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WEBB SCRAP BOOK
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ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE SHERIFF JONES.

A vast amount of virtuous indignation is expended in the proceedings of a meeting of citizens of Lawrence, Kansas Territory, growing out of the base attempt of a citizen of that place to murder S. J. JONES, the Sheriff of Douglas county. The meeting was held on the 24th, and the two men who have been most instrumental in stirring up bad blood and civil war in that Territory—REEDER and ROBINSON, were the most conspicuous actors in it. REEDER was the chairman of the meeting, and in a long speech, while hypocritically deploring the act by which the life of a fellow-being was sought to be taken, did not hesitate to address to the people such arguments as were likely to provoke further mischief and other outrages.

The matter which seemed to be uppermost with him was, that this attempt at assassination might injure the cause in which he and they were engaged. He alluded to the positions assumed by his party in the Territory; to the resolutions adopted at the Big Springs; to the doctrine enunciated there, "that they would never submit to the laws of the Territory as a permanent institution; but would set themselves about obtaining remedies for the purpose of getting rid of them; that the ballot-box and the courts and all peaceful remedies should be resorted to, and after these remedies had been exhausted, and they had no choice but to sit down under these laws permanently, or resist them by force, they would resist them without regard to consequences. The people of this town have been going on quietly, refusing to recognise the Territorial authorities, avoiding a conflict with the authorities of the United States, which must be destructive, thus keeping precisely in the right path, and in a position where your friends at home and abroad could defend and justify you. The Courts have been sought, and I am sorry to say that little hope of redress is to be found here. The Sheriffs of the counties are partisans, carefully selected for their work, and they select the jurors, who are partisans. The conduct of any of these Judges, and the lengths they are disposed to go for the purpose of pleasing their own friends, needs no comment from me. You all know what took place in the case of MCNEEA. Thus has been demonstrated that the courts of this Territory are hopeless places in which to obtain anything like law or justice."

He spoke of the presence of the committee appointed by Mr. Speaker BANKS, to inquire into what had taken place in Kansas, and then he broke out—

In the midst of this progress, where every thing was going on smoothly, peaceably and satisfactorily, and all good citizens were congratulating themselves upon the successful progress of this appeal, the hand of some malicious, insane, evil-disposed individual undertakes to throw down this superstructure we have so carefully built up, and mar our entire prospects by this unjustifiable and atrocious act. If the man who thus attempts to blow did it to help our cause, he must have been blind and insane; in his reasonings, and ignorant of the very first idea of the position and character of the Free State cause. He must bear the consequences of his deed. I have no sympathy with one who would trifle with the lives and property of the people here. We are not bound to let any man, no matter what may be the cause of his actions, so act as to mar the prospects of future success. We have two alternatives presented to us—which we cannot evade, if we own prospects, and doing violence to our own opinions, or on the other hand, denouncing the author of this act.

Much more was said of the same import, and then Mr. G. P. LOWREY addressed the assemblage. He spoke of the outrage which had been perpetrated on Mr. JONES, and proposed to offer some resolutions. He correctly portrayed the nature of the outrage when he said that "it was a cowardly assassination, to shoot in the back, in the dead of the night, an unsuspecting man, against whom the feelings of the community were aroused, who was almost unprotected, and who, therefore, should have been treated with more of courtesy and manliness. He proposed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the attempt made on our town last evening upon the life of S. J. Jones, Esq., whilst claiming to act as the Sheriff of the county, was the isolated act of some malicious and evil-disposed individual, unexpected and unlooked for by our community, and unsustained by any portion of them.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this community, it was a cowardly and atrocious outrage upon Mr. Jones

—an insult and injury to the public sentiment and reputation of our town, and a crime deserving condign punishment.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the unpleasant relation which existed between Mr. Jones and our citizens, if the attack could have been foreseen or considered at all probable, we would have neglected no means to prevent or defeat it; we deeply sympathize with the wounded man, and will afford him all the aid and comfort in our power.

Resolved, That we deeply regret that the perpetrator of this deed is unknown; and if known to us, we would unhesitatingly expose and denounce him as the criminal.

Resolved, That it is due to the reputation of our town, and loudly demanded by the deep and universal indignation which pervades our community, that the guilty author should, if possible, be sought out and surrendered to justice.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed, whose duty it shall be to investigate the circumstances connected with this deplorable occurrence, and, if possible, to ferret out the guilty agent; and we pledge ourselves that, although not responsible as a community for this act of a depraved individual, we will use our best efforts to show to the world that we have no sympathy for crime in any shape, and are prepared to treat the perpetrators with that stern justice which shall not stop to inquire whether they are friends or foes.

Gov. ROBINSON followed, "endorsing what has already been so able said by your presiding officer," cunningly insinuating that the outrage was "not perpetrated by one of the citizens of Lawrence, by a Free State man, for political purposes," but that he had "good reason to believe that it was all arranged and got up to have this impression go out." And this sentiment marks the character of the man. Arranged by pro-slavery men, that one of their number should be shot, in the night time, and his life taken away, and all to make out a case to the prejudice of the Free State men of Lawrence! The character of the man is illustrated by this speech, quite as clearly as it was illustrated in his conduct at Sacramento and even since; he has been a citizen of Kansas.

The same idea pervades his speech, and it is to go forth to the world that a pro-slavery man was found willing to assassinate one of his friends, in order that the people of Lawrence should be made to suffer for the outrage. We extract further from his speech:

I happened to be out of town last evening, and I suppose I shall not be charged with the offence committed then. But I understood that an individual, who is obnoxious to individuals, as individuals, on account of individual disputes, and on account of his harassing the members of the community, by little insignificant writs, took his position last evening in an exposed tent, without a guard near him; even when one shot had been fired he still had no precaution taken, but placed himself in an exposed situation, and while thus exposed, a shot was fired, and took effect. I trust, I pray, that it will not result seriously. Now it is inferred that it was done by the people of Lawrence. Is that reasonable? (Cries of no, no.) There were men of their own stamp here; strangers in our midst, unknown to the people of this community. I verily believe that not a man in Lawrence had anything to do with that transaction. (Cries of "never," "never.") It may be asked would they shoot at one of their own men? I have partially hinted at the reason. I have said, that in this matter, a man's life is of no account. If the slave power of this country, in order to possess this Territory, required that Mr. Jones should lay down his life, or be exposed to the shots of his friends, then Mr. Jones must expose his life, then those shots must be fired. They tried it on a Free State man; it failed. Now it is necessary, in order to get up another trouble, that it should be a pro-slavery man, in good earnest; and if the Free State men would not go into it, why, I will not say they themselves would do it, but it looks very much as if that was the case. Of course no man in this community would approve of this affair; and I would here say, believing as I do, that this attack was the work of an assassin, to make capital against those of us engaged in this Free State movement—and if I did not believe it, I would do the same thing—I will here say, that by the authority vested in me, as Governor of the Territory of Kansas, I propose to offer a reward for the detection of the assassin; and if approved by this community, I will offer a reward of \$500, for the detection of the assassin, and his conviction in the Courts of the United States. I have no fears as to who that man will be. I have no fears as to what party he belongs; and if I had, it would make no difference with me. We want no such men in our party, and I do not believe we have any there.

This whole farce was then wound up, as appears from the Lawrence Herald of Freedom, by "CHARLES ROBINSON, Governor of the State of Kansas," issuing a "reward of \$500 for the apprehension and conviction in the United States Court, of the person or persons who made an assault upon S. J. Jones."

The Herald says that "Mr. JONES is in a fair way to get well."

The false rumors which have been put afloat in regard to an alleged correspondence between Col. Lane and Judge Douglas in relation to the debate on the spurious Kansas memorial have induced several of Judge Douglas's friends to ask his consent to give the correspondence publicity. The letters will be found in our paper this morning; and we risk nothing in saying that Judge Douglas's letter places Col. Lane in a worse predicament even than he was in before. We observe by the New York Times, which reached us last night, that Col. Lane has published a card in that paper of yesterday, in which he introduces his own letter to Judge Douglas, with the exception of the concluding sentence, but fails to accompany it with Judge Douglas's reply. He undertakes to give the points of Judge Douglas's reply, but he does it so imperfectly that it is grossly unjust. Without dwelling on the card of Col. Lane, we deem it due to Judge Douglas to say, upon authority, that the statements that when Col. Lane's letter was handed to Judge Douglas he asked until one o'clock to reply, which was granted, and that "he then asked until four o'clock, and afterwards until Monday," which were "cheerfully granted," are a total perversion and misrepresentation of the facts. Judge Douglas asked no time to reply; none was granted. When Mr. Watson called on Saturday and delivered Col. Lane's letter, Judge Douglas had company, and he informed Mr. Watson that he would be ready to reply in an hour or two, which would be one o'clock. Mr. Watson said he would be engaged for several hours, and probably until four o'clock. Judge Douglas then fixed four o'clock for his reply. After his company left he read the letter, and found that it would take more time than until four o'clock to make such a reply as his judgment dictated as proper. He immediately requested Col. Orr to see Mr. Watson, and notify him that his reply would be made on Monday morning. Col. Orr, not finding Mr. Watson, left a note for him giving the notice. These are substantially the facts, and they show how grossly Col. Lane has perverted and misstated them:

CORRESPONDENCE.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
April 25, 1856.

SIR: You will please publish the enclosed correspondence. The letter of Judge Douglas to Hon. C. K. Watson was delivered by me to him on Monday 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, April 25, 1856.

DEAR SIR: It has been announced in the newspapers, that a hostile message had been sent to you by Col. James H. Lane, of Kansas Territory, and your course in regard to that matter has been most grossly misrepresented. 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,
JOHN B. WELLER,
J. D. BRIGHT,
JAMES I. ORR,
JOSEPH LANE.

Hon. S. A. DOUGLAS.

WASHINGTON, April 25, 1856.

GENTLEMEN: In reply of your note of this 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, Joseph Lane.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 18, 1856.

SIR: One day last week I placed in the hands of Gen. Cass, with a request to lay it before the Senate, the memorial of the general assembly of Kansas, praying for an admission into the Union as a sovereign State. I gave that direction to the memorial from the fact that the convention which framed the Constitution of Kansas, with great unanimity, had before selected 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 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 yours, 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; the instructions of my principal 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 such an attack upon the character of an American citizen, I respectfully ask for such an explanation of your language upon that occasion as will remove all imputation upon the integrity of my action or 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

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

in the morning, and shook hands. Nothing more was thought, until just before night as Wood was in the office of Mr. Christian, a pro-slavery man of this place, with a half dozen others. Jones entered, made return of some summons to Mr. Christian, who is a pretended Clerk under the bogus laws. Turning, he laid his hand on Wood's shoulder, with the remark, "Mr. Wood you are my prisoner." Wood said, "he guessed not," when Jones pulled from his pocket an old warrant, issued by H. Cameron, for some seven or eight of the Rescuers, commanding him (Jones) to bring their bodies before him (Cameron) forthwith. This warrant was dated sometime last December, and although some of the parties had been here all the time, yet no attempt has been made to arrest some of them, and why they should pounce upon Wood now, upon his return, and whilst the Congressional Committee are investigating facts, which will either set aside the whole of these Missouri laws or legalize them, is a mystery we leave for Frank Pierce and his minions to solve. Wood remarked that "Cameron was in Missouri, and he did not see well how he could go before him." "No matter," said Jones, "come along," grasping his collar. Wood told him flatly "he should not go till he saw his wife, and asked her consent;" had a copy of the warrant and a chance to consult friends, that he intended to shrink from no responsibility, but saw no use of being in such a hurry, and ordered "hands off;" he was released for a moment. Jones then offered if any one would become responsible for his return, he might see his wife and friends fifteen minutes. Wood declined, but said he would pledge his honor as a man to return there in fifteen minutes, that he had no disposition to leave town, only wanted to consult friends. Jones said he might go if he would agree to deliver himself up on his return. Wood said "he would do nothing of the kind, but would return and stand in the same relation that he did then, and might deliver himself up, but would not promise until he saw his wife." Jones swore he should not leave. Wood said he should see his wife, and walked out of doors. Jones called upon the bystanders, who were increasing fast, to assist him, at the same time again grasping Wood with one hand, and attempting to draw a revolver with the other.—Wood, whose eye was upon him, anticipated the movement, grasped his hand with one of his, with the other it is said relieved him of one of Col. C's six-shooters, shook the giant (for Jones is as large as two of him) from him and walked away. The crowd in their efforts to assist completely separated the parties. Wood walked over home, a few rods off. Jones felt for his revolver but "found it missing," called to the crowd to know who had it, but all seemed as ignorant as himself. After waiting a few minutes he declared that he did not believe Wood intended to return, and with a confere left town, and once again our town is quiet. What will turn up next time God only knows. I'll try and keep you posted. At present, adieu.

HOOSIER.

DAILY TRIBUNE.

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

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Thursday Morning, May 1, 1856.

LATER FROM KANSAS.

Shooting of Bogus-Sheriff Jones Disavowed by the Free-State Men.

Interference of the Federal Troops.

[Correspondence of the Tribune.]

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 24, 1856.

Messrs. Editors:—The effort of the General Government to enforce the laws of the bogus Legislature upon a free people against their consent, begins to bear its legitimate fruit. Violence is done, and life is taken. Last evening at 10 o'clock, Jones, the Sheriff of this (Douglas) county by appointment of the Legislature, was shot and mortally wounded. He is alive this morning, but cannot endure long. In consequence of his failure to make arrests of our citizens on Saturday and Sunday last, for participation in the Branson rescue last win-

ter, and on Sunday for the rescue of S. N. Wood from his custody on Saturday, Gov. Shannon telegraphed to Washington for a file of soldiers to assist the Sheriff. It was granted by the President, and yesterday, P. M., they appeared in our streets. Several arrests were made peaceably and quietly; as the unanimous sentiment of our community was for obedience, to the United States laws, even if it extended to a submission to the impositions of Missouri. It has been considered on all hands that this interference by the General Government against us would do us more good in the popular feeling of the country than anything else could, and there was a general feeling of satisfaction, and an expression of the same, and of hope, in view of the results, from the time we heard of their coming until the arrests were made, and the only solicitude felt, was that some personal hatred or private pique against Jones, should result in violence to him. But even this was not generally feared. It was so obviously our policy that everything should remain quiet and peaceable on our part, as towards the general government, that no violence was seriously apprehended, and our people, as a people, and the citizens of our town as a body, or any considerable number of them, are not to be held responsible for the cowardly assassination—for it can be considered nothing else.

It was undoubtedly the act of some individual for some personal consideration, as Jones has many personal enemies. He has been instrumental personally or otherwise, in driving several Free State men from their claims, and he has also pursued a very unwise course in his attempts to execute the Territorial laws. Even yesterday, much feeling was engendered and pretty generally expressed at his drawing his revolver and aiming it at a man whom he wished to arrest, but had not had in his custody, and who was attempting to escape by running. Jones was lying on the ground, in a tent which had been pitched by the soldiers, in conversation with the Lieutenant in command, when he was shot through the cloth of the tent from the back side, the ball entering the small of the back and passing through his body. He was immediately carried to the Free State Hotel, and his wounds dressed.

A public meeting of our citizens will be held to-day, at which the act will be disavowed, and measures taken to discover the assassin, and deliver him up to the legal authorities.

Five men were arrested yesterday, all of them on the charge of resisting Jones in his efforts to arrest on Saturday and Sunday, or of refusing to assist him when called upon to do so. Those engaged in the Branson rescue were out of his way, and all who were particularly obnoxious to the Sheriff and anticipated arrest. Those did not really anticipate being arrested. It is said he has an extended list of names for arrest, and it is thought the movement was instigated and is prosecuted for the purpose of embarrassing the Congressional investigation commenced here yesterday.

It is feared that retaliatory measures will be taken against individuals, and that assassinations will follow, on both sides perhaps, as the result of this act, and possibly a general war will again be excited in our midst.

The investigating Committee of Congress commenced its session here yesterday, but no evidence was taken. Gov. Reeder conducts his own case, and Whitfield has Gen. Wright of Georgia for his counsel. The Commission will first dispose of the contested seat case.

Yours, &c., L.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

May 1, 1856. DETROIT.

Is it Lawful?

The employment of United States troops in cases of doubtful legality and necessity, has ever excited the deepest feeling in the heart of the citizen. We had an instance of it here in Detroit, in 1850. A fugitive slave was captured here; and, pending the examination some threats and demonstrations towards a rescue having been made by some of the colored population, the military of the city were called out, and their appearance created no feeling whatever; but no sooner did the United States troops make their appearance, marching down from the barracks to be stationed around the Court House, to keep the citizens at a distance, then murmurs, "not loud but deep," went up from that crowd, and the feeling there in a moment implanted, never left the public mind, nor spent its force, during the entire campaign. The result, locally speaking, which attended the canvass of 1850, was in no insignificant degree incident upon the impulse created by that act. There were hundreds of conservative men, of the purest and most peaceable character, who had been drawn towards the Court House that morning, to see for themselves the operation of the fugitive slave law, who found themselves thrust away from the doors—not metaphorically speaking, but absolutely thrust away at the point of a naked bayonet, in the hands of some private soldiers serving in the 4th U. S. Infantry. It is safe to say that every man so thrust away, and every man to whose ears and and the ostentatious parade was addressed, went from that spot with uncertain ideas of his own rights, but with the clearest, most definite, and most determined resolutions to repay the insult, as far as he constitutionally could do so, by giving a vote in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law, and all its supporters, from Government down to the meanest slave-catcher.

We allude to these circumstances now, which transpired in the very presence of many of our readers, solely for the purpose of illustration by the force of example. If peaceable and thoughtful men were excited to indignation, and were thrown off their guard here in the city of Detroit, because the weapons of soldiers of the United States Government were presented at them in intimidation, they will be very likely to be similarly wrought upon in Kansas by the acts of Col. Sumner and his dragoons, under the order of President Pierce. Peaceful citizens of the United States are not fond of Dragoons; they may like well enough to see them exercise, and to hear their bugles upon parade days, but the prick of their broadswords and the whistle of their bullets is unpopular music.

The question is how far has the Executive a right to avail himself of the army, and in what contingencies?

In 1794 an insurrection broke out in Pennsylvania, on account of duties levied upon spirituous liquor which assumed a most formidable aspect, yet the army never struck a blow, because Gen. Washington, then President, and a soldier and a Statesman, denoted the power of the Executive to employ that arm of the service, except in case of actual and general insurrection. He did not consider the whiskey rebellion as such a case. The Dorr insurrection in Rhode Island, during the administration of Tyler was not such a case in the opinion of the President, and of his endorsers, as justified the sending thither of United States troops; indeed the then members of Congress, both strong anti-Dorr men, told the President that if United States troops were sent there, they would be butchered.

Has not the President been hasty in committing so large a discretion to Col. Sumner?

"Help me, Cassius, or I sink."

The Free Press has been aching to attack Hon. Henry Waldron, but feeling its own weakness, it has concluded to subsidize the columns of the Boston Post, two columns of which it parades in place of a leader. While this course saves labor, it exposes ignorance, and while it avoids responsibility in cases of false statement and bad reasoning, it carries the admission that no sufficient

and categorical answer to the positions of Mr. Waldron, can be made here, among those who are familiar with the historical facts of the case.

The exact point in controversy, to which reference was made by President Pierce in his message, was that the application of Kansas for admission was a party movement—that it was unprecedented, because no State had ever been admitted, except upon the movement of the whole—never upon that of a political party or a portion only of the inhabitants of a Territory. The case of the admission of Michigan was singled out by the President, and was declared not to furnish a precedent, affording plausibility to Kansas. The assumption was that the application and succeeding steps in the case of Michigan were regular, and were made on behalf of the entire people of the Territory, and not by any portion of them, such as a political party. We published, editorially, some three months since, an article in detail, showing the leading facts connected with the admission of Michigan, and among the rest the following touching the point raised by President Pierce. Since that time, Mr. Waldron has gone more fully and ably into the subject, in his late brilliant speech, and has again made that point clear. We now state the point again, in order to rescue it from the superincumbent load of irrelevant words, under which the Boston Post and the Detroit Free Press have sought to bury it—"out of their sight."

In the month of June 1836, Congress enacted that Michigan might be admitted into the Union, upon condition that she would recognize and sanction a certain boundary line, then in contest between herself and Ohio, by means of a convention of the people of the State.—The Legislature of Michigan immediately passed a bill providing for the holding of a convention, and fixed the day and place. The convention was held, in exact pursuance of the act of Congress, the condition prescribed by that act was submitted in form to the convention, was deliberated upon, and formally rejected by a decisive vote.

After the result of that State convention was made known, an attempt was made to procure something in the form of a legalized or at least an official call for another convention, but the Executive of the so-called State refused to make such call, alleging that the authority created by the act of Congress for holding such convention, had been exercised and exhausted, and that the whole subject was at rest.

At this juncture of affairs, John McDonnell, then chairman of the State Democratic committee, as such chairman, promulgated a call upon the different counties, addressed to the respective county democratic committees, calling upon them to fix a day for county conventions, preparatory to the election of delegates to a State convention to assemble in December following, to take into consideration the condition and proposition of Congress. It was a mere party call, and the spur to it was the fact that John Norvell and Lucius Lyon had been chosen Senators, and desired to take their seats.

It was a crude, unauthorized step, having not the slightest color of legal authority, and not even claiming to be a popular movement. It was a partisan movement, having a narrow partisan and personal object, and it was addressed solely and exclusively to partisans. Few or none, other than democratic partisans took part in the election of delegates, and in many townships and even counties, only a few votes were polled, and those were given by the partisan friends of the Senatorial candidates. By the people generally, this election was looked upon as a mere farce, and treated as a simple hoax. Nevertheless, delegates were declared elected, and they met in convention and accepted the condition imposed by Congress, and during the subsequent month, in January 1837, Congress took up and considered the act of that convention, and treated it as a compliance with the act of June 1836.

We have confined ourselves to the single point made by President Pierce, who was a member of the Congress of 1837, and who now says that there is no precedent, for the admission of a State, upon the action of a portion only of the people, or upon that of a party, as in the case of the Free State party of Kansas.



THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 1, 1856.

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

ANOTHER "BORDER RUFFIAN" WAR IN EMBRYO.

SHERIFF JONES ATTEMPTS AN ARREST—HE FAILS—TRIES AGAIN AND AGAIN FAILS—ASKS FOR AID—SHANNON CALLS ON THE U. S. ARMY—EXCITING EVENTS.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 20, 1856.
Correspondence 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 Douglass county, the people of Lawrence professed not to know of any such country and of such an officer as he pretended to be, consequently but very little respect was manifested for him. At Mr. Christian's 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 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 toward the door. Jones then took hold of him in a violent manner, seating to those standing round that he was Sheriff of Douglass county—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 clutched, and endeavored to drag him back to the office, calling upon those standing near to help him, and saying that he was Sheriff of Douglass 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 his friends!" The last seen of Jones and his assistant, they were riding towards Leocompton 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.

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 latter gentleman objected to and prevented by taking off his coat, doubling up his fists, and 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," and 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 Leocompton.

How this matter will terminate is very doubtful. 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. Yrs.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 21.

DEAR SIR:—A gentleman has just arrived in town from Leocompton, and by him we learn that Governor Shannon had sent to Col. Sumner an order to send troops to Leocompton 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, but if Shannon gets drunk again and signs treaties, it may be bloodless.

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 to Leocompton, made a statement to Governor Shannon, who immediately wrote a dispatch, and a messenger 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 Leocompton 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.



NEW HAVEN:

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1856.

Correspondence of the Palladium.

Our Kansas Colony—Still at Lawrence—About to Settle—The Welcome Meeting—The Investigating Committee—Gov. Robinson—Needs of the Territory.

LAWRENCE, K. T., April 18, 1856.

MESSENGERS EDITORS:—We are still in Lawrence, not having yet fixed upon a location. Several sections have been examined, and the company meet this afternoon to decide between them. We are all here, with the exception of one family who have located, temporarily, below, one man who still remains in "Kansas City," and one other remaining with the family. We are all well, and in as good spirits as circumstances will admit. Our unavoidable delay has caused unexpected expense, and, of course, some disappointment; but a few days more will fix our destiny, so far as our homes in Kansas are concerned.

I am now writing in the office of the "Her-

aid of Freedom,"—a room of very good accommodations. The building is new, constructed of what they call here, concrete,—a sort of throwing together of stones and mortar. It makes a very solid wall, and is being used for all their best buildings. Mr. Brown, the principal editor, is absent, but his place is well filled by his assistant, Mr. Green. The paper is issued weekly, and is fast acquiring a position of decided influence in the Territory. The people of Lawrence gave us a reception, at a public meeting, on Tuesday evening.

In the absence of the leading men of the place, Mr. Hutchinson made a speech, welcoming the company to the Territory. He was followed by Rev. Mr. Lum, and others, and they were feelingly responded to by Dr. Root, and several other members of our company. After which, "The Stubbs," a company of young men who were the first military organization for the defense of Lawrence, were called out to sing a song for the occasion, very much in the style of the old "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too," of 1840. It made quite a sensation. The meeting was a jam, and went off well. There were several ladies present, among them, the wife of Gov. Robinson, an exceedingly agreeable young woman, very unpretending, plainly dressed, and quite pretty, apparently not over eighteen years of age. She is a daughter of the late Myron Lawrence, Esq., of Belchertown, Mass. The proceedings of this meeting, as I am informed, have been reported for the New York Times; and unless they are more correct than a report published by them of one of our New Haven meetings, it will not be of much value as a transcript of the real doings upon the occasion, and ought not to be relied upon as such. The report published by the "Herald of Freedom," of this place, is, probably, nearer correct; and by a vote of the meeting, is to be forwarded to the New Haven papers for publication.

Gov. Reeder arrived here last evening, in company with Messrs. Sherman and Howard, of the Investigating Committee, and their retinue of clerks, reporters, &c. Reeder is a bold, energetic looking man, the features of his face resembling, somewhat, that of our old friend, Hon. I. S. Rice; but in person, less portly and taller. Mr. Sherman is a young man, and informed me that he was a grandson of Taylor Sherman, formerly a lawyer in Norwalk, Ct., and that he was a son of David Sherman, who was associated with Roger Sherman, as members of the "Committee of Safety," in the days of the revolution.

Emigrants are arriving every day, and by far, the larger part of them from free States. One hundred and forty come in this morning from Ohio, and more are coming.

But we find there is a great work to be done for Kansas besides making her a free State. Morals are in a very low condition here; but very few of the leading free State men, even, are found earnestly contending for temperance, sabbath-keeping, purity and truth,—yet probably the cause may in part be looked for, in the inevitable fruits of a state of war, and a better time anticipated when the affairs of the State are settled.

Gov. Robinson arrived to-day. He resembles, in some respects, our late Senator, Hon. F. Gillette; is affable, firm, and evidently possessed of peculiar talents for his present position. A meeting was held in the evening, in the dining hall of the Free State Hotel, at which, interesting addresses were made by Gov. Reeder, Robinson, and others.

We leave here this morning, having, as we suppose, fixed upon a location, after considerable trouble and delay; and it is gratifying to be able to say that, so far, there is no backing out. It is also proper and just to bear testimony to the uniform civility and good feeling of the people of Lawrence. When we remember how recently (less than two years) the first movement in the way of civilization began, it is marvelous that they are able to do so well. I wish, also, especially to add, that my further experience as a boarder at the "Cincinnati House," has fully convinced me that in view of the inconveniences and difficulties that underlie, overhang and surround, the business of boarding-house-keeping, here, it is a highly creditable establishment, and but few women could anywhere be found to do as well as its present proprietress, Mrs. Hale. The new hotel will, undoubtedly, be opened soon, and as soon be filled.

The great want of the Territory is CAPITAL.—Above this point, there is nothing to be bought. All kinds of provisions are monstrously high, because of the great scarcity; and yet there is plenty at Kansas City and Leavenworth. For example, at the latter places, potatoes can be bought for \$1 25, and shell corn at 50c.; while at Fort Riley, corn is worth \$2 50, and potatoes from \$5 to \$10. In these matters, everything is out of joint, and \$100,000 brought in now from the East, could be so used as to bring a splendid return to the capitalists, and do very much to settle and organize the affairs of the Territory. But our teams are about starting, and I must close.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 1, 1856.

GREAT REPUBLICAN MEETING IN NEW YORK.—New York city, usually weak in demonstrations for anti-slavery politics, opened the campaign of '56 by a most effective union meeting for free Kansas and slavery restriction at the Tabernacle, on Tuesday night. It was the first public demonstration in that city for free Kansas, specifically, and in its popular success, and more in the influence of the eminent men of all parties who participated in it, lies a powerful impression upon the country from its assembling and its proceedings. Between two and three thousand names were appended to the call for it, and the Tabernacle hall was crowded through the evening by as good a representation of the learning, the character, the influence, the wealth and the moral worth of the city, as has been found at any political assemblage there for a number of years. Benjamin F. Butler was president, and among the leading and well known citizens who were officially connected with the demonstration were Moses H. Grinnell, Charles H. Marshall, Wm. Curtis Noyes, Anthony J. Blocker, Wm. C. Bryant, Abijah Mann, Jr., E. D. Morgan, Judge Emmett, William Kent, Erasmus C. Benedict, Charles A. Stetson, S. P. Townsend, Oliver E. Wood, William M. Evarts, Rev. Henry W. Bellows, Prof. Horace Webster, Minthorne Tompkins and John A. King. Several of these gentlemen made addresses, besides which were speeches from Mr. Brigham, member of Congress from Ohio, Gen. Nye of New York, Horace Greeley and others. The tone of the meeting, as of the speeches and resolutions, was fully up to the standard of the republican party, and its spirit and enthusiasm left nothing to be desired by the friends of freedom anywhere. That the interior may see how decisively the great commercial metropolis of the nation has spoken upon the great national issue, we copy the chief resolutions of this noble meeting of her leading merchants and scholars:—

Resolved, That the repeal of the "Missouri compromise," the wanton renewal of the political agitation of the slavery question, the enlistment of the whole power of the federal government in the extension of slavery over territory devoted by the most solemn pledge and compact to freedom, the countenance and protection given by the executive of the Union to the violent and cruel tyranny established over the defenseless inhabitants of Kansas by the lawless population on its borders, and the audacious claim that the federal constitution is the charter, and the federal government should be the minister, of the maintenance and diffusion of slavery as a national institution, have forced upon the country the issue of slavery extension or slavery restriction for decision in the impending presidential canvass.

Resolved, That our unalterable attachment to the great sentiment of justice and freedom which inspired the declaration of our independence, and are wrought into the whole fabric of our constitution, our faithful devotion to the dignity, integrity, peace and prosperity of the Union; our reverence for the memory of the founders of the magnificent system of government which has developed and protected the vast growth of this people to its present rank among the nations of the world, and of the great statesmen of the succeeding generation who have firmly upheld what was so wisely established, compel us to postpone all other political questions, to forget all past political differences, and to unite for the restoration of the action and position of the federal government on the subject of slavery to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, as alone compatible with the honor and safety of the republic.

Resolved, That we have heard with great satisfaction and sustain with a cordial approval, the proceedings of the Pittsburg convention, and avow the purpose ourselves to unite, and by every just influence to combine the efforts of our fellow-citizens for the organized maintenance, in the approaching presidential canvass, of the political principles and objects proposed by that convention.

The meeting also initiated measures for a thorough political organization in the city, based upon these views.

Such is the voice of New York. Now where is Boston? Shamefully untrue to her history. To espouse the sentiments of this New York assemblage is to run the risk of being banished from Beacon street society, and set down as "doubtful" in State street; frowned upon by the political snobs who have succeeded to the patriotic gentlemen who formerly made Boston the representative of New England sentiment, and gave it respectability at home and influence abroad; and hooted as fanatics and disunionists by her men of "eminent gravity," who count up the profits of the Chinese slave trade, and treat as idle stuff, fit only for women and fools, all sentiments and undertakings that put no money in their purses.

The Atlas.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 1, 1856.

Kansas Correspondence of the Atlas.

TOPEKA, April 9, 1856.

Mr. Editor.—The thousand wrongs suffered by the people of Kansas—though they cut to the quick here—cannot be told to the friends of justice away. The leading outrages are topics well understood; but the petty insults, injuries and annoyances heaped upon us, are not thought of by our friends. These last make our position in Kansas more irksome, and by them the people of Missouri and of the South opposed to us hope to be able to worry us out of Kansas. The pro-slavery Clerk of Douglas County, so called, and Clerk of the County Court, wrote to his friends, "that his office was but a nominal one; that the free State people would not sue—nor recognize the Courts of the Territory; and, being in a large majority throughout the Territory, the same was the case everywhere."

The officers of the bogus Legislature are at the present time making great efforts to make the people understand that there is such a thing as Territorial law and Territorial officers. Their endeavors to collect a tax having proved futile, they take occasion, when they can get a victim, to squeeze out of him all that their tender consciences will permit. If these proceedings were not the results of evil machinations in high places, and countenanced by high authority, they would afford a good fund of amusement to us—as it is, we see and hear something daily that starts our risibilities, and atones thereby somewhat for the shock upon our moral and social sensibilities. They try men before Territorial Courts for high treason, for having participated in the Lawrence war, and for acting as State officers or members of our General Assembly—it is understood that indictments will be made out against the members of the Legislature not yet arrested, at the next Court at Leecompton, for treason. They make decisions without any regard even to their own laws or to justice; they are perhaps not to blame for not founding decisions on law, as the man in Kansas is lucky who has seen a copy of them. A free State man may as well save himself from the expense of defending himself—it will avail him nothing. They are assessing for the purpose of taxing all kinds of property—a new feature in a territorial government.

It appears strange that so little policy is used by the "Barons"; they might have thought that if republican and constitutional laws had been passed, and mild and conciliatory means of putting them in operation had been adopted, that the people, desirous of peace and quietness would gradually be led under the yoke. But no—they have from first to last openly set at defiance constitutional and moral rights, and have told us, as Stephen A. Douglas told our friends "we will subdue you!"

The people of Kansas stand on their inherent and vested rights. Although the utmost forbearance and prudence has thus far been used by our officers, who have withstood every temptation and insult offered for the purpose of drawing them on to an attack, the elements of strife are so much diffused through the State, that it would cause no surprise should some burst of popular indignation, some rescue of a prisoner arrested under the bogus laws, to keep him from witnessing against a murderer—as in the Lawrence war—set on fire the "Blue" Lodges "over the Border," and a bloody contest take place. We look to Congress and to the people of the North for redress and relief—we have appealed in vain to Franklin Pierce—no feeling of sympathy, no sense of duty is allowed to intervene between him and the goal for which he aims. All the officials in the Territory understand what is expected of them. If they lip a word for Kansas rights, "that moment they are"—decapitated.

If I had a copy of the Herald of Freedom, I would send you one. I send you an extract:

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1856.

GREAT MEETING IN NEW YORK.

THE CAMPAIGN FOR FREEDOM OPENED!

The New York papers bring us glowing and enthusiastic accounts of the meeting at the Tabernacle on Tuesday evening. The Evening Post says:

"It was the most earnest and enthusiastic assemblage which the question of the extension of slavery has brought together in this city. There was an audience, it is estimated, of three thousand people, but as there were many coming and departing almost constantly—departing on account of the difficulty of obtaining a good position from which to hear the speakers—more than four thousand persons must have visited the Tabernacle last evening, and listened to more or less of the addresses made. The speakers were well received, the points they made told powerfully upon the audience, and the more emphatic and animated passages were loudly cheered. An experienced observer of such meetings remarked—'The hearts of the people are in this matter; the feeling which you see exhibited here will spread all over the country, and we shall sweep the free States.'"

SALEM REGISTER.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 1.

REPUBLICAN MEETING IN NEW YORK. The New York papers of Tuesday contained a call for a meeting at the Tabernacle on that evening, of all citizens opposed to the Slavery Extension policy of the present administration, to hear the report of the delegates to the Pittsburg Convention, and take measures to restore the policy of Washington and Jefferson. The call was signed by nearly three thousand citizens, including many of the most substantial merchants of the city. The N. Y. Times says it is seldom that so large a number of the prominent citizens of New York—many of whom have been political antagonists heretofore, and many, too, who have never before been identified with any political movement, though eminent for their participation in the great benevolent and commercial enterprises of the city—have signed a call for a political gathering. The Times considers it a fair indication of the deep hold which the Republican movement has taken of the popular sympathies at the North.

The meeting is reported by telegraph to have been large, harmonious and enthusiastic. Hon. B. F. Butler presided, and speeches were made by Wm. M. Everts, Hon. Mr. Bingham of Ohio, Gen. James W. Nye, Horace Greeley, and Wm. Curtis Noyes. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as unjust, and asserting the freedom of Kansas as the basis of the Republican party. Republican clubs were recommended to be organized in the different wards, to meet with the Executive Committee to elect delegates to a Republican Convention, to be held at Syracuse on the 28th of May.

THE KANSAS ELECTION COMMISSION. A Kansas correspondent of the Tribune says that the commission appointed to investigate the circumstances of the election of a delegate from Kansas to the House of Representatives, have resolved to make Lawrence their head quarters, instead of Leavenworth, as originally agreed upon. The correspondent admits that the commissioners are received and treated with the greatest respect; but half intimates that they will probably sit with closed doors.

The Standard.

NEW-BEDFORD:

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 1, 1856.

The Union at the South.

If we receive the opinions of the Charleston, S. C., papers, as the ultra expression of Southern sentiments, we shall probably be not far from wrong, although these journals proceed seriously in their politics, and unlike the Richmond Enquirer lay down their positions after a very solemn fashion.—

This dignified sobriety, however, adds nothing to the force of their reasoning or the correctness of their views. It rather makes their absurdity the more glaring, as the proof that their bigoted and impossible views on the Slavery question, so contaminate their minds, that truth and justice can find no lodgement therein. At the same time, it is unquestionable that a large class of persons at the South do entertain such views as these from a Charleston paper, which says:

The ensuing Presidential canvass, which will probably determine the fate of the Union, will turn almost solely on the question of State equality. NO ONE CAN CONSISTENTLY OR EFFECTIVELY CONTEND FOR STATE EQUALITY, WHO DO NOT HOLD THAT THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE SOUTH, AND THE SOCIAL FORMS OF THE South are equally *rightful, legitimate, moral and promotive of human happiness and well-being*, with those of the North. If slave society be inferior in these respects to free society, we of the South are wrong AND CRIMINAL IN PROPOSING TO EXTEND IT TO NEW TERRITORY, and the North right in exerting itself to the utmost to prevent such extension.

In these views, it is plain that the peculiar institution; overpowers all other considerations, which it may be presumed would occur to an honest Southerner, such as the indispensable necessity of opposing the extension of Slavery, as much as the South as at the North, and also, the farther need of looking towards emancipation, as a future event of the greatest value to the South. Again, in the following extract from another Charleston paper, the restoration of the Slave-trade is proposed as the only means of saving the Union:

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 measures we propose — [the restoration of the slave trade.] With the certainty of turning the balance of political power, we would have little motive for 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.

A writer in one of these papers undertakes to demonstrate, that it is out of the question to preserve the Union by accomplishing that which is politically impossible, by reason of the inherent nature of man. This, is a pretty strong assumption in the Calhoun style of treating the subject.— If it is contrary to the laws of human nature, to unite a number of States for political purposes, South Carolina would not now be a member of the Union.

The statesmanship of the South, our mode of political thought, our false faith now in the Democratic Party, proceed upon the ground that the Union is our centre of thought, from which we must reason outwards, 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. And the only reason adduced, upon which the writer sustains these suicidal views, is a want of homogeneity in the elements of population. If this be a fatal thing for the Union, our statesmen have singularly omitted to regard it. That the Know Nothing movement respects this, cannot be doubted, yet it would be going to extremes, to assert that the mixed character of our people must destroy the government. On the contrary, the American confederacy was established for the union of diverse elements, and there exists no better reason to-day for its dissolution than at its formation, save in the heated minds of ultraists and fanatics, equally at the North and South. Let the Charleston writer take this ground, and bring himself to believe that opposition, strife, and not the lack of unity in population, is the threatening aspect of the time. Sectional antagonism between the same races will be far more likely to retard the progress of free principles, than

how these matters are managed, and to the facts on record, we beg the attention of the public to the following facts:

A few days ago Mr. N. B. Blanton, residing several miles south of this city, (Lawrence), on the Wakarusa, received a letter through the Lawrence post-office, directed as follows: 'N. B. Blanton, Esq., care P. M., Lawrence, K. Ty.' On the upper right hand corner was printed—'Post Office Department, Official Business,' and signed 'H. King.' It was post-marked, 'Washington, March 5, 1856.' Free. Enclosed was found a letter, the original of which is before us, and from which our compositor copies verbatim:

P. O. Department, Appointment, Office, March 5, 1856.

Sir:—A letter of yours addressed to Mr. Kinney was recently laid before the Department, and attention being thus called to your office, it was discontinued as unnecessary.

Let you may not have retained a copy of the letter referred to, I am desired by the Post Master General to send you a copy, which you will find herewith enclosed.

Respectfully your ob't servant,

HOBART KING, 1st Asst P. M. Gen. N. B. BLANTON, Esq., care Postmaster, Lawrence, Kansas Territory.

Accompanying the letter of 1st Assistant Postmaster General, was the following, retaining the words, bad grammar, &c.

BLANTON, K. T. Feb. 2, 1856.

M. M. KINNEY—Dear Sir:—It is out of my power to come down, and as I am owing you some, I wish you would send me the bill of what I owe, and I will send you the money by mail.

Truly yours, (Signed) N. B. BLANTON.

N. B. Sir—I am informed that your people are preparing to march up here—whether this be true or no—but the people here are preparing for defence. Now, sir, I am not ashamed to tell my intention, and that is, if your drunken soldiers come up here again, and don't pay me for forty tons of hay that they have burned, and five head of beef cattle that they killed and eat, I shall take the sword against them, and nothing but blood will satisfy me. Sir, I am considered by some of your people as a repudiator of the laws of the Legislature. That is true. I glory in repudiating the conduct of such a body, that would grant two charters for two bridges to be built below me, and refused to give me a charter for mine, or even any protection; and, sir, if I do repudiate the laws it is none of the Missourians' business. And when people call me a repudiator they tell the truth on me, for I have done and am still doing all that I can to nullify all that the Legislature has done. This I please to do, but justice demands it. If you are up in the territory call and see me. If the laws of the legislature stand and are in force I am ruined. But if laid aside my interest is secured. Could you expect me to sacrifice my interest to secure yours? No; I have sacrificed enough. I have not been in any of these mob scrapes yet, and do not intend to be. But if the Missourians come up here again, and don't pay me the damage they have done, I will teach them a lesson they will not forget soon. Yours truly, (Signed) N. B. BLANTON.

Mr. Blanton is himself a Missourian, and for the writing of that letter, the Post Office Department declares that the post office through which hundreds of individuals had just written their friends to mail their letters, is declared by its highest functionary unnecessary.

What mattered it to the Postmaster General or his subordinates whether Mr. Blanton thought he had been used well or not by the Border Ruffians, so far as related to a faithful discharge of his official duties. It is true no charge is made against Mr. Blanton, only against the post office, which is no longer needed, because Mr. B. sends documents of the above character to his pro-slavery friends in Missouri.

Mr. Blanton should bear in mind and adopt the language of Cato over the dead body of his son, and

'Content himself to be obscurely good.'

For: "When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway, The post of honor is a private station."

Since reading the above, I have learned from good authority that a post office has been established at McGee's, who has a claim, three miles from Blanton, on the same creek.

Mr. McGee is one of the brothers McGee, whose fire-eating propensities and fanaticism have given them prominence among their fellows.

The business of the office will be very small, as people are not disposed to have their private affairs criticised by prying officials, and it is well known that anything in favor of a free State, or abolitionism, as it is called, cannot get through such an office, if it is known to any one opposed—many of the offices are open to those wishing to search for suspicious matter.

The Commissioners appointed to examine into Kansas affairs, have arrived at Kansas city, and by this time have probably left for Lawrence or Leavenworth. Gov. Reeder and Gen. Whitfield have also arrived, and will probably accompany them in their tour. Our people regard the appointment of this commission as a great triumph in their favor. If Senators and representatives of these days were actuated more by principle, and represented the people rather than parties, we know that the voice of every Congressman, every government officer, and of the whole people, would be raised against the usurpations of our enemies.

Yours truly,

THEMOPHYLEAN.

the honest endeavor to unite in harmony a heterogeneous population.

THE EVENING POST.

THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 1.

WASHINGTON.

[Correspondence of the Evening Post.]

Mr. Buchanan is violently assailed by his opponents in the democratic party for catering for Anti-Nebraska support. His organ here, the *Sentinel*, edited by a thorough-going disciple of Hunter and Mason of Virginia, and a Virginian himself, declares that the only question as regards the selection of presidential candidates, is, who can carry the most northern votes, and that Mr. Buchanan is the man. The New York organ of the same gentleman also advocates his claims, with such arguments as this, that the democratic party is "too much under pro-slavery influences." It will be singular indeed if the southern friends of Douglas or Pierce should be willing to support a candidate brought forward upon grounds like these.

Massachusetts has this session been assailed by southern men in the House with peculiar bitterness. Her Personal Liberty bill, her Emigrant Aid Society, and her general tendency to Free-soilism have made her the mark for the supercilious invectives of Shorter of Alabama, Keat of South Carolina, and others. Two of her representatives have before retorted with becoming spirit to these assaults, but the most signal effort in her defence was that made by Mr. Buffington to-day. This gentleman is a new member, and being a possible candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, much curiosity was evinced to hear how he would make his debut. He however sustained his case with credit to his constituency and himself. His speech was taken up with an eloquent refutation of the slurs cast upon the Old Commonwealth. The history, material wealth, her manufactures, commerce, fisheries, educational institutions, her philanthropy and enterprise, were all eloquently dwelt upon as evidences of her superiority, and compared with the declining prosperity and stagnation of her slave-cursed sisters in the Union. He concluded with a strong defence of free Kansas and of the Emigrant Aid movement, in which Massachusetts had taken the foremost part.

Some passages in Mr. Buffington's remarks were peculiarly effective, among which may be mentioned his reference to the naval career of the famous "Old Ironsides," built of Massachusetts oak, launched in Massachusetts waters, and manned by Massachusetts marines, pouring forth her victorious broadsides." The fact also that he, as well as Speaker Banks, had been a factory operative, added point to his answer to the sneer of a South Carolina member at the "half-starved operatives" of the North. "I should like to know," said he, "where the gentleman will find these half-starved operatives? There are none such in my state, and the late election of Speaker in this House has shown that Massachusetts operatives are not to be despised."

T.

NEW YORK HERALD.

New York, Thursday, May 1, 1856.

The Seward League in the Tabernacle—Their Programme for the Campaign.

We published yesterday a report of the proceedings of the mass meeting of the Seward Holy Anti-Slavery Alliance of Tuesday evening in the Tabernacle. At this anti-slavery levee-feast, there were old party birds of every feather, Benjamin F. Butler, the right hand man of Martin Van Buren in the days of the Albany Regency, being President. Our political readers, especially of the old defunct whig party and of the distracted and divided democracy, will find the speeches and the resolutions of this Tabernacle demonstration very interesting; and perhaps, to many weak and wavering minds on the nigger question, very conclusive and satisfactory. Certainly, there can be no longer any room for doubt that these nigger worshippers are prepared for almost any concessions upon men and upon principles, in order to secure the popular vote of the North upon the main issues of the Kansas question and the spoils.

The Seward Alliance, in view of the feud which has sprung up at Washington between the Pierce and Douglas cliques against the Buchanan wing of the "ferce democracy," and in anticipation of a blow-up or another fizzle in consequence, at the Cincinnati Convention, have recently plucked up courage and have resolved to go into the fight in earnest

In fact, from the increasing symptoms of a regular row and another collapse upon some small potato at Cincinnati, the Sewardites are beginning seriously to calculate, not only upon the probabilities of carrying up the Presidential issue to the House of Representatives, but upon the chances of an election by the people, by the next thing to a clean sweep of the Northern States.

To accomplish this desirable result, we have reason to believe that the first wish of the Seward league, in reference to the democratic party, is the re-nomination of General Pierce. They have found it a matter so easy throughout the North, during the last two years, to form the most overwhelming fusions against him, that many of the nigger worshippers fully believe that with some such man as Fremont against Pierce they would leave the New Hampshire candidate hard aground in South Carolina.

Another bright idea appears to have been adopted as a leading feature of the new Seward coalition programme. We understand that a circular has been issued among them, recommending, as far as possible, an active, methodical organization upon the basis of the wealth of the North, and urging, to this end, all proper diligence and industry for the enlistment of our wealthy Northern citizens in the party whose policy is to be limited for the present to "Freedom for Kansas." Take this feature of the new Seward plan in connection with Col. Fremont and his Mariposa principality of millions untold in value, and we have the circumstantial evidence to warrant the presumption that the nigger worshippers intend to meet in Philadelphia in June, not for the purpose of organizing a party merely, but for the deliberate object of an earnest struggle, agitation and hard cash included, to carry the Presidential election.

There are yet plenty of time, sufficient causes, and an abundance of loose materials, of all parties, for two or three tickets, upon which to make not only a most exciting, but a very doubtful contest. Hence the rising hopes and courage of the anti-slavery alliance. The Tabernacle meeting indicates pretty broadly the policy and platform of the Philadelphia Democratic Convention.

The Independent.

NEW-YORK, MAY 1, 1856.

MISS DUTTON AND KANSAS.

Our columns are so besieged by advertisers that we are obliged to adhere to the rule of a fixed price for each line, as strictly as any of the commercial journals; but there are times when we make exceptions, advertising without charge, and we are glad to do so this week in favor of Miss Mary Dutton's Young Ladies' Seminary, Grove Hall, New-Haven, Connecticut.

There has been much excitement lately on account of Miss Dutton's having contributed to provide some of her neighbors with the means of self-defense, when emigrating to a territory where they would be in danger from wild beasts, and from savage men, whose hands are already stained with the blood of emigrants from free States. Her name has been the theme of ribaldry in prose and rhyme, as if she had committed the most flagrant of offenses. Now Miss Dutton, as her old pupils in all parts of the country know, is a lady of the true New-England sort; and she has only done in her day, what her Puritan and Revolutionary mothers did in theirs. That her name went into the newspapers, and became the target of so many insults from miserable cowards, is no fault of hers.

Miss Dutton's Boarding-School has long been the

oldest school for young ladies in New-Haven, and has a wide and well-earned reputation. There is probably, no Seminary in New-England where young ladies can have better advantages for a thorough and excellent education, or where they will be surrounded by more refining and elevating influences. Parents at the South, as well as at the North, who are seeking a school for their daughters, will remember Grove Hall, New-Haven, Connecticut.

The Threatened Indictment.—A correspondent of the *Rochester Tribune*, writing April 6th., from St. Louis, says:

"A gentleman from Topeka, Kansas, this morning says, that Judge Lecompte has instructed the Grand Jury of the Circuit Court, now in session, to indict the members of the late Legislature and all the judges of the election, which has been done. He fears trouble when they are arrested. Bills have been found against Gov. Robinson and Lieut. Governor Roberts.

Distress of the Settlers.—Gen. Philip C. Schuyler has stated in the *Tribune* that the resident settlers in Kansas have been disappointed at not receiving some help in funds and provisions, which they had been encouraged to expect from the East, and of which they are much in need. The pro-slavery settlers, he says, can obtain needed assistance from Missouri. "But not so with us. We are from one to two thousand miles from our friends, harrassed and beset on every side. Our people generally were poor when they went out, and added to that, a poor crop—the consequence of late emigration last year—and the unparalleled severity of the winter, have been the cause of untold suffering. I greatly fear the effect of this state of things upon the influx of population this Spring. Many will go, with only the means sufficient to get there, and not finding work, and things as prosperous as they have supposed, will turn their faces homeward, as many have done heretofore, to our great injury."

We should think this a case appealing specially to the friends of freedom in Iowa and Illinois, who are strong in resources as well as in numbers.

The New-Haven Settlers.—The *Daily Times* has a letter from Lawrence, dated April 19th.

"Last evening the vanguard of the party from New-Haven, Conn., arrived in this city. The rest of the company, after purchasing teams, provisions, &c., will take up their line of march from Kansas City to Manhattan, where they intend to locate. The whole party are in good health, in excellent spirits, and well armed—each having a Sharp's rifle, revolver, &c.—which insured them a passage up the Missouri river without being molested by the 'Border Ruffians.'

"Every day people are arriving here from the Free States. A large four-horse back came in this afternoon, filled with women and children, mostly from Illinois. The men folks are behind with their teams, coming along as fast as possible, intending to become 'actual residents' of Kansas. They all say there is a large crowd following.

Commercial Journal.

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor and Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 1, 1856.

The Witnesses.

As the inevitable time draws near which is to set the two great parties face to face before the country, upon all hands the leading organs of the people begin to fall into rank and the whole country to take sides with or against the friends of freedom in the Territories. We call attention to an able article in our columns this morning which we reproduce from the Philadelphia *North American*, in which it gives its testimony most unmistakably against these false and most mischievous dogmas of those apostates to the faith of our Fathers—the Pierce Democracy.

Another leading paper now lies before us not a whit less out-spoken and decided on the question of the day. What gives its position more weight, it is published in St. Louis. We refer to the *Intelligencer*. In

an article suggested by the reports of new troubles upon the border it says :

In 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 excitements and led on by reckless politicians seeking self aggrandizement, from the very perils of the country; in all those we never hesitated to take the 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 give 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 clobber 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 prospective 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 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 he 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.*

KANSAS AGAIN.

Every now and then a renewal of the difficulties in Kansas occurs, as though to remind us of the unsettled condition of affairs there, and the necessity for an adjustment. The inevitable Sheriff Jones figures in most of the troubles as prime mover, and accordingly his name appears in a telegraphic despatch just received from the West announcing the failure of a new effort to enforce the enactments of the 'Border Ruffian' Legislature. We use the latter term because it has been taken up in Missouri and the South by the partisans of Atchison as a proud distinction. They seem to consider it something chivalrous and honorable to subvert popular sovereignty and oppress and harass the settlers of a new territory.

It is fortunate that a committee of the U. S. House of Representatives happens to be at Leavenworth city just at the very time the troubles are occurring afresh. They will now have an opportunity of observing for themselves the actual condition of things, and may, upon their return, be able to report, from personal observation, who are the peaceable citizens and who are the violators of personal rights and the subverters of republican institutions. They have no authority, it is true, to interfere for the protection of the oppressed. More's the pity, for if they had, we think they would do justice. But their observation and testimony will furnish indisputable evidence, by which the country may be able to judge on which side lies the right, in this protracted and troublesome contest.

For ourselves, we never had the slightest doubt that it is entirely on the side represented by Gov. Reeder and Col. Lane. Others may excuse the outrages of the Missouri invaders by some alleged misconduct, which they are entirely too eager to believe of the Free State party. Whether Kansas becomes a free or a slave State, is to us a matter of infinitely less consequence than the bold and daring assumption that the people of the North have no right to exercise the privileges of citizenship in the territories of their common country. The poor weak mortals whose nerves are not equal to the task of looking any political crisis in the face, and who fancy that the only way to preserve peace is always to grant what is demanded of them, may shrink timidly from the manly assertion and maintenance of these rights. But as we are not able to see the slightest valid defense for the invasions led by Atchison and Stringfellow, we cannot hesitate to denounce them on every proper occasion.

The talk about resistance to the laws, and the monstrosity of opposing the acts of the officers appointed by the territorial Legislature deceive none but those who are eager to be deceived. Sheriff Jones was postmaster of a town in Missouri when he was appointed Sheriff of a county in which he did not reside. He had not a residence in Kansas then, and it is doubtful if he has now. The body which appointed him resided in the State of Missouri, as he did. It was elected by persons who belonged to the same State, and who by force, prevented the actual residents of Kansas from exercising their lawful rights at the polls. In a country like ours such usurpations derive no legality from the recognition of Presidents or Governors. They are frauds upon the popular rights, and no man is bound to submit to them.— [Phila. North American.

Commercial Bulletin.

NEW ORLEANS:

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 1, 1856.

THE REV. MR. BECKER.—This eloquent preacher and eccentric clergyman, to state his passion for notoriety, has, by his unclerical and even unchristian conduct, subjected himself to animadversions of every kind, from the ribald jest to the earnest and honest strictures of those, who detest buffoonery in the garb of religion, and grieve to witness such a prostitution of talents as the reverend gentleman undeniably possesses. It is said, that his son of the pilgrims has an oily palm, and that his devotions to Mammon are as zealous and sincere as those to the Creator. The Louisville Courier accounts for his initiation of

Peter the Hermit, in 'preaching up crusades and stirring up the peaceably disposed Yankees to war with their brethren in Kansas, from the fact that he has "a pecuniary interest in the patent and manufacture of Sharpe's rifles—apart from a handsome commission on all rifles sold under the influence of his preaching."

Of this, we of course know nothing, but the Courier makes the unqualified statement. One thing is very evident, that if the Reverend Mr. BECKER is not a partner of SHARPE'S, he is the best drummer that he can have; and if he has a spark of gratitude in him, should give him a handsome bonus on all Kansas sales.

But it seems that the avocations of this gentleman are as multifarious as his genius is prolific. He is the puffer general of Wolfe's Schiedam Schnapps, as well as of Sharpe's Rifles. The two commodities are in a degree homogenous and suggestive. A love for gunpowder is rather compatible with a love of gin; they mix well, we are told, and the product is what is familiarly known as "Dutch Courage," an element with which he so zealously endeavored, in the North Church at New Haven, to indoctrinate his Kansas recruits. The following is a specimen of his puff of Wolfe's Schiedam Schnapps:

"It makes us sad to remember the unnecessary days and months of unprofitable chills and fever that we ourselves have had; and if any think that a regular orthodox fever and ague is no great shakes, we heartily wish them a trial of it. But it is all over. Our home missionaries can now go to the most unhealthy river bottoms, with the Bible in one hand and Schnapps in the other, for the very beard is plucked out of this grim monster who has had so long a despotism in Western valleys and river bottoms. The quarterly draughts of missionaries will no longer signify mere cash, but some thing more subtle; for it will, of course, be the duty of the present society to send forth this essence of Wolfe to all their stations."

But the Parson goes on stronger and stronger yet, and says:

"No temperance man should take a boat on the Ohio or Mississippi until he has removed his name from the pledge, for those two rivers are as poison and death from the first drop of head waters to the last eddy at the Gulf of Mexico; and no remedy has ever been discovered for their effects, except brandy or whisky, until our incomparable Wolfe discovered his botanical variety of juniper!"

"With a flask of juniper in our pockets we defy the waters of the world!"

When it is borne in mind that this same WARD BECKER is the son of the Rev. LYMAN BECKER, the first and most efficient apostle in the great cause of temperance, the wonderful merits of Schnapps can no longer be doubted. This is the most extraordinary conversion or perversion from the cause of temperance that we have ever heard of read of.

Daily Democrat.

FROM KANSAS.

LEAVENWORTH CITY, April 27, 1856.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat.

I see you have correspondents from a good many points in Kansas, and especially from that nest of politicians, in the town of Lawrence, who are causing more disturbance now than all the other settlers in the territory put together, and as recent events have caused a renewed feeling to be aroused, I write to give you some of the details.

