum."

How vulnerable slave-labor society is, how perilous within and from without, how consuming even when its fire smoulders, to the Commonwealth and to the citizen, and how destructive it would be if it burst into fanned flames, all Virginians know. They know it too a great deal better than we Northern men can know it. And it amazes us that in that great State, strong men do not arise and place their grip upon the neck of this growing and strengthening serpent of Slavery, and strangle it. The remedy of mortal combat with it, will not be as wise as that proposed by the Hon. Thomas J. Randolph, in the Virginia House of Delegates, on the 11th day of January, 1832, in these words:—

"The children of all female slaves who may be born in this State on or after the 1st day of July, 1840, shall become the property of the Commonwealth, the males at the age of twenty-one years, and females at the age of eighteen, if detained by their owners within the limits of Virginia, until they shall respectively arrive at the ages aforesaid, to be hired out until the net sum arising therefrom shall be sufficient to defray the expense of their removal beyond the limits of the United States."

In the protracted and thorough debate which succeeded upon this proposition, there was a great deal of plain and honest truth spoken to the slaveholders of Virginia, by Virginian slaveholders. The holes in the cuirass were frankly exhibited. Said James McDowell, jr., of Rock-bridge:—

"The curse which in combination with others, has been denounced against man as a just punishment for his sins,—the curse of having an enemy in his household—has come upon us. We have an enemy there to whom our dwelling is at all times accessible—our persons at all times—our lives at all times, and that by manifold weapons both visible and concealed."

"If this Union is given up, do you not see at a glance, how enfeebled Virginia and the whole South would become, by that alien and insurrectionary population which they nurture in their bosom? Do you not see that any emergency which would concentrate their disposable force on the objects of external defence, would lay open the whole interior to desolation, and would expose every family to the most unutterable of catastrophes? If gentlemen do not see nor feel the evil of slavery, whilst this Federal Union lasts, they will see and feel it when it is gone; they will see and suffer it then in a magnitude of de-solating power, to which 'the pestilence that walketh at noon day' would be a blessing."

Henry Berry, of Jefferson, a large slaveholder, and the representative of a great slaveholding constituency, boldly told the Delegates, that "no cancer on the physical body was ever more certain, steady, and fatal than is the cancer of Slavery upon the political body of Virginia." Said he moreover:—

"Can man feel that he has the power to assert his liberty, and will he not do it? Yes sir, with the certainty of the current of time, he will do it, whenever he has the power. Sir, a death struggle must come between the two classes, in which one or the other will be extinguished forever."

"The attitude of the citizens of this State in relation to this danger is one of the most distressing insecurity, individually. We both risk and owe, towards whom a single man should point a loaded gun, with the apparent intent to fire upon them. They know he cannot kill them all, but each feels that his life is in peril. So here, we know not when, how, or where that evil may assail us."

Charles James Faulkner, of Berkeley, participating in the debate, declared:—

"If slavery can be eradicated, in God's name let us get rid of it. It cannot let that melancholy fact be ascertained; and let those who are now waiting with painful impatience the result of your determination, peck up their household gods, and find among the lumbered forests and prairies of the West, the security and repose which their native land does not afford."

"Slavery it is admitted, is an evil—it is an institution which presses heavily against the best interests of the State. It banishes free white labor—it exterminates the mechanic, the artisan, the manufacturer. It deprives them of bread. It converts the energy of a community into indolence—its power into imbecility—its efficiency into weakness."

Randolph with pregnant meaning and most comprehensive words asked the Delegates "Are we then prepared to barter the liberty of our children, for slaves for them?"

The debaters of the Goose Creek Meeting House should take heart. The Legislation of Virginia furnishes them high authority for frank out-speaking upon the State's great sickness.



NEW HAVEN:

SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1856.

Correspondence of the Palladium.

Our Kansas Colony in Lawrence—Passage through the Shawnee Reserve—The Rolling Prairies—An Indian Hotel—Lawrence Accommodations—The Mud Forts.

LAWRENCE, K. T., April 14, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—A few of our party arrived in this renowned city on Saturday night, at half past eleven o'clock. The whole company left Kansas City the same day,—some on foot, some in carts, and some in wagons, and moved on up the Territory, expecting in a day or two to meet our pioneers, and hasten on to the location selected. We were not well pleased with Kansas City. The object of everybody from hotel keeper down to the teamsters, appeared to be, personal gain, without much regard to means, and it is next to impossible to get an honest answer to any inquiry, where private or local interests are concerned. It is, therefore, very important to every person or company coming this way, to be well posted before leaving home.

The Hotel where we put up there, is kept by a Connecticut man by the name of Eldridge.—He charged us \$1 50 per day for very common entertainment. A few left, and found better fare for little more than half price. So with teamsters. After engaging one at a certain rate, another would offer to do the same service for very much less, all showing an utter want of regularity, and a uniform disposition to make the most possible out of us while we remained. I think, in coming again, if there is no boat on the Kansas River, my preference would be to go up to Leavenworth, and from there into the Territory. But we are now free from all such embarrassments, and have our own teams, and may proceed on our journey as best we can.

... leaving Kansas, we passed through the Shawnee Indian Reservation, lying between Lawrence and the southern line of the Territory, and were delighted with the country. There is upon it a good supply of wood, and the rolling prairie, in beauty and fertility, far surpassed the expectations of us all. The air is also clear and balmy as could possibly be desired. No swamps or marshes exist, such as we find in abundance in passing through Illinois and Ohio, and wherever the ground had been broken. The soil turned up black and rich, as any possible combination of fertilizing substances could make it. It would delight beyond measure my valued horticultural friend at the "Savings Bank" to put his trowel into such soil, and rear from it those magnificent products it must be so capable of producing, and that he is so competent to cultivate. But this particular section is now a reservation, and, of course, out of our reach; yet there are, no doubt, millions of acres more, equally good, spread in undulating, rolling mounds all over this fair land.

The road through the country is simply an Indian trail, meandering like the curves and bends of a river, which gives a deep interest to the ride, now ascending by a kind of serpentine way up the sides of a gentle swell of land, and now descending into a beautiful vale below, not unlike the deep heavy swell of the ocean in the calm, that often succeeds a storm. Some of our men, who in the morning from being unwell and wearied with the journey, were dejected, on seeing these fine prairies, were re-inspired with the Kansas enterprise, and one of them, in his enthusiasm, suddenly exclaimed—"How our wives will enjoy riding over such a country in such an atmosphere, and with such an unbounded, magnificent landscape before them."

The same friend, in walking out in the evening twilight, and expatiating upon the balmy atmosphere in which for an hour we bathed our weary bodies, remarked that this would be a splendid country for "courting" interviews and promenades—that the inhalations of such pure ethereal air must be suited to the cultivation of the tender emotions; and walks over these gently sloping mounds would be more softening and social in their influences, than any we ever enjoyed in our eastern homes, even under the overshadowing arches of our own magnificent "elms." I am free to confess that our ideas were quite congenial in this particular.

Those of your readers who have seen prairie only as it lies flat in Illinois and other Western States, can have but a faint idea of what has revisited our

eyes and delighted our hearts in this Kansas region. But I must not indulge in these vain attempts to describe what can only be comprehended by actual vision.

Our driver over this route was a Yankee, by the name of Bronson, from Southford, in Connecticut, and from him we learned interesting facts in reference to the country. He pointed out the residence of the Southern Methodist missionary, "Johnson," who has made himself so notorious by his pro-slavery operations, and rich by his management in getting possession of a large amount of this splendid Indian country. He also designated several large and valuable farms of 1200 acres, each cultivated by white men, and when we inquired how they became possessed of it, replied, by marrying a *squaw*, as every Indian female has the right to 200 acres for herself and for each child born to her; and some of these Yankees had not only acquired a fine tract of land, but a first rate wife, also, in this way.

When within ten miles of Lawrence, we stopped for tea at an Indian Hotel, kept in a log cabin, where everything was exceedingly primitive and yet quite comfortable. We left this place late in the evening, and while speaking of the balmy nature of the atmosphere, our driver remarked that he had often witnessed a different state of things, and when we were out in some snow storms in winter, or thunder showers in summer, we should all it anything else but balmy. But as to the snow, the last winter's experience is undoubtedly an exception to the general rule, and in regard to the other, we replied, that even thunder and lightning, when properly contemplated, could be made sublimely and awfully interesting, just in proportion to its grandeur.

On arriving at Lawrence, our driver conducted us to what he called a hotel, but what is in fact a boarding house kept in a building with four rooms and a shanty for a kitchen, with another building near by for lodgers when the hotel "runs over." After the lady of the house was aroused—for the establishment is kept by a maiden lady who has been a missionary and an editor, and by the way made a prodigious mistake in adopting her present business—we were ushered into the reception room, the furniture of which consists of three bedsteads, one work stand and one small oval table; the bedsteads being made by nailing four strips of boards on to four upright sticks of wood and slats laid across. One of the beds had just been vacated by the landlady and the other two were occupied by two other ladies, who entertained us by conversation while the proprietress was contriving to crowd us in somewhere. In due time we were informed that five of our number could be accommodated in the other building, and that she had half of two beds up stairs and a vacant single bed that belonged to a boarder, and might be wanted before morning. We asked if she could not arrange to put the two half beds into one, which after a while was accomplished, and we were significantly informed that the mattress was a "very nice one," and—after a little hesitation—"that sometimes three persons had slept upon it," but this suggestion was not responded to by us, and we therefore were permitted to occupy the boarder's bed as he was said to be quite disposed to accommodate in an emergency, and so it proved, for no sooner were we in the room than he came in with a little bed-ticking, sewed together and stuffed with something—a blanket and a pillow, and bunked down upon the floor, making in all nine men in a room 14 feet square, and such beds, made after the fashion above recited—and mattresses—so called—harder if possible than the soft side of a pine plank, were quite a new thing to us, but still very comfortable under the circumstances. In the morning as we awoke and looked out we saw within a few rods of the house, the mud forts erected during the "border war" last winter, and were informed that this house was the only "quarters" where the "army" partook of their "rations." But it is late, and for a more particular account of our first impressions of Lawrence you must wait for a more favorable opportunity, a better pen, and a less sleepy bodily condition.

Cincinnati and brought here. The inmates of the establishment cannot be at this time less than forty men, and all the furniture in the house, including beds, bedding, kitchen utensils, and every thing else, would not sell at auction in New Haven for \$30.

In our room occupied by nine men there is one "ever and basin," one looking glass 4 inches wide by 6 long—and one-half of a chair. We have one pitcher of water for our ablution purposes in the morning. Our butter looks precisely like hog's lard, and does not taste like any thing in particular. Milk we only see occasionally, and potatoes are few and far between; dried peaches are very common, but the cooking of every thing is very bad. I would be glad to compromise my entire rations daily for one meal from home. Candlesticks are very much out of fashion, except blocks of wood. But for a new country it is very doubtful whether there has ever been an instance of such wonderful progress in building up a town as in this instance of Lawrence, and perhaps some other cities in Kansas.

There are now in this city about 150 houses, a few of them very comfortable, several good stores, three churches begun or provided for, two weekly papers, a very fine Hotel nearly finished, &c., all accomplished in less than two years. The village, or city as it is called, is beautifully located on one of the rolling prairie swells, and the landscape in every direction as fine as could be desired. The soil is perfect, not only rich beyond description, but so formed and underlaid by mineral substances of a decidedly fertilizing character, as to render it next to impossible to exhaust it. From the few experiments made here in gardening, the success from all accounts we have received has been of the most gratifying character. We have astonishing and reliable accounts of melons, squashes, tomatoes, cucumbers, &c.—water melons weighing over 90 lbs. and pumpkins over 100. We are also well satisfied that stock can be raised and fattened here with great facility. Corn is raised with great success. One farmer informed me that he had storks in his garden as large a man's wrist and 21 feet high. Wheat has not yet been fully tested, but it is supposed that it will do well.

The winds here are very heavy at this season, often sweeping over the prairie like a young tornado, and this circumstance is spoken of by some of our men as constituting the most serious objection to the country, while others regard it as far more tolerable than our long, drizzling, chilly, north-easters, when the sun is sometimes hid for a week. Here the storms are severe but short. We have already witnessed some of them with thunder and lightning accompanied, but the specimens have not been of the first class. A lady remarked to us to-day that the thunder and lightning was very much more terrific here than at the east, but no more destructive. Very little damage is done by it. We have found several springs of water that are very good, and the lady before referred to says that some of them furnish excellent soft water, suitable for washing. (The people of Lawrence are dependent for timber chiefly upon the Delaware Indians, whose "Reserve" is on the opposite side of the river, and is finely wooded. There is great need here of mechanics and laborers.

Lawrence has no livery stable, furniture store, machine shop, foundry, and but very few stone masons, while many are wanted, as most of the best buildings will undoubtedly be constructed of stone. I find it quite difficult to procure the necessary facilities for writing, my last letter having been written on the greasy side of the kitchen table at our "Hotel," and I am now availing myself of the kindness of Mr. Hutchinson, who visited us in New Haven last winter, and using his "fixings" in his law office.

There are of course many objects of interest here. Yesterday, (Sunday morning,) Mr. Branson, the man of whose *rescue* from the Missouri Sheriff we have all heard, was pointed out to me passing along the street with his Sharp's Rifle in hand, feeling as he still does, unsafe without it, as he lives some distance from the city. A few moments after one of the rescuers was introduced to us. The war has created quite a little revolutionary history for the place which will be treasured up and related for years to come with great interest by those familiar with the facts, and especially the few who participated in them. We spent our Sabbath yesterday with great satisfaction in company with the Church of Rev. Mr. Lum, the Congregational clergyman who was among the first settlers of the place, but the details of our first Sabbath in "Kansas" must be reserved for another occasion. Our company are beginning to arrive in fine spirits, and camping out in the vicinity, and we hope very soon to drive our stakes and plant our standard upon a permanent locality. With us as yet, all is well. May a kind Providence grant that our friends and loved ones at home may be prosperous and happy.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 26, 1856.

FROM AND ABOUT KANZAS.

The larger New Haven party arrived at Kansas city, Mo., the 10th, having had a pleasant trip up the Missouri and made friends of the Missourians on board, who were at first suspicious, but finally came to be on the best terms with them. On leaving the boat they passed a vote of thanks to the officers and presented a Sharps' rifle to the clerk. They purchased 30 yoke of oxen, with wagons, plows and other implements, and provisions for two months, and intended to start the next morning for the interior. On the day of the Connecticut election they tested the politics of the company by a vote, with this result: Republicans 27, Americans 24, whigs 4, democrats 3, temperance 1.—The St Louis News has started a story which will furnish a text for the border-ruffian editors at the East for several weeks; it is that some of the Kansas men have taken their Sharps' rifles to Independence, Mo., and sold them for \$12 and \$16 apiece. We suspect the ruffians have been hoaxed, and that these are some of the United States guns stolen by the besiegers of Lawrence and dropped on the road.

The Lafayette Kansas emigration society of Missouri has issued an appeal to the South. It says that Western Missouri has been heavily taxed for two years, in money and time, in fighting the battles of the South in Kansas, and now the entire South must unite in the consummation of the work or all that has been done will be labor lost; "words will no longer do any good; we must have men in Kansas, and that by tens of thousands. A few will not answer. If we should need ten thousand and lack one of that number, all will count nothing." They conclude that if the South cannot maintain her ground at the territorial election in October, all will be lost.—The South Carolina papers generally oppose emigration to Kansas, on the ground that the slaveholding states cannot spare men of the right sort; very few slaveholders can go or ought to go, and it is doubtful whether any considerable number of the poor white men sent from the South will ever become slaveholders or take any vital interest in planting the institution in Kansas. "This is decidedly sensible for South Carolina.

A large and spirited Kansas meeting was held at Burlington, Vt., Monday evening, which was addressed by Col Emery of Kansas, and some \$300 were subscribed to the aid fund.—Gen Pomroy, on his return to the territory, addressed the people of Albany, N. Y., Monday evening, Troy, Tuesday evening, and Utica, Wednesday evening, in behalf of Kansas, and with great success. The venerable Dr Beman of Troy expressed his cordial sympathy with the speaker, and hoped that when the committee for funds went round they would give him a call.

The administration papers are industriously reiterating that the bill of Douglas for the admission of Kansas as a state, secures the right of suffrage and its protection to the settlers. This is merely another trick of the demagogues who have sold Kansas to slavery for their own advancement. The bill of Douglas secures no such right to the settlers. It provides—

"That, at the said election of delegates, all white male inhabitants who shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and shall have been actual residents in said territory for the period of six months, and in the district for the period of three months, next preceding the day of election, and who shall possess the other qualifications required by the organic act of the territory, shall be entitled to vote, and that none others shall be permitted to vote at said election."

Now the organic act, that is the Kansas-Nebraska bill, provides that "the qualification of voters, and of those holding office, at all subsequent elections, shall be such as shall be prescribed by the legislative assembly." The legislative assembly, recognized by Douglas and Pierce, is the gang of interloping Missourians, who made the oath to support the fugitive slave law and the imported Missouri code an indispensable pre-requisite to the right to vote. Douglas' bill does not annul this, does not propose to annul it. In fact he takes the position distinctly that Congress cannot

Impressions of Lawrence—Pioneer Luxuries—The City Site and Possessions—Agricultural Products—Spring Winds—Water and Wood—Objects of Interest—All Well.

LAWRENCE, April 15, 1856.

MESSES. EDITORS:—The impressions we had in regard to many things in Lawrence before leaving home, have been confirmed since arriving here, in some particulars, and in others we have been disappointed. We had supposed that a fine Hotel was in actual operation, but we find that it is still in an unfinished state; and that the "Cincinnati House," heretofore partially described as our present habitation, is the best and only public house in the city, kept, as before stated, by a lady who while she is evidently a very excellent woman is not adapted to her present business. The house derives its name from the fact that it was built in

power at the ensuing election. *Kansas is not admitted now, because it is the determination of the slave power to enslave her; and the Administration and the Northern leaders of the Sham Democracy are afraid to interpose to prevent that catastrophe. Kansas stands to-day, bound hand and foot by the Administration, who will not let her go free, and she is to be sacrificed and turned over to Slavery through the influence of the same class of low-born and revolting considerations that originally prompted the step which exposed her to invasion and reduction by the Pro-Slavery Border Ruffians.*

Let it be understood that Kansas cannot save herself, the Free-State party of the Territory cannot save her, however numerous it may be, while the Douglas bill stands as the shelter for the consummation of the determined purposes of the Pro-Slavery men and the Border-Ruffian Legislature. The Territory is doomed, unless it is rescued by the voice of the people of the Free States in the Presidential election.

We want preachers of the gospel of Kansas. We don't want argument, or essay, or logic, to prove anything touching the great question. Congress is *lawyered* to death. We want preachers, with tongues of fire, and a leader holy, rapt, and mystical as a seraph. This is a day for a Luther, a Huss, and a Peter the Hermit. We want glorified spirits filled with ode and rhapsody and lyric. The great harp of liberty lies unstrung, and needs to be waked to new and sublimer strains than were ever evoked from its strings. Where is the Master who shall seize it, touch its chords, and rouse this people into life? There is the cause and the crisis, the essential elements of one of the most moving, exciting and magnetic contests that was ever witnessed. The ingredients of a more than necromantic power lie in unimagined opulence beneath our feet. Where is the enchanter whose wand shall vitalize them? J. S. P.

THE DOUGLAS AND LANE CORRESPONDENCE.

From The Washington Union, April 25, 1856.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, April 25, 1856.
SIR: You will please publish the inclosed correspondence. The letter of Judge Douglas to the Hon. C. K. Watson was delivered by me to the Hon. C. K. Watson last. After reading it, Mr. Watson said to me, verbally, that he was not aware when he delivered Col. Lane's note that it could be construed as hostile in its character, and that it was his determination not to prosecute further the correspondence.
It is due to Mr. Watson to say that his manner and conversation in relation to this matter have been courteous and friendly—holding that no rule or technicality should induce him to do anything that his judgment could not approve. This met the approval of my own judgment.
Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
EDITOR UNION. JOSEPH LANE.

WASHINGTON CITY, Friday, April 25, 1856.
DEAR SIR: It has been announced in the newspapers that a hostile message has been sent to you by Col. James H. Lane of Kansas Territory, and your course in regard to that matter has been most gracefully presented. We, as friends whom you consulted, and who advised the course which you pursued on that occasion, request your permission to publish the correspondence now in our hands, in order that the facts may be understood.
Very truly, your obedient servants,
R. TOOMBS, JAMES L. ORR,
JOHN B. WELLER, JOSEPH LANE,
H. S. A. DOUGLAS, J. D. BRIGHT.

WASHINGTON, Friday, April 25, 1856.
GENTLEMEN: In reply to your note of the date, I take pleasure in saying that you have my permission to make such disposition of the correspondence referred to as you may think the circumstances require.
Very truly your friend,
S. A. DOUGLAS.
Messrs. R. TOOMBS, J. B. WELLER, J. D. BRIGHT, J. L. ORR, and JOSEPH LANE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Friday, April 18, 1856.
SIR: One day last week I placed in the hands of General Cass, with a request to lay it before the Senate, the Memorial of the General Assembly of Kansas praying for her admission into the Union as a sovereign State. I gave that direction to the Memorial from the State. I gave that direction to the Memorial from the fact that the Convention unanimity, had before selected of Kansas, with great unanimity, had before selected the General Cass as the medium by which to present the Constitution to the Senate, deeming him, on account of seniority, the more proper person to introduce into the Union the new applicant.
On Thursday of that week that Memorial was the subject of severe criticisms, and in connection with it, charges of the most grave character were preferred against me.
On Monday last, in a paper read in your hearing and by you, I frankly avowed myself the reviser of that memorial; stated distinctly that it was prepared under my direction, in conformity with the authority vested

in me; that no human being was consulted in the preparation of it; that the instructions of my principals were faithfully carried out; the explanation was as full as the avowal was frank, nothing being withheld. After this, in connection with the Memorial, you repeat the charge in a form much more objectionable than before. Believing, as I do, that neither the Constitution of the United States nor the rules of the Senate were intended to justify or sanction so gross an attack upon the character of an American citizen, I respectfully ask for such an explanation of your language on that occasion as will remove all imputation upon the integrity of my action or motives in connection with that Memorial.

When you are reminded that, although I have a certificate of election to a seat in the body of which you are a member, and so far your peer, yet I am not permitted to speak in my own defense; when you are reminded of the friendship, personal as well as political, which has heretofore existed between us; that I came here your friend, confidently expecting to find you on the Kansas application where you stood in '44 on the Texas question, in '50 on the California question, in favor of recognizing the people's Government, and extending over American citizens the protecting arm of the General Government, I feel confident you will, without hesitation, tender the explanation requested, and thereby render a simple act of justice toward one who has faithfully discharged his duty to his constituents in all the relations which have given rise to the existing controversy.
My friend, the Hon. C. R. Watson, will deliver this to you and receive your answer.
Respectfully,
J. H. LANE.
Hon. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, Washington City.

SATURDAY, April 19, 1856.

SIR: I have examined the letter signed by your friend, James H. Lane, which you placed in my hands to day, and will now give you my reasons for responding to you as its co-equal, instead of him as its author.
The letter is so equivocal in terms, and portions of it so irreconcilable with other portions, that it is impossible to determine, with any certainty, whether it is intended as a hostile message or a friendly note. It is true that the city is full of rumors that your friend, Col. Lane, intended to challenge me, and the letter-writers of those newspapers in the Eastern cities most friendly to the revolutionary movement in Kansas and most hostile to myself not only announced the fact some three or four days ago, but actually fixed the time when your friend intended to send the hostile message. The object of your friend in causing his intentions to be made known to the world and published in the newspapers is not for me to explain, when he and everyone must have known that the effect would inevitably be to have both parties arrested the moment he succeeded in making the public believe that he intended to invite a hostile meeting.
In *The National Intelligencer* of this morning I find a "card," published by your friend, in which he attempts to assail me personally, and to raise a question of veracity between us upon a point in reference to which he admits, and affirmatively asserts, the truth of my statement, but denies that he gave me or any other person a "shadow of authority for making any such statement." Having selected his tribunal, and removed his complaint from the jurisdiction to which public letter-writers in his confidence had declared he would bring it, and appealed to the public through the columns of the newspaper press, he is at liberty to prosecute in that forum as long as he pleases. Since the publication of this "card" in the newspapers, your friend, in a letter of which you are the bearer, and in which you are designated as his friend to receive my answer, referring to the debate on Monday last in the United States Senate on the fraudulent memorial of the spurious Legislature of Kansas, makes the following request of me: "I respectfully ask for such an explanation of your language upon that occasion as will remove all imputation upon the integrity of my action or motives in connection with that memorial."

The reasons assigned for calling upon me to vindicate "the integrity of his action and motives in connection with that memorial" are, that on "Thursday of that week, (the week previous to the debate of which he now complains,) that memorial was the subject of severe criticism, and in connection with it charges of the most grave character were preferred against me." [Your friend, Col. Lane.] It is not pretended that I made those charges against him in that debate. The published debate shows that "on Thursday of that week" no less than three or four Senators did denounce that memorial as an impudent forgery, attempted to be palmed off upon the Senate of the United States, through the hands of the venerable Senator from Michigan; as "a paper which has reached the Senate through fraud, which has stamped upon it every mark of forgery;" as "a forgery which has been palmed off on the Senate;" and various other denunciations of a like character, all tending to stamp the memorial with fraud and forgery. I did not incur these grave charges, on the one hand, nor repel them, on the other, for the reason that while all the facts then known to the Senate seemed to justify a strong suspicion, and, indeed, raise the presumption, that they were true, yet the circumstances were not such as to render it my duty to do more than to reject the memorial upon the facts disclosed in the debate. In fact, I followed the lead of the illustrious Senator from Michigan, who presented the memorial under the impression that it was a genuine paper by expressing a willingness to vote for his motion to print, as a matter of courtesy to him, so long as it involved no other consideration than the amount of money which the printing would cost. But when its reception and printing became the test of a principle which was to recognize and sanction the revolutionary proceedings in Kansas, I announced my purpose to vote against it for that reason. Subsequently such disclosures were made as to create doubts in the mind of Gen. Cass in respect to the authenticity of the paper, and he, after an interview with Col. Lane, from whom he had received it, made the following announcement to the Senate, and voted for the resolution rescinding the ac-

tion of the Senate whereby the memorial was received and referred, and therefore withdrew it. Gen. F. B. said:

"Within a few minutes I have had an interview with the gentleman who presented me with the petition, and I am bound to say to the Senate that I am not satisfied that this paper is one which ought to be acted on by the Senate. This is all that it is necessary for me to say. I shall vote for the resolution of the Senator from Virginia."

After the "memorial" had been denounced by several Senators as a fraud and a forgery, and after Gen. Cass had thus announced his purpose to vote for its rejection for the reasons stated, Mr. Seward rose and said that he had just conversed with Col. Lane upon the subject, and he added:

"He tells me, and authorizes me to say, and requests me to say to the Senate, as I do in this paper, that before he left the State of Kansas, he saw this paper, the same paper—he does not say that it is the identical paper in chirography—but he saw the same thing of which this is the substance and text signed and dated by members of the Provisional Legislature of Kansas, and that this is a true copy of that paper, and he had before stated to the Senate a true copy of that paper, and I suppose the original is in his reach and available. [This is in no substantial respect different.]

Mr. Seward also further said that "this statement is due to him; and this statement is all that I need say in justice to myself."

In reply to Mr. Seward a Senator arose and said:

"I think, Mr. President, this debate will not be without its advantages to the country. We are beginning now to get at the truth of the matter, and it will be seen accurately.
"Where do we stand? A paper has been presented here, palmed upon the Senator from Michigan, purporting to be from certain persons in Kansas, who claim to be the Senators and authentic letter-writers of the State of Kansas. It is questioned whether it is genuine. It is denounced as a forgery and fraud. We learn now that it reached the honorable Senator from Michigan at the hand of one who is sent here as a Senator from Kansas. We learn from the Senator from New-York that that paper, thus denounced on this floor as a forgery and fraud, is the identical paper which came to the Senator from Michigan by one of those men who is sent here as a Senator by the pseudo State of Kansas; and yet there is no man whom I have heard who undertakes to vindicate him. There is no gentleman who stands upon this floor and says that the man who brought the paper here is a fair and honest paper. I do not understand the Senator from New-York to do that. Where are the gentlemen who claim to be here speaking for the oppressed people of Kansas? *Sir, neither asserts it is a man who is known by the company he keeps, the company is known by the man who helps them.*"

After further discussion of a similar character, the resolution of Mr. Mason was adopted by a vote of thirty-two in the affirmative to three in the negative, by which the orders to refer the fraudulent paper to the Committees on Territories and Printing were rescinded, and the paper was then withdrawn by Gen. Cass and returned to Col. Lane.

I have been this minute in tracing the outline of the debate which occurred on the first presentation of this fraudulent memorial in order to show that I took no part in the discussion which questioned the authenticity of the paper or the conduct of Colonel Lane in connection with it. Yet it will be observed, that, in the letter which you bore from Colonel Lane to me, it is stated, as the first cause of grievance, that "on Thursday of that week that memorial was the subject of severe criticism, and in connection with it charges of a most grave character are preferred against me." (Colonel Lane).

We have seen what those charges were: They were no less than that of FRAUD and FORGERY. These charges were made and repeated by several Senators in the course of that debate, and received the sanction of the Senate by a vote of 32 to 3 in the adoption of Mr. Mason's resolution. Your friend, Col. Lane, rested under these charges until the next week, when he attempted to exculpate himself, not by calling on the Senators who made the charges for explanation, but by presenting a petition signed by himself, with the original memorial made a part of it, praying that the pretended copy, which had been rejected on the previous Thursday, might also be received, and inviting a comparison between the two, with a view of enabling the Senate to determine whether the one which the Senate had rejected was a copy or a forgery. As the Chairman of the Committee having charge of Territorial affairs, it became my appropriate duty to institute the comparison which had been invited by Col. Lane in his petition, and to give the Senate the result of my investigation. I found that while the rejected copy purported to be authenticated by the signatures (all in one handwriting) of the members of both houses of that spurious Legislature, the original from which it was pretended to have been copied, had no signatures at all attached to it, and no authentication whatever, except an evasive affidavit taken that day before Judge McLean. I also found that the first three pages of the original were entirely suppressed in the pretended copy. I also found many other material omissions and suppressions, many interpolations and alterations running all through the paper, and changing its whole character, not only in form, but in substance and principle. I exposed these things to the Senate in plain and unmeasured terms, as it was my right and duty to do. I did not go out of my way to criminate or exculpate any one. I dealt with the fraudulent paper as it came before me in the line of my duty, and left the authors of the iniquity free to pursue their own course. I showed that the original memorial, which it is alleged was adopted by the spurious Legislature of Kansas, was based on the fundamental idea or principle that Congress had no power to establish Governments for the Territories; that the Kansas-Nebraska act was unconstitutional and void for that reason; that the people of the Territories owed no allegiance to the Governments which had been or should be established by Congress in the Territories; and hence they had an inherent right to take the steps which they had taken to overthrow the Territorial Government without the consent and in defiance of the authority of Congress. I also showed that in the pretended copy all this had been suppressed since the issue was made up between the two parties by the reports of the majority and minority of the Committee on Territories, and in lieu of it had been inserted an humble petition to Congress recognizing its authority and praying for its intervention. To show, I tabulated and proved

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by a comparison of the two papers that the pretended copy was not a copy in any sense of the word—that it was a spurious, fraudulent paper; in other words, that it was a base and impudent forgery. No Senator did, no man in or out of the Senate can, vindicate the paper from this just condemnation. The severest judgment which I pronounced on this transaction is contained in the following extracts from my speech, which I now repeat as the only explanation I have to make of the matters to which they refer:

"I submit whether this does not make it a totally different document, affirming entirely different principles, in order to place their action in a totally different light. The Kansas Legislature, in the original document, said they justified their acts because Congress had no power over them. The memorial came in the other way, recognizing the power of Congress, and asking them, if it is not a forgery, thus to change the document in the most vitally important point upon which the whole proceeding rests? I do not say by whom the forgery was committed—I care not. The talent runs through this whole proceeding, and the affidavit does not cure or remedy it."

"I can take up this memorial and show that, as I have exposed one heresy after another of their pretensions, they took the pen and ran through this memorial to get rid of the objection."

"It has been changed from time to time in material points, striking out and inserting, until it has hardly a vestige of its original form. The very comparison which is here challenged between the pretended copy, presented the other day, and the original now, proves conclusively that such is the case. I then found out whether there was not evidence of the most glaring fraud ever attempted to be perpetrated upon a legislative body. After that fraud has been once detected and exposed, the question is, whether a second one is to be perpetrated upon us by taking the same spurious document and attaching it to a memorial, and thus dragging it into the Senate?"