THE LAWRENCE TRAGEDY.

The news reached here some days ago of the assassination of Sheriff Jones, while doing duty as an officer of the government, and it has caused the greatest excitement. There had been trouble in Lawrence for several days before, the people resisting his authority, and refusing to submit to the laws, when Governor Shannon dispatched a messenger to ask for the aid of the troops stationed at the fort. A detachment was sent forward, and when they reached Lawrence proceeded to make the arrests of those who prevented Jones from the discharge of his duty. The prisoners were then taken, but after dark, while Jones and others were talking in one of the tents some cowardly scoundrel crept up under cover of darkness and shot Jones through the body. It was one of the most atrocious deeds ever done, and if the perpetrator is ever caught he will have a short rope and no time for praying. Many think that this was all planned beforehand and had its abettors among the leaders of the rebellion. Jones was not expected to recover, but at last accounts is understood to be doing better. You can see from this what a time we are likely to have in this territory, this summer, and if those who are in opposition to the laws do not come under there will be desperate work. So much for the last "horror" in Kansas, and people can now see who are the "ruffians."

EMIGRATION.

The immigration is coming in very rapidly, and within a few weeks past quite a large number of arrivals from Southern States have reached here. Northern emigrants, too, are pretty thick, but the former is the largest so far. Last week we had a very interesting meeting to welcome a company of about one hundred and odd from South Carolina and Alabama. There was a most cordial reception given to them, as you will see from the annexed proceeding, &c. from the Herald.

MEETING AT LEAVENWORTH.

Mr. Murphy then welcomed our Southern friends in the following appropriate address:

It is with feelings of the most profound gratification that I see you assembled here this evening for the purpose of a friendly interchange of feeling and sentiment with our illustrious Southern fellow-citizens, who have to-day landed in our young and growing city.

And fellow-citizens from the patriotic States of Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi, permit me as Mayor of the metropolis of Kansas Territory, to extend to you in behalf of a majority of its citizens, the most hearty welcome. To you gentlemen, we can extend the same of fellowship. We will state your motives in coming to our beautiful Territory. We feel assured that every one of you are in favor of sustaining *Law and Order*, of supporting the Constitution of our common country, and that the Southern fire and chivalric spirit which animates your breasts, is a sure guarantee that you will do nothing that will bring, or calculated to reflect discredit upon the Democratic State which you emulate. And many, as fellow-citizens of Kansas, allow me to greet you and once more extend to you in behalf of a majority of my fellow-citizens of Leavenworth City, a most cordial and hearty welcome.

Mr. Bowlin, of Miss., being called for, responded in behalf of the Southerners, in a few well-timed remarks. He said we came as pioneers to live in Kansas fairly and honestly if we can, and out of it if we must.

Mr. Halde man, in response to a call, said he was glad to welcome Southerners to Kansas. The South had at last aroused, and were responding to the calls of duty in a gallant manner.

Mr. Wilkes, of S. C., addressed the meeting in a few soul-stirring and eloquent remarks. He said the right-bands of Border Ruffians, and in certain quarters the name was used as a reproach, but in the South it was synonymous with that of a gentleman. We have left our hearth-stones and the ties that bind us to our homes, to rally around our great and sustaining law and order. He then went on to argue the great principles for which his party contended—equally in the Union with equal rights and equal privileges. He contended that slavery was a common and economical blessing. The country, said he, was bought by the common blood and treasure of the whole country, and as such every man had a right to bring slaves here, as well as any other property, and claim its protection. He concluded with this sentiment:

Kansas Territory—her equal rights—nothing more, nor nothing less.

Mr. Goode, of Ala., was proud to meet with such a cordial welcome, and equally proud to see so many gallant spirits here, both from the South and the Territory.

Mr. Goode, of Kansas, said he came here not to wage war upon peaceable men, but to sustain the laws of Kansas. He gave a severe rebuke to the outlaws. He was for the Union and the equal rights of all. He said the rights doctrine, that slaves were property and could not be forced out of the Territory. He showed that 12 of the 13 original States, owned slaves, and that slavery was recognized in the Constitution.

Mr. Moore, of Georgia, was loudly called for, when the following sentiment was offered:

It is too (to) Good, to leave a little Moore.

Mr. Moore, of Georgia, said he had heard of the anecdote of the Ferryman, and he could assure all that he and his friends could say "cow." They did not come to engage in insurrection, or to incite it, but had come as actual settlers to place our shoulders with yours, to aid in sustaining this government. He alluded to the efforts of the hypocritical abolitionists at the North to send Sharp's rifles here, and he said he would not take them. He said he would keep the laws and Constitution on our side, and we will have the government to protect us. Being in the right, and in a good cause, we can put to flight a host of abolitionists with their Sharp's rifles.

Mr. Dodge, one of the Southern emigrants, said our cause is a holy one. We are with the Border Ruffians as they are called, and regretted he was not on the borders of Mexico. The Border Ruffians, said he, are a clever people, they had the fattest horses, the finest children, and prettiest women, and nobiest men he had seen. A lady, could not be called a border ruffian, but being a bachelor, he hoped to unite himself to one who was born among the border ruffians.

Mr. McLane, gave an account of his trip South, the emigration that was coming, and told that he was taken for Col. Lane, of Lawrence, his narrow escape, &c. It was rich.

Dr. Pelote, of the South, made a few well timed and appropriate remarks. Spoke of the feeling in the South, and what Southern States would do. That the people of the South were not fully apprised of the real state of affairs. They then take the Kansas Territory, and they will find out—Ed. He said he found here a fine country, good climate, as generous, hospitable men, and as good society as in the old Palmetto State.

L. J. Eastin, being called upon, extended a cordial welcome to our Southern friends. He reviewed the course of Breeder, &c., and gave a short history of the reasonable and revolutionary course of the outlaws of this Territory. Several other gentlemen spoke, and a number of sentiments offered, that were heartily cheered.

Altogether it was a joyful meeting—a union of hearts and sentiments—all inspired with a fervent zeal for the one great cause—the rights of the South—and the equal rights of the whole country.

The meeting adjourned with the best of feeling.

LAND AGENTS AND SETTLEMENTS.

Real estate dealers are coming into notice very rapidly in this new Territory, and our lawyers, many of whom act as claim agents, will make a good deal of money. The spirit of rivalry that exists between different town sites and different landings on the river, will have a good effect in encouraging emigrants, and those who once take a look at the country, will not be apt to go away without purchasing. There are a good many of the settlers taking their way towards the vicinity of Fort Scott and the Neosho, which offers just now fine opportunities for stock raising, and will some day be one of the best cultivated parts of Kansas.—The only trouble there, is that there is scarcely timber enough, but that can be remedied in time by planting and hedging. There is a perfect furor for new towns which are springing up everywhere, and if Missouri does not keep a sharp look-out, we will soon be ahead of her. Leavenworth city is improving rapidly, and the price of property rising very fast. It will be of necessity the outlet of trade, for a great portion of the trade of Kansas, and no place now offers better inducements to merchants in a small way, who want to establish themselves in a business that must go on increasing, and in the end become very valuable. I close my letter without having any further news, although we are hourly expecting it. Whatever happens I will inform you of.

ACCOMAC.

F. F. V. -ism in Kansas.

The following choice *morceau*, from their Kansas correspondent, appeared in the Republican a few days since:

Just returned from Leecompton. The committee have gone to Lawrence for the purpose of holding the investigation, and there we split. I went up prepared to follow these to any place but that worst of places in the Territory, and how great was the crowd, I started equipped with a wagon, tent cloth, cooking utensils, servants, 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, because it is contrary to law; and I did not want to run the risk of losing my temper, and I did not want to spoil—though he, I believe, hates them as bad as I do. Having got a claim of land near Leecompton, I shall return in a day or two, and keep you posted as well as I can, from that locality.

Oh! de-ah!

Religious Revivals in Kansas.

We find a letter addressed to the Editor of the St. Louis Christian Advocate, from which we make the following extract:

After having made the first round, I remained at Council Grove during the month of February, owing to the very cold weather, and the lameness of my horse. During this time we had some religious interest here, and were enabled to form a small society. On last evening, from a comparatively small congregation, between twenty and thirty dollars were raised with but little effort, for the purpose of purchasing books for a Sabbath school, which will be opened as soon as you can forward us the books.

This will be a prominent place, both in Church and State, at no very distant day.

At Fort Scott, in addition to our educational operations, we had some religious feeling. A few presented themselves as penitents, and one or two joined the church. On my way to the quarterly meeting, for the Pottawotomie mission in company with Bro. Barney, I came by the way of Paola, the county town of Lykins county. Here we had a very fine congregation for the territory. Some three or four persons joined the church. We raised an amount sufficient to justify the commencement of a church building, which, perhaps, is under contract by this time.

When the call was made for subscriptions, there was one man in the congregation who, not having his money with him, with a noble generosity, stepped forward and assigned to the trustees a cash note of seventy-five dollars. I learn he is a bachelor—an honor to the fraternity.

The country around Paola is delightful, well-watered, well timbered, with fine building stone. If the treaty should be changed, as is desired by the Indians, that country will be open to settlement soon. And if the treaty should not be changed, it will soon be surveyed, shortly after which it will be sold to the highest bidder. Near the town is a fine steam mill, both for sawing and grinding. All persons seeking a home in the territory would do well to take a look at this section of country.

During the time of the quarterly meeting for the Pottawotomie Mission, the weather was very unfavorable, and consequently our congregations were small. But the meeting was not without interest. Some five or six persons presented themselves for prayer, all of whom were converted, perhaps, but one. Here we had some additions.

The quarterly meeting at Tecumseh was attended with signal success for Kansas. Quite a number manifested a desire for salvation, and were not disappointed. The particulars of that meeting will be given you, I presume, by the brethren upon that work.

During the entire round between twenty-five and thirty persons presented themselves as seekers of religion. These I commend to the mercy of God, and ask, in their behalf, the prayers of the church generally. A sweeping gospel shower of divine mercy would save Kansas from internal war and strife. Let the church everywhere pray for this.

Bro. C. B. Rice has gone to Neosho to supply the place of Bro. Jones. Of Bro. Jones I have not heard a word since the St. Louis Conference. Any person giving me his address, or any information concerning him, will confer a favor. My address is the place from which I now write.

Yours respectfully,

W. BRADFORD.

DETROIT EVENING TRIBUNE

and the Detroit Evening Tribune.
Territories of Michigan and Kansas.—The Boston Post article and the Free Press.

MR. EDITOR.—I showed in my last communication that the story told by the "Boston Post," the PIERCE, CRUSHING, slave-making organ of Boston, about General JACKSON'S "striking down" on

"illegal State government" is all and in all its essential parts false. A more foolish fable was never contrived. It is worthy only of a penny-a-line writer for some low periodical which undertakes, for pay, to spread false rumors. There are those who act upon the idea that it is no matter how gross the deception, provided its effect is to promote the selfish schemes and individual ambitions of the inventors. Certainly there are none who understand this kind of chicanery better than the Post, C. CRUSHING, Mr. PIERCE and the slave-making gentry generally. They understand the art. But it remains to be seen whether the attempt now made, will yield any considerable dividend of political gains.

I am inclined to unmask the writer and to exhibit in him an interesting combination of the knave and the fool. As to the Massachusetts Courtier, the FOUCHÉ of the present administration, the traitor to the northern Whig party, the non-combatant General in the Mexican war, the deserter from the cause of liberty, (I doubt not he sincerely loathes the sight and sound of the word,) the author of PIERCE'S nomination, and the promoter, with the tool he has manufactured, of the measures of violence by which the free people of Kansas are to be enslaved, I think I have shown enough to satisfy the reader of his utter disregard of truth, and shall leave him to his new task of getting up a "constitutional monarchy" for this country,—about which I will add a word at the close.

I have shown that General JACKSON, so far from "striking down an illegal government in Michigan," as the Post avers, never expressed the least censure or dissatisfaction with the conduct of Gov. MASON for signing the act for calling the convention of June 1835, although that act was passed nearly five months before that body met; none with the proceedings of the convention; none with the meeting of the State Legislature under it in Nov., 1835; none with their subsequent proceedings during the three sessions before we were admitted;—although during those sessions, which were held in Nov., '35, Jan., Feb., and March, '36, and Jan., '37, that body passed 136 statutes, (as the session laws show,) organizing the State government in all its branches, executive, judicial, and administrative, with courts, taxation, and elections. They even selected Messrs. NORVELL and LYON members of the U. S. Senate in Nov., 1836, Mr. GRAY having been elected a member of the House of Representatives at the general election in the preceding October.

All this government machinery was in actual and full operation from the first Monday of Nov., 1835; and General JACKSON, as well as Congress and the country, well knew it. They knew, also, that after the 25th of August of the same year, no Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan was held. No attempt was made to hold one, either by Mr. HORNER, the Virginia born and Virginia raised imbecile Governor, nor by Gov. PORTER his successor, who died in July, 1836. Indeed, General JACKSON was perfectly aware of the fact, (for the constitution was placed in his hands in Oct., '35, as shown by the Post writer in publishing the letter from the acting Secretary of State to HORNER, dated Oct. 8th, '35,)—perfectly aware of the fact, we say, that the State government was the only local government, de facto, in Michigan from November forward.—He knew, further, that during this anomalous state of things the authors of the State government claimed to have the legal right to establish it, and, in so doing, to oust the Territorial government of all its political functions, and had actually done so. He knew the State Legislature had quietly taken possession of the Territorial halls of legislation; that the office of the State executive was in the same edifice, built by the U. S. for the use of the Legislative Council; that the jails in the several counties were in the hands of the State Sheriffs; that the courts in each were held by State Judges and Justices of the Peace; that all process ran in the name of the people of the State and not in that of the U. States; that corporations were erected, taxes imposed, persons and property seized, and all the public affairs of the people conducted under the laws enacted by the State Legislature; in

that the Territorial government was nothing and the State government everything.

On the 8th of Oct., '35, one month before the State Legislature was to assemble, as required by the constitution, the acting Secretary of State, Mr. DICKENS, wrote to Mr. HORNER, who had then just been appointed Territorial Governor, the letter of instructions above referred to. The language is mild and guarded. Although General JACKSON was perfectly apprised of what the State government party contemplated doing, and afterwards did, he by no means talks about "insurrection," "rebellion" or "treason" as the present executive and his advocates do. He speaks as follows:

It is only now, for the first time, that he [the President] has seen the constitution agreed to by the convention, and submitted to the people of Michigan for their ratification. He perceives, as is represented in your letter, that a new government created by that constitution, is intended to go into operation on the first Monday in November next, and to exercise after that time legislative, executive and judicial powers within that part of the Territory which was formed by the act of January, 1805; and, consequently, that the Territorial government established by Congress is then to be superseded and abrogated within that portion of the Territory.

The President views as natural and proper the desire of the people of Michigan to be admitted to all the rights of a State. It will afford him great pleasure to aid, as far as depends on him, in the early accomplishment of that important object; and, meanwhile, he will not sanction any interruption of the proceedings which they may adopt with that view, so long as such proceedings do not interfere with the due administration of the laws of the United States for the establishment and government of that Territory, and with the rightful exercise of the functions of the officers appointed under their authority. But as he cannot admit that any government which the people of Michigan may desire to set up can, without the consent of Congress, supersede or abrogate that which Congress has established, he trusts that no attempt will be made by any person, under authority supposed to be derived from the proposed constitution to exercise powers incompatible with those which Congress has entrusted to officers appointed under its own authority.

The President is of opinion that the Territorial government now existing in Michigan, having been established by Congress in virtue of the power exclusively vested in that body by the constitution, *must continue until it is terminated by Congress.*—The laws by which it is established have the same force in his mind as any other laws of the United States, and he deems it not less his duty to see them faithfully executed.

If, as the people of the Territory believe, the time has arrived when their present political condition ought to cease, he cannot doubt that Congress, in its wisdom and justice, will readily fulfill the pledge contained in the ordinance of 1787 for their admission into the Union. But until that event shall take place he cannot recognize any other government in Michigan than that established by Congress.

I am instructed by the President to make known to you his views on the subject, and, in answer to your desire to be informed of the course which you should pursue, to state that it will be proper for you, as well as all other officers appointed under the authority of the laws of the United States in the Territory, to continue in the exercise of your official duties until those laws be altered or revoked by Congress.

But notwithstanding this cautious suggestion that the Territorial authorities ought to "continue in the exercise of their official duties," never did he take a step or utter a recommendation for the re-establishment of the abdicated Territorial government or the "striking down" of the State government; never, in a single instance. His respect for real "popular sovereignty," which he never wore as a mask by which to conceal the visage of a tyrant, was too great; his democratic faith and his confidence in the good sense of the people, were too strong and too vital to allow him to raise the sword of power in an attempt to subdue the peaceful efforts of a loyal people to establish a government of their own. Had he done so, there was not an able bodied man, nor, indeed, woman in the Territory but would have taken arms and fought it out to the end, be that end what it might. A free people is never to be governed by the sword; nor intimidated by threats of military force, when their vital interests, their liberties, are assailed. Yes, powerful

as was the hero of New Orleans, he could have displaced the State authorities only by walking over the dead bodies of their fellow citizens. He knew it; and the old man's heroic soul exulted in the thought. He loved free men, and despised cowards and time-servers. Who that is acquainted with the career, the principles, and the courageous devotion of that man to the defence of the weak and oppressed, can doubt that, were he now alive and in the Presidential chair, he would treat the people of Kansas as he did those of Michigan? that he would abstain from all interference with the State government so long as its proceedings were peaceful and calculated to promote the interests of the Territory? Who will dare stand by the tomb of JACKSON and say that he, as the present petty tyrant, his successor has done, would have suffered the borderers from Missouri to invade that peaceable and beautiful Territory, seize upon the ballot boxes, expel the Judges of election, murder, rob and steal, waylay, abduct and torture its unoffending inhabitants, set up a fraudulent, cruel and unconstitutional rule over them, and not have interposed his strong arm for their protection? Such an imputation would be a calumny upon every act of his life, every thought of his great heart, every impulse of his nature. No! Contemning the pitiful clamors of the 300,000 slaveholders and their satellites at the North, such as the Boston Post and Free Press, he would have said boldly to ATCHISON and his co-conspirators, "Hands off!" and if nothing else would have done, he would have made his admonition effectual by the use of gunpowder and bayonet; those disturbers of society would have "gone up," under the "second section." He would not have waited to enquire, whether by thus protecting a weak and unoffending people, he was likely to lose the votes of slaveholders or any body else; he would have done as he did in regard to the recharter of the United States Bank; he would have come boldly out before the nomination and advertised the public under his own hand that he wished it to be distinctly understood that he entered the canvas upon the issue that had been made against him. Never was ANDREW JACKSON governed by his fears of the result of an action which he believed to be right. Never could he have been made the tool of the slave power as PIERCE and CUSHING, the approbrium of the North, have been; for he despised deceit and cowardice, its associate; and like Gen. TAYLOR, was not afraid to do right though all slaveholders should rise in "blackest insurrection" against him.

We conclude by expressing a sincere hope that the State authorities of Kansas will, like those of Michigan, put their State government into actual and energetic operation. They may rely that nothing short of this will save them. It will show their self-reliance. It will attach their friends to them by hooks of steel. It will inspire even the soul of ATCHISON and STRINGFELLOW with respect. It will strengthen the timid, decide the hesitating and indifferent, and show such firmness, fearlessness, and magnanimity on their part, that even the immovable, pro-slavery Senate will reflect upon the danger of excluding them from the Union. And should this bold stand in vindication of their rights, their honor, and their liberties bring down upon them the military vengeance of PIERCE and CUSHING (one of whom once *fainted* and the other did *not* fight), we say, and say boldly, *decide the question by physical force.* Put it to the test of bayonet and bullet! You cannot fall in a nobler cause; for it is the cause not only of yourselves and your liberties, but of the whole people of the United States, as against the encroachments of an unconstitutional tyranny which, if countenanced or submitted to, will inevitably and in a few years subvert the liberties which we now enjoy. Depend upon this, and draw the sword, if draw it you must, under a full sense that if you fall, others in other parts of our common country, will follow you to your martyr tombs in defence of the same rights for which your blood has flowed. Should this baseness of the cause of constitutional liberty—the liberty of speech and of the press and other rights violated and trampled upon in Kansas—fail to res-

cue us from the usurpations and violence of slaveholding tyrants, then has the time indeed arrived for the establishment of Mr. CUSHING'S "constitutional monarchy," under the guidance of a hereditary slaveholding king with the slaveholders of the South for his nobility, and the "yeomanry" of the North for his serfs: Let us show them that this scheme cannot be perfected until the slave power has trampled on the dead body of every non-slaveholding freeman in Kansas or out. If the present contemptible federal executive sees fit to try this experiment, let him do so! We welcome the contest; the contest of blood; LET IT COME! the sooner the better. We prefer to decide it ourselves rather than leave it to our children. If such a government as that established in Kansas is to be upheld by federal bayonets, used chiefly by foreign hands in the employment of slaveholding tyrants, but in the pay of northern freemen, the sooner we know it the better. Let the executive force this contest upon us if HE DARES! He will thus learn whether there are left among us any of the children of Bunker's Hill. A REPUBLICAN.

Daily Journal.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

SYRACUSE.

FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 2, 1856.

Kansas Emigrants from Syracuse and Vicinity.

Those wishing to emigrate to Kansas are referred to the following extract from the last Circular issued by the State Kansas Committee:

The Committee are advised by recent letters from Lawrence, that the Shawnee Reserve will be open for pre-emption claims in about two months. This reserve consists of over half a million of acres and lies between Lawrence and the Missouri river, only six miles from Lawrence.— Gen. S. C. POMEROY, of Kansas City, assures the Committee that the Shawnee Reserve is worth on an average at the present time, for farming purposes, the sum of ten dollars per acre. All adult occupants are entitled to pre-empt one hundred and sixty acres, to be paid for at ten shillings per acre when the same come into market.

An office is opened at New York at No. 299 Broadway, room No. 25 second floor, for the purpose of organizing companies in that city, by J. L. WILDS, Esq., a member of the State Committee, of whom all desirable information can be obtained. GEORGE WALTER, Esq., General Superintendent of the "New York Kansas Land Co." will lend his aid and assistance to the efforts of Mr. WILDS. Hon. JOSEPH BRADFORD, of Utica, RUSSELL HEBBARD, Esq., of Syracuse, and D. R. ASTOR, Esq., of Rochester, will give information in those cities to persons desiring information on the subject of emigration to Kansas.

All letters sent to the Committee should be addressed to the Secretary, and all subscriptions in aid of the enterprise to B. P. WILLIAMS, Esq., Treasurer, Albany.

BRADFORD R. WOOD, President.
H. VAY DYCK, Vice President.
M. GOGWAN,

WM. BARNES, Secretary.

Persons availing themselves of the inducements offered by the State Kansas Committee will secure about all the benefits derived by locally organized companies, and in addition to that the superior benefit of being connected with larger settled communities, giving the greater value to their possessions in proportion to the larger extent of population and improvements. I understand those emigrating under this arrangement are not required to settle in any particular locality, but after arriving in the Territory will be left to select such location therein as may best suit their own convenience and interest.

Several persons have made application to me for tickets to join the Company that is to start from Albany on the 14th of May instant, and I am informed by one of the Committee in Albany, that numerous applications are made there, and there is a prospect that a large number will go out in that Company.— Those wishing to be furnished with tickets had better make application soon, as tickets will not be sent for except upon reasonable application, and in conformity with the regulations specified in the Committee's Circular.

SYRACUSE, May 1st, 1856.

RUSSELL HEBBARD.

LEGISLATIVE. In the Senate, yesterday, two reports were submitted from the special committee upon the subject of Kansas affairs. The majority of the committee reported a series of resolutions which take strong Northern ground, denouncing the interference of the border ruffians, the bogus territorial Legislature, its laws, and the course of the national administration towards Kansas; declaring that Kansas should be immediately admitted into the Union as a free State, and commending her cause to the sympathy of the people of Massachusetts. The resolves were ordered to a second reading.

The minority report, which is signed by two members of the committee, maintains the legality of the territorial Legislature and its laws, and fully sustains the administration.

A bill in relation to Mystic River, Boston Harbor, and the Back Bay, was reported, and laid on the table to be printed.

In the House, a bill was reported imposing punishment by fine and imprisonment for adulterating milk; also a bill establishing a Harbor Master for this port.

THE DIFFICULTIES IN KANSAS. A correspondent of the St. Louis Democrat, writing from Lawrence, on the 20th of April, gives the following account of the attempt of Sheriff Jones to arrest a prisoner, and the resistance on the part of the Free State men:

Yesterday there was considerable excitement on Massachusetts st., in this city, caused by the appearance of Sheriff Jones, of Douglas county. The people of Lawrence preferred not to know of any such case, and of one in an office as he pretended to be, consequently but little respect was manifested for him. At Mr. Christian's office there had been election on the location of a bridge, and several persons were standing about waiting 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, what was going on, Jones stepped up, and 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 20th of Nov. last, and informed Wood of its purpose, and said, "You must go along with me." This Wood justly rebuffed, saying that he wanted to see his wife and children 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 15 minutes he would return and place himself in the same relation to Jones as when was.

Jones refused unless he would promise to return within a specified time, and to 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 round that he was sheriff of Douglas county—was acting under the territorial laws, and in the name of the Commonwealth he demanded assistance. One person then came forward between Jones and Wood, and pressed the report. 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 him as a 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's 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 this 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. 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 laws?"

These questions were answered by a Buxeye, who stated that he did not know that he had seen any officers, and he was certain 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 his friends." The seven men of Jones and his assistant, they were riding toward Leocompton 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 the people here, that these 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

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. Moore, which the latter gentleman objected to and prevented by taking of his coat, doubling up his fists, and 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," and 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 Leocompton.

How this matter will terminate is very doubtful. If a war is what the Administration desires it can be accommodated by resorting to United States troops. 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.

that Kansas will be admitted as a free state, and that it will be time enough for Massachusetts to make laws for the people in Kansas when it ceases to require legislation at home. The report concludes with the following:—

Resolved, That the people of Kansas are free and independent; fully capable of making their own laws and regulating their domestic affairs under the constitution of the country; as they in their judgment shall deem most conducive to their own interests; and that it is inexpedient for Massachusetts to interfere or meddle with their affairs in any manner whatever.

The report is signed by Mr Leavitt, of Hampden, on the part of the senate, and Mr R. C. Brown, of Cheshire, on the part of the house.

Essex County Mercury

AND WEEKLY SALEM GAZETTE.

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 2, 1856.

THE ONLY PARTY QUESTION.

The administration and their friends have fairly and squarely made up their platform for the coming Presidential campaign; and that platform is simply,—adherence to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the extension of

Slavery into all the free Territories of the Union.

The opponents of the administration have no other alternative than to accept the contest on these terms, and to rally on the single practical issue of Freedom in Kansas, in which the whole is involved. The side that true patriots and national union men should take on this question, is clearly indicated in the following quotations, which we take from the published speeches of the two most eminent statesmen of the Democratic and Whig parties.

THOMAS H. BENTON said, in the United States Senate, that the "enactment of the Missouri Compromise" was—

"The highest, the most solemn, the most momentous, the most emphatic assertion of Congressional power over slavery in a territory, which has ever been made, or could be conceived. It not only prohibited it where it could be legally carried, but forever prohibited it where it had long existed."

DANIEL WEBSTER, in his Marshfield speech, Sept. 18, 1848, when alluding to the men who then held the same position on the question of Slavery extension which is now held by Pierce, Douglas, and the rest of the Nebraska Democrats, said:

"I am afraid, fellow citizens, that the generation of 'dough-faces' will be as perpetual as the generation of men. For my part I think that 'dough-face,' is an epithet not sufficiently reproachful. I think such persons are dough-faces and dough-heads and dough-souls, that they are all dough; that the coarsest potter may mould them at pleasure to vessels of honor or dishonor, but most readily to vessels of dishonor."

KANZAS AFFAIRS.

The Washington correspondent of the Boston Daily Advertiser states that the President has not yet received information confirming the rumor of renewed disturbances in Kansas, and the report is believed to have no foundation in fact.

Southern politicians are beginning to be sensible of the folly of abusing the Kansas Emigration Societies which have been formed in several of the Northern States, and are taking the much more rational course of imitating their example. The Montgomery, Ala., Journal, in noticing the departure of 300 men from that city for Kansas, takes occasion to state, from personal knowledge, gathered on a recent trip to the seaboard, that measures are already effected to place in Kansas, before the October election, at least 6,000 Southern voters,—and

The Atlas.

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 2, 1856.

KANSAS MATTERS IN OUR LEGISLATURE.—In the Senate, yesterday, two reports were submitted from the Special Committee upon the subject of Kansas affairs. The majority of the Committee reported resolutions, against which, so far as they go, there can be no objection. They denounce the border ruffians, the bogus Legislature, and the policy of the Government in relation to Kansas affairs. They call for the admission of Kansas as a free State, and in dignified and appropriate terms ask for the sympathy of Massachusetts. The minority report sustains the course of Pierce and Douglas, and is, to say the least, a singular document. We shall have something to say further of both reports.

Ebening Telegraph.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1856

ANOTHER WAR IN KANSAS. In the Senate of the United States, Stephen A. Douglas, speaking for the administration, replies to the petition of the people of Kansas, "We will subdue you," and straightway the border ruffians are again in motion. government officials employ outrageous measures to provoke civil war, and create an excuse for employing the United States troops in the service of border ruffianism. It has been reported by telegraph that there has been more trouble, and that "Sheriff Jones" has been shot. This report may be unfounded, but there has been more disturbance in that quarter, and the following particulars from the Lawrence Herald of Freedom, and from the Kansas correspondence of the St. Louis Democrat, of dates several days previous to the time when, it is reported, Jones was shot, will do something to explain the matter. The following is from the latest number of the Herald of Freedom that has reached us:

BOSTON POST.

FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1856.

Legislative.—In the senate on Thursday the majority and minority reports of the joint special committee, to whom was referred the resolves in relation to Kansas affairs, were presented. The former goes over the old ground of "border ruffianism," etc., while the latter maintains the legality of the territorial legislature and its laws, and fully endorses the course of the present administration. The minority committee are unable to discover any necessity for the Massachusetts legislature to meddle with the affairs of Kansas. They also think there is no doubt

Kentucky, Louisiana, Arkansas, and other States, "backed by Missouri," stand ready at any moment to supply any balance of voters which may be necessary. This is a practical mode of endeavoring to meet the emergency. It shows that the South is thoroughly ashamed of its denunciations of the societies formed in Massachusetts for the purpose of settling Kansas, and that, instead of opposing them longer, it is prepared to enter into rivalry with them. This struggle for Kansas is an unavoidable result of the squatter-sovereignty doctrine. The Kansas bill left the inhabitants of Kansas to decide whether Slavery should or should not exist within its borders. It followed necessarily that the friends and the enemies of Slavery would have a sharp contest for the Territory:—and the emigrants would pour into it by thousands from all sections of the Union. The Northern States were the first to enter the field:—but the South is resolved to make up for loss of time by an excess of zeal.

NEW ROUTE TO KANZAS. A week or two ago, it was stated that the people of Kansas were taking measures for the opening of a new route to that Territory, in consequence of the outrages which are perpetrated by the Missouri ruffians not only upon property but on passengers who seek their way to the Territory by the way of St. Louis and the steamers on the Missouri river. We are gratified to learn, by a telegraphic report in Monday's papers, that the Kansas and Alton Steamboat Company have completed their arrangement, and boats will soon begin to leave Alton direct with passengers and merchandise.

Portland Advertiser.

Friday Morning, May 2, 1856.

Who Wants Kansas Free?

A great many people deprecate the aggressions of slavery, complain bitterly of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, cry out against the border-ruffian outrages, and seem to want somebody to hold them from carrying their indignation into some actual but very indefinite effect. They say distinctly that it is time that a stop were put to this crowding and domineering policy of the slave-power, and profess their readiness to join in any practical movement having that object at heart. That is the substance of their private conversation, and it has all the appearance of downright honesty—but meet those men—some of them—in the midst of a political campaign or at the polls, and you may find them in close co-operation with those who have allowed and fomented the storm of dangers which now overhangs Kansas. What are we to think of such conduct? Does it come from radical viciousness of heart—or is it the fruit of indifference—or does it spring from an easy political virtue which is betrayed by slight and unworthy influences into the wrong path of action?

So far as it results from wrong-headed determination, we cannot hope to deal with it—arguments would be lost and persuasion contemned. But little more hope is there from minds indifferent to questions so grave and vital and, by this time, so thoroughly presented to every man of ordinary common sense. We must regard the inconsistency, therefore, as a phase of that not uncommon kind by which a man, correct in his views, lets his conduct gradually fall away from them through the influence of "easily besetting" likes and prejudices. The professed opponent of slavery too often becomes its practical supporter, and as the maker of new-year resolutions lives all, in the same old way.

We can not glance at all these injurious influences—but there is one so much in danger of adoption that it deserves especial mention. Take, for instance, such a man as we have described at the outset. He is right in opinion and in sympathies—though not very strong in the latter respect. But he says he is willing to unite with all honest opponents of slavery extension, and he means it. But not being profoundly in earnest, his indignation at past outrages of slavery wears off as time carries them backward. Then he tires of having one subject so often presented to his mind, not thinking that the community needs this persistent enforcement. Then he entertains the assertion of the hunker presses that the sympathy of the supporters of free Kansas is all manufactured, is "shrieking for freedom," and such like stuff.—And finally, he begins to make himself believe that the Republican party is no more earnest about keeping slavery out of Kansas than any other—and so he will continue to act with his old democratic friends, or else begin to act with them on the astounding pretence of vindicating old whig principles!

Now it ought to be enough to arrest the tendencies of such a man to have this question put to him: If the Republican party is not working for freedom in Kansas, what party is? Get us all your democratic speeches which have been delivered in Congress this winter, and show us in them one evidence of a frank, hearty and whole-souled determination to save Kansas from the curse of slavery. From Douglas, the architect of all these perils, down to the meanest Buncombe haranguer, you can find nothing of the kind. Rake over the whole mass of democratic newspapers, supporting the administration, from the Washington Union down to our own sweet Argus—and how many editorials will you find which go beyond a forced disparagement of the Border Ruffians and a hearty support of their works? Why, every possible step has been taken by the administration party to embarrass the free-State men and dislodge them from their position; and the leaders are not ashamed to avow it. As to the Whig party, what can it do? It had a convention this week in Maryland, and but a fraction of the State was represented—and that is a type of its power elsewhere. What will it do? Is made a still more painful question by the alliances and coalitions existing in certain quarters.

If, then, the Republican party is not in earnest for freedom in Kansas, we may depend upon it that no other party is, and that slavery will fasten upon her soil. The issue is made up and cannot be postponed. With the result of this presidential campaign, Kansas is either free and, from her position, an immense lever of freedom, or else she becomes a house of bondage and a timely prop to the whole system. The Republican party is the condition of that alternative. If it is overthrown, freedom in Kansas is overthrown—for it is the only party distinctly pledged to that point, whatever may be its sympathies. But if these are doubtful, then we say it becomes men who are in earnest to step in and vitalize the movement, and make it no less effective in act than correct in profession. But the character of our party tolerates no such suspicion. It comes from the heart of the people, its aims are those of the fathers of the republic, its record is clean. But we have shown that, in any event, it is the only party which can possibly help freedom in Kansas.

From the Albany Argus.

A young man in one of the northern counties of this State, has just returned from Kansas, where he travelled 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.

Vermont Patriot.

"We go where Democratic principles lead the way,—when they disappear, we cease to follow."

MONTPELIER:

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 2, 1856.

A Reliable Letter from Kansas.

The whole history of the Kansas excitement has been marked by a systematic scheme of imposing upon the popular mind false statements as to the condition of affairs in the Territory, intended to keep up sectional agitation. It is only since the President issued his proclamation, and thereby gave assurance to the public mind that the peace of the Territory would be preserved, that the country has become cognizant of the frauds practised by the agents of abolition agitators. We find in the Tallahassee Floridian a letter which that paper ascribes to Judge Stirling G. Cato, of Kansas, which will be satisfactory to all who know the high character for integrity and intelligence of the writer. He is at present one of the judges of the Territory, and we have no doubt that his statements represent things just as they are in Kansas:

"DONALDSON, (K. T.) Feb. 20, 1856.

"DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 7th of January, owing to the irregularity of the mails from the snow for the last six or eight weeks, did not reach me till yesterday. I shall have to defer answering some of your inquiries till some future time; I cannot refrain, however, at the present time from answering such of your letter as relates to the character and conduct of the border ruffians, as the Missourians or pro-slavery party here are called. My observation and experience since I have been here confirm all the reliable information which I have received from others; and I can state with perfect truth that no class of people can be found anywhere, in any State, North or South, that are more peaceable, orderly, and law-abiding than these same border ruffians, any statement that may be found in the St. Louis Democrat, or in the correspondence of northern free-soil and abolition papers, to the contrary notwithstanding.

"You can readily imagine the class of population that would avail themselves of abolition aid to get out here; and if you were here on the spot a mere superficial glance would satisfy you of the real quarter in which ruffianism, and lawlessness, and violence are to be found. The first blood that was shed in the Territory was shed by an abolitionist, against whom there is a true bill for murder, and who is now a fugitive from justice, and lecturing in the northern States upon Kansas affairs to abolition crowds, and inciting them to aid in the purchase of weapons, and in furnishing means to resist the laws of the Territory. There have been several other homicides committed in the Territory, concerning which my position renders it improper for me to speak, but I would suggest that nobody here ever gives the least credit to any account of them which appears in a free-soil or abolition sheet, either in the Territory or out of it, the St. Louis Democrat included.

"Mendacity has been reduced by them to a regular system. Their leaders here recently, and when they have had no earthly cause to apprehend any attack from any quarter, and when all other people have been quiet, have had their guards and sentinels round Lawrence as regularly as if in time of war; have gathered and collected provisions, munitions, etc., and have actually presented themselves to their northern brethren as in a state of siege, for the purpose, doubtless, of hastening emigration, and

of blackening and of destroying the character of the 'border ruffians.' This term 'border ruffian' is not considered here as a term of reproach, but, on the contrary, is valued as a compliment, for it marks a wide interval between the abolitionists of Massachusetts Aid Society notoriety and that straitforwardness and truth and honesty of purpose which are justly the boast of 'border ruffians.' If ever any people could find palliations for violations of law, it would be these same 'border ruffians.'

"Their institutions have been attacked by hired instruments sent here by northern fanatics, and everything that is near and dear to the South and Missouri has been clearly disregarded; and no people can be expected to endure patiently and see defenceless women and children fly from their burning dwellings at midnight to seek shelter where they best could find it, especially when this is the work of hired tools sent out here for the purpose, and who are all provided with Sharpe's rifles, and are fed and live here by the same means which sent them here.—These are some of the causes which led to the late 'Kansas war'—no 'border ruffian' attempted to take the law into his own hands, but these outrages were sought to be punished through the ordinary legal tribunals of the country, but these tribunals were repudiated by the abolitionists, and all law and authority openly set at defiance. I would suggest that your people take a few copies of the Missouri Republican, a sound and every way reliable paper, published at St. Louis.

"Very respectfully your obedient servant,
S. G. C.

"W. G. M. DAVIS, Esq."

SOUTHERN KANSAS EMIGRANTS ARMING THEMSELVES WITH—BIBLES!—The attention of the reader is invited to the following news paragraph, which we find in a Southern exchange:

"There is at present a large company of young men at Montgomery, Alabama, gathered from different sections of the South, who are about to start for Kansas. On Saturday last they attended church, and, after the services were over, each emigrant was presented with a copy of the Bible."

What a contrast is here presented to the ruffianly scenes recently enacted in the New Haven rifle church, under the guidance and goadings of Reverend Henry Ward Beecher and Reverend Mr. Dutton, to say nothing of the precocious and ferocious feeling manifested on the occasion by the sympathetic Miss Mary Dutton. No talk of strife and bloodshed—no inflammatory appeals to passions and prejudices—no stirring up of jealousy against this or that section of the Union, or of hatred against this or that institution of a sister State; but a Christian meeting in a Christian church, assembled on this special occasion because a portion of their number, about emigrating to a distant Territory, were desirous of invoking the Divine aid and blessing. The religious services, it would seem, were conducted entirely free from that exhibition of brutal ruffianism which so recently desecrated, "in the land of steady habits," a temple supposed to have been dedicated to the worship of Almighty God; and at the close of the services each of the emigrants was presented—not with a bowie-knife, or a revolver, or a Sharpe's rifle, but with—a Bible!—Washington Union.

From Texas.

The Brazos Statesman states that a company of some fifteen or twenty gentlemen left Waco a few days since to explore the upper portion of Texas on the Kansas line. They intend locating lands in that section of country, but the Statesman sagely and truly observes that if they are not cautious, the Indians will give each of them a permanent location without the trouble of "patenting."

Ebening Standard.

NEW BEDFORD:
Friday Evening, May 2, 1856.

[For the Standard.]

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

Come, ye who have hearts true and tender.
Come, ye who are noble and free.
Raise thy voice for thy brother in bondage,
Breathe a prayer for his liberty.

A voice from the portals of Heaven
Moves every indifferent heart,
Crying, rescue the Slave from his Master,
Save him from the spoiler's dart.

The Fugitive must not be given
Back to the man stealer's hand,
Our home shall shield the outcast,
We welcome him to our band.

Cold is that heart, seared and blighted,
To promptings of kindness and love,
That would give back the Slave to his Master
Regardless of Law from above.

Oh! give me the heart that's alive,
To the anguish and pains of another.
And give me the hand that is ready
To aid an unfortunate brother.

Untiring we'll stand by the cause,
Our banners still higher we'll raise,
Till enactments of better laws,
Bids us hope for brighter days.

May Heaven dispel the dark cloud
That o'er our nation lowers:
Haste the time when man shall bow,
To higher laws than ours.

Fairhaven, Mass. ANNA M. CASWELL.

NEW-YORK SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, MAY 2,

THE KANSAS COMMISSION is as great an eyesore to the Slavery Propagandists on both banks of the Platte as it was to their brethren in Washington. The Kansas correspondent of *The St. Louis Republican* wrote on the 19th ult. from Leocompton as follows:

"The Committee left Kansas City on Thursday in lack, and, arriving at Lawrence the same evening, were welcomed by the Free-Soulers. Friday night that place was wild with shouts of fanaticism and drunkenness on the occasion of welcoming back the notorious S. N. Wood and his company.

"Messrs. Johnson (Sherman) and Howard, the 'majority,' came here on Thursday night, remaining till morning, when they left for Lawrence, where they will stay several days. Their clerks are making some abstracts from Executive files, copying the poll books, and doing other senseless things. They intend, I learn, to summon every voter, and make him answer on oath where he lives, to complete which it will take something less than two years. Mr. Oliver, who is making a very favorable impression on the law-abiding people of the Territory, is now here, doing all he can to get matters through with, while the majority are running after the rebels and fanatics of Lawrence."

IMMIGRATION INTO KANSAS.

Correspondence of *The N. Y. Tribune*.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, Friday, April 19, 1856.

That there is a "tide in the affairs of men" is made evident by the flood of immigration now setting into this State. Our town is crowded with immigrants from all parts. A number of companies are camping here, anxiously awaiting the reports of their exploring Committees, who have gone out to look at different localities. There is a large company from Ohio—one from Connecticut—one from New-Hampshire—and others are daily arriving. There are delegations, also, from different States, who have come out, as Joshua of old, to spy out the land. Pennsylvania is sending a noble emigration also. Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, New-York and New-England are not far behind.

Your correspondent has been in Kansas since it was open for settlement—about two years—and was one of the original squatters on the site where Lawrence now stands.

The emigrants of this season are much superior to those of last year. They come in the face of difficulties and are prepared to meet them. They make allowances which many of those of last year did not seem disposed to, for our inability to afford them all the comforts of older States. The boarding-houses and many private houses are filled. The hotel is about being opened; if the furniture was here it could be made ready in a week. In a fortnight Lawrence will have a hotel superior to any west of St. Louis. Col. Edridge of the American Hotel in Kansas City has leased it. The Colonel is a whole-souled gentleman from the old Bay State—energetic, enterprising and affable. He has, in connection with his two hotels, a line of stages between Kansas City and Lawrence, and is proprietor of the ferry across the Missouri at Kansas City. Mon-

ey is scarce here and, as in all new countries, we need the help of capital. No State offers better inducements for settlement than this.

Emigration is coming in like a flood; land and property are advancing and must increase rapidly in value. If the wealthy men of the North would invest in Kansas they would add to our circulating medium, and greatly benefit us as well as themselves.

Efforts are being made to introduce manufacturing on a large scale in this place. Some branches of industry must be very profitable. Missouri on the east and Arkansas on the south manufacture comparatively nothing. On the west we have an unlimited market—millions of dollars worth of goods are annually transported from the borders of Missouri; Kansas will soon have her share of this trade. It costs from 10 to 15 cents per pound to transport goods across the plains to Santa Fé. Hundreds of tons of soap and candles are sent across the plains, all of which are brought up the Missouri from St. Louis, while they can be manufactured here as cheap or cheaper than at that point 500 miles east.

Lard oil, furniture, plows, carriages, woolen goods, are all imported from St. Louis. Lard and wool are sent 400 to 500 miles to be manufactured. We have plenty of timber for furniture, plows, carriages, and the like.

Enterprising men may acquire fortunes rapidly by starting these manufactures—not only in Lawrence, but in all parts of the State. St. Joseph on the Missouri has some manufactories, but would not be a formidable competitor in any branch. THERMOPYLEAN.

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1856.

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

THREATENED RENEWAL OF THE DISTURBANCES.

Attempt of Sheriff Jones to arrest S. N. Wood, and Others.

Resistance to Border Ruffianism—Great Excitement—Prospects.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Sunday, April 20, 1856.

There is no day of rest for Kansas. A new excitement has sprung up, which promises to result in serious consequences. In order to convey a correct idea of the state of Kansas, it will be necessary to speak of some of the occurrences of the past few days.

SHERIFF JONES ATTEMPTS TO ARREST WOOD.

Yesterday, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, our town was suddenly surprised by the news that Sheriff (S) Jones was in town, trying to arrest Wood; that a fight was expected, &c. But before we could reach the spot where the occurrence took place, Jones had departed, running his horse towards Leocompton. I soon learned the whole case, as follows:

As Mr. Wood was sitting quietly in the office of a brother attorney, Mr. Jones entered with two of his friends from Leocompton, constituting what he terms his posse. After the common-place salutations, Jones said to Wood, "You are my prisoner—I have a warrant for you," to which Wood seemed quite indifferent, and coolly responded, "I guess not." "Yes, I have," said Jones; and then he read to him the warrant, which was the same one he has carried in his pocket the last four months, issued by Justice HUGH CAMERON, for aiding in the rescue of BRANSON. On hearing it, Mr. Wood said he wanted a copy of it, and requested the privilege of going to his house to copy it, promising that he would return in fifteen minutes. Jones refused to either let him have a copy of the warrant or go to his house. After some further conversation of a similar character, Mr. Wood started to walk out. At this, Jones seized hold of him, and said he could not go, for he was his prisoner. Wood continued to work himself along towards the door, while Jones held him by the collar, until, before Jones was a ware of it, they were both outside, in the street. By this time a crowd had gathered around "to see the fun," and among them were a large number of the Ohio boys, who came out with Wood.

JONES THREATENS VENGEANCE.

Jones seemed greatly excited and called to the crowd to "HELP," but as he had not told them which party to help, some who stood nearest interfered and prevented any violence, by separating the parties. As Wood was walking towards his house he came in contact with Jones again, a few minutes afterwards, when he used violent threats and was feeling about his belt for his pistol, but before he could find it some one of the crowd drew it from him, and he has been unable to find it since. This makes two pistols and one coat Jones has lost in this town when engaged in similar business. After Wood had gone to his house Jones remarked, that he would arrest him even if it cost every life in Lawrence. He then rode off with his posse, as before stated, towards Leocompton.

JONES' FALSEHOODS.

It is ascertained that he went there and told

accomplices that he had been to Lawrence during the last session of the Court at Tecumseh, and that he went as United States Marshal with a District Court process. He further told them that ROBINSON and REEDER had returned and were making public speeches, urging the people to resist the laws and inciting them to violence and rebellion, all of which is *basely false*. Leocompton is headquarters of the Pro-Slavery inquisition, and they receive a large share of the Southern emigration. As might be expected, there was no little excitement on hearing JONES' story of his abuses at Lawrence.

We are satisfied from several circumstances that they held a consultation in which OLIVER, WHITEFIELD, SHANNON & Co., were the principal advisers for the purpose of carrying out the programme, and, if possible, make some capital out of the affair, while this Committee were on the verge of an examination. We know nothing further of their movements, but expected to see more of JONES from the manner in which he left yesterday.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

About noon to-day he rode into town again, with a posse of some fifteen, one of whom is a resident of Lexington, Mo., and another was the leading member of the Shawnee Legislature. Quite contrary to my views of propriety or personal merit, our people gathered around them from *curiosity merely*, and nothing more, for many of the "bloods" are fond of making fun of the *position* rather than the man, whenever JONES is present, as Sheriff of Douglas County, and "joke upon facts" in a manner not at all pleasant to him. He soon called about twenty of our resident citizens, whom he recognized by name, and told them he wished them to constitute his posse, with these he had taken with him; and then, without giving any notice of the person he wished to arrest, or the character of his offence, or the authority by which he acted, he stepped up to a young man named MUNROE, and told him he was his prisoner. At this MUNROE seemed indignant, and threw of his coat and dared JONES to molest him, saying he would ask for no aid from the crowd. JONES drew his revolver, and still MUNROE challenged him to "pitch in," although he was unarmed. By some means JONES left him—it would be cruel to say it was owing to his cowardice—and turned upon MR. TAPPAN—the correspondent of the St. Louis Democrat—calling him his prisoner. TAPPAN at once began to revolve his fists, telling JONES that he stood in no fear of him. The chance seemed excellent for a fist fight for a while; but without interference or the least outward attempt to rescue, JONES walked away into an office near by, in company with his attendants. Soon after, a few of our prominent men were admitted to learn the character of the charges alleged, and of the authority he was recognizing. He stated to them freely, and manifested some pride in making it emphatic, that he came here under authority given him by the Territorial laws, with a warrant issued by MR. CAMERON for S. N. WOOD and MR. MUNROE; and with a warrant given by Justice CHASE for MR. TAPPAN, and several others, for *rescuing MR. WOOD* from him yesterday. He stated that he should arrest them all, and if his present force could not secure them, he would bring here enough that would. He soon rode away again to Leocompton, and left us to wonder what would come next. So stands our case to-night, and unless I am arraigned in a bogus Court for contempt of Sheriffs, I will write you again to-morrow. RANDOLPH.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Monday, April 21, 1856. CALL FOR MILITARY AID.

I have but little to say to-night, except to repeat the rumors that have been current through the day. JONES returned to Leocompton last night, and created considerable stir by informing them that he had failed again to arrest WOOD, TAPPAN and others, when the truth was, he didn't see WOOD while he was here yesterday, and of course no one could oppose his arrest. SHANNON waxes wile again, and our informant—who is by the way a good Free-State man—says he heard him tell several men who were on their horses, just ready to leave, to go to certain points in the Territory and rally every one they could for the purpose of aiding JONES in making an arrest in Lawrence. I have not heard that he has issued a Proclamation yet, to that effect, but it is understood that he has "turned up" again, and calls upon the militia of the Territory to carry out his one-sided devices. I hear also that he has telegraphed to Washington to get instructions to call out the Leavenworth troops to help catch his high offenders. A messenger has just returned from Leocompton saying it is expected there that the troops will be with them to-night, but I don't credit the rumor, for it is too early for a notice to reach them and then march fifty miles. At Westport they were under drill Saturday and Sunday, and talk large words about coming once more for the last time to wipe out Lawrence. But that kind of talk has become stale with us here, and we can hardly feel that anxiety and insupportable foreboding that hung over us last winter. For we know this is all planned for effect; and JONES remarked after leaving us on Saturday, that he had accomplished what he intended to. He had got up another row he believed, and the country will hear more foolish

things of course thereby, or the success of the County, that was driven out of town by a woman. We are not making great preparations for a collision, for we can't feel that it is necessary. When that has been proved to us, "we are in."

PRESENT CONDITION OF AFFAIRS.

Now how does it stand? JONES comes with a warrant issued by a Territorial Justice, and acts as Sheriff of Douglas County, because he knows, that as long as we can gather strength to resist, we will never recognize them as legal enactments, nor its Sheriffs as legal officers. He has already been sworn as United States District-Marshal, but when here he takes particular pains to tell us that he don't come in that capacity, but as Sheriff, &c. Also he could in ten minutes get a legal process from Judge LECOMPTON, if we have criminals here, and then our people would have no desire to see him molested or his criminals rescued. But, no. He understands what will get up a demonstration best just now when the Committee are among us, and the whole plan is laid for him at Leocompton by the "rectified spirits" of Slave Propagandism, and even the words are put into his mouth that he must use when "in the damned Abolition, emigrant-aid town of Lawrence." We have no organization yet to offer any resistance to JONES or any other man, and WOOD and all others implicated are about town as usual. Whether they will if the United States troops come into the play, is doubtful, but for the present we claim our old appellation of "peaceable, law-abiding citizens," as we understand it. I do not wish to raise any false alarms, but will merely suggest to all interested, the propriety of letting this Yankee town alone *severely*.

THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

Last Friday, a party from Ohio, numbering nearly one hundred, all well armed, under charge of S. N. WOOD, of this place, arrived in town. The same day Gov. ROBINSON, Senator REEDER and the Washington Committee, (with the exception of OLIVER,) and their subordinates, arrived also. Besides, were Col. PERCY, and a small party from Providence, R. I. In the evening a meeting was held in the Free-State Hotel, when Gov. ROBINSON, Senator REEDER, Mr. SIMS, of New-Haven, Col. PERCY and others, made very stirring speeches, and all hearts seem to welcome anew our friends from the States.

Messrs. HOWARD and SHERMAN, soon for Leocompton to obtain the records of meetings, elections, &c., necessary for their examination, and returned to this place last night.

Gen. WHITEFIELD passed yesterday and is now at Leocompton, in council with SHANNON, OLIVER and other arch spirits of their dye, preparatory to bringing the black records of their unprecedented career before this Committee. Gen. WHITEFIELD, when in conversation with a Pro-Slavery friend at Leavenworth last week, said: "We stand—d—d bad before the country now, especially at Washington, and I would like to bring about something, if possible, to prejudice the Committee against this Free-State movement!" RANDOLPH.

Newspaper Accounts.

THE PRO-SLAVERY SIDE.

The St. Louis Republican's (Pro-Slavery) account of the difficulty is as follows:

The Sheriff and his posse returned to-day from Lawrence, without WOOD; he was barricaded in his house, and strongly guarded. They attempted to take one or two other prisoners, but were forcibly prevented. While in Lawrence, the Sheriff and party were groned at, hissed, threatened and cursed—every thing was done to aggravate them to commit an assault, so it is believed, that the fanatics might have had excuse, however poor, to maltreat and to shoot, all of them. They hate JONES, and would like to have a chance to take his life in a row. After using all due means to arrest the prisoners, the party left, and returned home about 4 o'clock.

The question then on everybody's lip was, "what will the Governor do?" All was excitement; Council after Council was held; men hurried to and fro; the Governor looked thoughtful; the Secretary seemed uneasy; General WHITEFIELD appeared determined; the settlers gathered in from their claims, and all were on tip-toe waiting for the news of what was to be done. Some wanted the Sheriff to summon a posse of two or three hundred, who should go to Lawrence and take the prisoners at all hazards; but his reply was, "I would not do that, and I was agreed that the Governor should issue a call for a small detachment of United States troops; and accordingly an express rider will start from here in a few moments for Fort Leavenworth, with orders for Col. SWINER to send on the detachment. The idea is this: The Abolitionists refuse to acknowledge the call after it is issued, and they promise to do so in order to save their necks in December, and *virtu* are to be put in the hands of the Sheriff, not only for WOOD, but for all those who forcibly rescued him from Jones, and they are to be taken with the aid of a small force, if it can be done, but to be taken if it requires all the Government troops in the Territory.

From the Missouri Democrat, (Free State.)

LAWRENCE, Tuesday, April 22, 1856.
I re-open my eyes to-day, and bring you by a gentleman who has just arrived from Westport, we learn that JONES, on his return to Leocompton, made a statement to Governor SHANNON, who immediately wrote a dispatch, and a messenger was sent to Kansas City to telegraph to the President that the people of Lawrence were in open rebellion, setting the officers of the peace, and asking for aid in order to call out the troops to put it down. The SHANNON declares that WOOD, TAPPAN, MUNROE 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 Leocompton 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.

From Putnam's Monthly.

THE REAL QUESTION.

The recent exciting and protracted contest as to the organization of Congress, was significant in more respects than one. It was a topical symptom of a general state, showing a large amount of derangement, and yet a tendency to recuperation.

We saw the representatives of the people brought to a deadlock by the antagonism of parties, each pulling a different way with no one strong enough to prevail, and no two seemingly ready to coalesce. For two months, nearly, the usual course of legislation was suspended on the settlement of a preliminary dispute as to the Speakership. Yet the House of Representatives was never more truly representative than in this temporary paralysis of its functions; for the whole nation is in pretty nearly the same predicament. Its politics are decimated, if we may use the expression, not by well-defined parties, but by numerous opposing factions. Their conflicts, but for the serenity of the subjects involved, would exhibit as droll a spectacle as Marryatt describes in his triangular duel. The Republicans, taking a pistol in either hand, fire away at the Democrats and the Americans; the Americans, doing the same, fire at the Republicans and the Democrats; while the Democrats, again, discharge their pieces at the Americans and Republicans. Everybody shoots at everybody else; and everybody, let him aim in whatever direction he will, is sure to aim at an enemy, who is also aiming at him, thus rendering the exposure equal, and the chances of sudden disaster somewhat even. It was evident, however, during the struggle in the House, in spite of the seeming and superficial differences of opinion among the several factions, that there was, radically, but a single issue. Each member felt, as he gave his vote for this or that candidate, though he was not always ready to avow it, that the turning-point of all was, the questions of slavery. All the other questions, which may have operated in forming little knots of voters, were incidental, or aside. Like the small eddies which whirl about in the very current of the principal vortex. Banks and Aiken were the leaders of the hosts between which the real battle was fought, while they who shouted for Fuller, Zollicoffer, and what not, were only deserters from the main ranks, or camp-followers and marplots.

Nor were leaders ever chosen with more instinctive wisdom, considering the peculiarity of their relations to this predominant issue.—Mr. Banks was a man of the people, who has risen by his own efforts from an humble mechanical occupation to a high political office; while Mr. Aiken was a slaveholder, one of the wealthiest of his class, endowed with all the better qualities of that class, and as sincere as he was strong in his geographical convictions. Mr. Banks represented the state of Massachusetts—itsself the best example of a free condition of society to be found on the face of the earth; while Mr. Aiken represented South Carolina—long distinguished as the ablest exponent of both the opinions and the influences of the slave-civilization. In these, their champions, therefore, the two social systems of the North and South were pitted against each other, and for the first time so openly and directly, in the history of our national existence.

In the same way, the nation in the midst of the parties and agitations by which it is distracted, recognizes the fundamental and vital question to be that of slavery. Wink it out of sight as we may, or complicate it as we may, it cannot be disguised, that slavery is the single real element of party divisions. Openly or secretly, it controls the action of all parties. They came together, as in the case of the Americans, for other ostensible purposes; but before they separate, are fiercely at loggerheads about this matter. Every ancient party-organization has been sunderey by it, and their members in forming new party ties, are almost exclusively controlled by it. The first condition they enact, before joining any body is, that it should think thus and so of the slavery question.

But what is the slavery question? What is the real issue at the bottom of the excitement which gathers around this word slavery, as a nucleus? Let us answer, in the first place, that it is not a question as to the merits of slavery in itself, or rather in its adaptation to those communities in which it already exists. With the exception of a certain class of philanthropists, who conceive it their duty to wage war against every form of what they deem injustice everywhere, we know of no class in this country who wish to interfere with those communities. At any rate, there is no distinct or formidable political party professing such an object. A great many individuals at the North, as freemen, not indifferent to the cause of humanity, claim the right to consider and criticize Southern society, just as they do the various societies of Europe and Asia. But the great body of the people have never evinced any aggressive disposition beyond that, and are willing to leave the practical treatment of slavery, in the states, to those who know its evils, and are presumed best able to devise a remedy. What concerns them solely and exclusively is, the relation of slavery to their own interests and responsibilities. It might be conceded that the peculiar socialism of the South is the best for it, under the circumstances, that human wisdom can conceive; or, that it has the divine sanction—being equally beneficial to

the white and black races, without touching the marrow of our dispute.

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

“From camp to camp, through the fatal womb of night,
The hum of either army stilly sounds;”

and long before our article shall be read, perhaps, the din of civil war will have broken the distant solitudes.

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

As to the first aspect of it, we are all aware what the facts of the case have been hitherto; we are all aware, that for many years the interests of slavery have carried the day completely, in nearly every department of the national government. The executive has always inclined to that side, and so has the judiciary, and with occasional exceptions, both branches of the legislature. It came to such a pass, indeed, at last, that no man, whatever his capacities or claims, who was allowed to hold the lowest office of profit or honor under the general government, and much less to achieve any of its higher places. It is true, at this hour, that the most illustrious poet of his country, that its most illustrious historian, that its most illustrious philosopher, that its most illustrious novelists (were she a man) could not be made a gate-keeper of the public grounds at Washington, if he desired to be; and that for the simple reason, that having formed a different theory of social life from the one which he obtains at the South, he has been honest enough to express it. Even the most eminent statesmen of former days, our Jeffersons, our Franklins, our Jays, and our Adamsons, could they

arise from their graves, and write what they once wrote, would be excluded forever from political employment. Thus, the men of the North, who are born to freedom, who are cradled to rest by the songs of its surges as they roll in from the lakes and oceans, who inhale it with every breath blown from their eternal hills, and who, should they fail to extol it, would be recreant to the earliest and deepest inspiration of their lives, are begirt by an intolerance more exclusive than that which disgraced the ostracism of the Athenian demagogues, or the interdicts of the mediæval papacy. The men of New England, and New York, of Ohio, and Wisconsin, are yet called upon to adopt the peculiar sentiments of the men of Georgia, and Texas, or at least to hold their tongues from the temerity of criticism or disapproval, on pain of political banishment. Let them but once whisper abroad any disparagement of slavery, though it were in the friendliest tone, with the sincerest convictions, under an earnest and conscientious sense of its important bearings, and straightway they are marked men.—Now, against this they contend and protest; it is a dictation so arrogant, that to submit to it would be to deserve it; and every impulse of self-respect, honor and liberty, prompts them to avoid that humiliation.

The more immediate and pressing aspect of the great controversy, however, is that which relates to the future destiny of the territories. It presents this simple alternative—whether, contrasting the effects of the free condition of society with those of the slave, we ought to abandon our virgin soil to the occupation of the one, or solemnly consecrate them to the use of the other? As a nation we have had a broad and ample experience of the influence of both systems on the prosperity of States, and we are summoned to a decision between them. In this view, the question is one, we repeat, not of races, nor of abstract theories of rights, nor even of religious convictions, (although all these will influence the decision,) but of actual facts. Demonstrated before us, lie the results of two social experiments, and we are asked, in the light of those demonstrations, to determine which it is best to apply, in the formation of our young and incipient communities. A brood of such communities is growing up under our fostering wings; our duty is, to launch them in the world, as a good parent would send forth his sons, furnished with the best appliances for a healthful, sober, manly, and generous career; and the choice lies in this—whether that furniture shall come from the pens and plantations of slavery, or from the factories and free-schools of freedom.

There could be no better illustration of the proper solution of this problem, than the experiences of the two states, which lately appeared, through their representatives, in the congressional arena, as the standard-bearers of either party. Massachusetts and South Carolina are both old, and both sea-board States, which took a conspicuous part in our revolutionary war; which were present at the formation of the Constitution; which have since grown, side by side under their characteristic systems; which cling with great tenacity to the principles of these, and which are remarkable for the vigor with which they represent the effects. At the outset, South Carolina was about four times as large as Massachusetts, territorially, and is still; but this advantage is partly compensated by the fact, that Massachusetts began with about one-third more total population. Massachusetts, however, was democratically organized into a system of separate, and almost independent townships, each a centre of government in itself, while South Carolina, from the necessity of the case, was centrally organized into parishes, having little or no authority, and, for the most part, dependent on the principal, or state government. The people of Massachusetts have retained that organization, and with it, the most entire freedom of every inhabitant; while the people of South Carolina have also, with slight modifications, retained their system, and with it the servitude of nearly the whole laboring class.—Now, what have been the effects on the prosperity of each of these two contrasted constitutions?

The elements of national greatness, in their three-fold material, intellectual and moral forms, are universally summed up under the heads of population, productive industry, the diffusion of wealth, international improvement,

popular education, and social order. But who, that has ever traveled over the two States that we are considering, or taken the pains to compare the statistics as given in the usual authorities, can have failed to remark their broad and striking differences, in all these respects?—Supposing their social systems equally well adapted to their respective localities, and the genius of their people, there is a notable disparity in the practical results.

On the one part we behold a considerable progress, but on that of the other a prodigious one. On the one side, we behold a large and fertile soil, under a delicious climate, thinly peopled and poorly cultivated; and, on the other, a barren soil, under inclement skies, teeming with towns and cities, and cultivated to the extreme. On the one side; the industry, though productive, is, in many respects, careless, thriftless, and improvident, confined to a few branches which increase slowly: while on the other, the productiveness of the industry exceeds that of any part of the globe, excepting a few sugar and coffee estates of the torrid zone, and is richly varied and advancing. On the one side is a slender commerce, and on the other a commerce which sweeps the seas. On the one side are bad roads, and a few of them; while on the other is a chevaux de frise of railroads. On the one side is a puny and unproductive intellectual activity; and on the other, an intellectual activity which leaves no child untaught, and scarcely a man unlettered. On the one side is a society irrevocably divided into castes, where a debased and inferior race grows in numbers and strength, to the increasing embarrassment of the superior race, and amidst the derision of the civilized world; while, on the other, is a homogeneous society, where every man enjoys the means of the highest culture and the securest happiness, and the future expands and brightens, with new prospects of social achievement. Every year is plunging South Carolina into deeper troubles and dangers, from which her most sagacious and even hopeful minds see no escape but civil war; while every year is lifting Massachusetts toward a more secure and benignant eminence of christian civilization.

Our argument does not mean to assert that South Carolina ought to adopt the institutions of Massachusetts, because we have no occasion to go into such an inquiry here; but what it does assert is this, that if a high degree of prosperity be desirable to a nation, if a thriving population, if universal industry, if the rapid increase, and equitable diffusion of wealth, if general improvement, if education and religion, in short, if a harmonious growth and widening prospects for the future, be the tests of that prosperity, then the institutions of Massachusetts are vastly better in themselves, and in respect to all communities in which they are practicable, than the institutions of South Carolina. We say, that the experience of these states has shown, incontestably, the superiority of the free condition of society, and that we, as honest patriots and Christian men, are bound, by all human wisdom and all divine law, to prefer those institutions, where either may be adopted, as in our new territories. We are bound to secure to our friends and descendants in those regions, to which, under our guardianship, they have removed, every highest guaranty and facility of future well-being.

But the superiority of free society, so signally exhibited in the contrasts of the two great and powerful states we have named, is confirmed by the experience of all the states. The relative position of the free states, compared with the slave states, is accurately denoted by the relations of Massachusetts and South Carolina. Free society is always on the lead; and one of the established principles of political economy is, that it must be so—that it cannot be otherwise; that God would be forgetful of the laws he has implanted in the human constitution, and in the universe, if he did not render freedom the most benignant of all conditions. Mr. Henry C. Carey, in a most valuable book of his, has shown, by a rigid induction from the statistics of four nations—India, France, England, and the United States—that in everything which involves the success, the happiness, and the moral elevation of their people, their eminence is in a precise ratio to their political freedom. He proves, specifically, and beyond a doubt, that, in respect to the

security of person and property; in respect to quantity and quality of work; in respect to equitable distribution of wealth, and exemption from taxes; in respect to facility of intercourse and habits of industry; in respect to purity of marriage and growth of population; in respect to the absence of crime, and even of disease; and, finally, in respect to literary and religious instruction, the condition of nations is measured by their freedom. It is such an overwhelming demonstration as no defender of despotism, in any of its shapes, has ever undertaken to refute, or even cared to notice.— Yet a similar demonstration is possible, in regard to the free and slave states of this Union. It can be shown, as it has been already, we believe more than once, that a clear line of distinction separates the two, in all these elements of high civilization. And how could it be otherwise! The condition of slavery, confining its laborious classes, for the most part, to simple agricultural labor, does not stipulate, and scarcely admits of that variety and magnificence of product, which is the mark of high physical development, whilst it is still more deficient in the means of intellectual and moral progress. Its superior class often attains the most elevated point, both of character and culture, but its masses, and here and there an individual exception, cannot rise above the lowest level.

All this, however, needs no protracted discussion. Do not the nine hundred and ninety-nine men, out of every thousand, at the North—yea, more than that—honestly believe, that a free society is, in every sense, preferable to a slave society? Are there not thousands at the South, who believe the same thing, who openly confess the superiority of the former, and justify the continuation of the latter solely upon the ground that it was an unavoidable inheritance, of which it is now difficult, if not impossible, to get relieved? We have ourselves conversed with many such men; we could cite, if we liked, from books, innumerable such opinions; but, indeed, this view is so almost universal, that we need be at no pains to prove its existence.

We ought, perhaps, to except a few southern speculators, who, following the lead of Mr. Calhoun, have not only asserted that slavery is a positive good, and a finality, but who profess to have discovered the most alarming weaknesses in free society. They see in it a thousand elements of evil—in the relation of labor and capital, a future war between the rich and poor—in its excitability, the seeds of a desolating fanaticism, and in its party violence a most speedy anarchy. Poor fellows! were there ever theories more excessively shallow!

No observant man is, of course, insensible of the many lingering defects and evils of our free society. If he has studied it minutely, he will not regard it as by any means perfect or final; but, on the comparison of it with other societies, and after every abatement, he will come to a quite positive conclusion, that it contains facilities for reaching every imaginable future as well as present, social excellence, greater than any other that now exists. Taken as to the general result, he will see that the civilization of our free states is not only considerably in advance of that of any other part of the globe, but is of such a spirit and structure that it will continue, for many years yet, to keep in advance. What civilization can be named its superior! That of Turkey, Russia, Italy, Austria, Spain—the suggestion is ludicrous! Outside of England, France, and the north of Germany, which surpass us in certain special aspects, there are no nations to be named on the same day with New England, the northern middle states, and the settled parts of the West. We do not mean that these have actually achieved all the finer social results of European life; but that, apart from their own peculiar attainments, they are in a condition to appropriate the highest existing social culture.— Without sacrificing their characteristic virtues, they are rapidly adopting the best refinement of others. Nowhere else do literature and art spread so widely among the people; and nowhere else is domestic life so readily blending the genialities and graces of intercourse (before impossible to its newness) with that purity, which it always had and still retains.

The terms of our free society, being alike flexible and fixed, preserve the security of law, while they give ample scope to the movements of progress. That dissolution especially which

the aforesaid speculators fondly predict for it, in consequence of its fanaticisms and turbulences, is an event the most remote; for its very freedom is its defense; and the errors which arise in it, like the vapors of the night, are dissipated in the morning by the light of discussion. When the mind is exempted from compressive restraints, its natural activity is displayed in novel schemes of thought as well as in mechanical contrivance; projects of reform of all kinds are as inseparable from it as business enterprise; and like a rich soil which produces the best fruits, it also abounds in plentiful crops of weeds. All the excitements of it, however, all its *isms* and vagaries, are scarcely felt as evils. Beyond the temporary ferment they occasion, no one is the worse for them, while these fermentations may be themselves regarded as the outlets of irritation that would otherwise be deep and dangerous. It is the forced suppression of social energies, and not the ventilation of them, which leads to pernicious revolts. For this reason, besides, we have no fear of the imputed lawlessness of free society—a danger to which, in its peculiar constitution, slave-society seems to us far more exposed. Dr. Arnold somewhere remarks with profound wisdom, that “the age of chivalry, whose departure Burke so much regretted, was the natural parent of that age of Jacobinism which he so much abhorred.” He explains that both breathe a spirit of hostility to order, encouraging men to look upon themselves individually, whether it be personal honor or personal glory, as in the one form of the disease, or personal liberty and equity, as in the other. Both lead to what Bacon calls *bonum suitatis*, to the neglect of the good of the general body. True as this is of a genuine chivalry, it is still more true of that spurious sort which springs out of slavery, and which breeds a haughty, insolent, and irritable self-conceit—intractable to law, and disdainful of social subordination. It is in southern society, consequently, that personal and mobocratic violence is rife—it is there that schemes of filibusterism are principally engendered—and there that the threat of taking up arms against the Union is a favorite method of discussion.

In the elements of stability as well as of prosperity, then, the social organization of the North enjoys an unquestionable superiority over that of the South; and we do not see how any rational or humane man can hesitate as to which is the most desirable for a new region. If the question concerned a community already settled, in which the habits had been formed and large amounts of property were invested in the faith of a definite condition of things, the determination of it would be more embarrassing; but our western territories are a primitive, untrodden ground—no vested interests exist there to be disturbed—no ancient prejudice to be aroused—and no hoary abuses to be overthrown. All is fresh, and new, and unperturbed; nothing stands between the judgment of what is best for them and the actual truths of experience and reason; the institutions they now take will color their destiny for generations, and, in such circumstances, to doom them, for years to come, to an inferior social system, full of confessed weaknesses, full of hopeless evils, full of disastrous liabilities and perils, is to treat them with cruelty, which a brute would be ashamed of towards its young.

But, unfortunately, the politicians, ever disinclined to contemplate political movements in their larger and humaner aspects, always contrive to complicate them with divergent or collateral issues. They will not look at them in the light of sound political and social philosophy, as matters which may control the happiness and stamp the character of unborn millions, and to the decision of which a man should bring, not his selfish cunning but his maturest wisdom, and his most generous sympathies; but they look at them, almost exclusively, as they hear on the distributions of power and their prospects of advancement.

It has fallen to this question of the organization of our territories to be decided quite on these grounds. Among the politicians of the South, it has become a desperate struggle for the retention of their ascendancy, and among those of the North a desperate gamble for success; and, between the two, the people of the United States have been cheated out of their rightful control of their dependencies; and the people of the territories themselves subjected

to a series of the most atrocious outrages. In the whole history of our legislation, there is not another so barefaced, flagitious, and reckless a course of proceedings as that which indeed, accompanied, and has followed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. We doubt, whether any legislation of any civilized country, this side of the French revolution, has been marked by such an utter want of principle, and at the same time so pregnant with dangerous consequences. Wrestling from the representatives of the people, under false pretenses, and on the ground of mere abstraction, their long-settled right of legislating for the territories, to confer it upon chance-comers; the authors and abettors of squatter sovereignty no sooner saw it in exercise than they hastened to suppress it by fire and sword. Flung out the prize of a splendid empire. To be won by a scramble between the two parts of the Union, already inflamed and hostile, they have brought us to the verge of a fratricidal war. Inviting the settlement and organization of the territories by the people of all the states, they have let loose the wild hordes of the border upon a particular class of them, and denounced the penalties of treason against their action as freemen. Beginning in fraud, they have ended in presenting an issue of force.

It is in the power of Congress, however, to avoid this issue, and pass the crisis, by a ready recognition of the claims of Kansas, as a free State. Her action, like that of Arkansas, Michigan, and California, which furnish appropriate precedents, has been somewhat irregular, but in no respect treasonable. Her people, provoked by every incitement to extremities, have departed themselves with temper and discretion. They are not compelled even to ask, that “something should be pardoned to the spirit of liberty;” but are amply justified in resting their case on its naked merits. Let it be treated with a manly and truthful independence, and let those whose duty it is to dispose of it, or to act in the matter in any way, remember the proud saying of Emerson—“Never, my friend, never strike sail to a fear. Come into port grandly, or sail with God the seas.”

NEW-YORK SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE

GREAT MEETING IN THE TABERNACLE

FOR

FREE KANSAS AND SLAVERY LIMITATION.

The call for the first public demonstration for Free Kansas, which has been issued in this city, was responded to by a gathering Tuesday night at the Tabernacle of an immense assemblage of the most eminent and respectable citizens of New-York, who gave unmistakable evidence, by their numbers and their enthusiasm, of the interest which is here taken in the coming campaign by those whose voices will be heard and whose influence must be felt.

At an early hour the building began to fill, and by the time the officers of the meeting had reached their appointed stations, the whole edifice was crowded. Among the distinguished gentlemen who occupied the seats upon the platform, were: Wm. C. Bryant, Judge Emmet, Moses H. Grinnell, Wm. M. Everts, Anthony J. Bleecker, E. D. Morgan, Abijah Mann, jr., John A. King, Wm. Curtis Noyes, Genl. Nye and many others.

A single glance at the dense mass of people who thronged the body of the building was sufficient to convince the beholder of the earnestness of those assembled. None of the loafer-catching tricks ordinarily resorted to to gather a crowd had been put in play to attract this multitude. There were no bonfires and free whisky shops without, and no ridiculous rant within. There were no processions, no military companies, no banners, and not a strain of music. The meeting was no wild mob drummed together by office-seekers. Intelligence and earnestness were written in unmistakable characters upon the countenances of the more than three thousand people who were present at the opening of the battle for Freedom. All the aisles were crowded with eager listeners, who heard with the greatest attention the sentiments of the various speakers.

Punctual to the hour specified in the call, the business of the evening was entered upon, and at 7 1/2 the meeting was called to order by the Hon. E. D. MORGAN, Chairman of the National Executive Committee, who said:

Fellow-citizens: The hour for which this meeting was called having arrived, I have been requested by the Committee of Arrangements to call it to order, and to nominate a President for the evening. I propose for your consideration the Hon. BENJ. F. BUTLER—[Loud cheers] This was carried unanimously. Mr. BUTLER took his place amidst vehement cheering; and as soon as the noise subsided, Mr. ANTHONY J. BLECKER arose and moved the appointment of the gentlemen named below, as Vice-Presidents and Secretaries:

Vice-Presidents.

MOSES H. GRINNELL,
WM. C. BRYANT
CHAS. H. MATHALL,
GERARDUS BOYD,
SAMUEL DELEMATER,
JOHN PETTIGREW,
ISAAC SHERMAN,
WASHINGTON SMITH,
RUDOLPH GARRIGUE,
HENRY J. RAYMOND,
WM. CURTIS NOYES,
FRANCIS M. JUNES,
ISAAC H. BAILEY,
JOHN W. EDWARDS,
JAMES D. KELLEY,
JNO. F. BUTTERWORTH,
JNO. F. PINKNEY,
JOHN KEESSE,
D. D. FIELD,
HENRY A. HURLBURT,
CHARLES A. STETSON,
ORISON ELGIN,
J. H. TOWNSEND,
ABRAHAM M. COZZENS,
JOHN J. HERRICK,

Secretaries.

WM. H. ANTHONY,
T. HERRICK,
JAMES MCKENLEY,
HENRY D. SEDGWICK,
AUGUSTUS F. DOW,
JAMES R. SFAULDING,
ROBERT EMMET,
WILLIAM KENT,
L. B. WARD,
PHILIP HENSON,
CHARLES A. DANA,
CHARLES E. BUTLER,
JOHN H. MILLER,
JOHN E. WILLIAMS,
J. ANTHONY TIEMANN,
CHARLES BURTON,
HORACE SOUTHWAYD,
C. P. HENRY W. ELLIOTT,
AARON FRANK,
J. S. REDFIELD,
ELIASTUS C. BENEDICT,
JOSIAH RICH,
S. P. TOWNSEND,
JOHN MCKISSON,
WM. M. VERMILYE,
B. J. BONNEY,
GEORGE BROWN,
JOHN A. C. GRAY,
OLIVER E. WOOD,

These nominations were approved with much applause, and the meeting being now completely organized,

The President, Mr. BUTLER, and in a brief and pertinent speech stated the purpose which had called the people together as that of the rescue of Kansas from the grasp of the slave power and the establishment of a Free State within her borders. Mr. Butler concluded his remarks as follows: But it is not to be disguised that the final triumph we anticipate will be hastened or retarded by the results of the next Presidential election. This invests it with a new and momentous interest, and lays upon every voter a heavy responsibility. The call under which we have assembled looks to the Republican Convention, to be held at Philadelphia in June next, for the candidates to be supported by the friends of the great principles of Justice and Freedom, promulgated by the Convention held at Pittsburgh in February last. For me, I gave to this call my ready signature—I give to the cause it was intended to promote my hearty support [Cheers]. The proceedings of the Pittsburgh Convention, while boldly maintaining the rights and interests of human freedom, were marked throughout by a spirit of justice, moderation and true nationality, entirely consonant to my own judgment, and destined, I would fain hope, to receive the approval of the American people [Loud applause]. As one of the people, I gladly take my place in the ranks of the political party then and there organized; and to the extent of my ability, I shall esteem it, not merely a duty, but a privilege, to do fair and honorable battle in this most righteous and patriotic cause [Enthusiastic cheering].

The Hon. ABIAH MANN, Jr., was next introduced to the audience, and on behalf of the delegates to the Republican Convention at Pittsburgh on the 22d day of February last, reported briefly the proceedings of that body. That Convention, said Mr. Mann, was composed of many experienced and patriotic men, representing nearly all the Free States and several of the Slave States. Some of them were the descendants of those who pledged their "lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor" to defend the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Not a few were men who, in past political trials in which they acted conspicuous parts, had differed widely, though always emulating each other in their defence of the cherished principles of human liberty and the right of self-government. A common sentiment inspired all hearts—a common purpose united all hands in the Convention, and those differences were forgotten—that sentiment was the love of Freedom—that purpose was resistance to the extension of Slavery. The Convention felt the great responsibility of inaugurating a national party upon this basis, and therefore put forth the following declaration to the American people:

First: We demand and shall attempt to secure the repeal of all laws which allow of the introduction of Slavery into Territories once consecrated to Freedom, and will resist, by every constitutional means, the existence of Slavery in any of the Territories of the United States.

Second: We will support by every lawful means our brethren in Kansas in their constitutional and manly resistance to the usurped authority of their lawless invaders, and will give the full weight of our political power in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas to the Union as a free, sovereign, independent State.

Third: Believing that the present National Administration has shown itself to be weak and faithless, and that its continuance in power is identified with progress of Slave Power to National supremacy, with exclusion of Freedom from the Territory, and with incision of civil discord, it is a leading purpose of our organization to resist and overthrow it.

It is a practical question which the American people are now required to decide; and in doing so, let every man come forth and perform his duty to the Constitution—to Liberty—to his Country, and his God.

The next speaker was WILLIAM M. EVARTS, esq., of most this city, who made one of the ablest and effective political addresses ever delivered in the Tabernacle. Simple in language, brilliant in thought, cogent in argument and most felicitous in illustration, it was listened to with intense interest, broken at intervals with overwhelming applause. In the brief space to which we are compelled by the pressure upon our columns to confine our report, we do not pretend to do him justice. We can only touch upon some of his points. Mr. EVARTS remarked in the beginning, that it is the policy of the South to extend Slavery over the territories of the United States. It had begun its encroachments by overthrowing the Missouri Compromise. The course adopted was a departure from the fundamental principles of our Government, and it was now demanded that the erroneous steps be retraced, and the principles of Washington and Jefferson be reestablished. At the outset of our Government, all the territory of the United States was, by a solemn ordinance, devoted to Freedom forever. This was done by the ordinance of 1787. All was not too much done to give to Freedom. He quoted from Madison to the effect that the Government was formed as that as a nation we might shake off responsibility for Slavery. Richard Henry Lee uttered the same senti-

ments. One-third of a century passed away and a struggle like the present was carried on, and to secure one-half of the Territories to Freedom the Missouri Compromise was entered into. Mark the progress of American statesmen—American legislation—on this subject in thirty-three years. In 1854, when the old statesmen were nearly all in their graves, the half that was in 1820 devoted to Freedom was seized upon and delivered up to Slavery. An appropriate climax will be, when the centennial anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 arrives, to declare Slavery established by law all over the United States. Each succeeding generation has omitted to correct the mistakes of its predecessor. The monition now falls with oppressive force. Shall our acquiescence in this outrage be pleaded to our children when the next shall be attempted? If we say No, let us make our sentiments felt in a way that politicians will understand—by votes. Mr. EVARTS adverted to the tragedy at Cincinnati, in which a slave mother murdered her infant rather than see it returned to Slavery, and applauded her heroism. When liberty or death was presented to her, she chose death for her posterity. Shall Northern Freemen show less spirit than the Kentucky slave, when Kansas and her unborn millions are in their hands? "The Union must and shall be preserved." That is the object of the Republican movement. That was the object of his speech [Merriment]. Mr. EVARTS expressed his contempt for a certain class of Union saviors, but he admitted that there are many sincere men who are sensitive on the subject of the Union. His friend in Massachusetts (Mr. Choate) said he "could train a wild bear and did not follow the flag and keep 'step to the music of the Union.'" He agreed with him. But it was well to inquire what was the music of the Union. Was it one endless sing-song chant of the glories of African Slavery? What was the flag of the Union? Mr. EVARTS answered the question he had so well put, by reciting Webster's magnificent apostrophe at the close of his reply to Hayne: "Let my 'last feeble and inquiring glance behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its 'arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto everywhere 'spread all over in characters of living light, 'blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the 'whole Heavens, that sentiment dear to the American breast—'Liberty and the Union now and forever on and inseparable.'" Paraphrase this, continued Mr. E., when the applause had subsided, and make it "Slavery and Union now and forever one and inseparable," and how loathsome the whole becomes. And in this strain, amid tumultuous cheering, the speech was concluded.

The Hon. JOHN A. BINGHAM, M. C. from Ohio, followed Mr. EVARTS. His appearance was the signal for a burst of loud applause. The question which the country was now to answer was, he said, whether the President of the United States should be permitted to alter the Constitution so as to make it establish injustice. We were said to have had but one country, one Constitution, and one destiny. The President of the United States would make us a set of sovereign independent States—not one people at all—binding us together, not for the purpose of establishing justice and securing the blessings of Liberty, but for the purpose of maintaining and making perpetual the worst system of despotism the world ever saw. It was not for that purpose that our king-killing ancestors established the greatest Republic of modern times, and the only one in which the glorious spectacle was ever presented of a Church without a Pope, and a State without a King [Loud applause]. Mr. Bingham referred to the present attitude of the Pro-Slavery and Republican parties, respectively, at such length. His allusion to Mr. Bryant, the poet, who was seated on the platform, elicited warm applause, and his mention of Mr. Seward was received with a burst of vehement cheers, again and again renewed. The speaker argued that the position of the Republican party on the Slavery question was that recognized by the wisest and best men of the Republic, from its foundation to the present time. The honorable gentleman eventually yielded to the obvious desire on the part of a majority of the audience to hear other speakers, and sat down amid enthusiastic applause.

Gen. NYX was the next speaker. He said: The problem of Government is being worked out the world over. It is not in this country alone that we see this progressive movement going on; but over the face of the whole globe. There seems to be a restless spirit evinced in every quarter where despotism or the remains of despotism still bear sway. Every indication is given that the time is rapidly approaching when the people will assume the reins of government and dash to the ground the glittering thrones and lofty strongholds of tyranny wherever they exist. I hope the time will soon arrive when we can all exercise freedom of thought without suffering party excommunication therefor. I lighted my political taper from the gentleman who now sits here [Bryant]. We are both now cut off from communion with the Democratic party. We tread the same ground our fathers trod, and preach the same doctrines they preached, and were denounced for so doing. We were stigmatized as Black Republicans; if you mean by that, that we executed the highest prerogative of a freeman, I plead guilty to the charge. If you mean that we are determined to wrench from the grasp of the Slavery propagandists territory which was once consecrated to Freedom for ever, I plead guilty to the charge. If you mean that our hearts swell with sympathy for the brave spirits who are striving on the soil of Kansas to plant the seeds of human liberty, I plead a thousand times guilty to the charge, and thank God we are Black Republicans. Whatever they call us, we are upheld by a consciousness of being in the right. What a strange thing it is, being obliged to defend truths which drew every sword of the Revolution! To stand up here in the noonday year, in the midnight, and invoke attention to those sacred and immutable principles which were the pride and glory of our fathers.

Gen. NYX, at the conclusion of his speech, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the repeal of the "Missouri Compromise," the repeal of the several laws which constitute the Missouri question, the enlistment of the whole power of the Federal Government in the extension of Slavery over territory devoted by the most solemn pledge and compact to Freedom, the countenance and protection given by the Executive of the Union to the violent and cruel tyrants who have established their abodes in the Territories of Kansas by the lawless population on its borders, and the audacious claim that the Federal Constitution is the charter, and the Federal Government should be the minister, of the maintenance and extension of Slavery as a national institution, have forced upon the country the issue of Slavery Extension or Slavery Restriction for decision in the impending Presidential canvass.

Resolved, That our unalterable attachment to the great sentiments of freedom and freedom of the mind, the Declaration of our Independence, and are wrought into the whole fabric of our Constitution, our faithful devotion to the dignity, integrity, peace and prosperity of the Union; our reverence for the memory of the founders of the magnificent system of Government which has developed and protected the vast growth of this people to its present rank among the nations of the world, and of the great statesmen of the succeeding generation who have firmly upheld what was so wisely established, compel us to vote for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and to unite for the restoration of the action and position of the Federal Government on the subject of slavery to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, as alone compatible with the honor and safety of the Republic.

Resolved, That we have been with great satisfaction and sustain with a cordial approval, the proceedings of the Pittsburgh Convention, and avow the purpose ourselves to unite, and by every just influence to combine the efforts of our fellow-citizens for the best maintenance, in the approaching Presidential canvass, of the political principles and objects proposed by that Convention.

Resolved, That a Committee of five, to be nominated by the Chairman of this meeting, be appointed to act as the Executive Committee of the Republican party of the City of New-York.

Resolved, That the Republican Committees or Associations of the several Wards in which they have been formed, be requested to report to the Executive Committee the names of their officers and the names of the members of the Executive Committee in which no such Committees or Associations exist, be requested to proceed without delay to complete their organization, and to report the same to the Executive Committee.

Resolved, That the Ward Committees or Associations be requested to appoint two representatives to the Executive Committee in Convention, at such time and place as it may designate, for the election of delegates to the Republican State Convention, to be held at Syracuse on the 28th of May next.

The PRESIDENT said—Gentlemen, you have heard the resolutions; are you prepared for the question?

Cries of "Question," "Question."

The resolutions were then put to vote, and passed without a dissenting voice.

Cries were low heard from all parts of the house for "Greeley," "Greeley." In response to the call Mr. GREELEY came forward and said that the time of the evening should be properly devoted to hearing speeches from gentlemen whose names were set down in the programme, and whom the public came expressly thither to listen to. He would therefore not occupy their attention more than five minutes. What briefly and imperatively he considered necessary to the success of the Republican cause at the next Presidential election was freeing it of all side issues, and narrowing it down to the sole subject of Freedom in Kansas and non-extension of slave territory. To this end the energies of patriots and humanitarians should be directed by every mode of appropriate public discussion, and by flooding every cabin and hamlet, public and private houses, and all places of public resort, with documents bearing statistics, arguments, and appeals illustrative of the great cause. He concluded, within the time he laid down for his remarks, by urging the Republicans to give the utmost attention to the subject, and counseled each one to exert himself in proportion to his means and abilities to do good. [Loud cheers.]

WILLIAM CURTIS NOYES was next introduced. He said he saw persons present from all parties—hard shells, soft shells and even he saw among the presiding officers those who were formerly attached to the Albany Regency—Whigs too were here, not the fossilifer-

... the ... the ... of course thereby, of the ...

At the conclusion of Mr. Noyes's speech, the Chair announced the following gentlemen as the Executive Committee: Isaac Sherman, William Curtis Noyes, George W. Blunt, John P. Cuming, Charles W. Elliot.

After the speech of Mr. Noyes, the President announced that the evening was too far advanced to introduce any more speakers, and that a motion had been made to adjourn. An adjournment was therefore voted, and with three cheers for the Republican Cause, and three more for Wm. H. Seward, the audience began slowly to depart.

This concluded one of the largest and most enthusiastic meetings ever held in the Empire City, and which has given an impetus to the Cause of Republicanism which will be felt from Maine to Florida.

Letters breathing the true Republican spirit were received by the Committee of Arrangements from Lyman Trumbull, United States Senator from Illinois, Senators Sumner and Wilson of Massachusetts, Wm. H. Seward, Hon. E. F. Spinner, Hon. Timothy C. Dwyer, Hon. M. W. Delahay of Kansas, Hon. Ed. Wade of Ohio, Hon. W. H. Kelly, Hon. Sam. Galloway, Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Hon. O. B. Matthews, Hon. E. B. Morgan, Wm. C. Bryant, Nathan P. Banks, and many others.

PITTSBURGH GAZETTE.

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 2, 1856.

SENATOR CLAYTON'S NEW KANSAS BILL.—It is said that Senator Clayton has prepared a new Kansas bill, designed to saw around the troublesome knot in the admission of that Territory as a State. Douglas's bill, it is thought, cannot pass into a law, and as things cannot long remain as they are without an outbreak, Mr. Clayton has prepared a bill, the following outline of which has been furnished by the Washington correspondence of the New York Mirror:

"Immediately after its passage a new census is to be taken of the people of Kansas, by Commissioners appointed by the Secretary of State of the United States from among the actual residents of the Territory. These Commissioners to apportion the representation for the Territorial Legislature according to the population found resident in each of the existing districts, by a ratio prescribed in the bill. They are also to appoint judges to superintend and make due returns of an election to be held within a limited time after publication of the apportionment, at which members of a Territorial Legislature are to be chosen. This Legislature to be commenced in the month following that of the election. All offices in the Territory which have been irregularly filled are to be vacated, and all laws prohibiting free discussion, or imposing unusual tests or oaths in respect to slavery or the fugitive slave law, to be declared null and void. The bill prescribes the qualifications of voters, and provides severe penalties for fraudulent votes, and for outside interference or attempts at intimidation. Its purpose, in brief, seems to be undo what has been done wrong in this matter, so far as that is possible, and to leave the people of Kansas to take a fresh start in the right path."

Lynchburg Virgin

Friday Morning, May 2, 1856.

The Northern Democracy and the the Kansas Bill.

We print below an extract from a speech lately delivered at Washington, Pennsylvania, by William Montgomery Esq., the democratic candidate for Congress in that district at the last election. It will serve to enlighten the people of the South upon the opinion entertained, even by the conservative(?) Democracy of Pennsylvania, of the Kansas bill and the reasons why they support it. We hope it will have the effect of determining the Enquirer still more resolutely to demand that the "false and fatal theory" of Squatter sovereignty shall be repudiated in the Cincinnati platform:

"And it matters not how far our limits may ex-

... the ... the ... of course thereby, of the ...

"Give our Northern working men such a land as Mexico for a home, with its productive soil and salubrious climate, a land where the foliage never falls and the flowers never fade, where "strange bright birds" flit on starry wings, and make the forest vocal with their melody, where the mountain torrent sweeps down the golden sands, and one bright summer lingers, always give the Northern man such a land, and the quick moving Yankee squatter will have the country peopled and its institutions fixed before the Slaveholders of the South could pack their cumbersome household goods, handcuff their slaves, yoke their oxen and start their emigrant trains.

In my discussion of the Kansas Nebraska bill thus far, I have considered it as if the Slaveholder could, under its provisions emigrate to the new territories carrying with him and holding his slaves, but such is not the fact. The Slaveholder may go there, but he must leave his slaves behind, and then he who has been accustomed to implicit obedience and to be waited upon by others must do his own bidding and become his own servant.

"Slavery is a creature of law. Without a law to authorise it, a slave cannot be held a moment in bondage. No provision exists in the Kansas Nebraska bill authorising slavery, it is an act of freedom, & it virtually shuts out the Slaveholders from the new territories; under that law, slavery can have no foothold. The slothful, enervated slaveholder, unaccustomed to toil must if he would introduce slavery into the territories, give up his life of ease, leave all the luxuries and refinements of civilization and emigrate to the wilderness; his own soft hand must rear the cabin to protect him from the elements, no slave can come there to ease his toil; he must reside among the hardy pioneers before he will be permitted to vote; he must gather around him a majority in favor of slavery before he will be able to influence the institutions, and even with a majority he must await the slow process of legislation. But if the hardy freedom-loving emigrants, from the North happen to be more numerous than the Southern planters, toil has been in vain, free representatives will be chosen, free laws will be enacted, and the door will be forever closed on slavery. Fellow citizens, but for a moment think of the chances: there are of a majority of the settlers in any new state being composed of opulent planters, who have left their comfortable homes in the South not to obtain lands, not to seek a new location but simply to procure by their votes a majority in favor of slavery. Such an idea is absurd and preposterous. No fellow citizens, such will never be the case—the Kansas-Nebraska bill is a death blow to Slavery propagandism."

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BY W. G. CLARK & CO.
OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CITY.
OFFICE 44 ROYAL STREET.

MOBILE:

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 2, 1856.

WHAT A KANSAS VOLUNTEER THOUGHT OF THE MOBILE FIREMEN.—The Montgomery Advertiser publishes a letter from one of Major Buford's company, written on board a Mississippi steamer, describing their journey. After speaking of the curiosity the company excited in Mobile on their arrival here, the writer proceeds to describe the Firemen's Parade, which occurred on the same day. We quote:

Our banners, however, having soon satisfied the astonished natives, as to our design and destination, and the men having marched to their quarters at the Independent Cotton Press, Kansas was forgotten for the while in the superior attractions of the Firemen's parade, a sight most interesting to our untraveled Kansas boys. The display was brilliant, the music good, the men the most athletic that I ever saw. Each one seemed to me to be about six feet two inches high, and to weigh 186 pounds! Vigorous, elastic, in the very bloom of glorious manhood. A back-woodsman myself and never having seen a fire engine before, I witnessed, with an excitement which a townsman cannot understand, the trial of one of those machines in front of the Battle House. I was standing in the balcony above them and saw about thirty of those strong fellows approach and take hold of the railing on each side of one of the engines, and then, all together, at a signal, they worked their levers with a vast and frantic energy that took me utterly by surprise, and sent the

water snapping and spouting, and soaring aloft two hundred feet into the air. No wonder I caught myself shouting with the excited multitude below. I never shall forget the expression of that row of Firemen's faces, as at the highest point of their exertion, they watched the exulting stream, and made one last stroke to send it higher. With grinning teeth and protruding eyeballs and blackened face, they looked like so many mummies in convulsions. They don't work that way, at times, I am sure; for on this occasion they made only about fifteen lifts, and could not have made another if the world depended on it. No, indeed, the lifting of a finger would have made a case of the whole concern, undoubtedly. The oration by John Forsyth, Esq., shows what genius can do with a worn out subject. It was instructive, highly finished, eloquent and classic.

New Orleans Daily Delta.

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 2, 1856.

LATER FROM KANSAS.

The following letter from the Leocompton correspondent of the Missouri Republican, gives an account of the excitement growing out in Kansas from the flagitious conduct of the free-soil squatters in that territory. The time has come when our Government must interpose the strong hand of law and justice in order to afford protection to the constitutional rights of the law-abiding citizens of that region. The doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty" will do well enough when it is carried out within the bounds of law and propriety; but when the Beecher "Sharpe's Rifle" and main force are to be the weapons with which the constitutional contest is to be carried on, we think it is high time, in the absence of all action by our Government, that the true men of the South should take the matter into their own hands, and at every hazard and extremity, adopt those stringent measures which the necessity of the case imperatively requires. The following letter speaks for itself:

LECOMPTON, K. T., April 19.

In haste—A Hurried Glance at the Second Scene—Another Outbreak—War Threatened—S. N. Wood Rescued from the Sheriff—An Excited Crowd—in Camp.

"Please excuse haste," as the Yahoo said at the end of their letters, for I am dreadfully hurried. The committee left Kansas City, Thursday, in haste; and arriving at Lawrence the same evening, were welcomed by the Free-soilers. Friday night the city was wild with shouts of fanaticism and drunkenness, on the occasion of welcoming back the notorious S. N. Wood and his company, of whom I have something important to say privately.

Messrs. Johnson and Howard, the "majority," came here Thursday night, remaining till morning, when they left for Lawrence. Friday night they were with wild shouts of fanaticism and drunkenness, on the occasion of welcoming back the notorious S. N. Wood and his company, of whom I have something important to say privately.

Now, to S. N. Wood's 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, 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 ex-Governor Robinson. Jones would not consent. He "must see his wite." 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 United States 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 if Lawrence, and is charged with retaining prisoners from the Sheriff.

The towns crowd—all excited about the Wood affair. We are now camping out on the Kansas river, skirting Leocompton, and hence you must excuse the "few lines;" if you can read, then I will be surprised. An express which leaves now brings this.

H. C. P.

Daily Democrat.

South Carolina and the Union.

We have once or twice called attention to a series of articles, in course of publication in the Charleston Mercury, in which a dissolution of the Union is openly and boldly advocated, as absolutely essential to the perpetuation of slavery. The sixth number of this series is more elaborate and impressive than its predecessors. It commences with the position that whenever two

hostile forms of civilization are associated 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 one phenomenon, which may be more clearly understood than any one 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. 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."

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 their constituents. It closes thus:

"So far from the idea 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 subservience 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."

FROM KANSAS.

SUMNER, KANSAS, April 25, '56.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

Yesterday Sheriff Jones was moved from Lawrence to Franklin accompanied by Dr. Stringfellow and Gen. Whitfield, who says they will not remain in Lawrence for fear of being shot. Dr. Stringfellow went before the Congressional Committee and demanded as a citizen of Kansas the right to appear before them either himself or by counsel, and introduce testimony and examine witnesses. The Doctor blustered and threatened in hopes of frightening the committee in compliance with his wishes Mr. Howard, Chairman of the Committee, rose and stated that if they should do what Dr. Stringfellow asked of them, the object of their coming would be defeated, as it would result, not in an investigation upon their part but an inquisition by everybody. He spoke in a determined manner, which had the usual effect upon such men, and the would-be hero gave up the contest, and retired in silence.

Gen. Whitfield, in a speech at Leavenworth, just before the arrival of the committee, stated that they would sit at that "abolition hole," Lawrence, which he regretted very much. Now the valiant general retires from the detested city through fear, as he held out. This is evidently done for the purpose of enabling Oliver

in making a minority report, to state that the committee held their session in a city considered dangerous for Whitfield to visit, consequently he was prevented from having a hearing in the examination of witnesses. The administration party are playing a desperate game in Kansas, evidently designed to secure the defeat of the object of this Congressional Commission. The report of the committee to Congress and the country is feared, and every attempt will be made to prevent its being forthcoming.

Yesterday, in the morning, the United States "dragoons," under the command of Sam Lattus, "deputy sheriff of Douglas county," made an entrance into the residence of John Speer Esq., editor of the Kansas Tribune. They surrounded his house, entered it, searched it throughout, looking under the beds, under the floor, in barrels, boxes, drawers, on shelves, &c., but the object of their search was not to be found. Soon after the "dragoons," left for Lecompton with their prisoners. Sam Lattus is to return to Lawrence to day (or tomorrow, with 100 U. S. dragoons, and recommence the search for Wood and his friends.—Lattus is having writs made out for the arrest of ONE HUNDRED CITIZENS OF LAWRENCE, who are charged with the commission of crime under the Territorial Border Code of Laws—some for being judges of election, for taking the oath of office under the new constitution, for refusing to act as "sheriff Jones" posse, and various other acts not consistent with the will of the Border Ruffians. A standing army is to be stationed in Lawrence until every person for whom there is a writ issued, is arrested and taken to Lecompton.

The tent in which Jones was shot was guarded by troops at the time the act was committed.—Notwithstanding, some one discharged a pistol four times through the tent, the fourth ball taking effect, and then left without being seen by the soldiers.

When Jones fell, and the troops in and about the tent knew he was shot, they left him, and went to a house where the prisoners were confined to prevent their escape. Jones laid for a considerable time before any one went to his assistance. A great many stories are flying about in relation to the shooting, but nothing definite has yet been brought to light.

James Crittenden Esq., appointed by the Baronial Assembly, Clerk of Douglas county and Clerk of Probate court, has resigned, and the county Commissioners are searching about to find some one to take the office.

DAILY TRIBUNE.

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No. 53 CLARK STREET'S

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

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Saturday Morning..... May 3, 1856.

KANSAS ALL RIGHT!

ACTION OF THE PEOPLE.

Violence Rebuked and the Law Upheld!!

As in the past, so in the present, the Free-State men of Kansas stand upon right, and by the side of the Law. JONES suffered as a violator of the common peace should anticipate, but not upon them rests the responsibility. The Freemen of Kansas repudiate the lawless act, and will labor to discover the perpetrator or perpetrators of it.

On the 24th ult., the people of Lawrence met to consult upon the deed of blood, and to act upon it. ROBINSON and REEDER were the chief speakers at it. REEDER, referring to the success attending the Congressional Commission, said:

In the midst of this progress, where everything was going on smoothly, peaceably and satisfactorily, and all good citizens were congratulating themselves upon the successful progress of this appeal, the hand of some malicious, insane, evil-disposed individual undertakes to throw down this superstructure we have so carefully built up, and mar our entire prospects by

this unjustifiable and atrocious act. The man who struck that blow did it to help our cause, he must have been blind and ignorant in his reasonings, and ignorant of the very best ideas of the position and character of the Free State cause. He must bear the consequences of his deed. I have no sympathy with one who would trifle with the lives and property of the people here. We are not bound to let any man, no matter what may be the cause of his actions, so act as to mar the prospects of future success. We have two alternatives presented to us— which we cannot evade, if we would—that of stabbing our own cause, destroying our own prospects, and doing violence to our own opinions, or, on the other hand, denouncing the author of this act.

G. F. LOWRY followed, denouncing the act as a cowardly assassination, and declaring that it was done by no citizen. Gen. ROBINSON was of the same opinion. "But," said he, "I have good reason for believing that the tragical affair was no accident; that it was arranged to produce a certain effect abroad and a certain result at home." Gov. ROBINSON is a cautious, truthful man—courageous, but honest—bold, but single-hearted. Hear him further:

I happened to be out of town last evening, and I suppose I shall not be charged with the offence committed then. But I understood that an individual, who is obnoxious to individuals, as individuals, on account of individual disputes, and on account of his harassing the members of the community, by little insignificant writs, took his position last evening in an exposed tent, without a guard near him, even when one shot had been fired he still had no precaution taken, but placed himself in an exposed situation, and while thus exposed, a shot was fired, and took effect. I trust, I pray, that it will not result seriously. Now it is inferred that it was done by the people of Lawrence. Is that reasonable? (Cries of no, no.) There were men of their own stamp here; strangers in our midst, unknown to the people of this community.

I verily believe that not a man in Lawrence had anything to do with that transaction.— (Cries of "never," "never.")

It may be asked would they should shoot at one of their own men? I have partially hinted at the reason. I have said, that in this matter, a man's life is of no account. If the slave power of this country, in order to possess this Territory, required that Mr. Jones should lay down his life, or be exposed to the shots of his friends, then Mr. Jones must expose his life, then these shots must be fired. They tried it on a Free State man; it failed. Now it is necessary, in order to get up another trouble, that it should be a pro-Slavery man, in good earnest; and if the Free State men would not go into it, why, I will not say they themselves would do it, but it looks very much as if that was the case. Of course no man in this community would approve of this affair, and I would here say, believing as I do, that this attack was the work of an assassin, to make capital against those of us engaged in this Free State movement—and if I did not believe it, I would not say so,—I will here say, by the authority vested in me, as Governor of the Territory of Kansas, I propose to offer a reward for the detection of the assassin; and if approved by this community, I will offer a reward of \$500, for the detection of the assassin, and his conviction in the Courts of the United States.

I have no fears as to who that man will be. I have no fears as to what party he belongs; and if I had, it would make no difference with me. We want no such men in our party, and I do not believe we have any there.

The reward was offered. The Free State men seconded heartily the Governor's proposition. Where the scoundrel base enough to charge upon them this violence? Who the man, worthy the name, that dare accuse them of this foul deed?

The scoundrel Jones is likely to recover. We are glad of that. Villain though he be, we want no violence done upon him. Still less do we desire to hear of his life being sacrificed by an assassin. We rejoice, then, we repeat, to learn from the Herald of Freedom "that he is in a fair way to get well."

A White Slave.

The Quincy *Republican* gives us the details of a slave-catching case near Palmyra. Thus runs its story:

A female slave of one Mr. Pond ran away; but was captured on the Ferry Boat coming from Missouri to Quincy. She had stopped at at the house of Mr. Daviess, a German, and was taken from it by Scheible, another German. The slave-catchers were on the look out, seized the girl, and arrested, besides, the two Germans, a free negro.

Scheible pleaded, on his trial, that he did not dream of the girl being a slave—he thought her free because she was white; he was discharged—but had to “run for it!” as the Palmyra *Whig* intimates, “to escape lynching.” Daviess is still in jail, and this journal declares that the penitentiary will be his fate.

But these Germans supposed the girl to be free, and for the same reason—because she was white. They treated her simply with the kindness and humanity due the gentler sex. Yet trials, prisons, and lynching follow! Happy will it be for Daviess if he shall escape five years imprisonment in the penitentiary. Fortunately was it for Scheible that he escaped into a Free State, else violence would have done its work for him! Well and eloquently does the Quincy *Republican* say:

And now we have a word to say to our readers, and especially our German friends. You see the legitimate, the unavoidable fruits of the Slave system in our sister State. Do you wish to extend that system into Kansas? Do you wish to incur for yourselves or your friends in the Territory the penalty of five years imprisonment in the Penitentiary, for the extraordinary crime of being unable to distinguish between a white free woman and a white slave? Is there not Territory enough devoted to this degrading institution; Can you approve, or rather do you not abhor the measures and the men that have been instrumental in forcing slavery, with all its abominations and horrors, upon the free soil of Kansas? Is it not your solemn duty to oppose them with all your might? If so, then take your stand boldly, and never cease your exertions until the returns in November show an overwhelming anti-Nebraska majority in this county and district.

The Crack of the Whip.

Orders are issued by the Slave Power and the Sham-Democracy will obey them. The Cincinnati Convention will simply register its decree.

The Richmond *Enquirer* of the 28th, 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 Charleston *Mercury* demands as much, and seems somewhat alarmed at the yielding disposition of certain Southern members of Congress. Hear it:—

There are movements going on in Washington of which her people are entirely ignorant, and which, if successful, will result in her being again defrauded and sold. The purpose of these movements is to adopt, in the Cincinnati Convention, a compromising course on the subject of Slavery and to nominate the candidate least odious to Abolitionism. And strange to say, Southern Representatives are engaged in this treacherous business; and, for the sake of party success, thus conspire with her fiercest enemies. To defeat and ex-

pose this conspiracy, one thing is necessary—the determination of the Southern people, through their Delegates, to demand and exact of the Democratic Party a platform and a candidate alike clear and positive in behalf of her constitutional rights. It is not enough that the platform be sound, for a bitter experience warns us of the worthlessness of party pledges; but we must have a man whose past, open and avowed course upon Slavery is a guaranty of the future, and whose reputation and consistency secure her against treachery.

But neither the *Mercury*, nor any of the leading slaveholding presses, are content with making their demands or issuing their orders. They assign the reason why they do so. The *Mercury* says:

The chief strength of the Democratic Party is in the South. Its existence at the North is but the reflection of its life at the South. Is she not bound to see that her strength is rightfully employed in her own defence? Shall she consent to be the tool of a party which owes its life to her? Nay, more—shall she permit the party to use her voice and influence against herself? Shall her very strength prove to be her weakness—her rights, the instrument of her wrongs—her honor, the instrument of her degradation and shame?

No! let the South hold the Democratic Party to strict accountability in the coming contest. Let her demand her whole rights, and nothing less. Let her demand a candidate as well as a platform, upon whose fidelity, as proven by past acts, there rests not the shadow of a doubt. The Democratic Party sues for her support—let these be the sole conditions of it.

Then again as to the two-thirds rule. That is not to be abolished. Any attempt to abolish it, will result in a row; a break up of the Cincinnati Convention. The reasons for this course are fully given, and strongly enforced, by the Southern organs, without exception. Thus the Columbia (Alabama) *Times*, referring to the two-thirds rule, says:—

“It is the only check held by the South, in those extraordinary assemblies, upon the overwhelming Northern majorities. Until quiet is restored to the country; until the rights of the South are recognized and respected by the North, and the Slavery agitation is settled, we should regard that Southern man as either knave or fool who should propose or vote for the abrogation of the two-third rule. Is not the North now vastly in the majority in these Conventions? Why increase their power, until at least they have shown themselves capable of using it with discretion?”

Thus do the Slave Masters talk to the Sham Democracy of the North! Thus do they crack their whips over their backs, and order them to obey.

Detroit Evening Tribune.

JOSEPH WARREN, Editor.

THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 3, 1856.

GOV. REEDER AND COMMISSIONER MANYPENNY.—The Baltimore American states that Commissioner Manypenny having referred to recent sales of land in Kansas, in which it now appears Gov. Reeder was concerned, as disreputable attempts of certain official functionaries to speculate in lands. Governor Reeder replies to the allegation in a tart letter, denying the insinuations of the Commissioner, and in conclusion submitting the following good propositions:

“Your report on these contracts, makes as I have shown, fierce charges of fraud. If true, I am a dishonest man; if false, you are a slanderer. One of us, then disgraces the office he holds, and it is time to know which is the man. In view of this, I propose to you sir, a compact, that if you shall, before the first day of October next, make good these charges to the satisfaction of the President, he shall at once remove me from office, and if you fail the same penalty shall be meted out to you. You have sown your gratuitous, inexcusable calumny broadcast over the Union, and now I solicit, I

challenge, I defy you to this test. If there is a spark of manliness in your composition, you will not shrink from it. I desire to goad you to its acceptance. Office, in my estimation, is of little value—reputation is priceless; and my only fear that you will decline this offer is based upon the cogent evidence that your estimate of these commodities is in an inverse ratio to mine.”

Detroit Daily Advertiser.

W. W. TAUNTON & CO. PROPRIETORS.

Equality of States.

A hidden and sinister meaning, will be found lurking under every new term with which Slavery inaugurates her plans of execution. She now calls for “equality of States.” This is described as follows by Mr. Cushing, in his speech at the Slashes: “By this equality of States is meant that the right to hold slaves accompanies the slaveholders in their migrations, that their local institutions pass with them into all the regions which are held as the territories of the confederacy;—and that finally, when the territories are erected into States, the country should be divided between them in such a manner, that for every free State admitted into the Union, a slave State shall be admitted at the same time.” This was Mr. Cushing’s scheme; this is the plan referred to by the Richmond *Enquirer*. The territory of the United States, is to be equally shared between the oligarchy of the South, and the rabble of the people. For every new State settled by the people, we must have a new State possessed by the oligarchy. The few are to receive as large a division of the great patrimony of the public lands as the many—This is the doctrine which supersedes “Squatter Sovereignty.”



SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 3, 1856.

Kansas Affairs.

THE RECENT ARRESTS—THE SHOOTING OF JONES CONDEMNED—NO RESISTANCE TO THE U. S. AUTHORITIES—REVENGFUL PURPOSES OF THE BORDER RUFFIANS.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, April 24, 1856.

About 4 o'clock to-day, Jones rode into town at the head of ten or twelve dragoons, fully mounted, and immediately after alighting they marched to the house of S. N. Wood, and Jones and two others entered in search of Mr. Wood. They even looked into every bed, but he was not there, and they soon left quietly, while the crowd that gathered around, as would be expected in any community, enjoyed a hearty laugh as they marched away in military order. Jones then placed all but one in the middle of the street, and, taking that one with him, went in search of more plunder.

They called first upon J. Hutchinson, Esq., and told him he was his prisoner. He inquired by what authority, and Jones answered, by the authority of the Territorial Legislature. Mr. H. inquired for what offence? when Jones replied, for refusing to assist in the arrest of Wood last Sunday. When then the fact was, no attempt was made to rescue Wood on Sunday, for the reason that he was not seen by any of the posse. As he wished to show no resistance to the power of the General Government, he obeyed orders and marched in line to the point where the remainder of the force was stationed, when he was directed to remain there under their charge.

Jones and his straight-buttoned friend then went in pursuit of others, and they were all taken in the same course until six “brave men and true” stood side by side, prisoners, for no other reason than refusing to aid an officer they did not recognize, in enforcing laws they utterly abhor. Not the least resistance was made by any one, except that Mr. Hunt took to his legs and compelled Jones to send his mounted aid to overtake him. One soldier, with such instructions as these men have, would have been all-sufficient to take any one of the number now

arrested, or all of them; but if *Jones* had come with a posse of 500, or his Lecompton satellites, he could not have taken one of our men. This is our feeling as to submitting to the powers that be. Still there was an intense feeling against Jones, because they saw that he was skulking behind the arm of the General Government to do the dirty work that he dare not, and could not ever do in any other way.

Mr. Hutchinson, who was in the New England States most of the time last Winter, and is now a member of the Constitutional Legislature, is a member of our first military company, and when he was marched through our streets under the lion of Sheriff Jones, it was hardly possible to control some of the young men of the company who felt tantalized and insulted by the force of arresting an American citizen for no crime, under the sanction of the highest authority in the Union.

It was a most disgusting scene to see Jones after he had taken all he could find of the *marked* ones, call them together, and march them like culprits between the dragoons, in double file, the whole length of our town to where they had obtained provisions and room. Still we submitted, and as night came on I felt that our cause never had so firm a basis before. That seemed as one step beyond the ridiculous, and there seemed nothing left for a waning administration to do but to give up the ghost. These dragoons are, most of them, Free State men, several are from New England, and I heard one remark that his parents, who are in Massachusetts, had not the least suspicion of his whereabouts. They felt ashamed of their business, and one remarked that he had rather do a month's work than do the dirty work he had this afternoon, for "he believed we were in the right every time."