"It should be borne in mind that the first time this fraudulent paper was presented to the Senate I pronounced no judgment upon the question of its authenticity, or the means by which it found its way to the Secretary's table. Other Senators did denounce it as "a fraud and impudent forgery." I remained silent on these points, not from any sympathy with the perpetrators of the fraud, but from my profound respect for the feelings of the illustrious Senator from Michigan, whose confidence had been abused so far as to induce him to present it under the impression that it was an authentic memorial. When he discovered his mistake, I joined him in that vote of condemnation which the Senate pronounced by 32 to 3 in the adoption of Mr. Mason's resolution."

The next week Col. Lane comes to the Senate, through Mr. Harlan of Iowa, and presents a memorial, in which he asks and challenges a comparison of the two papers, with the view of inducing the Senate to reverse the judgment which had been so emphatically pronounced upon the conduct of the authors of that fraud, at the same time avowing himself to be the person who perpetrated the act. I did make the comparison in pursuance of the request contained in his memorial, and stated the facts to the Senate as I found them to exist, together with my opinions upon them. The Senate ratified these opinions in the rejection of the memorial by a vote of 30 to 11."

In the face of these facts, your friend, Col. Lane, calls upon me "for such an explanation of my language as upon that occasion as will remove all imputation upon the integrity of his action or motives in connection with that Memorial." My reply is, that there are no facts within my knowledge which can "remove all imputation upon the integrity of his action or motives in connection with that Memorial."

For the reasons which I have stated, I can have no correspondence with Col. Lane, and therefore address this note to you. Your obedient servant,
Hon. C. R. WATSON, S. A. DOUGLAS.

CHARLESTON

Saturday Morning, April 26, 1856.

FOR THE MERCURY.

The Charleston Kansas Meeting.--No. 7.

I have shown, in the preceding numbers, that the accumulating millions of the North are being Europeanized. That by the laws which govern the race, their social system and method of thought, they will predominate in the Union. That this is their national tendency, and that this tendency is but the effect of a law which never changes—that the Federal Government cannot arrest this tendency, but will contribute its power to accomplish that end. These facts being established, it follows, as a corollary, that the equality and power of the South, in the Union, are gone forever. The reluctance of the South to make the startling admission, does not alter facts. No matter how much the people of the South hope in the National Democratic party, and the Cincinnati Convention, the great national development I have portrayed, and the laws which govern it, re-utter the words, as with the voice of fate—the equality and power of the South, in the Union, are gone forever.

That is one proposition. I will now state another.

The people of the South have their own internal forces—their method of thought, social system, national instincts and tendencies, ethnological homogeneity, and their NATIONAL ENVIRONMENT. And the distinguishing features and facts of that environment are these, among others: On the East, North, and West, they are surrounded by predominating millions of people, who are more hostile to their peace, safety, and happiness, than any other people or nation upon earth,—a people who openly avow the intention to destroy our civilization, blot out our social system, and free the Federal Government from all responsibility for one of the distinguishing and essential features of our nationality. Now, disguise it as we may, this is war to the knife,—war even to the subversion and extermination of our social system and our nationality.

On the Southern environment of the people of the South, the surrounding country, though interspersed with barbarous tribes, is far less formidable as an enemy, and less hostile to our peace and safety, than the millions which environ us on the North; and to our Southern environment, therefore, we might look for a field in which to give scope to our national instincts and tendencies; but we are not permitted to look even there for the means of prolonging the term of our national existence, and for the reason, that our Northern enemies, who environ us on our Northern frontier, have all the powers of war, peace and national treaties in their own hands, and we are, therefore, without the power to provide for our own self-preservation. The people of the South have, even now, therefore, not one of the great powers of nationality; and, without a change in this regard, subjugation and national death are their unalterable doom.

Now, can any thing be clearer than this, viz: that this is the great point at which Southern statesmanship should begin? And is it not equally plain that all Southern statesmanship that does not begin here, is illusory, deceptive, puerile, and in the last degree dangerous in its tendencies? Look now to the National Democratic party,—the Cincinnati Convention,—to Presidents,—to old, superannuated, dozing, dotard Senators,—to our whole mass of Southern Representatives,—and answer the question, ye people of the South, what are they all worth to you, in view of the facts above presented? Are these facts denied? Then be it so. Let the responsibility of your ruin rest upon yourselves, where it properly belongs; for our Government, though professedly a Government of the people, is less so than many suppose. The people of South Carolina make choice of their Representatives, and believing, I fear, their work of self-government is done, they leave all the cares of Government to their Representatives. There is no system of responsibility to which they are subjected,—no tribunal of public opinion before which they are held amenable; for it is a part of our political system in South Carolina now, that public opinion must be suppressed in favor of the absorbing process of the Federal Union, in order that a select few may share the spoils and wear "the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor."

This is precisely what your Senators and Representatives want. What your Senators and Representatives want. What your surveillance over their official conduct, suppress public opinion concerning them, and the Federal Government, by an easy process, "whips them in;" they put on its liver, and, by an easy transition, their allegiance to you is transferred to the Government. To complete the governmental metamorphosis, and make the victory sure, one is nominated in a newspaper article for the Presidency, another for the Speakership, and a third is praised for his excellent entertainments, and the courtesy and kindness of his social virtues. The process is now complete,—the Government has every thing its own way, the Representative is much in favor at "Court," and the people follow the Representative.

Look, now, at the condition of things at Washington, and answer the inquiry, is not the above picture truly drawn?

If, then, the Senators and Representatives of South Carolina yield to the current of popular opinion which emanates from the North and runs to the South, and become careless and regardless of the essential interests of the State, they have learned the lesson from the people themselves,—for the last few years of the State's history has taught them that the people will not sustain the man, who, in their name, and for the maintenance of their highest interests and national honor, sternly and manfully resists the encroachments of Federal Power. If the people have faithless Representatives, the fault is their own, and upon them the responsibility rests. It is a fortunate circumstance that the Kansas question is at last awaking them from their delusion, and when they shall have arrived at an interval of clear-sighted national intelligence and reason, their Senators and Representatives will look through a political kaleidoscope somewhat different from the one which now pleases their fancy and colors their objects. But to return.

Of all sciences which have ever been brought under the investigation of men, that of statesmanship is the most complicated and difficult, and the least understood. Look at the present condition of this science in America, and what is the spectacle it presents? It has, perhaps, not a single element of positivity about it. Like the shifting sands of the desert waste, it is moved, and assumes new phases and forms, with the breath of every wind. If it proceeds upon a single well-defined, fixed and determined principle or proposition, I would be glad to see it pointed out. It starts at the Union as a centre, the Capitol as the determinate point, and operates from that point outwards. It includes the National Democratic Conventions, President-making, the machinery of party tactics, expediency, availability, offices, spoils and caucuses. Its vocabulary, its language, is the *lingua non scripta*; the unwritten verbosity of jingling echoes and clap-trap rejoinders; its *argumentum ad hominem*, the soiled and well-thumbed scrap books of party hacks, in the two houses of Congress. For all this there are many concurring causes, but I shall notice but one of them.

Man, in his collective national phase, presents a vast scene,—a national progress and development, which is erroneously supposed to be without a law or a plan. That "maze" is not without a plan, and it has been so proved in these numbers. But it has been so assumed and acted upon, and hence the malgovernment of the nations of the earth. Hence, too, the disastrous pretensions to the high office and duties of statesmanship, both in the State and Federal governments of the United States. In this progressive age, and under our mistaken ideas of the democracy of mind, the stripling abandons his ball and his algebraic text book, and assumes the grave and important responsibilities of the statesman, and takes his seat in council, to decide the fate of empires. At the first step he is beyond his depth; and, with no friendly star to guide his wandering steps, he is tossed upon the wave of expediency, and his country is fortunate if it suffer no detriment at his hands. Here, again, the people are the wrong-doers. They appear, in our times at least, to be unconscious of the great political fact, (and even if there be no remedy, it is harmless to point out the error) that all political systems with which the fair face of nature has been blighted and cursed, have their political as well as religious priesthoods. It is little wonder, then, that the untutored novice in statesmanship should become himself one of the

Newark Daily Mercury.

SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 26, 1856.

The Washington Union is greatly exercised by the suspicion that the Republicans are in pursuit of an available candidate for the Presidency, and devotes nearly two of its columns to an exposure of the nefariousness of such a design. The Union is decidedly opposed to availability—in an opponent—and endeavors to exhibit the political wickedness of such an element in a Presidential campaign. However, the concluding sentences of the Union's anti-availability article strongly remind one of a well-known fable of the fox who tried to convince his friends that the non-wearing of tails was all the rage in the upper circles of foxdom. The Union cautions the Democracy that to oppose Republicanism will "require perfect concert and harmony in the ranks of the National men for its successful resistance."—*New York Times*.

There are a great many other people and Journals in the same position as the Union, but those who seek to make Kansas a Free State intend to merit success both by the justice of their cause and the prudence and moderation they exhibit. The opponents of the extension of slavery are numerous, but they lack cohesion and organization. We most draw all together who agree with us in sentiment upon this main issue. In our opinion, JUDGE MCLEAN will combine all the elements in a greater degree than any other man, but if it shall be shown that another is stronger and more available, (in the true sense of that term) let him be nominated. We will not sacrifice any of our best and noblest leaders to the senseless prejudices of men, but we will overlook the whole ground carefully, and make the nomination most likely to secure success.

order, if for no better reason than this, that he knows not what else to do.

Now, it is fairly deducible from these facts, that the Federal Government and the Union are no longer a school for statesmen. That government wastes panders not statesmen; and it is these self-chosen political Loyolas who are now duping the people of the South to assemble in confessional at the Cincinnati Convention, to declare a new tenet of faith, and make choice of a Vicar General of their Jesuitical order. It is not to this Council of Trent that the South may look for a political MOSES to exode them from this worse than Egyptian bondage with which they are threatened; and the Senators of South Carolina know it, or they are less wise than they would have us to believe. This is not the school in which we are to find the statesmen to point the way to our political salvation. The leaders of that Convention are engaged in the work of taking care of themselves, and they will compete with each other in exhibiting the greatest amount of devotion to the nominee, upon the maxim in morals, "you must bear the cross if you would wear the crown." The South wants statesmen who will act for their country, though themselves be dethroned; men who have the moral courage to act as the rights, honor and glory of their country require; and I hazard little in predicting, that the present Representatives to the Federal Government from the South, come what will or may, salvation or ruin, will never give counsel to the people they represent that will unseat themselves.

For these evils there is a remedy. If that remedy be plainly told, will the people hear it and deliberate upon it? If it shall appeal to their sterner virtues, will they turn away from it on that account? Long already have they taxed their inventive genius to find pretexts to avoid the responsibilities and duties which are inseparable from it. But all have failed in the past, and all in the future will fail from the same cause, and because the stern decree of fate points a different way.

There is not one nation of the earth which can avoid the responsibilities of its national environment. Not one. The foreign policy of nations must be shaped, in a great degree, according to the circumstances of the nations which surround them. Peace, war, national defence, national existence, depend upon national environment. A nation is safe or not in proportion to the power of the surrounding nations to make war upon it, or their disposition to cultivate the relations of commerce, peace and friendship. We have recently seen three of the great powers of Europe, and some of less consideration, engage in a destructive and desolating war, the shock of which we have but barely escaped, which has resulted from the great fact involved in the circumstances of their national environment. The facilities which now prevail, by the aid of steam, for international communication, has expanded the environment of nations to a degree so great, that the environment of Europe very nearly includes the habitable portion of the globe; and so of the United States, but in a more limited degree. To regulate and determine the great question of national environment between the powers of Europe, is the purpose for which the Peace Congress of ministers is now assembled at Paris.

The history of all nations is full of instruction upon this subject. Greece, Rome, Carthage, Assyria and Judea, and many more, all fell, as a consequence of the environment of each by hostile nations, at a moment when their national strength was declining. And yet the people of the South appear to think that they, of all the earth, and all recorded time, will be permitted to evade the responsibilities of this all-embracing law of nations. Look at the condition of the South at the present moment. Were there ever a people who were environed, surrounded, beleaguered, with a more for midable array of opposing forces and hostile elements? Predominant millions, aggregated into one great sectional party, against them. And whilst there is no common government to protect the South, an unscrupulous and powerful government, with all the material and elements of war in its hands,—the greater portion of which is contributed by the people of the South themselves,—like a grim and remorseless idol, stands upon the pedestal of its power; with the national purse in one hand and the sword in the other, ready, or soon to be, at the command of the Northern predominant millions, to "cry havoc and let slilo the does of war" upon the fair fields

of the South. Europe, deeply skilled, profoundly taught, upon this great law of national environment, the fruitful source of her own devastating wars,—of the partition and suppression of States, as the few survivors of dead Poland can mournfully attest,—looks approvingly upon the foreshadowed doom of the South, and anticipating the auspicious hour, perhaps, when she will re-construct her tottering thrones upon the ruins of the South, by grasping in her hands the commercial monopoly of the world. Where now are the people, outside of her own limits, including those recreant and faithless millions who are associated with her in political Union, who sympathise with the South in the battle she is fighting for self-preservation? Why do not her Senators and Representatives, as sentinels of her own honor, sound the alarm from their watch towers? Are her sentinels asleep upon their posts, or have they gone over to the enemy, put on his livery, and abandoned her to her fate? When the hour of her travail shall have come, to whom but herself shall she look for aid and comfort?

This, in my humble judgment, is the point, the quarter of the surrounding heavens, to which the clear vision and steady gaze of her statesmen should look for safety. And what are the first points to be written down in the programme of that statesmanship? These, clearly and unequivocally. It is no fault of mine, if the truth be unacceptable to the Southern mind. I can only present facts, as they appear from my plan and method of thought. Then to the points. And

1. The Union is the enemy of the South, and the South may not expect protection from it.
2. The South must then form an independent Republic, and take her own national destiny under her own control.
3. That Republic, as an independent power, will then have in its own hands the power—
 1. OF WAR.
 2. OF PEACE.
 3. OF TREATIES.
4. And, therefore, of SELF PRESERVATION.

BRUTUS.

The Evening Picayune NEW ORLEANS SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 26.

FROM KANSAS.

Sharpe's rifles, which have formed the staple export from New England to Kansas, contributed by fighting priests and revengeful philanthropists, to enable abolitionism to overthrow the lawful Government of the Territory by force, have been put to a singular use. Instead of killing the "border ruffians," as was piously recommended in a Hartford church, some of the shrewdest of the anti-slavery pilgrims to that distant land have put them to a more thrifty use. They have sold them at a discount to the pro-slavery men, and taken pay in what will buy them something to support life. The "border ruffians"—so the adversaries of revolutionary abolitionism are called in the slang vocabulary of the day—have corn and pork, bread and meat, which the owners of Sharpe's rifles want; and accordingly we hear that there has been an auction at Independence, at which a lot of these weapons, for which the preaching bullies begged twenty-five dollars a piece, when bought at the Eastern manufactory, were sold at from twelve dollars to sixteen dollars a piece. The sellers are the oppressed "free-State men," the poor sufferers under Missouri tyranny, who are praying—so runs the abolition plaint—to the sympathy of Christendom for arms with which to defend themselves, their liberties and their lives from the merciless "slave-driver." It is a grotesque retribution for these malignant falsehoods, that befuddled hypocrites should find the money they raised under these pretences, gone to furnish weapons to the "slave-drivers" at a discount of forty per cent.; and that those whom they expected to set together in a deadly strife, are found peaceably trading off with each other the implements of bloodshed for food and raiment. The zeal of the abolition propagandist will not long stand the dampening effect of a few such proofs that they have not raised the temper of their dupes in Kansas to the high pitch which is necessary to carry out the political schemes elsewhere, of which agitation in Kansas is the chief part.

There will be no more arms sent there, there is to be no fighting, only traffic with arms—and if they are to go, on cheap terms, into the hands of those who are pledged to maintain order and government, not of those whom they were designed to arm for rebellion.

The intelligence from Kansas, most recent, is that the Free State party are backing down very generally from the support of the Topeka Convention, and the whole Seward programme of State organization, and will be content with, that is, will accept and assent to the proposal now before Congress for a future and legal convention, to make a State constitution, in the regular form, under the sanction of authority and law. Sharpe's rifles are at a discount in the market and in politics.

DAILY GAZETTE

GEO. C. McWHORTER, Proprietor.

LATE FROM KANSAS.—The St Louis Republican has the following correspondence from Kansas:

PALERMO, (K. T.), March 25, 1856.—The Legislature of Topeka was a miserable and ludicrous abortion, and its members are hiding themselves from judicial processes like frightened ostriches. Some have fled to Iowa, some to Missouri, and others are hiding themselves in the bushes, in the vain hope of security. The Grand Juries of the Circuit Court, under the instruction of Judge Lecompte, have indicted not only the members but the judges of election; and it is the intention of his honor, at his term in Douglas, which begins next week, to have bills filed against Gov. Robinson, Lieut. Gov. Roberts, and all the executive officers.

It is thought, by some, that when the Sheriff enters Lawrence to arrest these functionaries, there will be resistance and bloodshed; but I apprehend nothing of the kind. The farcical attempt to hold a Legislature, and the ridiculous pretensions that have been made to amend the laws of the Territory and to set up an independent government which should supercede the present, have disgusted many of their own party, who see the absurdity and utter futility of all such efforts, and are determined, henceforth, to recognize the existing authorities.

Besides which, many of the people of the North who came here with the strongest prejudices against slavery, have seen the error into which a one-sided view of the subject had led them, and are now its warmest advocates, not only on the ground of profit and convenience, but of utility and humanity. They have ocular and experimental demonstration that it is better, both for the whites and blacks. And then, the accession of population from the South is growing so large, is so constant, and of so high and controlling a character, that the question is definitely settled. The only excitement we hear of now is at the East. We have none here.

FROM KANSAS.

[From the Squatter Sovereign, April 28.]
HOSTILITIES AGAIN COMMENCED IN KANSAS.
Kansas is once more in commotion—the traitors of Lawrence have again set the laws of the Territory at defiance, and this time have added murder to their crimes. Sheriff Jones of Douglas county, than whom a braver man never lived, has been murdered whilst in the performance of his official duties—shot down by the thieving paupers of the North, who are shipped to Kansas to infringe upon the rights of Southern settlers—murder them when opportunity offers—steal their property, and, if possible, to raise a storm that will cease only with the Union itself. The excitement in this city, during the past week, has been very great. Rumors of various kinds have reached us, and although we believed a difficulty had occurred, we were not prepared to hear of such lamentable news—the death of the patriot Jones. HIS DEATH MUST BE AVENGED. HIS MURDER SHALL BE AVENGE-

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that the sacrifice of every abolitionist in the Territory. If the pro-slavery party will quietly sit still and see our friends, one by one, murdered by these assassins, without raising their arms to protect them, we much mistake their character. Will they again allow a *sovereign Governor* to cheat them out of their just revenge? We answer emphatically, NO! If the Governor of this Territory and the administration at Washington, any longer attempts to force us to assume the position of outlaws, before we can have justice done us, the sooner such a contingency arises the better. We are now in favor of levelling Lawrence, and chastising the traitors there congregated, should it result in total destruction of the Union. If we are to have war, let it come now! While the memory of our murdered friends, Clark and Jones, are fresh in our memories, we can coolly and determinedly enter into the contest, let it result as it may. We do not approve of the course of the Governor, in calling out the United States troops to enforce the laws of the Territory. It looks to us as a virtual admission that the law and order party of Kansas are not strong enough within themselves to enforce the law.

ANOTHER MILITARY COMPANY.

Our young friends from South Carolina, who have settled in this city, wishing to be in a situation when called upon, to render the best service possible to the officers of the law who might need their assistance in punishing abolitionists and other offenders, have wisely formed themselves into a Rifle Company, and elected as their Captain, a graduate of the South Carolina Military Academy. A finer body of men, we have never seen together, and if they do not prove efficient soldiers, we are no judge of the ability of men. Should this Company ever be called out against the traitors at Lawrence, terrible, indeed, will be the effect. As the Palmetto Regiment in Mexico, were to the Mexicans, so in Kansas will the Palmetto Guards be to the Yankees—a terror to our enemies, the pride of our friends.

[From the Kansas Free State, April 23th.]
ANOTHER INVASION THREATENED.

The attempt to assassinate Jones on Wednesday night last, has aroused Missouri to the highest state of excitement. Though the deed was perpetrated at ten o'clock at night, it was known in most of the border settlements early on the following day. As is natural, the report was greatly colored and highly exaggerated. The unfortunate affair appeared to have been anticipated on the borders. Even before any attempt had been made to execute any of the writs, the citizens of Westport were aware that there was trouble brewing in Lawrence, and appeared to be prepared for it. The first attempt to make an arrest was on Saturday, about 5 o'clock, P. M.; yet on the morning of the same day the military were drilled in Westport, (it being, we presume, their regular muster day,) and all seemed conscious of what was to take place in Lawrence—pretty strong evidence that the whole thing was preconcerted. Dr. Stringfellow, the editor of the Squatter Sovereign, the Captain of the Kickapoo Rangers—the company that murdered Brown, and a number of others who have been prominent actors in the Kansas drama, were in Lawrence while the arrests were making.

Immediately upon receiving the news, the Border Times issued an extra, of a character highly incendiary, urging another invasion, for the purpose of avenging the shooting of Jones, indiscriminately upon the citizens of Lawrence.

A number of those who have been in town for several days have gone to Westport, as we learn. What their purpose is can only be surmised from some conversation which passed between them before starting. They swear that Lawrence shall be razed to the ground, and every "Abolitionist" hung.

THE COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION.

This committee have been in session at this place, during the last week. The previous week they spent at Leocompton examining and transcribing the Public Records as a basis of investigation. They are now engaged in taking evidence in this district, concerning the election on the 30th March. They necessarily proceed very slowly, as the testimony has to be written out in full, and given with the greatest minuteness and accuracy possible. The testimony and the Records will all be submitted to Congress.

BLOODY AFFRAY—TWO MEN KILLED.

It is credibly reported that a fatal affray took place last week, on Crooked creek, one of the tributaries of the Stranger. The circumstances as related to us are these:

Two men living in Missouri had marked out claims about a year ago, but had not made sufficient improvement upon them. Two other young men, finding the claims unoccupied, located upon them a few weeks ago, and commenced improvements. The first claimants in company with

four others came and attempted to dispossess them by force. They offered resistance, and in the affray, the two claimants from Missouri were shot. The names of any of the parties, or any further particulars, we have been unable to learn. When will the bloody catalogue be full?

Daily Democrat.

April 28, 1856.

The Troubles in Kansas.

Kansas difficulties are again looming into importance, and the uneasy quiet of a few months past is being disturbed by the alarms of war. The telegraph has informed us that Mr. Jones, who acts as Sheriff of Douglas county, under the appointment of the first Territorial assembly has been shot, and to-day we give a detailed narrative from the pen of a correspondent, of collisions that preceded the event.

In the past conflicts that have transpired in reference to the "Debatable Land;" in the constitutional questions that have been mooted in Congress, in the breach of plighted faith that swept away a long standing compromise, and with it all guarantees held by the slave States save that of armed defence, in the invasions that took place by the frontier counties of our own State, stimulated from artful excitations and led on by reckless politicians seeking self aggrandizement, from the very perils of the country; in all those we never hesitated to take that stand which justice to the actual settlers of Kansas, as well as to those who were to become settlers in the future, imperatively demanded. We have vindicated the cause of the squatters against the armed inroads of those who sought to dispossess them of their suffrage and given laws to them as to a servile race. We have contended against the glaring iniquity of those who, chancing to be first upon the ground, have attempted to deprive the millions who might succeed and follow them of any participation in the government, by conscience qualifications, property taxes, and restrictive legislation tending to exclude them from the ballot box. In all this moreover we claim to have been true to the interests and rights of the people of Kansas, present and prospective.

Now the scene is changed. It is no longer a conflict between the squatter sovereigns of Kansas and inroads from a neighboring State. That day has passed, if we may judge from the professions everywhere made. Thousands of men are flocking to Kansas from all parts of the Union, eager in spirit and influenced with sectional hostilities. Still more, a Presidential struggle is at hand, and aspirants for the honor of nomination are making use of the affairs of Kansas, and the inflammable material to be found there, in order to arouse the passions of the nation and foist themselves, through sectional feeling, into the places of power in the Republic. With all this desperate game of the politicians North, and politicians South, we have no sympathy. If Congress would but do its duty—guarantee the rights of citizenship and suffrage to all the people of Kansas—abolish or annul the proscriptive legislation that has transpired already—and leave popular sentiment to find its own level there—all would be well. As it is, a new conflict has been brought on in pursuance of the memorable threat of Mr. Douglas, when, in reply to a petition from the squatters, he retorted very curtly, "we will subdue you." The Administration has initiated a forced conflict through its instruments and officials. For the sake of making presidential capital with some of the States to be represented at Cincinnati, Mr. Pierce has resurrected from the sleep into which they had fallen the most obnoxious acts of the first Territorial assembly, and proceeds to have them enforced, as sets to invite resistance. Such a course upon the part of the Administration and its satellites in Kansas, cannot but be productive of the most disastrous consequences, and should be reprobated by every patriot who loves his

country more than the accidental leaders of his party. If it shall defeat the initial steps taken by the House of Representatives to inquire into the wrongs that have been perpetrated upon the squatters of Kansas, and prevent the Congressional Committee from pursuing its labors, and reporting the facts, it will accomplish what was no doubt designed by the despicable crew who surround the President and minister to his vanity while fattening upon his bounty, but it will at the same time overthrow and destroy the only procedure that now holds out a hope for the peaceful adjustment of the angry elements that threaten to make Kansas a boiling cauldron of future troubles.

MILWAUKEE DAILY SENTINEL.

April 28, 1856

From Our Washington Correspondent.

WILLARD'S HOTEL,
WASHINGTON, April 21, 1856.

Perhaps the most interesting discussion of the week was the debate in the Senate upon the admission of the memorial of the Kansas Legislature, which drew out a number of Senators on both sides. It has not been my fortune heretofore to listen to many of the speeches of Senator Douglas, who bore a principal part in this discussion; and certainly if insufferable annoyance of manner, and the most domineering tone of voice and feature are the foremost requisites for a Statesman and an Orator, the Illinois Senator will take his place on the front rank. Not that there was want of a certain kind of low cunning and trickery which, on the stump, or in a Country pot-house, might be deemed effectual and appropriate; nor even at intervals, rare though they were, of a legitimate and tolerably well turned rejoinder to inconsiderate or careless statements on the other side; yet the whole was so veneered (if I may use the term) with brazen effrontery and insolence, was so mixed and smothered up with unblushing denials of well attested facts, and re-assertions of equally well attested fictions, that it was impossible not to feel satisfaction at the bold and scathing replies of Senators Wade from Ohio and Wilson of Massachusetts, the former of whom was especially spirited and strong. Had the Massachusetts Senator one half the debating skill and readiness of Mr. Douglas, the victory would have been far more complete—for never adversary laid himself more open to overwhelming retort—as for instance, in claiming for himself and his friends the unwillingness to mix the blood of the white man with that of the negro, which Mr. Douglas charged as a characteristic of "Black Republican principles," ignoring with the coolest assurance the fact (than which none is more notorious) that practical amalgamation at the South is the rule, while at the North it is the very rare exception. There was more than one look of awkward astonishment on the faces of Southern Senators, as Mr. Douglas laid down this principle, so utterly at variance with well known practice; and it should have been put back upon him with irresistible effect and force. This talk about amalgamation, said Mr. Wilson, generally comes from men themselves steeped in the odour of amalgamation, and the pointed finger and significant look left no room for doubt as to the application of the remark.

Nevertheless the Senate refused to receive and print the memorial of the Kansas Legislature—which is thus denied a hearing, that will not be refused however in the house of the People's representatives, and there the battle must now be fought. A bill for the admission of the free State of Kansas will soon be introduced, passed, and sent to the Senate for the approval or rejection of that body—it matters little which, for the appeal, in case of rejection, lies to the people, and before great tribunal, the good cause must prevail.

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J. C. VAUGHAN, C. H. RAY, EDITORS.

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Monday Morning, April 28, 1856.

Kansas Reports.

Whatever comes from the St. Louis *Republican* in reference to Kansas, must be received with doubt. It reports the shedding of blood there, and the arrest of certain citizens of Lawrence, by United States soldiers. That Jones will not be obeyed by the Free-State men, nay, that he should be resisted, in attempting to enforce any process, is clear—for he derives his power, wholly, from the invading Missouri Legislature. But how United States troops were sent to Lawrence, or for what purpose, we are at a loss to determine. We hope we shall get some explanation of this matter to-day.

The Kansas Movement South--That Under-Current.

Citizens of Petersburg and of Richmond, Va., are very busy beating up recruits for Kansas, and the papers of those cities are earnest enough in their appeals for help. But these appeals do not meet with a quick and ready response on the part of a certain class. Even the Richmond *Enquirer* caves. Hear first, however, its appeal:

Coveting no monopoly of credit, and intent only on the success of a cause which equally affects the interests of every citizen in the State, they appeal directly to this city for sympathy and support. Shall they appeal in vain? Will Richmond contribute nothing out of the abundance of its wealth, to a cause which claims the utmost sacrifices of the State? Must the capital of Virginia be reproached with an inglorious neutrality in a contest which is to determine the fortunes of the South?

These are brave words. They look well, sound well, read well. But, alas! that in so good a cause we should be compelled to use such a word—but they are harmless, for so the Richmond *Enquirer* itself admits. Listen:

We foresee with what contemptuous indifference any suggestion from a Democratic journal will be treated in this city; and, therefore, we appeal to our Whig and Know-Nothing contemporaries to employ their authority in stimulating Richmond to some recognition of its obligations to the common cause.

Let us go on—for this is rich. A richer fact, however, is to be developed, and that, too, by the great organ. Indeed, the appeal, and the invocation for aid, are but covers to reach another point *tender* even in the Old Dominion, and strong, too, in a negative position, at its very political heart. Harken to the *Enquirer* as it touches it:

The suspicion that the dominant population of Richmond are at least indifferent to the interests of Slavery, has already alienated much of the confidence of the country. If this city refuses to take part in the Kansas movement, it will confirm the distrust, and must not hope to retain the good will of the State. Rival cities, with a more loyal devotion to the interests of Slavery will monopolize the confidences and the commerce of the South.

"The suspicion" forsooth! Is it not more than that? Why else is the *Enquirer* powerless in Richmond? Whence "the apathy visible" there? But go on. "The dominant population of Richmond are, at least, indifferent to the interests of Slavery." Who are referred to here? The free laboring classes of the city—mechanics of Richmond!! They are the "dominant population, indifferent to the interests of Slavery." They are the men who will not work for Slavery, spend for Slavery, fight for Slavery. They are the men who, by a simple negative action, compel the Richmond *Enquirer* to acknowledge that it is powerless at home.

And why is this? That journal has declared

that slavery is the natural condition of the laboring classes—that bondage in itself is rightful, necessary and God ordained. This doctrine is the basis of its Democracy. The Democracy of Virginia and the South build upon it, and now it confesses that it has no influence in Richmond. "We foresee" it says, "with what contemptuous indifference any suggestion from a Democratic journal will be treated in this city." Strong language this! As broad as it can well be put! For the indifference is not only general, but contemptuous, and it applies, not to a suggestion it may make about Kansas, but to any suggestion. So the mechanics of Richmond, Virginia, have said virtually to the great Slave-organ—"You are treacherous to labor and its rights—you would degrade it; you seek to establish and perpetuate an oligarchy; you would make us and our class serfs—and we despise you. No advice, no suggestion of yours—not a word—will we listen to or consider. We hate your doctrines and condemn you." This is their language on slave soil as declared by the *Enquirer* itself, and how strongly it shows the under-current is for freedom in the South! And shall their brethren of the North be less bold? Dare they hold back in such a cause? Free laboring men, look to your rights and assert them!

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 28, 1856.

More Light at the South—A Formidable Objection to Colonizing Kansas with Slaveholders.

Every day the leaders of public opinion at the South are acquiring a juster idea of the relations of that section of the Union to the project of slavery extension. We not long ago gave an elaborate and unanswerable demonstration of the weakness and ultimate doom of slavery in its conflict with free institutions, drawn from its past history, by a correspondent of the Charleston *Messenger*, but who was yet so illogical as to urge the speedy colonization of Kansas by slaveholders. Either the writer did not see the force of his own statements, and grasped at this alternative, as a drowning man catches at a straw, to save the confessedly sinking institution, or he made this appeal to popular feeling to veil for a time the deeper purpose of giving the South a lesson that it can no longer fail to heed with safety. Be this as it may, the discussion is drawing into its vortex collateral considerations of the greatest moment to the South, and we trust that there will be no pause in the investigation until the whole subject is probed to the bottom.