They stop over with us till morning, probably for the purpose of making further arrests. I saw, as night came on, some indications of a *roue*, but suspected nothing more destructive than tar and feathers would be made use of. But I knew not the measure of indignation that burned in *some breast*, for at 10 o'clock this evening, Jones was shot with a pistol in the back, while sitting in a tent occupied by the dragoons, near our principal street. I have seen his wound dressed, but cannot yet determine whether it will prove mortal. The ball entered between the shoulder-blades, near the neck, and the wound can be probed some three inches, but the ball seems out of reach, and no efforts are made to remove it. It has probably struck the spinal cord, as he has no use of his lower limbs. He is perfectly conscious, and has sent to Westport for his wife. Drs. Harrington and Stringfellow are in attendance, and everything possible is being done to relieve him.

We deprecate the act most fervently, and the people of Lawrence will probably hold a meeting in the morning to express our disapprobation of this high-handed crime. For such it assuredly is, whatever may have been his past life, and we will do our utmost to ferret out the assassin and bring him to punishment. This is the first blood shed by the Free-State men, if we except Cook, and it should be distinctly understood that was done, as murders are always committed, by some reckless spirit, and he only should be held responsible. It is presumed that our enemies will seek to do us injustice in the matter, and spare no pains to make capital for their tottering cause by this event. We hope to be judged candidly and impartially, and then will abide your verdict.

None of the prisoners will give bail, but expect to go to Lecompton to-morrow and await the next session of the Court. The Investigating Committee are dispatching business rapidly. Over 500 pages of foolscap are already written, and they intend to sift the affair thoroughly. I must close without knowing whether Jones can live till morning. RANDOLPH.

The Daily Spy.

SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1856.

Massachusetts Resolves on Kansas.
The following is the minority resolution, reported by Mr. Leavitt of Hampden, of the Senate, and R. C. Brown of Cheshire, of the House:

Resolved, That the people of Kansas are free and independent, fully capable of making their own laws and regulating their domestic affairs under the Constitution of the country, as they in their judgment shall deem most conducive to their own interests; and that it is inexpedient for Massachusetts to interfere or meddle with their affairs in any manner whatever.

Now, we would like to ask these two champions of the Pierce democracy, who reported this resolve, if they really suppose "the people of

Kansas are fully capable of making their own laws and regulating their own affairs," why they have no censures to cast upon the citizens of a neighboring State, who invaded that territory, and forced upon it a legislature, which, backed up by the General Government, is endeavoring to force upon the people there "domestic institutions" in utter variance with their wishes?

If Missourians, uncondemned, may "interfere in the affairs of Kansas," to so outrageous an extent, why may not the people of Massachusetts have the right barely to express an opinion as to the propriety of such acts? We distrust that species of democracy which requires Massachusetts to be dumb, over so infamous an outrage on the rights of "popular sovereignty," as the administration connives at and backs up in Kansas.

KANZAS—The mails, yesterday, brought intelligence confirming that already received, in relation to the critical condition of Affairs in Kansas, and a collision between the border ruffians, backed up by the United States troops, and the citizens of Lawrence, seems to be inevitable.

The Atlas.

SATURDAY MORNING, MAY 3, 1856.

KANSAS RESOLUTIONS.

The resolutions reported to the Senate of Massachusetts by the Special Committee to which the subject of affairs in Kansas was referred, have many merits and only one defect. They are terse, vigorous and well expressed; they exhibit a proper spirit, and they embody, we honestly believe, the opinion of nine-tenths of the voters of Massachusetts. But while they denounce as they should do, the unspeakable rascality of the border ruffians, and while they justly estimate the position of affairs in Kansas, awarding praise to what is praiseworthy and blame where it is deserved, it is singular that those who reported them should have failed to touch the knob of the whole matter. The fact that the people of Kansas, having, according to established precedent, adopted a Constitution, have also asked for admission into the Union of the State of Kansas, it seems to us is too important a one to be ignored in resolutions like these. Indeed, while the wrongs to which the Kansas settlers have been subjected, are admitted, it must be evident, we think, to every member of the Legislature, that the only way in which those wrongs can be redressed, is by a recognition of that government which the real people of Kansas have formed, of their right to form it in their sovereign capacity, and of the wrong of attempting to subject them to the barbarous code framed for them by the Missouri invaders. There is a strange inconsistency in these resolutions. They admit the right of resistance to the ruffianly and revolutionary territorial government; but if the Topeka legislature is to be regarded as an illegal body, then Kansas at this moment is in a condition of absolute anarchy. That is precisely the condition in which these resolutions leave the State. Surely those who have examined this matter, who have marked the proceedings in Congress and have read the debates, must know that it is precisely upon this point that the whole struggle will turn. All real sympathy with Kansas, and with the brave men who are there risking life and fortune for the sake of liberty, must find its expression in an avowal of belief in their right to form a government upon a true republican basis; all other sympathy is simply theoretical, and can render them no substantial service. By the appointment of a commission to enquire into all the circumstances of the fraudulent and of the legal election, the House of Representatives have recognized this as an open question; and there can be little doubt upon which side of it the true Free State men will be found. We hope, therefore, that our Legislature will not be inclined to shirk its consideration; and that an amendment will at least be offered, which shall assert the validity of the present State government of Kansas. This will

bring on discussion, and the Free State men have no reason to fear. This, too, will compel gentlemen to show their hands; to declare openly whether they are for us or against us. If Kansas is ever to be admitted as a Free State it will be under the Constitution which she has already adopted. The overthrow of that will be the triumph of Slavery. To leave the State again at the mercy of Missouri is to give up the whole question.

Perhaps we ought to say something of the minority report, by which Messrs. Leavitt and Brown have (in a certain sense) distinguished themselves; but really it is hardly worth mentioning; for a weaker, more witless, and worse written report, never fell under our consideration. Its chief point (by no means a very acute one) is that the question does not concern us, and that the Government of Kansas, whether it may be rascally or righteous, is none of our business. The profound gentlemen who have, after infinite study, arrived at this sage conclusion, seem to have forgotten that admission of Kansas into the Union is purely a national affair, and that the question is one upon which each State (through its Representatives) will be called upon to pass. While the Minors are head over heels in love with the President, and full of admiration of his course, they tell us, at the same moment, that the whole matter belongs to Leavenworth and Lawrence and Topeka. They are in hot haste to declare that the President has issued his proclamation. They ought to know that whatever concerns the President, concerns the people of Massachusetts. They have not, simple gentlemen as they are, seen any evidence of a reliable character, that outrages have been perpetrated by the people of Missouri! Then why, in the name of common sense, did the President issue that celebrated and never-sufficiently-to-be-admired proclamation? But enough of this shabby report. It will do those who have made it little credit, even in the White House. Even Mr. Pierce will regret its feebleness, and Mr. Cushing will be disgusted by its bad grammar.

Eveing Telegraph.

BOSTON, SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1856

The News from Kansas.

The creatures of the administration, acting under the direction of their Washington masters, have succeeded to create another disturbance in Kansas. Wishing to get up a civil commotion which would interrupt the business of the Investigating Committee, or in some way do injury to the cause of the people of Kansas, the outrageous proceedings against certain men accused of being "the rescuers of Branson" were revived. Our readers will recollect the circumstances under which the border ruffians undertook to carry off Mr. Branson, at Hickory Point. One of the ruffians, named Coleman, had deliberately murdered one of Branson's neighbors, named Dow, a very peaceable and worthy citizen. In order to make it impossible for Branson to be a witness against them, three of them swore that they were afraid Branson would kill them, and "Sheriff Jones" was employed to seize him and carry him off. They had taken him and were proceeding to the ruffian head quarters, when they encountered some of Branson's friends, who then refused to go any farther with them. Immediately certain free State men were denounced as "the rescuers of Branson," and circulars were issued and spread through the border counties of Missouri, calling for volunteers to invade the territory and destroy Lawrence. We all know what followed.

Since that time, Coleman, the murderer, has lived among the administration officials and ruffians, in peace and honor. We do not hear of proceedings instituted against him. Some of these officials are themselves murderers. It will be remembered that Mr. Barber was murdered by one of them. Now this business of arresting "the rescuers of Branson" has been revived as the best entertainment the ruffians could provide for the Investigating Committee. All the outrages and disturbances connected with the murder of Dow, were contrived by the border ruffian leaders to furnish an excuse for employing an army of their followers

subdue and exterminate the Free State settlers. They marched against Lawrence, uttering terrible threats, and committing robberies, murders, and all sorts of outrages, until their course was arrested by a lack of whisky aided by fear of the Sharpe's rifles. Now the infamous proceedings against Branson and his friends are revived for other ruffianly purposes.

We copy from the Kansas correspondence of the St. Louis Democrat, an account of the recent proceedings of the border ruffian power in that quarter, assisted by a detachment of United States troops from Fort Leavenworth. No resistance was offered to this force. It appears that Colonel Sumner, while compelled to act by an order from Washington, is ashamed of the business; and the correspondent of the Democrat says, "the soldiers dislike the business they are engaged in." It appears that "Sheriff Jones" was shot at Lawrence, on the evening of the 23d of April, while sitting in a tent. It was an act of personal vengeance, but, the perpetrator of this deed had not been discovered. It is one of the results of the outrages, robberies and murders inflicted on the free State people, last winter, when Jones and others were employed by the border ruffians to get up such a disturbance as would be an excuse for invading and sacking Lawrence.

There is something so fiendlike in the course of the Pierce administration towards the people of Kansas that even the most callous of the "soldiers of fortune" who endorse and defend it, for pay, must sometimes shudder at the baseness required of them. The constant aim is to trample the Kansas settlers underfoot and deliver them up to all sorts of outrages, in order to provoke resentment and disturbance, and thus get an excuse for dragging them into trembling submission to Atchison and the border ruffians. These men had nothing to lose by getting up such a disturbance at this time; and they believed it might help them, by interrupting or embarrassing the proceedings of the Congressional Committee, or by provoking the free State men to rash and reckless acts of resistance and vengeance. It appears, however, that the Lawrence people could not be provoked to resist the United States troops. The only violence connected with the proceedings, besides that on the side of the ruffians, was the shooting Jones by some unknown person who took this occasion to wreak his vengeance on this man.

KANSAS.—The Herald of Freedom of the 14th inst. has been received, and brings us the following items of intelligence. The Herald dwells upon the fact that the need of more saw mills is at present the great want of that country, and urges every party leaving the East for Kansas to unite their purses and bring a first-rate mill with them. It is indispensable to every colony. Lumber is the prime necessity every where. Lawrence alone could keep twelve saw mills in constant operation.

The Kansas City Enterprise is urging the project of setting apart a day for the purpose of electing a Governor instead of the one appointed according to law! This is only carrying the new-fangled doctrine of squatter sovereignty one step farther than the law contemplates, and we really cannot see how they who recognize the doctrine can object to such a procedure. It is no more illegal than the repeal of the Missouri Compromise itself. We will see, however, if attempted, whether the government of Washington has the will or the power to enforce its own laws and to support its own appointed officers. Last June it evoked a vast array of military strength to execute the fugitive slave law upon one man. Let us see if the other laws of Congress have any claims to executive support when threatened with open combined opposition.

The Kansas river is lower now than at any other period; a rise before the middle of May was not expected. The Missouri river is equally low. A line of covered carriages between Lawrence and Kansas city was supplying the place of a steamboat.

A new city called Easton has been laid out at Dawson's crossing, on the military road to Fort Riley. It has long been an important trading post, is situated in a rich and fertile portion of the country, is surrounded by timber, coal, and lime rock in abundance, and promises to become an important inland town. Another

new city, to be called Boston, has recently been commenced on the north side of the Kansas river, at the junction of that stream and the Big Blue. The city site is of unsurpassed beauty and has a large back country, adapted to a more dense population than any other town site on the Kansas river.

The Boston association is composed of fifty proprietors. They are actual operatives on the ground. They have commenced building this town to make themselves and families homes, and not for speculation. They are men of intelligence, enterprise, moral worth, and good pockets. Measures have already been adopted for securing a complete title to the town site, embracing ten quarter sections. Arrangements have also been made for introducing mills and machinery—for building a wall house, and fitting a steamboat landing, and for placing a ferry across the Kansas and the mouth of the Blue. The organization is a joint stock company, as will be seen by the following, which is a section from the constitution:—"The stock of the association shall be divided among the original proprietors—fifty in number. 100 shares shall be reserved for religious and educational purposes; 100 may, at the discretion of the Trustees, be offered as an inducement for the introduction of mills and machinery; and 300 shall be held at the disposal of the Trustees, to be assigned to new members, and otherwise applied as may be deemed for the best interests of the association."

On the 6th inst. the thermometer reached 90° in the shade, at 3 in the afternoon.

A member of the Hampden County Colony in Kansas writes to the Springfield Republican, that they have been presented with a valuable section of land on the Neosho River, about a hundred miles southeast of Kansas city. The situation is said to be one of the most eligible and promising portions of that fair country. On that river, he writes, there is abundant wood, and the water is good; and what is of more importance, and what will prove of unbounded wealth to this association, is the fact, that at this point there is a superior and a continual water power,—sufficient for the purposes of this part of the country for many years to come.

The same correspondent adds:—"The emigration into the territory is tremendous; camp fires illumine the heavens in all directions, and although camp life is pleasant and romantic in some respects, we are anxious to arrive at our destined home."

Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Coml Advertiser writes that Governor Reeder is expected to arrive in that city in a few days, and that he "will be ed to lay before the President a satisfactory report of the condition of things in that territory. eb, of Kansas, formerly of Pennsylvania, is now ashington, and states, as I hear, that the bona sters of Kansas, are, by a large majority, in favor course pursued by Gov. Reeder—who is not an ionist, and is strictly impartial as between the lavery and anti-slavery parties, and seeks only rve law and order in the territory. Gov. Reeder submit to the Government the question, whether eritorial law will justify the reception of the s of the non-resident Missourians. He had grant- ertificates of election for districts which were not ested; but withholds them in contested cases, un- is decided that the Missouri men may legally y elections by force or fraud, in a territory of ch they are not inhabitants. The writer antici- as that the President will do justice in this case, support Gov. Reeder in opposition to the demand he Missourians."

he Kansas association of Cincinnati, Ohio, have cted a site for a settlement, nearly opposite Fort ey, on the Kansas river, and given it the name of nhattan.

A movement is going on in Indiana for the settle- At of Kansas by freemen. Several citizens of Vigo unty, all in comfortable circumstances, have just orted for the new territory, impelled solely by the sire to take part in the pending struggle, and more e soon to follow, and that county is but a specimen the entire State. Illinois is also resolved to do her rt in the great work; from these two States from vo to three thousand emigrants may be counted on is year, and from Ohio thousands are also to be ex- pected.

the still binding guarantees of the Missouri Compromise, which guaranteed freedom "forever" to the territories, we do not believe. There may be a severe and desperate struggle before freedom finally triumphs; but we cannot believe the free States will ever assent to the admission of Kansas as a slave State under such, or even under any circumstances. But that these outrages will be repeated with even greater violations of public law and private right, at the next election, that they will be resisted by the inhabitants armed in the defence of their sacred privileges of American citizens, and that blood will be shed in the next endeavor to exercise "popular sovereignty" after the fashion of Cass, Douglas, Pierce & Co., can hardly admit of a doubt. A correspondent of the Milwaukee Sentinel, a writer vouched for by the journal as in every way reliable, after describing the scenes of lawless violence enacted at Lawrence, writes: "It was humiliating to feel ourselves trampled upon and ground into the very dust, in our dearest rights, without the power to defend or protect ourselves. But mark you, dear reader! It is THE LAST TIME! If I do not much mistake the feelings and resolutions of our people, the next time we are found in the dust from such influences, it will be in death! Liberty and her votaries will perish together."

Other accounts speak of a regular armed organization on the part of the legal inhabitants, in order to resist another invasion from Missouri. Such a course would seem to be the only one left to the citizens, short of abject and disgraceful submission to wrong and outrage, but that it can hardly fail to lead to collision, strife and bloodshed, seems but too probable.

MASSACHUSETTS AND KANSAS.—Our Legislature appears nearly to have made up its mind to speak on the Kansas question, and we are glad it is not too late. True, there is a minority, or rather, a minimum report, but we think the whole General Court, with no dissent worth mentioning, is ready to speak out distinctly the sense of Massachusetts. That sense must be very decided, or the federal hand organs would not be taking such excessive pains to persuade the people that Kansas is sure of being a Free State if left to Douglas's bill. We believe, or we might say we know, that every Whig, American, and Republican, and every Democrat out of the atmosphere of federal offices, wishes Kansas admitted into the Union as she is at present organized—that making her a free State is a certainty, and with her own consent. There may be some who for their own political ends might not be willing openly to vote according to their wishes, but we believe if it were put to vote to-day the majority in favor of admission on the present application would be four to one throughout the Commonwealth. The Legislature may therefore safely declare this to be the sense of Massachusetts. Its doing so will tell at Washington like another New Hampshire, Rhode Island or Connecticut election. Such we have no doubt is intended to be the effect of the resolutions offered by the majority report. But we hope they may be made a little more explicit on one point, so that the Douglas Democracy at Washington may not be able to slander and parry them as non-committal on the very question now before Congress, whether Kansas shall be admitted on her own pending application, or be left to the effect of Douglas's "enabling act," the latter being equally certain, according to the hand-organs aforesaid, to make her speedily a free State.

It is important that Massachusetts, if she speaks at all, should speak to the precise point, frankly, honestly, and unmistakably; for notwithstanding what custom-house officers say, the only chance Kansas has of becoming a free State, is that of being admitted on her present application with the Topeka Constitution, unless the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention should be the new free State party in the next Presidential election—and to the latter event we, with all our hopes, do not wish to leave her, nor do we believe the people of Massachusetts do. —Boston Chronicle. May 31st

of the soldiery of the United States restrained the invaders, so far as we know, was permitted to enjoy even such "squatter sovereignty" as the Nebraska bill holds out to the settlers of Kansas. Everywhere else, so far as we have any returns, the legal voters were driven from the polls, and their places usurped by drunken rowdies and a riotous mob from Missouri, who had no more legal right to vote in Kansas than they have in Boston.

Perhaps the most discreditable feature in this outrageous affair is the paltry, shuffling manner in which the Administration journals attempt to palliate or to gloss over these atrocities. They will not see in them the one inevitable conclusion to which it points, that all this is the necessary and unavoidable result of the infamous violation of the compromise of 1820. Everything but this is by them admitted. The Boston Post seeks to throw some of the responsibility upon the free-soilers, who in their attempts to people Kansas with free men, have, according to that print, only aroused the ire of the Missourians! To be sure they have only done what they have a perfect right to do even under the Nebraska bill; they have only done as their rights, their interests, and their duty as citizens of a free republic called upon them to do. They have not, perhaps, always acted with the most perfect regard to prudence or good policy, in the manner in which they have set about these things, or as such immaculate infallibilities as the Post would have advised. They have been open, outspoken, above-board, and manly, in all they have done. They should have been more servile and cunning, and less frank and honest. Perhaps in this way they would have escaped the outrages which they have drawn upon themselves. So argue such journals as the Post; but this is all nonsense, and the time-serving sycophants who make use of it are as well aware of it as others. They know better. They know that, after the first great outrage had levelled the only barrier that really protected Kansas from the inroads of slavery, there was, in reality, no means whatever of preventing just such outrages as those which have set at defiance the constituted authorities; violated the sacred right of the ballot; driven with violence, abuse, and personal injury, the legal inhabitants from the enjoyment of their guaranteed rights; and which, if again attempted, will inevitably deluge its soil with blood—that is, if there be any manhood or sense of self respect left among its rightful inhabitants.

The New Hampshire Patriot, in its last issue, shifts somewhat its grounds of palliation, and no longer attempts to excuse or to defend these outrages. It will not, however, see in them the natural consequences of the Nebraska bill. They are not, it argues, the effects of that measure, but are in violation of it. Yet the Patriot fails to show that if that bill had never passed, these outrages would not have been simply impossible, because no success could, under any circumstances, have crowned them, as has, for the present, been the case in Kansas. Owing to the neglect of certain formalities in not disputing the election, this mob of lawless intruders are now in undisputed possession of the new Legislature, to such an extent that not even the Executive veto of the governor can control them. If the Missouri Compromise had not been rescinded, it must be obvious to the meanest comprehension that Senator Atchison and his lawless crew would have had no temptation to commit these violations of the ballot, because they would have gained nothing by success. Slavery would have been still an impossibility forbidden by the law of 1820. This last subterfuge is, accordingly, really as valueless as that which seeks to shift the responsibility from Atchison and his drunken desperadoes, who have acted in violation of all law, to the earnest, sincere devotees of freedom, who have sought, under the protection of our laws, to plant free colonies in the territory of Kansas.

What is to be the result of all this it is not easy to foresee. That slavery will eventually triumph in this contest; that wrong, violence and outrage will be suffered to force that institution into Kansas, against the wishes of its inhabitants, against the moral sense of the entire North and the most respectable portion of the citizens of the southern States, and in spite of

the still binding guarantees of the Missouri Compromise, which guaranteed freedom "force" to those territories, we do not believe. There may be a severe and desperate struggle before freedom finally triumphs; but we cannot believe the free States will ever assent to the admission of Kansas as a slave State under such, or even under any circumstances. But that these outrages will be repeated with even greater violations of public law and private right, at the next election, that they will be resisted by the inhabitants armed in the defence of their sacred privileges of American citizens, and that blood will be shed in the next endeavor to exercise "popular sovereignty" after the fashion of Cass, Douglas, Pierce & Co., can hardly admit of a doubt. A correspondent of the Milwaukee Sentinel, a writer vouched for by that journal as in every way reliable, a ter describing the scenes of lawless violence enacted at Lawrence, writes: "It was humiliating to feel ourselves trampled upon and ground into the very dust, in our dearest rights, without the power to defend or protect ourselves. But mark you, dear reader! It is **THEY LAST TIME!** If I do not much mistake the feelings and resolutions of our people, the next time we are found in the dust from such influences, it will be in death! Liberty and her votaries will perish together."

Other accounts speak of a regular armed organization on the part of the legal inhabitants, in order to resist another invasion from Missouri. Such a course would seem to be the only one left to the citizens, short of abject and disgraceful submission to wrong and outrage, but that it can hardly fail to lead to collision, strife and bloodshed, seems but too probable.

MASSACHUSETTS ON KANSAS.—Our Legislature appears nearly to have made up its mind to speak on the Kansas question, and we are glad it is not too late. True, there is a minority, or rather, a *minorium* report, but we think the whole General Court, with no dissent worth mentioning, is ready to speak out distinctly the sense of Massachusetts. That sense must be very decided, or the federal hand organs would not be taking such excessive pains to persuade the people that Kansas is sure of being a Free State if left to Douglas's bill. We believe, or we might say we know, that every Whig, American, and Republican, and every Democrat out of the atmosphere of federal offices, wishes Kansas admitted into the Union as she is at present organized—that making her a free State to a certainty, and with her own political ends might not be willing openly to vote according to their wishes, but we believe if it were put to vote to-day the majority in favor of admission on the present application would be four to one throughout the Commonwealth. The Legislature may therefore safely declare this to be the sense of Massachusetts. Its doing so will tell at Washington like another New Hampshire, Rhode Island or Connecticut election. Such we have no doubt is intended to be the effect of the resolutions offered by the majority report. But we hope they may be made a little more explicit on one point, so that the Douglas Democracy at Washington may not be able to slander and parry them as non-committal on the very question now before Congress, whether Kansas shall be admitted on her own pending application, or be left to the effect of Douglas's "enabling act," the latter being equally certain, according to the hand-organs aforesaid, to make her speedily a free State.

It is important that Massachusetts, if she speaks at all, should speak to the precise point, frankly, honestly, and unmistakably; for notwithstanding what custom-house officers say, the only chance Kansas has of becoming a free State, is that of being admitted on her present application with the Topeka Constitution, unless the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention should be the new free State party in the next Presidential election—and to the latter event we, with all our hopes, do not wish to leave her, nor do we believe the people of Massachusetts do.—*Boston Chronicle*, May 3, 1854

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THE KANSAS VILLANIES.

The more full and the details we receive of the outrages committed in Kansas at the late election, the more indefensible is the whole affair made to appear. Hardly a single precinct in the territory escaped the inroad of the lawless intruders. Only one single district, that of Fort Reilly, where a wholesome fear

FROM KANSAS.

THE NEW TROUBLES AT LAWRENCE

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, Tuesday, April 22, 1856.

Another invasion of Kansas has been threatened for the sixth time are the minions of Slavery propagandism in Western Missouri declaring that they will exterminate—root and branch—every vestige of "Abolitionism" in Kansas. Companies are drilling and preparing in the border towns of Missouri, with the avowed design of utterly demolishing the City of Lawrence and "cleaning out" the Territory. Circumstances seem to portend even greater excitement than existed in the Fall of 1855. Messengers have been dispatched by the authority of the Territorial Bogus Legislature in every direction, calling upon the friends of "law and order" to rally to the support of the Slavery standard. Every man that can be pressed into the service of the Administration has been called upon to enroll himself in the posse comitatus of the already notorious Sheriff Jones; and what is the cause of all this excitement? Briefly this: During the last Fall one Branson was taken from the custody of Sheriff Jones. This "rescue" was the origin of the "war," and as a sequel to this rescue, Sheriff Jones came into Lawrence on Saturday last (April 19) armed with a warrant issued by one Hugi Cameron, (Justice of the Peace under the Bogus Legislature,) and charging S. N. Wood, a good and true friend of Freedom, with aiding in the rescue of the aforementioned Branson in the Fall of 1855. The aforesaid Sheriff attempted to arrest the afore said Wood; but Wood, not recognizing the laws of the Legislature elected by Missouri Ruffians, would not be arrested. Here was a *fix*; but Sheriff Jones, not meeting with the encouragement that the flourishing City of Lawrence might be expected to afford, left the place in disgust.

On the next day, (Sunday,) however, he returned, bringing with him eleven men as a posse. He then attempted to arrest Wood, and in addition to his former exploits he would have arrested Mr. Tappan, correspondent of The N. Y. Times, for assisting in the rescue of Wood the day before, but he couldn't. Thus the matter stands, Sheriff Jones averring that he will have his men, dead or alive, and the men declaring that he won't. How the matter will end, no one can tell. The Border Ruffians declare that they are coming up here again; but whether they will or not, remains to be seen. My opinion is that they will stay at home; but I may be in an error. The most intense excitement prevails. The people of Lawrence and Kansas are determined not to submit to the authority of a foreign legislature. Those most skilled in Missouri and Slavery (synonymous) tactics seem to think that the object of Gov. Shannon and his menials is to bring about a collision of the Free-State men and the United States authorities. They can never do that. The people of Kansas love the Union, will stand by and support it, will "keep step" to its "music;" but will submit to an armed body of Missourians or a body of their creating—NEVER! Gov. Robinson and Gov. Reeder arrived in town from Washington last Friday at the same time with the Kansas Investigating Committee.

A meeting was held at Union Hall on Friday evening to welcome the emigrants from New-Haven, when Govs. Robinson, Reeder and others spoke. The Kansas Investigating Committee have taken rooms at the Free-State Hotel, where they will hold their sessions. Mr. Oliver has not yet arrived. BOSTWICK.

THE NEW TROUBLES IN KANSAS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 23, 1856.

The first scene in the farce of "We will subdue you" has been enacted—United States troops are quartered in the City of Lawrence. The long-expected crisis has arrived, and the Administration has consigned itself thereby to eternal oblivion; or, if remembered, it will only be as the enemies of Freedom and the tools of American Slavery. I mentioned in my last communication that Sheriff Jones attempted on Saturday last to arrest S. N. Wood for the rescue of Branson in the Fall of 1855; that he did not succeed, and that on Sunday, April 20, he came into town and attempted to arrest S. F. Tappan and one Munroe for the rescue of Wood on the day before. I omitted to mention,

however, that on Sunday he commanded some fifteen of the citizens of Lawrence to assist him in the execution of the laws, and that upon their refusing so to do, he took their names. To-day (April 23) he again appeared to the citizens of Lawrence, accompanied by a detachment of twelve United States troops, detailed from the force at Fort Leavenworth, and under the command of Lieut. McIntosh.

Thus supported by the Government, he proceeded to make several arrests (not finding, however, his would-be prisoners of Sunday). The persons arrested are the following: John Hutchinson, Geo. F. Warren, F. Hunt, A. J. Smith, J. G. Fuller, and E. D. Lyman. The first four were arrested for refusing to assist Sheriff Jones on Sunday, and the last two for assisting in the rescue of Wood on the day before. Mr. Hutchinson is a lawyer of this place, of ability; was a member of the Territorial Legislature, but kicked out on account of his Free-State principles, and was also a member of the Topeka Legislature, and a lecturing delegate to the East during the last Winter. The other prisoners are all prominent members of the Free-State party. Not one particle of resistance was made to the United States forces, although every man steadfastly resisted the authority of Sheriff Jones to the last. One of the United States officers might arrest the whole City of Lawrence, but Sheriff Jones, with one thousand other men, could not take one man out of this place. Our citizens never intended, nor do they now intend, to resist any United States authority, but Territorial officers they never will submit to. I have been favored with an extended conversation with Lieut. McIntosh and his command. They are all Free-State men. Lieut. McIntosh stated before a large crowd, that, never since he was in the United States service, had he been ordered upon a disgraceful mission until now, but that he must submit to orders. An intelligent man under his command told me that "never before had he blushed to be called a United States soldier"—and, if things thus progress, may I not say that the time is not far distant when we may all blush to be called American citizens? In arresting Mr. Hunt, Jones saw him at a distance, and called to him, "You are my prisoner," and upon Hunt's refusing to halt Jones drew his revolver and threatened to shoot him. Whether this is a legal manner of taking a prisoner in the States or not I will leave others to decide, but will simply say, that in Kansas anything is legal that will tend to build up the interests of Slavery propagandism.

Intense excitement prevails in Lawrence. Knots of men are to be seen at the corner of every street discussing the all-absorbing theme. I think that all are determined to acquiesce in the orders of the United States authorities, but in every breast is strengthened the resolve that "Kansas must be free."

The Kansas Investigating Committee are here in the midst of all the excitement, coolly looking on. Whitfield and Reeder are here also. The Committee will have an opportunity of learning the determination of the Free-State men of Kansas to their own personal satisfaction if not to the satisfaction of the body for whom they act. The prisoners will be taken to Lecompton, of course, for trial. The result can be easily foreseen. They will either be fined or imprisoned for a crime of which none have been guilty.

THURSDAY EVE, April 24, 1856.

P. S.—Last night, about 10 o'clock, Sheriff Jones was shot by an unknown hand. He came out of a house where the prisoners were confined, and was proceeding to the camp of the soldiers, when a shot was fired, the ball passing through the leg of his pants without injuring him. When he arrived within the tent he remarked that he had been shot at, and at the instant a ball was lodged in the middle of his spinal column. His lower extremities were immediately paralyzed, and he probably cannot recover. He does not expect to recover himself. He is stopping at the Free-State Hotel. The following is a copy of the letter of Col. Sumner to the Mayor of Lawrence: BOSTWICK.

From Another Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Wednesday, April 23, 1856.

Col. S. N. Wood, who has been lecturing for some time in the East for the good of the Free-State movement, returned to this city early last week, accompanied by a large company of actual settlers from Ohio and Western Pennsylvania. On Saturday last Mr. Postmaster Jones of Westport, Missouri, who is also "Sheriff" of Douglas County, Kansas, attempted, in his last-named capacity to arrest Col. Wood on a writ issued under the Territorial code enacted by the Bogus Legislature. Col. Wood, and twelve or fourteen others, are charged with participating in the rescue of Branson, during the war here last Winter. When

Jones came here on Saturday he did not arrive to writ properly. He did not say by what authority he made the arrest, and as Wood declined being arrested in that way, a scuffle ensued, in which Jones lost a revolver, which he had attempted to use. No resistance whatever was made by the people; they only refused to assist Jones in his unmanly undertaking when called upon to do so.

On Sunday he returned with a posse of men from Lecompton, and, while most people were in church, he tried to arrest two or three others; but, as he read no writ, they refused to go with him. On this occasion, as yesterday, no resistance whatever was made, except by those whom he tried to arrest. He returned that evening to Lecompton and reported to Gov. Shannon with characteristic veracity that the city of Lawrence had resisted the law, and that he must have the troops to make the arrests. Gov. Shannon sent a messenger to Lexington, Mo., to telegraph to the President. A reply was received on Monday night, and to-day (Tuesday) "Sheriff" Jones returned.

I have thrown together these few facts. I make no comments, for I think when the people of the North find that the people of Kansas are at last subjugated and conquered people—subjugated by the arms that ought to defend them and preserve to them their liberties—comment will be unnecessary.

LAWRENCE, Thursday, April 24—6 A. M.

Since mailing my letter of yesterday, I learn that last night about 10 o'clock Sheriff Jones was shot in one of the cavalry camps by some person unknown. The ball took effect in the spine, and he was carried to the Free-State Hotel, where he is attended by Dr. Stringfellow. He is not expected to live. More troops have been sent to Fort Leavenworth, but there will be no collision, as the Free-State men will not resist the United States authorities. The mail closes. POTTER.

From Another Correspondent.

LEAVENWORTH, Thursday, April 24, 1856.

There is much excitement at this place among the violent Pro-Slavery men. The commandant of the militia here swears to revenge the blood of Jones upon all Free-State men. Little danger, however, is apprehended. The Free-State men of Lawrence as a body are, no doubt, free from being implicated in the death of Jones. They have not countenanced violent resistance of the execution of any legal process, and would not resist any process attempted to be enforced by United States troops. Some incensed and irresponsible individual has killed Jones. Yet it is much to be regretted that this event has happened at this time.

It is believed that it is the policy of the Slave-State leaders now, during the investigations of the Congressional Committee, to incite Free-State men to violence and to violation of law. I trust they may fail in this. The question of the validity of the acts of the Pro-Slavery Legislature is now being inquired into. Better to submit to their execution now than to injure the cause by violence invited for that end by our enemies. This is the counsel of the prominent Free-State-men here. F.

ISSUES.

Napoleon esteemed it a cardinal principle of the art of war, to be always strongest on the point of actual conflict. Let your adversary be three to one, if he will, every where else; it suffices that you are three to two on the present field of battle. Thus he won many brilliant victories; thus he lost Waterloo—Blucher arriving there at nightfall, and falling upon the exhausted and decimated French battalions, while Grouchy remained miles away.

If it be wise thus to be strongest on the actual field of conflict, it would seem obviously desirable to fight the battle if possible on the ground where you are positively strongest and your adversary relatively weakest. Was not Wellington justified in defending the lines of Torres Vedras until he found himself in force to justify an advance to Badajoz, Salamanca and Vittoria?

There are many just grounds of opposition to the policy, measures and ascendancy of the Slave Power.

in this country, which have, to greater or less extent, attracted the attention and aroused the indignation of the country. But the one question on which all earnest opponents of the Slave Power are united and determined is the Kansas Question.

The American People are familiar with the main facts which underlie this case. They know that Kansas was organized from territory solemnly consecrated to Free Labor forever by the Missouri Compact of 1820—that the Slave States gave to that compact its principal support, while three-fourths of the Northern Members resisted it to the last—that the South demanded and received a valuable consideration for relinquishing this territory—that several Slave States have since been nurtured, organized and admitted in virtue of this Missouri Compact—that the South proposed and carried an extension of its provisions to Texas, in the Annexation of that country, and was ready to extend it to the Pacific, in the acquisition of New Mexico and California. But the North said "No: we will abide by what is established, but we are not willing to extend it;" whereupon the South and her Northern servitors repudiate the Compact of 1820, and demand the opening of every acre of the National Territories to Slave-labor and Slave-breeding. The concession of this demand is embodied in Senator Douglas's Nebraska bill whereby Kansas obtained a distinct existence; the efforts of a large majority of the settlers of Kansas to make her a Free State, in defiance of the purpose but in accordance with the provisions of the Douglas act, form the ground of the present controversy.

At the time of the passage of this act, its Northern supporters generally commended and eulogized it as embodying the principle of Squatter Sovereignty—as affirming and guaranteeing the right of the People of any Territory to determine whether Slavery should or should not be tolerated therein. Gen. Cass has always maintained, and still insists, that Slavery cannot legally exist in any Territory until the People thereof shall, through their Legislature, establish it. But the South now unanimously insists, and most of the Northern Douglasites tacitly admit, that every slave-holder has an indefeasible right, guaranteed by the Federal Constitution, to take his slaves into any Federal Territory, and there sell, work, and flog them precisely as in a Slave State, and that the People of said Territory, though ten to one hostile to Slavery, have no right and no power to obstruct him. Nay: they are held to be bound not merely to acquiesce in his planting of Slavery in their midst, but to actively assist, by legislation and by personal effort, to maintain his authority over his negroes or reduce them to subjection if they resist, and to help him recover them if they run away. When the Territory, after years of submission to Slavery, shall be allowed to form a State Constitution and apply for admission into the Union, she may exclude Slavery if she sees fit; but, as a slaveholding Territory always becomes a Slave State, and a Free Territory invariably becomes a Free State, this pretense of guaranteeing liberty to expel Slavery at some indefinite future day, becomes a mockery and a snare. The triumph of the principles embraced in the Nebraska bill ensures the establishment of Slavery in every present and future Territory into which slaveholders may choose to carry it.

Before us to-day stands Kansas, the victim of gigantic frauds perpetrated by invaders from Missouri in her Delegate and Legislative Elections—trampled under foot by the Slave Power through villainies which demons should blush for but which the President and Senate, with about half the House, either eagerly uphold or sneakily connive at—and demands admission into the Union. Unless soon admitted under her Free-State Constitution, she must succumb to her invaders and persecutors, backed as they are by the Army, Treasury and Judiciary of the Union. At present, we find the Slavery Party deliberately provoking a collision with the Free-State men in Lawrence, by sending bogus officers into that city to serve process under the authority and acts of the Missouri invaders' Territorial Legislature, which it is notorious that the Free-State men hold to be fraudulent

and invalid. It is plain that the Slavery party in Kansas and in Western Missouri are determined on provoking a collision, in the hope of thereby breaking up and defeating the investigation which the House of Representatives has ordered and initiated.

"*Shall Kansas be a Free State?*" Her people desire it; her Convention has decreed it; good faith and our country's good name among nations conspire to demand it. To subjugate her now to Slavery would expose the American Union to the execrations of the liberal, just and humane throughout the world. Yet to save her, the Federal Administration must be changed, the Senate improved, and she admitted into the Union as a free and sovereign State. By no other means do we see how she is to be saved from the pit which Atchison & Co. have dug for her, and in which Pierce and Douglas are plainly conspiring to engulf her.

Why not, then, make her immediate Admission as a Free State the sole question before the public, until such Admission is accomplished? Are not her and our adversaries plainly gratified whenever they can entice us into discussions of the Fugitive Slave Act and all manner of abstractions respecting Slavery? Shall we be weaker for any other conflict after we shall have fought and won the battle of Kansas, adding her to the number of Free States? Can we better refute the slang which makes us the associates and "worshippers" of negroes than by fighting the battle of a Free State which, through no act or purpose of ours, is destined for the homes of white people only? Can we make any issue so fit or so favorable as that which looks to the fate of Kansas alone?

Other questions must have prominence in due order. Let us first grapple with and dispose of this one. The simpler and clearer the proposition on which we take issue before the people, the more speedy and certain must be our triumph. And beside, it is always advisable, where practicable, to do one thing at a time.

"One by one the sands are flowing;
One by one the moments fall:
Some are coming, some are going—
Do not strive to grasp them all."

"One by one thy duties wait thee;
Let thy whole strength go to each.
Let no future dreams elate thee:
Learn thou first what these can teach."

"Hours are golden links—God's token—
Reaching Heaven; but one by one
Take them, lest the charm be broken
Ere the pilgrimage be done."

That Mr. Douglas, the great originator of the Squatter-Sovereignty fraud and the Border-Ruffian invasion and subjugation of Kansas, should think the present Government of Nicaragua—that is to say, the fillibuster Government—"legitimate," and our own Government greatly to blame for not acknowledging it as such, is perfectly consistent. Why a Government that backs up "Sheriff" Jones and the Border Ruffians in Kansas, should hesitate to acknowledge Walker in Nicaragua, is by no means easy to see; and, as in the race after Southern votes, President Pierce followed Mr. Douglas's lead in the one case, we do not perceive how he can well escape doing it in the other—unless, indeed, General Walker should save him from that necessity by resigning his office.

Had not Walker just as good a right to offer his services to the "Democratic party" of Nicaragua—for so the party called itself by which his aid was invoked—as the Missouri Border Ruffians had to volunteer their services to aid the "Democratic" Pierce and Douglas party in Kansas in organizing the Government of that Territory on a "sounder" basis? And are not he and his fillibusters just as much citizens of Nicaragua, and entitled to rule that State, as the Missouri invaders were citizens of Kansas, and entitled to choose a Legislature for that Territory?

A correspondent resident on the spot, who has personal knowledge of the fact, being himself a Missourian, informs us that land in Missouri, twenty-five miles from Keokuk in Iowa, and looking to that town for a market, can be bought for \$3 an acre, in any quantity, while land no better is worth in Iowa, at the same distance from Keokuk, \$15 to \$20 an acre. Seventeen dollars an acre as a

tax to support the institution of Slavery is pretty liberal, and in a good many instances sublimely disinterested, too, as the owners of the land very often own no slaves, and have the additional mortification of being looked down upon as an inferior class by those who do.

FROM WASHINGTON.

BOUNTY LAND LAWS—KANSAS DEBATE.
From Our Special Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, May 1, 1856.

The new Bounty Land bill went through the House to-day by a heavy majority. The fifth and sixth sections of the Senate's amendments were struck out. These sections refer to various extensive classes of meritorious individuals whom it seems hard to exclude from the now long and comprehensive list of the beneficiaries of Government. Among these classes thus excluded are those who have blacked the boots, lighted the candles, or copied the letters of subordinates on board of revenue cutters cruising during some one of our late bloody wars, that of Greytown we presume included. And also (still ranker injustice!) all that large class of individuals on our frontiers who have been told, at one time or another, that Indians were lurking round the settlements watching a chance for plunder, and that they must look out; and likewise all other fellows in every direction who have, at one time or another, been told to have their firelocks ready against armed invasion from some bloody foreign nation. Why these men, who are our fellow-citizens, and entitled to the thanks of a grateful country equally with other classes provided for by these gratuities of public lands, should suffer this marked injustice at the hands of Congress, seems hard to comprehend. It is to be hoped that another bill to be introduced at no distant day, may right their unparalleled wrongs. Indeed, we hope a bill may not be long wanting which shall include every fellow who is willing to swear that he ever saw a bloody foreigner, or ever had a shot at a "red skin," whether man, squaw, or baby; or who, in short, ever pulled a trigger with his gun aimed in the direction of any foreign country, or across any Indian trails. It is high time that something comprehensive was done on this bounty land business. The rewards of that heroic patriotism so gloriously displayed in

killing and maiming our fellow beings have been shamefully inadequate, and the love for that species of employment may be expected to dwindle and die if no more determined efforts are made to encourage the occupation. There is, to be sure, a delicious glow arising from the pursuit and tomahawking of frightened and fleeing squaws and children on the prairies, but still the "sport" of our dragoons becomes wearisome after awhile, and needs the stimulus of bounties, like the destruction of all other wild animals. Let these bounty bills then be multiplied and be brought forward with every recurring session while an Indian remains on the continent, or a foreign nation exists toward which a blunderbuss can be pointed.

Mr. Maxwell of Florida made a speech on the Slavery question after the House went into Committee of the Whole. Mr. Maxwell recognizes the fact that the North and South are at odds on this subject, and of quite opposite ways of thinking. He supposes that neither side will give way, and concludes that endless hostility is insupportable. He therefore casts about to find some mode of harmonizing these discordant opinions. He thinks he finds it in a common consent (if all parties will only agree to it) that Slavery shall be permitted to go into all the Territories. Let but both sides adopt this reasonable ground, and he concludes the country will be pacificated. We are very much of Mr. Maxwell's way of thinking. There is a small *if*, however, which prevents the realization of his very original plan. The North is not quite ready for the subjugation of both its ideas and its territory. This, however, may be a prejudice it will yet conquer. The doughfaces and Nebraska traitors are making a great strain toward this end. The Norman of the eleventh century conquered the

Saxon, chopped off his hands and put out his eyes, and sent him out among his countrymen to show the quality of the conqueror. The Saxon quailed and submitted—became the slave of the haughty Norman, while wife and daughter were prostituted before his face. It is a favorite philosophy of Southern gentlemen of a speculative turn of mind that the Southern man is the Norman of our day and the Northern man the Saxon. In any contest between them, it is confidently anticipated that the Northern Saxon's love of cash and quiet will occasion his peaceable submission to the loftier and more chivalric Southern Norman. In the subjection of the Free States that has been threatened on the floor of the Senate, we have not been told how far the old Norman example is to be imitated. Thus far it has only been vouchsafed to the pliant Saxon to know that he is to be "subdued." It is to be hoped that he may not excite agitation, or endanger the Union, or damage trade, by any improper resistance to his predestinated conqueror.

J. S. P.

THE EVENING POST.

SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 3.

SENATOR DOUGLAS SHOWING THE WHITE FEATHER.

It is now given out quite generally that Mr. Pierce has pretty much determined to transfer his Presidential mantle to the shoulders of Senator Douglas. His motives we will not stop to speculate about. It is enough to say that probably he sees no other way of preventing the Kansas policy of his administration being rebuked at the democratic convention, by the nomination of Buchanan, uncommitted on the subject, for his successor.

One of the most unmistakable evidences of the authenticity of this rumor is found in the various movements making in different quarters by the friends of Douglas, to change the presidential issue, and to divert public attention from the Kansas business. It will be observed that Senator Weller, a fast friend of Senator Douglas, has taken decided ground in favor of Walker's movements in Nicaragua; calls Walker his chosen friend; charges England with aggressive propensities in Costa Rica, and is laying the foundation of an agitation for the recognition of Walker's government in Nicaragua preparatory to an appeal to arms against England, if she ventures to co-operate with any Central American state against it. In all this, it appears by our Washington correspondence, that Senator Douglas heartily concurs, and that he is quite ready to take Mr. Walker to his arms, without a why or wherefore.

Simultaneously with this movement we find Mr. Soule a devoted friend of Mr. Douglas, the chairman of the Louisiana delegation in the last National Convention and who cast every vote for Douglas till Pierce's nomination became certain; he suddenly reappears above the political horizon. An invitation, addressed to and signed by some forty or fifty citizens of New Orleans, appears in the papers of that city, which reads as follows:

"Dear Sir: The undersigned, citizens of New Orleans, regarding the events now transpiring in Central America as of vast importance to the country at large, and to the interests of the South especially, and believing the present moment to be a critical one, which calls for prompt and energetic action on the part of the friends of the American movement in Nicaragua, and of the ulterior objects to be forwarded by that movement, have thought proper to take this method of requesting that you would furnish them such valuable information as you may possess, and lay before them such suggestions as you may think fitting, relative to the present state of affairs in Central America and kindred subjects."

What "the ulterior objects" referred to are no one need be at a loss to conjecture. They are to carry out the great purpose for which the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was initi-

ated, and to make Mr. Douglas President.

As we have had occasion to state frequently before, Douglas, Atchison and the Disunion-clique, who begat the Kansas bill, did not incur the odium of that measure and prostrate the Democratic party throughout the North, merely to run a muck for slavery in Kansas and Nebraska. The result of the struggle, so far as those territories were concerned, was of comparatively little consequence to the South. They flew at higher game. They wished to unsettle the authority of the ordinance of 1787, and the doctrine that Congress had not power to exclude slavery in new territories. That accomplished, the plan was and is to colonize and annex the Central American states as fast as possible, and with the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty to aid them, they were quite sure of making slave states as fast as they might be required for the purposes of maintaining that equilibrium which Mr. Calhoun, in his last speech in the United States Senate, declared to be the only salvation of the Union, and which, Mr. Cushing, the other day, at the Slash Cottage meeting, speaking, as he was well known to do, for the President and Secretary of War, avowed to be the policy of the administration.

These are the ulterior objects which the people of New Orleans have invited Mr. Soule to instruct them about, and which it is expected will unite the South with entire unanimity upon Mr. Douglas. He knows that he must contrive in some way to obscure and dwarf the Kansas issue in the next canvass or be disgracefully beaten, and this is the agitation with which he hopes to accomplish his object. If he can make an issue between this country and England about the validity of Walker's government, he trusts to the strength of national sympathy in favor of the American colonists who have taken service under him, with the aid of the administration, which is doubtless already secured, to give the controversy importance, and, for the time at least, sink the Kansas question out of sight.

This is the most unqualified confession of weakness which has yet been extorted from Douglas, who, through all the fiery ordeal of northern vituperation, has kept up a sort of Dutch courage, which many have mistaken for confidence in the ultimate approval of his political course by the people. We were aware that General Pierce, both before and since his election to the presidency, always had an unfortunate way of falling from his horse just before an important battle, but we thought Douglas a firmer and a bolder rider. It seems, however, that he shrinks from the final struggle, and prefers to be wounded by the stones on which he falls than by the enemies' bullets. By the elaborate efforts he is now making over the country to change the presidential issue, he practically admits that, under the Kansas standard, he cannot conquer. This admission should nerve every patriotic arm, and strengthen every patriotic heart in the country. The blows of the opposition should be followed up with renewed vigor. Victory is within our reach, if we do not allow our attention to be diverted or our exertions to slacken; and before another year rolls around we will have a statesman at the head of this government who will be President of the whole nation and not of a fraction of it; who will himself be a whole President, and not the fraction of one.

FATURDAY EVENING, MAY 3.

Spirit of the Press.

KANSAS.

The "TRIBUNE" asks—"Shall Kansas be a Free State?" To be sure it shall, and only you, and such as you, can prevent, or delay it. The South ought to pay the Tribune a premium for the fever and heat, passion and excitement, which its editorials infuse into the minds of irritable and indignant men at the South. The Southerners have been induced to emigrate to Kansas more from threats, insults, and vituperation, than from any personal or political interest they have in strengthening Slavery. But, nevertheless, all we see, and all we hear and read, goes to give an affirmative answer to the question of the Tribune. We are glad to see the Tribune does not approve the shooting of Sheriff Jones. At the same time it calls for wholesale arrests and hanging on other accounts. We quote:

Let them arrest the man charged with the murder of Dowry, him, and if, upon a verdict, he appears to be guilty, hang him, if they choose. We have no doubt they may go even to this utmost length of civil authority without meeting with the least resistance on the part of the Free State settlers. Let them take like proceedings against the three or four other persons—United States officers included—charged with similar murders, and hang them, too. They will meet with no resistance in all this, we will venture to say, on the part of the supporters of the new State Constitution.

Since Sharpe's Rifles have come into vogue, the Tribune goes in for wholesale murders and hanging. "About these days" in years gone by, we used to hear "Brother Greeley," upon Anniversary Week, preach against hanging, but he believes in it now, and in Sharpe's Rifles, too, so that he is a thousand miles and more distant from those who shoot and those who hang.

THE USE OF SHARPE'S RIFLES.

When the Reverend men of—God contributed Sharpe's Rifles, to kill, (and not to kill,—as the Bible expounds,)—they did not contemplate, doubtless,—that they would be used to shoot Sheriffs,—in the dead of night,—that is, as instruments of assassination. To not, even, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, do we impute that intended violation of the Holy Commandment,—but when men unsheathe the sword, by the sword men must die.

The following is the Free State account of the tragedy of the shooting of Jones:—

"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 as follows: 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 willing to recognize him or his authority. He had a small posse with him from Leecompton each time, but he took away none 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 Leecompton his headquarters, where Shannon, Whitfield, Biringgill, 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 apprehend them against the order 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, and these he came more particularly to arrest were not in town, and were obliged to leave, to avoid and prevent 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 culprits. Many of our people were indignant at this; still they were all arrested and taken to the room prepared for them without the least resistance, and one U. S. officer with such instructions as they have, could have accomplished the same, for we will 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 some of the kind. But, unfortunately for us, some desperado whose impulses were 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 do every means to bring the assassin to justice. The Lieut. in command has sent to Leavenworth for a larger force, but to apprehend and no further. Jones is alive this morning, but is considered very dangerous, and is confined. The ball entered between the shoulder blades near the neck, and probably injured the spine. It is hoped that the public will withhold judgment until further investigations are made public.

Several reflections impress upon us on reading this,—three of which we note

- 1st. Queer "squatter sovereignty" that, where the U. S. troops have to be called on to put down "the sovereigns."
- 2d. Odd obedience to law and order, shooting sheriffs, acting in concert with U. S. troops under the direction of Federal authority.
- 3d. The crime of thus abandoning the protective authority and power of the Federal Government over a Territory,—in order to send these "sovereigns" with rifles in hand,—to determine whether or not, should exist there, slavery or anti-slavery! Sharpe's Rifles are now substituted for the abandoned Congressional protection,—and sheriffs are shot for serving processes, instead of resisting the processes in courts of law.

ABOUT KANSAS.—We published, yesterday, confirmation of the report that Sheriff Jones had been shot at Lawrence, not in open conflict, but cowardly, while sitting in the camp at night. The attempted assassin has not been discovered. This is a pitiable use to which to put the arms that have been so freely sent to Kansas, but it is a very natural result of those persistent attempts to foster civil war in which some Republican journals have freely and unblushingly indulged. The men and journals which have gratuitously assumed to take the affairs of Kansas into their own keeping, from Col. Lane up to —, have done more than any others to make the free state movement disreputable and unpopular. This new phase of the spirit excited there will still further injure the cause of freedom in Kansas.

The only important additional information from Kansas territory is that Col. Sumner had consented to send a small detachment to Leecompton to assist the sheriff in making the necessary arrests. The following is his letter:—

“HEADQUARTERS 1ST CAVALRY,

“FORT LEAVENWORTH, Tuesday, April 22, 1856.”

“SIR: A small detachment proceeds to Leecompton this morning, on the requisition of the Governor and under the orders of the President, to assist the sheriff of Douglas County in executing several writs in which, he says, he has been resisted. I know nothing of the merits of this case, and have nothing to do with them; but I would respectfully impress upon you and upon all others in authority the necessity of yielding obedience to the proclamation and the orders of the General Government. Ours is emphatically a government of laws, and if they are set at naught there is an end to all order. I feel assured that, on reflection, you will not compel me to resort to violence in carrying out the orders of the Government.

“I am, Sir, respectfully, your obed't serv't,

“E. V. SUMNER, Col. 1st Cavalry Comd't.

“To the Mayor of Lawrence.”

Col. Sumner is so well known for his prudence and moderation, that we regard his action as conclusive against those persons who have resisted the sheriff. Indeed it has changed the tone of the leaders marvelously, and they are now preaching submission and non-resistance as earnestly as before they were valiant and clamorous for fighting. In the meantime the assassinated sheriff lies at Lawrence, paralysed in his limbs by the ball which, having been fired from behind, struck him in the spine. His recovery is not looked for.

NEW YORK HERALD.

New York, Saturday, May 3, 1856.

WRANGLING OVER THE PLUNDER.—The following extract of a confidential letter from a “free State” man in Kansas, we find in the last issue of the New York Anti-Slavery Standard:—

OWANBETON, Kansas, April 10, 1856.

Probably four-fifths of the settlers are in favor of a free State, but much to my surprise, and more to my sorrow, I found that a majority of these were governed more by self interest than by principle. The term abolitionist is used here more than at home as a reproach. Then there are too many seeking office; they have been growing together like dogs over a bone. A majority are in favor of “the black law”—a law excluding free negroes from the Territory—etc., in my opinion, according to men who have just been fighting and yet will have to fight for their own liberties.

“Excluding free negroes from the Territory?” Those “free State” squatters must be looked after. The Northern aid societies have been botching their work; for of what value is freedom to Cuffee if he is to be kicked out of the country for being free? This, we dare say, however, is a practical illustration of the philanthropy of the Sewardites when brought to the test. All sheer hypocrisy.

News from Kansas.

OUR ANTI-SLAVY CORRESPONDENCE.

ARCHERSON, (K. T.), April 14, 1856.

Money Taken Ahead—More Work and Less Politics—Southern Emigration—Arrival of the Congressional Commission, &c., &c.

Since the opening of navigation there seems to be a new phase in the affairs of the Territory. Men for the time have forgot politics and gone to work. In our own place some fifteen or twenty additional stores and warehouses are in process of erection, and other towns through the Territory evince the same bustle and stir. News are like emigrants coming in commences work at once, at fair remunerative prices. South Carolina has opened the ball by sending to us, already, some sixty emigrant men, and one hundred more are on the way.

and are... on the next bank. Besides these, a party of one or two hundred have gone up the Kansas river to settle. They all come well armed, to help support the law, if need be. Many of them are men of wealth, who bring their slaves with them. They consider that upon a farm in Kansas they can derive a larger profit for their labor than on a Southern plantation. We hear of parties from almost every Southern State already on the way, and of course give them a hearty welcome as they arrive. Most of them get claims, and many will make good crops the present season. The Topeka Legislature adjourned as soon as organized, because the members would otherwise have been arrested and arraigned for high treason. Judge Leecombe charged the Grand Jurors through his circuit to take in hand all persons usurping office, and they have done their duty so well that many of these would-be officials have already “sloped,” to avoid arrest and arraignment.

Our spring has been unusually dry as yet. Winter wheat sowed early looks well; that sowed late will prove a light crop. Farmers are sowing their spring wheat and preparing corn and bean ground, all these staples bearing abundantly. The yearly emigration from this point to Salt Lake and California furnishes a ready home market and a good price for all our raise.

A daily line of packets is now running from this point to Jefferson City, connecting with the Pacific Railroad, so that egress and ingress to the Territory is now made with ease and speed.

The commissioners from Washington, to take testimony in the Whild case, are now at Leavenworth, and will commence operations to-morrow.

The pro-slavery party have no fears of the result; the investigation is a fair one. It will show, then, that the pro-slavery party are the bone and sinew in the Territory, and are making the bona fide settlements and improvements, and that the talk about border ruffianism and Missouri outrages are things got up by the hirelings of the Eastern newspapers.

The Scioto Gazette.

DAILY, TRI-WEEKLY AND WEEKLY.

J. H. BAKER & A. P. MILLER, EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

The Fruits of the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

The golden fruits of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, as predicted by Douglas and his minions, are turned into bitter ashes. If law has been violated, if the commonest decencies of civilized life have been grossly outraged by worse than Vandal hordes, if the sanctity of the ballot box has been infamously polluted—it is all the legitimate fruit of the violation of that sacred compact the time-honored Missouri Compromise.—The responsibility of this lawless violence lies at the door of that wing of the Democratic party, including the Administration, who sustained Douglas in his iniquity. No shuffling excuses can palliate the fact that these are the legitimate fruits of their evil doings. No argument can avert the conclusion. If the law of 1820 still stood, slavery and the recent outrages in Kansas would have been an eternal impossibility. When the great barrier was destroyed, what was there to protect Kansas from the servile cunning of Slavery propagandists!

The more recent outrage of the infamous mob of Platte county, in destroying the Parkersville Luminary is but another black link in the chain of results. What was the offense for which the Parkersville Luminary has thus been made to suffer! The St. Louis Intelligencer says it was not an abolition paper, but simply opposed the Nebraska bill, and welcomed the emigrants to Kansas from the North with open arms, instead of calling them “hirelings” and “white slaves.” Therefore its editors were “spotted,” tried by a self-constituted jury, found guilty, their press destroyed, and themselves ordered to leave the State.

In addition to this, it will be seen that “the citizens of Platte” have denounced in the most intolerant manner, every man, woman and child, connected with the Methodist Church North, and have threatened with the halter and dagger any of its ministers, who may have the temerity to preach again in Platte county. Such fanaticism as this hardly

finds a parallel in the history of the country, and is wholly unworthy the free spirit of the age; while the threats held over the heads of the Luminary, if they shall dare to appear again in Platte county, or even to settle in Kansas, exhibit a degree of savage excitement, which threatens yet more terrible results. We ask, what do the repealers of the Missouri Compromise think now? Are the fruits of that repeal as glorious and as promising as was predicted?

THE KANSAS TEST.—As an additional evidence of the insecurity of the test which the Democratic party propose employing in their national convention, to prove the soundness of their nominee on the slavery question, to wit: approval of the Kansas bill—it may be mentioned that the leader of the treasonable movement against the established government of Kansas, and one of the pseudo U. S. Senators elect of the late spurious, free-soil Legislature that met at Topeka, is Gen. Lane, who was one of the immaculate “forty-four sound Northern Democrats” who in the last Congress voted for the Kansas bill. Approval of that measure is now the Democratic standard of national and Southern orthodoxy. Lane approved it, to the extent even of supporting it as a member of Congress—do Southern Democrats think he could be safely trusted, as President, with the interests of the South? Or, if coming up to the requirement of the Kansas test is no security in his case—how is it security in the case of any other?—Lynchburg Virginian.

RICHMOND WHIG.

SATURDAY MORNING, MAY 3, 1856.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Letters on business must be addressed to the “Editor of the Whig.” Articles written on both sides of the paper will not be published. This is a rule of long standing, and ought to be known to all and still in no case be departed from. Obituary notices exceeding eight lines are charged for as advertisements. Communications will be charged the same as advertisements.

Sectionalism.

In the present seriously distracted and deeply excited state of the public mind, on the ensuing Presidential campaign, we deem it of paramount importance, to awaken the attention of all sober-minded men, to the rash and inconsiderate efforts, North and South, being made, to excite and keep alive, sectionalism. This, in our opinion, is not only dangerous and ill-advised, but it directly involves the integrity of the Union, and seeks by covert means, to involve the issue of slavery in the measure of forcible resistance, by individuals, to the laws and institutions of the country. This is, indeed, a most important subject, and in our opinion worthy of the most grave and solicitous consideration. It is one above all party ties, and far more momentous in its moral and governmental consequences, than the election or defeat of any man to the Presidency. We wish to approach it, in all seriousness, and recommend it to the thoughtful consideration of our readers.

It is, at all times, a most hazardous experiment, under our system of government, to shift the great issues of a campaign from their legitimate position, and seek to involve the principles at stake, in the complex and undefined maze of local and personal prejudices. There are, indeed, in the ensuing Presidential campaign, great fundamental principles involved; principles, on the successful maintenance of which, not only the integrity of the union, but the very man’s capability for self-government depend; principles, which lie deep in the source of popular government, and derive their moral strength from the wholesome administration of the laws, and the true balance of power under the constitution, as between the different States.

The assertion of these principles, by the pro-slavery men, and the denial of them by the abolitionists and Free-soilers, is now producing a degree of excitement, throughout the country, which merits the

most matured consideration, and requires the most circumspect and firm measures, to meet and properly dispose of.

The Democratic press throughout the South, is using every means to arouse a purely sectional feeling in the Southern States, while certain papers at the North, are using just as strenuous efforts to sectionalise every feeling of their readers. These two opposing influences, are aiming at one common end, and have a common design; which is to place the ensuing Presidential election, on purely sectional issues. To secure this, in our opinion, most dangerous and reprehensible object, these different presses are appealing, in language, and using arguments, well calculate to poison the source of popular power, and place the local prejudices and personal passions of their readers, above the control of a wise and constitutional adjustment of the pending difficulties. Against this we protest, and admonish the sober-minded men of all parties and sections of the country. The system is dangerous as its consequences must be revolutionary and anti-state rights. The constitution and laws of the United States, and the different States, are alone the proper shield and remedy, and every effort at mere sectional excitement weakens these and widens the breach.

We have been led into these reflections, by the perusal of the following extracts—one from the New York Tribune, the other from the Richmond Enquirer of yesterday. We call attention to each, that the public may see what is the system, now going on, to produce popular action, based on sectional excitement. In this connection we must remark, that from our exchanges we see various calls throughout the State, for similar meetings. But to the extracts. First as to the Tribune:

The Meeting in favor of Free Kansas and opposed to Slavery Extension at the Tabernacle last evening was not merely one of the largest ever convened under one roof in our city—it was eminently strong in the character of its members and in the earnestness of their purpose, the emphasis of their conviction. Though some of the speakers were kept away by illness.—Senator Fessenden having sent an apology on that account at the last moment, and Mr. Galloway (also ill) having done far better in inducing his colleague, Mr. Bingham, to attend and speak in his stead—there was no lack of speakers, of grave and weighty arguments, or of lively and glowing eloquence. Mr. Everts has hardly till now been known as a political canvasser, but his address last night would have done credit to the most experienced veteran. To see on the same platform B. F. Butler, and M. H. Grinnell, Robert Emmet and E. D. Morgan, and listen to Abijah Mann and James W. Nye laboring in the same cause with Everts and Curtis Noyes, is cheering to those who believe with us that party organizations are of right and fact transient and fluctuating, while Truth; Justice and Freedom are immutable and eternal.

There could not have been less than three thousand present at one time, while many left because they could find no comfortable standing-room. Had all the speakers realized the magnitude of the audience, and spoken considerably louder, the pleasure and instruction of this great would have been sensibly increased. But as it was, the speaking improved nearly, if not quite, three hours, and was earnestly regarded to the close—a fact which considering the gravity and high character of the principal speeches, was creditable alike to the speakers and the auditory.

Let those of our citizens connive at the enslavement of Kansas try to equal this meeting if they dare!

We now give the extract from the Enquirer of yesterday:

“THE KANSAS MEETING.—Quite a number of the distinguished gentlemen invited to address the Kansas Convention to be held in this city, on the 7th inst., have signified their intention of being present.

“Among them we may mention Messrs. Clay and Iveron, of the Senate, with Messrs. Keitt, Boyce, Wright, of Miss., Brooks, Barksdale, and others of the House of Representatives. Fine addresses may be confidently expected.—South Side Democrat.”

From these extracts it will be seen that the effort to produce strictly sectional feelings, and involve purely personal prejudices, in the matter of Kansas, is no joke; nor is the inevitable result a joke, if this is to be the mode and manner of adjusting this matter

Let us for a moment contemplate the moral and political consequences of this plan when perfected.—It will be recollected with what just condemnation

the Enquirer and Democrat criticised the nefarious effort, by the Beecher and church effort, to send the rifle into Kansas. Connected with the same subject—designed for the same purpose—was the meeting in New York. That called in Petersburg, and to be addressed by United States Senators and members of Congress, is designed as a counteractive remedy for the Northern movement. So stands the matter. What is the result? The passions are inflamed, the prejudices aroused, the sectional antipathies intensified. The New Yorkers and the Virginians, thus aroused—thus encouraged—thus importuned—go to Kansas with the settled purpose of outnumbering, or in some other way defeating each other, as to the formation of the organic laws of the Territory and State. Will any good come of this? Is the ballot box or the bullet to settle this matter? Are the Constitution and laws to remain supreme—thus illustrating the true genius of our government—or are the stalwart arms and military ardor of the “emigrants” to settle the matter? These are important questions, and should not fail to arrest the attention of every sober-minded man. Nor should it be forgotten or overlooked, that the effects of such a system are of a reflective character, involving the feelings of every man, to a greater or less extent.

Now we ask, is such a system as this the only hope of slavery? Is it to such remedies that the rights of the South are to be driven for protection? We say not. We place them on higher and surer ground, and far above the reach of popular excitement, or merely sectional contests. When the Constitution and laws fail to protect slavery, it will be time to look

to other remedies than “Kansas Conventions,” and to consult other oracles than Senators and members of Congress.

To conclude, we regard this whole matter, North and South, as purely sectional, anti-republican, revolutionary and dangerous, and guard our friends against all such resorts, and appeal to every well-wisposed man, not to be thus entrapped. Evil will be the day, and dark the hour, for Virginia honor and Virginia integrity, when the protection of her slavery interests is taken from beneath her own flag and placed on the territorial disputes in Kansas. We have a better remedy, and more Constitutional specific, which is the maintenance of the laws, the enforcement of the rights guaranteed under the Constitution; and, to secure this, we recommend the “Kansas Convention” to pass but one resolution, which should be:

“Resolved, as the sense of this Convention, in view of the alarming degree of Southern gas, this night displayed, we are of opinion that the surest means of settling the Kansas difficulties, is by the election of ILLIARD FILLMORE.”

THE MERCURY.

CHARLESTON

Saturday Morning, May 3, 1856.

Picture of an Abolitionist Christian.

The late editor of the Ch. Adv. and Journal finds a worthy successor in his son, Dr. T. E. Bond, Jr., who is for the present editing that Journal. We suppose, from the picture he draws in the extract we make from one of his editorials, that he is not a candidate for the chair. Such strong meat can hardly be digested by the body that is now sitting in Indianapolis. “The anti-slavery man of the North searches the Scriptures for anathemas against masters, and insurrectionary counsels for slaves. The total absence of both from those holy pages does not humble his pride, nor shake his confidence, nor soften his asperity. What he cannot find in dogma he evolves from inference. He perceives that the Principles of Christianity, as he would apply them, would produce necessities which might be expressed in such formulas as, “Slavery is the sum of villainies;” and thenceforth these formulas are Scripture to him. With them he is prepared to solve the highest problems of moral conduct. Nothing can be more simple than the process. The whole phenomena of mastership, intellectual, moral, and physical, are immediately reduced to the com-

mon expression: sin—sin, absolute, positive, capable of increase or diminution, independent of conditions, unaffected by circumstances, unequal conditions.

The “sum of all villainies” admits of no mitigation; permits no subtractions. It is the only evil in the universe absolutely perfect and complete. To reform it, improve it, make any good out of it, absurdities in terms. To extirpate it at all costs good men and bad, to religion and civilization, master and slave, this is the great if not the sole duty of mankind. Love hates it; brotherly kindness scoffs at it; charity curses it; meekness violently assails it; patience is in a rage to destroy it; in view of it, Christianity reverses its whole nature, and violates its whole spirit; prayer burdens the air with anathemas; the ministers of reconciliation become the trumpeters of strife; conversion of souls is postponed to a more convenient season; the pulpit, no longer a “sacred desk,” becomes an “ecclesiastical drum;” the people have their “conversation” anywhere else but “in heaven;” religion and piety cease to have any necessary connexion; and the world without, perceiving itself to be at least as much like Christ as those within, remark, not without pain, “How these Christians hate one another!” In all this there is sincerity, but it is the sincerity of ignorance, and pride, and passion. There is nothing of the humble and docile about it. The fanatical Abolitionist would give up the cross of Christ, as soon as his anti-slavery dogmas; indeed, not a few, pressed by the necessity to choose, have preferred to abandon Jesus.

Southern Christian Advocate.

Mobile Daily Tribune.

SATURDAY MORNING, MAY 3, 1856.

From Kansas.

[From the Montgomery Mail.]
St. Louis, April 32, 1856.

Friend Hooper: I promised to write to you when I got to Kansas, but the excitement here is so great that I feel that I ought to let you know something about it. It is hardly imaginable what excitement there is. We are hearing exaggerated accounts from Kansas, every day. They say there is a party of men (abolitionists) in Leocompton, Kansas Territory, just waiting for the arrival of the boat with the southern emigrants. They (the abolitionists) say that we shall fight or come back, but Joice, they seem to think from this that we won't fight at all. We are untried, but we will give them the best we have about us at the time.

You would be surprised to see the number of spies that they have out, that just follow us up like hawks; but when we find one out we just run the boat ashore at the biggest canebreak we can see and put him ashore.

There are now at this place about six hundred Southern emigrants. One hundred and twenty five left yesterday morning; about seventy-five the evening before. Major Buford's company is all here, and there are still Mr. White's company from Georgia and Geo. Broom's company from LaGrange, yet to come; which will number in all (Buford's White's and Broom's,) nearly fifteen hundred. I never saw people more bent on making it a slave state.

[From the Savannah Republican, May 3.]

EMIGRATION TO KANSAS.—We have often said that the contest between the North and the South, for the settlement of the Territories, was most unequal, all the odds being on the side of the former. Especially will this be the case so long as foreigners are allowed equal rights and privileges with our people. A letter from Kansas city, dated the 17th April, says that a party of Georgians, 30 in number, had arrived there the day before, and that on the same day 50 arrived from Rhode Island, and 150 from Ohio. Emigration from the East averages 100 daily—while about that number come weekly from the Southern States.

THE DAILY GAZETTE.

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE PARISH.

SUNDAY MORNING, MAY 4, 1856.

Rev. (†) Mr. Beecher.

This son of the pilgrims has an oily palm, and that his devotions to Mammon are as zealous and sincere as those to the Creator. The Louisville Courier accounts for his imitation of Peter the Hermit, in preaching up crusades and stirring up the peaceably disposed Yankees to war with their brethren in Kansas, from the fact that he has “a pecuniary interest in the patent and manufactory of Sharpe's rifles—apart from a handsome commission on all rifles sold under the influence of his preaching.”

But it seems that the avocation of this gentleman are as multifarious as his genius is prolific. He is the puffer general of Wolfe's Schiedam Schnapps, as well as of Sharpe's rifles. The two commodities are in a degree homogenous and suggestive. A love for gunpowder is rather compatible with a love of gin; they mix well, we are told, and the product is what is familiarly known as "Dutch Courage," an element with which he so zealously endeavored, in the North Church at New Haven, to indoctrinate his Kansas recruits. The following is a specimen of his puff of Wolfe's Schiedam Schnapps:

"It makes us sad to remember the unnecessary days and months of unprofitable chills and fever that we ourselves have had; and if any think that a regular 'orthodox fever and ague' is no great shakes, we heartily wish them a trial of it. But it is all over. Our home missionaries can now go to the most unhealthy river bottoms, with the Bible in one hand and Schnapps in the other, for the very beard is plucked out of this grim monster who has had so long a despotism in Western valleys and river bottoms. The quarterly draughts of missionaries will no longer signify mere cash, but something more subtle; for it will, of course, be the duty of the present society to send forth this essence of Wolfe to all their stations."

But the Parson goes on stronger and stronger yet, and says:

"No temperance man should take a boat on the Ohio or Mississippi until he has removed his name from the pledge, for those two rivers are as poison and death from the first drop of head waters to the last eddy at the Gulf of Mexico; and no remedy has ever been discovered for their effects, except brandy or whiskey, until our incomparable Wolfe discovered his botanical variety of juniper!"

"With a flask of juniper in our pockets we defy the waters of the world!"

When it is borne in mind, says the N. O. Bulletin, from which we papers make the above extracts, that this same Ward Beecher is the son of the Rev. Lyman Beecher, the first and most efficient apostle in the great cause of temperance, the wonderful merits of Schnapps can no longer be doubted. This is the most extraordinary conversion or perversion from the cause of temperance that we have ever heard or read of.

Daily Democrat.

From Washington.

WASHINGTON, April 28.

Speculations upon the nominations to be made at the Cincinnati and Philadelphia Conventions engross the minds and weigh on the tongues of the public men of this city, to the exclusion of their official duties. Hardly a speech is made that is not dominated over and dictated by the supposed requirements and probable action of these supreme and irresponsible bodies; hardly any two or three gather together without discussing the questions—who will be the nominees of this or that Convention? who ought to be the nominees and what kind of platform is best adapted for electioneering necessities? AVAILABILITY, which has been spurned by all parties since the commencement of the Nebraska conflict, is rising in value as the month of June approaches, and may be the sovereign virtue in the conclave which are to determine who shall be the candidates; men of negative character threaten to head the list; and a blank promise to be better than a national record to the aspirant for the highest place, unless indeed that record be the biography of a trimmer like Fillmore. The antecedents of a patriot which should troop around him like armed followers, and give him the power to grasp the scepter, only serve to hold him back and keep him down. He is shut out from conventions, a the burghers of the old cities shut out the baron who appeared with a long retinue before their gates.

A civil war is raging, in both parties, (the Democratic and Republican) between the apostles of expediency and the true believers. The former are sincere in the belief that to win is the first duty; that the representative men must, therefore, stand back; and that the shrieks for squatter sovereignty, or for freedom, as the case may be—like the cry that Americans must rule America—must be modulated and varied to suit the taste of the largest number.

The strife between the Administration (Pierce, Oushing, Davis and Douglas), and Buchanan is fierce and unrelenting, and may produce events in the Cincinnati Convention hardly recked at present. His position, it is well known, is not theirs upon the Nebraska question; he is innocent of the crime of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; he originally commenced it; he recognises the orthodoxy of those Democrats who opposed it; he refuses to regard the Kansas-Nebraska bill as the test of Democracy, although he fully acquiesces in the application of that law fairly carried

out, and consequently in making his appointments, opposition to, or advocacy of it originally, would be excluded from consideration. His position is a tower of strength compared with theirs, and they are trying to oust him from it, and make him as bad as themselves, by moving heaven and earth to make him acknowledge that the repeal of the compromise was right from the beginning, just as robbers who have committed a murder compel those members of the band who were absent when the deed was committed, to bury their daggers in the dead body, so that the danger if not the guilt of all, may be the same. Few men there are who would yield more to the pressure of his party than Mr. Buchanan, if he is to be judged of by his past career, but if he should now accept the Southern interpretation of the doctrines of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he would falsify his whole life. It may not be generally known that he took the lead in the Senate in '45, when Texas was acquired in re-enacting the Missouri Compromise. In that region, and boasted that it was the "solid ground on which he stood." When Texas was ceded to Spain in 1819, the parallel of 36 deg. 30 minutes was the dividing line between slave soil and free soil, but Spain spread slavery over the whole region, which extended North as far as the forty-second parallel. When it came a second time into the possession of the United States, Congress the second time abolished slavery, in a part of it, and Mr. Buchanan was the leader in the work. I trust the publication of this fact will not damage old Buck in Missouri. It should not impair his strength even with the nullifiers, for the author of the joint resolutions, by which slavery was forever prohibited in Texas North of 36 deg. 30 min. was John C. Calhoun himself, who was then Secretary of State, and who draughted the resolutions with his own right hand. These historical facts are beyond the reach of doubt, for they are substantiated by oral and written testimony which will be spread before the country prior to the meeting of the Cincinnati Convention. How then can Buchanan swallow the Charleston Mercury dogma, that the Constitution carries slavery with it into the territories? He must undo all that he has done, and unsway all that he has said for forty years, before he can subscribe to this doctrine. Should he take this leap, it would be a declaration that his whole life has been a great falsehood or a great mistake, and it would be accepted not as a recantation of error, but an apostasy from truth. Let it not be forgotten that the underlying principle of the new school of Southern politics, Know Nothing, Whig and Democratic, is that the Constitution, is not the Constitution of the U. States as its title states but the Constitution of the United States and Territories; that said Constitution *per se* establishes slavery in the territories, and being the supreme law necessarily overrules federal or territorial legislation, and that consequently the sovereignty of the squatter is a mockery and the power of Congress an usurpation where they legislate against slavery. Now the facts, all the old statesmen and politicians, including Calhoun, Buchanan, and even Atchison, have signalized themselves in the enactment of slavery prohibitions north of a certain line, and old Buck, unlike Pierce and Douglas, has not accepted the new testament bequeathed by Calhoun (it was only at the close of his career it was revealed to him, to his disciples, but holds either fast or loosely to the traditions of the old rs. The contest in the Convention will not therefore, be merely a contest between the ins and the outs, the old fogies and the Janissaries, between Pierce and Buchanan, but between Democracy and Calhounism. That issue the Convention will have to decide, and in deciding it will determine the fate of the Democratic party, for its affirmation of the Southern doctrine, directly in the platform or indirectly by the nomination of Pierce or Douglas would separate for ever the Northern from the Southern wing.

That Buchanan is the most available candidate, does not admit of doubt. He can carry every State which Douglas or Pierce could carry, and Pennsylvania and New York besides. The anti-Nebraska Democrats would vote for him to a man. I have no doubt that such men as Judge Trumbull, (a man whose talents and independent action reflects credit on Illinois) would support him cordially. Besides there is no living man for whom the old line Whigs who have not bowed the knee to Baal, would vote more readily. Should he escape alive from the Convention, his election would be a sure thing; but he has unscrupulous rivals, and the two-thirds rule against him; but he has also devoted adherents, who will let the Convention slide if he should be slaughtered. The Janissaries—the office-holders—with whom the Convention will be packed, and who want to keep what they have, are naturally clamorous for Pierce; so also are the men of South Carolina politics, whose theories he has carried out, but the Impression prevails, that his nomination would bring a disaster on the Democratic party, similar to that which befel it when Van Buren was nominated a second time. Such an event, these Southern men would not deplore, for it would furnish them with a new argument for propagating disaffection. "The whole North," they would say, "is unsoothed; there is no safety for us in the Union.—Pierce has been defeated because he was true to the South." The interests of the Democratic party, and higher interests than any party interests, therefore demand that Pierce be ousted to Concord.

It is conceded that Douglas would make a better race than Pierce. Young America would rally to his standard; the Northwest with the exception of Ohio it is thought might be persuaded to go for him by judicious application of the sixty millions; the South would go for him as unanimously as for Pierce, but neither Pennsylvania, New York, New

Hampshire, and Vermont, would give to him any more than to Pierce, a single electoral vote; and as a plurality does not elect to the Presidency, his nomination would be a disastrous experiment. His strength in the Convention will be less than Pierce's on the earlier ballots, but will be greater as the struggle waxed hot, for the Southern vote failing to nominate Pierce, will concentrate upon him, as will also the Janissary vote and the Wall street influence, which together with the vote of the delegates of whom he is the first choice, and who will adhere to him throughout, will give him a formidable following at some stage of the proceedings. His bill for the admission of Kansas is still in suspense in the Senate, no vote having been yet taken upon it, or even on Seward's substitute. One feature in the bill is of such a ridiculous character, and so purely demagogue as to demand notice. It provides that Kansas shall be admitted as a State when she has the same population which constitutes the present basis of representation for the House of Representatives. Now that will be a question for the next Congress to decide, which can if it chooses, insist that Kansas shall have double that number before admission. No enactment of this Congress can bind its successor, which will examine the application of Kansas and decide for itself, utterly regardless of null and unauthorised conditions. This part of the bill is as purely a dodge for creating capital as Seward's substitute, which proposes virtually to recognise the Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts as the State of Kansas.

F.

THE EVENING NEWS.

Saint Louis:

MONDAY EVENING, MAY 5, 1856.

SHERIFF JONES DEAD.

The Independence *Dispatch* states that Sheriff JONES, who was shot at Lawrence in Kansas by an assassin, has died of his wounds. It is not stated when he died. This makes the matter quite serious.

LATER—ANOTHER ASSASSINATION!

Since writing the above, we have received the Weston *Argus* of Friday last, which confirms the report of JONES' death, and states, also, that "the Abolitionists have inhumanly assassinated another pro-slavery man named HARPER." No particulars are given.

Dubuque Daily Tribune.

A. W. HACKLEY, Editor and Proprietor.

Monday, May 5, 1856.

What Have We, to Do with Slavery?

This is a question, which is often asked us in the administration prints.

We ought, to have nothing to do with it. In a country boasting of its free government and its free institutions; such a thing as slavery, ought not to be known. But circumstances have forced it upon us; and we have quietly submitted to it, until its aggressions upon freedom, have become so extended and so determined, that a check must now, be placed upon its boundaries; or it will soon be, the institution of the country.

Is such an event, desirable? Does our good, the good of our fellow citizens, the good of the human family, or the glory and honor of our beloved country; require that this land; the land whose freedom was purchased by the treasure, the suffering and the blood of our fathers, should be overshadowed and controlled, by the foul demon of Slavery? If not, then have we, something—yea, much to do, if we are true Americans.

The dough faced, party of the north; dare not openly advocate "Slavery Extension;" but yet, they lend their influence and votes to the South, to procure the passage of the "Nebraska Bill," and such other laws as may be needed to secure the advancement and extension of Slavery; and they are loud in their denunciations of the "Republican" party;

which is the only party, that avows its opposition to "Slavery extension." And they brand any and every act of that party which is adverse to the extension of slavery, into our territories; as a fanatical and officious intermeddling in a matter that affects our neighbors—not us.

Is their position a true one? Is it so, that we are not interested? If we are interested, then to exhibit that interest, is a duty from which we have no right to shrink. We are a Union of States, surrounded by territories which are our property; and which it is our natural duty to watch over and protect, whilst they remain such. Our interest in the Union and in all who are to become members of it, is one of great magnitude.

The individual character and institutions of each State, goes to make up the character of the whole—as the individual characters of a family, goes to make up the character of that family.—Under such circumstances, it is worse than folly, to denominate our interference officious or meddling. It is not only our right, but our duty, to interfere for the furtherance of the best interests of the territories and of the Union.

Whatever of Constitutional authority we possess, it is our imperative duty to exercise for the good of all, or for that which will ultimately in, the greatest good of the greatest number.—All this drivelling cant about "interfering with the institutions of our neighbors," when taken in connection with the ties of common interest, that exist between all the component parts of the Union, is disgusting folly.

A Territory which belongs to the Union, wishes to become a member of the Union. We profess to be a Free Republic; it is our boast, that we are so. And we say to this Territory: we cannot admit you if your Constitution permits Theft, Robbery, Polygamy or Slavery—all of these are contrary to the spirit of our institutions. If you come into the Union, you must come with a Constitution that prohibits, all but virtuous and free institutions.

The admission of the original Slave States, was a matter of necessity; but it is unnecessary that we create that necessity, in our Territories.

The policy of Slavery prohibition in the Territories, was advocated by Jefferson, and endorsed by the Continental Congress, and afterwards was re-endorsed, by the first Congress that was ever assembled under our Constitution; and the act thus passed, was signed by the "Father of his Country;" and was repealed; by the Nebraska bill, of the infamous Douglas.

With the example of such men before us, should we hesitate to act, when questions of momentous import arise?—questions that will tell, with irresistible force, upon the future interests of our country—it is, to say the least, safe to enquire, what was the opinion of the wisest and most honored of the Fathers? What say they? Listen to the words of the honored and the beloved exponent of the principles of the Whig party and of Liberty—HENRY CLAY, said: "I have said that I never could vote for it myself, and I repeat that I never can, and never will vote, and no earthly power will ever make me vote to spread Slavery over territory where it does not now exist."

THOMAS JEFFERSON, the "Apostle of Democracy," and the honest, firm and uncompromising advocate of civil and religious liberty,

when speaking of the efforts to extend and perpetuate Southern Slavery, said: "When I remember that God is just, I tremble for my country. Slavery is an evil, which should not be extended."

He who spake, as never man spake, said: "Remember the down-trodden and oppressed, to relieve them." "Do unto others, as you would that others should do to you."

To these doctrines our own consciences, the conscience of every honest man, responds Amen! Shall we, then, listen to the teachings of "doughfaced" office-seekers? or, shall we give heed to the opinions of the Fathers, the voice of our consciences, and the command of God?

DAILY GAZETTE.
 GAZETTE CO.....Proprietors.
 Office—N. E. Corner Fourth and Vine Sts.
 MONDAY MORNING, MAY 5.

"Squatter Sovereignty" in the Cincinnati Convention.

There is trouble brewing for the great Democratic National Convention, which meets in this city next month. In the free States, the party editors, and party orators, have claimed that the Kansas Nebraska bill contained the great principle of "popular sovereignty," and was certain to exclude the "peculiar institution" from the States, which must eventually be carved out of these Territories. This doctrine is no longer palatable to the Southerners, who insist upon its abandonment. As long as they thought it would promote the interests of Slavery, they were satisfied with it, but the immense tide of emigrants from the free States which has poured into Kansas, has alarmed the Slavery propagandists, and led them to believe that it is safer to trust the General Government than the squatters of Kansas. The Southern Democracy are, therefore, denouncing "squatter sovereignty," while their Northern brethren are hypocritically praising it, although insisting at the same time that the laws passed by the bogus Legislature are valid, and that the people of Kansas should be compelled to obey them, by marching the U. S. troops against them, if all other means should prove abortive.

In reference to the action of the Cincinnati Convention, upon "squatter sovereignty," the Richmond Enquirer gives the following "directions," which will no doubt be received with all due respect by that body

"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 [all] 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."

What consequences the Enquirer expects the "abstract proposition of State equality" to carry with it, we are not informed, but presume it is some new demand of the slave power; which will be asserted more boldly when the fit time is supposed to have come.

There is, so far as we know only one Northern Democrat journal which openly advocates the extension of slavery, and that is the organ of the Administration in the city of New York. It says the "Democracy are not opposed to slavery extension, or that which ignorance and delusion term slavery extension, and the time is at hand when those who assume to speak for it must understand what they are doing in this matter, or they

had better hold their tongues, had better cut their tongues ten times over rather than thus help to mystify and bewilder, and indeed debauch the common sense of the people."

The Day Book, in which the above appears in reply to the Boston Post, which had declared it a libel on the Democracy of the North to say that they are in favor of slavery extension, warns up as it proceeds, and concludes its reply to the Post as follows:

"Now, what is the position of the Northern Democracy? Are they so ignorant, so stultified by lies, by perversions of terms, by the inventions, the nicknames of imposture, by the words 'slave' and 'slavery extension,' as to fear this issue? Are they such base and cowardly creatures as to permit the curs of abolition, the besotted tools of British aristocrats, the crazy old women and bewildered 'white niggers' of Massachusetts, to delude or frighten them from their duty—to permit Garrison, Abbey Kelley & Co., to drive them into hostility to the South—to carry out the 'schemes' of European monarchists—to war upon Southern society to pea up their negroes—in short, to oppose the 'extension of slavery?' No, indeed, a thousand, a million times so; there is not one single Democrat in the whole broad North opposed to the expansion of Southern society, or so-called extension of 'slavery' and they only wait to have the truth spoken out, and things called by their right names, to sweep the abolition imposture from the Republic, and to bury its besotted-tools in the profoundest depths—the lowest possible deep of the popular contempt."

We have seen no repudiation of the Day Book's sentiments in any Northern journal, but we suspect the slavery propagandists will find the number of Democrats "in the whole broad North who are opposed to the expansion of Southern society, or so-called extension of slavery," inconveniently large for their purposes, if their allies in the Northern States have the boldness to declare their sentiments as openly as the Day Book. Although we have seen no response to that journal, which endorsed its sentiments, we have noticed an article copied from the Ohio Statesman into the Washington Union, which was probably intended to be so construed in Southern latitudes. After reminding the Northern Democracy that when they "saw themselves in a perilous conflict with that moneyed monster of corruption, the United States Bank"—"a real open and pitched battle between the laboring men of the North and a money oligarchy," they looked in vain for aid in any quarter, save the South. This view of the great United States Bank question is incorrect; certainly, if the Southern politicians, who now insist that the true relation between employer and employed, is that of master and slave, ever took the part of the "laboring men of the North" against a "moneyed oligarchy," they must have done so under a misapprehension of the real nature of the contest.

The Statesman also reminds the Northern Democracy that, in what it calls the "scarcely-lesstrible battle that followed between the high-tariff and no foreign trade men, and free trade and free labor men of the North," the Southern Democracy with their votes helped their brethren of the North to triumph, and defeat the high-tariff scheme, which it terms "another stroke at the laboring men and women of the North." Here we again have the Democracy of the South who own their "laboring men and women," and who tell the employers of the North that they can never enjoy a true and permanent prosperity until they have reduced those they employ to slavery, interfering to protect men and women who they at the same time declare, would be much happier were they slaves. And these Southern Democrats who the Statesman would have us believe, are so ready to take up the gauntlet in defense of the "laboring men and women of the North" tell us that it makes no difference whether the laborers are white or black, they ought to be slaves, and well may they teach this doctrine, for any other would at once set free a large portion of their own slave population.

The Statesman next gives to the Southern Democracy the glory of defeating Know-Nothingism and then asks:

"Now, what is our duty in the North? Is it to return evil for good—to strike down those who have ever stood by us and given us our power and prosperity? Shall we now shake hands with our ancient enemy and sacrifice our only friends in the hour of need?"

"And what are we now asked to do by our ancient enemies of the North? To make common war with them on our old and long-tried friends. And why should we do so? Because the South says that the people have a right to settle on any new territory belonging to the United States, and ex-

praise the right of self-government, and form laws and State constitutions to suit themselves. The people of the South only ask that which the Constitution and past usage have guaranteed to them—to be let alone within their own State jurisdictions. It is a right that they have exercised, and to take it away would be as much a dissolution of the Union as though they should interfere with the domestic affairs of the North."

The Statesman means, we suppose, that as the Democracy of the North have hitherto secured the offices and patronage of the general government through the help of the Southern Democracy, it is now necessary, if they wish to enjoy the "spoils" longer, that they should aid their Southern brethren in extending slavery. The South no doubt will heartily accept the assistance of the Northern Democracy while they spurn with contempt the principles upon which they defend their conduct.

How this question will be disposed of in the Cincinnati Convention it is impossible to foresee. Men who hunger and thirst after office, as a modern Democratic Slavery propagandist does, may do anything without exciting surprise. They who now claim to have slavery introduced as a plank into the Democratic platform, may, perhaps, discover that more foreign missions, fat contracts &c. may be obtained by leaving it out; while those who would "dodge" this "vexed question" may be made to see that their interest lies in succumbing to the most extravagant demands of the Slavery propagandists. The action of the Convention will undoubtedly be determined by such considerations; and as it is impossible to tell which of these will prove the stronger, what that action will be cannot be foreseen, but it is highly probable that the Democracy will, next month, go farther South than they have ever done.

The Enquirer tries to speak encouragingly to its "Democratic friends all over the Union" with reference to the political prospect in Indiana, but our contemporary shows plainly enough that he is somewhat weak at the knees. The thread-bare, canting phrase of "Abolitionism," "Americanism," "Black Republicanism," "Proscription," "Disunion," &c., &c., are freely used in accordance with the well established custom of that paper, but the notes do not sound with any clearness or effect. The instrument has been so long and constantly in use, that like all others made for temporary purposes, it has become worthless to the owner, and its sounds being dull and monotonous, possess no music for the public ear.

The Enquirer says everybody except old line Democrats, have been abolitionized. "The Americans never had much strength," &c. We might admire the philology of our neighbor if we did not feel satisfied that the editor writes very differently from what he believes. He knows that there is not only danger of losing that State next Fall, but there is hardly a prospect of carrying it for the sham-Democracy. The people met in Convention at Indianapolis, in the Summer of 1854, and fused in opposition to the "Old Liners." The result was the "people" carried the state in the Fall of the same year, by an overwhelming majority. The People have again met and they have again fused and they will again carry the State. They have lost nothing in enthusiasm since 1854. They were then opposed to the Nebraska bill, though they were told that slavery would not be and could not be extended into Kansas, or North of the Missouri Compromise line. "Squatter Sovereignty" would sure freedom to Territory which had been dedicated to it by the Missouri Compromise, but the whole influence of the Administration has been used to crush the sovereignty of the people, and to subdue the freemen of the Territory to the slavery extensionists of the South and their allies—the old line Democrats of the North—thus creating an agitation more extensive and bitter than any that ever before threatened the peace of the country.

The Enquirer says that nearly all the Indiana delegation in Congress voted for the Nebraska bill. All but three voted for that measure, but they were promptly and severely rebuked by the people, and one of those members of Congress who so voted, now says, that if the Missouri Compromise were again restored, he would suffer his right arm to be cut off rather than vote for its repeal. The object of Pierce, Douglas, & Co., in bringing about the repeal of that measure, was to create agitation upon which they might maintain their sinking reputation, which they very well knew would cause them to be hurried from office, if the people, undis-

turbed by allowed to vote. Demagogues conspired to bring about the agitation that now prevails, relying upon the dough-facedness of Northern men, in connection with the sectionalism of the South, for support. This the Enquirer well knows. The Enquirer talks about the opposition in Indiana rallying under the sectional banner of "Abolitionism." Is it meant that those who are merely opposed to the extension of slavery are Abolitionists? If not, there is no banner of Abolitionism in Indiana.—But if the sham Democracy were not allowed to attribute false issues to the opposition they would have nothing with which to fight their battles.—There is neither truth nor honesty, on their side, and as for principle, it is made subservient to spoils.

If it be true that the men who are elevated to public position by the people, are types of the political condition of the government, the character of the former would indicate a lamentably low degree of political morals on the part of the latter, in this country. That this proposition is correct, cannot be very well doubted. Corrupt or inefficient rulers, generally indicate the existence of a morbid public sentiment, and a negative character as regards good qualities, if not a positively evil disposition. The character of a nation is estimated abroad, to a very great extent, by the individual who represents it. If the United States is represented at the Court of St. James, by a man who combines statesmanship, learning and good morals, the country of which he is the representative is respected a great deal more than it would be, if the individual were deficient in all or any one of these qualifications. So it is with a Nation, a State or City, at home. The estimates of the character of a whole people, of the people of a single State, or of a city, are based upon the character, individually or collectively, of those persons chosen to represent such communities. It is very clear, therefore, when important offices are found to be occupied by men of objectionable character, that the constituents of those individuals, in order to reach the root of the evil that led to such results, should look around among themselves for a remedy. Unless the root of the evil is found, an efficient remedy cannot be applied. The head of one corrupt or inefficient officer, might be taken off, but this would be followed by the election of another of the same, or a worse stamp.

Now in looking abroad over this country, and taking a view of the political field, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the condition of the people, politically, is in a condition that is well calculated to excite alarm for the safety and permanency of our Republican Institutions.—Availability is looked to in selecting Candidates for office, rather than honesty and capacity, and consequently, men of positively immoral characters are very often chosen to fill the most responsible offices. The effect of this is precisely what might be expected. Step by step, at first gradually, then with increased speed and now rapidly the political character of the whole people, is descending towards the deep gulf of degradation. If by this condition of things the present only were to be affected, the calamity might be borne without creating fearful apprehensions for the future, but when it becomes evident that it is moulding the character of future generations, by instilling into the minds of all classes, young as well as old, the dangerous principles practiced by the desperadoes in political warfare, who preferring to live and enrich themselves by official plunder, withdraw from the honest pursuits of life, and throw themselves into the pool of degradation, it forms a threatening cloud in the political horizon, the meaning of which need not be misunderstood.

The tendency of the course of many of the political leaders of the present day is clearly towards the end to which we have referred. They may make issue after issue, and create excitement upon excitement, but so soon as the smoke clears away, the one great object of the contest—individual promotion and official gain, stands prominently forth and almost alone. Principle is the nominal object of pursuit—spoils, the real object.

We are now approaching a period in the Presidential campaign, that leads to the development of features that clearly illustrate the characters to

which we have referred. The Democratic party pretend to feel confident of success, and we must confess that they have some reason for so feeling, in consequence of petty strifes in the ranks of the opposition, and the effort to secure the nomination, is therefore, as strong as if this were to be the final decision.

The friends of the respective candidates for nomination are laying all kinds of traps, arranging the wires, concocting schemes, and resorting to every means, no moral and dishonorable to obtain the nomination for their man. Is this all for principle? The unsophisticated may believe so, but those who are acquainted with the men prominent in these movements, know that "spoils first and principles second" is the motto. Were principles the sole, or chief object in view, the names of many of those who are prominently mentioned in connection with the nominations would not only be dropped at once, but they would never have been used, with reference to the high office of President, simply because it is known that they honestly represent no principle, but are the veriest demagogues, and of course deficient in moral character as well as unreliable in regard to political measures.

The office of President of the United States, should not be filled by a man who is positively immoral, or deficient, or who has a negative character, but by one who is positively honest and capable, and who would honor the office as much as the office would honor the man. Should the latter become the test, we leave our readers to decide as to the number of aspirants for the Democratic nomination who would be eligible to the position. It is true there are some good men among those who are mentioned in connection with the office, but of the success of this class there is but little prospect, the probability being that some one of those already named, least fit for the place, or an untried and unknown man, will be placed in nomination.

Now if the people of the United States by their votes or by their indifference, elevate to, or permit to be elevated to the high office of President, men, whose public or private lives would not bear close investigation, and in whose footsteps, no parent would be willing that his children should follow, how long may we expect our Republican Institutions to stand upon the pure foundations upon which they were placed by Washington, and his noble virtuous and self-sacrificing compatriots. In view of the present corrupt condition of public affairs, and the tendency of current events, may we not well tremble for the purity if not the safety of our Government; and it may be that it is not too early now, to look about for the hand writing upon the wall.

The remedy for the prevailing evil is in the hands of the people, and by its possessors it must be applied.

DAILY HERALD.

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

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Monday Evening, May 5, 1856.

Republicanism in New York.

The great meeting at the Tabernacle on Tuesday evening, is represented in the New York papers as a most encouraging and enthusiastic outpouring of the people. The Times says:

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. The place was crowded to its utmost capacity, 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. 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 Courier and Enquirer, a paper not given

The campaign which is to end in the election of a President in November next, was last evening opened on the part of the opponents of the present National Administration, with a brilliant demonstration at the Tabernacle. That large edifice was filled to its utmost capacity with an assemblage of the intelligent, active, and uncompromising men of New York. They came without music and banners, but as sober, thinking men, one by one, or in companies of three or four. The importer of South street, the Broadway dealer, the lawyer and the broker of Wall street, the mechanic and the laborer—all were there, to unite in putting the stamp of faithfulness, inefficiency, and corruption, upon the men who now direct the affairs of the Nation—and particularly in regard to their domestic policy. It was a demonstration that will be felt in every quarter of the Union. It was a meeting of men who had resolved to sink all partizan feeling, and unite in an effort to re-establish the Government upon the principles of Washington and Jefferson. And in entering upon the work last night, the spirit evinced by them was worthy of the cause.

Hon. Edwin D. Morgan called to order, and on his motion Hon. Benj. F. Butler was called so preside.

Stirring speeches were made by the Hon. B. F. Butler, Hon. Abijah Mann, Jr., Mr. Everts, Gen. Noyes, and Hon. John A. Bingham, Member of Congress from Ohio. Mr. Bingham spoke with impressive eloquence. We make an extract from his speech. The historical reminiscences will be read with deep interest. After speaking of the settlement of this country by the Puritans, he said:

I know that the flag of St. George floated in every sea over the kidnapped children of Africa, but I know that the Colonists rejected the attempt to fasten here in their midst the system of mental bondage. They loathed the idea.—They had found out before that sublime truth that God had made of one blood all nations, of men who dwell upon this earth. [Loud cheering.] And hence I say it, and I say it gladly here to-night, that Virginia, the mother of dead heroes, and dead patriots, and dead statesmen, but thank God! the mother of living empires—Virginia was the first among the family of nations to raise her voice against this infernal traffic. [Applause.] And now are we to be told that the Union was formed for the purpose of perpetuating it? I deny it. [Loud cheers.] I say that the history of our country—and you know that history never lies—falsifies the assertion—I have only to turn you to that history. Bear with me a moment while I call your attention to the fact that the people of the State of Virginia, in all or nearly all her counties, met in her primary assemblages, before the first blood flowed at Lexington, and protested against this traffic. [Applause.]

I beg to read here one or two resolutions, because they happen to bear directly upon this question of Freedom or Slavery in Kansas. I find, my fellow-citizens, that in 1774, there was a general meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of Prince George's county, in Virginia, wherein it was resolved, among other things: "that the African trade is injurious to the Colony, because it obstructs the population of it by freemen, prevents manufacturing and other useful people from settling, and occasions an annual increase in the balance of trade against this Colony." Because it obstructs the population of it by freemen! I find that a similar meeting was held in Culpepper county, in Virginia, at about the same time, and another in Nansemond county, and another on the 16th of July in the county of Fairfax, George Washington, esquire, in the chair, [Enthusiastic applause.] at which it was resolved, "that it is the opinion of this meeting that during our present difficulties and distress no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British Colonies, and in this connection, we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wish to see an entire stop put forever to such a wicked, cruel, and unnatural, trade." [Loud applause.] They had no idea of putting it under the perpetual safeguard of the Union.—[Laughter and applause.]—they wished to put a stop forever to such a cruel, wicked and unnatural trade. [Cheers.] This sentiment was not confined to Virginia; I told you that it was everywhere; that it run through all the colonies.

I note, amongst other things, the resolution and declaration of the State of Georgia, in the year 1775, in the very same spirit. They declared their disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of Slavery in America. Next the State of Georgia issued a resolve against the perpetuation of Slavery. As a step further, Con-

gress assembled at Philadelphia, and entered into what is known as the "Articles of Association," and I regret that I have not them here this evening. These constituted articles of association, and of the public polity of the United States, and I beg leave here to state that to all these articles are appended, without one exception, all the representatives in this Congress, and that they declared that they would have no intercourse with any State that continues the unnatural and infernal traffic in the souls and bodies of men; [cheers] and I find, my fellow-citizens, as one of the signers of those Articles of Association, the name of George Washington. [Long continued cheering.]

Then we follow this movement into another step. Anterior to the Declaration of Independence, they framed an address against the grievances imposed by the British king, and then they appealed from the throne and from Parliament to the great heart of the British nation, and issued an address to that people directly, and this was signed also by the representatives of each of the thirteen colonies, and among these signature stands, "in letters of living light," the immortal name of Washington, [cheers] and in that address occur words strongly denouncing traffic in slaves. And those words ought to blister the faces of those men at the American Capitol, who try to prostitute the Constitution and the Union of the States to the unhallowed purpose of perpetuating American Slavery [cheers]—a system which had its lodgment in the several States, which was wholly local, and with which the United States had nothing to do.

An attempt was made to introduce Slavery into the Constitution. Mr. Butler, of South Carolina—I do not wish to speak unkindly of South Carolina, I do not intend to say anything disrespectful of that State—but I say that she is unfortunate. [Laughter and cheers.] It was left for the Representatives of South Carolina alone to do this, and I am sorry to say that he bears the name of the distinguished Chairman of this meeting. [Laughter.] Well, Mr. Madison—who is sometimes called the Father of the Constitution, and I believe, rightly—said that clause must not go into the Constitution of the United States.—"Because we intend this Constitution to be the great Charter of human liberty to the unborn millions who shall enjoy its protection, and who shall never see that such an institution as Slavery was ever known in our midst." [Cheers.] Why, these men intended that the institution should die, as they had found out the great truth that a lie cannot live forever—that it must die. [Cheers.] And the idea that one man has the right to make merchandise of the bones and sinews of another, is a stupendous lie and cannot live. [Cheering.] Why, they never dreamed of perpetuating Slavery. The very bell which with iron tongue summoned these old men together to frame the immortal Declaration in which they declared "That all men are created free and equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," that old bell has inscribed on it these words: "Proclaim liberty throughout all lands, to ALL the inhabitants thereof." Yet they wanted to establish a Union in order to place the institution of Slavery under a safeguard, or in the words of President Pierce, "in the sense of defense and protection." [Laughter.]

Well, gentlemen, an Alabama Senator named Clay—it was not the Clay [cheers and laughter]—it was not the immortal man who said that as long as God allowed the vital current to flow through his veins, he would never, by word or thought, by mind or will, aid in admitting one rood of Free territory to the everlasting curse of human bondage [long continued cheering]—but another Clay altogether [laughter]. Clay of Alabama [renewed laughter], in the Senate of the United States—had found out, in reading some speeches in that instrument of free thought, that infernal machine, the unfettered press of the North, that one William H. Seward [deafening cheers] had ventured to say that this thing should not be perpetuated; and he considered it an unpardonable sin to say that the institution was not to last forever. Now the people of the United States, and especially of the Free North, have no notion of that kind; they understand well enough that there is nothing eternal but God, Truth and Justice. Their hope and confidence has always been in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice.

I tell you that the great, throbbing, pulsating heart of every lover of Freedom throughout this land, have caught the spirit-stirring echoes of your own immortal poet (turning to Mr. Bryant)—immortal, I say, before he has yet tasted death [three cheers for Mr. Bryant]. I say the spirit of the great heart of the American people have caught the truthful and immortal

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again—
The eternal years of God are hers;
But error wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshippers." [Cheers.]

They have no idea that any system of wrong, in this or any other land, shall be perpetual [cheers]. They have caught the sentiment of old blind John Milton, "that truth is invincible, irresistible, immortal, and incorruptible." [cheers.]

The Meeting Saturday Night.

The Court House was crowded on Saturday evening by Republicans, called together to appoint delegates to the Painesville Convention, and to welcome our Member of Congress. The business proceedings appear in another column. Mr. WADE made a fine argument upon the Kansas issue, and held up the enormity of the outrage upon the rights of the Free States in glaring, yet true colors. The arguments of CASS and DOUGLAS, to the effect that the certificates of the members of the pretended Kansas Legislature being regular in form, are thus conclusive evidence of the legality of their election, was stripped of all covering of plausibility by likening them to the stamps of our colonial days, which appeared all regular, and yet the right to make such stamps lay behind, and in the denial of the right thus to tax the American Colonies grew out the Revolution. Denial of the right to go behind a piece of paper and seek by what authority an act is done, is denying the very right for which the blood of revolution was spilled. The democracy of the "Border Ruffian" laws, which consign a man to the Penitentiary for expressing an opinion that slavery does not exist in Kansas, and hangs a man for attempting to aid a slave in escaping from Kansas, was scathingly commented upon; but when the speaker pointed to the present enforcement of those laws by United States troops, his eloquence thrilled the house, and in the ironical hope of the speaker, that God would grant the administration a good time in getting the money to carry on this outrage upon the rights of freemen, the house came down with three times three.

The whole speech was an able exposition of the strong points in the Kansas issue.

Judge SPALDING also made a few pertinent remarks, and also WOOLSEY WELLES, of De fiance.

The meeting was enthusiastic, and men pulled "all together" who a few months since seemed as wide as the poles apart in politics.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

MONDAY MORNING, MAY 5, 1856.

The Atlas and Argus on Kansas!

The insatiation that leads fanatics and recklessly ambitious men to suppose they can, with bribery of money and their secret arming of assassins, overthrow a government of American people, is the most monstrous in the history of delusion. We cannot believe that some of the cunning leaders are blinded to its enormity.—We do them the justice to say that they are merely willing to feed fanaticism to its wildest excitement even by blood; and that as they can have no hope from the better judgment of the people, they are willing to excite fanaticism and the animosities of sectionalism, to the highest pitch, in the hope of profiting by the crisis, no matter how the country, the laws or public morals may suffer. These are the master spirits of mischief; the rest the dupes. But both the one and the other will be put down by the strong arm of the law, and the irresistible judgment of the American people.

Thus fum: away the double-headed organ of the Pierce party in this State, over the recent events in Kansas. For months past, the Border Ruffians of Missouri, instigated by eminent leaders of the Sham Democracy, and countenanced by the tacit approval of such papers as

"Atlas & Argus," have been harassing the people of Kansas. The repeated invasions of the Territory by drunken hordes armed with murderous weapons; the violent seizure of the ballot-boxes; the election of a Legislature composed almost exclusively of residents of Missouri; the enactment of the most infamous code that ever stained the statute books of a civilized community; the constant annoyances, insults and outrages to which Free State emigrants have been subjected to on their way thither and after their arrival in Kansas; the expulsion of ministers of the Gospel from Western Missouri because they were suspected of anti-Slavery sentiments; the destruction of newspaper offices which refused the dictation of Atchison and Stringfellow; and finally—though not last in the order of their occurrence—the abduction and personal outrages upon peaceable citizens, and the unprovoked and cold-blooded murder, by "Ruffians," of unoffending Free State men—all these events have been passed over by the organ of the doughfaces as lightly as possible—suppressed if they could be without exciting attention—and every event distorted as much as possible in order to shield the villains who set on foot these murderous proceedings for the benefit of Slavery, and the tools who are employed to carry them out.

But the "Atlas & Argus" has at last aroused itself. An event for which the doughfaces have longed, and the minions of PRANKS have labored, is said to have transpired. A Missouri Postmaster, appointed to the office of Sheriff of Douglas county, Kansas, by the Bogus Legislature, has been for some time swearing and swaggering through the streets of Lawrence, threatening to arrest or kill all who refuse to acknowledge the authority of the non-resident body which commissioned him. We need not repeat the account given in full in another column; but we submit, that while the shooting of JONES was an indiscretion and a crime, it is one of the results which might be expected to flow from the long series of insults, wrongs and outrages perpetrated by the bandits of Missouri. We have no defence to offer for the person, whoever he may be, who shot Jones; but we desire the public to note the change in the tone of the doughface and pro-Slavery press—from silence or perversion of facts in regard to the "Ruffian" outrages and murders, to the most excited denunciations of all Free State men, on account of the shooting of JONES. We trust the sudden inspiration under which they are now acting, will not suddenly depart just as intelligence arrives of the next outrage by the "Border Ruffians."

satisfy Northern Democrats—will it satisfy anybody, save the 347,000 Black Aristocrats of the South, and their political bondmen under the Federal Administration? With a less number than Mississippi, Tennessee was admitted in 1796, upon the basis of a population of only 32,013 whites. Tennessee however possessed the merit of degrading Labor, by making it the lot of slaves, lashed to the field, and bought and sold like mules and oxen. Kansas with twice her population, is indeed guilty of a desire to save her soil for the labor of white men, unpurchasable and free. She has confessed this, and the Black Aristocrats have determined to keep her out of the Union, and under their grip, till they can flood her with slavedrivers, and chain Slavery upon her. But is it right? Michigan came into the Union in 1837, with a population of only 31,346. Were they better, were they more deserving, than the 60,000 picked men in Kansas? Arkansas was admitted in 1836, with a population of only 25,671 white citizens. No person will seriously compare them, for any one quality of citizenship, with the three times their number in Kansas, now vainly knocking at the door of the Union. Florida was allowed to come in, nay was hurried in, in 1845, upon a white basis of 27,943. But she had the transcendent merit of being a Slave Territory. Kansas is indeed wedded to the Democratic policy of Free Labor. But does this justify the outrage of excluding her from the Union, till Stringfellow, Shannon, and Douglas shall give her a certificate, that she has "93,700 inhabitants"? Assuredly not.

Tyrannous Stretch of Authority.

At the bidding, and for the benefit of the 347,000 citizens who own Slaves and trade in the fruits of involuntary African labor, in unprincipled and greedy competition with the free labor of twenty millions of whites, the President of the United States has placed the Army of the United States at the service of the ruffians who have taken the job of making Kansas a Slave State. The Executive is charged with the duty of "taking care that the laws be faithfully executed." These must be the laws of Congress.

Banditti from Missouri procured the seeming election as a Legislature of the Territory of Kansas, of citizens of Missouri. These convened, and in fraud of right and in opposition to the wishes of the people of Kansas, passed laws for their government, and appointed officers to execute them. One of these was a Sheriff. This pretended official was at the time, since has been, and is now, a resident of Westport in Missouri, and a Postmaster there under Federal appointment. To foment a disturbance, and furnish a pretext for the President's interference with the Army in the quarrel of Slavery with Freedom in Kansas, this self-styled Sheriff went to Lawrence to make arrests, wide-cast, upon pretexts impudently frivolous and false. He demanded aid from the by-standers. It was of course refused. This refusal was tortured into a crime. Under the orders of the President, the mounted dragoons of the Army are now in Kansas, arresting and imprisoning citizens for this refusal to help the false Sheriff Larass and damage their neighbors and friends.

Is this what the Constitution requires of the Executive? Is he taking care that the "laws of the United States be executed"—or is he flagrantly violating the letter and the spirit of that instrument, by employing the Army to serve a warrant where no crime has been committed, in behalf of a pretended official, whose authority is derived only from the action of trespassers upon the soil of Kansas and usurpers of its settlers' rights? Under any circumstances, has the Pres-

ident a right to employ the Army to execute process under laws passed, not by Congress, but by the Legislature of a Territory?

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
MONDAY, MAY 5.

The Shooting of Jones.

The shooting of JONES the bogus, Sheriff of the bogus Legislature of Kansas, was not only a cowardly and wicked act, but one of the most unfortunate for the Free State cause that has occurred. It does not justify the crime that JONES, without recognized authority, was exerting himself to create difficulty in the territory and aggravate the feelings of the people of Lawrence. Had he been shot down in open day, light by one of the citizens whom, under his assumed and usurped authority, with a file of soldiers sent by President PIERCE to back him, he was abusing, the act would have been less aggravated.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
MONDAY MORNING, MAY 5, 1856.

We cannot but feel that the telegraphic news from St. Louis respecting the shooting of Sheriff Jones in Kansas must be untrue or highly exaggerated. It cannot be that the Free State men would jeopardize their cause by such an act of wanton assassination, as to shoot a man down in cold blood, while sitting with his friends, however much they might fear him and his operations, the next day. The great support of the Kansas cause is an enlightened public opinion, and that will never justify assassination, however much, in extreme cases, it might favor revolution or open rebellion to tyrannical laws. Every consideration on the side of freedom in Kansas would be opposed to such an outrage, and the good sense of every member of that community would show them that the Free State cause would be injured, if not paralyzed by such an act, and the Pro-Slavery side invigorated. It would be perfectly in character for Border Ruffianism, if some of its lowest and worst adherents had performed the deed themselves, for the sake of precipitating matters, and throwing the odium on the Free State party. We shall look with much anxiety for the statement of the Lawrence men.

In order fully to realize the condition in which our brethren find themselves in Kansas, we have but to state that the whole influence, not only of the South and of the Pro-Slavery men, but of the President, the Army, the Office Holders and the whole Democratic party, is pledged to uphold the extreme laws of the Shawnee Town Legislature. We fear that our readers, in the quietness of law and order which reigns around them, do not remember the character of these laws, or feel the weight of the chains they bind upon the Northern settlers. They were made by a Legislature, whose members were Missourians, elected by Missouri non-residents. This Jones himself, who acts under this Legislature, as a Kansas sheriff, held the office of Post Master in Missouri at the time of his appointment, and, for aught we know, holds it yet. The laws which this Legislature passed are of the most revolting kind. They imprison a man for even speaking against the establishment of slavery in the Territory. They hang a man if he even gives food and water to a fugitive slave. They allow any Missourian to vote, whether a resident or not, upon the payment of a dollar. They forbid a Free State man from voting, unless he will swear to observe the requisitions of the Fugitive Slave Act. They establish slavery by the bloodiest penalties, and drive from the territory every man hostile to the Institution. There is a period in the history of all communities when Revo-



MONDAY EVENING, MAY 5, 1856.