The writer referred to has demonstrated, beyond all controversy, that slavery cannot long withstand the potent influences that are working against it, and now another (the editor of the S. C. Register, published at Winesborough) has undertaken to show, and does show conclusively, that the South cannot afford to spare slaveholders to people Kansas. We quote from a late number of that journal:

"We negatived the idea that South Carolina should send men to Kansas—and why? Simply because she cannot spare them. Her population is daily decreasing from emigration, and already she has peopled more Western and Southern States than any State in the Union. Not only so, but each Kansas emigrant diminishes the size of our ballot-box; and many of them leave behind them wives and children to follow them, if successful, but to welcome them back to old Carolina if failure follows their enterprise. Some of them carry slaves with them—but how small a minority do they comprise! Those who do not are not slave-owners in South Carolina, either from necessity or choice, and we think it extremely problematical whether their gains in Kansas will ever be invested in the species of property. For a few years past, our State has been decreasing in political power, because she has been so severely taxed by the loss of citizens to populate other States; but this diminution in numbers is of far less importance than that occasioned by the emigration to Kansas because the former carried with them their slaves to settle Slave States, and the latter

are lessening our tax-paying voters, who emigrate to populate a government territory, whose future admission as a State is so wrapped in doubt as to make it prudent not to carry slaves there yet at any rate."

The Charleston *Standard* concurs in this view of the case, and then goes on to indicate a new danger to the perpetuity of power in the hands of the slaveholders, namely, the undue increase of non-slaveholding whites. Railroads, cotton mills, general manufactures, independent seaports, and all other improvements necessary to enable the South to compete with the varied industry of the North, according to the programme laid by its Commercial Conventions, would introduce this class of population in large numbers, and yet until very recently no watchman on the ramparts of the "peculiar institution" has sounded an alarm. Now the *Standard* lifts up its voice in this wise:

"Thus we felt, but we also felt that there was danger from an increase of population. While slaves have been excluded, the white race has still come in upon us. They can no longer come as masters, for the ranks of masters are full and nearly closed; they must come to offices of labor; in offices of labor they will be in competition with the slave; the competition they must find unskome and repulsive, and, whatever may be the theories upon the subject, it must be the instinct of the white laborer, in opposition to the slave, to seek a release from the severities of that condition.

"It was to be apprehended, therefore, that from a sudden increase of population, under existing laws, there would be aroused in the ruling race a sentiment of opposition to our institution; without such increase there was, as we have shown, no possibility of successful competition with the North, in both the fields before us; it was hard to be defeated of equality of the Union, and be forced to dissolution to preserve the functions of self-government, it was hard to leave our homes and native States the subjects of contemptuous speculation, and for this it was that, years ago, we took the position that "the want of slavery was the slave-trade," and we have certainly not seen, since, the cause for its abandonment."

The *Standard* holds that the restoration of the slave-trade is the only means by which slavery can retain the balance of political power, and by which the Union can be preserved. Hear it:

"We believe that the Union will be temporarily prolonged by the introduction of slavery into Kansas, but we believe it might be extended to an indefinitely distant period by the measure we propose—(the restoration of the slave-trade.) With the certainty of turning the balance of political power, we would have little motive to a dissolution; while the stability and repose to the North from the predominance of the slave power in the Government, would counterbalance any inclination they might have to leave us."

Gradually but surely the Southern advocates of slavery are narrowing down the argument against the institution, and demonstrating the impossibility of its long-continued existence. The points thus far established are, briefly stated, as follows:

1. Slavery, like a loose sandbank opposed to the strong flood of the Mississippi, is being swept away by the vital currents of an advancing civilization, having their springs in free minds and free muscles.
2. The institution cannot stand without a constant encroachment upon new territory, and that territory, were it all open to such encroachment, would soon be exhausted.
3. If slavery could be established in Kansas, its lesse of life would but momentarily extended, while the withdrawal of a sufficient number of slaveholders from the South to secure so doubtful a triumph, would endanger the institution there.
4. If a non-slaveholding white population be invited to the South to make up for it, diminishing population, or to aid in carrying forward its contemplated improvements, a new and more formidable danger threatens the institution.
5. The last hope of the slaveholders, as laid down by the Charleston *Standard*, is in the revival of the African slave trade!

To this complexion has the argument come at last. Let the South continue to speak for itself. By and by its wisest and best men will come to the rescue, and Providence will enable them to solve the problem in such a way as to save the South from the ruin with which it now seems to be threatened.

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

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Monday Evening, April 28, 1856.

Arrests in Kansas.

A telegraphic despatch from Kansas City to the St. Louis Republican, states the U. S. Troops have aided in making several arrests, and that Sheriff Jones was shot while guarding the prisoners.

We were prepared to hear of further outrages by a letter in the St. Louis Republican, dated Leocompton, April 19th. The writer has given the pro-slavery account of the difficulty which had occurred at Lawrence. He states that the Investigating Committee were welcomed at Lawrence by the Free State men, and that the arrival of S. N. Wood and his company of emigrants created no little excitement and enthusiasm. It seems that an attempt was made to arrest Wood, and we quote the Republican's account of the transaction:

"Sheriff Jones attempted to arrest him yesterday, but was prevented by forcible resistance on the part of Wood's friends. Finding him in Christian's office, Jones went up to Wood and told him he had a warrant for him. He replied, 'I reckon not.' The Sheriff assured him that he had one, and proceeded to read it to him. Wood then said he must consult with ex-Governor Reeder and in-Governor Robinson. Jones would not consent. He must 'see his wife.'—The Sheriff said he could if they were sent for, and brought to the office where they were. Upon this, Wood tried to get away. When Jones seized him by the collar, and would have succeeded in taking and securing him, had not the abolitionists interfered, seized Jones, and rescued Wood. To-day, Sunday, the Sheriff, with a small posse, have gone down to Lawrence to try it again. If they fail, Gov. Shannon has but one thing to do, and that is to call out the U. S. troops to sustain the laws. Will he do it? If he does not, it were better for him had he never seen Kansas. S. N. Wood is a free soil editor of Lawrence, and is charged with rescuing prisoners from the Sheriff."

The telegraphic despatch is some days later, and it is probable SHANNON called out the U. S. troops to enforce the Missouri Ruffian laws, as suggested by the correspondent. The writer states that Leocompton "is crowded—all excited about the Wood affair."

MESSRS. SHERMAN and HOWARD would remain at Lawrence several days. Their clerks were at Leocompton, making some extracts from Executive files, copying poll books, &c.

The Two Missouri Conventions.

The breach in the Democratic party in Missouri is wider than ever. All attempts to reconcile differences were abortive, though the fermentation during the sitting of the two Conventions was most active. The Bentonites presented an olive branch to the Anties, which was considered and rejected. The Anties tried their hand at fusion, but with no better success. Joint committees met and consulted, but could not harmonise. Each Convention finally nominated a full State ticket and an electoral ticket, appointed delegates to the Cincinnati National Convention, and adopted platforms. The Anties' platform is composed of eleven planks, and is substantially thus, as sketched by the correspondent of the St. Louis Intelligencer:

- 1, Endorsement of the Baltimore and Jefferson City platforms of 1852; 2, Affirmation of States Rights; 3, A puff for the Constitution, and a declaration of equal rights of all the States—no discrimination on account of social institutions and geographical position; 4, Endorsement, full and unreserved, of the Kansas-Nebraska bill—a test of true Democracy; that Congress has no right to legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories—the people should decide, &c., &c.; 6, Endorsement of the Fugitive Slave Law;

- 7, A denunciation of Free Soilers, Black Republicans, and Abolitionists; 8, Down on "Sam"; 9, Do; 10, Invokes all persons, irrespective of parties, who favor the "constitutional rights of the South," to join in this Convention's action; 11, Recommends sending delegates to Cincinnati. This platform was drawn up by ten ex-M. C.'s, ex-Judges, and other prominent politicians, office holders, or ex-office holders, and was adopted with entire unanimity.

The platform of the other Convention is in substance: 1, Opposition to slavery agitation; 2, Does not approve of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, but will oppose its restoration; 3, Acquiesces in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, but it must be faithfully and impartially carried out—a hit at the Border Ruffians; 4, Down on "Sam"; 5, Liberal system of internal improvements (stealing Whig thunder)—Pacific Railroad, Rivers and Harbors, Omnibus Legislation, &c.; 6, For the railroad to the Pacific; 7, Denunciation of Abolition, Nullification and Secession; 8, Advocating a more extended and liberal School System. This platform was also adopted unanimously.

On the subject of the Presidency, the Anties adopted a resolution to support the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention, whoever he might be. The Bentonians adopted a resolution to send delegates to Cincinnati, with instructions to vote for no man for candidate for President whose antecedents were not compatible with the platform they had adopted. This excludes them from going for Pierce, Douglals, Buchanan, or anybody else who may be nominated at Cincinnati. The Bentonians will go to Cincinnati with the credentials of the Convention called by State Central Committee; the Anties must rely on their adhesion to Nebraskism for their admission. On this subject the Intelligencer says:

It appears from the proceedings that two sets of Delegates will claim seats in the Cincinnati Convention from Missouri, the one coming from the Benton and the other from the anti-Benton wing of the Missouri Democracy, and it will be for that august assembly to determine as to which wing belongs the right of its seal attesting its orthodoxy; not that we intimate for a moment that such decision will be considered final or conclusive; on the contrary, the rejection of the Delegates from either faction will only tend to increase the bitterness which now characterizes the harmonious National Democracy.

The Intelligencer states that both the factions in Missouri claim to be National Democrats, and shows the absurdity of the claim by the remark that "when the Democratic party cannot agree upon the slavery plank of a platform in Missouri, a Slave State, how absurd to appropriate to itself the cognomen of National."

President Pierce was endorsed by the Anties, and the notorious Stringfellow thanked the Democracy of the North for their support. The editor of the St. Louis Republican writes:

Both Conventions adjourned until 8 P. M. After that hour, a resolution, commending the Administration of President Pierce, was submitted in the Democratic Convention, and a very fine speech was made in favor of it, by Hon. James S. Green. It was carried, as was a resolution offered by B. F. Stringfellow, (the Border Ruffian) thanking the Democracy of the North for the honesty and boldness with which they have come to the aid of the South, in the position assumed in reference to the Nebraska bill. This resolution was accompanied by a manly and eloquent speech from the somewhat celebrated "Border Ruffian," which was well received by the Convention.

The "Democracy of the North" must feel proud of thanks from such a quarter, and will probably acknowledge the compliment by putting Stringfellow on the Pierce-Douglas-Buchanan ticket for Vice.

Che Courant.

HARTFORD: MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 28, 1856.

FOR LATEST NEWS—SEE THIRD PAGE.

"All your strength is in your union, All your danger is in discord."—Hiawatha.

The opponents of slavery extension need this piece of advice. It is as applicable to them as if Longfellow wrote it for their especial benefit. To make Kansas a Free State should be now the exclusive

idea in the minds of every lover of freedom and free labor in the United States. This is not Abolitionism. That idea would attack slavery in the sovereign States. No true lover of the independence of the separate states and of the preservation of the Union is an Abolitionist. The opponents of the present Administration wash their hands of the imputation of meddling with slavery where it is allowed by the Constitution. It is not Abolitionism to confine slavery within constitutional limits. To prevent its spread beyond those limits becomes a legitimate and legal desire for men who support the value of free labor. This one single object can unite every opponent of the Administration, and is a laudable, proper, and constitutional band of union for the coming presidential campaign. All other political issues fade before this. They all can be settled hereafter. To prevent Kansas from being a slave state must be settled this year. To limit the extension of slavery over the territories made free by the compact of 1820, must be the aim of 1856. It rises upon us as the most important—the most momentous question that can govern the coming campaign. To answer this question acceptably to our consciences, should be the ruling impulse of every voter to whatever party he may belong.—Every other issue, for the coming six months should be thrown aside.

We have not the least hesitation in saying that if the pro-slavery party are successful in this Presidential campaign, Kansas will be made a slave state under the arbitrary laws of the Shawnee Town Legislature. But the evil will not end here. Utah and New Mexico and other new and as yet unnamed states, will follow on in the same subservency to the power of slavery and the South. If Kansas is rescued and made a free state, free labor can henceforth wage war on equal terms with slave labor.—The South and the Administration might crush at once the success of this new party, by anticipating them and allowing Kansas to enter the Union under the Topeka Constitution. Reeder and Lane, the two Senators, have been good "Democrats;" the pressure of slavery aside, they would be so again. But we cannot expect this stroke of policy, because justice would be mingled with it, and we have therefore the battle of freedom in Kansas to fight. If successful, free labor is established in Kansas; if defeated, none but slaves can till that virgin soil.

To successfully contend against the dough-faced Democracy of the North, the whole power of the South, and the holders of governmental offices, every where, requires a complete, cordial, and effective union of all the opponents of the Administration. Each must sacrifice something, or, at least, hold something, in abeyance, to accomplish this union with all its important consequences. Union for the sake of Free Labor should be the motto! Who SAYS AMEN?

DECIDEDLY COOL!

The Richmond Enquirer gives the North to understand that the aggressive slave power of the South has no thought of stopping its encroachments upon the North with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.—O, no! It is going to do a smarter and much more active business. We are glad to know that it will have fewer Northern doughfaces for instruments to work with than it had in the outset. The following are the important declarations of the Enquirer. What does the Register say to these?

"The repeal of the Missouri restriction, in relieving the South of an odious badge of inferiority, and restoring us to an equality of right and dignity in the confederation, was in itself a triumph of no little consequence. But the South never meant to rest upon this sort of metaphysical advantage. From the beginning of the struggle we anticipated more tangible results; and we are now to say whether we mean to surrender partial success, and ingloriously abandon our object, or persevere with courage and consistency in our deliberate purpose."



NEW HAVEN:

MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1856.

Intelligence from Kansas.

The citizens of Lawrence got together on Tuesday evening, April 15th, and gave our Connecticut Kansas Colony a cordial public welcome. The opening welcome speech was made by J. Hutchinson, Esq., of Lawrence, and C. B. Lines, Esq., President of the Colony, replied. Other speeches by both parties were also made.

A dispatch from Kansas City, to the St. Louis Republican, additional to that published in the PALLADIUM of Saturday, dated Saturday, says:

"The United States troops made several arrests yesterday, and Sheriff Jones, while guarding the prisoners, was shot."

Shannon and his gang have lately shown a determination to persecute the settlers by enforcing the intolerable bogus laws, and this is but the beginning of the end if the outrageous design is persisted in.

The following from a member of Congress from the 10th District in Massachusetts, for whose veracity we can personally vouch, nails two of the lies already started by the loco focos in relation to Col. J. C. Fremont:

To the Editors of the Springfield Republican: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 23, 1856.

The following note I sent to the "American" on the 9th inst., and again on the 18th. Not seeing it in that paper, I conclude they do not intend to publish it; and as it is a simple act of justice on my part, to correct the misrepresentation, I ask you to publish it:

To the Springfield Daily American:

I notice in your paper of the 7th inst., you call Col. J. C. Fremont a "Catholic and slaveholder." This is simply untrue. Col. F. is a member of the Protestant Episcopal church, is not a slaveholder, and is intensely opposed to the further extension of slavery.

Respectfully yours, C. C. CHAFFEE.

The Free Kansas members of Congress have appointed the following members an executive committee to co-operate with the Northern popular movement for a Presidential Convention at Philadelphia: Wilson of Mass., and Collamer of Vermont, of the Senate, and Mace of Ind., Mott of Ohio, Covode of Pa., Dodd of N. Y., and Norton of Illinois.

The Burlington Hawkeye, the leading anti-Nebraska journal of Iowa, warmly favors Col. Fremont's nomination.—The Ashtabula, Ohio, Sentinel, the representative of Joshua R. Giddings, strongly opposes Col. Fremont, also dislikes Judge McLean, but recommends Gov. Chase of Ohio, for the Republican nomination.—The New Orleans Bulletin, the chief commercial and political journal of that city, and a supporter of the Fillmore ticket, says of the campaign:—

"The man is as blind as a bat, and hopelessly stupid, who does not see that there is one overshadowing question which overwhelms and swallows up all other secondary issues,—the fundamental and vital question of slavery. Blink at it as we may, complicate or confuse it as much as possible, the fact cannot be disguised, that slavery is the one real element of party divisions; and to organize a party with the expectation that the members of it North and South would unite and harmonize upon this main point of dispute, is only short of moonstruck madness!"

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, MONDAY, APRIL 28.

THE CHARLESTON MERCURY SAYS, "There is no constitution existing now, but the law of the strongest." The Richmond Enquirer talks of the Kansas question in this strain: "The South once thought its own institutions wrongful and inexpedient. It thinks so no longer—and will insist that they SHALL BE PROTECTED AND EXTENDED BY

THE ARM OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, EQUALLY WITH THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE NORTH." These assertions will explain the course of the Slave Power for the last ten years. They show us the grounds on which the slaveholders justify such acts of Congress as the Fugitive Slave Act, and such atrocious decisions of the Supreme Court as that just announced. They also declare and explain, in the most explicit manner, the purpose of the Slave Power and the Pierce party, in regard to Kansas. Kansas "shall" be a Slave State. Slavery "shall" be protected and extended by the arm of the "Federal Government." It is well for those who talk in this style to confess as freely as the Mercury does, that they no longer recognise the existence of any constitution "but the law of the strongest."

In the slaveholders' discussions of this question, nothing is more apparent than their fanatical hatred of democratic principles. They never tire of expressing malignant scorn for the old revolutionary doctrines of political and social equality and for "the Northern ideas of the right to labor." A writer in the Charleston Mercury, whose articles are endorsed by that paper as indicating "a wide study of politics," philosophises on the matter as follows:

"The revolution of 1776 constituted a great epoch, at which the mind of the Caucasian race, among much that was wise and good, began to show symptoms of insanity upon the absurd dogma of universal liberty. The leaders of the revolution, not content with giving freedom to America, and scattering torrents of light, vainly believed that freedom might be given to the world; and hence the idea arose, and was culminated in Fourth of July orations, from generation to generation, that the Union must be made an asylum for the oppressed of every land. 'Look unto me, all nations of the earth, and be ye saved, for I am God and there is none else;' for thrones, principalities and powers must quake, topple and fall before the conquering march of this dogma; and even the slaughter of six millions of the human races upon the soil of Europe failed to dispel the sad and fatal delusion."

It was in the days of the Declaration of Independence and of the Revolutionary Fathers that "the South" held that slavery "was wrongful and inexpedient," and cherished enthusiasm for doctrines and institutions which were hostile to it. But the Revolutionary Fathers are gone, and the modern race of politicians commonly called "Southern statesmen" denounce the principles which they established, and advocate the barbaric despotism against which they declared eternal war. Such men as the Thomas Jefferson of revolutionary days would be denounced and persecuted by these modern politicians of the South, as incarnations of political insanity, and as dangerous "abolition incendiaries."

The Charleston paper and its correspondent both charge that the growing hostility in this country to "the institutions of the South," is due entirely to European influence; but the correspondent claims that immigration from Europe has done the work,—that the "elements of all nations have been invited to enter," whereas they should have been shut out by the adoption of a policy like that of China and Japan, where "homogeneity" has been preserved and "civilization is estimated by cycles of thousands of years;" while on the other hand, the editor of the Mercury holds "that it is the literature of Europe, rather than its migration," that has done the work and given the country such a tendency to "free politico-sociology," and represents that "it is the inevitable curse of free society that it must spawn all this brood of political and social monsters." They agree, however, in their conclusions, save that while the editor recognises no existing constitution save the law of the strongest, Brutus, the correspondent, holds that "the perpetuity of the Constitution involves a political impossibility."

These are the present doctrines of the slave power, advocated more or less openly by its organs in every part of the republic. These are the doctrines to which the country must submit, if the slavery party is allowed to retain its control of the federal government. These are the doctrines which have regulated the action of Congress on the slavery question, and which the Executive and the Judiciary are carrying out. We cannot believe that the people will allow this malignant power to retain possession of the government and destroy the Republic.

In the Northern States these haters of Democratic principles and destroyers of our republican institutions are aided and supported by men who

have the audacity to call themselves Democrats. In New England such papers as the Boston Post and the Hartford Times are responsible for the support of them. But the time has almost gone when the people in any Northern State could be rallied in the name of the democracy to the support of its most malignant and dangerous enemies.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 28, 1856.

FROM KANSAS.—We print below two telegraphic despatches purporting to describe something that has happened in Kansas. We have had such experience of early telegraphic accounts from that quarter as would make us doubtful how to interpret even a more precise narrative: There is nothing here, however, to indicate that the people refused obedience to the United States authorities. The sheriff, Jones, acted under the authority of the pseudo-legislature:—

CHICAGO, April 26.—A despatch from Leavenworth, states that on the 22d, Sheriff Jones, while attempting to arrest a man who was implicated in the late difficulties, was resisted by a body of 800 armed men. Gov. Shannon had ordered out the military.

ST. LOUIS, April 26.—A despatch from Kansas city to the Republican says that the United States troops made several arrests yesterday, and that Sheriff Jones while guarding the prisoners was shot. We have no further particulars.

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 28, 1856.

Until within a short time, it has been accepted almost as a foregone conclusion that the nominees of the Democratic party would be the next President of the United States,—that the election by the people would be only the form of confirmation, and that the real battle would be fought at Cincinnati. The prostration of the Whig party, and the lack of any common platform on which the opposition could rally seemed to preclude the hope of a successful stand against the Democrats, who were, indeed, hardly less disunited, but to whom the spoils of office always presented a sufficient object of united effort, if not of common principle. This conclusion has given even more than usual interest to the Cincinnati nomination; and as the star of Buchanan arose with a steady and increasing light, as it passed into the clouds under the malign influence of Pierce and Douglas, it was watched with eager eyes by thousands of expectants. It is now considered that neither of the three will unite two-thirds of the votes at Cincinnati, but that the prize so much coveted will fall to a new, and, most probably, to a comparatively unknown man. The experiment of taking up a nobody has worked so well that there is great reason for repeating it.

But the Democratic party approaches the Cincinnati convention with a very different feeling from that which animated its hosts a few months since. Whatever may be the foundation for the feeling, it is undoubtedly true that the opponents of the administration are taking new courage, and that their hopes are rising every day, and with the accounts which are received at Washington from all parts of the country. The failure of the administration in New Hampshire, in Rhode Island, and in Connecticut, the growing divisions in New York, and the growing in Pennsylvania at the anticipated defeat of Buchanan, all tend the same way, and dampen the confident expectations with which the Democrats have looked forward to the election. How strong the tide will flow, and how far it will go, we do not venture to predict; but at present it is against the Democratic party. It must go much farther before the chances will, in our opinion, be equalised, for we think they are greatly in favor of the Democrats. But the Republican leaders do not think so. They expect to elect the President.—They say that if the House will pass the bill to admit Kansas as a free State, just as half a dozen other States have been admitted, and send it up to the Senate to be rejected, and then an appeal is

made to the country on that issue, the work is done. So manifestly is this the true policy of the House, and so plainly is it what a majority of the House were elected to do, that the long delay and hesitation can only be accounted for on the ground of unfaithfulness or of singular blindness. A strong effort will be immediately made to present this issue. The Democrats will seek by all means to prevent it; but if it is fairly made they must accept it, and with this issue wise and prudent observers think that no man except Buchanan can make a stand against the sentiment which will sweep through the free States; perhaps not even he.

New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1856.

Senator Douglas and Col. Lane.

Upon another page we publish a letter from Senator DOUGLAS, concerning a demand made upon him by Col. J. H. LANE of Kansas, for an explanation of language he had used in debate.

The history of this affair is as follows:—On the 8th inst. a memorial was presented to the Senate by Gen. CASS, purporting to be signed by the members elect of the Kansas (Free State) Legislature. On the 9th it was alleged that the signatures could not be genuine, inasmuch as they were all written in one hand. The memorial was accordingly rejected. Subsequently Col. LANE sent in to the Senate a petition, accompanied by the original memorial of which the one previously presented was alleged to be a copy. This was referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Mr. DOUGLAS was Chairman. Upon examination Mr. DOUGLAS found, as he alleges, that, instead of being a copy, the original had been greatly and materially altered; and upon that statement it was again rejected.

On the 18th, Col. LANE addressed to Mr. DOUGLAS a letter, (subsequently embodied in his Card, published in the TIMES of Friday last,) reminding him that, previous to his report, in conversation he had told Mr. DOUGLAS that "he was the reviser of the memorial," and that it "was prepared under his direction in conformity with the authority vested in him;"—and complaining that Mr. DOUGLAS, after this frank explanation, should still have repeated his charge that the memorial had been essentially and materially altered since its signature. Col. LANE therefore asks of him "such an explanation of his language upon that occasion as will remove all imputation upon the integrity of his action or motive in connection with that memorial." This letter was handed to Senator DOUGLAS by Hon. C. R. WATSON. The letter which we publish this morning was written by Mr. DOUGLAS to Mr. WATSON in reply to Col. LANE,—or rather for the purpose of explaining to Mr. W. why he could not comply with Col. LANE's demand. Accompanying the letter is a note from several gentlemen, designed to sustain Mr. DOUGLAS in not having regarded and treated Col. LANE's letter as a challenge to fight a duel.

Col. LANE, upon hearing of this letter and its contents, published a Card, which was given in the TIMES of Friday last, denouncing Mr. DOUGLAS as a coward and charging him also with having betrayed the confidence of private friendship. The only reply Mr. DOUGLAS makes to this, is the publication of the letter to which Col. LANE alludes.

So far as this is a personal controversy, we have no hesitation in saying that Senator DOUGLAS has the best of it. As to the alterations in the memorial, we can express no opinion, because we know nothing of the facts except from the statements of the respective parties. Mr. DOUGLAS alleges that they were material,—that in the original memorial

the signers denied the right of Congress to organize a Territorial Government for Kansas—whereas, in the altered document, as presented, they were made explicitly to acknowledge it. Col. LANE does not deny this alleged alteration, but declares that all the changes were made by him "in conformity with the authority vested in him." It is not easy to suppose that he could have authority to reverse the principles professed by the signers of the memorial—but even if he had, the exercise of such an authority would be an act of very questionable propriety. Aside from this matter, we cannot agree with Col. LANE in attributing cowardice to Senator DOUGLAS, merely because he did not consider his letter a challenge. If Col. LANE designed to invite a hostile meeting, he should have been explicit. This mode of challenging by inference, adds fresh absurdity, (which it does not at all need,) to the system of duelling.

If the allegations in the letter of Mr. DOUGLAS are true, it must be confessed that Col. LANE has taken a very injudicious and unwarrantable course, in endeavoring to bring the wishes of the people of Kansas to the knowledge of the Senate. If they are not true, Col. LANE should lose no time in disproving them.

FROM KANSAS.

Great Spring Immigration.

RECEPTION OF THE CONNECTICUT PARTY—THE WELCOMING SPEECH—A LOOK AT LEOPOLDUS—WILSON SHANNON'S OFFICE AND THE GROCERY FULL OF DRUNKEN MEN—PRESIDENTIAL, &c.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, Wednesday, April 16, 1856.

Lawrence is as busy as a new hive in May. Emigration is filling us to an overflowing, and our hearts are made glad to see our numerous friends coming half across the continent to join us in a holy cause. We extend to them the warm hand of friendship and welcome them to our new-born State—Sharp's rifles and all. Small companies from several States are now among us, and news has reached us that several hundred more are on the river, and as ever before, four-fifths of all who have arrived, are from the Free States. They seem delighted with the country, and well they might be, for the season is full two weeks earlier than last year at this time. The willows and other trees are mingling their green shades along our groves, and the prairies are somewhat green, so that cattle would live without feeding. Everything seems to cast smiles upon our future.

RECEPTION OF A CONNECTICUT PARTY—SPEECH OF WELCOME.

Yesterday a party of about ninety arrived from old Connecticut, and to show them and the world our heartfelt gratitude to interchange congratulations with so noble an army of Freedom's sons, we gave them last evening a public reception at the Hall of Union House. Time drives me to be brief and I will report only the two principal speeches made on the occasion. After organizing, our citizens called upon J. HUTCHINSON, Esq., to welcome them in their behalf. He spoke as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS FROM CONNECTICUT: It is a privilege which I esteem, to extend to you the welcome which flows from the hearts of the people of Lawrence and of Kansas. And I trust I shall utter the own feelings upon this occasion. Permit me, then, in the name of this country, in behalf of the citizens of Lawrence, to say that we welcome you with joyful hearts to our infant and noble State—a State not yet included within the brotherhood of our glorious confederacy, yet a State asking and claiming admission as a State, yet not recognized by the Federal Government, as a free people who desire the rights of American citizens—a State not protected by that Governmental protection, but by the moderate and Spartan courage of the few who compose it. As our friends and brothers, we welcome you to these fertile prairies of Kansas; to these lands, the fertility of whose soil you have tested during the last forty miles of your travel to this place; to the climate, whose salubrity you can feel this night as you go forth under our Kansas skies.

We extend to you not the old formalities of aristocratic society; we invite you not to our rich carpeted parlors, nor our cushioned seats; but with the right hand of fellowship we extend to you that hospitality known only to a pioneer people. Our humble fare we offer to supply your wants, and our strong arms are for your protection. To me this is a happy hour, when I see before me faces that a few weeks since I saw more than two thousand miles towards the rising sun. I am convinced that indissoluble bonds unite us with our fatherland, and that the electric announcement of our wrongs makes vibrate the chords of sympathy through the extreme East. I am convinced that those friends on whom we have looked, as we started westward, keep their eyes steady upon us, and that the rehearsal of our wrongs finds in them a ready response. I am satisfied that they are conscious of their duty to neglect participating in moulding the institutions of this State, and to

pride of their ancestry to be indifferent lookers-on during the struggle which is to test the sincerity and philanthropy of this nation, a struggle in which is involved the destiny of this glorious republic. When, but a few weeks since, I told you in my humble way the story of the dangers that impended, I feared should deaden your enthusiasm and dissuade you from joining us at so early an hour. Knowing, as I do, that you were informed of the trials before you, that you understood the exposure and privations incident to a pioneer life, that you knew of the threatened and oppressed condition of the State which you were about to enter, that you were fully aware of the crisis the men for Kansas. I trust you will not receive it as flattery, when I say I regard you as Connecticut's noblest sons and daughters, as men and women too enterprising, too adventurous, too patriotic to drag out your existence amidst the luxury and monotony of a fixed and unprogressive society. We are full of courage to-night. We breathe an air of relief when, after being chained to our excitements, and during the winter months, confined to our own numbers, we see at the dawn of Spring such accessions to our population, and we feel still more encouraged when we hear you are but the front guard of the vast numbers yet to come. We know you have come, not to remain with us, but to join us in the maintenance of the Free State Government, which the people, while exercising their constitutional rights, have prepared for themselves. You know our history, and you are satisfied that this Government, thus formed, has been established with moderation and forethought. You know that it originated in necessity—that its object is the protection of its subjects; and that its more noble end is to secure the maintenance of their own right, their own justice, and their own freedom. Friends, you are justly welcome with your shields on your backs, should oppression rage anew, and destruction again threaten our families and our homes, we feel confident that in you we shall find brave hearts and strong arms; that in you, are lives ready to be sacrificed for this common cause—the maintenance of our rights. We hope this day never be, yet should our aggressions of the past be repeated, we are encouraged to know that our strength will be so much greater, and hence our victory so much more certain. In assisting us in the maintenance of this Government, we ask you not to become disloyal, nor to set at defiance any legal authorities, not to violate any laws, but only as we have acted in our formation, for self protection and the defence of our inhaleable rights.

These are your most unhappy hours. The sad parting with your long tried friends is yet fresh in your memory, while you see around you none but strangers; but let me assure you, that however near you may be to the hour of parting, you are in the midst of those whose hearts will beat in sympathy with you, and whom I trust time will prove to be your truest friends. Should you imagine you see an apparent coldness, remember that it is owing to the care and responsibility of hasty business resting upon us. You may be disappointed as you first look upon our rights, but you will be surprised when you find that you must remain; and after difficult has seemed to unite in regarding our progress during the eighteen months of our existence. I can appreciate your feelings, but be not disheartened by the hardships of the hour—look upon your brighter future, reflect upon your condition two years hence, settled on your farms, with your own soil, your own fields, and comfortable homesteads. Wealth, order, and all then begin to flow in upon you, and happiness, before unknown, will be yours. I will not ask you to wait two years, before you will become attached to this lovely land; no, six months hence I shall expect to see you returning to your former homes for your family and friends. When asked if you are pleased with your new home, I answer that no wealth would tempt you to exchange your Kansas soil for one in any of the old States. I can say for one—and I believe I shall speak for every citizen in Kansas—that I shall be content no where but in Kansas. I cherish with an ardent love my adopted land. In it I hope to live and die.