Why not admit her?

In 1812, Louisiana was admitted into the Union, with a white population, according to the Census next preceding, of 34,311. Kansas has now a population of 60,000. Is the fact, that four-fifths of these are in favor of Free Labor, a sufficient excuse for keeping her out of the Union? In 1816 Indiana was made a State. The Census at the time allowed her but 23,890 white citizens. Kansas has now nearly three times as many. Mississippi was admitted into the Union in 1817. The Census taken three years after, could find but 42,176 white people within all her limits. Kansas already has half as many more than she. Why not admit her? Because her people wish to protect the labor of white men, from the smothering and blighting influence of African slaves? Will this reason

All these laws, Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, elected by the free votes of the free states, is determined to execute at the point of the bayonet. Can any one deny that Franklin Pierce is a pro-slavery man? Can any one deny that the party which supports him is a pro-slavery party? How then can any Administration paper of this State hold up its head and unblushingly say that the Democratic party is not a pro-slavery one?

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
MONDAY MORNING, MAY 5, 1856.

Credit to whom Credit, &c.

Mr Orr, one of the leading members of Congress from South Carolina, and one of the second circle candidates for the Cincinnati convention, in a recent published letter thus sustains the grounds of republican attack against the northern democrats:

"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."

Why could not those democratic journals of the North, that recognize Mr Orr as one of the lights of democracy, and sustain with him the Nebraska bill and the persecution of the people of Kansas by the border ruffians and the administration, and yet pretend to be in favor of freedom and of making Kansas a free state, just copy this little extract? It would let a flood of light in upon a subject whose true relations they are not very successful in enlightening.

THE DIVISION OF THE MISSOURI DEMOCRACY.—Earnest efforts were made on the recent simultaneous occurrence of separate state conventions to bring about a reunion of the two sections of the democratic party in Missouri. But it thoroughly failed, and the variance now seems wider than ever. The basis of union proposed was acquiescence in the Kansas-Nebraska bill as a finality on the slavery question, and denunciation alike of black republicanism and know-nothingism; but the convention of the Benton democracy refused to accept it. The Atchison convention was the most numerously attended and recommended Gen Pierce for re-election. Of the prevailing sentiment in the Benton convention, the speech of Francis P. Blair, Jr., of St Louis, one of the delegates, is a fair exemplification. He said:—

There were other questions of far more importance to Missouri than Nebraska or anti-Nebraska, or know-nothingism and anti-know-nothingism. As to an endorsement of the Nebraska bill, what good would that accomplish? Resolutions were adopted by the Baltimore convention of 1852, and by the state convention also, of that year, which pledged acquiescence in the then existing adjustment of the slavery issue as a "finality." The democracy of the Union and the state had pledged themselves to stand by the compromise of 1850, and to discountenance a renewal of slavery agitation, in or out of Congress. Did they do it? Did they keep their solemn pledges? No. Scarcely had they made their pledges before they re-opened, by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the agitation of slavery. In view of these facts, why attempt the same old game? Why talk about finalities? It was quackery, nothing but quackery and folly. And instead of praising and glorifying the slavery agitators, and the author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, it becomes the democracy rather to indignantly censure, and call to account those who had betrayed their faith and forsworn their promises. We should call on Frank Pierce to blot out the perjury from his soul—should speak the language of indignation against those who had violated their oaths, and brought the country to the brink of civil war. The attempt to plaster over their perfidy, was all quackery. Suppose we elect to office now, on the Nebraska finality, men who pledged themselves four years ago to resist slavery agitation, and had broken their pledge—how long would they stand on this last finality? Let us have no premium to Pierce or Douglas and their

co-workers, for their treachery—let us sing no psalms over their perjury. I have no confidence in such men. If one of them is nominated by the Cincinnati convention, so help me God, he can't get my vote.

Mr Blair spoke bitterly against the 'regulators' and 'border ruffians,' and his speech is reported to have elicited frequent applause from a very large audience. The conventions were held at Jefferson City, the capital of the state. There is clearly a healthy leaven at work in Missouri. Her slaveholders are in no position to carry on an aggressive campaign upon free territories. They need all their resources to maintain their existence at home.

The resolutions of the Benton democratic convention, which claims to be the legitimate offspring of the party organization, are as follows:—

1. Resolved, That we recognize in slavery agitation the greatest and most persistent enemy to the peace and prosperity of Missouri, and believing that its continuance threatens danger not only to our domestic safety, but also to the Union of the states, we will discountenance the same under whatever disguise it may appear.

2. Resolved, That while we cannot approve of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, because it has brought upon the country a truly fearful slavery agitation, we yet consider the attempt to re-tore it as tending to the same kind of agitation, and are therefore opposed to it.

3. Resolved, That we acquiesce in the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska act, fairly and honestly carried out; that we deem a maintenance of the equal rights of citizenship to men from all parts of the Union an essential requisite in the application of those principles to the new territories; and that we are opposed to all attempts at retarding immigration thither by outside interference, by test oaths, or by property qualifications in conflict with the spirit of the act.

4. Resolved, That we regard secret political societies as dangerous to the liberties of our country, and especially that oath bound party common, styled the Know nothing order; that its creed, which makes religious opinions and place of birth tests of Americanism and fitness for office, is a plain and palpable violation of the constitution of the United States, as well as that of the state of Missouri, which recognizes no such tests; and that we will oppose strenuously—as calculated to overthrow a wise and well-founded policy of our government—any effort to extend the term of years required by the present naturalization laws of the United States, or to interfere with the laws regulating citizenship in the state of Missouri.

5. Resolved, That we believe the development of the industrial resources of this country, of its agricultural and mineral wealth, as well as of the facilities of transport, demands that we sustain the present internal improvement system as embodied in the state credit pledged to the great trunk railroads, and that we uphold the same by wise and prudent legislation.

6. Resolved, That Missouri has a common interest with the western states in the establishment of a policy which will distribute the benefits and benefits of the government—in opposing all measures calculated to advance the interests of one section of the Union at the expense of another—in the construction of a public railway to the Pacific through the heart of the country—in the improvement of our western rivers and harbors—in the cession of the public domain to the states within which the same may lie; and in order to inaugurate and enforce this policy we invite the united co-operation of all the western states.

7. Resolved, That we denounce abolitionism by its name of black republicanism, nullification, secession and disunion, as elements of discord and distraction, each having a common purpose, weakening the bonds of our glorious Union; and every lover of his country should be found in united opposition to them.

Both the rival conventions appointed delegates to the national convention at Cincinnati, and nominated separate electoral tickets for president and vice president. It is not probable that both will agree to support what is done at Cincinnati, however.

THE FIRST SONG OF THE CAMPAIGN is for Col Fremont and freedom. We hope the omen is good:—

"We want a man," the millions cry,
"Give us a man that will not lie,—
For Pierce is growing worse and worse,—
A man to stop the cankering curse
That blasts one half the nation's soul,
And threatens soon to damn the whole."

A man, ye millions? There he goes
Across the Rocky mountain snows,
Plants freedom on its topmost height,
Reveals Dorado to your sight,
Defeats the clutch of tyranny
And adds it to your Union,—FREE!

He's length ahead of sire-in-law,
He goes where love and honor draw,
Grasps free young Kansas by the hand;
And at her side he takes his stand
With heart to swim the Hellespont.
That man, free millions, is Free-mont!

Boston Daily Courier.

MONDAY MORNING, MAY 5, 1856

THE QUARREL IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE on Friday last, between Messrs. Hale of New Hampshire and Clay of Alabama, arose from the speech of the latter made in the Senate on the 21st of April, and which was written out and published

in the Washington Union of Thursday, and occupies about two closely printed pages of that paper. Its title is "The Contest in Kansas, and the Plans and Purposes of Black Republicanism," and it is exceedingly severe upon the action of the Northern states, particularly New York and Massachusetts, with regard to slavery and to the settlement of Kansas, and also upon Senators Seward, Collamer, Sumner, Wilson and Hale. It contains an elaborate defence of slavery and the slaveholders, and has much wrathful language towards the opponents of the institution. We will give a few extracts, the first of which comes under the head of "What New England owes to Slave Labor":—

It is the domestic produce of the South that gives employment to the hands, and food and raiment to the bodies, of the people of New England; that has multiplied her population and magnified her wealth; that has built up her Lowell and her Boston; that has made her merchants princes, and her manufacturers lords of the loom; that has reticulated her surface with railroads, and studded her with thrifty villages; that has enabled her capitalists to indulge in European magnificence and Asiatic luxury.

Take from New England, sir, the cotton of the South, and she would learn in the sad reverse and rapid decline of her fortunes the immense and incalculable value of that involuntary servitude which one of her representatives, in inexcusable ignorance or more censurable malice, denounces as a "withering, blighting, and consuming curse." Take from her the fleecy fabric of the South, and in her waste water-falls, her fireless furnaces, her moss-covered mill-wheels, her grass-grown streets, her deserted villages, her unfrequented harbors, her dilapidated palaces, her untraveled railroads—in every spot now full of life, and blooming with the vigor of commercial health and active enterprise—would be quickly seen the sad antithesis of death.

I allude to these facts in no spirit of vain triumph. I am constrained to do so by the wanton and ill-founded taunt of the Senator from Massachusetts. I could, too, easily point a picture of wrongs inflicted and sufferings endured under that system of servitude called voluntary in New England, which would prove that there labor often fails to get its just reward. But it yields me no pleasure to contemplate the misfortunes or faults, the errors or infirmities, of my fellow-men—far less those of my fellow-countrymen. I rejoice rather in their virtues, their good deeds, and good fortune. I appreciate the intelligence, enterprise, industry, economy, thrift, and energy of the people of New England, and have awarded due honor and praise for their heroic struggles and achievements in every field of human labor. I am ready to acknowledge, too, that the South is a large debtor as well as creditor of New England, deriving from her many materials of necessity and luxury. As just and friendly neighbors, they are mutually useful and beneficial. But, as foes, neither lending nor borrowing, giving nor taking, the South would suffer far less than New England.

What New England has to sell, the South could make at home, buy elsewhere, or do without. What the South has to sell, New England cannot make at home, do without, or buy elsewhere. Cotton is the staple of her existence. She knows it as well as she knows the plant is grown and its fruit plucked by the hand of slaves. Yet, with all her pious horror of slavery, she gives it daily aid and encouragement, in employing slave labor, in rewarding slave labor, in using the products of slave labor, in buying from and selling to the slave-owner—all for her own sake. How magnanimous and unselfish to refuse the slave-owner the privilege of enjoying, like herself, the profits of slave labor in peace and quietness! How grateful and honorable in her to curse the giver, while she pockets the gift—to denounce him as a thief, while she receives and appropriates the stolen property! Oh, sir, if she sincerely abhor the "peculiar institution,"—if she sincerely desire its overthrow—if her conscience tortures her as accessory to our guilt so long as we are permitted to hold a slave in a territory, or reclaim him when a fugitive—let her cease her troubled conscience, and prove her faith by works of self-purgation and self-denial. Then will we believe her. Let her cease to buy, spin, weave, wear, or sell cotton. Let her cease the use of sugar, rice, and tobacco. Let her cease to buy molasses to convert into rum, with which to speculate on the vices, crimes, and miseries of the human family. Let her cease the carrying trade for the South; let her send no more vessels to our ports, or to those of Cuba or Brazil. When she refuses to make or receive any of the profits of slave labor, or to deal with slave-owners, she will vindicate her honor and the sincerity of her pious professions of philanthropy, relieve herself from the

approach of saintly hypocrisy, and will escape the responsibility of sustaining, extending, and perpetuating an institution which, in her heart of hearts, she believes to be wrong." Until she do this she cannot escape that responsibility.

The taunt referred to was the declaration of Senator Wilson, that "slavery blasts and curses the soil."

In speaking upon the "Rendition of Fugitive Slaves," he continues:—

Massachusetts, "the model Commonwealth," has not only virtually nullified the act of Congress, by her late legislation, but menaces with *disfranchisement* any lawyer who appears for the claimant of the slave; menaces with *impeachment* any judge who issues a warrant or certificate, or holds even the office of commissioner under the federal law; and menaces with *infamous punishment* any ministerial officer, or officer of militia, who aids in its execution. Failure of the claimant to establish his claim by verdict of a jury, empanelled under the direction of state officers, paid out of the state treasury, and counselled by a state attorney, hired for that purpose, subjects that claimant to a heavy fine and confinement from one to five years in the penitentiary! Thus, in contempt of the compromises of the Constitutions, the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and that of Massachusetts, the slaveholder is, by her legislative enactment, denied his constitutional rights, and menaced with infamous punishment, for their unsuccessful assertion; the seduction of southern slaves is encouraged, and their reclamation, according to the supreme law of the land, is forbidden!

"Massachusetts now and then," is another of the headings into which the speech is divided, and some of the resolves of our Legislature of 1851 are introduced under the following long and complicated sentence:—

Massachusetts, which in 1643 covenanted with Plymouth, New Haven and Connecticut to restore runaway slaves, upon a mere certificate sent from those colonies, and secured for herself the same mode of recapture of her runaways—Massachusetts, which in 1703, by legislative enactment, restrained the manumission of negroes by exacting bonds of the master to indemnify the town in which he lived for all charge for, or about, the negro liberated, because of his sickness, lameness, or other infirmity, and provided further, in case of manumission without said bond for putting the negro to work for the benefit of said town—Massachusetts, which in 1707 punished with fine and imprisonment the harboring or entraining of a slave without the master's consent—Massachusetts, whose son, Nathan Dane, drew up and introduced into the Continental Congress that provision in the ordinance of 1787 for the return of fugitive slaves—Massachusetts, whose own state convention, in 1788, adopted the provision for the return of fugitive slaves provided by the federal constitution without a single objection, and even with the approval of her patriot son, General Heath—Massachusetts, which in 1788, in view of that same provision in the federal constitution, passed an act inhibiting negro slaves from tarrying in her limits for a longer time than two months, and provided, in case of violation of it, punishment with stripes—Massachusetts, whose son, George Cabot, as Senator from that state, assisted in draughting the fugitive slave law of 1793, whose representatives in Congress voted for the same, and whose son, John Adams, as Vice-President of the United States, signed the same—Massachusetts, whose representatives and senators in Congress voted for a law, suggested by the same John Adams, and approved by him as President of the United States, empowering and requiring the chief justice of any district into which a slave might flee to cause his apprehension and delivery—Massachusetts, which in 1851, through her legislature, while protesting against the fugitive slave law as abhorrent to her people, yet resolved, * * *

The extract, thus quoted, is that portion of the resolves which declared that "Massachusetts claims no right under the constitution to nullify, disregard or forcibly resist the provisions of an act of Congress," and Mr. Clay charged that in the face of this declaration, Massachusetts "now solemnly and deliberately violates her pledged faith and international integrity."

One more extract and we have done. Mr. Clay made allusion to Senator Sumner's speech in Faneuil Hall last November, which has been extensively circulated under the head of "The Slave Oligarchy and its Usurpations," and took the following extract from it:—

Fellow citizens, I have said enough to stir you, but this humiliating tale is not yet finished. An oligarchy, seeking to maintain an outrage like slavery, and drawing its in-

spiration from this fountain of wickedness, is naturally base, false, and heartless of justice. It is vain to expect that men who have forfeited themselves to become the propagandists of this enormity will be restrained by any compromise, compact, bargain, or plighted faith. As the law is contained in the greater, so there is no vileness of dishonesty, no denial of human rights, that is not plainly involved in the support of an institution which begins by changing man, created in the image of God, into a chattel, and sweeps little children away to the auction block.

The comment of the Alabama Senator was:—
What more of defamation, vituperation, and vilification could be expressed or conceived? What worse could be uttered of Barbary corsairs or West India buccaneers? What Christian or civilized nation would form alliances with such monsters of iniquity, much less fraternize with them as members of the same political family, united by common interests and devoted to the same civil destiny? What man of the least share of the virtues which constitute the grace and worth of manhood would take such miscreants to his bosom as friends, or recognize them as associates? And yet these who profess to abhor and condemn us when speaking behind our backs to a Northern audience, here, on this floor, and in this city, seek the society, and, when permitted, make the acquaintance of slaveholders, salute them as equals, cordially grasp their hands as friends, and court their favor with abject sycophancy!

The extracts above will be sufficient to show the temper of the speech, which the author has revised and prepared for the press, and which produced the Senatorial explosion on Friday. We have taken parts which relate to Massachusetts, as being of more immediate interest here than other portions of the discourse, and for the purpose of letting our people know what is said of them elsewhere. The speech will without doubt have a large pamphlet circulation throughout the United States.

The Atlas.

MONDAY MORNING, MAY 5, 1856.

A CONQUERED PEOPLE.

We bespeak for the unhappy and oppressed people of Kansas the sympathy and assistance of their brethren in other commonwealths. The honest and sturdy emigrants, who went into that wilderness to establish homes and to found a State in which freedom should be sustained and freemen protected, have been subjugated by the Missouri invaders, and by the troops of the Federal Government. They are a conquered people. They are just as much slaves as the negroes upon a plantation. At this moment there is no such thing as freedom in Kansas. Military force, always the ready resort of despotism, is now employed by the Government of this country to compel obedience to a code too barbarous for a savage people, and utterly unworthy of the respect of a civilized community. It is well for us to understand the barbarism into which we are plunging. There are times in which only the plainest and most unmistakable language is the most becoming. The people of this country ought to understand the business in which their dragoons are employed. These mercenaries are enforcing laws which it is every man's duty to resist—laws in comparison with which the statutes of St. Petersburg and Vienna appear righteous—laws which are utterly incompatible with either the letter or spirit of the Constitution of the United States. Unless we, the people, in whom is the sole political power, utter a stern rebuke of the nefarious business in which the Government is engaged, we ought to be and we shall be sneered at throughout the world, as the most dastardly traitors to freedom, as the assassins of that liberty to which we have professed devotion.

Mr. Sheriff Jones, as he styled himself, although he was no more Sheriff of Douglas County than of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, has been shot in the back. Somebody, goaded to desperation by we do not know what outrages, has given this bully his quietus for a time. The act is not to be, and cannot be defended; and we are glad to see that the honest men of Lawrence have already disavowed it. But it will not do, it would be neither fair, generous nor manly to judge too harshly any action into which the

people of Kansas may be driven. The simple truth is (and it may just as well as not be stated), that this unfortunate people have been so pestered, teased and badgered, so harassed by day and by night, that fury is the most natural thing in the world, and so are the fruits of fury. This Jones went to Lawrence expressly to make trouble. Men were arrested upon the most trivial pretexts; houses were searched; a system of espionage the most repulsive to an American citizen was established. A fellow who undertakes to indulge in these amusements, in the midst of a free people and at the expense of an intelligent community, usually gets his quietus before all is over.

Submission to the territorial laws is out of the question. Congress must interfere to protect Lawrence from a military despotism. Let there be immediate and positive action. Let us save ourselves from the scandal of being tyrants and oppressors. Let us remember that this is supposed to be a Republic. Kansas at this moment has better and more righteous reasons for a revolution than our beloved forefathers ever had or pretended to have. In comparison with the Baronial code the Stamp Act was the merest bagatelle. But for their love of the country, these harassed settlers would long ago have been in open revolt. In God's name, let us have an end of this wretched mismanagement.

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, MONDAY, MAY 5, 1856

The Administration and the Filibusters

Dispatches from Washington state that the Administration has resolved to recognize the Walker government. The matter has been discussed by the Cabinet, and a majority of the members, it is said, have expressed their approval of this sudden change of policy. The present condition of Walker's affairs affords no reason for this change, and the explanation of it must be sought elsewhere. If the Pierce administration had any good reason for refusing to recognize and aid Walker's government when he appeared to be successful and prosperous, why should it adopt the opposite policy now, when the filibusters are likely to be driven from Nicaragua? A dispatch received here to-day reports that certain members of the Cabinet who had expressed approbation of this change of policy, are now inclined to hesitate. But the matter is urged by those who are not accustomed to be denied.

An explanation of the matter will be found in the prospects of the Administration party with regard to the next Presidential election. The leaders of that party are sadly troubled with the Kansas question, which hovers before them dark and threatening, and like any thing but a portent of victory. They shrink from it, and seek to raise another issue. They wish to turn away public attention from the Kansas question by raising a storm in some other quarter. By mixing themselves up with the infamous filibusters, whose robberies, murders, and other atrocities in Nicaragua have scandalised modern civilisation, and who rival the old buccaneers in every thing but the hardness and daring of an open profession of piracy, they hope to complicate our relations with Great Britain, and introduce a new topic for general and very exciting discussion. This is not the first time the Pierce administration has sought to escape from the Kansas issue, by fomenting troubles with England. Let those who mean that the people of Kansas shall have their rights, watch this white feather policy of their opponents, and act wisely.

By the change of policy proposed the managers of the administration hope, not only to escape from the Kansas question, but at the same time to conciliate the filibustering elements of the country which constitute what the New Orleans Delta glorifies so frequently as the "Young South." This "Young South" has complained of the course heretofore pursued towards Walker, and has given utterance to some rather ominous menaces. It is now considered a masterly stroke of policy to adopt measures which may at the same time con-

collate the filibusters and stop the talk about Kansas affairs. This explains the recent demonstrations in behalf of Walker, at Washington. It explains why Soule, who has been under a cloud since his return from Madrid, is invited to emerge again into activity and notice, and to begin by talking to the people of New Orleans of "the interests of the South especially" in Central America, and of "the ulterior objects to be forwarded by the Walker movements" in Nicaragua.

"The South" has hoped and believed that Walker would be successful without the aid of our government, and "the ulterior objects" to be forwarded are the establishment of slavery in the Central American States and the ultimate annexation of the whole, together with Cuba, Hayti and other West India Islands, to this country; and these are the objects to which the managers of the administration are ready to pledge themselves. It is not yet very apparent who is to receive the benefit of this pledge, at the Cincinnati Convention. The New York Evening Post supposes that Pierce has decided to transfer the Presidential mantle to Douglas, who is very active in endeavoring to secure an escape from the Kansas issue, by the method about to be tried. On the other hand, the Boston Post of this morning is very indignant at the representation that President Pierce will do anything of the kind, and says with considerable vehemence, "the fabrication that Gen. Pierce intended to withdraw his name from the Cincinnati Convention will excite the scorn and reprehension of all honorable politicians." This tells us very distinctly that Gen. Pierce himself intends to reap the benefit of the proposed change of policy. We shall see how it fares with him when the time comes.

We are nowise apprehensive that the present administration will plunge the country into a war with England. It may bluster a little, for the sake of effect on the election next fall; but it will take good care to stop short of war. No part of the country entertains so much dread of a war with Great Britain as the South, and no part of the country has such good reason to dread such a war. The Pierce administration represents nothing in this country but the South and will do nothing which the slave power forbids. Therefore, no wise man will be startled by anything which those in power may do in the way of bluster over Central American affairs.

Journal and Courier.

Lowell, Monday, May 3, 1856.

Fogg, editor of the Concord (N. H.) Independent Democrat, is now in Kansas with the Congressional Investigating Committee. His first letter to his paper is graphic and readable and will prove interesting to those of our readers who are westwardly inclined. We give it below:—

LEAVENWORTH CITY, K. T.,
April 14, 1856.

READERS AND FRIENDS: Ten days ago this morning, I left the capital of the Granite State, and lo! I am here. Thanks to steam-cars and steam-boats, railroads and rivers, nearly two thousand miles have been passed over, and a twelfth part of the breadth of the earth placed between me and my native heath.

Last Monday eve, Messrs Howard and Sherman, of the Committee, arrived at Chicago, accompanied by Mr Lord, of Baltimore, phonographic reporter; Mr Upton, of Albany, sergeant-at arms; Mr Bowen, of Chester, Pa., assistant clerk; Mr Townsend, of Mansfield, Ohio, assistant sergeant-at-arms. These, with Mr Hanscom, of Boston, making up our entire party, we prepared for an early departure on our way to St. Louis. Accordingly, Tuesday morning found us all on board the cars of the Illinois Central Railroad. It was a beautiful morning, that on which we left the great commercial city of the West, and beautifully looked the rippling waters of lake Michigan, as our snorting steam-horse shook its bosom with his jarring tramp. There is, perhaps, no finer view of Chicago, than that presented from the railroad, which runs for some miles on the

shore of the lake, along which stretches Michigan Avenue, upon which are erected the costliest and stateliest dwelling houses in the city; many of them being superbly elegant.

The day, we said, was beautiful. It was more. It was summer-like. Green grass, budding trees, and singing birds were on every side, to tell us that we really had exchanged the snow-clad and ice-bound hills of the East and North for a sunnier clime. As we pass from the city, a few spacious country seats stretch at unequal and constantly increasing distances on either side of our way, until we are, at length, in the midst of "prairie land;" mostly unbroken by hoe or plow, and still reposing in the same virgin purity upon which the sun first looked, on the first day after the morning stars sang their first birth-hour song.

We had supposed we knew what a Western prairie was. We had pictured in our "minds eye" the manner of thing it must be. But the picture had little likeness to the original. Not that it differed so much in kind. But no picture can do any sort of justice to the vastness of the prairie. It cannot be pictured, more than the ocean. Indeed, as one traverses the measureless green wastes of prairie land, and stretches his gaze in vain search after some object which it may rest, it is not easy to dispel the illusion that really are abroad upon

"The sea, the sea, the open sea;
The broad, the blue, the ever free."

No sight we have ever seen, so perfectly resembles the ocean as the Illinois prairie, spreading out hundreds of miles in all directions, over which we passed, and spent the whole day in passing, last Tuesday. For hours, we would ride at the rate of twenty-five miles an hour, and find neither tree, nor stream nor hill to lift or obstruct the horizon. Here and there, it is true, this land-sea was dotted with a farm-house, to relieve the endless monotony of the scene, as a stray bark upon the ocean relieves the manner. Here and there, too, a vast wheat field lay spread before us, half as far as the eye could reach, to tell us of the uncounted millions, yet unborn, for whom a munificent Providence has reserved this garden of the world. Occasionally, however, a town of some dimensions and some people was to be met. Large and thriving towns were Joliet, Peoria, and Bloomington. Respectable streams sometimes kept us company for miles, and then parted from us without saying "by your leave" or "good by." The forests not unfrequently served us the same way; coming with the rivers and leaving when they left.

One of the things of which all eastern people have read, is the sight of a prairie on fire. This also we were treated to in our ride down across Illinois. Great quantities of prairie were already burned over, and left as naked as the nakedest "burnt-ground" in New England. Other great tracts were covered still with prairie grass from two to, perhaps, four or five feet high; all ready for the flame.—Some of it gets burned every year. Some is burned purposely, and some accidentally.—Previous to plowing it has always to be burned. The fires which we saw, however, were not those terrible fires "which we read of," and which sometimes sweep over thousands of acres almost with the swiftness of the wind.—Still, were they a sight to see, especially in the evening, when the fires were about all that could be seen; and these were to be seen, like walls, stretching in straight lines for miles in one direction and marching with the regularity of an army.

Of the incidents of our "days journey," little is to be written. The two most marked, were an almost respectable dinner at Bloomington, and a breaking of one portion of our engine, about twenty miles above Springfield, at about 4 P. M., which delayed us some two hours, and was finally remedied by substituting a large chunk of wood for the broken chunk of iron, which was removed. This accident prevented our seeing Springfield, which is the capital of the State, and is said to be a beautiful and thriving city. It was dark when we arrived there, and, of course, continued dark, till we reached the Mississippi river, at Alton, made famous, or infamous, years ago, by the repeated destruction of an anti-slavery press, and the final murder of the lamented Lovejoy. Of course we saw nothing of Alton, to speak

of; as we hurried across the city, through dark streets and over rough pavements, to the steamboat waiting to take us down the river, twenty miles to St. Louis.

The last named city we reached between one and two o'clock A. M., and were soon at the Planter's House, to which we had been recommended, as the best hotel in the city.—Of its claims to this pre-eminence, we may express an opinion on some other occasion.—We found, at any rate, very comfortable quarters, and were in a favorable mood to enjoy them. The next morning we were up in ample season for breakfast, reading the news, and seeing the city; all of which we did, besides getting an introduction to the Postmaster, who was very free to avow himself a 'border ruffian,' and to predict all sorts of difficulties in Kansas during the investigation by the Congressional Committee. The Postmaster's name is Armstrong. He is a native of Maine, and a violent adherent of Atchison and Stringfellow. Pierce gave him his present office, as he bestowed all the other offices in Missouri, as a reward for his malignant hatred of Old Bullion. Of course he takes to "border ruffianism" naturally.—He knows, as the ass knows, his master's crib.

The temper of Mr Pierce's Postmaster is not, however, the temper of St. Louis; as was demonstrated by the Municipal election which took place the day before our arrival. The canvass was exceeding earnest, and resulted in the anti-border ruffian ticket being elected by more than 2500 majority. Mr Howe, the Mayor elect, is a strong Benton man, and an equally strong opponent of the present Administration. The friends of Freedom for Kansas justly regard it as a great triumph. And so it is, inasmuch as it shows that even a slaveholding city, like St. Louis, cannot and will not support the outrages which are sought to be inflicted on the people of that territory.

Continued to-morrow.

Whig and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

MONDAY, MAY 5, 1856.

Michigan and Kansas — Why treated Differently?

The Democrat of last week had a long article in reply to a remark which we made that the people of Kansas now approached Congress in the same manner that the people of Michigan and Arkansas approached, and were admitted.

Among other things the Democrat says:

"The people of Michigan and Arkansas 'approached Congress' through their territorial legislatures and in obedience to lawful authority, and as a whole people, whereas in the case of Kansas, the territorial government established by the authority of Congress is disregarded, and the Free State Party go to work irrespective of all law and in defiance of the existing government, to establish another."

In the case of Kansas, as the Democrat well knows, the Free State men deny that there was any legal territorial government whatever—the "authority of Congress" having been utterly set at naught and overthrown by the Missouri invaders, who took possession of the ballot-boxes of the Territory, and elected their Legislature to give laws and "authorities" to the Territory. These laws and authorities the people of Kansas very properly refused to recognize, and from the necessity of the case were obliged to move for admission as a State in their own sovereign capacity. The people of Michigan also approached Congress in an informal manner. They had a legal Territorial Legislature to be sure, which Kansas did not have, and could not have, but they still adopted their State Constitution and elected their State officers, United States Senators and a member of Congress, without any act of Congress authorizing it, and after repeated failures to obtain such an act, and her admission was opposed on this ground; but she was nevertheless admitted, and by Democratic votes. On the occasion of the admission of Michigan, Mr. Senator Hen-

drugs urged objections as follows:

"The people of Michigan, in presenting their Senate and House of Representatives as the legislative power existing there, showed that they had trampled upon and violated the laws of the United States establishing a Territorial Government in Michigan. These laws were, or ought to be, in full force there; but, by the character and position assumed, they had set up a Government antagonistic to that of the United States.

Notwithstanding this, Michigan was admitted, with a government established by an act of her own original sovereignty, no more adopted by the people of Michigan than the Free State government of Kansas has been adopted by her own people, for all the people of Kansas had the free opportunity of joining in the Convention which adopted her constitution, and a large majority of the people did take part in raising that Convention.

When the Michigan bill came up for consideration, Mr. Ewing proposed, as a substitute, a bill which authorized the citizens of the Territory to hold an election for delegates, to meet in Convention, frame a Constitution, and send it to Congress for approval; and he urged his substitute upon the Senate, as the only proper and legitimate plan under the circumstances.—Mr. Ewing's plan was the same as that now recommended to us by the Executive in the case of Kansas; and let us see what favor it met from a Democratic Senate.

In reply to Mr. Ewing, Mr. Benton said:

"The object of the amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Ewing) was to turn the people of Michigan back to consider as nothing all that they had done, and to require them to begin anew, under the sanction of an act of Congress, with holding elections, meeting in Convention, framing a Constitution, and sending it on to Congress. The object was, to turn the people of Michigan back, and make them commence in a regular manner, as it was called, in contradistinction to the irregular, disorderly, and revolutionary manner of conducting themselves, which had been imputed to them."

"Mr. B. then entered into an ample vindication of the rights of the people of Michigan and Arkansas to meet in Convention, without a preliminary law from Congress—adopt Constitutions, and send them here for examination. Conventions were original acts of the people. They depended upon inherent and inalienable rights. The people of any State may, at any time, meet in Convention, without the assent of their Legislature, and without any provisions, or against any provision in their Constitution, and may alter or abolish the whole frame of Government, as they pleased. The sovereign power to govern themselves was in the majority, and these could not be divested of it."

This is pretty strong doctrine—stronger than we would endorse—but it is an ample democratic justification of the course pursued by the people of Kansas.

Hon. James Buchanan, also made a speech on that occasion, in which he asserted that "it was of no earthly importance" whether Congress sanctioned a convention to adopt a State Constitution before or after the action of the people.

But there is another part of this Michigan case that furnishes a still more notable precedent for action in the Kansas case. The unauthorized action of the people of Michigan was ratified and confirmed by a democratic Congress—Franklin Pierce himself voting *yea*—with one condition only, *viz*—That the people through a convention of delegates elected especially for that purpose, should assent to a certain change of boundaries.

Under this stipulation, the Legislature of Michigan called a Convention in the month of September, 1837,—which convention refused to assent to any such change of boundaries.

Let it be remembered that this Convention was regularly called by the constituted authority of the Legislature, and in pursuance of an act of Congress.

Now there was a party in the new State, which was in favor of assenting to the change of boundary; and that party, after the first Convention had been held, determined to hold another Convention, and did call and hold one in the month of December, without authority

from any constituted government whatever; two of the oldest counties, having a population of 25,000, refused to have anything to do with this second convention, as being irregular and illegal, and there was no poll opened in these counties. And yet the action of this second spontaneous convention of a part only of the people of Michigan, reversing the action of the first and regular Convention, was RATIFIED AND CONFIRMED BY THE democratic Congress, (after investigation, as is now going on in the Kansas case)—AND FRANKLIN PIERCE VOTED *yea* in this case also.

We have only room to add, in relation to this occurrence, the following paragraph from a recent speech by Mr. Waldron of Michigan:

"I refer to these two elections for delegates, because, in some respects, they resemble the two elections in the Territory of Kansas, that have been the subject of earnest discussion in this Hall. The September election, like the election that chose Mr. Whitfield had the benefits that the forms of legal authority confer, and it had the additional merit, that no fraud or violence perverted or disgraced it. The December election, like the election that chose Mr. Reeder, was the spontaneous act of the sovereigns themselves, done without the interposition or assent of the constituted authorities, but with an avowed determination not to recognise their acts. Now it is important to ascertain which of these elections was regarded by a Democratic Congress as expressing the will of the citizens of Michigan, and what rules they adopted as precedents for our action."

As we remarked above the second Convention was recognized as valid.

THE FREE PRESS. Morning Chronicle.

BURLINGTON:

MONDAY, MAY 5, 1856.

MONDAY EVENING, MAY 5, 1856.

NOTICE.—Transient advertisers ordering advertisements to be inserted for a period not exceeding SIX DAYS, must invariably pay for them IN ADVANCE, to secure their insertion.

The New Kansas Trouble.

The Legislature which the Missourian invaders elected to tyrannize over the people of Kansas, and force them to submit to their piratical enactments for securing Kansas as a slave State, appointed one Jones, a postmaster of Weston, Missouri, to be Sheriff of Douglas County, as they called it, in Kansas.

The frequent mention of his abusive conduct of the violence which the settlers have been subjected to by their invaders, has made his name notorious. It was rumored some days ago, that he had been shot,—severely, if not fatally wounded, by some unknown person, at Lawrence. The letters lately received confirm this rumor and give the particulars. The Telegraph brought word on Saturday last, that a large meeting had been held in Lawrence—that resolutions condemning the act and disclaiming all responsibility for it were passed, and that Gov. Robinson had offered a reward of \$500 for the apprehension of the guilty person. Within a few months several free State men have been shot down where there was no affray whatever, and one coolly hacked to pieces, but no notice has been taken of it by the officials in authority under the U. S. Government, from Franklin Pierce to Wilson Shannon. The bogus legislatures officials of course have not troubled themselves about it either. No attempt whatever has been made to bring the guilty villains to justice, and one of them still holds the commission under United States authority which he held, when, without the least provocation, he deliberately shot down his fellow man in the highway, in broad daylight and in the presence of others. The difference is worthy of notice.

Under the insupportable exasperation of a condition of society as has prevailed in Kansas, the wonder is not that one angry man has thus vented his rage against such a man as Jones; but rather that scores of lives have not been taken on both sides before this. The occurrence is not on that account the less to be condemned, if the circumstances are truly represented. To shoot another in self defence or under the excitement of a violent and dangerous contest is one thing,—to deliberately seek the life of another, however provoking his conduct has been, when no one is in personal peril, but all are in a state of quiet for a time, is another. If the first is excusable, more or less, the latter is not so.

We copy below a letter written to the editor of the Missouri Democrat, gives as condensed an account of the matter as any one we have seen. Among those arrested by Jones for not helping him make an arrest of Wood, who could not be found, the Sunday before, was Mr. Hutchinson from Randolph, Vt.,—well known to many of the people of this State—having addressed them in several places on the affairs of Kansas.

KANSAS TROUBLES.—There is late intelligence from Kansas, which goes to show that the difficulties in that territory have broken out afresh. A man, acting under a warrant of the pseudo-legislature as sheriff, attempted to make an arrest for alleged complicity in the affair of December last, upon an old warrant, which was resisted, and the officer was compelled to retire. Returning with a body of United States troops, he was shot, the report says, while sitting in his tent. Although the tent was full of soldiers, they do not seem to have discovered the author of the shot.

The trouble has been brewing for a week.—A Lawrence dispatch of the 20th says, if a war is what the administration desires, it can be accommodated by resorting 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.

The Daily American.

MANCHESTER, MAY 5, 1856.

FURTHER OURAGES IN KANSAS.—We publish a letter from the Kansas correspondent of the Boston Journal, giving details of further proceedings of Governor Shannon, carried out without question, in pursuance of instructions from Pierce. Comment upon this proceeding is superfluous. The military force of the United States is employed to coerce the people of Kansas to submission to the Border Ruffian government. And when we remember that the men who were proposed to be thus arrested, and those who were actually arrested, if tried at all would be taken before a tribunal which has repudiated the acknowledged rights of American Citizens, who can wonder at their refusal to submit to an arrest? The crime charged against

Wood was that he aided in the rescue of Branson, and the crime charged against Hutchinson is that he refused to aid in the arrest of Wood. Is there any allegation that these men were disturbing the public peace? Not at all. They had neither of them committed any crime other than a refusal to aid the territorial government foisted upon Kansas by the Missouri ruffians.

These acts, evidently in pursuance of the declaration of the government to enforce obedience to the territorial government of Kansas, and the acts of the Stringfellow legislature, show plainly the questions which have got to be met in Kansas. It is obedience to the ruffians or resistance. If they choose the former they become the most abject slaves,—if they choose the latter they are pronounced traitors by Stringfellow, Shannon and Pierce, and successful resistance is their only alternative, until the federal government falls to other hands or returns to reason.

Ebening Standard.

NEW BEDFORD:

Monday Evening, May 5, 1856.

Letters from Kansas.

We are indebted to a gentleman in this city for the following letters from Kansas. They were written by a connexion of his, who is an active man in the new territory. It will be noticed that the date is as late as any reliable advices that have been received from Kansas, and the letters will be found to contain much valuable information respecting the condition of things there. Troubles are still impending over the unfortunate territory. The emigrants are still subjected to most cruel injustice. Every effort is made by the border ruffians, to induce the Free State men to commit some overt act, in order to involve them in further difficulty with the general government. Our correspondent, who is upon the ground and can fully note the operation and tendency of things, has the right view of the matter. Being forewarned, we hope the Free State men will do nothing to prejudice their case with the Investigating Committee, although in view of the outrages that have been perpetrated upon them, we scarcely know of any thing they could do to drive back their assailants, that would not be justifiable on the score of simple justice.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 21st, 1856.

The spring has opened beautifully in Kansas and although the winds sometimes blow strong, still at this season they are mostly from the south, and are peculiarly pure and soft, (when there is no dust on their wings,) and give a fellow that peculiar sense of don't care whether-school-keeps-or-not-iveness, that would cause him to chase his hat or occasionally pick the dust from his eyes with a perfectly good grace. The cattle and horses seem to feel glad that the grass has again come, and their sleek sides and frisky motions are among the symptoms of their hilarity. The forests are looking green, the violets are blooming in great profusion, as also the wild plum with its splendid odors and snowy blossoms.

We had a little excitement yesterday and the day before, arising out of an attempt by bogus sheriff Jones to arrest two or three of the citizens of this town. He did not make much out of it and probably all he wanted was for them to take some rash and moblike steps, such as shooting, ducking or whidding him, the said Jones, that they might have a pretext for another general row, but if a fight commences they are the ones that must strike the first blow. They are evidently aiming at something that shall prejudice our cause before the House Investigating Committee that are now here and about to open a session in the Free State Hotel. This will be their last kick and they will damage their own skins more than ours if they do not proceed with the utmost caution. Whitfield

and Over or Missouri are probably the advisers in this matter—they are at Leocompton setting Jones on and probably will get up some kind of a row at last with the express view of setting us in a false light before the Committee. They know if the thing is fully and fairly investigated that their case is emphatically a "goner," and we are as well aware of this as they are. Hear the chaste, beautiful and emphatic language of Whitfield, on his arrival in Leavenworth the other day. "I tell you boys our case looks ——— bad, we must kick up a row with these yankee sons of ——— or they will get the best of us." So you see he is advising a row while Oliver, the member of the Committee from Missouri, tries to make us believe that he is for the quiet investigation of the whole Kansas matter, but we have every reason to think that he endorses them and probably is their adviser; at any rate his voice is not raised in disapprobation of their course as it should be. Shannon is in misery for fear that another war is at hand, and he don't know what to do.

Jones commenced the business on Saturday last by attempting to arrest S. N. Wood, Esq., one of the Branson rescuers of last fall, who has just returned from Ohio. Wood demanded a copy of his writ which Jones said he would give him if he would remain where he was. This Wood could not promise to do, so Jones persisted that he must go with him, which he seemed quite reluctant to do, whereupon Jones attempted to draw his revolver, but in the melee some one else drew it for him and I am told he has not seen it since. As soon as his pistol was gone his pluck was also gone and he mounted his horse and started for home. Yesterday he came here again with five or six savage looking men, and just as people were gathering in to the places of public worship he gathered his posse around the whiskey barrel to imbibe courage for the dreadful struggle. He then summoned about twenty persons that were standing or walking by to assist him as a posse in the arrest of Wood, but he forgot who he was after; on seeing another person whom he wanted, he pitched at him but the fellow had no notion of going off in that peremptory manner and began to resist Jones and all his posse; and Jones and his posse "caved," but soon he saw another man for whom he had a writ and he pitched in again but with no better success—the b'hoj commenced very deliberately to draw off his coat while Jones was busy getting out his pistol—in a perfect flutter of excitement. Ed. (who is a Bridgeport b'hoj), was anxious to meet him in the ring, notwithstanding Jones's deadly weapons and his own unarmed condition, but a person from the crowd who was a conservator of the peace, stepping between them said that he could on no consideration allow any fighting in the streets, and here the matter ended and Jones and his savage looking comrades mounted their horses and put for home, swearing terrible things about all yankee abolitionists and Lawrence ones in particular. They have not been since seen but are expected here again when they can get their pluck screwed up to the sticking point. It is growing late and I must close.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 23, 1856.

Jones, pursuant to his threats on Sunday last, made his appearance here to-day, with a detachment of U. S. Dragoons, and commenced his search for S. N. Wood, Esq., and others. He dismounted with an air of pomp, as much as to say, I told you so you rebels, now resist if you think it healthy, you are now subdued and I'll teach you not to resist an officer. Seeming to feel all this he led the way to the house of Wood, followed by the dismounted dragoons, whom he posted at the door while he bravely entered with the officer in command to take the desperate step, but not finding Wood he then proceeded to take such other Free State men as he met, against whom he had a personal spite, or a writ, or something I don't know what, as I have been told that he has not showed any papers as yet, although he repeats with a great deal of satisfaction that he is enforcing the Territorial laws as Sheriff of Douglas County. He has up to this hour, (10 P. M.) arrested 6 persons for very slight offences, among them is J. Hutchinson, Esq., who you will probably recollect spoke in New Bedford last winter upon Kansas matters. His offence was merely standing with his hands in his pockets when called on to assist in arresting Wood, on Sunday last, and at a time, too, when Wood was no where to be found; he simply had nothing to do, and he did nothing, and for that he was arrested to-day. I think the crimes with which his five fellow prisoners are charged are the same as his, and were committed at the same time. Jones may have charges of a little graver character against some men in town, but I am certain that none on his list are charged with crimes of a felonious character, although you are aware probably, that the bogus statutes make a very slight crime if committed by a Free State man, a felonious one—those laws were made on purpose for Free State offenders, and they recognize, in effect, no other criminals. Not one of those foul murderers who have figured among the Border Ruffians has yet been brought

to justice, saying nothing of the multitude of lesser felonies that have been perpetrated by pro-slavery upon Free State citizens; this is not the intention of those enactments, it is quite the reverse. They are made expressly to drive Yankee Abolitionists out of the Territory, and you are aware that all Free State men come under this head. But to the dragoons, twelve of them are here only, commanded by a Lieut. who appears to be something of a gentleman; although it is his duty as a soldier to obey orders, he says, he is here most reluctantly doing so, and wishes all to understand that it is a disagreeable and painful duty. His command, who by the way are fine looking fellows, treat the citizens in the most orderly and neighborlike manner; they are armed cap-a-pie, three pistols, a sword and carbine, and ride first rate horses, but they cannot, and I don't think they would if they were able, screen Jones from the continual expressions of the most supreme contempt that fall from the lips of all who attempt to speak of him or his authority.

It does not take a large body of troops to arrest an offender, as you see, if they are only clothed with respectable authority, that is such as we acknowledge as authority, but the authority of usurpers is treated with great indifference.

I am this moment informed that an unfortunate bullet has just found lodgment in the carcass of Jones. He was shot a few moments ago by some person unknown; the third ball took effect in the region of the spine, and between the shoulder blades as near as I can learn. If the ball came in nearly a perpendicular line to the plane of his back, his chance of recovery is certainly slim. So Jones with all his pomp and dragoons it seems is floored at last. He no doubt exposed himself unnecessarily, (often getting a little tight of course,) to show his bravery, and one of the many threats has been executed under cover of the night. What the result will be time only can tell. This is the first pro-slavery blood that has been spilt, that I am aware of, while many Free State men have bled their last drop.

The Committee of investigation have this day opened their session and commenced work in good earnest; they had copied 500 foolscap pages of records and other documents previous to sitting here.

All is quiet in the street at this moment, and there will be no more news before the mail closes.

New-York.

PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN.

MONDAY MORNING, MAY 5, 1856.

In January, 1851, the following Declaration was circulated for signatures in the halls of Congress:

"The undersigned, Members of the Thirty-first Congress of the United States, believing that a renewal of sectional controversy upon the subject of slavery would be both dangerous to the Union and destructive of its objects, and seeing no mode by which such controversy can be avoided except by a strict adherence to the settlement thereof effected by the Compromise Acts passed at the last session of Congress, DO HEREBY DECLARE their intention to maintain the said settlement inviolate, and to resist all attempts to repeal or alter the acts aforesaid, unless by the general consent of the friends of the measure, and to remedy such evils, if any, as time and experience may develop. And, for the purpose of making this resolution effective, they FURTHER DECLARE that they will not support for the office of President or of Vice President, or of Senator or of Representative in Congress, or as member of a State Legislature, any man, of whatever party, who is not known to be opposed to the disturbance of the settlement aforesaid, and to the renewal, in any form, of agitation upon the subject of Slavery."

The National Intelligencer of Saturday last republishes from its issue of Jan. 23d, 1851, the above Declaration, because it has been applied to from distant parts of the country, and it republishes it also for the curiosity of those who may have forgotten its existence. We republish it also, because both distant and near parts of the country would do well to read it over again, and because it is a curiosity of which a great majority of the Democratic party seem utterly to have forgotten the existence. It was a Patriotic Declaration containing wise determination and counsel, and when circulated in the halls of Congress, obtained the signatures of distinguished members of both of the great parties of the country. Well would it have been had its wise determination and counsel been persevered in. The story would

not then, as now, have been, Kansas and Nebraska Territory, but Kansas and Nebraska, progressing tranquilly in the work of colonization, according to the plighted faith of the Union. But evil days have come since the conservative compromise spirit of 1851. The days of FRANKLIN PIERCE, and of broken plighted faith, of which the present administration are the chief apostles, have come, and with them, the days which JACKSON foretold would come when the disunionists of his own, the Democratic party, should carry out their iniquitous measures. They have carried them out, and the crowning act of their triumph was the passage of the Nebraska act which broke the plighted faith of the Missouri Compromise, and trampled in the dust the above patriotic declaration.

The steps by which the Democratic Party have reached their present faithlessness to all the compromises of the Constitution, and by which they have succeeded in plunging the country in the midst of a wild Slavery agitation, are forcibly pictured by FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Esq., in a letter to the Republican meeting held in this city on the 29th ultimo. The letter shows in strong light the character of the Democracy of the present day, which repudiates all such patriotism as that contained in the above declaration of 1851. Mr. BLAIR's letter is a cabinet picture of Democracy as it now exists, and is drawn and colored true to nature. It is dark in the foreground and dark in the background, but it conveys a moral and political lesson which entitles it to an extensive exhibition in the coming Presidential contest. Mr. BLAIR thus sketches the lineaments of Democracy. It is Democratic now to break faith with constituents, and violate the representative principle on which our republics are all founded. It is Democratic now to disobey the instructions of constituent bodies, and exert the force of the government to defeat the efforts of the people to redress the wrong committed by one set of representatives, by turning them out and choosing another. It is Democratic now to nullify the clause authorizing Congress to regulate Territories, and to nullify all compromises regulating their settlement. It is Democratic now to drive the settlers from the polls, where they were invited to decide the question of Slavery—to introduce voters from a Slave State to impose Slavery on the Territory against the will of the rightful voters, the actual settlers—and to elect a Legislature representing the Slaveholders of the invading State. It is Democratic now to defend the establishment of test oaths, requiring all settlers opposed to Slavery to swear allegiance to a law they hold to be unconstitutional. It is Democratic now to pass sedition laws, prohibiting discussion and the denial of slave ownership where Slavery was not authorized, denouncing the penalty of death against that, as a crime, which the organic law deputed as a duty to be performed by the people. It is Democratic now in a President to see this reign of terror established by force and arms, and a usurpation made to triumph over the laws of the United States.

Against such democracy, perpetrated by the Kansas act Mr. BLAIR protests. Is it this Democracy which now seeks to retain its administrative power in the Union. Shall it be permitted to do so? Rather shall it not be hurled from power, and an administration installed in its place that will act according to the patriotic declaration of 1851, and the Missouri Compromise?

AFFAIRS IN WASHINGTON.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

WASHINGTON, May 3, 1856.

The Senate was yesterday the scene of a very intemperate display. Mr. HALE noticed, in a single sentence, the insolent personal tirade against him delivered by Senator CLAY, of Alabama, a week ago. Mr. HALE contented himself with expressing his contempt for the imputations of CLAY and their author. To this C. rejoined in a supplementary volume of abuse worthy of Dutch CHARLEY or TOM HYER, in a tap-room, but utterly disgraceful to the Senate. This new Senator seems to have reached his present station by an error of direction. He should have been errier to an auction of merchandise not dealt in north of Mason & Dixon's line, instead of which we are pained to hear from his lips, in our highest Legislative body, effusions of violence and spite, against all who disapprove of that pursuit, which are not tolerated among gentlemen.

The speech of Mr. BENJAMIN was not unexpected. He went over to the Democracy. This is as gratifying as appropriate. Mr. B., who, though a Senator

has been a member of the Union since, nor, yet, I have been told, a naturalized foreigner, took occasion last fall to recommend to the South a secession from the Union in case she could not compass her desires relative to slavery extension. He then virtually deserted the Whig party, to which he owes his elevation, and has now formally united himself with the Democratic party. This is just as it should be. The progression is natural and in perfect accordance with the eternal fitness of things. Last fall Mr. BENJAMIN was a Disunionist; this spring he is a Democrat. He will not carry with him a numerous retinue. All Disunionists were Democrats before. In this movement, therefore, he is a follower, not a leader.

As to the insults and misrepresentations leveled at the North throughout this speech, they are not worth retorting. The North has heard them before, and repelled them with that quiet contempt which is the severest punishment the ambitious libeler can receive.

The question whether our Government will interpose to repel the alleged interposition of Great Britain in Costa Rica is no question at all. There is nothing in the treaty of 1850 which precludes either nation from forming alliances with any or all the States of Central America. It does not appear that the arms applied for were furnished, but if they had been, the act might have been justified by every recognized principle of national law and humanity. Costa Rica was standing upon her defence, though she has since become an invader of the State occupied by her enemies.

New-York Daily Tribune.

MONDAY, MAY 5, 1856.

REVIVING THE SLAVE TRADE.

While the Kansas-Nebraska bill was under discussion THE TRIBUNE suggested, among other arguments against it, that to yield up the Missouri prohibition would only lead to new demands of the same sort; and the repeal of the acts prohibiting the African slave trade was suggested as a thing which, encouraged by success, the South might ultimately demand. What was then thrown out on our part only as a possibility, or at most a probability, while it was sneered at by many of the advocates or apologists for the Kansas-Nebraska bill, as an extravagant and absurd exaggeration, dictated by a heated fancy, almost immediately on the passage of that bill became a positive fact. Numerous journals of the South—and leading ones, too—began to speak out openly in favor of the revival of the African slave trade, which now forms in the Southern newspapers a regular topic of frequent discussion.

A correspondent of *The Charleston Standard* gives in several letters an account of his observations along the Ashley River, between which and the river Cooper that city is built. In these letters he has much to say of the evidences he everywhere met with of a former wealth and prosperity which has now ceased to exist; and he closes his correspondence with a discussion of the causes which for fifty years past have kept South Carolina stationary or declining. According to his account the decline of South Carolina and of all the old Slave States commenced with the abolition of the African slave trade. He insists that the great evil under which South Carolina labors is a deficiency of labor, of which he finds a striking proof in the fact that wood sells in the Charleston market at five to eight dollars a cord, while abundance of wood-land may be purchased on the Ashley River near by, for three dollars an acre. All the bricks, too, used in Charleston are brought from the North, though the bluffs of Ashley River abound with clay extremely well adapted for making bricks, while there is plenty of wood growing close by, with which to burn them. The suggestion that the Carolina people don't work, he repels with indignation. Some of the city slaves, he admits, through the over-indulgence of their masters, do not labor so much as they might. He also notes the existence along the banks of Ashley River of a class of whites "too poor to purchase slaves and too proud to labor with them," "who glide along an uncomfortable half-

way level between the two races," and who "by hunting, fishing, grazing cattle on the lands of others, and doing jobs occasionally, manage to procure the means of a precarious subsistence." But as to the plantation slaves, who in those regions outnumber the whites several times over, he insists that they are tasked to their utmost capacity; while the merchants of Charleston and the men who have the charge of the plantations, are, if we believe him, among the most laborious men in existence.

The difficulty is, according to his account, that South Carolina is constantly drained of her labor by the new planting States of the West, which it becomes absolutely necessary to settle in order to keep up the balance of power, since it would never do to allow a new Northern non-slaveholding State to come into the Union without having a new Southern slaveholding State by which to offset it. In order to relieve South Carolina from this double duty of finding labor for herself and labor also for a constant extension of the frontier, *The Standard's* correspondent proposes, and *The Standard* itself is ready to second the motion, to revive the African slave trade, so as to furnish the planters in the new States with an ample supply of cheap labor, and to leave the old States to keep their own labor at home to be devoted to domestic improvements. Such is the channel in which Southern ideas are now beginning to run, and it would be useless to attempt to divert them from it by any appeal to humanity or conscience, or by any exposure of the errors involved in this new diagnosis of the vital decline with which the older slaveholding States are affected. As to humanity and conscience, they are easily quieted, and indeed enlisted on the side of the slave trade, by the new Southern doctrine that to be owned by somebody else is the most suitable and beneficial condition for a laboring man of any color, and especially for a black man, to which is to be added—if we really suppose that Africans have souls to save—the inestimable advantage of being brought within the range of Christianity South.

As to the economical question, it is obvious that no small portion of the recent rapid advancement of the North, is to be ascribed to the great influx among us of emigrants from Europe, and it naturally enough seems to our Southern brethren a very bright idea to offset this voluntary immigration to the North of free laborers from Europe by a corresponding transportation to the South of involuntary immigrants from Africa. Indeed, on the basis of the new doctrine of the "equality of the States," as they facetiously call it, lately put forth by these Southern brethren of ours—who seem to think that as elder brothers they are entitled to a double share, if not indeed to the whole patrimony—this right of importing negroes at pleasure, may and no doubt will be set up as absolutely essential to the preservation of that equality. The same logic that proved the Missouri restriction unconstitutional, will find little difficulty in proving the prohibition of the African slave-trade to be equally unconstitutional. For if the citizens of South Carolina have an indefeasible right to emigrate from South Carolina with such "property" as they possess there into any of the Territories of the Union, it can hardly be denied that the same citizens of South Carolina have a right to return to South Carolina from foreign parts with all the "property" acquired in those parts, Africa included. It is therefore not unreasonable to expect that if, in the coming Presidential election, Pierce, Douglas, and the rest of that party are to be sustained by the North in having made a voluntary gift of Kansas to the slaveholders, that their next move may be, and that without waiting to be urged to it, to open Kansas to slaves not from the Slave States only, but from Africa

KILLING IN KANSAS.

Five or six months ago, Mr. Dow, a Free-State citizen of Kansas, was shot down in the highway near Hickory Point, Kansas, by Colman, a Pro-Slavery man. Dow being unarmed at the time and in no manner threatening or molesting Colman. Neither the U. S. authorities in Kansas, nor those pretending to hold under the Missourians' Legislature, have offered a reward for the arrest of the murderer, or taken any step calculated to bring him to justice. But they did arrest Bronson, a Free-State man with whom Dow boarded, on a trumped-up charge of having threatened the life of Colman, and were taking him to prison when he was rescued by a number of his fellow citizens.

Three or four weeks later, Barber, a Free-State settler from south-western Ohio, was riding home from Lawrence to his cabin on the prairie, three or four miles off, when he was shot dead from his horse by a Pro-Slavery U. S. Indian Agent. No attempt has been made by the Federal or Territorial authorities to bring this assassin to justice.

Still more recently, the Free-State party were holding an election at Easton, near Leavenworth, when they were set upon by an armed Pro-Slavery party. The Free-State men mustered in such strength that their adversaries recoiled from the conflict and left the Free-State men in undisputed possession of the ground. The latter soon after scattered toward their several homes, supposing all danger of collision was over. But the Pro-Slavery party had kept together and were lying in wait for such portion of the Free-State party as they could attack with impunity. Mr. Brown, a leading Free-State settler from Ohio, fell into their snare. He was surrounded, captured, chopped to pieces with knives and hatchets, and at length driven home in his own wagon and laid down at his door to die, which he did soon after. His wife into whose presence he was thus thrust is now a maniac. No reward has been offered; no attempt to convict the perpetrators of this fiendish murder has been made by the Federal or Territorial authorities, up to this hour.