Who are the men who will constitute your fellow-citizens? They are the chosen, the enterprising, the ambitious of the old thirty States, who, like you and like those to follow you, have left every comfort for the sake of participating in the noble work of forming a new State. They are an industrious, energetic, and well-favored people, who have seen where but yesterday the wilderness, and whose future was undisturbed. The voices of civilized men around their peaceful homes will break the stillness of these uninhabited prairies. Towns and cities will every where spring up at no great intervals, while schools and churches will educate and christianize until this shall be a learned, refined, and upright people. Think for a moment, and you will see that you will hereafter feel in recollecting that you assisted in laying the first foundation whereupon such glorious institutions shall have arisen, and think of the still higher satisfaction, arising from a conviction of doing your duty, in helping to arrest the progress of Slavery, and seeking to obtain to them a free and protective Government. Believing you will realize all this, I trust you will never regret the hour when you gave farewell to New-Haven. Knowing you foresaw what you were to encounter, I shall expect no one of your noble band to become dishonored and return, as many of the inconscient heretics have done, because they would not exchange their former citizenship and responsibilities. No, I believe you are made of a different material, and I hope prosperity may crown your efforts. In conclusion, then, let me in my own behalf, in behalf of the people of Lawrence and of Kansas, extend a cordial welcome to you, to your men, to your women and your children.

REPLY OF MR. G. R. LINDS.

The remarks of Mr. H. were listened to with marked attention, and he was frequently interrupted

FROM KANSAS.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 21.

DEAR SIR:—A gentleman has just arrived in town from Leecompton, and by him we learn that Governor Shannon had sent to Col. Sumner an order to send troops to Leecompton immediately. The order was sent yesterday, and the troops were expected there this evening. The militia of the Territory has been ordered out to assist in enforcing the laws in Lawrence, and to arrest Wood & Co., or destroy the city. Shannon, Jones, Stringfellow & Co. were boasting of terrible things that would be done if the "Lawrence settlers and citizens would not submit to the Atchison code of laws." Another "Kansas war" is about to commence, and if Shannon gets drunk again and signs treaties, it may be bloodless. It seems that the Administration party at Washington are trying to have Congress adjourn before the report of the Kansas Commissioners can be made to that body and the country. And the same party are at work in Kansas trying to get up a war in order to prevent the Commissioners proceeding in their investigation. This Kansas business, say they, must not be brought to light until Pierce is re-nominated and elected our next President. If exposed sooner it will be used in the next Presidential campaign, and doubtless ensure the election of the opposition candidate to that office. A President with nerve and courage, and the welfare of the Kansas settlers at heart, will not do, so say the nullifiers, and every effort will be made in Washington and here to prevent the Commissioners from making their report to the present Congress. However, we shall see how this thing is managed by interested parties.

"FELIX."

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 20.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

Yesterday there was considerable excitement on Massachusetts street in this city, caused by the appearance of Sheriff Jones, who used every effort in his power to impress upon the minds of the people the important fact that he (Jones) was Sheriff of Douglas county, the people of Lawrence professed not to know of any such county and of such an officer as he pretended to be, consequently but little respect was manifested for him. At Mr. Christians office there had been an election on the location of a bridge, and while the votes were being counted several persons were standing about waiting patiently to hear the result of the balloting. Among them was S. N. Wood, Esq., who had recently arrived in the State from Ohio, with a large party of his friends. While Wood was a silent observer of what was going on, Jones stepped up, put his hand upon his shoulder, and said "You are my prisoner." Wood replied "I guess not."—Jones then produced an old warrant issued by Hugh Cameron, last December, for the arrest of Wood for being engaged in the rescue of Mr. Branson, on the night of the 26th of November last, and informed Wood of its purport and said, "you must go along with me." This Wood objected to, saying that he wanted to see his wife and consult with his friends. Jones objected to his going alone, stating that he could go to see his wife and he should accompany him. Wood did not like such company and informed him of it, and asked to go alone, stating that in fifteen minutes he would return and place himself in the same relation to Jones he then was.

Jones refused unless he would promise to return within a specified time and deliver himself up to his custody. Wood had objections to doing any such thing, consequently refused, and made a move towards the door. Jones then took hold of him in a violent manner, stating to those standing around that he was sheriff of Douglas coun-

ty—was acting under the territorial laws, and in the name of the Commonwealth, and demanded assistance. One person then crowded in between Jones and Wood, and very good naturedly pressed them apart. Wood walked towards his house, a few rods distant. Jones ran out of the door and started after him. Coming up with Wood he clinched, and endeavored to drag him back to the office, calling upon those standing near, to help him, and saying that he was sheriff of Douglas county, and was acting in that capacity; One man then stepped up and took hold of Wood, and commenced talking to his prisoner in a very quiet manner, telling him to obey the laws, to submit to an arrest, and he should not be hurt.— Jones then commenced pulling Wood towards the office, and his assistant stood the other side of Wood, pushing him along. Some one seized Jones' assistant by the collar and pulled him away. Jones, then holding Wood with one hand, with the other made a movement towards taking a revolver out of his belt. Wood, anticipating the object, seized hold of the pistol, and took possession of it. Some person then stepped in between Jones and Wood to prevent a fight, and separated the parties.— Jones then walking into the office, declared that if he had not lost his pistol, he would have shot the d—n, &c. Wood walked home, and Jones turned to those standing about, and asked if they did not "consider that resistance to the law?" if that was not "resisting the officers?"

These questions were answered by a Buckeye, who stated that he did not know that he had seen any officers, and he was certain that he had seen no one resisting them.— Jones then commenced swearing vengeance against all free State men, and with an oath declared "Wood should be arrested if he had to kill all of his friends." The last seen of Jones and his assistant, they were riding toward Leecompton with their horses at the top of their speed.

The free State men of Kansas say they will not submit to any process issuing from any court created by the bogus Legislature. Yesterday Jones was very anxious to have it understood that he was acting as sheriff under the laws of the Legislature. It is generally supposed by people here, that the arrests were only undertaken at this time, that the Congress committee, who are here now, might see how laws were trampled under foot with impunity by the people, and report the same to Congress, to influence the country in the Presidential election.— The people of Lawrence say they are perfectly willing that this committee should report to Congress that the people will resist on their own responsibility, every attempt made to enforce the laws enacted for Kansas by a Missouri invasion.

This forenoon, while the citizens were in church, Jones, with six or eight assistants, came into town to arrest Wood and those accused of rescuing him yesterday.

Wood happened to be in a distant part of the city and Jones did not see him.

Jones then made an attempt to arrest a Mr. Monroe, which the later gentleman objected to and prevented by taking of his coat, doubling up his fists, and on other demonstrations of a determination to fight it out on his own responsibility. Jones called upon those standing around for help, which many seemed disposed to give but wanted the Sheriff to lead on, which he declined doing. He then turned towards Tappan, who is now under arrest for being engaged in the Branson rescue, seized him by the collar and said, "I have a summons for you and you are my prisoner for rescuing Wood yesterday." Tappan objected and Jones "abstained," after putting down the names of several of those who happened to be standing near, and threatening to come again and arrest them all, he, with his friends drove off for Leecompton.

How this matter will terminate is very doubtful. Some think it will be given up, while others are of the opinion that Jones will return on the morrow with a large posse and make another attempt to arrest. Perhaps another siege of Lawrence will be the result of the failure of Jones yesterday.

at a war is, what the administration desires it can be accommodated by restoring to United States troops to enforce Missouri enactments and by manifesting an aggressive and oppressive spirit. The people of the Territory do not like to fight, but there is a point where forbearance ceases to be a virtue. And, if driven to that position, a bloody time will be the result. Yours, T.

Lawrence, April 22.

I re-open my letter to add the following: By a gentleman who has just arrived from Westport, we learn that Jones, on his return from Leecompton, made a statement to Governor Shannon, who immediately wrote a dispatch, and a message was sent to Kansas city to telegraph to the President that the people of Lawrence were in open rebellion, setting the officers of the law at defiance, and asking for an order to call out the troops to put it down, etc. Shannon declares that Wood, Tappan, Monroe and others, shall be arrested if there is force enough in the Union to do it, and the laws shall be enforced. Messengers were sent from Leecompton to Missouri, and to different parts of the Territory to rally their forces to come down upon Lawrence.

Our people are making preparations for such an emergency, always, acting upon the principle that it is better to be fooled a dozen times than be caught napping once. The women will enter upon the discharge of that important duty, making cartridges, &c., soon, and our men will be ready to act on the defensive.

Yours, T.

P. S.—The commissioners are at Leecompton to-day, copying the records and collecting testimony. They will return to this city to-morrow, when they will remain for a week or two, making it their headquarters. Witnesses will be sent for to come here to give in evidence.

FROM KANSAS.

LAWRENCE, K. T., April 23, 1866.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

DEAR SIR: The U. S. troops from Fort Leavenworth are in town, assisting sheriff Jones to make arrests. Hutchingson, Warren, Lyman, Fuller, Hunt, and two others have been arrested for refusing to act as Jones' posse on Sunday last, and to-night are held as prisoners, guarded by the troops, who are camped here. Wood, Spear, Monroe, Deltzer and Tappan were in town this morning, but went a visiting in the country when the troops came in. No resistance has been made to-day. Houses have been searched but Wood Speers & Co. have not yet been arrested. The soldiers dislike the business they are engaged in.

The Congressional Committee in session here. Commenced this morning. Yours, in great haste, T.

LAWRENCE, Kansas April 24th, 2 o'clock, A. M.

Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

Last night about 11 o'clock, Sheriff Jones, while sitting in a tent with some soldiers, was shot by some one outside who fired a pistol, the ball taking effect in the back just below the shoulders. Jones fell back with a groan, was taken up and carried to a room in the Free State Hotel, where his wound was dressed by Dr. Stringfellow, of Atchison, editor of the "Squatter Sovereign." Jones is considered in a very critical position; his spine has become paralyzed, and the Doctor has put him under the influence of opium. It was very dark at the time the pistol was fired, and no one saw the person who did it.

The Captain of the Kickapoo Rangers and General Whitfield are in town and with Jones to-night.

Wood, Spear, Tappan and others, receiving information that their friends had been arrested, came into the city expecting to be taken prisoners by the United States' dragoons, under command of Lieut. Armstrong. Up to the present time they are at liberty, but will doubtless be arrested to-day. Lieut. Armstrong brings a letter from Col. Sumner, commander of Fort Leavenworth, to the Mayor of this city, stating that he had received orders to send troops to Lawrence to assist in making arrests; that he did not understand the merits of the case, but hoped that law and order would be maintained by the citizens.

The freemen of Kansas expect to sustain law, which means the enactments of a Missouri mob—and order, which means submission to the laws passed by the Shawnee Legislature. Shannon, Atchison, Pierce and Stringfellow are great advocates of "law and order" (with the above interpretation) and the people are to be forced into the traces by the United States Army. We shall see whether the people enjoy this kind of SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY. One victim of "law and order" fell last night, and hundreds and thousands of others will kill, and be killed, if the determination to inaugurate civil war here by the President be carried out by vexatious irritation of the squatters.— Some will be arrested and tried perhaps under those laws.

but that will not be resultant of any good. If these things continue the people will be driven to desperation, and a bloody time will be the consequence. We expect Congress to set the matter right; if they do not, the people will in self-defense.

Yours truly,
T.

LAWRENCE, K. T. April 24, 1856.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

Knowing that your regular correspondent is debarred from writing you by this mail, I volunteer a few lines that will be of public interest. Jones, the Sheriff of Douglas county was shot last night about ten o'clock, and it is expected that his wound will prove fatal. The attending circumstances were these. On Saturday and Sunday last he made two unsuccessful attempts to arrest S. N. Wood and others, for some old offences for which he has held warrants for several months, and never sought to enforce. Our people were unwilling to recognize his or his authority. He had a small posse with him from Leocompton each time, but he took away nine of our men under such circumstances. He seemed greatly exasperated and swore he would have them at any cost of life or money. He made Leocompton his head quarters, where Shannon, Oliver, Whitfield, Stringfellow and others were in council, directing all his movements, and intending to get up some foray just on the verge of the examination by the Washington committee, to prejudice them against the squatters of the territory. Shannon sent to Leavenworth for troops to assist Jones in making his arrests, and about four o'clock in the afternoon yesterday, he rode into town at the head of ten or twelve dragoons, fully armed. Wood, and those he came more particularly to arrest, were not in town, and were advised to leave, to prevent and avoid difficulty at that time. But they soon found twelve others whom they arrested and marched through the streets under guard of U. S. Dragoons, like captives. Many of our people were very indignant at this; still they were all arrested and taken to the room prepared for them without the least resistance, and even one U. S. officer with such instructions as they have, could have accomplished the same, for we will never resist the authority and arms of the U. S. As night came on, however, I feared there would be further disturbance, still we expected nothing more serious than abusing Jones, or something of the kind. But, unfortunately for us, some desperado who so impudently went beyond control, shot Jones as he was sitting in a tent occupied by the dragoons; but no trace can be found or any evidence to fix the guilt upon any particular person. Our citizens all deprecate the act very much, and will use every means to bring the assassin to justice. The Lieut. in command has sent to Leavenworth for a larger force, but we apprehend no further demonstration. Jones is alive this morning, but is considered very dangerously wounded. The ball entered between the shoulder blades near his neck, and probably injured the spine. It is hoped the public will withhold judgment until further investigations are made public.

RANDOLPH.

was discovered—and in which "William Symmons, D. D.," an eye witness, says, they endured "what if were too vile to say"—all owing to "want of providence, industry and government, and not the barrenness and defects of the country." So utterly vagabondish and idle were the first settlers of Virginia, that Governor Dale was obliged to proclaim martial law against them, and to make them work in gangs under overseers, and to threaten to shoot every man who refused to labor, or was disobedient to his task master.

These promising state-architects, afterwards petitioned the Crown for a present of "vagrabonds and condemned men," to do that work which they found so irksome. Bridewell and the other London "knave-pens," were accordingly emptied into Virginia. Poisoned through and through with laziness, the colonists then seized the white laborers sent out to work for the Company for wages, and sold them among each other to the highest bidders. Among the ancestors of thousands of the Virginians of this day, were the ill-used "servants" from England who were sold to pay for their passages across the Atlantic. This merchandise in her own immigrants, was not discontinued by Virginia till after the Revolution, in 1776. "Servants" (genuine Anglo-Saxons) were made by law chattels appurtenant to the offices of Governor, Deputy, Treasurer, &c. &c., and went with those offices in succession—or would have done so, if they had not been sold back and forth among the tobacco farmers. Their blood runs to this day in the Old Dominion, in white men's veins. So large was the number of "vagrants," "pick-pockets," "idle and dissolute fellows" given by the English Kings to their courtiers as property, and by them sold to the Colonists on the James River, and so horrible a reputation had their treatment and their characters occasioned the Young Dominion, that Smith says, "some of them in London chose to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were hanged."

De Foe has left evidence that most of the early Virginia emigrants consisted of transported convicts, and servants brought by ship masters to be sold. The mother of the principal character in one of his books, testifying on this point says, "here many a Newgate-bird becomes a great man, and we have several Justices of the Peace, officers of the trained Bands, and Magistrates of the Town they live in, who have been burned in the hand."

But enough! The game is not worth the candle. The high place of the Kansas settlers in the history and the politics of the Republic, is sure.

producing upon our whole body of southern representatives, with, perhaps, a few exceptions in South Carolina; for I am persuaded there is such an exception.

Senator Butler, in his letter upon the subject of the Cincinnati convention, says: "The tide of events and the current of popular opinion, emanating from the north and running to the south, have brought to bear upon us a force which our people cannot, I suppose, resist." And our senator concludes by advising South Carolina to yield to that force, and send delegates to the Cincinnati convention—thus making the broad admission that he, himself, has, so far as his counsels to the state are concerned, surrendered his own, and reluctantly, though decisively, yielded to the requirements of the northern faith

The *Mercury* goes on to censure Senator Butler, and those other southern representatives who with him consent to act in harmony with the north, in very severe terms—denouncing them as false to those whom they pretend to represent, and as traitors to the rights and interests of the south. It closes thus:

"So far from the idea of being true upon which southern statesmanship founds its hopes, if the federal government were blotted out at a single blow, the method of northern thought would not be changed, the social system of the north would progress as before, and a political system, born of the joint action of both, would be formed and controlled by them, to the subversion of all the ends they seek to accomplish now, by means of the federal government. But a great good would result to the south by the fall of that government, for the present Union would be formed no more, and the south would thus cease to be under the blight and curse of a SOUTHERN REPRESENTATION TO A NORTHERN CONGRESS."

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 29, 1856.

A Singular Electioneering Expedient.

We hear on reliable authority that a document of the nature of a pledge and address, or argument of justification, is now being circulated through the State for the purpose of procuring the signature of Democrats who are dissatisfied with anything that has been done by the present Administration, and whom it is possible to commit to a course of action that will necessarily lead to the repudiation of the Democratic party—unless indeed returning reason lead to the repudiation of the pledge itself. According to our information, the document in question pledges the signers—and none but recognized Democrats are requested or allowed to sign it—to oppose the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention, if that body do not take ground against the Nebraska Kansas bill and the principles of Territorial government, on which that measure is founded. [Roch. Union.]

We do not know with what accuracy the Union describes the document to which it refers, because we have never seen it, or until now heard its substance. If it is what the Union represents it to be, so far from being "singular," it is one of the most natural "expedients" of men who have some remaining respect for the principles of the Republican fathers, for the free institutions they established, and the policy they inaugurated in reference to the government and future condition of the Territories of the United States. The view taken by our contemporary of the effect of this movement is, we beg leave to say, a very narrow one. It looks wholly to its effect upon a party, and ignores all other considerations, such as the immediate restoration and maintenance of the rights of the people of Kansas, the speedy admission of the Territory into the Federal Union with her Free Constitution, and the re-establishment of the Ordinance of 1787, in reference to all territorial possessions of the United States.

The Union proceeds to describe the consequences which will be almost certain to follow this movement, viz.—Those who sign "this singular document" "pledge themselves to op-

DAILY TRIBUNE.

TUESDAY, APRIL 29.

The Kansas Settlers—and those of Virginia.

"All the vagabonds, paupers, and discharged convicts who infested the Northern cities were shaken together and precipitated upon Kansas. For a time, honest immigrants were suffocated by the load of filth and stench; and although they partially recovered their energies, there is danger lest they be at last overborne by an incessant supply of refuse from penitentiaries of New England.

"The issue before the people of the South is simply this: shall we remain idle spectators of the struggle in Kansas, until the gallant spirits from Missouri are crushed by a multitudinous horde of barbarians from the North? In the name of the people of Virginia, we respond with an unhesitating and emphatic No.—*Richmond Enquirer.*

This is a—fib. The *Enquirer* should scorn to perpetrate it, and, especially, when it should know better. No new State was ever founded by a better class of men than the State of Kansas. The Old Dominion would suffer sadly by the contrast. Indeed, the *Journal of Albany* makes the contrast as follows:

No Virginian should court a comparison between the men who have settled Kansas, and those who settled the Old Dominion. In her case it would indeed be "odious," and odorous. Capt. John Smith said, that of all the immigrants to Virginia by the first three vessels, not two dozen had done a day's work in the course of their lives—and eight of these were Dutchmen and Poles. The rest of the nominal laborers had in England been gentlemen's lackeys, house servants, bankrupt tradesmen, and "desperate loafers." To keep them from perishing, he had to drive them to work at the point of his sword. The issue of the laziness and inefficiency of what Olmstead styles this "miserable rabble of snobs and funkies" the founders of the State of Virginia, was a famine, in which the seed of the Chivalry ate a "salvadge," boyled and stewed with roots and herbs,—in which one of them with actually killed his wife, "powdered her," and partially fed upon her, before his revolting crime

The Daily Republic.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

TUESDAY EVENING, APRIL 29.

South Carolina and the Union.

The Charleston *Mercury*, with its usual ability, continues to advocate a dissolution of the Union as absolutely essential to the perpetuation of slavery. The sixth number of the series is more elaborate and impressive than its predecessors. It commences with the position that whenever two hostile forms of civilization are antagonized in political union, one of them must inevitably be absorbed by the other; and proceeds to say that, under the federal constitution, the south must eventually be swallowed up by the north. We quote:

If there be any phenomenon, which may be more clearly understood than any other which is presented by the development of civil society in the United States, it is this—that the social system and civilization of the north, and the northern method of thought, completely Europeanized as it is, will predominate in the American Union if that Union lasts; and federal government yielding to the pressure of that social system and method of thought, will, by the action of the representative body upon it, become, and in a great degree is now, merely the agent and instrument by which that predominance is to be accomplished. That the south is even now undergoing the process of absorption, by the northern method of thought, in the manner stated in the above postulate or law, needs but a common sense observation to determine. Is proof required? Then I put Senator Butler on the stand as my witness. Measure the testimony he gives deliberately, for it evolves great facts, both as to the absorption of the south into the whirlpool of northern society and thought, and the disastrous, fatal effects which that absorption is

the Democratic nominee—an admission that the Nebraska-Douglas doctrine is to be the corner stone of the Cincinnati Convention—and that when their opposition to the decrees at Cincinnati become so public as to justify the use of their names “by the newspapers of the Seward organization,” “they will deserve as they will assuredly receive, no sympathy from their more prudent brethren.” This is appalling! If any “Democrat” has made up his mind that the Cincinnati Convention will—as the Union admits—nominate a candidate upon the Douglas platform, and that Slavery propagandists, though but a few hundred strong, are to be allowed to dictate the policy of the government and so shape it as to favor the cause of Slavery, and proscribe all who prefer Freedom for free soil, he had better halt and consider whether he cannot better afford to violate his conscience and be an abettor in all the pro-Slavery schemes of Douglas, Pierce, Atchison, and the Border Ruffians, than to lose the “sympathy” of the meek followers of these illustrious mock Democrats!

The Union argues that because the North is numerically the strongest, and the disparity between the North and South in population and wealth is rapidly increasing, she “has nothing to fear.” Not so. It is true that Chicago and other cities have sprung up and outgrown Southern towns; but at this very moment the great city of the North-west—the very city named as having outstripped the South—furnishes a United States Senator who betrayed the North and the cause of Freedom! Detroit gives us another; and Ohio and Iowa two more. And these men are modern Democrats—men who bow down to Slavery to purchase for themselves and their party the favor of the propaganda. The North has a majority, but that majority is constantly betrayed by such men as sham Democracy persists in sending to Washington as Presidents and Senators.

The Union closes with the expression of this “hope,” namely—that “the conduct of the North will be such as to inspire confidence on the part of the South in our fidelity to that Constitution, whose guarantees should be sacredly regarded by all.”

Well, we “hope” so too, provided the North has justly fallen under the charge, frequently made by propagandists and union-savers, of being “traitorous” and so forth. But we do not “hope” for the confidence of the South on the terms demanded, and to which our contemporary is evidently prepared to submit. We can only “inspire confidence” by remaining silent when solemn and time-honored compacts designed to guard free territory from Slavery are torn and trampled upon, by refraining from all opposition to the extension of Slavery, and by acquiescence in the infamous laws of a Border Ruffian Legislature. “Confidence” at such a price is too costly, and we apprehend that the threatened loss of “sympathy” of their more submissive brethren, will scarcely deter reflecting men from giving effect to their convictions in the way their judgments shall approve.

After all, the St. Louis people are very glad to get the patronage of the “Yankees” for their hotels and steamboats; and it makes a serious difference when the “Yankees” withdraw their custom. We learn that the Captain of the steamboat on which the rifles were stolen by the pro-Slavery ruffians, finds that his boat is known and shunned by the Free State emigrants ever since that occurrence, and he has light freight and few passengers. This leads him to think that such acts of piracy do not pay in the long run, and he will try and restore his former business by returning the stolen guns.

St. Louis will see the effect of the outrages perpetrated upon the river boats, on the insults and murders of emigrants, the lawless incursions from the Missouri side of the border, in decreased business and neglected routes of

travel. Her own citizens are less to blame than others, doubtless; but the influence of the city might and ought to have been on the side of Freedom and order.



TUESDAY EVENING, APRIL 29, 1856.

WHAT THEY ARE EXPECTED TO SUBMIT TO.—

The People of Kansas are required to obey the laws enacted by the first Legislature held in that Territory. That Legislature was elected by men from Missouri, who had not the shadow of a residence in Kansas. More than half of the members of that body were residents of Missouri. Two-thirds of the officers whom they appointed to execute their laws were residents of Missouri. Jones, who was appointed Sheriff of the Lawrence district, held, at the time of his appointment, the office of Postmaster in Missouri, and did not even pretend to be a resident of Kansas. The laws which he was selected to enforce, are as brutal as their authors. And yet the actual residents—the People—of Kansas, are expected to submit to those laws and to recognize the official character of those appointed to administer them! But they are all a fraud, from beginning to end, and are no more entitled to respect than a Russian ukase. Usurpation, in a Republican Government, can create no legal power; and the People of Kansas are not the instruments for usurpers to play upon.

THE VIRGINIA SEARCH LAW.—The Norfolk papers announce that on application of the pilots of that harbor, fifty muskets have been sent by the Government from Richmond, with the assurance that, if necessary, arms of a heavier calibre will be sent to enforce the execution of the search law.

It is always thus with Slavery. Its weapons are “muskets and arms of heavier calibre,” not Votes and Arguments. It appeals for justification, not to Courts, but to Bowie-Knives and Revolvers. Its threat is not “We will out-vote you at the Polls,” but “We will subdue you by whip, bullet and bayonet.” The Constitutional guarantee of “Freedom of Speech and of the Press,” is made, in every Slave State, a dead letter. The Constitutional provision forbidding “unreasonable searches” is now to be set aside by “muskets and arms of heavier calibre.”

When the injured Citizen appeals, as is his right, to the Courts for redress for such outrages, Slavery mobs him. When the Courts pronounce on them, Slavery snaps its fingers at the decision. It rails at the Habeas Corpus there. It rejects the Trial by Jury here. It plunders the Ballot Box in a frontier Territory and carries it off into an adjoining State. In a word, it every day refuses to submit to the peaceful restraints of Republican Government.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 29, 1856.

FOR LATEST NEWS—SEE THIRD PAGE.

We believe that the Union will be temporarily prolonged by the introduction of Slavery into Kansas, but we believe it might be extended to an indefinitely distant period by the measure we propose—the restoration of the Slave trade. With the certainty of turning the balance of political power, we would have little motive to a dissolution; while the stability and repose to the North from the predominance of Slave power in the government, would counterbalance any inclination they might have to leave us—*Charleston (S.C.) Standard.*

There have always been a class of men in this state among the opponents of the Sham Democracy, who have sacrificed or have stood ready to sacrifice all other principles or political views to the preservation of the Union. These men have been honest and sincere in their wish. We do not now

allude to those demagogues who have played upon this harp of a single string for the sole purpose of keeping themselves and their party in office. We allude to the genuine Whigs among some of our best friends, who, deceived by the constant threats of disunion from the South, have been really alarmed, and have been ready to make any compromise with the South for the preservation of the Union.

The demands of the slave power have gone on increasing, in proportion to the compliance of the North. First arose the struggle for freedom in Missouri, and the concession was made to the North that if slavery could be allowed in that state, all beyond a certain line should be devoted to freedom forever. This compromise was offered by the South, and finally acquiesced in by the North, simply because the Union was threatened. Then Texas was annexed with the power of carrying out other five slave states, under the terror of a dissolution of the Union, if it was refused. Then came the compromises of 1850—fugitive slave law and all—acquiesced in by the free states because, forsooth, the Union was threatened. To obtain the power which these compromises could give the South, members of Congress from that section even predicted the very day when the Union was to be dissolved, and our honest lovers of the Union at the North believed in the reality of the threats and made the Compromises.

Then came that huge stride towards the usurpation of power in the nation—the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. This step opened the eyes of our Union loving friends to the usurpations of the South, and they resisted the repeal until it became a matter of history; and then, with a sigh of regret, acquiesced—for the sake of the Union! Now the enslavement of Kansas is the next stride of the slave power, and the same threat of dissolution of the Union is heard, followed by the same submission to the South in the minds of the Union loving Whigs of the North. Some of them, in their love for the Union, have gone over openly to the Democratic party. Others hold themselves aloof from party struggles, and though they do not call themselves Administration men, yet, by their votes, strengthen the pro slavery Democracy, and all because the Union is threatened.

Now we would address ourselves personally to these old Whig friends, and ask them to look at the above extract from a Southern paper, and con well the lesson it teaches. In these threats to the Union, the South have been either sincere or insincere. If the latter, how can they be trusted when they threaten now? If the former, we ask our friends to enquire when they expect to be satisfied and to let the Union remain at peace? Take it at the best, according to the declaration of the South itself, the Union is to be only “temporarily prolonged” by the introduction of slavery into Kansas. All the sacrifices which our Northern friends have been willing to make for the preservation of the Union have one by one been overlooked and forgotten, and the South now only will promise the temporary prolongation of the Union by the introduction of slavery into Kansas. Are our friends satisfied with this horse-leech character of the slave power that thus continually cries “Give—Give!”

But hear the conditions prescribed by this South Carolina organ! The Union may “be extended to an indefinitely distant period” by what?—BY THE RESTORATION OF THE INFAMOUS SLAVE TRADE!! Will the North submit to this act of cruelty and guilt? Are our old Whig friends prepared to go this length? Is this the feast of fat things, under the quiet shade of the Union, to which they were invited? Is it possible that even the Union is worth the seas of horror and of blood through which guilty America must wade, if the slave trade is revived? Yet that is the present threat.

Look at the promise—the gracious promise—to the North which this predominance of the slave power makes!—stability and repose!—while thousands of wretched Africans are dying the most horrible deaths in the middle passage, or living in chains and toil only to curse the hour of their birth!—stability and repose to the North, because they can then deal in cotton and can barter their north-

ern manufactures with their southern masters: This South Carolina does not stand alone in this declaration. The programme for the future has been marked out in other states, and the renewal of the slave trade stands at the end of the long vista of northern demands for power! Will our late Whig friends reflect on these things?



NEW HAVEN:

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1836.

Correspondence of the Palladium.

**Our Kansas Colony—In the Country—
Indians—Country Accommodations—
Territorial Suppers—The Mis-
souri Invasion.**

CENTROPOLIS, K. T., April 16, 1836.

MISSES. ERRORS.—The place from which this letter is written, is what they call out here, a "one horse town,"—that is, a section of land surveyed and laid out into city lots, parks, &c., with a design of making it in the future a place of importance. This locality is situated about eighteen miles south of Lawrence, and is fifty miles from "Kansas City." It is in the midst of a delightful country, is very well wooded, and the water as good as we have at home. There are now but two or three cabins, a rustic blacksmith shop, and a store. About twenty persons are interested in the city speculation, and underlying the whole enterprise is a purpose to make the city the State Capital. The principal parties engaged in the scheme are influential members of the Legislature, who, it is supposed, intend to make fortunes out of the movement. We are informed that such plans are quite common in the West. It appears, also, that members of the "bogus" Territorial Legislature have laid out another site, within two miles of this, and they are bound to have the Capital go there. It is quite apparent that there is altogether too much of this scheming for great speculations, on the part of the leading men of "Kansas," and it would not be strange if "the people" should interpose and upset some of their deep-laid plans.

I am writing in the store. It is very well stocked with some kinds of goods, especially such as are called for by the Indians. The store is situated only half a mile from three important Indian tribes,—the Sacs and Foxes, Ottowas and Chippewas,—from whom they derive their principal trade, amounting to not less than \$15,000 per annum. The store has been filled with them to-day. Among the number, we noticed one fine looking young Chief, decked with all sorts of gewgaws and brass ornaments. There is something sad in moving among these remnants of the powerful tribes of other days, and witnessing their dependency as the *pale faces* are gradually crowding them from place to place, and so circumscribing their privileges and hemming them within narrow boundaries as to crush out the free spirit of their nature, and make them feel that between the deprivations of those natural rights which gave to their fathers the whole scope of the continent, and the impracticability of effecting a satisfactory "fusion" with their white masters, there is nothing left for them but to waste away and die.

We came here upon an exploring tour, seeking a location for our company. We have two other parties in other sections, and to-morrow we meet in Lawrence to decide where to plant our standard and make our homes. On our ride to this place, we passed through an exceedingly fertile and attractive country, chiefly prairie, on which there is unoccupied land enough for thousands of settlers, but it is being taken up very rapidly.

By my side, at this moment, one of the proprietors of the store is reading. He informs me that "Dow," one of the Free State men, was his neighbor, and from another source I learn that this gentleman offered \$300 for the body of his murderer,

"Coleman," dead or alive. He is evidently a very quiet, orderly citizen; but the deeds of murder, insult and oppression, that were perpetrated during the "border war," took deep hold of the feelings and the hearts of most of the actual settlers here. You would be surprised to see how universally the people of both sexes sympathize with the Free State men who are actual settlers; but those from the West are jealous of those who come in from the East, until they are satisfied they come purely in good faith and on their own hook.

We have just been entertained in one of the log cabins, with an excellent supper. The room is about fourteen feet square, contains a large bed, a bureau, and a cupboard. We had upon the table, ham, broiled and boiled—(we get very little fresh meat in the Territory)—biscuit and butter, pie, two kinds of oakes, stewed peaches, and some excellent tarts; but *no milk*. Cows are not generally kept by the new settlers. The lady who served us, is a model for such a place, or for any place. She does not keep a boarding house, and yet has fed ten men, to-day, before we arrived. The repast was well enjoyed and relished by us. A supper at the Tontine, got up in Scranton's best style, (and that is saying as much as we can say,) could not be enjoyed by you, as this was here, by us. On our way to this place, we started three fine deer; but we had but one rifle with us, and were too much surprised by them to get a deliberate shot before they had bounded over the prairie, beyond our reach. We also saw wolves, plivers and prairie hens, and beautiful flowers very much resembling our verbenas, both in their habits of growth and the appearance of the flower, now in full bloom.

But my tallow candle, held on a block of wood by three nails, is just expiring, and therefore this letter is necessarily finished. Our company are all together, in Lawrence, to-day, except one family, who stop a little below. All well, and in fine spirits. We are still ignorant of the result of your election.

Thursday Morning, 17th.—We were last evening invited to an adjoining log cabin to lodge. It was a very common cabin, and yet we enjoyed a fine night's rest. There was but one room, and one bed on a bedstead, which was occupied by the man of the house, and his lady, while four of our company were accommodated on the oak slab floor, with what they call beds spread upon it. There was no particular apprehension of suffering from "confined air," as the door had openings in it sufficient for a good sized boy to thrust his head through, to say nothing of the roof and log sides. The size of the room was 12x14. Our host was a regular Western pro-slavery squatter. He has kept a store in the vicinity; had numerous difficulties with the Indians, who in the practice of one of their vocations were in the habit of stealing from his stock of goods whenever an opportunity offered. He caught one in the act, and shot him, and had since been pounced upon by numbers of them, and still feels it necessary to keep a sharp lookout. He keeps a savage dog at the door, who is sure to tear any man to pieces who comes within the reach of his chain. He is a recent settler, though long a trader from Missouri, and, although pro-slavery in sentiment, condemns strongly the conduct of the Missourians. He informed us that he was offered day wages to come over and vote last Fall, but refused. We have not yet met the first man in all our travels who has a face to justify the Missouri invasion. The pro-slavery men generally express a wish to have the past "rubbed out," and reorganize with a sufficient force to protect the polls,—reference of course is not made to such men as Atchison & Co., but to the fair minded friends of a slave State, who are *bona fide* residents of the Territory. After we had "made our toilet" this morning, our host offered us each a glass of whiskey, and looked somewhat surprised when we all declined. We then repaired to the other cabin for our breakfast, which was waiting for us.

We paid our bill, 80 cts. each, for supper and breakfast, making, at such prices, as we thought, a paying business, and in a few moments we shall be on our way back to Lawrence.

The morning is clear and pleasant, like most of the mornings in this country. It is rarely necessary to put in as a condition, of fulfilling an appointment at some future day—"if it is pleasant"—as a day very rarely passes without some portion of it being pleasant. The storms are rapid; and more commonly occur in the night, hence arrangements for business or pleasure are made without any reservation on account of the weather. L.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 29, 1836.

Col Lane and Senator Douglas.

Neither party appears well in the current controversy between these two bold, bad men. Recently, the closest of political and personal friends, the intervention of the Kansas question has opened to each divergent paths of personal advantage; and we find them, consequently, in hostile array. The charges which each brings against the other are serious, if not damning; and the results promise no advantage to either. Happily it is of no consequence to the public how much they damage each other. What is their loss is the public's gain. The fewer of such elements in our political life the better. Only so far as the cause of the people of Kansas is compromised by the injudicious conduct of their representative in this instance, do we find cause for regret at the mutual exhibition of one another's peccadilloes by these political gamblers.

The story of their controversy is briefly this: Col Lane, a brave soldier in the Mexican war, a bad politician of the Douglas, bar-room, loco-foco school, and voting as the representative of Indiana in the last Congress for the repeal of the Missouri compromise, comes back from Kansas whither he had removed, a champion of the free state movement and one of its senators elect. He bore a memorial from the members of the legislature to Congress representing the true grounds of the free state movement and asking for favor for its constitution. Col Lane was authorized to re-write this document and make such verbal alterations as seemed judicious,—the original document having been roughly drawn and signed by the legislature, just as it was closing its late brief session. Reaching Washington, Col Lane found he had lost the original signatures, and it seemed to him proper to make more than verbal changes in the memorial,—to omit a part of it, which appeared to deny the power of Congress to interfere with the settlers of a territory in their movements toward a state government,—and in the absence of the original signatures to send in the amended document with a copy of them.

This proceeding, though not necessarily dishonest or deceptive, for afterwards Col Lane freely submitted the memorial in its original draft, was yet a great blunder. As a blunder, it was a crime against the cause of Kansas, for it gave its enemies opportunity to attack it and misrepresent it; and cover up the real issue in dust about a merely incidental matter. This they did not fail to do;—the memorial was pounced upon by the pro-slavery party in the Senate, denounced as a forgery, a spurious document from a spurious body of men, and the like, and driven out of the chamber under circumstances calculated to injure the interests of Kansas before the country. In the course of the debate, Col Lane was treated with contempt and indignity, personally, by his old political friends; and conspicuous here, as he always is, in matters of personal denunciation, was Mr Douglas, whose language implied wilful dishonesty on the part of the representative of Kansas. For this, Col Lane called his old companion in arms to account in a manner not necessarily implying explanation or fighting, but yet squinting that way. He asked for such an explanation of the senator's language as would remove all imputation upon the integrity of his action or motives in connection with the memorial. Mr Douglas denied this, refused to correspond with Col Lane directly, or to be responsible to him personally for what he had said in the Senate, reviewed the whole matter in quite as offensive a manner as in debate, and closed by saying that there were no facts within his knowledge that would remove the original imputation upon the integrity of Col Lane. This correspondence is published.

Col Lane, thus obtaining no satisfaction, appealed to the public in a "card" of the most bitter cast, denouncing the Senator as a traitorous friend and a coward. We have rarely seen the English language used more effectively in this

The insinuations and open charges ne-
 vices against the Illinois senator in this paper
 are calculated seriously to injure that gentleman,
 particularly at the South and the West, where
 the "code of personal honor," as it is called, re-
 cognizes such resorts as Col Lane sought for re-
 paration. The matter, as it now stands, must leave
 the balance of personal sympathy with Col Lane,
 as a man, feeling personally and sorely aggrieved,
 who is not only denied any sort of satisfaction,
 but the insults repeated in the most offensive
 style. Certainly Mr Douglas has found that others
 can bully as well as himself; and he stands
 before the country as a man beaten at his own
 game.

We quote some of the most stirring passages
 from Col Lane's card to the public, from which
 the nature of his personal grievances, as viewed
 by himself, can be gathered:—

**Takeaway Kansas from republicanism and make it
 free, and its vocation will be gone.—Boston Times.**
 So say they all, of the administration and
 Fillmore press. Why then don't they unite, make
 Kansas free, and "take away the vocation" of
 the republican party? It can be done in one way,
 and only one, and in that way in less than a
 week's time. Let Congress admit Kansas as a
 free state under her Topeka constitution, and the
 thing is done. The vocation of the slavery agi-
 tators, North and South, if not taken away, will
 certainly be badly damaged. The republicans
 are ready and eager to do this. Every republi-
 can vote in Congress can be had for it at any mo-
 ment. If the administration and Fillmore par-
 ties will only add a dozen votes in the Senate, the
 measure will be carried through. Yet those are
 denied. If the Times is right, there are not so
 many men of its party in the Senate who care to
 "take away" the "vocation" of the republican
 party. The responsibility of all the present ex-
 citement rests with the democratic and slavery
 party in repealing the Missouri compromise.
 They continue responsible by refusing to admit
 Kansas as a free state. There is no trouble now
 but this.

Latest From Kansas.

We have a private letter from W. A. Ela of
 Hampden in Kansas, dated the 7th. There had
 been considerable suffering in the settlement dur-
 ing the winter from the extreme cold and limited
 supplies, but with the opening of spring af-
 fairs had taken a new start, and Hampden had
 more settlers than at any previous time. They
 need a minister and a school teacher at Hamp-
 den, not having had a sermon since last August.
 Messrs Howard and Sherman, of the Kansas
 investigation, were at Kansas City, Mo., the
 17th, waiting for Mr Oliver who was at home.
 They were going to Lawrence, where they would
 have their head quarters. Gov Reeder was every-
 where treated with respect, and the Weston pa-
 per urged the giving of a public dinner to the
 commission, to teach them that border ruffians
 can be gentlemen. On the 16th, thirty Georgians,
 50 emigrants from Rhode Island and 150 from
 Ohio arrived at Kansas City. Up to that date
 four-fifths of all who had arrived this season
 were from the free states. Mr Wood with 150
 men from Ohio and Illinois was within one day's
 sail of Kansas City on the 16th. On the 21st the
 St Louis papers announced the arrival there of
 two or three hundred emigrants from the South,
 bound for Kansas, and on the 24th about 200
 from Tennessee, all for the same destination.—
 Either conviction of the certainty of Kansas be-
 coming a free state, or fear of the exposure of
 their crimes by the congressional investigation, was
 driving many of the ruffian leaders from the
 territory. Says a Lawrence correspondent of the
 New York Times:

"A fact, ominous of the decay of the pro-
 slavery faction is that many of the prominent
 men who have been active and efficient agents in
 the many outrages which have made that party
 notorious, are abandoning Kansas and returning
 to Missouri, where is a better field for their
 operations, and greater security for their prop-
 erty. One man who a year ago was the general of
 the pro-slavery forces in this vicinity, has sold
 his claim which cost him altogether not less than
 \$1,500, for \$350. Another man who has claimed
 a number of slaves, is preparing to leave this
 'abolition state,' but one of his negroes refuses
 to go with him. Tom came to Kansas to estab-
 lish the 'divine institution,' and help to make

by the abolitionists—and declares his intention
 to stay here, let his master go where he will."

The New Haven company had a public and en-
 thusiastic reception at Lawrence, where they
 were addressed by Gen Hutchinson in words of
 welcome, to which Mr Lines responded. The
 Connecticut boys were delighted with the gen-
 eral appearance of the territory.—Gov Shannon
 makes his residence at Leocompton, in the only
 house, convenient to a whiskey shop. Sheriff
 Jones, the distinguished postmaster at Weston,
 Mo., and manager of Douglas county in Kansas,
 has the contract for the territorial buildings at
 Leocompton. Judge Lecompt finished a term of
 the court at Leocompton, the 14th, not having
 done anything for the want of a grand jury, which
 the clerk had forgotten to summon. The Bran-
 son rescue cases were therefore put over to the
 next term in May.—The Squatter Sovereign,
 Atchison and Pierce organ, describes the falling
 out of a part of the bottom of the Missouri river,
 and the consequent swallowing up of an immense
 volume of water, taking down immense logs in
 the whirlpool. We should think the crust would
 break through in the vicinity of the Sovereign,
 but it don't seem to have opened in the right
 spot.—The Indians who are at Washington from
 Kansas, want the government to recall the order
 for the sale of their lands and allow them to re-
 tain them, as they think they can sell to better
 advantage for themselves.

The Daily Sp...
 TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1856.

(For the Spy.)
 "We mean to subdue you."—DOUGLAS
 "Subdue us? never! never!"—WILSON
 Subdue us! never while the sun
 Upon us sheds its light,
 We'll labor till our work is done
 And victory crowns our sight
 Subdue us! go subdue the stars,
 And bid them fall to earth!
 Go boast of conquest in those wars
 Where Freedom never had birth!
 But we will never bow the knee
 To slavery's base power;
 Suppliants, we were not born to be,
 No, not for one brief hour.
 Subdue us! Quench our altar fires,
 In everlasting gloom;
 No, by the blood of our best sires,
 Who gave us their rich boon,—
 The boon of liberty or death—
 We will not be subdued;
 We'll spend our lives, our latest breath,
 With their strong faith imbued
 Subdue us! on this sacred soil,
 Each a necessary spot,
 Made dear by prayers, by blood, and toil,
 Whither it was all foretold,
 No, vain, and worse than vain the thrae,
 It, power we dare defy;
 No ly our fathers dangers met,
 Resolved to win or die.
 Thus we will keep our armor on,
 And never, never yield;
 Nor rest, till Freedom's work is done,
 And we have gained the field.
 Millbury, Mass. A. L. D.

New-York Daily Tribune.
 TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1856.

QUESTIONS UNANSWERED.

I. There are many who seem to regard it as
 very queer, funny, absurd, ridiculous, and hypo-
 critical that the Republicans of the Free States
 should evince a deep interest in the Free-State
 party of Kansas—should repel and refute the cal-
 unimies to which they are constantly subjected
 by the Border Ruffians and their allies—and
 should endeavor to, reinforce and sustain them
 by every means in our power. Our adversaries
 ridicule our efforts in behalf of Free Kansas
 as "shrieking for Freedom." We do not care to
 answer this slang. Let it pass for whatever it may
 be worth. Let those who can imagine us insincere
 do so, and treat us accordingly. When they have
 run to the end of this rope, we would just bring
 them up with the question: "Suppose we (as they
 say) are not earnestly striving to make Kansas a

Free State, who are? From what quarter have
 you witnessed one earnest, hearty, frank, deter-
 mined effort to make or keep Kansas Free except
 from those who are ridiculed as "shrieking"
 aforesaid?

II. There are thousands of good, easy people,
 who would really be shocked if they fully realized
 that their attitude or votes were contributing to
 enslave Kansas, who say, "O! there's no need of
 "all this fuss about Kansas—Slavery will never
 "go there." But, Slavery is already there if that
 which Gen. Pierce, Mr. Douglas and two-thirds of
 the U. S. Senate recognize as a valid Legislature
 for Kansas—to wit, the assemblage at Shawnee
 Mission—was what it pretended to be. We hold it
 a fraud and a sham, with no power to bind the
 people of Kansas and no right to impose laws on
 them; but this position is scouted as anarchic,
 seditious and treasonable by the controlling power in
 the Executive, Judiciary and Senate of the United
 States, all of whom maintain the authority of that
 Legislature and the validity of its acts, including
 those recognizing Slavery as established in Kansas
 and inflicting severe disabilities and penalties on
 all who dispute its legitimacy. Suppose, then, that
 we Republicans are to be overpowered next No-
 vember, and the party that fraternizes with and is
 supported by the Border Ruffians—the party which
 has Virginia and South Carolina, Alabama and
 Arkansas, at its back—is to triumph: By what
 process are the Shawnee Mission Laws to be overborne
 and Kansas transformed into a Free State? "If a
 thing is to be done," said Mr. Webster, "the gen-
 tleman can tell us how it is to be done."

III. But some say, "There is to be a Constitu-
 "tional Election in Kansas under Douglas's en-
 "abling act, and then we will have a fair trial."
 But who is to determine when the Territory has
 population enough to justify this step? The Ter-
 ritorial authorities. Who is to district and ap-
 portion for that Election? Those same authorities.
 Who will preside over and guard the polls, as
 well as count the votes? Officers appointed by
 those authorities. Have we any reason to hope
 that they will be less scrupulous in using power
 than they were in acquiring it? Does any one imag-
 ine that they who polled over Six Thousand votes
 in the Territory in March, '55, when they had not
 two thousand legal voters in the Territory, will be
 beaten now, when they have the tools completely
 in their own hands? They have told us, in
 editorials, speeches and letters, that what they
 have done twice or thrice already, they can and
 will do again. Have we any reason to hope that
 they will not be as bad as their word?

IV. Almost every journal we open, if in full
 communion with "National" Democracy or
 "National" Americanism, greets us with some
 fling at the Free-State movement in Kansas, or
 some slur on its leaders. From no one of them do
 we remember to have seen a hearty, cheering, fra-
 ternal word of encouragement proffered it. Now
 will any candid man be good enough to tell us
 what prospect he thinks there would have been for
 making Kansas a Free State in the absence of that
 movement? Suppose its supporters had suc-
 ceeded to the Border-Ruffian Legislature and re-
 ceived its enactments as valid laws, what chance,
 what hope would there have been for upsetting the
 Slavery thus established? Who ever heard of a
 slaveholding Territory being transformed into a
 Free State?

—Men who have eyes and dare see—who have
 unseared consciences and really desire that Kansas
 should be a Free rather than a Slave State—we
 entreat you to ponder and answer these questions.

WASHINGTON, April 27, 1856.
 Special Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.
 Every day's development and every hour's re-
 flection and observation confirm the fact that Kan-
 sas is doomed to Slavery unless she is rescued by
 the votes of the Free States at the coming Presi-
 dential election. Her admission as a Free State
 under the Topeka Constitution will be determined
 opposed and prevented by the Senate. While the
 Border-Ruffian Legislature rules, backed in its gi-
 gantic usurpations by the Federal power, bayonets

included, no predominance of Free-State residents is competent to resist their schemes of enslaving the Territory. We have already exposed the *modus operandi* by which the Free-State majority can be overborne, and we have but intimated the extreme measures that will be adopted to defeat the wishes of the majority of the people of the Territory, and to rivet Slavery upon it. The existing calm that pervades the Pro-Slavery ranks is the calmness of confidence that Kansas is held by the throat and cannot escape the clutch that is upon her. The utmost importance was attached to getting control of the Territorial Legislature, and hence the desperate measures by which it was carried. The utmost confidence in it as an agency to secure Kansas for Slavery is now felt. It is not believed that any preponderance of the Free-State sentiments can be sufficient to outweigh and thwart the action of this potential agency. Official authority is reckoned an overmatch for mere popular desire. Official authority in Kansas and official authority at Washington, cooperating to suppress and extinguish the popular sentiment, is reckoned to be too strong a combination to be defeated. The calculation is beyond doubt sound, considering that its exercise is intended to be unscrupulous.

We do not wish to be understood as intimating that the Federal authority at Washington, as at present administered, would initiate and pursue violent and illegal measures to confirm Slavery in Kansas. We only design to affirm that the Federal authority, having taken the first step by maintaining the legality and validity of the Border-Ruffian usurpation, is now irretrievably committed to its defense and the support of its acts. It has no alternative. It cannot recede. It has gone too far to retrace its steps. It has declared its determination to back the Border-Ruffian Legislature, and to lend its military aid when necessary to enforce their laws. Rank, violent, outrageous, that Legislature has shown itself to be, yet in the face of all, the Administration has stood by it, and officially announced that the Federal arm would uphold every act of outrage and oppression of which it has been guilty. Yet among them have been acts that would provoke any high-spirited people to rebellion, and justify them in it. Whatsoever, therefore, of illegality, of outrage, and usurpation, may be still necessary to confirm Slavery in Kansas, the present Administration is committed to the support of, beyond the power of reclamation. It is no longer a voluntary agent. Wherever the Border Ruffians lead, the Federal power will be dragged, however reluctantly, in its train. Whatsoever measure the Border-Ruffian Legislature adopts, that the Administration is sworn to sustain. Whithersoever the finger of the usurper points, thither must the arm of the Federal authority follow. In this way are the two powers inseparably linked. In this way is the National Government committed to the forcible enslavement of Kansas. Escape from its present position is impossible, and it is only by supplanting it and substituting an Executive that will give Kansas fair play and uphold the just rights of its bona fide citizens, that there is any hope of preserving the Territory from the doom of Slavery. J. S. P.

NEW YORK HERALD.

New York, Tuesday, April 29, 1856.

Kansas and the Nigger Worshipers—Their Devices to Keep up the Excitement—Another Morgan Wanted.

The Kansas imbroglio constitutes the active business capital of the nigger worshippers for the Presidential campaign, and thus it becomes a prime necessity with them to inflame and keep up an overwhelming sectional excitement. Their labors to this end, during the last six months, have been incessant. They have been unscrupulous as to the means or agents employed, ingenious in their devices, and, to a much greater extent than was necessary, have they been successful in their nefarious policy of a violent, engrossing and embittered politi-

cal agitation. But they have, also, signally failed in every great *coup d'etat* which they have attempted with the view of precipitating the North and South into that most desperate of all criminal excesses, the crime of civil war.

Since last autumn, throughout the North, by the Seward coalition organs, by the nigger worshipping orators of Congress, by missionaries from Kansas, by Kansas relief meetings, by abolition newspaper correspondents in Kansas, by preachers in the bar room, and preachers in the pulpit from Kansas, along the whole route to New York and Boston, there has been kept up the most fearful "hue and cry" for immediate help to the free soil and abolition Kansas emigrants, lest they be slaughtered, innocent lambs, one and all, by the bloody "border ruffians." We dare say that some of the managers in this notable programme for the deliverance of Kansas, have made a good thing of it from the contributions of cash, rifles, ammunition, &c., for the cause; for otherwise the clamor and cackling which we have had over their "financial and material aid," here, there, and everywhere, have been somewhat of an imposition upon the community.

Since the last winter's armistice at Lawrence, the leaders of the "free State" innocents in Kansas have made themselves a most despicable notoriety in their devices to bring about a collision which would array the North and South in arms against each other. The Lane and Robinson philanthropists tried it in that Topeka Convention, that Topeka constitution, and in that experimental free State moveable Legislature, with its two Senators elect to Congress, and that doubly botched and spurious memorial for the admission of "free Kansas," as a sovereign State, into the Union. Against these barefaced and insulting provocations the Southern rights party in Kansas, in Missouri, in the South and in Congress, have behaved with remarkable moderation. The forbearance at the seat of war, of the so called "border ruffians" has been especially judicious and sensible. And for the sake of Northern and Southern rights and the peace of the country, we desire to see this forbearance maintained, and these abolition agitators of discord, bloodshed and disunion disappointed of their seditious designs.

The last card of the anti-slavery agitating Kansas clique is a personal quarrel with the head of the committee responsible for the Nebraska bill. This affair, too, from the evidence and papers before us, seems to have been managed in behalf of the "cause of freedom" in a very bungling and slipshod fashion—they have made, in fact, a miserable botch of it from beginning to end. Finally, the "cause of freedom" and the "shrieks of freedom" in and out of Kansas, in behalf of Kansas, have become a lumbag and a bore. The community at large has become thoroughly disgusted with all this rubbish and flummery about Kansas. A "free State" martyr is wanted—a Morgan of some sort—to sanctify the cause, to stir up its supporters and to revive the drooping agitation. Who responds? Who will consent to sacrifice himself for the deliverance of Kansas? Almost anybody will "be a good enough Morgan till after the election." Inquire of Thurlow Weed.

PHILADELPHIA:

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1856.

AMERICAN AND COMMERICAL.

FROM WASHINGTON.

From our own Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, April 27.

It is now manifest that the leading managers of the two parties which stand in most active antagonism to each other, are determined that the Nebraska question shall be the paramount and ab-

sorbing issue of the Presidential canvass. Both extremes are agreed upon this point; and each is equally sanguine of success, if half their professions may be credited. Meantime, the material interests of the country, the appalling augmentation in the public expenditures, and wise measures of national defence and preparation, admonished by the changed aspect of Europe, are all utterly discarded, with others equally urgent, that this scramble for office and for its spoils, may be more vigorously prosecuted.

In the absence of disturbing subjects of domestic policy, slavery has been seized upon as the issue, of all others, most likely to excite the public mind, and to rouse that spirit of vigorous advocacy and opposition which no organization of party could effect. Hence, it has been observed, that with every recent recurrence of a Presidential election some method has been devised by which the North and South could be arrayed against each other, in order that the prize of the contest might be appropriated, and its honors distributed, by successful agitators. Although this game is as much personal as it is political, and is really played with reference to rewards, still the constant repetition of it has worked upon the convictions of the people on both sides, and served materially to alienate the affections by which they were once united and happy. No one who calmly investigates the history of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the measures connected with it, can doubt under what inspirations they were projected, or by what motives they were finally consummated. That repeal was no part of the original plan for creating territorial governments in Kansas and Nebraska, and when proposed, shocked even the sensibilities of the Washington Union, and called out a formal expression of official indignation. It is not necessary to inquire, if Mr. Douglas fully believed then in all the doctrines he advocates now, how it came to pass that what is claimed to be the vital principle of that legislation was excluded from the bills reported by him to the Senate. Nor would it be flattering to suggest the natural conclusion which spontaneously rise up and demonstrate the reasons that induced him subsequently to adopt and appropriate the repeal of that sanctified compact, when offered from the South with no expectation of success.

New light dawned upon his understanding as soon as it became manifest that there were others quite ready to conciliate Southern opinion, and to cut the Gordian knot that bound the two sections together, and which they had in vain tried to untie. Since then, he and his followers have been clamorous in the applause and advocacy of a principle which was utterly ignored before it was accepted as a test of Democratic orthodoxy or converted into an instrument of political power. Thus we see how the agitation which has now attained so formidable a head was inaugurated, and under what peculiar auspices.

It was only natural that the free states should have indignantly repelled a policy which repudiated a solemn obligation between the North and South, and violated a restriction intended to be perpetual. Neither is it surprising, that this breach of faith should at once have galvanised into existence, a class of northern agitators, whom sound opinion had condemned as unworthy of confidence, and enlisted a sentiment of sectional sympathy, which acquiescence in the compromise of 1850, had almost extinguished. The consequences which have followed these exciting causes, are by no means remarkable. They have only verified the predictions of sagacious and calm judging men, who foresaw and would gladly have avoided such extremities. In all violent fermentations, the dregs rise to the surface, and Kansas has practically and painfully illustrated this axiom in both sections. If men have been made conspicuous in this excitement, whom calmer times and more deliberate judgment might not have selected or sanctioned, it is the misfortune of the stirring exigency, and not the result of any positive partiality. There are thousands who have no extraordinary faith in the conversion of such self-constituted leaders as Lane, Reeder, and Delahay, because they saw them clamorous champions of this very measure, which has occasioned all the sectional strife, and which they only abandoned, when repudiated by the Administration. The cause has been sadly burdened with this load, and its vitality is best established, by being able to survive the odium of these and other embarrassing connections.

There are two propositions before Congress for the admission of Kansas, neither of which can succeed, in the present state of opinion. One reported from the Committee on Territories in the Senate, (by Mr. Douglas) contemplates a population equal to the present ratio of representation—93,000; and the other immediate admission under the Topeka constitution. The practical effect of both of these plans, is to keep the slavery agitation open, and to act politically, as a seton does physically—to make a running sore in the body politic. While the opposing forces can agree upon nothing else, they are quite willing this sectional excitement should be continued for the chances of mutual advantage. And thus the country is to be kept convulsed, and estrangements to be nourished, until a state of things may arise when all compromises will be rejected, and the palpable alternative of collision be presented. The objection to Mr. Douglas' scheme is, that all the preliminary power in organizing a State government is placed in the hands of the Territorial legislature, and thus could be wielded, under the influence of Federal authority, in any given direction to which it might

What is urged against the other plan is, that the Convention which framed the Constitution did not embody a fair expression of the popular sentiment of Kansas, but was contrived with exclusive reference to a particular object and interest. The facts are sufficiently known to the country, and do not require discussion in this correspondence.

The plain and important question now is, can a mode of extrication from these difficulties be devised which will satisfy the country, tranquilize the public mind, and not do injustice to the contending parties? Among discreet and sagacious statesmen a project is entertained, though by no means matured, for the provisional admission of Kansas. The general idea is, to fix the standard of population at forty or fifty thousand, to be ascertained by census; to throw guards, by registry or otherwise, around the elections; to require a fixed residence of a certain number of months as an indispensable qualification; and finally to admit the State into the Union by proclamation of the President, as soon as the constitution shall be formed, and these preliminaries properly fulfilled. A measure of this sort, wisely framed, would induce agitation, and sound the death knell of demagogues, who fatten upon its poisonous food. It would settle the whole issue at once; withdraw it from the conflicts of party, and disarm the fierce spirit which now stalks abroad, threatening the peace and welfare of the Union. Those who desire irritation to fester will oppose such an adjustment, whether they be from the North or the South, because it addresses itself to conciliation, and seeks to remedy an admitted evil. Those who wish to see tranquility restored, and Kansas relieved from the scourge of faction will hail it as an honorable and safe ground of compromise.

patriotism of the American people to this struggle which crowned your arms with imperishable glory? Had southern spirit decayed when, a few years ago, your eagles fluttered over the soil of a neighboring republic? Go to the battle-fields, thick strewn between Ulloa Castle and the Halls of the Montezumas, and in the graves upon them read the answer. Sir, I would tear no chaplet from a northern brow; I would rob no son of the North of his well-earned glory. I honor the memories of her mighty dead, and I would reverently bow before the altars upon her battle-fields; but she denies truth and history if she claims superiority over the South in virtue, intelligence, or patriotism. Why, then, should the South be assailed and stigmatized, and her citizens be denied equality under the Federal Government?—What is this Union worth to her when through it she is thus struck at?

"Abolitionism, through an undeviating unity and identity of purpose, has aggregated to itself, at present, a dominating strength in the free States. Born amid jeers, contempt, and scorn, nursed in the haunts of obscurity, and fattened upon the offals of the shambles, and the garbage of the gutter, it has waxed corpulent and audacious. Under the plea of justice it commits a fraud; and under the pretense of humanity it libels truth. It has risen upon the cowardice of the old parties, and now unblushingly flaunts itself in the face of the country. One day it skulked from sight; the next, it challenged assault.—Yesterday it was a toad in the cellar—to-day it is a lizard in the garret. Its leaders, skilled in the arts and policies of the demagogue, mouth their love for the poor as did Judas Iscariot when he rebuked Mary because she poured oil of spikenard upon the feet of Christ, "for it might have been sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor."

"In the Black Republican party the conservative men of the North never can enter."

Messrs. SHEARMAN and HOWARD move about uneasily. Newspapers are scarce, and if a man does not work or talk, he is apt to lounge; and if I must say it, there are some M. C.'s. about this place, who neither work nor talk. They, however, happen to know when dinner is ready, and how to get a seat at the first table, for so great is the crowd that two or three tables must needs be set.

H. C. P.
WESTPORT, April 24.

Second Act—The Curtain Rises—The Suspicion Veri-fied—Gone to Lawrence—There we split—The Curtain falls on the first scene—Terrible Murder—Particulars—No hopes of Jones' recovery—What is thought about it—Lawrence—The fate of Sodom—Will Lawrence be sacked?

Just returned from Lecompton. The Committee have gone to Lawrence for the purpose of holding the investigation, and there we split. I went up prepared to follow them to any place but that worst of places. Knowing how scarce good accommodations were in the Territory, and how great was the crowd, I started equipped with a wagon, tent cloth, cooking utensils, servant, and every necessary for camping out decently and pleasantly; so that it could be said by me, "where they go, will I go;" but I couldn't go to Lawrence. The Abolitionists there tamper with every slave they find, because it is contrary to law; and I did not want to run the risk of losing my temper and having my servant spoiled—though he, I believe, hates them as bad as I do. Having got a claim of land near Lecompton, I shall return in a day or two and keep you posted as well as I can, from that locality.

Yesterday General WHITFIELD and party came down to Lawrence, to be in attendance; I passing through, but remaining only a few moments. REEDER expects to prove that some Missourians voted at the first election, and WHITFIELD intends to prove that a great many Yankees, from Massachusetts and elsewhere voted and returned, never to see Kansas again. One is reminded by these things, of the expression "fighting the Devil with fire;" and the game of "tit for tat; you kill my dog, I kill your cat." It is all an electioneering card to be played as a big trump in the game of making a President this fall: such is one of the political strokes of the Black Republicans.

A Southerner has been murdered—cowardly murdered. Last night, SAMUEL J. JONES, of Virginia formerly, Sheriff of Douglas county, was shot in the back by some ingrate. Mr. JONES lived here two years, and when Kansas was first organized, he made a claim in the Territory, near Lecompton. He was unusually active in the pro-slavery cause, was very brave, and the Abolitionists all feared him. He was, for this reason, elected by the Legislature Sheriff of Douglas county. JONES was a remarkably efficient officer, and gained, by his efficiency in office, the cordial hatred of the Lawrence people. He has been repeatedly threatened. You will recollect having published a note to him, signed "One of the Secret Twelve," in which the Sheriff was warned, if he made any more arrests in that town, his fate was sealed. Yesterday, assisted by the military detachment from Fort Leavenworth, JONES arrested four or five who had resisted him in the execution of the laws, and had them confined in a small house in town, guarded by the troops. Last night about ten o'clock, while sitting by the fire in Lieut. McINTOSH's camp, poor JONES was shot between the shoulders, the ball entering the spine. There are no hopes of his recovery.

Gen. WHITFIELD sent a dispatch, by an express rider, to Col. BOONE, of this place. The latter received it this morning early, and immediately left in a hack for Lawrence, with Mrs. JONES, the wife of the unfortunate Sheriff. It is sincerely hoped that she will reach there before the brave fellow dies.