But at length a Pro-Slavery man, the bogus "Sheriff" Jones, has been shot, by some unknown person, but who is probably a Free-State man. He was in Lawrence, seeking to bring on a collision between the Free-State men and the Federal Government, by arresting persons in the name and by authority of the bogus Territorial Legislature. Every man in Lawrence was ready to submit to the service of any process emanating from the U. S. authorities, and it would have subserved every purpose but one to have had these writs issued by the U. S. judges, but Jones evidently sought not to be obeyed but to be resisted. Finding the people indisposed to recognize his Shawnee Mission authority, Jones sent to the nearest fort for U. S. troops and, with them at his back, arrested whomsoever he pleased. Intense excitement and indignation pervaded the town, and that evening Jones was shot as aforesaid. Thereupon the Free-State party held a great meeting, condemned this cowardly assassination, and resolved that the perpetrator should be brought to justice. Gov. Robinson promptly issued a proclamation, offering a reward of \$500 for the detection and apprehension of the culprit. And we have high hopes that he will thus be detested and punished.

Such is the contrasted course of the two adverse parties in Kansas with respect to the shedders of blood among them. We trust it will continue so contrasted to the end.

FROM KANSAS.

Special Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Saturday, April 26, 1856.

I am once more on the threshold of Kansas, and shall immediately make my way toward Lawrence and Leecompton—not by the Westport "back-door," but by the more direct but less traversed reserves of Wyandot and Delaware. The boats on the river, the hotels here and everywhere on the route are crowded with emigrants. There is, in-

deed, a very heavy fluttering of the "birds of passage" to the land of promise. "Jew and Gentile," Pro-Slaveryite and Free-State men, bond and free, are coming Kansasward, each of the volunteers certain of the ultimate success of that policy on which he has predicated his hopes in emigrating. So far, if rumor and report be credible, the Southern emigration has the advantage this Spring; but I am only on the threshold of the Territory, and will touch such rumors lightly, no matter how apparently true. In this vicinity it was that Calhoun, Surveyor-General of the Territory, penned his famous, or infamous, letter, in which he professed to give an impartial account of the events connected with the siege of Lawrence. The facts from which he had to collate were the stories trumped up along the borders of Missouri, and which were designed to throw every troubled spirit into a flame and send an excited and reckless population up to Lawrence on the work of death and destruction. The best apology I can offer for the Surveyor-General is that he undertook to write about that which it was impossible he could know, and, giving him the benefit of it, I will endeavor to avoid a course which I have not the constitutional qualifications to admire, and so turn a deaf ear to the reports which fly thick as did the plague of fleas during the period of Egyptian tribulation: First, that many Free-State men have been arrested; secondly, that there has been resistance and the troops have been called out; thirdly, that the "immortal" Sheriff Jones has been shot and "gone the way of all the earth;" that war has again broken out, and so on ad infinitum. That there have been arrests or attempted arrests of sundry prominent Free-State men is certain. I have on that point information which is conclusive. Some of the officials, appointed for the different "Counties of Kansas" by the Missouri-Kansas Legislature which assembled at the Shawnee Mission, have evidently made up their mind to test the extent of their "little brief authority" in placing those connected with the rescue of Branson, the members of the Topeka Legislature, and all who have sinned against the authority of the first-named legislative body, in durance, or holding them to answer for their breaches of "law and order," in all the terrible penalties of that fearful and funny legislation. I had expected that things here would now be peaceable, dry, almost insipid; but if one tithe of the reports be true, there is some serious work yet in store for Kansas.

There are several pretty large companies from the extreme South at present on their way up the river. Major Buford's men had been arriving in St. Louis, and we may expect some six or seven hundred armed adventurers here immediately. I have conversed with several gentlemen who have seen these men, and they represent them as mostly young and not over-prepossessing, culled chiefly from that class so abundant in the South and so easily spared—the poor but aristocratic dependents and relations of those who own property and slaves, but who, owning none themselves, are sent out as the pioneers of a system of which it is supposed, with truth, that they will prove defenders to be relied upon. I had not the privilege of coming up the river with any of these companies, and therefore had not so good an opportunity for estimating the peculiarities which the strength and enthusiasm incident to aggregation might have induced them to exhibit. There was on board a sprinkling of young Southerners, from different States, however, some of whom unquestionably belonged to the class of "outfitted." Private and individual emigrants, inspired and kept a-going by an indefinite notion of the "honor of the South," and a little of something more substantial from those friends or relatives who might happen to have it, they proceed as political missionaries to the heathen field of Kansas, to bring it into the orthodox fold of Slavery. I believe that there has been and will be, this Spring, a great deal of such unnoted emigration of the class referred to. And let them come. I only wish that they may make industrious and enterprising citizens. Let them vote for Slavery in Kansas, too, and rejoice in their

work, even should they never be able to curse its soil with a single human chattel.

It is unquestionable that the South has gone into the "actual settlement" business to a great extent this Spring; but that all intention of interfering with elections, and other matters in Kansas, by the Border-men of Missouri has been "given up" as asserted, is a point not so clear. I do not believe anything of the kind. I only think that it is the intention that the Pro-Slavery party shall have a better foothold within the Territory, more numerous points round which to rally, and a party powerful enough to protect the "goods" when the process of political treachery, violence, and fraud shall be consummated in the conquest of the free Territory of Kansas by Slavery.

Some of these young Southerners are gentleman-like fellows. One amiable and rather intelligent youth with whom I conversed, had quite an anxiety for interesting adventure. He meant to go out to the plains and hunt buffalo; but "not till after the election—no, not till after the election." He seemed to be conscientious on this point. I asked him what election? He could not exactly tell me, but seemed to have some kind of vague idea that it was for a new Pro-Slavery constitution. It is quite likely that some preparatory steps may be taking for the accomplishment of this result.

The departure of the Congressional Commission from Kansas, the action of the Free-State Legislature, and the sales of land about midsummer, will, I think, bring matters to a focus—whether a bloody one or not remains to be seen. One thing is certain: the question is not yet determined, and both parties are hopeful and stirring. The past may convey a lesson, perhaps prevent difficulty, but the great point is still to be settled. The Free-State men have the advantage of numbers, and are more firmly rooted in the Territory; but the Pro-Slavery men have the "inner track," and mean to keep it; and then the Administration is on their side.

I will soon be in the Territory. I learn that Whitfield has been making a speech since his return, and fulminating a special *anathema marmatha* against me, in case I shall venture back to Kansas. I am not particularly fearful of the General, and hope, for his own sake, to find him well and in a better humor, as I have no particular recollection of anything to call for such thunder.

COL. LANE IN INDIANA.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

FRANKLIN, IND., Monday, April 26, 1856.

You were pleased to publish a letter from citizens of this place inviting Col. Lane of Kansas to revisit Indiana and address the people here, together with his reply accepting the invitation and fixing the 26th as the time for the address.

It will not, therefore, I presume, be uninteresting to you and your thousands of readers to give you a brief account of the meeting and the effect of the effort on the part of Col. Lane.

We got a dispatch from Washington on Monday of last week, announcing that the Colonel would be here on the Saturday following to address us. Consequently we had only about four days to give notice of his coming, and this, too, in the very busiest part of the season. The farmers were all busy in preparing for planting, and many within a very few miles of town failed to obtain any notice of the expected speech. The Colonel did not arrive until the very hour fixed for the meeting. On reaching the Court-house it was filled to its utmost capacity with anxious and attentive listeners.

The officious leaders of the "Old Line" party were not at all desirous to have Lane make a speech in the place, and some of them were mean enough to make disparaging remarks, and throw out mean insinuations during the week; but notwithstanding this, when the day came, there was a fair proportion of that party composing his intelligent audience. The Colonel was in fine health and spirits, and entered into the subject of the rights and wrongs of Kansas with a zeal and energy truly commendable. Our people have often heard him before on interesting and important subjects, but never with such delight and satisfaction as on this occasion. He spoke of the people on whose behalf he appeared before us, of their natural and constitutional rights, of the rights promised them in the Nebraska bill—the right to "form their own institutions in their own way." He spoke of the wrongs practiced upon them; of the injuries inflicted, the murders committed, and of the dangers to which they are still exposed; in short, of such oppression as is no other people in this country had ever endured. He declared

dearance was no longer a virtue; that they were American citizens, who know their rights and would maintain them. But I need not enumerate the points upon which he dwelt; it is sufficient to say that as he proceeded—although we are not among those who are always desiring a dissolution of the Union—we could not help feeling that if it ever was in danger it is so now, if these outrages upon Kansas are continued. If President Pierce, with the aid of the standing army, attempts to "subdue" the people of Kansas and compel obedience to laws more odious and oppression more intolerable than the Colonial bondage which our forefathers resisted, he will kindle such a fire in this country as the oldest inhabitant has never seen. Let the order be given, and the Union will be shaken to its center. Let the flames of civil war be kindled on the plains of Kansas by Executive authority, and the blaze will sweep over the whole country, and Pierce and Cass and Douglas will be branded as traitors to their country, more execrable than Arnold or Burr. They have it in their power to prevent these disastrous results by simply allowing the people of Kansas "to form their own institutions (constitution and laws) in their own way." By admitting them into the Union as a State, with the constitution which they have framed, I feel, as Col. Lane expressed himself, at perfect liberty to speak of these dignitaries as I have done. For I helped to make them what they are, and what they would like to have been. No, I beg pardon. Not what they are. I was a Democratic elector in 1848, and as such gave one of the votes of Indiana for Gen. Cass for President; and in 1852 I voted for Col. Lane and others as Pierce Presidential electors. I tried all I could to make them both Presidents of the United States. Could I have known that they would turn out so Hazael like and do such things, with shame and contrition I confess to the country I never would have done so. In regard to Douglas I believe it is generally understood that the initial A in his name is significant.

But I beg pardon for this digression. I was speaking of Col. Lane's effort here. He was listened to for more than two hours with the most marked attention and respect. As he dwelt upon the wrongs of Kansas, and depicted the cruel murder of brave men, and the hearts of the people were stirred within them, and the eyes of many of the opposite party were moistened. If Lane could traverse the whole State and have access to the people, I give it as my candid opinion that the State would be carried, as he carried this county for Lieut. Governor, by the largest majority ever given for Free Kansas and the Republican candidate for President.

Our opponents already evince the desperation of their cause, while our friends are animated with prestige and presence of success.

Very respectfully,
JAMES RITCHEY.

Newark Daily Mercury.

MONDAY MORNING, MAY 5, 1856.

From Kansas.

The New York Tribune publishes a variety of letters from Kansas, bringing advices from Lawrence and Leavenworth to the day before the shooting of Jones, claiming to be Sheriff of Douglas County under an appointment from the bogus Legislature. These accounts show that this outrage was the act of some unknown miscreant, and is utterly condemned by the Free State party, who offer no resistance, and will suffer none to be made, to any process served by Federal officers, or emanating from Federal authority. They cannot recognize the bogus Legislature as valid, for they know it was constituted by invasion, violence, and spurious voting, but they will obey any precept, any mandate, which emanates from the Federal Government, whose authority they recognize as supreme. We trust the assassin of Jones will be detected and brought to justice, and that no device, no machinations, will suffice to defeat the investigation directed by the House of Representatives.

We see that Whitfield, the bogus delegate to Congress, made a speech on his arrival at Westport, Mo., and the border ruffian paper in that place says, with charming simplicity, "he was warmly greeted by his constituents." There seems to be no doubt in that region as to where Whitfield's constituents reside. He made no speeches and had no reception in Kansas. One of the small tricks of the national administration lately, but showing its relentless hostility to the free state men of Kansas, is the dismissal of the postmaster at Blanton, Kansas, an emigrant from Missouri and a pro-slavery man, for writing a letter in which he avowed his opposition to the control of Kansas affairs by invaders from that state. The writing of this letter is the only reason given by "Horatio King, the first assistant postmaster general" at Washington in his letter discharging the postmaster at Blanton. So it seems that nobody is considered fit for postmaster in Kansas who opposes border ruffianism.

The Mobile Daily News says that Col. Delahay, representative elect from Kansas, when in that city, was a "wide-mouthed anti-know nothing democrat, the special friend of Senator Douglas, and now the only politics he has, is—no nigger." Such is the case with hundreds of emigrants from the slave states to

Kansas; more than ever, they become free state men, and since they know what slavery is, and have suffered more from it, they are stronger opponents to the institution than most of the northern abolitionists.

Commercial Journal.

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor and Proprietor

PITTSBURGH.

MONDAY MORNING, MAY 5, 1856.

Hard to Please.

The pamphlet lately published by Mr. Bledsoe, of Virginia, in defense of slavery, does not please the Pierce Democracy of that region. It is not radical enough. It rather apologizes for, than justifies, the peculiar institution. The F. F. V.s will be satisfied with nothing that does not fully justify and sanctify Virginia chattelism. The Richmond Examiner expresses the idea thus:

'We long since perceived that Southern men held a false position so long as they contented themselves with a merely defensive attitude on the slavery question—that they ought to assume the aggressive, and demonstrate, as they well might do, that slavery is an essential element in every sound social system,—a conservative ingredient in every well organized government. This idea has rapidly gained ground of late years, under the pressure of the close and continual investigation and discussion produced by the slavery agitation. It is, however, far from commanding even in the South, that general acceptance to which it is entitled. Too many of our writers and speakers still apologize for our institutions, when they ought to justify them.'

PITTSBURGH GAZETTE.

MONDAY MORNING, MAY 5, 1856.

SPEECH OF MR. RITCHEY.—On the 24th inst., Mr. RITCHEY, of this district, delivered in the House of Representatives a very able speech on the subject of the Powers of Congress over the Territories. Mr. Ritchey takes the ground that Congress has, under the Constitution, the fullest and most ample powers to legislate for the Territories, and that Slavery nor any other subject is excepted from the operations of this power. This position is sustained in a long and erudite argument, fortified by a vast number of authorities and quotations, displaying great industry and research. He closes his argument as follows:

I have thus endeavored to maintain one of the most firmly-established, most frequently-exercised, and most necessary powers of Congress, against the attacks upon it which have been induced by the heat of political excitement. It is true that no power ought to be exercised rashly or vindictively—it is true that the Government ought not to obey the dictates of party zeal or animosity—but it would be suicidal to deny and abandon, through fear or hope of party triumphs or temporary abuses, powers essential to the proper conduct and success of the Government. Such a power is that over the Territories. We have a vast domain lying open to the occupancy of men from all ends of the earth; and it is essential that no institutions should be permitted to grow upon them but such as are in harmony with the habits and feelings of our people, and the nature of the existing governments, State and national. We must beware lest, in seeking to avoid a temporary inconvenience, we fall into great and irretrievable errors. The views, and habits, and feelings of our people are sufficiently harmonious on every question save that of negro slavery. In the history of the world there has been, thus far, no instance of so great a success as ours, both with regard to territory and population, achieved by so small an expenditure of blood and treasure. The elements of a future progress, immeasurably more rapid than the past, are in our hands. If we use them with patience, steadiness, and wisdom, the boundaries of our prosperity will be those of our capacity for improvement. A rash conflict among ourselves

with reference to slavery, or anything else might destroy these prospects.

This is all true, and because it is true it was unwise to repeal the prohibition of slavery in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. That repeal removed ancient landmarks, reopened settled questions, and where we had harmony we now have discord. But it was unwise for another reason. A free white population is superior to a black slave population, and in founding a State we ought to look to its future well-being. Gentlemen on this floor often assert the inferiority of the negro to the white man. Admitting the correctness of their opinion, it follows that the law prohibiting the introduction of the inferior race into Kansas and Nebraska ought not to have been repealed. But apart from this question as to races of men, the other question with regard to the systems of slavery and freedom seems forced upon this generation, and peculiarly upon this nation, for some attempt at a solution. Theoretically, who have asserted in the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal," and have inalienable rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Practically, all the inequalities of sex, of age, of physical and mental varieties, and of legal freedom and slavery; existed at the date of the Declaration, and have continued to exist ever since among us. How can this theory and these facts be reconciled? How can the interests and passions enlisted in the settlement of this question be harmonized? It is not probable that this can be accomplished, either by denying and abandoning powers conferred on us by the Constitution—powers necessary in themselves and always hitherto exercised, or by using powers not granted, and employing them under the direction of misguided and short-sighted enthusiasts. If we could approach this subject with the calm and clear perceptions of true wisdom and benevolence, uninfluenced by party or sectional animosities, or the desire of party or sectional triumphs, the effects would be more happy and glorious for us all than any triumph could be for any section or any party.

Slavery is a thing to be prevented or avoided wherever that is possible; but its evils are small when compared with the abuses of power when unwisely conferred upon those who are incapable of using it properly. There would seem to be no reason why this nation should not go far to work out this problem of so great interest to all men, of the real and necessary relations between freedom and slavery; of the point at which restraints may be thrown off and freedom and power conferred; and of that other point at which freedom becomes abuse and invasion of the rights and feelings of others, and calls again for external restraints. He who imposes a needed restraint—although he may not seem so gracious—is just as humane as he who throws off one that is not necessary; and the one has no more right to arrogate to himself all the humanity than the other. The highest human qualities are certainly those which require no restraint, but can act safely in freedom; and for that reason it is right to choose, wherever it can be obtained, a population capable of freedom for planting a new Territory. But seeing, as we all do, many races of men incapable, at present, of any high degree of freedom, it is not just to assail those who exercise authority over them with harsh denunciations. The progress of men from lower to higher forms is slow; and patience and gentleness are necessary, as well as energy and ardor. It is proper to resist, by force of arms, if necessary, the attempt of tyrants to subjugate freemen to their sway.

But great caution is requisite in attempting to change long established relations. The cause of freedom has found, and continues to find, its greatest obstacle in the blind folly of a rash enthusiasm. The preposterous mistakes and consequent failures of reformers furnish the weapons by which the opponents of all progress defend themselves. The deplorable results of enterprises undertaken by men in a state of high excitement, and laboring under mere delusions, are pointed at as the only possible attainments of humanity beyond those now in our possession. The defence of the one party is as well-founded as the attack of the other; and people have often sought refuge in the protection of a tyrant against the intolerable miseries of perpetual innovations made in the name of liberty.

No true progress will be made save under the guidance of the deliberate wisdom of men who see clearly, and frankly admit, the obstacles which lie in the way; at the same time that they are animated by the firm belief that the sickening scenes of fraud and violence which crowd the records of the historical period are not the highest manifestations of which men are capable

—are not, in fact, anything but dreadful disorders arising from the violation of the true laws of man's nature, or in other words, of the Divine commandments. Many relations arising from this disorderly state of things, although not in themselves good; are successfully defended against attempts at changes which would only produce greater evils. Viewing the matter in this light, we may hope the day will come when the rulers and the ruled, the bond and free, will find that, contrary perhaps to their own intentions, they have been made useful the one to the other, and led in the only possible way to results more blessed than anyone has ever anticipated.

LOUISVILLE COURIER.

LOUISVILLE:

MONDAY, MAY 5.

(Correspondence of the St. Louis Republican.)
From Kansas.

WESTPORT, April 26.

Col. Boone came down last evening from Franklin. He left Mr. Jones better, with a good chance to recover. This news has partially lulled the excitement but still there is an abiding indignation at the act so consistent with the principles of those fanatics who are its authors, and who should be held responsible for it. As I expected, at the meeting held in Lawrence to deliberate how to represent things for Northern latitudes, Robinson pretended in his speech that he believed Jones was shot by a pro-slavery man, in order to get up an excitement against Lawrence: see what rascally means they use for getting rid of the responsibility. The free State Governor, in the most pompous style, declared that the assassin must be detected, and as "Governor of Kansas," he would offer "a reward of \$500 for his apprehension!" What hypocrisy!

Reeder was heard to say that he was "sorry it happened, though Jones deserved, or might have expected it, still it ought to have been done differently." No, they were too great cravens to do it openly, when Jones was discharging his duty. Such a man is Reeder; he is a pretty fellow to be after a seat in Congress, much less in the Senate of the United States. Observe the difference between Whitfield and Reeder; while the first has acted, and is acting in the most conservative manner, always advocating law, order and decorum; the second has acted, and is acting in the most radical manner, always advocating resistance to law, disrespect of order, and behaviour as indecorous as it is treasonable to peace and union. How people can respect so complete a traitor, fire-eater or fanatic, whichever suits Reeder best, who is at the same time a weathercock, twitched about by every breeze that may blow some good to him, is more than I can account for.

During all the time that Gen. Whitfield and his friends were in Lawrence, they were constantly insulted. They could not walk in the streets without being jostled about, cursed at, hissed, or in some way interrupted. W. F. Wright, who has been acting as the counsel for Gen. Whitfield, could not move about at all free from insult and annoyance. This being the fact, as I informed you, G. N. Whitfield has informed the committee that he will make no defence, or have nothing to do with the investigation, unless it is held at some other place than Lawrence. He is right, and has acted in a manner to be sustained by all reasonable men. There can be no fair trial in that sink-pool of treason; and if Messrs. Sherman and Howard do not hold the investigation at some other point, it is a disgrace to them, to their present position, to the House of which they are members, to their constituents, and to the nation. And in that case, should Mr. Oliver not withdraw from the Commission, he will misrepresent his constituency, outrage Missouri, and forfeit the respect of the whole country.

I understand there is a secret, sworn bond in Lawrence, whose specified duty it was to kill Jones, and that writs have been issued for their arrest, and also that three hundred U. S. troops are already at LeCompton, for the purpose of insuring their arrest, and maintaining the laws.

The Nashville Patriot,

MONDAY, MAY 5, 1856.

The Game Commenced.

While the Democratic press have been picturing the Black Republican strength to their readers as a very gorgon—a terrible something which threatened inevitable destruction to the Union—a hydra which only the Hercules of Democracy could slay; we have assured them that their es-

timate of its power was exaggerated, and that before November the Cincinnati alchymists would so fuse the two that they could not be separated. Every day adds to the weight of evidence upon which we formed our judgment. At four or five recent municipal elections in northern cities, we have seen a union of the forces of Democracy and Freesoilism, and the victory trumpeted forth as a Democratic triumph. The Democratic papers have grown jubilant over what they term the "reaction." They hail the advent of the "second sober thought." They proclaim that the temporary loss of strength which the Northern Democracy have sustained, is being regained—that the party is national and formidable.

We suggested but a few days ago that this state of things was in train; that the old Democratic policy in Presidential canvasses was again the order of the day; that the main aim of the Cincinnati power was to perfect the fusion of the free-soilers and fire-eaters; and in these events, we see its verification.

The sun of heaven never performs his diurnal circuit without witnessing in the Northern States accessions to the Democratic party from the Black Republican. The leaders of the former have succeeded in drilling into the northern mind the PIERCE, DOUGLAS, TOUCEY, RICHARDSON, SHIELDS and CASS construction of the Kansas act, and they are renouncing connection with Black Republicanism, and connecting themselves with a party which has shown itself better able to do Black Republican work, than Black Republicanism itself.

The profligate demagogues point to Kansas, which they say will inevitably be free, and tell them that whereas the Missouri line would permit and protect slavery south of 31° 30m, that its abrogation opens the whole continent to a free and unfettered fight of freedom with slavery, and predict the triumph of the former, and confidently proclaim that not another rood of slave territory will ever gain admission into the Union. It is thus that Democracy has tricked Black Republicanism, and shorn it of its strength as a distinct organization. The ambitious leaders of the latter begin to see it too, and are attempting to rally and cohere their forces. But they are too late. The spoiler has been among them. The mischief was accomplished before they gave the alarm. The artful seducer had compassed their destruction, while he was beguiling them with fair speeches.

Our attention has been specially drawn to this state of facts by the special correspondence of the New York Tribune from Washington of April 25th. While the writer is buoying himself up with the hope that the late elections are not "indications of the waning strength of the Anti-Nebraska forces in the North," he clearly establishes that the Democracy are making powerful efforts to unite the Black Republican vote on their candidates, and as

clearly proves that they have been partially successful. He writes thus:

"Every New England State has been carried by the Opposition, to be sure," say the Administration journals, "but see the diminished majorities." Behold the explanation. It has been trumpeted abroad for the last eight or ten months all over the North, that the population of Kansas was five to one in favor of its being a Free State, and that, therefore, the danger of Slavery, which menaced it, was over. Thousands of the Democratic party, indignant at the removal of the Missouri Restriction, and who had condemned it by voice and vote, have thus temporarily abated their hostility, and resumed their old places in the Democratic organization, thinking that though a great wrong and outrage had been committed, yet that after all no practical damage to Freedom would come of it. We do not know how much the Tribune itself will have to answer for the spread of this delusion in the Free States—for delusion it is, utter and profound. The spread of this untounded belief has naturally weakened the ranks of the Anti-Nebraska men.

The admitted fact that Kansas is inevitably to be a free State, through the force of Northern emigration, has been seized by the file leaders of the office-holders (Democratic) party, and held up to their followers as evidence that notwithstanding all that had been said and predicted, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise would work no real mischief. The condemnation which every where fell upon the leaders when the foul blow was first struck at freedom has been supplanted by jubilant anticipations that its feared consequences were warded off, and that the offended masses of the party could be reclaimed by active efforts, which have accordingly been energetically and confidently put forth. In this consists the secret of the apparent partial revival of the strength of the Democratic organization in the free States.

He may flatter himself that it is but "apparent and partial," but he is destined to realize that he is widely mistaken.

When the enginery of the Cincinnati Convention shall be brought to bear, this transmitting process will be complete. The army of Black Republicans, now "terrible with banners," will have dwindled to a corporal's guard; while Democracy, swelling and bloated with its substance and the very marrow of its bones, will bluster through the land with professions of its purity and nationality.

We ask men of the South to open their eyes and see for themselves the progress of the game. If they are not able to detect cheating around the board, they are duller than dunces, and deserve to reap the consequences. What the consequences will be, their experience has demonstrated. The continued agitation of the slavery question, with each month of its continuance weakening their resources to resist the onward progress of the anti-slavery sentiment; depreciating the value of their property; rendering doubtful its security; and these things all conspiring to alienate their devotion to the government, which seems unable to protect them in the enjoyment of their constitutional rights.

ALTON, Ill., May 2.
New Line of Steamers on the Missouri River.—The committee appointed by the Kansas and Alton Transportation Company to establish a line of steamers between this city and Kansas, for the transportation of passengers and merchandise direct, have completed their arrangements, and a circular will soon be issued to apprise emigrants and forwarders of the increased facilities offered by the company. It is as yet uncertain how soon the boats will commence their trips.

Daily Democrat.

Progression in Politics.

It is now nearly two years since we exposed in elaborate articles, the designs that were hidden beneath the mask of the Charleston Convention, and pointed out the steady and advancing march, which the leaders of Southern thought and the oracles of Southern policy were making toward a dissolution of the Federal Union, as the climax to their logic and labors. At that time many were disposed to treat our fears as visionary, and our argument as commonplace assault upon political opponents; but now that the prediction then made has been fulfilled to the letter, and the denoument then vaguely hinted at is broadly broached as a basis for action, we trust that we may be enabled to fasten the attention of the conservative and democratic sentiment of the Republic upon the peril that threatens.

Those who abhor the very thought of a dissolution of the National Union, well knowing that it would be but the signal for a civil war unprecedented in its horrors by any that ever blotted the page of history, have little appreciation of the mode and manner in which this baneful idea has incorporated itself into the political elements of this country. Stripped bare of its blandishments, and presented in naked deformity, it has few charms to seduce the virtuous mind, and few spells wherewith to disarm patriotism. But never yet have its accomplished managers permitted it to come in such guise before the public. Tricked out in gilded ornaments, painted and padded, and patched, it has been made to float swimmingly before the eyes of all, disguised as a fair and comely creation, fruitful of pleasure and hope to its deluded followers.

To drop figures of speech and deal with facts that stand prominent before the sight, we may say that after the crushing out of the first disunion and nullification movement in South Carolina under the administration of Jackson, and the overwhelming endorsement which that suppression received at the hands of the American people, the leaders of revolt changed entirely their line of action. The tariff was abandoned as not affording an issue sectional enough for the purposes of those who in the future looked only to the one great end—a dissolution of the Confederacy. Smarting under the hurt of defeat, and influenced with an ambition that could tolerate no rivalry, Mr. Calhoun began as early as the year 1835, to lay deep the foundation of another effort to overthrow the present form of government, and substitute in its stead a double-headed system of which he should be the southern exponent. For this the matter of slavery was made the argument, and agitation of its domestic relations first, and afterwards its relations to the general government the means of progression. And here we find the key to the peculiar relation that South Carolina, under his masterly direction, has ever held to the great political parties of the country. Having coalesced in early life with the advocates of a splendid federal nationality—with its train of banks and other federal machinery—he found its policy far too reactionary for his ends, and hence it was that notwithstanding the rupture with General Jackson, he still enumerated himself and followers with the Democracy as the progressive party of the people. But his peculiar views and his peculiar objects were not those of the Democracy, and therefore even whilst acting with them he separated himself and his State from their organization. South Carolina has never been represented in a Democratic Convention. South Carolina has never cast her electoral vote for a President unless she was sure of her man. South Carolina has used and abused the Democratic party to foster the growth of ideas indigenous to her own statesmen—but has never adopt-

ed the expression of her own views to the great party of the Union. Through such instrumentality the scheme of separation first promulgated under the guise of a more perfect unity of the slave holding States, found its way into the councils of the party and through the party into those of the nation. Every Democratic aspirant to the Presidency since the administration of Jackson, has had to bow down to this hideous phantom and worship it, or else meet with disaster and defeat. It has ruled with an iron rule since there were first banded a small cluster of Southern States under its Palmetto flag, and both great men and small men have been relentlessly struck down, who dared oppose its behests. It has made compromises and broken compromises with equal recklessness. Treaties have been negotiated, and alliances formed at its bidding, and millions of treasure showered by a republican government into the coffers of an usurping royalty. Abroad it has moulded the diplomatic relations to its will. At home it has seized control of the Democratic party under the "two thirds rule," and moreover, through a minority vote ever at its disposal, has enforced this rule to the destruction of every statesman not fashioned after its own image. In all things it has been ruthless, imperious, progressive. It has carried forward its creed from a harmless league in defence of State rights in 1835, to an inauguration and appropriation of foreign conquest in 1846, to a combination of States within the confederacy in 1849, to a settled purpose of disunion in 1852. Short lived were the compacts that stayed its march. Under color of squatter sovereignty it banished the Missouri restriction from the statute books. It now scoffs at squatter sovereignty as an idle jest, and saddles the Constitution of the United States with its propagandism, and the application of its most ultra tenets to the new territories.

Those who have been led heretofore in the successive steps that have marked the progress of this Southern faith, no doubt fancied that they were true to their whole country, even when insisting upon new interpretations of the Constitution in behalf of their own especial section. To all such, it will be a sad awakening to find that they have only been deluded into the ranks of the army of disunion. That such is the case, is now no longer matter of concealment. For months past, the Southern press has been teeming with doctrinal papers preparing the way for this ultimate development, and to-day we find at boldly discarding subtleties, and openly promulgating treason. The nullifiers have thrown away their scabbard, and are now flashing their swords in the sunlight.

The most patent exhibition we have seen of this, is in a series of strongly written essays which have recently been put forth in the columns of the Charleston Mercury, and which have evidently been designed to operate upon the Democratic Convention soon to assemble at Cincinnati. The last number of that journal contains the last of these contributions, from the pen of "Brutus" and the editorial comment upon them is as follows:

We publish this morning the last in the series of the communications of our correspondent "BRUTUS;" though we hope it is not the last time we shall have the privilege of dispensing to the public his studies of great political questions. The tendency of these essays was manifest from the commencement. The argument of the writer marched with a step sure and steady to the conclusion, that a Southern Confederacy was the only remedy for the disease of Abolition. This conclusion is fairly announced in the concluding article, and gives the natural end to his discussion.

We need scarcely say that we sympathize to the utmost extent in this conclusion; that we see no hope of the preservation of the honor or the safety of the South in the Union, and we desire its dissolution, if it were only for the reason that it would give us peace. But it would also give us strength and wealth.

But our readers may wish to know for themselves what it is that this modern "Brutus," whom the Mercury endorses, has seen in to propose. We shall give it in the full strength of his own condensation, and in doing so would point to the fact that it is no idle braggart who writes thus but one of our representative men of the South. He scans the political horizon and says:

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 its own hands the power—
 1. OF WAR.
 2. OF PEACE.
 3. OF TREATIES.
4. And, therefore, of SELF-PRESERVATION.

We have said that this artillery is shotted and trained against the Democratic Convention soon to assemble, and that it is designed to enforce there the adoption of a programme virtually shaped under the shadow of the Commercial Convention at Charleston. In the conclave of Democratic statesmen who will meet in Cincinnati from all the parts of the Union, the new interpretation to be given to the Constitution, whereby it shall be made *per se*, an instrument of propagandism, is to be enunciated, on the part of the extreme South, whilst the North, and the East, and the West are to be forced into cordial co-operation by the impending threat of a dissolution of the Union. Nor is this all the meaning we find in the recent manifest of ultra Southern sentiment. Its plain significance is that no man shall receive the Democratic nomination who is not wedded in the past as in the present to the system of progression put forth from Charleston. It matters not that he may have rendered distinguished service in the days when Democracy was in adversity, it matters not that he may have a tower of strength in his own name, and a grateful place in the hearts of the people, yet unless he be a disciple and worshipper of the new Mahomet who has been so lately translated, he will be speedily treated to the bowstring by the nullifiers. This is already evident, and the wisest and best of Democratic statesmen foresee it so clearly that they refuse to enter the "shambles" that have been so gorgeously appareled. Others there are who still have faith in the power of public sentiment that may be brought to bear upon the Convention. Mr. Buchanan is one of these, and yet even he must see that upon the bare announcement of his name, place seekers at the hands of this Southern oligarchy, such as Douglas and Pierce, who were recently at daggers' points with each other, immediately smother mutual animosity, and unite in accomplishing his ruin. Mr. Buchanan may proceed to Cincinnati through festive honors and tributes of praise and thousand-fold acclaims of the people, but the moment he crosses the threshold of the Convention, he places his head beneath a guillotine that has fallen remorselessly heretofore, upon many who were his equals if not his superiors in statesmanship and popularity.

It is useless for us to disguise the fact that the Cincinnati Convention if it yield to the dictation of these Southern lords, will in a brief space of time accomplish the dissolution of this Union. If it did no more than sectionalize and disrupt the great Democratic party of the Republic, we should deplore the result, yet seek for remedies in the common brotherhood of the people; but having arrived at the point of power when it can exert so controlling an influence, it will, unless manfully and steadfastly withstood, scarcely be content to leave the work of disruption and submission half accomplished. It will make fearful struggle at dominancy, and we confess that we look with dread to the result. If that Convention shall lay down its power at the feet of the oligarchs and crown with its honors one of their pliant tools, it will lose at the same time its hold upon the Democratic sentiment of the nation, while its mock nomination will be treated with scorn by thousands who love their country more than their party. If its deliberation shall result in an endorsement, either through the candidates selected or the platform put forth, of the dangerous inno-

vations upon the theory of the Constitution now insisted upon by the ultraists, it will ring the knell of the party as a national one, and of the Union, we fear, as an enduring one.

We cannot, therefore, in view of the perils that environ the action of the Democratic representatives who will hold in their hands the destinies of the party, refrain from urging upon them to do something towards restoring it to a national type—to retrace the course of the last decade, and throw off the odium of a policy that has arrayed against it, in solid phalanx, half the States of the confederacy—to cut loose from the baneful influence that has impressed its later action with the spirit of discord rather than of conservatism—and to labor for the salvation of the country while it is yet time. A continuation of the regime that now holds sway at Washington for another term, or a succession actuated by the same selfish purposes, and submissive to the same sinister domination, will, so sure as it transpires, be disastrous to every hope of the Confederation and wreck the ship of state. If such event take place, the Isles of March four years hence, will see, not the American people consulting in calm majesty about the choice of their First Magistrate, but the ebbing tide of a fierce conflict between a Northern Republic and a Southern Empire.

FROM KANSAS.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 25, 1856.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat.

Yesterday morning the Lieutenant in command of the forces in this city, sent a message to Col. Sumner, at Fort Leavenworth, stating that war had commenced, Jones had been shot, &c., and asked for another detachment of troops. The Colonel started immediately with 120 U. S. Dragoons for this city, and encamped on the opposite side of the river. Taking with him an Indian guide, and a soldier, the Colonel went during the night to Leecompton, to confer with Wilson Shannon, Esq. He returned to-day, and after stopping in this city a few moments, crossed the river to join his forces at camp.

All is quiet in town to-day, the soldiers have gone to Leecompton with the prisoners. Yesterday, Dr. S. C. Harrington of this city, was arrested by Sam. Lattus and the troops. The Dr. stated to Lattus that he was waiting upon Jones, and could not leave. Lattus then called upon his superior in command, and stated the circumstances of his having arrested Dr. Harrington. Jones then gave orders that the Dr. should be released from custody, unconditionally, which was done. So it is evident that Jones has the pardoning powers, and can arrest and release from custody whoever he chooses. The supreme dictator for the people of Lawrence, and sustained in his pretension by the United States army, with the President at his head.

The settlers generally are indignant on having the United States' army stationed in their midst to render assistance to Sheriff Jones in arresting men for refusing to act as his posse on Sunday last, or for securing an innocent man from his custody at midnight last November, while the murderers of Dow, Barbour and Brown, are permitted to go at large without being molested. If his Excellency Wilson Shannon would manifest the same zeal in securing the arrest of those persons who are known to be guilty of butchering Brown, as he does in having those persons who choose to attend to their own business rather than that of the Sheriff, the people would consent to be arrested and tried, in order to test the validity of the enactments of the Legislature.

It is said that Shannon is boarding with a person who has boasted in public of shooting Barbour. There is no indictment against the Indian Agent Clark for murder, while members of the State Government, General Assembly, Judges of Election and voters have been indicted by the Grand Jury and the array will be ordered out by the President to arrest them. Politicians heretofore, on both sides, may find their profit in these harassing proceedings but the people do not like them. All they ask is justice and equality.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 27th, 1856.

This morning an officer came into our city from Col. Sumner's camp on the opposite side of the river, bringing the following letter to Governor Robinson:

● HEAD QUARTERS, 1st CAVALRY, }
Camp near Lawrence, April 27th, 1856.

SIR:—As there are no Municipal officers in the town of Lawrence, I think it proper to address you before returning to my post. The present attempt upon the life of Sheriff Jones will produce great excitement throughout the Territory, and will produce a Missouri traitor, and I consider it of the utmost importance that every effort should be made by your people to portance to end bring to justice the cowardly assassin. It is ferret out and bring to justice the peace of the country may depend too much to say, that he is not arrested, the act will depend upon it, for if he is not arrested, the act will be charged by the opposite party upon your whole community, which will be seen reported at Washington, and whatever

orders may be received will be instantly carried into effect. The proclamation which requires obedience to the laws of the Territory, as they now stand, until legally abrogated, will certainly be maintained, and it is very unsafe to give heed to people at a distance who counsel resistance. If they were here to participate in the danger, they would probably take a different view of this matter. I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant, E. V. SUMNER.

Col. 1st Cavalry Commanding.

To Mr. CHARLES ROBINSON.

By the same officer, the following reply was forwarded to Col. Sumner:

LAWRENCE, K. T. April 27, 1856.

SIR: Your note of this morning is received, and in answer, permit me to say that the cowardly attack upon Mr. Jones receives no countenance whatever from the citizens of Lawrence, but on the contrary, meets with universal condemnation, and if the guilty party can be found, he will most certainly be given over to justice. It is and has been the policy of the people of Lawrence to yield prompt obedience to the laws and officers of the Federal Government, and as Mr. Jones was acting with the authority of that government on the day of the assault, the guilty party was an enemy to the citizens of Lawrence, no less than a violator of the laws. The people of Lawrence are without any organized municipal government, and consequently no person or persons can speak or act officially for them; but from what I know of their feelings and disposition, I have no hesitation in saying that they will ever be found loyal citizens of the government, and ready to do all in their power to maintain the laws of their country.

As an evidence of the public sentiment of this community, I enclose a copy of the proceedings of a public meeting held on the morning after the unfortunate affair occurred.

Very respectfully, your ob't serv't,
COL. E. V. SUMNER. CHARLES ROBINSON.
Gen. Whitfield left Lawrence on the morning after Jones was shot, saying that he considered this city a very dangerous place, and must leave it for fear of being assassinated. The General who would have knocked any one down that dared in Washington to accuse him of being afraid to visit Lawrence, returned to-day, doubtless very much pleased to learn that his life is not in danger. During his absence from this city, Mr. Oliver has been acting as his attorney before the Congress Commissioners of which he himself is a member, and doubtless has found himself in a very difficult, if not singular position, acting as judge and counsel at the same time.

Yours,

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 28, 1856.

This morning, Sam Lattus with 30 U. S. dragoons, came into the city from Leecompton, with his pockets full of warrants, to arrest some free State men. The whole company came down with a rush upon the residence of Mr. Speers. Lattus opened the door, and as he looked in a bucket of hot was thrown in his face by Mrs. Speers. He retreated rather hastily, and the officer of the troops came forward, was invited into the house, and permitted to search it for Mr. Speers. Mrs. S. has great respect for U. S. officers, but Sheriffs and such like are not permitted to enter her dwelling. Lattus has since resigned his office, and a man named Wallace has been appointed. The troops are now quartered at Fran. lin. The Kickapoo Rangers are encamped on the opposite side of the river. Col. Sumner, and troops under his command, left Fort Leavenworth yesterday. The Lawrence boys are getting ready to give the Rangers a warm reception. The cannon are in readiness and a picket guard is out to-night.

[From the Platte Argus, May 2.]

SHERIFF JONES DEAD.

S. J. Jones, Sheriff of Douglas county, K. T., basely assassinated by a cowardly wretch instigated by the traitors of Lawrence, is dead! We also learn that the abolitionists have assassinated another pro-slavery man named Harper, and indeed, civil war now hovers over that unhappy territory. Through the instigation of Reeder and Robinson, and other leaders of the rebels of Kansas, no man, woman or child—not to them—is safe from the balls of Sharpe's rifles or the dagger of the midnight assassin. This state of things cannot long remain. Either law and order must be established, or the reign of terror is firmly fixed.

We have received the proceedings of the law and order meeting of Leecompton, in the Union extra, comprising a true and full history of Reeder and Robinson to inaugurate civil war and rapine, and the fiendish assassination of Jones, but being too long for this issue, we shall insert them in our next.

We are greatly mistaken if speedy vengeance be not soon visited upon the bloody traitors of Kansas by an outraged people. Black Republican rule must come to an end in the West!

Dubuque Daily Tribune.

A. W. HACKLAY, Editor and P. M.

Tuesday, No. 4, 1856.

Test of Sincerity.

The Northern "darkies," who talk about democratic principles, the Union and Freedom, and still support Pierce, Douglass, Buchanan & Co.; tell us that the Republican party, is a party of a day, that so soon as Kansas is admitted as a State, the Republican party, will dwindle and die. They profess to believe it dangerous to the Union, and are constantly deprecating its horrid influences. Are they sincere? The people of Kansas have adopted a Republican constitution, they

have presented that constitution to Congress, and asked under it to be admitted as a State. Why then, do not these patriotic doughfaced darkies, sustain their application and procure their admission into the Union?

Kansas stands at the door and knocks.— If they believe her admission will save the Union, by destroying the Republican party; why do they not open the door and let her enter?

By so doing, they would remove all source of difficulty, and restore peace and quiet to the Union.

Why then do not the sober, moral, patriotic Douglass & Co., urge her immediate admission?

Either they have no patriotism, or else they seek to deceive the people. Which is it?

If we believe they mean what they say—that the Union is in danger from the Republican party—that this party can be destroyed and the Union saved, by the admission of Kansas; and if we believe that they love the Union and deprecate the Republican party, and wish to elect their own men without opposition; then we must believe that they will move heaven and earth to procure the immediate admission of Kansas.

Will they do so? Do they believe what they say, or are they striving to mislead the people?

No, no, fellow citizens, they need Southern votes. Without them they are lost, irrevocably lost; and the only way to secure them, is to oppose the admission of Kansas as a free State.

They must convince the South that they have crept with their faces in the dust; have betrayed every Northern interest; have, in all things, yielded obsequious obedience to the Slave Power; else the South, after taking them up into an high mountain and pointing them to the beauteous scenery in the valley below, and saying, (as did Satan to Christ,) "all this shall ye have, if you will fall down and worship me," will laugh them to scorn.

No, if they will sustain their standing with the South; if they would secure her vote for a Northern doughface, for the Presidency, they must not consent to the admission of Kansas as a Free State.

Think of it, fellow-citizens! The pretended Democracy, led by Douglas, Pierce, Buchanan & Co., are doing battle for Slavery!!

They prate about the glorious principles of this sham Democratic party! Can they name one of them? Yes, reader, they can; it is Slavery Extension. Yes; this effort to extend Slavery into Kansas, they call Democracy!! And the refusal to admit Kansas as a Free State, under a Constitution voted for and approved by her citizens, they call "Squatter Sovereignty."

Such, fellow-citizens, is their sincerity; such, is "doughfaced Black Democracy!!" Do you belong to its ranks?

Mountain City Herald.

Published every Tuesday,

At Fond du Lac, Wisconsin.

FOR KANSAS.—We received a call yesterday from Mr. E. HOOPER, and THOS. COTTELL, who are on their way to Kansas, from Oshkosh. The latter gentleman takes a family. They both go with good, resolute hearts, prepared to face the music for Freedom.

They are expecting to join a large company of about a hundred men, who are advertised to start from Milwaukee on the 1st of May. Success attend them.

RUFUS KING & WM. H. WATSON,
 PROPRIETORS,
 Under the Name and Firm of Rufus King & Co.

MILWAUKEE:

Tuesday Morning, May 6.

From Our New York Correspondent.

NEW YORK, May 1.

The campaign of Freedom, in anticipation of the election for President next November, was nobly inaugurated in this city last evening by a Mass Meeting at the Tabernacle. The telegraph and the newspapers will have given you all the details, the material facts; but of the spirit that called and animated the meeting, of the men and the classes represented at it, and of the earnest, single, self-sacrificing object, all seemed to have in view, no public report can give you any adequate impression. No one but a spectator indeed could form any complete notion—and they only who know our political men, our business men, and the various shades and divergent pursuits, nay prejudices, of different parties and persons, could form any just estimate of the real significance of such a meeting. You, however, who know so much of our public men and parties, will judge from the names of the speakers and officers, that the Republican party here is indeed a union for principles, and not for, or on men. You will perceive that those who have differed as widely as the poles, upon questions of temporary interest or expediency, are here, upon this vital issue of Freedom; of restraining our institutions to the spread of Freedom and not of Slavery; to the protection of free labor and the right of free thought and free utterance—united in one solid and indomitable phalanx. Let this spirit prevail and spread until the ideas of November; let organization accompany effort—as to be effective it must be organized—and then when the standard-bearer is chosen, be he who he may—so only that upon this issue he be beyond all cavil or uncertainty and otherwise of good character—we shall follow on to assured victory and shall forever establish, as the law and the practice of these United States, and as the true and indissoluble bond of the Union, that Freedom is National and Slavery sectional, and that Slavery—left alone where it exists to work out its own cure—shall not be extended.

It would indeed be a piteous prospect for Humanity, if at the moment when by the pacification of Europe, under the joint auspices of the two Autocrats of the World, Napoleon III and Alexander II—a pacification by which all the down-trodden nationalities of the Old World are still left under the iron heel of the Cossack, the Gendarme, and the mercies of the Hapsburgs and King Bomba—when Poland and Hungary and Italy and Germany are left in chains and tears—it would indeed be piteous that this Republic should frame its government on the same model, and instead of opening new worlds like Kansas and Nebraska and New Mexico, to the despairing wanderer from benighted Europe, as a place of refuge where struggles for Freedom would not be inimical, as an asylum where strong arms and free hearts might yet dare anything for the Rights of Man—we should devote them to the infernal rites of Slavery, to the dishonor and loss and wrong of Free Labor.

My own conjecture is, that as soon as the disbanding of the armies lately engaged in war takes place, and affairs return to the normal state of peace, we shall have a fresh flow of the stream of immigration, especially from Germany. Will those among us—the hundreds and thousands, for instance, in Wisconsin—who realize there all

the beauty and the bounty of Free Institutions—perfectly free institutions—will they, can they possibly so exercise their political power, and influence in their new homes, as to shut out from such regions as Kansas and Nebraska and New Mexico those suffering thousands of their countrymen who seeing in Europe no longer any hope of political reform, or personal advancement, will follow them over the sea and throw themselves into the lap of the Great Republic? Will it be—can it be—that the German tongue and the German arm will unite with the Slave Aristocracy of this country, to extend the radius of Slavery and to exclude or dishonor Free Labor? These are questions which the next Presidential election must answer, and which Wisconsin, one of the Free, must take her ample part in answering. I will not believe in any result but for Freedom.

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

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Tuesday Morning, May 6, 1856.

Orders Obeyed—That Gun must be Spiked.

Slave-drivers know well when to threaten and how to order, and, more important yet, they know who will obey. For some weeks past, their leading presses have been cracking their whips over the backs of the Northern Democracy, and pointing out, in an arbitrary manner, the path they must tread. Of their demands and commands, the Tribune has furnished abundant proof. Its readers now need only con the resolutions of the Democracy, adopted at the State Convention held at Springfield, May 1st and 2d, and published in another column, to see how fully both have been granted and obeyed.

First, it is admitted at Washington, and affirmed by all the leading presses of the South, that a NEW ISSUE is before the American People. Slaveholding Senators and Congressmen are explicit on this point. Equally explicit are their organs. Thus the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer says:

An entirely new issue will be presented in the approaching Presidential canvass—an issue which it is impossible to avoid or evade. The opposition party is essentially an abolition party. It proposes to repeal the Kansas-Nebraska act and the Fugitive Slave Law. It thereby denies State equality. The Democracy oppose the repeal of those laws, and seem thereby to maintain State equality. But all room for doubt or cavil must be removed. If we occupy an equivocal position, we shall dampen the zeal of friends and invite the assaults of enemies. 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.

Neither Senators nor Congressmen, nor the Southern Press dissent on this point. Still less will they permit evasion or prevarication in State or National Slave Democratic platforms. They are, one and all, explicit on this point. "The principles must be sound," exclaims the Charleston Mercury, "and they must be avowed by a man whose past is a guarantee of the future." The Richmond Enquirer, also, declares:

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 precisely 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.

Now the question is, what is meant by STATE EQUALITY. Mr. CALHOUN defined that in 1850, when Senator DOUGLAS opposed it, backed by the whole democracy. That definition is, that the Constitution protects the property of all the States equally, and carries such property with it wherever it may go. This is now the view of the entire Oligarchy. The Charleston Mercury puts the case thus:

"The ensuing Presidential canvass, which will probably determine the fate of the Union, will turn almost SOLELY on the QUESTION OF STATE EQUALITY. None can consistently or effectively contend for State equality, who do not hold that the institutions of the South, and the social forms of the South, are equally RIGHTFUL, LEGITIMATE, MORAL, and PROMOTIVE of human happiness and well-being with those of the North. If slave society be inferior in these respects to free society, we of the South are wrong and criminal in proposing to extend it to new territory, and the North right in exerting itself to the utmost to prevent such extension."

Now the Illinois Sham Democracy, without cavil or question, admit and affirm this view.—They have not the honesty, like the Richmond Enquirer, to declare it a NEW ISSUE. They have not the courage, like the Charleston Mercury, to affirm that it gives the right to slaveholders to go with their slaves wherever the Constitution may go. But they have the brazen impudence to brand history with a lie, to attempt to interpolate into the Constitution of the Union an inhuman aim, to blacken the patriotism of the Fathers, by asserting, that this is a FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE of the great charter of the Republic. Resolution second begins thus:

"That the Constitution of the United States is founded on the fundamental principle of ENTIRE and ABSOLUTE EQUALITY among ALL the States, and it is not competent for the Congress or any other power to impose upon new States coming into the Union any condition or restriction as to their domestic institutions or internal concerns."

Mark this language. Everything is yielded to Slavery. It covers the entire ground occupied by the Charleston Mercury. It meets its demand to the full. "None can consistently or effectively contend for State Equality" says that journal "who do not hold that the Constitution of the South, and the social forms of the South, are EQUALLY RIGHTFUL, MORAL and PROMOTIVE of human happiness and well being with those of the North. First the principle itself is affirmed broadly. Secondly, the end sought for is specified. "It is not competent for Congress or any other power to impose upon new States coming into the Union any condition or restriction as to their domestic institutions." This means—this reads—that Slaveholders may take their peculiar property into any Territory of the Union—and that no authority in the Republic, can prohibit it. And this is declared a FUNDAMENTAL doctrine of the Fathers of the Constitution, by the servile Democracy of Illinois.

But look again at these resolutions, and especially at the second—for that annihilates popular or "squatter" sovereignty. The word "coming" has a significant meaning. Before the Territory is formed into a State, slaves may be taken into it. Until it is so formed and admitted no power can impose "any condition or restriction as to their domestic institutions." Under this rule monopoly has full sway. The few are allowed to control the many. Oligarchs and political hierarchs are invited and permitted to override the popular will and trample under foot the sovereignty of the people. For how are Slave States to be formed except by letting masters take their human chattels into Territories before coming into the Union? How can free States be made when surrounded by a cor-

don of slave States, where slaveholders may combine and throttle the will and wish of Freemen? This resolution—the sworn principle of the Illinois Democracy—sacrifices thereby the hopes of the white man—bars out from or threatens to degrade FREE WHITE LABOR in all free territory, and plants itself by the side of the Oligarch and the monopolist as their servile tool and slavish instrument in doing it.

Friends, whatever your politics or your prejudices, 'tis time for you, when such doctrines are boldly avowed in a free State, to rouse up and act. Lords rule over us. A privileged class declare to a great party what it shall say and what do, and that party, all freemen, declare that neither Congress nor the people are sovereign in the Territories. The laws, customs and property of the Slaveholders are to be protected as they may march with them into these Territories, and the sham democracy affirm THEY SHALL BE. SUBMISSION exists on the one side; absolutism on the other. Ten thousand white freemen may move into a Territory, and yet a thousand slaveholders, with their slaves, shall set aside their will, disregard their interests, sacrifice and degrade their labor, and the sham democracy of Illinois avow that this minority shall be protected in this wrong—this monstrous outrage—and the free majority be COMPELLED to SUBMIT. Can this doctrine be upheld? Will Freemen maintain or defend those who do?

U. S. Army in Kansas.

A correspondent at Lawrence writes in relation to the United States troops sent to Lawrence to assist the Border Ruffians, under date of April 16th:

Not one particle of resistance was made to the United States forces, although every man steadfastly resisted the authority of Sheriff Jones to the last. One of the United States officers might arrest the whole City of Lawrence, but Sheriff Jones with one thousand other men could not take one man out of this place. Our citizens never intended, nor do they now intend to resist any United States authority, but Territorial officers they never will submit to. I have been favored with an extended conversation with Lieut. McIntosh and his command. They are all Free State men. Lieut. McIntosh stated before a large crowd, that never, since he was in the United States service, had he been ordered upon a disgraceful mission until now, but that he must submit to orders. An intelligent man under his command, told me that "never before had he blushed to be called an American soldier," and, if things thus progress, may I not say that the time is not far distant when we may all blush to be called American citizens? In arresting Mr. Hunt, Jones saw him at a distance, and called to him, "You are my prisoner," and upon Hunt's refusing to halt, Jones drew his revolver and threatened to shoot him. Whether this is a legal manner of taking a prisoner in the States or not I will leave others to decide, but will simply say that in Kansas anything is legal that will tend to build up the interests of Slavery propagandism. Intense excitement prevails in Lawrence. Knots of men are to be seen at the corner of every street, discussing the all-absorbing theme. I think that all are determined to acquiesce in the orders of the United States authorities, but in every breast is strengthened the resolve that "Kansas must yet be free."

One hundred Free State emigrants left St. Louis on board the steamer Wm. Campbell for Kansas City and Leavenworth, on Wednesday last—principally from Vermont, New York, and Wisconsin. It is estimated there was not a single Border Ruffian on board, nor the materials to make one of, or if there was, it is further estimated that he behaved himself. The Vermont company went on board with Sharpe's rifles on their shoulders. The Wisconsin company were from Beloit, and go out fortified to inspire the bowie-knife gentry of Western Missouri with "profound contempt." The party from New York reported a large company ready to follow them as soon as a short preliminary exploration should be made. Shall we not have the honor of starting a company from Chicago this spring?

Detroit Evening Tribune.

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 6, 1856.

Then and Now.

The Detroit Free Press, the leading Administration paper in Michigan, does not sustain the President and his friends in the proposed wrong. That paper says:—*Alb. Journal.*

"But the President should pause long before treating as 'treasonable insurrection' the action of those inhabitants of Kansas who deny and repudiate the binding authority of the laws of the Missouri-Kansas Legislature. For, in our humble opinion, a people that would not be inclined to rebel against the acts of a legislative body forced upon them by fraud and violence, would be unworthy the name of American. If there was ever justifiable cause for popular revolution against a usurpation and obnoxious government, that cause has existed in Kansas."

These sentiments were uttered by the Free Press nearly two months ago. The Albany Journal has no right to infer that they are its sentiments now, even if there were no evidence that they had been repudiated. Since they were expressed the editor has received a revelation from Washington in the shape of a hint that he must sustain the policy of the President, or give up all hopes of future patronage. The hint was sufficient and he backed square out. Now he denounces the free State men of Kansas of "treason" as sippantly as any Border Ruffian in the land. We give a specimen or two of his revised opinions:—

"It is clear that the Federal government must maintain the Territorial government until Congress abrogates it. An over act of hostility to the Territorial government, it follows, treason against the United States. * * *

There is nothing more certain than that the event of this treason will be the punishment of the traitors. We are confident that the Executive of the United States will discharge his whole duty faithfully. We are confident that no spurious government will be permitted to establish itself in Kansas. If Robinson and his associates should persist in rebellion they will pay the penalty of their temerity; and whoever shall be found supporting that adventurer with Sharp's rifles in their hands will stand in danger of the most rigorous punishment."

These two extracts are from the same paper, and published within a month of each other. Does not the Albany Journal call this sustaining "the President and his friends in the proposed wrong?" We give one more extract, lest there should be any doubt as to the present position of our doughface neighbor, and the remarkable revulsion his feelings underwent, upon the receipt of the orders from Washington to turn about and eat his own words. It is from the Free Press of Saturday:—

"The ruffians of Kansas are the abolitionists in and about Lawrence. They are living in open contempt and defiance of the law, and have more than once announced their determination, and carried that determination into effect, to resist the Territorial officers of justice. It is time they were subdued. That is the word. It is time these murderous outlaws and assassins were subdued."

If any doughface can show a more sudden, miraculous and radical conversion than this we should like to see it.