There is a profound excitement here. The occurrence has produced a deep feeling of antipathy to Lawrence, and nothing but the love of law and order, with which our party are imbued, will save the place from utter annihilation. If the prominent men of Lawrence promptly disavow the base deed, and the murderer is given up—for they know him—then the excitement may be stayed.

H. C. P.

The Commercial.

WILMINGTON, N. C.
TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1856

SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN SOCIETY.

We do not know when we have seen a truer picture of southern and northern Society, than is presented in the following, which we extract from a Speech delivered by Hon. L. M. KEITT, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, on the 7th of the present month, in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union:

"I do not wish to arraign northern society, but the assaults of members here require me to send an arrow back. You show us the magnificent diorama, but not the machinery with which it is worked. Look to crime and pauperism, to disease and misfortune around you, and if you are "good Samaritans," you will find sufficient victims and outcasts on your wayside to occupy all your time and charity. The South neither needs nor asks for your vagabond philanthropy. Free society points us to its civilization in the splendid aggregate; to its arts and commerce; to its cities and its material monuments; but it does not show us its long array of starving operatives; its crowded jails and fetid hospitals; its breadless boards, and the vast reservoir of human life, poisoned in its well springs, and poured out like water. No; over these it throws the mantle, if not of charity, at least of contemptuous oblivion. To the North we say, if you prefer your society, keep it; we prefer ours, and we mean to keep it. Let there be equal rights to each. Has the North, under the influence of the free labor system, given proof of greater virtue, intelligence, or patriotism, than the South? Read you thus our common annals?—Whose pen wrote the Declaration of Independence? Whose voice first kindled resistance in the American heart? And whose genius lead your armies to victory throughout your revolutionary struggle? Those of men of the southern and slaveholding and unequal States. Did not the South, in that tremendous seven years' struggle, equally with the North, give her cities to pillage, her homes to the flames, and her fields to desolation? Did she not equally with the North bare her forehead to the god of battles, when he came to his "august baptism of fire and blood?" In the council chamber was not her intellect the equal of the North? Were not Jefferson, and Madison, and Henry, and Mason, and Rutledge, and Pinckney, and Butler, the fit compeers of your proudest and noblest names? When, too, after your independence had been won and established, your confederated States were sinking down into bleeding and belligerent fragments, did not southern genius originate and impress itself upon the Constitution which organized your Federal polity? When, also, after years had rolled by, the cloud of war again darkened land and water, did not Clay, Calhoun, Lowndes, and Cheves "nail your colors to the masts," and rally the courage and

THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS.
WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 30, 1856.

FROM KANSAS.

Correspondence of the Republican.
LECOMPTON, April 22, 1856.
A lull—Arrival of the Troops—Lt. McIntosh—Honor to Colonel Sumner—What will they do?—Speculation—A Ferment in Lawrence—Rank pool of fanaticism—When will it end?—Whisper.

The whole city is now in a lull, waiting for the arrival of the troops—as I write, they have arrived on the other side of Kansas river, where they camp. In the morning they cross over and proceed with Sheriff JONES to Lawrence. There are twelve in the detachment, which is commanded by Lieutenant McINTOSH, a young soldier of tried bravery. The prompt manner in which Col. SUMNER acted on the requisition of Gov. SHANNON, is highly to be commended; if, when a larger force is needed, he does likewise, the Commander of the U. S. forces at Fort Leavenworth will receive what he deserves—hearty praise from us all.

There is much speculation as to what the Lawrence rebels will do: the writs of arrest will be in the hands of the Sheriff of Douglas, who will be supported by the United States troops. The question is, "will they resist?" They have always been willing to submit to the authorities of the General Government, and if the writs were to be served by the Marshal of the U. S., there would of course be no resistance. But in submitting to be arrested by JONES, they are submitting to the Territorial laws of Kansas passed by what they call a "bogus" Legislature. So that we just speculate, and then speculate again. We know not "what a day may bring forth."

In Lawrence the elements of strife and black fanaticism are at work. REEDER and ROBINSON are there, catering to the worst of passions, sectional hate of and life-bred prejudice against the "peculiar institution," as GREELEY calls it. Imagine the hirelings of Boston, Salem, New Haven, Concord and other dens of Abolitionism crowded together in one indiscriminate jam, all living by the excitement they make; and then ask yourself where the trouble they depend on for bread, will end?

The committee are now here, the clerks are nearly through with transcribing, and it is whispered that the investigation will begin at Lawrence to-morrow, and that the committee will adjourn to that place; my suspicion was probably correct. The Hotel here, Brook's House, is not completed, and the committee spend most of their time in the executive office. Mr. OLIVER is quite sociable and mingles with the people.

THE DAILY SENTINEL.

RUFUS KING & WM. H. WATSON,
PROPRIETORS,

Under the Name and Firm of Rufus King & Co.

MILWAUKEE:

Wednesday Morning, April 30.

Correspondence of the Sentinel.

Affairs in Kansas—The Troubles Renewed—Resistance to the Bogus Laws—The Emigration to Kansas.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 20, '56.

Messrs Editors:—War, War! that monster, that greatest of all evils in human society, that panderer to all vice, the promoter of all the evil passions of the human heart, and the destroyer of virtue and good order, that monster evil and wrong, which is permitted by a wise and beneficent Providence only because man has so far perverted goodness and truth that he has become incapable of appropriating them in their excellency and beauty—War is again threatened against us by the slave power. The pronuntory notes have been sounded, and our brave soldiers are again called together by the "spirit stirring drum," and the drill is resumed; the step is hurried, and every moment indicates a state of excitement. War is the first subject of remark between friends as they meet in the streets, or in the places of public resort. Again is the agent of the bogus Legislature, SHERRY (3) JONES, at work; again have arrests been attempted and rescues made, and in our streets, again has Gov. Shannon sent a telegraph despatch to Pierce for aid, and again do we expect an attempt to "subdue" us. I suppose Daniel's last threat had reference to this movement, in connection with other scenes in the drama. Whether it will prove to be a farce or a tragedy, remains to be seen.

On Saturday last, Jones came into town, as he said, to complete his panel of a Grand Jury to sit at Leocompton at the next session of the U. S. Court, he acting in the capacity of Deputy U. S. Marshal. It will be remembered that at the sitting of the court, ten days since, he reported that he had forgotten to empanel a jury, and the court adjourned in consequence. Whether his memory was affected by the coming of the Congressional Investigating Commission or not, deppent saith not, but certain it is, that that Grand Jury were to find indictments, as they have done in other places, against all connected with the State Government, from Judges of election to Governor.

About 5 o'clock P. M. he stepped into the law office of Jas. Christian, Esq., where a village election was being held, and handed to Mr. Christian, (who is a Pro Slavery man, but a man otherwise very much respected by the entire community) a paper, and stepping up to S. N. Wood, Esq., who had returned the day previous from Ohio, with near 100 good men and true, who are ready to meet, and, at least, to do their best to subdue anything of a rude, savage character in this as yet wilderness country, and who was standing against one side of the room, he put his hand upon his shoulder, with a "You are my prisoner." "For what," inquired Mr. Wood, Jones then read a warrant issued by Cameron, the renegade Free State man, appointed magistrate by Shannon last fall on the occasion of the Brandon rescue, for the arrest of the rescuers, among whom was Mr. Wood. Jones immediately seized him by the collar and attempted to drag him from the office. Wood, who is quite a small man, whereas, Jones is large and tall, objected to being handled in so summary a manner and held back, retaining his place and telling him not to be so fast, and demanding a copy of the warrant. Jones said he must go with him immediately, at the same time continuing his efforts to draw him out, but not succeeding he called upon the bystanders, "in the name of the commonwealth" to assist him. A fellow whom he had brought with him seized Wood on the other side,

he still demanding a copy of the warrant, and expressing a wish to cross the street to see his wife in the meantime; saying that he would return in fifteen minutes. He was a resident of the town and did not intend to run away from it. His wife, by the way, is one of the two women who went to the Wakarusa, at the time Lawrence was besieged, and got two kegs of powder, a quantity of lead and caps, and returned through the enemy's guard, by whom they were stopped but were finally permitted to proceed, and came in safe with the ammunition. Jones refused, and Wood declared he would go. By this time the alarm was spreading, and men began to rush in from the streets and places of business near, and Jones agreed to let him go to see his wife if some gentlemen present would engage to bring him back and deliver him up to him. Wood objected to being "delivered up," or of delivering himself up in a legal sense, as he did not consider himself a legal prisoner, but he would return and place himself in precisely the condition he was then in. Jones then refused to let him go, on which the bystanders, who continued to rush in, took hold of Wood, who at this time was in the door, trying to get out, while Jones was inside holding fast to his collar, and drew them both in to the middle of the street.

In their efforts to assist in enforcing the law, they got the start of even the sheriff, and in consequence, Wood was pulled quite away from him. Before they were separated, however, Jones made an attempt to get his revolver from his belt, but being very much excited, and not succeeding readily, Wood volunteered his assistance, and with one hand seizing Jones' hand, and with the other he drew the revolver, and being at this moment separated from each other, Wood found it impossible to restore the gun to Jones, and consequently walked off very moderately with it, towards his own house, stopping occasionally to see how matters progressed. Jones, altogether misapprehending the matter, considered it a case of rescue and resistance to the law, whereas, the people, having no knowledge of, or repudiating Jones' official character, chose to consider it a street fight, in which Jones was the assailant, and they rushed in to separate the combatants, and prevent the disgrace that would thereby attach to the town. One of our citizens, a magistrate, appointed by Gov. Reeder, and whose commission has not been withdrawn, considering himself bound by his oath of office to preserve the peace, rushed into the melee with such force as to knock, accidentally, of course, Mr. Jones' friend some two rods. Some others very kindly took him in charge and removed him from the reach of harm. As soon as quiet was restored, by the separation of the combatants, or rather as soon as the assailed was separated from the assailant, both parties were left to do as they chose, without let or hindrance. Not a finger was raised against Jones, nor any obstacle placed in his way. He soon announced his determination take Wood, dead or alive, even if he had to shoot down the whole crowd. Some suggested that a revival or camp meeting should be got up immediately, to prepare the people for the threatened event.

Jones soon after left for Leocompton, for a posse to make the arrest. On Sunday morning he returned, with half a dozen assistants, and not seeing Wood, who was in his own house, he attempted to arrest two or three of those who assisted in what he chose to consider the rescue of the day previous, but to be brief and avoid repetition, he succeeded very much as on that occasion. In this case, he produced no warrant and denied the necessity of doing so. He was assured that he could never take a man from this town, under arrest, without producing his authority, and never as a sheriff of Douglas County. Should he come as a U. S. Marshal, he would not be resisted. He and his comrades left, with a reiteration of his intention to return with a sufficient posse to take the offenders.—On his return to Leocompton yesterday from here, Shannon dispatched a messenger to Westport, Mo., with a telegraph despatch to Pierce for help, so he informed one of our citizens who met him on his way down. Whether he also had a communication to the "border ruffians" or not, I do not know. The military were drilling in Westport on Saturday, they said, with the intention of coming up here again. It is understood that another attempt will be made, with a strong posse, who, of course, will fail, upon which Shannon will issue a proclamation. Whether he is authorized to call out the militia of the Territory and the adjoining States, before calling for the U. S. troops, I have not been able to ascertain. But if the militia come here under his call, and attempt to enforce these laws, there will be fighting before submission; but if the troops come here, there will be no resistance offered to taking the men if they can be found.

What it is hoped to gain to the "border ruffians" interest by this movement, at this time, does not yet fully appear. The commissioners have just arrived. On Saturday they took rooms at the Free State Hotel, and will commence their investigations here immediately. They are now, by the clerks, procuring copies of the records at Leocompton, which Reeder found impossible to procure. The "ruffians" probably hope to embarrass the investigation by raising new issues and a new excitement, and if possible, put us in a false position, and thus distract the attention from the frauds heretofore perpetrated, and especially do they wish to prevent, by intimidation, those in their secrets from testifying freely. But the result must be that the committee will become more fully satisfied than they otherwise could be, that the laws of the bogus legislature cannot be enforced, because they did not emanate from the people.

Emigration from the free states is very heavy now. They are coming in by tens and hundreds into every part of the State. There is no possibility, now, of making this a Slave State *by vote of its citizens*, if the North only remains true to itself, and sends on its settlers, with their Sharp's and other rides, for although I am a peace man,

I approve of bringing the rifles as a peace measure, a "moral agency." The South is not idle in the matter of emigration, notwithstanding but little is said in their papers. Private advices announce a powerful effort and a large emigration, and it is said there are several hundreds now along the border in Missouri, ready to come over when the occasion demands it.

Our town is filled to overflowing, and property is rapidly advancing in prices.

It is gratifying to see the difference in the character of the emigration this spring and last. Then it was transient, unreliable, consisting in a great measure of adventurers without means, energy or character. Now it is the substantial man and the man of principle and firmness of purpose. They came then to get homes easily, and to make fortunes without effort, ignorant of their capacities and of the needs of the country. Now they come to make Kansas a Free State, and thus preserve the North to freedom. Then many returned, now all stay.

Wisconsin, and especially Milwaukee, has done nobly for Kansas. We feel that you have taken hold of this matter in a more systematic way, and more efficiently, by your State and branch societies than any other State, and we hope a great deal from Wisconsin. It is more praiseworthy in that as it was a spontaneous movement, not suggested or stimulated by any of our men sent out through the North and East. Your train, to start the 1st of May, will be welcomed among us with open hearts and outstretched hands.

Our plains are covered with the new grass, sufficient for the sustenance of our stock, unless they are worked during the day. In a few days it will be abundant for any purpose. We have had delightful spring weather for several weeks.

MATTERS IN KANSAS.

A Missouri Witness.

An anonymous correspondent in the *News* of yesterday, undertakes to impeach the accuracy of Professor DANIELS' report of the state of affairs in Kansas. So long, however, as he withholds his name and can get no better endorsement than that of the *News*, it is quite unnecessary to waste time in contradicting or noticing his palpable mis-statements. Meantime, for the benefit of those of our readers—if any there be—who think that the accounts given of Kansas matters by Prof. DANIELS and other friends of "Freedom in Kansas," may be colored by their pre-conceived opinions, or strong sympathies, we copy and call attention to the following letter in the *Missouri Democrat* of April 26, the *Democrat* being a well known, able, and independent Democratic paper, published at St. Louis, and invite our readers to contrast the tone of this letter, written by a pro-slavery man to a pro-slavery paper, with the Doughface talk and tone of the *News* and kindred Nebraska organs:

A WASTE OF TOADYISM.—The *Times* of this city is quite as ready on all occasions to toady to Southern sentiments,—to slave-drivers, and politicians who seek success by extending the curse of human bondage,—as any journal we know of. It has seized every possible opportunity to cast odium upon the motives and conduct of those men who are trying to found a Free State in Kansas. In every possible manner it has derided their efforts, and seemed excessively anxious that they might fail in their attempt. And what is their sin? That they are trying in a lawful way to preserve a vast tract of country sacred to Free Labor and Free Men. Horrible iniquity! For this the dogs of a corrupt Administration are set howling upon the tracks of as good and pure men as ever lived in this Republic. It seems strange that such labors should find encouragement in a free community like this. But so it is, as the plain truth will have it. On the other hand the Border Ruffians, the men who plant Slavery by the bowie knife and pistol, who conquer states and impose lawgivers on a free people to the end that fraud and force may evermore prevail and the Free Laborer be placed on par with the degraded slave, and who boast of their infamous work, have had an anxious and active apologist in the same sheet. They have done no deed, however gross and damnable, but the *Times* has either justified or palliated. This is hardly less strange, either, for a Free Journal in a Free State, but it is no less true than strange. On Saturday last, for the purpose of making an odious comparison, and showing how much more unexceptionable was the conduct of the Southern emigrants to Kansas under Major Buford, going thither in the holy cause of Slavery, than those who came from the East with opposite designs, it holds up the fact of their departure from Montgomery under the auspices of the Church, being each presented with a Bible, and proceeding quietly on their way, while the Eastern men were presented not only with a Bible, but a Sharp's Rifle, and came prepared to fight as well as pray. Our contemporary has utterly wasted so much pious admiration of the slave-propagandists, and holy horror of freedom-loving men. A friend who came up the river with Major Buford's emigrants informs us that they chartered two boats, each man having a rifle, and a belt stuck with revolvers and knives. Arms were stacked about the decks, and sentinels were on duty, day and night, in military style. These are the meek and inoffensive creatures over whose unexceptionable conduct the *Times* grows eloquent, and whose bearing it holds up in contrast with that of men whom it loses no occasion to traduce and belie. It doesn't seem to know its men quite as well as it might. The South inaugurated their reign in Kansas by the bullet and the bayonet.—Let not the *Times* fancy that they are about falling back on Bibles alone. It should know its men and their spirit better, for it is pitiable to eat dirt unnecessarily.

20 cents per Week, or \$5. per Year.

D. B. MORRISON, Editor.

WEDNESDAY EVEN'G, APRIL 30.

More Trouble in Kansas.

The Kansas news which we publish to-day is exciting. Sheriff Jones has really been shot, and there is little hope of his recovery. The Border Ruffian party are determined to raise a storm of some kind, either to interfere with the investigation, or to put the free men of Kansas in a false position. The citizens of the Territory are ready to submit to the authority of the United States, but to the authority of a Missouri mob and its bogus Legislature, never. If the attempt is made, to enforce these black laws, there will be civil war. And the citizens of Kansas will not be left to fight alone either.

The game is now becoming desperate. The slaveholders and their ruffians show their determination to force slavery into Kansas at the risk of civil war. That the free state men of Kansas will submit to be subdued and governed by a foreign mob, while there is a man left, we do not believe. And if civil war must come by the diabolical influence of slaveholders and their bullies, it is time the free states were preparing to meet the storm. They cannot stand idly by when their sons are being hunted down by slavery mobs in Kansas, backed up by the influence of the contemptible traitors, Pierce and Douglas.

We shall probably hear more exciting news in a day or two.

DAILY TRIBUNE.

PUBLISHED BY

WRIGHT, MEDILL & CO.,

NO. 53 CLARK STREET.

J. C. VAUGHAN, C. H. RAY, EDITORS.

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Wednesday Morning..... April 30, 1856.

Trouble in Kansas.

Accounts from Kansas, received through the St. Louis *Republican*, wear a bad look. The very fact, that they are given first in that Journal, the very fact that the tone of them is militant and revengeful, assures us, if violence rules there, that it has been planned. Notice the caption of the letter to the *Republican*. "In camp at Leecompton." Notice, also, its bitter language towards the Free State men, and the motive which it declares sways them.

We mistake if the Missouri invaders do not mean to break up the Commission, and if the plan has not been preconcerted. Every circumstance proves this view. The *Herald of Freedom* affirms it to be the fact, and assigns strong, if not conclusive reasons for its belief. Whence, indeed, the military preparation of the Missourians? Whence their readiness to act? It is evident, that the Border men have been preparing for another invasion, for some time, and almost, as evident, that they mean to break up the Kansas Commission and hold Kansas as a Slave State, if they can.

KANSAS AND THE TIMES.

The *Times*, now that "bloody instructions have returned to plague the inventor" in Kansas, finds a tongue to deplore, and a pen to denounce "cold-blooded assassination."

Why is this the first case that has enlisted the attention of our neighbor? Why, when the peaceful citizens of Kansas have been hunted and shot like wolves, has it not had voice for a lament?

All winter long, cold-blooded and unprovoked assassinations have ruled the hour in Kansas, and yet no note has escaped from the organ. It has been as silent, as the grave to which Border Ruffianism has consigned its victims.

We shall be glad if the last outrage shall arouse the attention of the Black Democracy to the sacrifice of human life it has caused in Kansas, and enlist its leaders in an effort to stay the crimson tide.

The case which has attracted the attention of our neighbor, is the report that Sheriff Jones had been shot.

The St. Louis *Democrat*, which paper has a letter from its correspondent in Kansas giving an account of the acts of this Mr. Jones, says: "As it is, a new conflict has been brought on in pursuance of the memorable threat of Mr. Douglas, when, in reply to a petition from the squatters, he retorted very curtly, 'we will subdue you.' The Administration has initiated a forced conflict through its instruments and officials. For the sake of making presidential capital with some of the States to be represented at Cincinnati, Mr. Pierce has resurrected from the sleep into which they had fallen, the most odious acts of the first Territorial assembly, and proceeds to have them enforced, as tests to invite resistance. Such a course upon the part of the Administration and its satellites in Kansas, cannot but be productive of the most disastrous consequences, and should be reprobated by every patriot who loves his country more than the accidental leaders of his party. If it shall defeat the initial steps taken by the House of Representatives to inquire into the wrongs that have been perpetrated upon the squatters of Kansas, and prevent the Congressional Committee from pursuing its labors, and reporting the facts, it will accomplish what was no doubt designed by the despicable crew who surround the President and minister to his vanity while fattening upon his bounty, but it will at the same time overthrow and destroy the only procedure that now holds out a hope for the peaceful adjustment of the angry elements that threaten to make Kansas a boiling cauldron of future troubles."

As part of the programme of Black Democracy, however, it appears, after inviting outrage and provoking difficulties, its organs are to deplore the consequences, charging it all to those who would have Freedom in Kansas.

In pursuance of this programme, the *Times* is playing the part assigned it, but acts it so bunglingly that Mr. Douglas might better employ some journeyman to do it. Having so long acted in pantomime it appears very poorly in high tragedy.

WHAT KILLED COL. RICHARDSON

The following letter we find in the *Richmond Whig*. The reason of Col. Richardson not succeeding to the Speakership is indicated pretty plainly.

The South do not want such dough-faced politicians, as Senator Douglas will be pretty apt to find when he puts in his claims for its support at Cincinnati.

Senator Douglas has made the same avowal in his speeches in this State, over and over again, which is charged upon Col. Richardson: i.e. that slavery would not—and could not—be introduced into Nebraska and Kansas.

The Government troops had been ordered out, and have been making arrests, but these items are so meagre that we quote from letters, &c. to fill up the history. Our readers, therefore, must bear in mind what is telegraphic and what not, or they will get the news "badly mixed."

Kansas Correspondence.

The Attempted Arrest of Wood—The Congressional Committee—Emigration.

LAWRENCE, April 20, 1856.

EDITORS HERALD:—Our city was thrown into a great excitement yesterday, by the appearance of a fellow by the name of JONES, formerly from the town of Westport, Mo., but who is now pretending to act as Sheriff of Douglas Co. He attempted to arrest a boy from Ohio by the name of Wood, who was supposed to have been engaged in the Branscom rescue last fall, out of which our first war originated. We were taking a vote in regard to the location of a bridge. The arrest was attempted to be made at the polls, and some of our boys supposing it to be a fight, interfered, and Wood made his escape.—JONES left, swearing that he would have Wood or he would kill all the men that were in the crowd. To-day he came into town with some eight others, and attempted to arrest some who he supposed had assisted in the rescue of yesterday, among whom were S. F. TAPPAN, JOHN SPEAR, and others. He attempted to serve his writ on TAPPAN, who, though a non-resistant, showed fight. JONES and his party left, swearing vengeance on the people of Lawrence in particular and the Free State men in general.—He is expected back on to-morrow. What the result will be cannot be predicted. The Pro-Slavery men may rally with all the assistance they can procure from Missouri: But one thing is a fixed fact, that the enactments of that body calling themselves Legislature, can never be enforced on this people without the aid of the government troops, and I doubt if they can with them.

The Committee appointed by the Lower House to investigate matters in regard to the election, arrived here last week, and it is supposed the attempt to arrest was made for effect. Stringfeller and others of that class are at Le-compton, and doubtless are giving JONES instructions how to proceed.

Emigration is coming in very fast. The New Haven company arrived on Tuesday, and a company from Ohio, consisting of about one hundred and fifty, got here on Friday. The streets are full of strangers. One would suppose that a regular 1840 Convention had just adjourned. I have never seen more men on Superior street in Cleveland (public days excepted) than are on Massachusetts street at the present time.

Should anything worthy of note transpire, I will inform you in due time.
Yours truly, JOE.

The Daily Republic.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 30.

The Administration Press on Slavery.

The New York *Day Book*, the organ, par excellence, of the national administration, concludes a long article as follows:

"But in conclusion, we repeat, it is a mistake, a wide-spread mistake of northern politicians, that the people are opposed to 'slavery' or 'slavery' extension. Of course they do not want negroes themselves—they only see the 'free negro'—a social monstrosity which they hate—which they naturally revolt at in the territories as among themselves, but when the true question is presented, as it will be one of these days—when slavery and slavery extension is openly and manfully set before them, and their reason as well as instincts appealed to, there will be an almost unanimous shout sent up by the millions—to extend these negroes as far south as you please, the farther the better."

The journal we quote from is the only one at the north, so far as our observation extends, that directly and openly advocates the extension of slavery. While a large number of, so-called democratic papers at the north indirectly aid in the attempt to spread the peculiar institution over the free territories of the Union, our New York contemporary, which, (notwithstanding its assertion to the contrary,) is under the control and supervision of the New York custom house, is the only one that has the frankness to avow its principles and purposes in connection with the question of slavery. It does not hesitate, as will be seen by referring to the preceding paragraph, to advocate the extension of slavery, and to declare that there will be an almost unanimous shout sent up by the millions of the north in favor of the doctrine, whenever it is fairly presented to them.

But while the *Day-Book* is alone at the north in its frank avowals, the southern journals are a unit in their advocacy of slavery propagandism and the nationality of slavery. As a specimen of their views, we present the following extract from the Richmond *Enquirer* of Monday:

"We must, in the Cincinnati platform, repudiate squatter sovereignty and expressly assert state equality. We must declare that it is the duty of the general government to see that no invidious or injurious distinctions are made between the people or the property of different sections in the territories. We do not mean to dictate. It may be that the assertion in the platform of the abstract proposition of state equality, may suffice to carry along with it the consequences which we desire. But it is often charged that the Kansas-Nebraska bill contains the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, and that squatter sovereignty is the most efficient agent of free-soilism. Some northern democrats have maintained this ground. Now this gun must be spiked. It must appear from our platform that we maintain practical state equality, and repudiate that construction of the Kansas-Nebraska act which would defeat it. The south only demands equality of right. The more clearly it appears that the northern democracy is ready to concede it to her, the more certain is our candidate of success."

Southern politicians occupy the same ground. On Monday, Senator BROWN, of Mississippi, delivered a Kansas speech, maintaining the most recent and ultra-southern doctrines in regard to the question of slavery in the territories. He controverted explicitly Gen. Cass's position that slavery cannot exist in the territories except by the enactments of the settlers, and argued that the constitution of the United States of necessity carried and protected it there. Senator BROWN, and southern men generally, eschew squatter sovereignty.

Is it not time for the northern allies of the slave power to inquire what fresh humiliation and degradation are yet in store for them?

The present administration organized the territories of Kansas and Nebraska on the principles of "squatter sovereignty," and repealed the "Missouri compromise," thereby opening those territories to competition between slavery and freedom. ATCHINSON and STRINGFELLOW led on the Missouri ruffians to take possession of the polls at the first election in Kansas, and by force of arms drove away the actual settlers, who were in favor of freedom. They appealed, in vain, to the President for protection from those lawless ruffians. The President then had no lawful power in the premises. A legislature was elected by foreign votes, who made laws to establish and protect slavery, of the most feudal kind, with test oaths for future elections, to exclude all voters who have not paid taxes in the territory, and would not swear allegiance to the fugitive slave law, and the Kansas and Nebraska bill. When the people of Kansas show a disposition to protect themselves and regulate their own affairs, elect a legislature of their own, frame a free state constitution, and ask to be admitted into the Union, the President then discovers that he is in possession of power, and threatens, by proclamation, that he will use the whole force of the

But to the letter:

QUINCY, Ill., March 14, '56.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 8th inst. has just reached me. In it you inquire "Did Col. Wm. A. Richardson, your opponent for Congress in the last contest, state to his constituents that the Kansas and Nebraska bill would have the effect of making those territories free?" I cannot state that he did in the precise terms of your interrogatory; but he did frequently and emphatically say that the repeal of the Missouri restriction, as he called it, was favorable to freedom; and that it (the restriction) established Slavery South of 36 deg. 30 min., and that under the Squatter Sovereignty principle, the whole of the territory, as well south as north of that line, would be formed into free States. I give, in his own words, one of his favorite exclamations: "Never mind! never mind! wait a while, and you will see before this time next year the people of the Territory will prohibit Slavery."

I am very respectfully your ob't servant.
ARCHIBALD WILLIAMS.
P. S. Col. Richardson, during the whole of our canvass, indignantly repelled the charge of being in favor of slavery. A. W.

Detroit Evening Tribune.

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 30, 1856.

The work of "Subjection" begun.

If the accounts we have received from Kansas through such infamous sources as the St. Louis *Republican* are to be credited, the President has already commenced to execute the threat made in his special message to Congress, and repeated by the drunken ruffian, Douglas, in the Senate, to "subdue" the people of Kansas, and compel them, at the point of the bayonet, to submit to the bloody code of laws enacted for them by thieves, murderers, and ruffians of Missouri. The report is, that indictments having been found against the State officers, members of the Topeka Legislature, and all others engaged in establishing a free state government, or defending Lawrence from the attack of drunken bullies by whom it was besieged, an attempt was made to arrest some of them by the man Jones from Missouri, who claims to act as sheriff in Kansas under the authority of the Border Ruffian Legislature. This attempt was resisted, as it ought to have been, and the fellow Jones was shot in the melee that ensued. If the people of Kansas are guilty of treason for forming a free state government, so are the people of Michigan who organized her state government under precisely similar circumstances, and if they are to be arrested and punished as traitors, so should all our citizens who had any agency in making Michigan a state. But this report may be only a border ruffian falsehood, and we defer any further comments upon the matter until we receive a confirmation from some less disreputable source.

DAILY HERALD.

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

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Wednesday Evening, April 30, 1856.

From Kansas.

Our own correspondent furnishes us a letter giving some particulars as to the attempted arrest of Mr. Wood, which had not reached us before. The probable motive for the arrest is a point worth attention, but we fancy the border ruffians will find their labor lost in any attempt either to overawe the Congressional Committee or the newly arrived Free State emigrants. The telegraph has informed us of the fact that

general government, to treat the people of Kansas as rebels guilty of treason, unless they submit to the laws thus imposed upon them by foreign votes. And all this for the purpose of obtaining popularity and support in the slave states for the coming presidential contest, under the belief, no doubt, that he can control the free states by the force of governmental patronage. We shall see.



WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 30, 1856.

The South shows its hand. A new "Compromise" is preparing for the North, and a new dishonor for the Republic. The concluding paragraph of the above most noteworthy article, from a representative organ of the Slavery Propagandism, foretells another and a wicked demand upon Freedom and Christianity. It is nothing less than the re-institution of the African Slave Trade. The national sanction is to be sought for it. The Navy, the Diplomacy, and the Army of the Republic, are to be employed to sustain it. The moral power, and the political and commercial influence of the great American Confederacy, of which we boast so much, and are seemingly so proud of, are to be degraded and bent to that sum of all wickedness, and depth of all infamy, Slave-catching on the coasts of Africa. *This fate is surely ahead of us, if we fail in our efforts to bring Kansas into the Union as a Free State.*

This is not a new demonstration on the part of the South. For two years have the ablest journals of Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, and Louisiana, advocated the free importation into the Slave States of "labor from Africa," as an offset to the free importation of laborers from Europe into the Free States. They have all noted the patent fact, that the Immigration to America does not go at all to the South. They have agreed in their estimate of the value of this fact—that it assures numerical inferiority, political inferiority, and economical inferiority to the Slave States, and inevitably confers wealth, population and power upon the North. Blind, and kept blind by the avenging Providence which hovers retributively over the scene of the mighty wrong done to the Black man in the American House of Bondage, they can not and they will not see, that our prosperity is the fruit of Free Industry, and their decay the direct and natural product of a system of Involuntary Labor. Obstinate in the pathway of their evil destiny, the governing men of the South have determined to re-open the African Slave Trade, and to buy with cash that "cheap labor," which they consider essential to the prosperity of a community, and whose free current Slavery wholly turns away from itself, and sets to the North. There is no new change in the above programme of Wrong. The Slave Breeders and Slave Drivers have ever been consistent. Not one man of them ever thought of a separation from the North, and the organization of a Black Republic. They have threatened it, and have found fools by battalions in the North to believe that they were in earnest in the threat, and to "compromise" to them everything they wished to rob Freedom of, and acquire for Slavery. But their policy ever has been *Expansion*. They pursue it steadily, shrewdly, determinedly. Kansas they have now by the throat. Unless we can rescue her through admission to the Union as a Free State, and that at this next Presidential election, we must be prepared for the step that will succeed her enslavement to the South. The Standard indicates it without concealment.

"If Western men must have slaves to cultivate the soil, that they may take them unbridled as did our fathers, and not have leave to drag them from the older States." It will not be enough to obtain the already demanded right to carry slaves to, and hold slaves in, all the "Western" Territory, but the Nation, through its Federal Government, has got to legalize the stealing them from Africa, and the importing of them into the United States! How mighty is the inducement to all good men—to all men who love Democracy and respect National fair fame—to unite solidly to avert from America the dishonor and the crime, which the South threatens us with, in the event of her enslaving Kansas. Let us save this imperilled Territory, and so save ourselves, and save our Republicanism!

THE CRIME OF COLOR.—Asbury Young, a colored hackman of this city, the proprietor of his own hack and horse—an establishment that cost nearly \$1000—was on Saturday morning last engaged by Judge Porter of Covington, to drive him and his lady over to their home. They left here at 6 o'clock in the morning. Immediately on their landing from the ferry boat on the Kentucky shore the hackman was seized by the Police who insisted on carrying him to jail. Judge Porter interfered for his protection and though he knew him to be free still he was not able to protect him from arrest.

He was finally taken before the Mayor where Judge Porter appeared and plead his cause, but he was fined \$3, and after a delay of 3 1/2 hours permitted to return to Ohio.—[Cincinnati Gazette, 28th.

Thus we see that a free man of color, even in the prosecution of his legitimate calling, cannot set foot on the soil of Kentucky without subjecting himself to arrest, fine and imprisonment. In this case, friends were at hand to defend him, and to see that so much justice was rendered him as was necessary to secure for him his freedom. But, under other circumstances he might have been sold into Slavery, to satisfy the fees of those who arrested him. Many a poor fellow is thus caught by the black code.

And yet, almost in the same hour that this free man was arraigned for visiting a Slave State, the Judges of the United States Court are said to have decided that it was the right of the Master to carry his Slaves into any free State he shall choose! The laws are to be construed against Freedom and in favor of those who hold man as property! Why should not Kansas be made a Slave State?

Two Paragraphs from the Atlas.

From the Atlas (editorial column) of this morning.

A young man in one of the northern counties of this State, has just returned from Kansas, where he traveled for 22 days through almost all parts of the Territory. He states that the country was perfectly quiet, and that all the "border ruffianism" which he heard of, was through the medium of the newspapers.

The public will soon begin to understand, on the testimony of such witnesses, that the stories of violence and mob-rule in Kansas, are the deliberate coinage of politicians, whose only hopes of notoriety and success lie in keeping alive an excitement on this subject.

From the Atlas (news column) of this morning.

St. Louis, April 29.

A letter dated Lawrence, April 24, says while Sheriff Jones was setting the tents of the soldiers he was shot by a party outside and dangerously wounded. His situation is critical and his life despaired of. The perpetrator is unknown. Jones had made twelve arrests during the day assisted by a company of Dragoons under Lieut. Armstrong. Much excitement prevailed.

The investigation commenced their session at Lawrence on the morning of the 23d.

Will the Editors of the Atlas have the goodness to inform their readers, which of these two flatly contradictory statements they wish to have believed? Which is the truth, and which the lie?

More Kansas Emigrants.

A small party of six young men, emigrants for Kansas, passed through this city last evening en route for Lawrence, via Suspension Bridge, Chicago and St. Louis. The party included one Virginian, who is a strong free State man; and Dr. Wm. C. P. Butman, a Ward Physician of this city, educated at the Albany Medical College, who intends to make Kansas his future residence. The company, though small, was composed of energetic and enterprising men. The State Kansas Committee will send a large party from this State on the 14th day of May next.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 30, 1856.

Adjournment of Congress.

A deep game on the early adjournment of Congress is being played by the Administration and the South. The Appropriation bills are all being hurried through with unusual celerity. Even the Senate stepped over the customary exercise of its power to originate some of these bills, in order that Congress may adjourn early. Mr. Gobb of Georgia, opened the game in the House by a motion to fix the adjournment on the 15th of July. The design of all these manœuvres is to prevent Congress from taking any action on the subject of Kansas, which would leave the fate of free State settlers in the hands of a merciless Executive. If the House adjourn without taking any action that shall extinguish the apparent legality of the bogus Legislature of Kansas, the President will proceed at once to enforce its acts, and secure Kansas for slavery.—The Senate desires this course, and is therefore ready to hurry on public business. The House must take some steps to establish the illegality of the Shawnee Legislature, or Kansas will be made a slave State during the recess of Congress. The art with which Douglas' bill is drawn up shows the determination on the part of the Administration to place Kansas in the arms of the South. Why our friends in Congress do not at once act on the Topeka Constitution, instead of consuming time on the legality of Whitfield's election, we cannot see. The battle for freedom in Kansas must be fought in Congress and fought soon, or it will be too late.



NEW HAVEN :

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1856.

Latest from Kansas.

Mr. Wood with 150 men from Ohio and Illinois was within one day's sail of Kansas City on the 16th. On the 21st the St. Louis papers announced the arrival there of two or three hundred emigrants from the South, bound for Kansas, and on the 24th about 200 from Tennessee all for the same destination. Either conviction of the certainty of Kansas becoming a free state, or fear of the exposure of their crimes by the congressional investigation, was driving many of the ruffian leaders from the territory. Says a Lawrence correspondence of the New York Times:

"A fact, ominous of the decay of pro-slavery is that many of the prominent men who have been active and efficient agents in the many outrages which have made that party notorious, are abandoning Kansas and returning to Missouri, where is a better field for their operations, and greater security for their property. One man who a year ago was the general of the pro-slavery forces in this vicinity, has sold his claim which cost him altogether not less than \$1,500, for \$350. Another man who has claimed a number of slaves, is preparing to leave this 'abolition state,' but one of his negroes refuses to go with him. Tom came to Kansas to establish the 'divine institution,' and help to make this a slave state—and he is not to be frightened by the abolitionists—and declares his intention to stay here, let his master go where he will."

Gov. Shannon makes his residence at Leocompton, in the only house, convenient to a whiskey shop. Sheriff Jones, the distinguished postmaster at Weston, Mo., and manager of Douglas county in Kansas, has the contract for the territorial buildings at Leocompton. Judge Leocompton finished a term of the court at Leocompton, the 14th, not having done anything for the want of a grand jury, which the clerk had forgotten to summon. The Branson rescue cases were therefore put over to the next term in May.—The Squatter Sovereign, Atchison and Pierce organ, describes the falling out of a part of the bottom of the Missouri river, and the consequent swallowing up of an immense volume of wa-

...taking down immense logs in the wharvepool.—We should think the crust would break through in the vicinity of the Sovereign, but it don't seem to have opened in the right spot.—The Indians who are at Kansas, want the government to recall the order for the sale of their lands and allow them to retain them, as they think they can sell to better advantage for themselves.

Correspondence of the Palladium.

Land in Western Iowa—Iowa Sympathy for Kansas.

GASTON, Fremont Co., Iowa, March 19, 1856.

GENTLEMEN OF THE PALLADIUM:—One to whom I am accustomed to look for guidance, gently hinted to me yesterday that another letter was due you from Western Iowa, and in accordance with that suggestion I am seated to do duty, and I ask, what shall I write? Land is given as the theme, and why not? for our rich prairies spread out before us suggest the idea of land, vast and beautiful, with but few to cultivate it. Yet the land in our immediate vicinity has recently assumed an increased importance in the eyes of not only the actual settlers, but of transient visitors; and such consultations over sections and quarter sections, such a making of claims and riding in hot haste to the Land Office at Bluff City to fill intentions, can scarcely be imagined. This fine body of timber has always attracted those who were seeking a location, and now that there is a prospect that if the railroad does not come from the East through this southern tier of counties, there must be one from St. Josephs to Bluff City, up through the Missouri Bottom, it renders not only the timbered land, but the prairie in this vicinity, lying as it does near Nebraska City, doubly valuable.

Nebraska and Kearney cities, lying just below us on the opposite shore of the Missouri, are rapidly increasing in population, and although the lands in their immediate vicinity are mostly claimed, yet my Mentor, who is well acquainted with the country farther back, informs me that much of the most desirable portion of South Platte, Nebraska, is yet unoccupied. Indeed, we have both traveled far back on the plains, and are fully persuaded that there are vast resources of wealth both in North and South Platte, Nebraska, yet to be developed—wealth not only in lands, but in minerals and other natural productions.

That you may have an idea of the resources of the Missouri Bottom, I send you a Hiawathic amble upon it, which I wrote for my own private amusement, but which my friends considered so truthfully descriptive that I have given it to the public,—you have perhaps seen it in the Hawk-Eye and Telegraph, printed at Burlington, Iowa,—as I should suppose it would be pleasant for two such decidedly Republican papers, one at the East and the other at the West, to exchange.

But I cannot close without saying a word of Kansas, our poor, afflicted neighbor, where the beauteous tree of Liberty has been well nigh despoiled, its verdure blackened, and scathed by the poisonous simoon swept over from the land of Slavery. While the Southern blasts bring to our ears the defiant whoop and yell of the Border Ruffians, which the masses here are ready to catch and echo back in unison, we also hear the decided tones of the brave ones at Lawrence, and their cry for aid at this critical moment, critical not only for them, but for our nation, is not disregarded by our small but fast increasing ranks of free men.—It is not long since I heard a wife say to her husband, "If you will go and help the Lawrence men fight, I will go with you and help care for the wounded"—and, too, a gray headed old veteran among us, who had the pleasure of acting as First Engineer on the first train that ran on the underground railroad through Iowa, presented to us a petition the other day, asking Congress to present a Sharp's Rifle to each of the forty ladies who enrolled themselves in the militia at Lawrence, to fight by the side of their husbands, and asking that it might be done speedily, as the war whoop of the Border Ruffian is sounding on the shores of Kansas. We of course put our names to the petition, most heartily, at the same time sending up a silent prayer that Liberty might not die in Kansas.

Respectfully,
E. G. P.

The Atlas.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 30, 1856.

Washington Correspondence of the Atlas.
WASHINGTON, April 28, 1856.

The Committee on Territories of the House have agreed upon a bill admitting Kansas as a State, under the Topeka Constitution, and will report it as soon as they have an opportunity of doing so. It is doubted by some of our friends whether the question upon this bill will be taken, or ought to be taken, before the return of the Committee of Investigation, now sitting in Kansas. The report of the Investigating Committee will establish, *officially*, the facts which rendered the adoption of a State Constitution indispensable. In this point of view, it may be well to wait for the report. The fact, however, are already well known, and there can be no impropriety in acting upon them now, or at any time, when the friends of Kansas may judge it to be the most opportune moment.

The General Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, reported on the 28th of March, appropriates thirty two thousand dollars for the pay of the Governor, Judges and Legislature, and for the contingent expenses of the Territory of Kansas, for the year ending on the 30th of June, 1857. This is material aid, with a vengeance, for Gov. Shannon and his Missouri myrmidons. If sanctioned by the House, it is a complete repudiation of the free State movement. Of course no Republican will vote for any such thing. The attempt to establish a territorial government in Kansas has proved an abortion. All regular organization has been overborne by violence. The people there repudiate what is attempted to be palmed upon them as a territorial government. To feed such a concern as that, out of the territory of the United States, is not to be seriously thought of. Why should we pay thirty-two thousand dollars for the support of Wilson Shannon and company? What corresponding good have they ever done, or are they likely to do?

If the National Government will do nothing in favor of the free State men of Kansas, let it, at least, be neutral between the contending parties there, and not vote the sinews of war to the faction which has trampled all law under its feet.

There is one issue in this business which the pro-slavery party in Congress will not be permitted to shirk. They will be compelled to vote *yes* or *no*, upon propositions to repeal the "Black Laws" of Kansas, and to abolish the "Test Oaths" and other contrivances adopted to give the Missourians the control of the elections. The monstrous legislation at the Shawnee Mission will either be overthrown, or the responsibility of it be fastened upon the Democratic party in Congress.

Even Judge Douglas, in his "Enabling Bill," by prescribing the qualifications of electors for his proposed convention to frame a constitution, concedes the power of Congress over the whole subject.

Telegraph and News.

"The greatest good of the greatest number."

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 30, 1856.

Personal Items.—Col. Delaney, Senator elect of the embryo state of Kansas, spoke in this city a few evenings since. The Colonel is a tall, slim man, of a wiry frame, dark complexion, black hair and fierce moustache. He has been a planter in Maryland and in Alabama. He afterwards moved to Illinois and from thence emigrated to Kansas. He was an active Pierce man during the last Presidential campaign, and founded one of the first Pierce clubs in the State of Illinois; but he assured the large audience, which condescended to hear him in Library Hall, that the deed was written down in the catalogue of the sins of which he had repented. He has no words too strong to express his indignation at the pusillanimous but arrogant course pursued by the administration toward the

settlers of Kansas. As for politics, he did not know where he was now. The Freedom of his adopted State was the first and paramount topic with him.

The H. H. Patriot.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1856.

The Admission of Kansas.

Nothing more clearly shows the hypocritical character and dishonest purposes of the self-styled "friends of freedom in Kansas," than their opposition to and misrepresentations of the bill for the admission of Kansas, which is now before the Senate—the bill presented by Mr. Douglas. This bill is based upon the recommendations of President Pierce's Kansas Message, and provides for the admission of Kansas as a State by "regular and lawful means." It is brief and plain; and the first section provides that when the territory shall be found to contain 93,420 inhabitants, the present ratio required in all the States for a member of Congress, a convention may be called by the Legislature to form a State government; and the second section is as follows:—

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the said convention shall be composed of delegates from each representative district within the limits of the proposed State, and that each district shall elect double the number of delegates to which it may be entitled to representatives in the territorial legislature; and that, at the said election of delegates, all white male inhabitants who shall have arrived at the age of twenty one years, and shall have been actual residents in said territory for the period of six months, and in the district for the period of three months, next preceding the day of election, and who shall possess the other qualifications required by the organic act of the territory, shall be entitled to vote, and that none others shall be permitted to vote at said election.

Another section provides for the usual grants of land; and this is the whole bill. This bill, in the words of the Boston Post, "provides for a peaceable mode to settle even local questions; its object is to enable the actual settlers to start de novo and frame their organic law. Its effect would be to substitute political action, proceeding from legally constituted authority, representing the whole people for political action, proceeding from a party assembled in convention, which resolved to forcibly resist the laws, and resolved to raise for this purpose an armed force; it would substitute wholesome and regular action for action proceeding out of rank disorder and anarchy. A proposition like this would seem to have had claims on the consideration of fair and candid men.

But this quiet mode of settling this question is the very last mode that freesoil demagogues desire. It would deprive it of its occupation. It would stave out the abolition element so that it would die. Suppose that the actual settlers, the six months' old settlers only, should really frame a constitution for Kansas; suppose that this constitution, *unlike that framed at Topeka*, should allow free negroes to live in Kansas; suppose it should peradventure be a free State constitution, and suppose the so much slandered Democrats of the South and Democrats of the North should advocate and secure the admission of Kansas with such a constitution into this Union—why, where then would be the field of glory of the self-styled champions of freedom? The heaviest blow that could be dealt out to this abolition element would be just such peaceable action as this. These malignant philanthropists know this well. Hence their loud outcry, their wild lamentations, their crocodile tears at the torn and bleeding state of freedom in Kansas."

And here we have the true secret of the opposition to and denunciation of Mr. Douglas' bill, by the black republican agitators. They

oppose it because it is a practical measure for the settlement of the Kansas question—which they do not wish to have settled at all; because it affords the “regular and lawful means” for the admission of Kansas as a State, yea, as a free State, for none of them believe it will ever be anything else. We repeat it, they do not want the question settled; they do not want Kansas admitted into the Union at present; they want the question left open for use in the Presidential election; and therefore they not only oppose and denounce this usual, proper, regular, lawful and effectual method of securing her admission, but they insist upon terms and conditions which they know can never be submitted to, and because they know that by so doing they are most likely to accomplish their object. They insist that Kansas shall come in by force—that she shall come in under an organization framed with the avowed design of resisting, by force of arms, the authority of the general government—that she shall come in with banners flying and drums beating and rifles charged in hostile and threatening array against the government of the Union. This is the real effect of their demand for the admission of Kansas under their organization; and if the general government should yield to this rebellious demand, it would merit the contempt of the country.

But further than this, these abolition demagogues insist that the outlaw Robinson shall be recognized as Governor, Reeder and Lane as U. S. Senators, and a host of other smaller demagogues as other officers in Kansas. This alone should secure the rejection of their proposition; for the people of Kansas did not elect those men to the offices they claim, and the general government has no right to confirm them in those offices, as it would do by thus admitting Kansas. Nor did the people of Kansas either make or accept the constitution which these men insist shall be imposed upon them. But a small portion of them either aided in framing that document, or voted to accept it, or aided in the election of those claiming to be officers under it.

The abolition demagogues, the self-styled “friends of freedom in Kansas,” well know that these preposterous demands can never be complied with, and to insist upon them is to oppose the admission of Kansas as a State.—And this is just what they are doing and design to do. If they really desired her admission, they would support the bill of Mr. Douglas; but they do not; and in fact the black republicans are the only party which practically and persistently opposes the admission of Kansas as a State.

DISAPPOINTED.—The pious “friends of freedom” have been anticipating, with ill-concealed pleasure, a duel between Senator Douglas and their Kansas hero, Col. Lane; and they seem greatly disappointed because Mr. Douglas is not disposed to gratify them by allowing Lane to shoot him for doing his duty in exposing the fraudulent character of the Kansas memorial. Lane seems to fear that he shall “spile” unless he can get up a fight. He called upon Mr. D. for “satisfaction,” but Mr. D. very properly declined to give it, and thereupon Lane has published a long “card” full of the vilest abuse and vituperation of Mr. Douglas. This pleases the black republican editors and gabblers very highly; they evidently regard it as the next best thing to his killing Mr. D. in a duel. But candid and right-minded men will decide at once that Mr. Douglas has done right, and that Lane has shown himself an intemperate and notoriety-seeking demagogue.

EMIGRATION TO KANSAS.—The New York Courier, a black republican paper, says that a private letter from Leavenworth, dated April 9th, states that four-fifths of the emigration that had reached Kansas this spring were Free State men.

Rhode Island Telegraph.

WARREN, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30.

WESTERN CORRESPONDENCE.

LYONSVILLE, Cook Co., Ill., April 19, 1856.

April's visit is nearly over, and thus far has been to us an almost daily alternation of smiles and tears, sunshine, and cloud,—fickle as woman's love is said to be.

One day she is wooing with her sweet smiles and breathing honeyed words, and the next putting on airs of cold respect and formality, and weeping over fancied neglect. April is probably weeping over the great amount of labor her predecessor has left her to perform, after his cold and boisterous reign. Notwithstanding these reverses, we plucked the first rose of spring this morning—a violet—which dared to raise its tiny head to breathe the fresh air of balmy Spring, and the knolls have begun to put on their green dress, with their old garments by their side, ready for use again in case of need.

The farmers are preparing to sow great quantities of grain, which still remains low in the Spring market, and if Peace prevails breadstuffs must meet with a decline this season. A fact, which, if realized, will relieve the East of the incubus of high prices which has so long hung over them, although their enormity has been effected by mercileless speculators.

The great lakes have now thrown off their icy fetters and thus opened the gates of navigation which have been so hermetically sealed for the past four months, affording a relief to all kinds of business which receives its life through these innumerable arteries and channels.

Immigration too has commenced with a tremendous rush, flowing on through the gates of the Garden City, over the vast prairies of Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska. Twenty-three loaded passenger cars left Chicago over the Galena and Chicago Railroad in one day last week.

“Kansas and Freedom” is the watchword of this moving host, which like the Israelites of old, are going up to take possession of the “promised land.” If the South can compete with such energy and enterprise they are welcome to all they can make.

The Granite State, the great stronghold of democracy, has shouted loud and strong for freedom in Kansas, repudiating the treason of her honored but unworthy son. Connecticut too has echoed back the peal among the granite hills, while “Little Rhody” sends up her voice to prolong the echo for Kansas and Liberty. Rhode Island has been true to the principles of religious and political freedom which her founders were the first to proclaim.

These roll on to cheer the humble settler on the far off plains of Kansas.

Yours &c.

T. W. B.

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 30.

Correspondence of Commercial Advertiser.
WASHINGTON, April 29.

We have had recently some disagreeable reports from the territory of Kansas, which has led members from the Missouri border to apprehend an explosion in that quarter. It was known that Sheriff Jones was to execute a writ in Lawrence founded upon some territorial law, which the free state party will not recognize as law. It was reported that the process was resisted and that the sheriff was shot. This is just possible, but had it been true, it would ere this have been confirmed, and ere this, the whole country in the vicinity of the theatre of action would have been in a blaze. It is hoped that the story is much exaggerated, if not wholly untrue. It would be very imprudent, on the part of the territorial authorities, to attempt to execute the laws of the black code of the Missouri legislature; and, if such an attempt has been made, it has been done for

the deliberate and distinct purpose of mischief. By tacit assent, it had been understood that the penalties of these laws should not be enforced, and that the free state men would resist no other laws of the territorial legislature.

It Gov. Shannon has permitted such a mistake to be made, he has done a bad day's job for the Administration, and Mr. Pierce's prospects of re-election.—The effect of a collision and blood-shed in this quarrel, at this time, would be to give the anti-slavery party, as such, a foot hold in the non-slaveholding states, which it has never yet possessed.

The Kansas investigating committee have not commenced operations yet; and are at a loss where to begin their task. New disturbances will only tend to render an investigation into old ones the more difficult.

The N. Y. Times of the 30th says that: “The meeting last night, at the Tabernacle of the opponents of the Administration, and the friends of freedom in Kansas, was one of the largest and most enthusiastic gatherings that has been witnessed, within the walls of that building.”

There could have been no less than three thousand present at one time, while many left because they could find no comfortable standing-room. And though the eminent speakers from Washington who had been announced were unable to attend, there was not the least abatement of enthusiasm manifested by the vast assemblage at having to listen to familiar voices instead of those who had been promised. It was the cause and not the speakers that called them together. The occasion was in all respects a most gratifying and encouraging one, and we only regret that the crowded state of our columns will not admit of a more full and extended report of the proceedings than we have been able to give. As an indication of popular feeling in this city, the meeting of last night cannot fail to have marked effect in other parts of the country.

The State Gazette.

TRENTON:

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1856.

From Kansas.

KANSAS CITY, April 17th. A party of Georgians, about thirty in number, arrived here yesterday, and the Pro-Slavery folks made a great ado about it. Fifty persons, however, have just arrived from Rhode Island and 150 from Ohio, and the Slavery men have to change their tune. Emigration from the East averages about 100 daily—and about that number come weekly from the Southern States. Gov. Reeder has been visiting Leavenworth and is everywhere treated with respect. The Weston paper advises the citizens of the place to give the Commissioners a public dinner, to teach them that Border Ruffians are not ruffians after all, but gentlemen. The greatest respect is paid to the Commissioners.

LAWRENCE, April 16th. Lawrence is as busy as a new hive in May. Emigration is filling us to an overflowing, and our hearts are made glad to see our numerous friends coming half across the continent to join us in a holy cause. We extend to them the warm hand of friendship and welcome them to our new-born State—Sharpe's rifles and all. Small companies from several States are now among us, and news has reached us that several hundred more are on the river, and as ever before, four-fifths of all who have arrived, are from the Free States. They seem delighted with the country, and well they might be, for the season is full two weeks earlier than last year at this time. Everything seems to cast smiles upon our future.

Newark Daily Mercury.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 30, 1856.

We understand that a determined and well understood movement in this State is in progress looking to the bringing out of Com. Stockton as an independent candidate for the Presidency, and that there is no doubt that publicity will soon be given to it. While in the present position of political parties we can see no hope for the Commodore in this movement, yet it is undoubtedly true, that it will complicate matters in the State still further. Commodore Stockton like all men of his peculiar make, has strong friends and bitter enemies. His friends will move heaven and earth for his support in New Jersey, and among them are comprised some of the most active politicians in both parties; and his enemies will work with ener-

by and... we can judge clearly of the progress we must see all the candidates before the people of the State. We are informed that Com. Stockton unequivocally condemns the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the acts of the present administration in reference to Kansas; and further that his running as an independent candidate has no sort of connection with Mr. Fillmore's course in declining to accept.

Commercial Journal.

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor and Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 30.

DISUNION.

We of the North because of our condemnation of the Pierce and Douglas regime, because we condemn the ebo-shin democracy, because we declare that we shall plead against a further extension of slavery, and vote against it too, are condemned as 'fanatics,' 'foes to the Constitution,' 'wretched fomenters of sectional strife,' and as the crowning and damning epithet, 'Disunionists.' When the whole Billingsgate vocabulary is ransacked by pro-slavery pimps in the free states to find an epithet full of the gall of bitterness against a political foe, this famous word 'Disunionist,' turns up in nine cases out of ten. The unfortunate man who now occupies a part of the Presidential chair could not rest satisfied in his annual message, with false innuendoes against the free States, but boldly charges upon the people of the North all the evils and strifes and dangers to the Union which now distract the country, and shamelessly declares that:

'While the people of the southern States confine their attention to their own affairs, not presuming officiously to intermeddle with the social institutions of the Northern States, too many of the inhabitants of the latter are permanently organized in associations to inflict injury on the former, by wrongful acts which would be cause of war as between foreign powers, and only fail to be such in our system, because perpetrated under cover of the Union.'

He probably refers to aid movements in behalf of emigrants to Kansas, of which scores exist in all the leading Southern States. In his other messages he has charged in general terms the people and press of the North with a desire for 'disunion,' and a practical and systematic course of provocation to that end. It is lamentable that the free press is called upon to defend itself against such unfounded aspersions and from such a quarter, while a series of such articles as the subjoined has appeared in the leading paper of South Carolina, the Charleston Mercury, and in the executive eye pass for nothing on the other side:

'Why does the South base its statesmanship upon the false hopes of restoring the Constitution, and peace and harmony to the Union, by accomplishing that which is politically impossible, by reason of the inherent nature of man? The answer is plain, and I dare to make the answer according to my convictions of the truth. The statesmanship of the South, our method of political thought, our false faith now in the Democratic Party, proceed upon the ground that the Union is our centre of thought, and that the Union and the Constitution, and the public liberty with them, can be preserved.

Now, I assert broadly, that these premises are erroneous, and the statesmanship and policy based upon them, therefore, cannot be true. The Constitution itself, in its structure, organism and aims, is based upon the assumption that a political impossibility will

be accomplished in its favor. The Union it formed is based upon the same fundamental error, while both proceed upon the additional assumption that they can be preserved, and the public liberty be also preserved, with and by them. All these assumptions are founded upon the idea of homogeneity in the people whose political destiny they are to control, and hence the bright hopes they imparted to the lovers of liberty throughout the world during the infancy of the Republic. But is it not most apparent, that when that homogeneity upon which they rest is destroyed, as it has been destroyed, by the most extraordinary national development and increase of population within the limits of the Union, brought about by the influx of heterogeneous ethnological elements, contributed by literally all the nations of the earth, to an extent never before known in the annals of the human races, then the principles of the Constitution and the Union do not apply to the now condition of things in the Union; and that, too, upon the well established principles of law, which is strongly applicable to the case, that when the reason upon which the law is founded ceases, the law ceases with it.'

Just let such an article as that appear in a leading northern sheet, and see how it would be plucked at and heralded on the wings of the wind; its author denounced as a disunionist, an image-breaker, a despiser of oaths, a hater of law, an infidel, a destroyer, a fanatic, an abolitionist, a contemner of father and mother, a Know Nothing, a Black Republican, and whatever else of the sort the copious dialect of the stump, the pot-house or the plantation might be able to supply.

LOUISVILLE JOURNAL.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1856.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION—ITS EFFECT UPON THE SOUTH.—The effect of foreign immigration upon the peculiar institutions of the South is a subject for the gravest consideration of the people of the Southern States. To the vast number of foreigners yearly and monthly and weekly and daily swarming into our maritime ports to seek homes in our midst may be justly attributed the constantly increasing strength of the freesoil party, which is now preparing practically to exclude slavery from every foot of federal territory outside of the District of Columbia, to hem in the States in which negro slavery exists by a cordon of new States from which slavery will be forever excluded, and ceaselessly to keep up the agitation of the slavery question by political parties to the imminent danger of a dissolution of the Union and the destruction of our Republican institutions.

This vast immigration of foreigners to the number of nearly half a million a year is to be dreaded, because, as was said by Thomas Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia in 1781, "they bring with them the principles of the governments which they leave, imbibed in early youth, or else throw them off in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness." Sharing with us the legislation of the country, they, as Mr. Jefferson said, "infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its directions, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, and distracted mass." Mr. Jefferson and his contemporaries considered only the reasons why this immigration was inexpedient for the whole country at a time when the number of foreign immigrants was only some 4,000 a year. At present, when the amount of foreign immigration is more than a hundred times as great as it was when Mr. Jefferson wrote his "Notes on Virginia," it is for the same general reasons a hundred times more objectionable than it was then; and moreover there are particular reasons why it should be strenuously discouraged by all the people of the Southern States. While we are willing to extend to the foreigners who

may hereafter come among us a safe refuge, from monarchical tyranny, the right to acquire and to hold property, and to protect them in their lives, their persons, their possessions, and the exercise of their religion, it is clearly demonstrable that the South should seriously, promptly and unanimously insist that they shall not be permitted to share in our legislation, at least until they shall have become fully and certainly qualified to appreciate the spirit of our republican institutions and to understand the delicate machinery of our Government.

Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of these foreigners come among us imbued with irremovable prejudices against the institution of negro slavery. The few of them who find homes in the Southern States boldly organize themselves into Abolition societies, like those of the Free German Republicans of Richmond, Va., and Louisville, Ky., which are auxiliaries of a parent association of a similar character in the North, sedulously exerting themselves to drive out slavery from the States in which they happen respectively to settle as they are now doing in Texas. Nine-tenths however of this foreign immigration goes to swell the population of the North and contributes to the strength of the party there composed of the fiercest, most fanatical, most reckless, and most relentless Abolitionists. For several years past the number of foreigners coming into the country has increased in almost geometrical progression. The number of them arriving now in a single year is sufficient to furnish a population for ten States equal to Florida, and while this immigration continues, at this rate, under the operation of the "squatter sovereignty" principle of the Kansas-Nebraska act, ten Freesoil States, entitled to twenty Senators in the United States Senate and ten members of the lower House of Congress, may apply for admission into the Union every year so long as territory remains out of which new States may be erected. Already the foreigners, in a number of the States, hold the balance of power between political parties and actually control the elections, and, in a little while, through the systematic efforts which have been begun by an organized association of Northern Abolition fanatics to induce foreign immigrants to settle immediately in the unoccupied Federal Territories, our very worst calculations may be realized and the immediate representatives of foreigners in the Senate and Congress of the United States may not only hold the balance of power there, but actually outnumber the representatives of the native-born citizens in both branches of our National Legislature. Then farewell to our republican institutions!—farewell to the rights of the South, to the Constitution and the Union! The miserable red republican radicalism announced in the platforms of the Free German Republicans will be speedily substituted for our present system of government. The prayers of the people of the Southern States to be let alone in the possession of their property and in the exercise of their rights recognized by the Constitution will be scornfully rejected. Anarchy and distraction will take the place of government and order. A merciless proscription of native-born citizens will be instituted. Our great, glorious, and prosperous Union will be rent in fragments, and amid the shouts of victory from popes and potentates in the Old World, our temple of liberty will be shivered, and the freedom which we now enjoy will become a thing of the past, "a school-boy's tale, the wonder of an hour," to future generations.

Men of the South! how like you the picture? By the success of the party which is now opposing with all its might the American organization, and so far as it is able, waging a war of extermination against native-born citizens, all that we have faintly sketched and even still greater evils may ere long be realized.

It may be said that it is not probable that all

the foreigners who come to this country will be permitted to settle in the new territories. Well, let them settle where they may, if they are permitted to take part in the legislation of the country, the result, though it may not be so speedy, will still be certainly the same. If they should fix their residence in the slaveholding States, their opposition to the American party and American principles will still be as actively put forth and their pernicious abolition doctrines will be cherished and disseminated, less boldly perhaps, but quite as earnestly as in the free-soil States. It is well known however that an organized effort has been begun by the abolitionists to attract as many as possible of the foreign immigrants to the territories, that their plan of operations is to pour into Kansas and Nebraska just enough of such "squatters" to make a sufficient population for a State, and then to direct the stream of foreign immigrants in the same way to another, and another, and another portion of the territories, until every foot of soil belonging in common to the whole confederacy shall have been erected into free-soil States and brought into the Union. Even should this abolition scheme be only partially successful, it is a well-established fact that the great mass of the foreigners arriving in this country either go directly to these territories, there to become squatter sovereigns and voters immediately, or remain in the free-soil States and become voters in five years. Thus each year a number of voters equal to nearly the whole amount of the annual foreign immigration is added to the strength of the abolition party in this country.

The whole of this vast free-soil element is opposed to the American party. In the South these foreigners compose the principal part of the so-called Democratic party and actually control its movements. For the purpose of beguiling Southern men to its support, this party now pretends to float with the popular pro-slavery party, but, if it should thus attain power, the mask would be thrown off, and it would be found elevating to office none but foreigners and free-soilers, to the exclusion of native-born citizens and the friends of constitutional rights.

If the true men of the South will consider this subject with calm deliberation, casting aside all partisan prejudices and influenced only by facts and by the light of reason, they must be convinced that their place is in the ranks of the American party, and that upon its success alone depend the safety of Southern rights, the perpetuity of the Union itself, and the preservation of our republican institutions.

COL. LANE AND SENATOR DOUGLAS.—We publish, to-day, a card from Col. Lane, which, for its terrible severity upon the "Little Giant," will be read with a good deal of interest. Giants, big and little, have their crosses and trials as well as other people. What the little one of Illinois will do or say or think or feel in the present rather extraordinary state of case we cannot even conjecture. His friends, however, are very confident that he will not do anything rash. Our impression is that such cards as that in another column are not very well calculated to promote his chances for the Cincinnati nomination. Who on earth would vote for the nomination of a man with such a thing pinned upon the back of his coat?

Our readers are requested to bear in mind that Col. Lane has always been a strong and influential Democrat.

Lynchburg Virginian.

Wednesday Morning,.....April 30, 1856

FOR PRESIDENT,
MILLARD FILLMORE,
OF NEW YORK.
FOR VICE PRESIDENT,
ANDREW J. DONELSON,
OF TENNESSEE.

The Richmond Enquirer Squatter Sovereignty and the Cincinnati Convention

The Richmond Enquirer is determined that squatter sovereignty—that "ugly idol" of "fools and demagogues"—shall no longer be recognized among the divinities of Democracy. In its issue of Monday it says: "We must, in the Cincinnati platform, repudiate squatter sovereignty and expressly assert State equality.—We must declare that it is the duty of the general government to see that no invidious or injurious distinctions are made between the people or the property of different sections in the territories. We do not mean to dictate. It may be that the assertion in the Platform of the abstract proposition of State equality may suffice to carry along with it the consequences which we desire. But it is often charged that the Kansas-Nebraska bill contains the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty, and that Squatter Sovereignty is the most efficient agent of free soilism. Some Northern Democrats have maintained this ground. Now this gun must be spiked. It must appear from our platform that we maintain practical State equality, and repudiate that construction of the Kansas-Nebraska act which would defeat it. The South only demands equality of right. The more clearly it appears that the Northern Democracy is ready to concede it to her, the more certain is our candidate of success."

The demand of the Enquirer that the Cincinnati platform shall repudiate Squatter Sovereignty is bold and manly. But it will have to be very watchful and uncompromising to prevent being imposed on by some ambiguous generality. Resolutions proclaiming the equality of the States will not suffice—for there is no party North or South depraved enough to deny that. The Black Republicans preach that doctrine and even Wilson of Massachusetts avows his approval of the resolutions of '98-'99. It is manifest, therefore, that the purpose of the Enquirer can only be effected by a resolution distinctly defining what is meant by Squatter Sovereignty and repudiating it, as defined. Those who have fallen into this gross and fatal heresy maintain that slavery is local and can only exist by virtue of positive enactments establishing it. As there are no such enactments in any of the territories, it follows that the slaveholder could not go into any of them carrying his property, until authority should be given him by the non-slaveholders residing there, through laws establishing slavery—a result which we need not say would never occur. The theory of Squatter Sovereignty invests the first settlers of a territory—before they have the population required to form a State, and before they have permission to call a convention, but while in their territorial condition—with absolute control over the institution of slavery. If they say the slaveholder may come, he can do so—if they forbid him, he is forever excluded. This is the doctrine so fiercely denounced in a recent number of the Enquirer. This is the deadly ulcer that has for years been eating its way into the very vitals of the Democratic party and which the Enquirer now demands shall be excised.—We applaud the courage of the attempt, but doubt the success of the operation. As this subject involves the interests of the whole Southern

people, and concerns us as much as the Enquirer, we feel no hesitation in suggesting to that journal the sort of resolution that it should require to be adopted at the Cincinnati Convention. If it will turn back to the proceedings of the Democratic State Convention which sat in Richmond in March 1848, it will find that after earnestly protesting against the Proviso as a wanton violation of the constitution and a wilful assault on the rights and interests of one portion of our confederacy, the Virginia Democracy of that day did "most solemnly declare that there is no power either in Congress or a Territorial Legislature, which is its creature, or any where else, save only in the people of a territory, in the adoption of a State Constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union, to prevent the migration of any citizen of any State, with his property whether it be slaves or anything else, to any domain which may be acquired by the common blood and treasure of the people of all the States." And that they would "under no political necessity whatever support either for the Presidency or the Vice Presidency any person who shall not be the firm and avowed opponent of any plan or doctrine, which in any way interferes with the right of citizens of any one State to possess and enjoy all their property in any territory which may be acquired by the Union, as fully, completely and securely as citizens of any other State shall enjoy theirs." And that subject to this "indispensable condition" they would support any Democrat, &c.

The Enquirer cannot be too exact or particular as to the terms which shall be employed in repudiating squatter sovereignty. Northern politicians are expert in the invention of Delphic phrases, and the South has shown itself too much disposed to be content with equivocal professions. In any true sense, the theory of State equality would exclude the odious subterfuge of free-soilism that skulks beneath the name of squatter sovereignty—but, as we have already stated, abolitionists, Black Republicans and all profess to stand by that principle. By any fair interpretation, the Kansas-Nebraska bill discounts and disallows the bastard idea, but the friends of that bill in the North, almost without exception, are also the friends of squatter sovereignty—and at the very moment of its adoption in the Senate a distinguished northern democratic Senator arose and congratulated the body on the triumph of squatter sovereignty. In the canvass of '48, the language used by Gen. Cass, in his celebrated Nicholson letter, was considered by the Democratic party in the South satisfactory on this point—yet Gen. Cass has since explained that he meant by the language used to give his endorsement to the doctrine, and went so far as to intimate that none but fools could have thought differently. To prevent all further imposition, misapprehension or uncertainty the Enquirer will have to look to it that the clearest, most comprehensive and most emphatic language employed by the Cincinnati convention, in repudiating a doctrine so insidious and so fraught with ruin to the South. If it shall succeed in this and induce the Northern portion of its party in good faith to assent to its demand, it will place its candidates upon impregnable ground: if it fail it, will convict the Northern Democracy of being the most unsound and dangerous to the South of all the parties now in existence.

Kansas Meeting.

We presume it is needless to call attention to the proceedings of the meeting held at this place on Monday evening last, or to urge a full meeting of the citizens of the District on next Sale-day. Every Slaveholder should, by this time, be fully aroused to the importance of securing Kansas to the South. We should exhibit some District pride in this matter, but we should look even more to our own; and in this is involved the institutions with which we are all identified. Some Districts have adopted the rule for their guidance in the mode and amount of contributions, that each citizen should contribute *one dollar* for each and every negro he may possess. If this rule should be adopted in Newberry, a most liberal sum would at once be raised. Some over squeamish may object to the moral, in this mode of procedure, that it is unconstitutional, &c., &c.

We admit all this. The whole procedure is wrong—most unbrotherly, but the issue is forced upon us, and we must meet it or suffer the consequences of our own inaction. We, of the South, are in this matter like travellers, on a boundless prairie, which in the distance is discovered to be on fire, whose only safety is to set fire against fire, and thus secure themselves against the devouring element. If we act, we must act now, or never.

We extract the following remarks from the speech of Hon. A. P. Butler, on the reception of a memorial from the Bogus Legislature of Kansas for admission into the Union as a State. The memorial was however thrown out of the Senate with only three dissenting voices:

"Now, sir, what do gentlemen say? This is an initiative proceeding to make a State government. Will the Senator from Maine tell me that there is a parallel in the history of any well regulated Government on earth—I will not say Anglo-Saxon, English, or any thing of that kind—where a government, deriving its existence, its organization, its very life from a legitimate source, has been superseded by another illegitimate one, where the real government has recognized the other, and has dispensed with the recognition of legitimate authority and adopted a spurious government standing up in rebellion against it? Is there any such cases in history? Here the palpable fact stands out before you—that the Congress of the United States have, by a solemn act, organized a territorial government for Kansas; and the Congress of the United States is now required to repudiate that government, and to recognize as a State the existence of another standing up in open rebellion against it. Those who refuse to recognize it as a State, or as one that is in the chrysalis condition approaching a State, are to be denounced as the defenders of a tyranny that would deny the right of petition.

"Sir, whatever may be my peculiarities, I have no affinity for tyranny; I have less for that wild liberty which finds its vent, its escape, and its abominable orgies in anarchy. That which I dread most is the unrestrained discretion of man—fanatical, wild, ungovernable man—that approaches its objects through the process of anarchy. These men, who have thrown aside a legitimate constitution, now, under the mask of the right of petition, attempt to approach this body, and we are to break down all our rules to print their petition.—There is no process so horrible to me as that which claims to be above the Constitution, the laws and the rules of my country. Sir, the 'higher law' system which gentlemen aspire to may well be assimilated to the chrysalis, if the Senator chooses to use the term; but it is a creeping, slimy chrysalis that finds its way into life only when it goes through filth and anarchy."

THE KANSAS OUTRAGES.

In the address of Governor Reeder, at Easton, on the 30th, we have the fullest official confirmation of the lawless violence with which the legal rights of the free citizens of this territory have been trampled in the dust. Here we have a witness of the most unimpeachable veracity—such an one as even the Boston Post or the Concord Patriot must admit to be authority of the very highest and most indisputable character. An Administration Democrat of the strictest sect, appointed by the President to the post of governor of this territory,—a believer, even now, in that hollow mockery miscalled "popular sovereignty," and an advocate of this principle in the Nebraska bill. Against such a witness what whisper of a doubt can these journals urge? None whatever. They cannot but receive his testimony. And what is that testimony? Is it that these outrages have been provoked by the eagerness of the advocates of free territory, and are therefore to some extent excusable, as the Post would have its readers infer? Does he cast, even by imputation, the smallest blame upon the outraged citizens of Kansas? No! He is open, explicit, dignified and manly. He plainly and boldly puts the whole wrong just where it belongs. He tells the citizens of Easton that the people of the border counties of North Missouri have filled him with amazement "*by their reckless disregard of all laws, compacts and constitutions*,"—that "*the territory of Kansas has been invaded by an organized army, armed to the teeth, who took possession of her ballot boxes, and made a legislature to suit themselves!*"

He testified to the already established fact that on that occasion "*Kansas was subdued, subjugated and conquered by armed men from Missouri.*" He told his hearers that the solemn duty devolved upon the North "*to vindicate and sustain the rights of her sons who had settled in Kansas on the faith of solemn contracts.*" He also declared "that the accounts of the fierce outrage and wild violence, perpetrated at the election, and published in the Northern papers, were in no wise exaggerated. He concluded by saying that Kansas was now a conquered country—conquered by force of arms, but that the citizens were resolved never to yield their rights, and relied upon the North to aid them by demonstrations of public sentiment, and all other legal means, until they shall be fully and triumphantly vindicated."

The address of Governor Reeder comes in good time; nothing could well be more timely than this revelation. The great question now is, in what spirit will all these aggressions in Kansas and upon its borders be met by the powers at Washington? Will

Emigration to Kansas.

Extract from a letter from the Rev. S. L. Adair: OSAWATOMIE, K. T. March 13, 1856.

Missourians 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. Missouri has 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 Westport, I am told, offers to give one year's provision and money to enter one quarter section of land when it comes into market to any man true to Slavery, who will come into 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 have begun. The Free-State Legislature met at Topeka on the 4th inst. and was organized. Gov. Robinson's message has been received, but no further news yet. It is generally believed that an effort will be made to arrest them. Gov. Shannon has returned, and, it is said, is to be backed up by the United States troops in enforcing the bogus Legislature laws. The company of United States troops that were sent into this vicinity to drive intruders from Indian lands have been recalled, and not one driven off. The greater portion of the intruders were Missourians. The Missouri River is now open, and boats are running. A few Northern emigrants have arrived, and we are told many more are coming.—May they come by the thousand! Pro-Slavery men verily seem to be going mad. The grand struggle, to human appearance, rapidly approached.—N. Y. Trib.

For the Liberator.

APPEAL FOR KANSAS.

Sons of Freedom! rise and claim,
As your right, free Kansas' plain;
Yours by compact, made and sealed,
Never more to be repealed.

Friends of Freedom! rise, en masse!
Guard from Slavery's curse the pass!
Let fair Kansas' border be
Our own loved Thermopylae.

Land, to Freedom pledged so strong,
That, to wrest it, were to wrong
ALL, who honor truth and right—
ALL, who love fair Freedom's light.

They, who helped the bond to make,
And would now the contract break,
Shall, like traitors, basely fall,
Dead to honor, one and all.

Shall the land we love so well,
With the homes where freemen dwell,
Be a sacred, blessed spot,
Where Oppression cometh not?

Or, shall Arnolds of the North,
Traitors to their land of birth,
Doom to Slavery's cursed lot,
Those whose tears fall burning hot,—

Searing all the virgin soil,
Blasting all the hopes of toil,
And, by sundering every tie,
Make it blessedness to die?

Speak ye, Freeman! one and all,
Read the writing on the wall;
Tell your brethren, who uphold
Slavery for love of gold,—

'MENE, MENE!'—God hath said,
Here shall your proud waves be stay'd!
'TEKEL!'—In the balance weighed,
'Wanting,' is the verdict made.

'PEREZ!'—Forfeited your power;
God still rules in every hour;
And when man His voice disdains,
Takes from him the power he claims.

Plymouth, April 21, 1856.

M. E. J.

From the Kansas (Topeka) Tribune. SOUTHERN EMIGRATION.

We are informed that already a number of the agents of the Southern Aid Companies have visited the Territory preparatory to forwarding their stock. Some of them spent a short time in conference with Atchison, for the purpose of arranging their plan of operations. It is reported that the Agent from Alabama, has gone back cursing the Territory, Atchison, and the whole movement.

Judging from the results of Northern Aid Companies, we have little to fear from this source. In the first place the funds will be found rather shorter than anticipated. They they already acknowledge themselves. The Legislature of Georgia, the banner State in this movement has refused to make any appropriation for this purpose. In the second place the Kansas climate and mode of life will be found unsuitable to those accustomed to a southern climate, and at least one-half of them will abandon it. In the third place, more than one half of those who remain, will vote the Free State ticket. All we ask of the slave States is that they send on as many as they can hire to come—give them money to set them up in business—we need it in the Territory—and let them select the best places to be found in Kansas, and make themselves permanent homes. We will welcome them into our midst and put ourselves to some trouble in finding them locations, well assured that when they have once seen the advantages and prosperity of free society, and find themselves rid of the incubus which has kept themselves in poverty and serfdom, they will not wish to vote themselves back into the same miserable condition which they have left.

The fact cannot be contradicted that a very large majority of the emigrants from the south, when left to the free exercise of their own judgments, always vote against slavery.

Cassius M. Clay is a model "friend of freedom," and the greatly admired of the Evening Journal and the Republicans generally. One would suppose that Cassius would no more own a slave than he would shoot a white man, but quite the reverse is the fact. The Lexington Observer of the 16th inst., contains the advertisement of a public sale to be held at the residence of Cassius M. Clay, in Madison county, Kentucky, consisting of land, cattle, furniture—"also twenty two slaves, men, women and children, which will be sold during said Clay's life!"—Albany Statesman.

This article, which is going the rounds, is summarily disposed of by the Albany Journal, which says: Those slaves were bequeathed for life to CASSIUS M. CLAY, remainder in fee to his children. By the will which conveyed them, Cassius was made the guardian of the children in respect to their devisions. In Kentucky, as in most of the Slave States, if not all of them, bequests of slaves have been placed by statute upon the footing of devises of real estate. Though chattels, their grant for life does not pass a fee. As the guardian of the children, who had the remainder interests in them, he was legally obliged to keep and care for those slaves. He had no power to manumit them, as he did manumit all that he owned himself. The sale which has made occasion for the above fling at a generous, brave, and conscientious man, was the act of the law, and not of CLAY. Involved deeply in debt by an unfortunate speculation, his technical property in the slaves has been sold under execution to satisfy creditors.

More Outrages on the Missouri River.

From the Chicago Democratic Press. 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 boat, 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 Governor Robinson. The description of the Governor in the possession of the desperadoes, it seems, could not have been exactly as it is.

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.

KANSAS.—A friend residing at Leavenworth, Kansas, writes to us on the 2d inst., that he had heard of no disturbance in that Territory, since the adjournment of the Topeka Convention. The 1st regiment of Cavalry are still in garrison at that place, in readiness, should it be necessary, to interpose the alternative of force to uphold the laws, and although there are a variety of views entertained by the officers of that regiment, when it is necessary to act, there will be but one voice, and that will be in support of the law and the Constitution.—Charlottesville Jeffersonian.

ADMISSION OF KANSAS.

In the Senate on the 13th, Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, reported a bill to authorize the people of the Territory of Kansas to form a Constitution and State Government preparatory to their admission into the Union when they may have the requisite population; which was read and ordered to be printed.

The first section provides that whenever it shall appear, from the taking of the census, that there are 93,420 inhabitants in the Territory, they be authorized to hold a convention and form a State Constitution preparatory to admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever.

Second. That the said convention shall be composed of delegates from each representative district within the limits of the proposed State; and that each district shall elect double the number of delegates to which it may be entitled to representatives in the Territorial Legislature; and that at the said election of delegates all white male inhabitants who shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years and shall have been actual residents in the said Territory for the period of six months, and in the district for the period of three months next preceding the day of election, and who shall possess the other qualifications required by the organic act of the Territory, shall be entitled to vote, and that none others shall be permitted to vote at said election.

Section three provides that certain propositions be offered to the said convention of the people of Kansas, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection, and, if accepted by the said convention and ratified by the people at the election for the adoption of the Constitution, shall be obligatory on the United States and the said Territory of Kansas.

1st. relates to a grant of sections 16 and 36, in every township, for the use of schools, &c.

2d. Seventy-two sections of land shall be set apart for a State University, to be selected by the Governor, subject to the approval of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, &c.

3d. That ten entire sections, to be selected by the Governor in legal subdivisions, shall be granted to said State for public buildings, to be erected under the authority of the Legislature.

4th. That all salt springs, not exceeding twelve in number, with six sections adjoining, be granted to said State, to be selected by the Governor within one year after her admission as a State, provided no right vested in any individual, or which may hereafter be confirmed or adjudged to any individual, shall be granted to said State.

5th. That five per cent. of the proceeds of all lands sold by Congress after said State is admitted, after deducting expenses incident to the same, shall be paid to that State for purposes of internal improvement, as the Legislature may direct; that said State shall never interfere with the disposal of the soil by the United States, or with any regulation Congress may find necessary for securing the title in said soil to bona fide purchasers thereof; that no tax shall be imposed on lands belonging to the United States, and that in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents.

PRENTICE VS. BEECHER.—A battle is to be fought in Kansas. If we are wise it will be bloodless.—Henry Ward Beecher.

In reply to this, Prentice says:—

"No doubt Mr. Beecher is wise, according to his own notions of wisdom. He will always be very careful that his battles shall be 'bloodless.' He likes to hear of blood, but his eyes are weak and cannot bear the color of it. He delights to talk of sulphur, but he has no personal taste for it or knowledge of it out of the beef-barrel. He will never be seen in Kansas with a Sharpe's rifle upon his shoulder, though he may buy a hundred for other folks' shoulders. Sharpe invented the rifle, and Beecher makes speeches about it, and there they think their duties stop. Beecher is as sharp a fellow as Sharpe—possibly a sharper.

The Missouri Democrat, in commenting upon the recent outrages on the Missouri river upon the persons and property of the Kansas emigrants, and their probable consequences to the commerce of St. Louis, has the following:

"Men will not ship when they have no security of transportation, and the attack was therefore aimed against the most vital point of our commercial prosperity. The idea that a few desperate politicians, whose ephemeral preferment to office depended upon keeping up a slavery agitation, should be privileged to lay an embargo upon a river that receives the tributary streams of half a continent, was as preposterous in its conception as it would be disastrous in its execution.

"We regret to add, however, that we are now beginning to reap the consequences of this silly outbreak, and to find all our fears realized. We see the traders of the East and the traders of the West meeting at Alton and Chicago, to organize a system of transport that shall contribute nothing to the wealth of Missouri. We find, what promises before the end of the year to be the most wealthy and enterprising state of the West, seriously contemplating a diversion of its travel and traffic from St. Louis, the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley, and all because of the lawless action of a few men who have been influenced more by passion than patriotism."

TI-bits for Doughfaces.

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.—Squalter 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."

We give not only the words of the Whig, but its italics.

The Louisville Journal, an ultra pro-slavery paper, supports Mr. Fillmore, because the American Philadelphia platform is pledged—"1st, to the maintenance and enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. 2d, because it endorses the Nebraska bill, repudiates the Wilmot Proviso, and pledges the party to any number of new Slave States."

If Mr. Mason's re-election was necessary for the reason that he introduced the Fugitive Slave bill into Congress, how much more necessary is the election of Mr. Fillmore, who sanctioned, signed, and was the first to enforce it?—Lynchburg Virginia.

The prohibition of slavery is always either a wanton insult or a gross wrong to the South.—Petersburgh Dispatch.

The admission of any State excluding slavery is the assertion that slavery is morally wrong and inexpedient.—Savannah Georgian.

A DISTINGUISHED VIRGINIA JUDGE, JAMES G. McDOWELL ON SLAVERY.

"You may place the slave where you please—you may dry up to your utmost the fountains of his feeling, the springs of his thoughts—you may close upon his mind every avenue to knowledge, and cloud it over with artificial night—you may yoke him to labor as an ox which liveth only to work, and worketh only to live—you may put him under any process, which without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush him as a rational being—you may do this, and the idea that he was born free will survive it all. It is allied to his hope of immortality; it is the ethereal part of his nature, which oppression cannot reach; it is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man.

Mr. Stephen A. Douglas "gets it" on all sides for venturing to celebrate the birth day of Henry Clay, at the States in Virginia. In a forcible article on the subject in the Courier and Enquirer, we find the following comments.

Had that hero been a living man in 1854, and in the Senate of the United States, Stephen A. Douglas would as soon have leaped into the jaws of destruction as have faced Henry Clay with his proposition to make the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union "inoperative and void." He would never have done it. It would not have been in the power of party to force him or to bribe him to do it. To have walked into the Senate with that Nebraska bill in his pocket, would have made him tremble like a sick girl. To have risen in his seat and presented that bill to the Senate, would have been utterly out of his power. His heart, his head, his tongue and his legs would have all failed him. It was only when the great Pacifist was cold and stark in the grave, that the Agitator dared to raise his front and do an act which should again unloose the fierceness of sectional discord. It was only when Henry Clay was slumbering beneath the sod that Stephen A. Douglas with a gall that coins slanders like a mint, dared to vent contumely upon the Missouri Compromise and scout all compromises.

The Hartford Times says the police of that city are after Col. McCrea, the refugee from Kansas, who has been assisting the Connecticut republicans, and whose shameless licentiousness and gross intemperance in Hartford have been rather too much even for the "friends of freedom" of the Beecher stripe.

[From the N. Y. Picayune.]

SOUTHERN AID TO KANSAS.

The Southern expedition to Kansas, under the command of Gen. Jefferson Buford, of Alabama, is expected to start about the fifth of ~~the 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.

The Best Way of Reaching Kansas.

The Burlington, Iowa, *Hawk-Eye*, speaking of the dangers which threaten the passage of free state emigrants to Kansas through the state of Missouri, observes:

"Should emigrants prefer the route through Iowa, over that via St. Louis and the Mississippi river with attending risks, no better or nearer route can be found than that through this city. Burlington is nearer Council Bluffs than Iowa City. Our railroad will soon be completed to Mt. Pleasant, and there will then be but 220 miles, or thereabouts, of staging to reach the Missouri, while the distance from Iowa City is 250 miles. There is a daily line of coaches over a good road.

"Emigrants who come with their own teams, who will examine the map will see the state is much narrower in the southern part, and by making Burlington a point they have the further advantage of crossing on a right line and lose nothing by angling across, as must be the case if they strike the river above us. By going through this state on the second tier of counties and striking the Missouri at Glenwood, in Mills county, they are enabled to ferry below the mouth of Platte River, and as a matter of course save ferrying that stream, and at the same time save considerable travel.

"From the mouth of Platte to the Kansas river in a direct line, is probably about one hundred and thirty miles.

"From all this it will be seen that the best route is through Burlington. The necessary outfit can be made as well here as in Chicago or St. Louis. Horses, wagons, agricultural implements, and all goods and utensils necessary for a settler in a new country can be purchased to a better advantage, making transportation and expense into the account."

A PRO-SLAVERY ARGUMENT EXPOSED.—Slavery, we are told, does not demand any law to support it. All it asks is, that no law be passed against it. This is the foundation on which rests the "popular sovereignty" doctrine of the Nebraska Bill. Ed men rarely ask the assistance of law. The thief who stands outside of an orchard wall does not demand the aid of law to support his claim to the fruit within. All he asks is, the removal of the wall; the repeal of the prohibition which keeps him out. Wickedness does not need the aid of laws, it enters, unbidden, wherever no barriers prevent it, and then passes laws to justify itself against justice and right. There was no law establishing slavery in Texas. There was no law establishing slavery in Louisiana. There was no law establishing slavery in Mississippi or Alabama, in Kentucky or Tennessee. It obtained a footing in those States, simply because it was not prohibited by positive law. It commenced like the Mexican war. Nobody declared it; but, having commenced, Congress recognized it by the preamble, "Whereas, war."

[Correspondence of the Indianapolis Journal.]

THE KANSAS OUTRAGE.

ELECTION IN DONIPHAN CITY.

DONIPHAN CITY, K. T., April 2, 1855.

Well, the election is over again, and it was even a greater farce this time than before. About six hundred *puces* came over the day previous to the election, and scattered over this district. Three hundred of them stayed at Doniphan. They were all armed with rifles, shot guns, revolvers, and *whisky*. At the Don-

iphann precinct, they took the polls, elected their own judges, and placed every ticket in the ballot-box that was presented, except two or three Free Soilers, who were actual residents in Kansas, and legal voters. They even allowed the boys that came with them to vote. According to the census taken a few days previous to the election, there were but two hundred voters in this district, and there were four hundred and fifty votes polled at this precinct alone; and I suppose they had as many men at the other precincts. When I saw how things were going, I advised all the equatters to go home, and not vote at all. Some of them wanted to fight them, but I told them it was useless to shed blood, and besides they were much too strong for us.

I do not know what we are to do—at least five to one are in favor of a Free State, but if we are to knock under to the people of Missouri every election, of course it will be a Slave State. But it is making our cause more friends every day; even strong pro-Slavery men are disgusted with the proceedings, while Free Soilers, who have heretofore been lukewarm, are raking up to a sense of their danger, and are working hard for the cause. This one fact is plain to all; as a Free State, Kansas will obtain a position among the States; as a Slave State, she never can, for she has already enough disadvantages to labor under, without having that of Slavery yoked to her. The Missourians are straining every nerve. Gen. Atchison, and his crowd had to go over five hundred miles, in open wagons, and in the coldest weather; but they had plenty of the *ardent* to keep up their spirits. You would have thought that they were a company of troops on an expedition against the Indians. Each one was arrayed with a double-barrel shot gun, a revolver, and a bowie knife in his belt. In quoting Atchison's speech I omitted his oaths, as they would not look well on paper.

At the Warthenia District, matters are still worse, I hear. That is a strong Free-Soil District, but the citizens of St. Joseph, Mo., came over and took possession of the polls, and allowed none but pro-Slavery men to vote.

MR. EDITOR:—The Newburyport Herald states that five Kansas emigrants have arrived at Newburyport with sorry accounts of the country and the condition of the settlers. They say "there is no danger that Kansas will become a free or slave State until all the rest of the world is over peopled, for nobody that has strength to walk, or money to pay for conveyance, will stop there long." "The earth," they report, "is actually parched and baked to the solidity of brick, by the long drought, so that it cannot be ploughed, and no vegetation appears for cattle. There is no wood for building, and no water but in the rivers to be had."

I have just returned from Kansas, having left that territory the 8th day of the present month. I have travelled extensively in the territory—have lived there more than five months, and I unhesitatingly declare that "these reports are false."

First.—In regard to the "peopling" of the territory. Though, perhaps, one fourth of those who go there, return to their eastern homes, yet the emigration to that country is without a parallel—thousands are rushing in every week.

Second.—Although the country has suffered severely from an unusually long drought, yet within the last four weeks I have seen more than twenty persons ploughing in Kansas. In one instance the sod was broken up by a plough drawn by two mules.

Third.—It may be well for these Newburyport men to learn that it takes time for grass to grow, and that when they were in the territory, it was too early for vegetation. Yet I know that cattle have been wintered there on the prairie.

Fourth.—It is well known that Kansas is not a heavily timbered country. Yet there is a sufficiency of wood and timber for a prudent use, especially when we consider the abundance of material which may be used as a substitute.

Fifth.—No man who has explored the country can say that there is a scarcity of water, without uttering a malicious falsehood.

Kansas is emphatically a land of springs—containing in abundance as pure water as can be found anywhere.

These five returned emigrants went to Kansas this spring. Hence they remained there only a few days.

What is their opinion worth, when it is recollected that Kansas is nearly three times as large as New England, and that it requires some months to travel over it.

LUKE P. LINCOLN.

St. Louis, April 25.—FROM KANSAS.—A copy of a handbill, headed "People's Proclamation," and dated April 9th, has just been received from Kansas. It was not circulated until after the departure of Gov. Reeder.

The document declares that, whereas Governor Reeder has shown himself incompetent and unfit for the duties of his position, and whereas, the appointment of a man to the Governorship, without consulting the wishes of those to be governed, is an arbitrary exercise of power, the citizens of Kansas have resolved to hold an election at Leavenworth on the 28th,

to select a person to be the successor of Reeder, whose removal will be solicited.

The proclamation calls for delegates from each district, to meet at Leavenworth on the 28th, to decide in regard to a suitable person to fill the office, whose name will be forwarded to the President for appointment.

SHARP'S RIFLES.—We are informed that Messrs. FALL & CUNNINGHAM, on the North side of the Square, near the "Burnt District" have just received a few of the Sharp Rifles, direct from the manufacturer. Our readers can now have an opportunity of providing themselves with this gun, of which we have heard so much. Companies emigrating to Kansas and Nicaragua can be supplied with these guns by giving a few weeks notice to F. & C., who have made arrangements to that effect.

North and South.

We published, some days ago, the proceedings of a meeting held in a Northern Church, in which the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher took the lead. At that meeting, great exertions were made by the gentleman above named to arm the emigrants with Sharp's rifles, which he considered more efficacious than the Bible in subduing the turbulent spirits in that territory.

It has often been said that "doctors will differ," and it would appear that ministers of the Gospel do not all entertain the same opinion. In the last number of the Southern Christian Advocate, we find a communication signed by the Rev. John Early, a prominent and highly esteemed minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in which he calls for "men with strong mental and physical constitutions, to labor as missionaries of the living God in the Kansas Mission Conference. They must come, not with rifles, but Bibles in their hands; not with hatred, but the love of God in their hearts. They must come, not to kill and destroy, but to build up and make alive."

Here we see the difference in thought and action between the Southern and Northern ministers; the slaveholder and the self-styled advocate for freedom; and, with this knowledge, it will not be difficult to decide which is the wolf and which the sheep, and how their respective influence is likely to act upon the people.—*Columbia Times*.

The Kansas Election.

In February of last year, Gov. Reeder, as required by law, had a Census of Kansas taken, as a basis for the division of the Territory into Council and Representative Districts, and the apportionment was accordingly made. On the 30th of the following month, the Legislative Election was held, and the vote then taken, in districts not contested before Gov. Reeder, compares with the officially ascertained number of legal voters in those districts, as follows:

Council Districts	No. Legal Voters.	Votes Polled.
V	442	855
VII	247	486
VIII	208	417
X	468	1,206

Total, 1,365 2,964

These official returns, copied from the executive minutes, prove something more than the existence of astounding frauds—they prove that those frauds were carefully planned and executed under the guidance of a common head. Had the Missourians simply precipitated themselves on the polls of Kansas without preconcert and common direction, we should inevitably have seen an enormously disproportioned vote polled in one district to that in another—here a few extra votes and there a great many—but no; the work was done according to rule—the rascality was as skillful as audacious.

These districts elected six Councilmen and some twelve to fourteen Representatives—a large majority of the whole number uncontested before Gov. Reeder. One of them was contested but just one hour late.—*New York Tribune*.

End of
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