BEAUTIFUL PRECIPITATION—CAUGHT IN HIS OWN NET.—Senator Douglas has rendered himself remarkable for the number of errors into which he has fallen, for the number of contradictions in which he has involved himself, and for the recklessness with which he has resorted to illegitimate means in extricating himself.—He is now in a labyrinth of difficulties. He has quarreled with Colonel Lane, and dare not fight with him. He has repudiated his own favorite doctrine. He has offended his friends, and made his enemies laugh at him. But the most amusing of all his troubles is his Kansas Bill. In his recent report to the Senate, he occupied half a dozen pages in attempting to prove that the people of Kansas should be treated as insurgents if they refused to obey the laws of Stringfellow's Legislature. His present Kansas bill provides, "that all white male inhabitants who shall have arrived at the age of twenty

"one year, 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 at said election." Now, the organic act, to which he refers, provides, "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 qualifications prescribed by the Stringfellow Legislature, which Mr. Douglas is pleased to consider as the lawful Legislative Assembly, contained, among other things, an oath to support the Fugitive Slave Law. This involves a beautiful dilemma. For, if Mr. Douglas does not mean to enforce the Stringfellow test, he is, according to his own statements, violating the spirit and the letter of the Nebraska Bill, and furnishing a complete vindication of all the acts of the free state men; but, if he does mean to enforce that test, then is he violating his own word, for not long ago he vehemently denied that he was in favor of such a test. As he got himself into the difficulty, let him get himself out.—*Cleveland Leader.*

Moved at Last.

The Nebraska organs are bellowing lustily over the shooting of Sheriff Jones in Kansas. It is true that he was not the lawful Sheriff, and that he is not killed; but he has been shot; blood has been drawn on him, and their sensitive souls sicken at the sight.

When BROWN was infamously murdered by cowardly assassins for no crime against the State, and for the commission of no wrong, but simply because he loved liberty better than slavery, and his young wife made a raving maniac, these craven souled panders to slavery and power had no word of condemnation for the deed. The blood of BROWN and of BARBER, too, yet cries from the ground for vengeance; but not one word of sympathy or indignation do we hear from them. BROWN and BARBER were martyrs to Liberty; that accounts for the silence. But JONES has been wounded in the cause of slavery, and lo, hear them cry!

The cold blooded murder of peaceable, inoffensive citizens is not worth comment, but the wounding of an usurping Sheriff in the attempt to send an illegal process causes their hair to stand on end with horror! Such are the sympathies of loocoojism.

FOR KANSAS.—The Michigan-Kansas Emigrant Company left last night for Kansas, in the 9 o'clock train. There were about sixty members, many of whom had families. They were well provided with tents and other necessities of a pioneer life. They stop at Niles to-day, where about forty more members join them. A Church is to be "desecrated" by public services on the occasion, we believe, and "Abolition" prayers will doubtless be made that Michigan rifles may shoot straight and send thorough greeting to every opposing Border Ruffian. One son of Michigan sleeps in a bloody grave in Kansas now, but from it has sprung a hundred men to fill his place. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." *May [Det. Trib., 6th.*

Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Tuesday Evening, May 6, 1856.

TOUCHING A TENDER SPOT.—A few days since the Springfield Argus asked what was to be done with the money which the Kansas lecturers are collecting under the name of "aid for Kansas." The Boston Telegraph, a republican print, replied that it was none of the Argus's business; and the Argus rejoins:

"It would seem that we touched a tender point when we inquired about the destination of the Kansas fund. The black republican papers evidently don't like to tell. Are we right in supposing that none of this money collected as 'Kansas aid' will go to Kansas? that it is to be used as a vast electioneering or 'corruption fund' in the presidential canvass? Or will 'General' Pomeroy and the other peculiar Kansas patriots pocket it?"

Sham Democracy and Slavery.

In the United States Senate, on Friday last, there was a debate on Kansas affairs, in which Mr. BENJAMIN, of Louisiana, elected as a Whig, took part. Like most prominent Southern men, he is an ultraist on the subject of Slavery, and has recently been casting around for the most certain means of promoting the permanency and strength of that institution. In the debate referred to, we have the result of his reflections. We copy the sketch of his remarks:

He said that three times, within the short history of this Republic, had its internal peace been imperilled, and each time the disturbing element was the same. When, in 1854, it was finally agreed to repeal in terms that which for more than a quarter of a century had ceased to have any effect, such formal repeal was used as a ground for vituperation toward the South. She was accused of violating plighted faith with very much the same regard for truth which has recently been observed here in mendacious tales regarding Kansas affairs. The seeking for other compromises than those in the Constitution, was a mistaken policy on the part of the South, and thank Heaven, the South has at length become aware of her error—she has no longer any compromise to offer or to accept. She would adhere to the Constitution, and if its provisions be violated to her injury, then she would calmly, but resolutely, withdraw from the compact and obligations of which she is expected scrupulously to fulfil, and from all the benefits of which she is ignominiously repulsed. He contended that the crusade against Slavery, on the part of the North, was merely a struggle for power. They had been so persistently misled by perversion of the truth as to induce them almost to hate the Southern white man and love the black in preference.

In condemning the American party, he remarked that it was now powerless for aught but mischief, and to help the Republicans. The contest being narrowed down between the latter and the Democracy, and the Whig party being extinct, he declared it to be his purpose to aid the Democratic party and use his utmost efforts to ensure its success, following the example of better and abler men than himself. He predicted that in the triumph of the Democratic party the Constitution would be secured; good feeling restored; intolerance rebuked; the equality of the States maintained; the corner-stone of the government fabric preserved intact, and peace and happiness smile upon the land.

Mr. Cass complimented Mr. Benjamin, saying that the sentiments he had just uttered, ought to find a response in every patriotic heart.

In 1850, when the FILLMORE Administration was engaged in "conquering the prejudices of the North" against Slavery, and crowding through Congress measures designed to sustain it, the defeat and dissolution of the Whig party was foreseen and predicted. Even then, Southern Whig members of Congress began to range themselves on the side of the Sham Democracy, because that was the most effective way of protecting Slavery. Mr. FILLMORE, and his supporters, however, professed to believe that a great "Union party" would grow out of the disorganization then commenced—that the South would be satisfied with and abide by the "Compromises" of 1850 as "a finality"—and that for all time to come—the Missouri Compromise and the California, Texas, and Fugitive Slave Law Compromises being in full force—there would be no more "agitation" on the Slavery question. How their anticipations all vanished at the succeeding elections, is well known. And the reasons which operated to give over nearly the entire South to the cause of Sham Democracy and Slavery, are more potent now than then. For the future, the South spurns all Compromises—not even "the finality" of 1850 is spared; for its avowed intent was in fact repudiated by the flagitious act of 1854—the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

It will be seen that Senator BENJAMIN scouted the idea that the Know Nothing party has the least chance of success. Hence, he goes over, without reserve, to the hereditary ally of Slavery—the Sham Democracy. It is evident, too, from this and other speeches from Southern men, of whatever political creed, that they regard, and are determined to make, the Slavery question the only issue in the approaching canvass. With this fact as palpable as any other connected with political affairs, the doughfaces here are trying to entrap the North into an alliance which will result in farther aggression

upon Free Territory, and the unlimited extension of the Slave power.

Very properly, that eminent doughface, LEWIS CASS, "complimented Mr. BENJAMIN, and pronounced his speech "patriotic." So it will be seen that all Mr. FILLMORE's "sacrifices" for the Union are resulting to the benefit of Sham Democracy, and that he, and the party of which he is the selected head, are coolly despoiled by those they sold themselves to propitiate. It is not the first time a traitor has met his just reward.



TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 6, 1856.

The Responsibility.

The perfection of impudence, is the attempt of the Atlas and Argus to fasten responsibility for bloodshed in Kansas upon anybody whatever, save its own party, and the Slave Power whose willing tool it has become. Every life lost, every wound given in the effort to subjugate the people of Kansas into an acceptance of the Constitution, Laws, and Government of the Missouri Ruffians Legislature, will be justly chargeable to the unprincipled ambition of the several Democratic competitors for the next Presidency. The People will fasten this responsibility upon them too, at the coming election. The childish babble about Sharps' rifles, and the foolish sophistry about resistance to "law and order," when the one is without authority and mere usurpation, and the other is tame submission to wrong, will divert no eye from the clear perception of the truth. The unhallowed attempt to force Slavery on to a free people, will of course provoke resistance. Law and equity will both charge to the wrong doers all the consequences whatsoever, of the aggression and of the resistance.

Douglas and the Dragoons.

"We will subdue you, Sir!" menaced the Illinois Douglas in the Senate of the United States, addressing an advocate for the claim of the People of Kansas to Self-Government. It was the arrogant answer made in the Council Chamber of the Nation, to the plea of the inhabitants of a Territory, to be relieved from the usurpation of their political rights by the citizens of a foreign State, and to be saved from the curse of Slave Labor which an outside interest was busy in fastening upon them. "We will subdue you, Sir!" The words were deemed to be a characteristic outburst of insolence from the political pilot of Slavery. But were they not prophetic? Did they not foreshadow a plan of violence, for the settlement of the Kansas Question, of which the Senator was the author or the accomplice, and in whose efficacy he had complete faith?

Correctly did he estimate his materials in the West. The Telegraph yesterday announced the declaration of Sumner, the Colonel of the United States Dragoons, that "if the matter were left to him he would soon settle it." This officer with his whole command is in Lawrence—he has truculently charged the citizens of that town with firing "into his soldiers' tents," and has threatened them with an assault—in conversation with Governor Robinson he has publicly expressed an itching to forcibly settle with the sabre and the carbine, "the matter" in issue in Kansas. The Telegraph farther reveals the fact that the Deputy of the pretended Sheriff Jones, is now filling up writs for the arrest of one hundred citizens of Lawrence, charged with fictitious crimes! It finishes the revelation of the scheme to subjugate Kansas, with a state-

ment that a "standing army" will be kept at Lawrence, till all the arrests are completed, and the prisoners are got to Leocompton.

The trick of wronging and vexing the Free Soilers into an open conflict with the United States troops, is too patent, and will probably not succeed. The virtue of New England character will be proof against the harassments, intended to weary out and break down their resistance to Slavery. But assuredly the People of the whole North will demand a stern reckoning with the villains, who are engineering this monstrous wrong upon the settlers of Kansas. They will not permit a precedent so full of danger to go unpunished. The liberties of the States are involved in the suppression by dragoons of the right of self-government in the Territories. If the Democratic Party and Colonel Sumner are justified in this subjugation of Kansas, then will Douglas' threat 'we will subdue you, sir!' become comprehensive of the entire North, and Toombs' boast that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill monument yet be realized history.

ANOTHER CHANCE.—If the Atlas can be coaxed off from its wake of a Ruffian who is not dead, it will find a new chance for servile howling, in the recent self-defensive action of the Panama Rail Road Company. The Directors have sent a supply of rifles and revolvers to the Isthmus, to enable their employés to defend their lives and the Company's property, against any future attacks of the savages of Panama. The journal which howls at the self-defensive action of the Kansas settlers against the savages of the plains, and of the Democratic Propagandists of Slavery, should surely howl against the Panama Rail Road Company.

HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.

PUBLISHED EVERY TUESDAY AFTERNOON.

Emigration.—A correspondent of the New York Tribune, writing from Lawrence, thus speaks of the emigration to that territory. Col. Eldridge, to whom he alludes, was formerly a resident of Southampton:

The emigrants of this season are much superior to those of last year. They come in the face of difficulties and are prepared to meet them. They make allowances which many of those of last year did not seem disposed to, for our inability to afford them all the comforts of older States. The boarding-houses and many private houses are filled. The hotels about being opened; if the furniture was here it could be made ready in a week. In a fortnight Lawrence will have a hotel superior to any west of St. Louis. Col. Eldridge of the American Hotel in Kansas City has leased it. The Colonel is a whole souled gentleman from the old Bay State—energetic, enterprising and affable. He has in connection with his two hotels, a line of stages between Kansas City and Lawrence, and is proprietor of the ferry across the Missouri at Kansas City. Money is scarce here and, as in all new countries, we need the help of capital. No State offers better inducements for settlement than this.

HO! FOR KANSAS.—Our town was visited on Monday by O. C. Thompson, Esq., of Detroit, Michigan, who represents the Michigan Kansas Settlement Company. He came here with the view of contracting for the passage of the members of his Company up the Missouri river. The party number about two hundred persons, most of whom are expected to arrive in this city over the Chicago and Alton Railroad to-morrow, on the one o'clock train. A steamer will be at our port to receive them, to carry them direct to Kansas.—[Alton Courier, May 6.]

The Facts about Kansas.

A friend who has long resided in Kansas, writing a letter not intended for publication, says:

"In regard to the capabilities and resources, Kansas is not inferior to any western State. It has the advantages of a mild climate, rich soil and excellent water. The deficiency in timber is partly supplied by an abundance of limestone, suitable for building purposes, and coal is everywhere plentiful. Stock can be raised profitably and with little trouble; all kinds of products find a ready market and bring the very best prices. There is plenty of excellent land yet unoccupied and subject to pre-emption. When the present difficulties are settled I think the inducements will be sufficient to attract a large emigration. There is nothing in the soil or climate of Kansas to encourage the growth of slavery, although both are well adapted to most all the productions of the West. It is only in the cultivation of hemp that slave labor can be employed profitably here, and the quantity of hemp lands in the territory is very trifling. From my own observation I conclude the institution is indebted for its continuance in Missouri as much to the pride slaveholders take in the possession of human chattels, as to any real benefit derived."

A Farce.

What a farce "popular sovereignty" is! What an absurdity to talk about carrying into effect "the principles of the Nebraska bill!" The troops of the United States are called upon to overcome the "popular sovereigns" of Lawrence, and to carry into effect laws passed, for the people of the territory, by invaders from abroad! Look at the utter absurdity of the position of the Administration on the Kansas question! They pass an act by which they give the settlers of that territory, ostensibly, the power to govern themselves. Intruders from a neighboring State, armed with bowie-knives and revolvers, come into the territory, forcibly invade the ballot-boxes, and elect a Legislature to suit themselves. (Remember, this forcible invasion has never been contradicted, and is gloried in by the invaders themselves.) Rather than submit to the laws which the Missourians would impose upon them, the actual settlers in Kansas, acting under the authority of the Kansas-Nebraska act, which gave to them the regulation of their own affairs, form a constitution and elect their own officers. This "sovereign" act, the President calls treason. To enforce the Acts of the Legislature illegally elected, in opposition to "popular sovereignty" he sends United States troops to make arrests under a civil process! We are sorry that this farce which the Administration is enacting is likely to prove a bloody tragedy. That it will not excite a conflagration over the whole land which will consume the bonds of our Union, will not depend upon the wisdom of the Administration, but upon the good sense and moderation of the people.

TO LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS, the present outbreaks of the free-State men in Kansas may appear illegal and even riotous. But the laws of the bogus Legislature which they oppose are such to which no freeman could submit. The free-State men of Kansas are, under these laws, not allowed to vote unless they take an oath to support the Fugitive Slave Act; they cannot serve as jury-men if they have spoken against the institution of slavery; if they speak against, or write against that institution they are liable to fine and imprisonment; if they assist a fugitive slave, they can be punished with death. Citizens of Connecticut! "law-abiding" men as you are! could you submit to have such laws forced upon you by the inhabitants of other States? Blame not the irregularities of the men of Kansas, but rather blame the man who, as President of the United States, would force them down the throats of the "sovereign people" of Kansas by the point of the bayonet! But God forbid assassination even in the holiest cause!

KANSAS.

We have been permitted by a friend to peruse a letter from Lawrence, bearing date of the 24th inst. It is chiefly of a private nature, not suited for publication, but from it we learn that Jones, the pretended sheriff, whose assassination by some person unknown has been already announced, previous to this event had been annoying the people of Lawrence for a week or more, with attempts to make arrests for no crime whatever. The individuals upon whom these attempts were made refused to recognize him as a legal officer, and to submit to an arrest, and he desisted. On the 23d ult., he reappeared with about a dozen United States troops, from Leavenworth, acting under orders from Shannon. Some half dozen arrests were made without opposition, no one resisting the federal authorities. That night Jones was shot, and his wound is supposed to be mortal. Who shot him is a profound mystery, and not even a suspicion is entertained in regard to the unknown assassin. The same letter states that the Congressional committee is in session in that town. All is quiet, both in Lawrence and its vicinity.

The following letter, written four days previously, is from a member of the third party which went out this spring under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Society, and left Boston on the second of last month:

LAWRENCE, Sunday, April 20.

We have not yet decided on a location for our company. I think we shall decide tomorrow, and shall go to Topeka (or within a few miles of it), to Washington (seventeen miles from here, and twelve from Topeka), or to Washington Creek (six or eight miles from here). All I think are good places, and the great difficulty is because they are so good.

I shall go to farming, and have agreed with a man to break up 100 acres for me, at \$3.50 per acre. I decide to do this, as the best thing to be done—with ordinary success, I can raise this year on my hundred acres 2500 bushels of corn, and this will all be needed next winter. The great mistake which the farmers and squatters have made, is in putting in so little corn and grain. If we go to Washington, we shall be near Lieut. Gov. Roberts' farm, and the land is as good as his. He raised last year on the sod 3500 bushels of corn—from 20 to 30 bushels to the acre. If my plan works, I shall keep on ploughing, beyond the hundred acres, and put in fifty acres of wheat or so.

My claim will cost nothing at present; it will cost say \$100 to fence it;—my cabin will cost \$50 or more.

I like the country very much so far. There may be finer countries, but I have never seen them. What disease there may be in such a good looking outside, I cannot now tell.

The emigration from the free States is large. Every day we have many arrivals here, and as many more go north of the river, probably.

MONDAY, April 21st.—We have decided to go to Topeka, and shall start at once.

BOSTON HERALD.

FIRST EDITION.

TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 6

my kansaw Expedishan.

Sanduskey, (Ohio,) May 1st.,—18 & 56.

mistur editur:—i don't Know but wat i Shall tarn back arter Awl. thar are The strangist sort o' peepel out Here, that i ever Kum akross.

tu Illustrate:—i was Sitten down tu the dinner Tabel, tu-dey, at The tavern, arter tellin ben Tu hold the gun Out in the entry, wile i Was a eatin, wen, Awl of a sudden, a Noise like a riot Broke on my ear. fearin that The house mite Kum down—or sun uthar Tarnal thing happen—i made A bold rush for The hall door, & Thare i see a man clinched with ben Titcomb, & a tryin Tu git the muskit & Knap-sack away.

i kried Murder! & made A Dash at the border desperado, & Ketchin on him, with wun hand, by the nape Of the neck, & Liftin on him up By the full of The trowsers, with tuth-

er, i Gin him a sweep Into the outside street, just As i wud toss A kookroach into the Gutter. well, the landrod Mistrust d as how sun-thin Was a goin on— so he & The bar keeper rushed out with The highest weapons They kud ketch up, the landrod Seized a spittoon & karvin knife, & The bar keeper Grabbed hold of an old Damijohn, & an empty bottel of aperrita, & up they Kum, "awl Eager for the fray!" (tu quote shakespeare.) for a Time, it loked as though Thar mite bee a Littel spillin of blood. the feller i Had tossed out Into the road, begun Tu Kum tu— (they Sed his name was pettingale,—Squire pettingale.)

so he tuk Hold of ben titcomb with such a Harty gripe about The neck-kloth, & gin it such a twist—hollerin out, "i've Fixed wun on 'em!"—that His eyes, (ben's eyes,) stood out like a Pare of small mountains, or the humps on a kamele's back, & his face Resembled a bed sheet, Thas had just kum Out o' the wash—as Nigh as i kan Draw the komparisun—it Was so deadle Pale.

but order Was presently restored by the boarders of the hctel, & i and mistur pettingale stepped up Tu the bar, and knockin Glasses wun agin t'uther, very soon Forgot who was Who, & wat was Wat!

i arterwards Larned that this peter pettingale Was about the most ferocious border rufian yet kum Akross. it may bee—but i Kan't believe it—nothin On airth but the site of my Gun & akortements, coupled with the green luke of ben, (the Poor devil kan't Bee blamed, but if A jackass on 2 legs Ever travelled round, that Same animal is benjamin titcomb!) was the hole kause of The Troubel.

still, i'm About worn out with This jaunt. it seems Tu me that thar Is more fuss made About these nigurs, than the hole Tribe on 'em are worth, if They was put up at Auckshun to-morro, & knocked Orf, like so many Pigs or kows.

(& in this Koneckshun, an aneckdote of My old friend, loyd garrison aint mal-approve.

it mite Have bin seen 10 or 15 Years ago, that i & he Was a sittin smokin A koupel of pipes, wun Dey, arter a rousin dinner Of roast beef, onions, & the Lord knows wat else! (as for Myself, the "fixins," at such times, are the Larst remembered of Awl!)—it takes your Bumper of champagne, & So on, tu destroy re-fleekshuns, & Put a sort of Doubel dot down, arter The heavy meats! i wen i rose, and Karmly sed tu mistur garrison,—("supposin, william, a Good, fat, plump, Female niggur shud kum in Now,—supposin she Had't bin inside of A kumfortabel Bed for a week or 10 Days parst,—had bin, per kentry, Housed out in a Snow storm, (so tu speak,)—wud Ye Gin up 1-2 your bed tu Her! now tell Me honestly, bill Garrison!")

at fust, i Thort he was not a Goin tu make eny Ansur, but presently he Roared out,— "i Wud as on sleep With a wud-tortle!"

i telled Him i liked his honesty, & Ginnin him a harty rap on The shoulders, wost orf larfin, Loud enuf tu wake up The nite pol-ice.)

i may Kontinue this jarney,—i doubtless shall,—but If ye had telled me in advance The difficulties & Outrages wat was to beset Me every 10 miles Or so, on the route,—not-withstandin the War-like show of My gun & knapsack,—i wud Have seen ye in Quite a warm place,—the Hottest yet heerd from!— afore i Had pade mistur John Ginnin Adams Bean for parse, marked "Westward ho!"

but i Shall go on. if i kan Bee the humbel means of Savin the life & soul Of wun niggur, (for it Is possibel a niggur Has a soul,—though the idee Seems too preposterous for general Beleef,) i will travel Tu kansaw, every Uther week, if necessary, & let The ralerode folks wistel for Thare fare!

Job SASS.

Boston Journal.

TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 6, 1856.

The Indiana republican State convention, after nominating delegates to the convention at Philadelphia, passed resolutions declaring uncompromising hostility to the extension of slavery, repudiating the Nebraska platform of the Democracy of that State, pledging resistance by all proper means to the admission of any slave State formed out of territories secured to freedom by the Missouri Compromise, declaring in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State, and "of the Naturalization laws of Congress with the five years' probation, and that the right of suffrage should accompany and not precede naturalization." A resolution was also passed declaring a belief that the General Assembly of the State have the power to pass, and favoring the passage of a prohibitory law.

BOSTON, TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1856.

"Order reigns in Warsaw." The Boston Post copies an article from one of the Missouri border papers, the Kansas City Enterprise, in which we find the following remarkable statement:

"A gentleman just from Lawrence informs us that Jones was acting under the authority of the investigating committee sent out by Congress. Wood had embezzled some important papers connected with the Reeder case, and refused to appear before the committee. An attachment was issued and placed in Jones's hands, who, with a detachment of the dragoons, made the arrest."

We advise this "gentleman just from Lawrence" and all other border ruffians, to take more pains with their lying. If their lies were not concocted with such haste and recklessness, they might avoid such atrocious blundering. The Investigating Committee will appoint its own Sergeant-at-Arms whenever it has need of such an agent; and when that time comes, it will not be likely to select any official holding his appointment to office from that border ruffian assembly, whose claim to be treated as the Legislature of Kansas, is one of the important matters in dispute. The Post, however, circulates this statement with the expectation of having it believed.

THE NEWS FROM KANSAS. The "Sheriff Jones" who has been shot at Lawrence, is a Missourian whose residence is at Westport, Missouri, where he has held the office of postmaster. He has never removed his residence to Kansas, where his only claim to be considered one of the inhabitants is, that he has staked out a claim in some part of the territory, and perhaps engaged in "city lot" speculations at Leocompton or Atchison. He was elected to the office of Sheriff by the notorious "Baronial Assembly," he being still a citizen of Missouri. Even his friends, in their letters concerning the late affair at Lawrence, undesignedly let out the fact that his residence is still at Westport, Mo. In one of these letters, written from Westport to a pro-slavery paper, we find the following statement: "General 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 must be admitted, that if the "Baronial Assembly," which was entirely the creature of Missourians, is to be treated as the "Legislature of Kansas," and if its infamous edicts are to be enforced as the "local laws" of Kansas, it is quite consistent that the "Sheriffs" and other agents employed in the business, should be residents of Missouri. This was necessary in order to give the country a complete illustration of what Pierce, Douglas, Atchison and the rest of the slavery propagandists mean by "Squatter Sovereignty."

Lowell Jones
 May 5, 1856
 NO. 4975.

LETTER FROM KANSAS.
 Concluded.

We remained in St. Louis through the day, until 6 P. M., when our entire party, increased by the addition of Gov. Reeder, found ourselves on board the spacious steamer David Tatum, bound for Kansas City, Leavenworth City and St. Joseph. It was a charming evening, and we had a fine look at St. Louis as we left. It has great facilities for business. Slavery, which hangs like a millstone upon the giant neck of Missouri, is the only hindrance to its being the great city of the west. This fact many of its best and most wealthy citizens understand; and hence do not desire to see the institution forced upon the people of Kansas.

We reached Kansas City Sunday evening, just four days after leaving St. Louis. The incidents of that trip, many of them, are among the things not easily to be forgotten. Two hundred persons, natives of every state in the union, could hardly expect to get huddled together and stay huddled, for more than half a week, in a strange place, on a strange river,

much of the time in the midst of more or fewer 'border ruffians,' without some incidents worthy of note. We have noted many of them in our 'way book,' and may write them out at some future time. Suffice for the present, that our voyage up the Missouri has afforded us much agreeable society. We have seen 500 miles of a stream before known to us only in books and from the mouths of travelers. We have been practically acquainted with shoals, snags, sandbars and sawyers. We know the difference between these two last. We have seen a large steamer which had been sunk by one of them. We can appreciate the deep feeling in the west on the subject of river and harbor improvements. We can believe any man who pronounces the Missouri to be the muddiest river in the world. We can also sympathize with all lovers of pure water, who shall ever be so placed as to be unable to obtain a drop of that article for four or five entire days and nights. From its mouth to Leavenworth City, 500 miles, the whole river is too thick for porridge. And yet, in a slightly diluted form, it is the only temperance beverage to be obtained. We must acknowledge that, after our experience of the stuff that passes for water on the Missouri, we can no longer wonder that everybody drinks liquor, and all efforts of temperance reformers have proved vain.

Next to the muddiness of its waters, perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of the Missouri river is its constantly changing channels. No survey of the river can be of any essential value for navigation purposes, for even a single year. At nearly every point, you observe the banks caving in upon one side, and deposits making upon the other. This phenomenon accounts for much of the turbidness of the stream. Hundreds of acres probably, of the best bottom lands on the river are, every year, absorbed; and a large proportion swept into the Mississippi and the gulf of Mexico. These bottom lands are generally covered with large trees, which are undermined and taken bodily into the current, where they become snags and sawyers lying in wait to obstruct the passage of steamboats, or sink them. On our passage up, we saw several monster cotton wood trees converted, after this fashion, into 'monsters of the deep.'

The cotton wood is really almost the only tree indigenous to the Missouri. It is used for fuel and for timber; but it bears no cotton. It resembles very much our New England bass wood, when full grown; while the young tree resembles the poplar. The same resemblance holds, when sawed into boards and timber. Such a thing as a pine, hemlock, spruce or fir tree, we have not looked upon, since we left Michigan. We understand these are not to be found on any part of the Missouri river. Oaks and elms are found, however, at nearly all points.

Of course, we have had little opportunity to see the country, except so far as it is to be seen from the river. And the heavy forests of cotton wood and the high bluffs generally obstruct all view of the interior. Most of the Missouri towns, in fact, lie back from the river, and are not visible from the boat. All agree, however, in pronouncing the land immediately back of the river, along its entire length, equal to any in Missouri or on the continent. The thrifty character of the people, judging by their houses and hovels, as we saw them wherever they were to be seen, did not impress us. The people, as we saw them at the landings, did not impress us favorably.—They looked neither particularly healthy nor wealthy nor wise.

Not a few of our fellow passengers were bound, as we were, for Kansas. Quite a number of entire families were of this number.—Several families from Kentucky were aboard. Also several from Virginia. Of these we found none who were taking slaves with them, or who desired slavery in the territory. They were rather going to get away from slavery. Such, however, was not the feeling of all on board. One or two individuals from Alabama were on board, and several from Missouri, who were boisterously in favor of the 'peculiar institution,' and ready to fight whoever was not. These men were distinguished for their liberal patronage of the bar, their equal liberal display of oaths, and their inability, most of the time, to maintain their perpendicularity while walking or talking. These men took especial pains

to avow themselves 'border ruffians,' and even ventured occasionally to indulge in some threat against Gov. Reeder. When the governor was near, however, their courage like Bob Acres', never failed to ooze out out at their finger's ends.

But we have an opportunity to send this by a private conveyance to St. Louis. And as we are assured, that the certainty of its reaching its destination depends upon its being so sent, we are obliged to postpone some things we intended to write, till a 'more convenient season.' As for Kansas, we have only seen Leavenworth, which is very much of a miracle for a city but a year and a half old. It has a delightful location, and, as a commercial capital of a free state must be one of the most populous and thriving cities of the west.

THE HERALD.

Tuesday Morning, May 6, 1856.

EMIGRATING WEST. The human race from its infancy has had a western tendency. We suppose all things have; the sun sinks that way and we follow it. Our fathers were not more anxious to leave Old England for the West, than their children are to leave New England in the same direction; and they were animated by the same hopes, the same desire to better their condition, the same golden dreams, and the like reports from interested or disinterested parties. It is well that this has been so; though the hopes of other days were not realized, and the expectations of the present will fail. But God seems to have chosen the Anglo Saxons for the extension of a civilization, accompanied by freedom in politics and religion; and in time, going from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from thence to Eastern Asia, they may carry around the globe a belt of States, full of light and liberty, regenerating the world. But while nationally and for the race this spirit of emigration is beneficial, to the individuals themselves it often proves otherwise; the mass of them are less happy, less healthy, and deprived of a thousand enjoyments that they might have had where they were born. It has proved so in the past; it will always.

We do not wish to say any thing that might discourage the young and the ardent. There are those of course that will be benefited. A new country gives opportunities for quickly amassing large fortunes that cannot be found in old settlements; but our remarks are true as a whole, and the hundred thousand that are now leaving the East for Minnesota, Iowa and Kansas, will find it so, though it may be much better for their children. When we look West there are a few fortunate ones that loom up in the distance, as the mountains will from the sea, while the low lands do not appear. We do not think how many have died, and how many have toiled in poverty, to render those men rich. It is just the same with us, as it is with the young men who move into the city from the country; they all expect to be the Girards, Astors and Lawrences, and do not remember that where one merchant or trader becomes wealthy, ninety fail and can't pay their debts; while among the farms they leave, the reverse is true, and ninety accumulate where there is one that can't earn his bread. Now look back; there were more than a hundred persons that came to Plymouth in the Mayflower, and the first year one half of them died, and all of them suffered extremely; and some of the southern settlements fared worse than that. But things have changed, they tell us, and there are no such hardships now. Let those that believe that the wilderness is an Eden, try it. From 1830 to '32 there was an emigration fever, the settlers principally going to Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, which were the West then. What proportion of those emigrants bettered their condition?—how many died?—how many returned? Fifteen years after, came the California movement; and there the country is vastly healthier, and the miner could earn his living at once and not have to stop to gather and sell his crop, and very few women and children went—every thing favored success; but how many of those are really better off than they would have been at home? And now we have another wave of that westerly tide, that appears to spend itself upon the western banks of the Missis-

BARNSTABLE :

Tuesday, May 6, 1856.

THE KANSAS EXCITEMENT.

The great political question of to-day and of the next Presidential Campaign, is the Kansas question. One would suppose, from many of the republican journals, that the whole power of the general government had been exerted, and was to be exerted, to secure Slavery in Kansas. The democratic party are charged with effecting the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in order to secure this; they are charged with countenancing the lawless invasion of Kansas, by a gang of desperadoes, who destroyed the integrity of the elections by force, in order to secure this; and they are now charged by all the journals of the republican party and by the republican members of Congress with introducing a bill which is to secure the admission of Kansas into the Union as a slave state. To these charges, individually and collectively, the democratic party plead not guilty, and our appeal is to the American People, as that great jury which is to give judgment in the case.

We have heretofore referred to the specific terms of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, by which the Missouri Compromise was repealed and to those exact words of the bill which declare that Kansas may become a member of the confederacy of States, either as a slave or free State, as a majority of her citizens may determine. By this act not only Kansas but other states hereafter to be incorporated into the Union from the United States Territory, may become slave or free, as they may elect. By this act, such states come into the Union on the same terms as the original Thirteen. By this act, the whole subject of the condition of admission into the Union so far as slavery is concerned, is removed from the responsibility and action of Congress, to the responsibility and action of these several states, and thus this agitating and perilous subject is removed from the theatre of Congress and the perpetual peace and safety of the Union alone preserved.

How is it in regard to the invasion of Kansas by lawless ruffians who destroyed, at the point of the pistol and bowie knife, the elections? Has the general government given any sanction, directly or indirectly, to these proceedings? Not at all.—The President has expressed in his messages, again and again, his utmost disapproval of such unlawful and anti-democratic proceedings. The Union, the recognized organ of the President and his Cabinet, has again and again spoken of the Missouri invasion in the language of most emphatic denunciation. And the general government has now, by the authority of Congress, sent an armed force to that Territory in order to secure the order of the people and the security of the elective franchise. It is true indeed that the administration members of Congress and the democratic press throughout the country have condemned, in the most unqualified terms, the sending of organized bodies of men, armed with Sharpe's rifles, into this Territory, for the express purpose of agitating and blustering and bullying the Southern settlers in Kansas, and threatening to fight if slavery were established there.

The last onslaught of Seward, Greeley, Wilson & Co., and their trained horde of echoing presses, is a most foul one, and gives the most false conception possible of the bill recently introduced into the Senate, by Mr. Douglas, for the admission of Kansas as a state. The bill of Senator Douglas is

issippi, and many people will live to see its results.

The West is a very fine country—there is no question of it. Cities and towns are growing up there in a day; the farmers are having great crops and getting high prices, and wealth is accumulating as it has no where else in the world. We do not doubt at all the reports that came to us every day. It would be very difficult to overstate the great resources of the land; and very many rich men will go there and become richer, for nowhere will capital pay so well; and many poor men will become rich also, for that is happening everywhere, and oftener in new countries; but there are some things that every man may remember. First that one half at least will have the fever and the "shakes" before the first year is past. We cannot move to new lands without acclimation. They may expect to risk health and life, and bury wives and children very fast; so that the average days will not be two thirds what they are here. It has been so from Plymouth Rock to Council Bluff. Western New York, Ohio, Illinois and Iowa, have been great grave yards. Then they must part with the conveniences and comforts of life, while they do live, if the settlements are to be formed by them. They will find no Tremont Houses and United States Hotels to put up at the day they reach their destination. Their accommodations are to be log huts, and the "fixings" common to such abodes. Their schools are to be distant, meeting-houses scarce, newspapers few, libraries no where, lyceums nothing, and roads, if they have any, such as nobody will travel on for pleasure in the spring of the year. If the people of New England could content themselves to live as they do in the West, anybody could get rich. But everybody does not get rich—only a few, and who are they? The active, industrious, intelligent and saving; and just that class will succeed West—they will succeed anywhere. But the man who is not intelligent—we mean in the business to which he devotes himself—had better disabuse himself of the idea that the Western people are fools; he who is not industrious here, need not think that wheat grows, is garnered and sent to market there, without labor; he who wastes his substance here, may depend upon it that he must go a long distance into the wilderness to deprive himself of that opportunity there; in fine, the man who can't "hoe his row" here, will set down by the first man in a new State; he better stop where he is.

We affirm that there is no need of our citizens going to the West. There is an abundance of work of all kinds here and the pay is good; and most persons, with economy, may become forehand; but if they choose to go, the wealthy will find ample fields for speculation, the young for adventure and perhaps preferment, and the poor man with a large family, when he dies, will know that his children have ample opportunities in a growing country. If they do not live so long, they will probably live faster, and may accomplish more. If they lose the conveniences and luxuries of life, they will gain something in freedom from restraint, that might crowd them down in an artificial state of society. We would not advise men not to emigrate, if

they have the fever upon them. Let them try it; that is all that will satisfy them; but they may as well go with their eyes open. There are clouds, and rains, and storms there, as well as here; there is a dark as well as a bright side to the picture.

Whig and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1856.

The New York Republican Meeting.

The following remarks in relation to the great Republican meeting in New York city, on Tuesday last, are from that old conservative Whig paper, the Providence Journal. They show how the sound, sensible, and honest Whigs of the whole country view the impending contest:

The Providence paper, unlike the Straight-out organs of Maine, has nothing to say about "Black Republicanism" in connection with such movements as this at New York—not is

it so filled with hypocritical fears lest the sectionalism of freedom should destroy the Union, that it cannot possibly speak respectfully of any movement which is not initiated by Kentucky slaveholders or their northern pro-slavery allies. It sees rather, and acknowledges, the great issue which has been forced upon the country by Southern men themselves, and while regretting the inevitable change in parties that has taken place, has the candor and the honesty to admit that the Republican party is the party for the times.

The article is as follows: "The character of the men who took part in the Republican meeting in New York, gives to the proceedings a dignity that has not often, of late, attached to political gatherings in that city. The papers which chronicle the speeches of Capt. Rynders and his crew, and hold such men up as the hope of the nation and the safety of the Union, can call Moses H. Grinnell and Charles H. Marshall, and Charles A. Stetson, and Benjamin F. Butler, "Black Republicans" and "Nigger worshippers," but the opprobrious epithet stains only the mouth that utters it. Nobody is harmed by it. They, and others who figured in that meeting, are among the first men in the land for intelligence and true respectability and real worth, men of large wealth, of commercial enterprise, and of conservative views.—Among them are some of the most conspicuous in the movement which was made in the North in favor of the compromise measures, in the support of which many a man sacrificed his cherished conviction, with the hope, by meeting all the demands of the South, to check the aggressive disposition of slavery. Among them are some of the warmest personal and political friends of Daniel Webster, men who have never failed to defend the South, not only in all its constitutional rights but in every demand which it could fairly make upon the courtesy and good feeling of the country. It is in vain to call these men "abolitionists."—Every body knows that they are not. Every body knows that the greater part of them hold to the opinions that but a little while ago challenged the full assent and admiration of even southern statesmen. They have not changed their opinions to suit a new exigency; they only stand by the compacts that were mutually entered into, and which had acquired almost the sanctity of fundamental law.

Few things can be more unfortunate in our politics than a division into sectional parties.—We would prefer the rule of either of the old parties, as they were formerly organized, neither encouraging the agitation of the slavery question.

But the men who repealed the Missouri compromise and re-opened the question, which had just been settled by the wisest men amongst us, were not content with such an organization. They have made up a sectional issue and have forced it upon the country, and at this rate the question will soon be no longer—Will you accept such an issue? but which side of it will you take? The policy of the administration is eminently and exclusively sectional. It knows no North, no East, no West; it knows only a South. It does not stand even upon the Nebraska-Kansas bill, outrageous as that bill is. It is not content with the repeal of the Missouri compromise, but seeks to reverse the prohibition and instead of prohibiting slavery north of the line, to enforce it, in spite of the people, and in defiance of all the guarantees of law. It is against this that the people are rising, and upon this issue, fairly presented, the sentiment in the free States will be almost imous.

about 50 and falsified. The N. Y. Evening Post, among other statements in reference to this bill says: "Who is to be regarded as a qualified voter is not expressed in the bill; that question is left where the code of laws enacted by the Missourians assembled at Shawnee Mission left it. The qualifications of a voter, according to that code, are, an oath of obedience to the fugitive slave law and the production of a certificate that a dollar has been paid to an officer who holds his appointment from the spurious government constituted at the Shawnee Mission. Be the person who offers to vote a resident or not, if he submits to the test, and produces the certificate, he is to be admitted. If he have lived in the Territory from the time it was organized, yet if he cannot conscientiously take the test, he is excluded from voting."

Republican presses throughout the country are everywhere echoing the same false statements.—The bill of Mr. Douglas expressly provides in reference to the qualifications of voters, "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 acts of the Shawnee Mission Legislature can have no control whatever over the qualifications of voters. It is expressly stated that "all white male inhabitants" &c., the terms all being entirely plain to the humblest capacity, except the qualifications "and who shall possess the other qualifications required by the organic act of the Territory." By this organic act all citizens whether native or naturalized, and all foreign born who have filed their application for naturalization and taken the necessary oaths under the naturalization laws, are qualified voters. Not one word of reference is found in this organic act, or in the bill of Senator Douglas, to the code of laws passed by the Kansas legislature; no oath required to support the fugitive slave law; no payment of a dollar as a condition precedent to qualification as a voter. Nor is there anything which any sane man and honest lover of freedom, as such, can object to. Will the people believe such maligners of persons and such falsifiers of political subjects. The election of November will teach them, with a witness!!

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 6, 1856.

The Union's defence of President Pierce against the charge of free soilism in the appointment of Gov. Reeder, has not been copied by the northern Democratic presses with that promptness which the President has a right to expect of his supporters in all parts of the country. The Union, in reply to some complaints from Virginia, says:

"We are able to state further, on very reliable authority, that while Gov. Reeder was in Washington, at the time of his appointment, he conversed with southern gentlemen on the subject of slavery, and he assured them that he had no more scruples in buying a slave than a horse, and he regretted that he had not money to purchase a number of slaves to carry with him to Kansas. We have understood that he repeated the same sentiments on his way to Kansas."

TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1

Correspondence of The Missouri Democrat.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Wednesday, April 23, 1856.
DEAR SIR: The United States troops from Fort Leavenworth are in town, assisting Sheriff Jones to make arrests. Hutchinson, Warren, Lyman, Fuller, Hunt, and two others have been arrested for refusing to act as Jones's posse on Sunday, and to-night are

held as prisoners, guarded by the troops who are camped here. Wood, Speer, Maaroo, Deitzler 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. Homes have been searched, but Wood, Speer, and company 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.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, April 24—2 o'clock, a. m.
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 Gen. Whitfield are in town and with Jones to-night.

Wood, Searl, 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. Lieutenant 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; but 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 expected to sustain law—which means the enactment 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., Thursday, April 24, 1856.
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 10 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 offenses for which he has held warrants for several months, and never sought to enforce. Our people were unwilling to recognize him or his authority. He had a small posse with him from Leavenworth each time; but he took away none 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 Leavenworth his headquarters, 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 4 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 United States dragoons, like culprits. 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 United States officer with such instructions as they have could have accomplished the same, for we will never resist the authority and arms of the United States. 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 whose impulses were 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 Lieutenant 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.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE CHIEF OF POLICE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. May 6, 1856

KANSAS—LANE—DOUGLAS.

Col. Lane of Kansas having left Washington for Indiana on Thursday or Friday morning last, Senator Douglas and his backers very naturally published an abusive attack upon him on Saturday, which we

copied into THE TRIBUNE of yesterday. In this bulletin, Douglas most calumniously accuses Lane of "causing his intentions [to challenge Douglas] to be made known to the world and published in "the newspapers," when it is certain that the newspaper correspondent who started that story of a challenge had no personal knowledge of non-intercourse with Lane at the time this foolish and mischievous report was put in circulation. And this is of a piece with the treatment to which Col. Lane has been subjected by Douglas and his accomplices throughout.

The first ground of objection to the Kansas Memorial was an allegation that it had been got up in Washington, and had never been reported to and adopted by the Kansas Legislature at all. It was on this assumption that Mason, Butler & Co. denounced it in the first discussion. But this was thoroughly exploded by Col. Lane's petition and affidavits presenting and verifying the identical first draft of the document, in the handwriting of a member of that Legislature—the very paper actually read in both Houses. Now no course remained but to carp at the alterations which had been made in the process of revision—said alterations consisting solely in the omission of some paragraphs which were deemed superfluous and of questionable policy. But Col. Lane testifies that these alterations were made by authority of the Legislature itself—that the first draft was read to the Legislature when on the point of adjourning over to July, and was by it referred to a Committee for revision, and by that Committee, or under its directions, the amendments have been made. All this is clear, straightforward and uncontradicted. It is not pretended that one material allegation or sentence has been added to the Memorial, nor that the omissions render it at all more unacceptable to Mr. Douglas and his friends. On the contrary, their complaint is that it has been rendered harmless and unobjectionable in the process of revision. Douglas wants to make the Free-State movement in Kansas a rebellion, and he thinks he could do it by the help of Mr. Hutchinson's original draft; but the revised Memorial defies his sophistry and his venom.

"And the signatures," says Douglas: "I find no signatures attached to the original draft here presented." Of course not, because that is a rough draft, and not the perfected document. Had the Legislature desired that paper presented to Congress unaltered, they would have signed that draft; but, desiring and intending to have it modified, they gave their signatures separately, to be attached, not to the original draft, but to the revised and perfected document, which Col. Lane has twice laid before the Senate. All this is natural, consequent, consistent; and only pettifogging malice could discover anything wrong in it. If undue liberties have been taken with the text of the Memorial, let the Legislature of Kansas so declare. As the agent of that Legislature, Col. Lane submits the Memorial; to them, he is responsible for his fidelity to his trust—not to Douglas and his fellow oppressors and defamers of Free Kansas. When the Legislature shall have fully ratified and commended the Memorial as presented by Col. Lane, by what dodge will Douglas & Co. next attempt to justify its rejection?

American and Gazette.

PHILADELPHIA:

TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1856.

KANSAS.—A telegraphic despatch from the West last week assumed that Sheriff Jones was dead, and spoke of the firing on him as a murder. We learn by our St. Louis papers that he is not dead, and is likely to recover. It seems that when he left Lawrence, after the failure of his attempt to arrest Woods, he procured aid from Fort Leavenworth and returned, accompanied by a detachment of twelve United States dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant McIntosh. Jones was shot twice in succession while sitting in his tent. He

and, previously to his going to Lawrence, received an anonymous letter, signed "One of the Secret Twelve," in which he was warned that if he made any more arrests in that town, his fate was sealed. On the 23d, assisted by the U. S. Dragoons, he arrested four or five persons charged with resisting his attempt to arrest Woods. They were confined in a small house in the town, and guarded by the troops. He was shot that night, and it is said that the ball entered the spine. When the news of this reached the Fort, Colonel Sumner immediately left for Lawrence, in command of four companies of cavalry, numbering three hundred men, composed of companies B, Capt. D. B. Sackett, and Lieut. A. V. Colburn; company C., Capt. T. J. Wood, 1st Lieut. A. Iversen, and 2d Lieut. J. R. Church; company G. Capt. W. S. Walker; and company H., 1st Lieut. E. A. Carr. First Lieut. A. Ranson, Jr., Adjutant, and 1st Lieut. J. E. B. Stewart, A. Q. M. and A. A. C. S.

One of the Missouri papers, the Kansas City Enterprise, hatches up a story that Jones was acting under the authority of the Investigating Committee sent out by Congress; that Woods had embezzled some important papers connected with the Reeder election, and refused to appear before the Committee; that an attachment was issued against him and placed in Jones' hands, who, with a detachment of dragoons, went to execute it. But all this is mere fudge. Woods was arrested by Jones on a warrant, and not an attachment. It was a document issued several months ago, and before the Committee was appointed. The citizens of Lawrence held a large meeting to express their detestation of the shooting of Jones. Ex-Governor Reeder presided.

of one thousand slaves, contributes a thousand and dollars to send settlers to Kansas, a large portion of that sum goes very soon into the pockets of Professor Silliman's constituents and other free soil manufacturers, and thus enables them to present more bibles and rifles to other emigrants. So that had the Legislature of Alabama passed, instead of negating, the proposed bill giving fifty thousand dollars to send Southern settlers to Kansas, the manufacturers in the Northern and Eastern States would have received a very cheering impulse, by the expenditure of money, drawn from the pockets of their envious opponents.

Besides, these emigrations give employment to large numbers of steamboats, and probably three-fourths of their earnings go into the pockets of Northern steamboat owners, and when the Southern emigrants who are slave holders arrive in Kansas and come to compare the condition of the laboring class in the North with that of the same class in the slave States, not a few may refuse longer to aid in the mad policy of degrading themselves, so as to form convenient foot stools for the slaveocracy, and become zealous free soilers.

Taking this view of the whole matter, it is manifest, that as a mere pecuniary or financial question, the North can have no reason to regret the agitation produced by the faithless violation of the Missouri Compromise.

Even should the slave holders succeed in making Kansas a slave State, of which in fact there is scarcely a possible chance, they can only do it by still more impoverishing those States which slavery has already cursed and crushed.

'Man proposes but God disposes.' The violation of the Missouri Compromise was designed by base men to forward their own selfish purposes, by prostrating themselves in the very mire before the slave power. The result will be, under the guidance of a just God, a glaring and public manifestation of the poverty and feebleness, and a still further impoverishment and enfeeblement, of the slave States.

There was once a proposition made in the Roman Senate that the slaves should all be dressed in uniform. One, however, wiser than the rest, suggested that it might be dangerous to do so, as it would enable the slaves to compare their numbers with those of their masters.

The violation of the Missouri Compromise, will, in its consequences, enable the whole world to compare the power, and the energy, and the resources of the free and slave States. The slave States in the struggle have the advantage of a slave State with its border ruffians lying alongside of the disputed region, and all the emigration must pass for hundreds of miles through a slave State, under the eyes of the border ruffians. The Administration of the General Government is also aiding by all means, fair and foul, the schemes of the slaveocracy; and yet we have no doubt of the triumph of the free States.

Under such circumstances the defeat of the slaveholders will be an overwhelming exposure of the weakness of the advocates of slavery extension; and I now venture the prediction, that within five years, the prominent advocates and projectors of the repeal of the Compromise will be condemned to obscurity in many of the Southern States.

The following is the letter of Senator Wade to the great Kansas and Slavery limitation meeting, held at the Tabernacle, New York:

"In my humble judgment, gentlemen, on the success of efforts, directed to the accomplishment of the objects of your contemplated meeting, hangs the perpetuity of the Union of these States.

"The 'Old Confederation,' the Constitution of the United States, and the Union and Government under the Constitution, were each and all the fruits of the ORGANIZING SPIRIT OF HUMAN FREEDOM. Out of that organic and life-giving spirit arose the form and substance of our present Union. It must be administered in the same spirit, and with the same purpose, or it becomes a lifeless, putrifying corpse—a burr in the eye, and an offense in the nostrils of the nations.

"The propagandism of slavery; for many years stealthily carried on, under the influence of the Federal Government, has now become its avowed and reckless purpose. The spirit which organized the Federal Government at its commencement has been 'cast out,' and the demon of slavery has possessed the present Administration; and, of course, indications of dissolution are as obvious to the reflecting statesman as to the skillful physician are the prognostics of death to the patient laboring under cholera or consumption.

"The spirit which propagates human slavery is a spirit of contention, of hatred, of caprice and spoil. There is no cohesiveness in that spirit. The union springing from it is the effect of force applied from without, not the cohesive power of benevolence and justice. The propagandists of slavery and the conservatives of freedom cannot work together, cannot love one another, nor have confidence in each other. This any man of reflecting mind may and ought to know, prior to experience. Theory, much as it should be distrusted, where experience has not led the way, ought still to teach us so much; nay, our own experience in the every-day duties of life might and ought to teach us this. But our experiences here, in contact with the propagandists of slavery, force upon us the humiliating truth that a hatred is growing up between the opponents of slavery extension and its advocates, as lasting and hopeless of reconciliation as the difference between the priceless blessings of liberty and the unfathomed curse of human bondage. This is not only theoretically true, but it is true, in fact, in the activities of every-day life. There is no cure for this growing and inevitable repulsion but in the subordination of slavery to freedom; none but in its restriction and expulsion from territories once dedicated to freedom. Let the spread of slavery be once stopped effectually, and, like a disease of the body, the constitutional vigor will soon wholly eradicate the leprosy.

"But I did not design to say anything when I commenced but simply this—that at this time, politically speaking, 'but one thing is needful,' and that is the unconquerable spirit of union among the opponents of slavery extension; this, with that energy which the spirit of liberty ought to inspire, for so glorious an end as the preservation of the Union, 'for sake' of our FATHERS who FORMED it, and the glorious and priceless ends for which they formed it, will bring us the victory, and with it countless years of justice, freedom and prosperity to our beloved country.

B. F.

Before we notice the patriotic and philanthropic spirit of this epistle, let us examine some of its "facts."

Here we are told that the "old Confederation" was the main-spring of the hostility to African slavery which Mr. Wade and his confederates are now waging. Certainly such twaddle cannot impose on the children in our common schools. Even they know that, of the thirteen States which composed that Confederation, twelve recognized African slavery, and continued it for many years after the adoption of that compact, as well as of its successor, the Constitution, and that both instruments distinctly and expressly recognize and provide securities for the maintenance of that institution. So far from springing from the Union, the Confederation and Constitution were the sources of the Union, and contained the terms upon which it was formed. Those terms admitted and recognized slavery as it existed in the States. The logic which regards the only safety of the Union, to consist in the violation of the conditions on which it was

Commercial Journal.

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor and Proprietor

PITTSBURGH.

TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 6, 1856.

KANSAS.

We publish, with great pleasure, the communication of our eminent townsman "C," on Kansas affairs, which has place in our columns to-day. We feel an earnest sympathy with his solicitude for the future of Kansas, but are glad to believe that the very violence and extravagance of the Border Ruffians will precipitate her admission as a Free State.

Since we placed "C's." communication with the compositors, we have had the pleasure of shaking hands with a gentleman well known to us, just arrived from Kansas, who, as late as Tuesday last, was in the town of Franklin, where Jones, the wounded Sheriff, lies. He gives a good account of affairs, which we shall publish to-morrow.

THE STRUGGLE IN KANSAS.

As the North is the wronged party by the atrocious law which opened to slavery that territory which had for more than thirty years been dedicated to freedom, it is a very consolatory subject of reflection, that the same wronged North is profiting largely by the efforts, even of the slaveocracy, to colonize and occupy the disputed region. The South manufactures nothing but 'niggers,' sugar and cotton: blankets, clothing of all kinds, rifles, agricultural implements, and almost every article used by the new settlers, must be purchased directly or indirectly from the Northern manufactures, and thus the slaveholders in their hopeless efforts in Kansas, contribute to the enriching of that very class of men whom they would much rather starve, if they could. Probably three-fourths of the money expended by slaveholders in the purchase of rifles, agricultural implements, &c., goes directly into the pockets of those who act with Professor Silliman, in giving bibles and rifles to men who go to Kansas to carry freedom into, and exclude slavery from, that region. So that when Mr. Aiken, the owner

Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

TUESDAY MORNING.....MAY 6

Is it a Union of Hate!

Such is the question which is suggested by a second effort of one of our Senators, to prove that the people of these States do and ought to hate each other with an intensity never before equaled by the national animosities of other people.

established, is quite characteristic of the mad
man that produced it. Equally untrue, in
fact, is the assertion as to the spread of slavery
since the formation of the Union. Then there
were twelve slave States out of the thirteen;
now there are thirteen slave States out of
thirty-one of the Union!

But the most atrocious and untrue of all the
declarations of this inflammatory demagogue
is, that there is a growing hostility between the
people of the States of this Union, and that
this feeling can only be eradicated and changed
to that of love and affection by the subjugation
of one section of the Union to another. This
is purely the invention of a diseased
mind or a bad heart. The only hostility
which divides the peoples of these States is to
be found in the bosoms of a few such conspirators
as Wade—men of the Nero or Caligula
stamp, who would demagogize while the Re-
public was burning.

The people in the North regard slavery in
the Southern States as a fact with which they
have no right to interfere, but are bound by the
letter and spirit of the Constitution to leave to
the control of those upon whom it is fixed.
Least of all do they imagine that such an in-
stitution can be destroyed and eradicated by
cultivating feelings of hostility and habits of
interference on the part of the North toward
the South.

Slavery will only die out at the South as it
did at the North, as it has done in all nations,
by the same process—when it ceases to be
profitable, when it becomes an insupportable
evil to those who have to endure it. It will
be strengthened and prolonged by all inter-
ferences of those who have no rights to inter-
fere with it. All such invasions do but enlist
the spirit, pride, independence and sectional
feelings of the States interested, in behalf of
the continuance of slavery. The best friends
of that institution, of its perpetuity, are these
very outside intermeddlers.

The duty of every good citizen, North and
South, is to abstain from all interference, di-
rectly or indirectly, with the right of the peo-
ple of the several States, Territories and com-
munities to manage their own local affairs;
to create and regulate their own consti-
tution and laws. Any other mode will cer-
tainly endanger the peace and continuance of
this Union without achieving any advantage
for the object which its advocates profess to
have in view.

We believe that if this course had been pur-
sued, if Kansas had been left to the natural
course of events, or settlement and coloniza-
tion, it would now be beyond all chance of be-
coming slave territory. Such was a general
sentiment and expectation in the South; but
this slow, quiet and certain process would not
content the agitators. They could not be sat-
isfied without bullying and threatening the
South, and thus aroused that section to active
and self-sacrificing efforts to extend its influ-
ence into this new region. This is briefly the
history of the Kansas trouble as it will be read
by posterity.

Lynchburg Virginian.

Tuesday Morning,.....May 6, 1856.

A Northern Democratic View of the Kansas
Bill
President Pierce's home organ, the New Hamp-
shire Patriot, like himself, construing the Kansas
bill to be a measure in favor of freedom, raises a
sort of hallolelah over the "results, grand, per-
manent and glorious," that squatter sovereignty
and foreign immigration are to accomplish in the
promotion of free soil. The Southern reader
may learn, from what it says, something of that
"sound Northern democratic sentiment" which
sustains the Kansas bill. We copy its article:

"All the valuable land open to settlement is
already 'staked out' and 'claimed,' and eternal
decrees could not make freedom more sure.

"Nor is this the beginning and end of the chap-
ter, though this might be thought enough by any
reasonable man. It is now proclaimed by anti-
Nebraska papers that such is the rush of emigra-
tion in this direction that, like the too abundant
rains which swell the rivers, it will overflow its
natural banks, and passing on to the immense
territory of Texas, make two or three new free
States out of soil which had been devoted to sla-
very! German emigrants are universally anti-
slavery men, both from principle and from taste,
being unable to endure contact with the colored
race; and already occupying the western part of
Texas, they will unite with the emigrants from
the North and West in organizing free States
on the soil of slavery!

"Nor is this all, great and good as it is. It is
stated that Missouri is awakening to thoughts of
freedom. Slavery was never stronger there, and is
mainly confined to the rich bottom lands of the
Mississippi, while the western portion of the State
is almost exclusively occupied by free men. Dur-
ing the last few years the number of slaves has
been diminishing, as things then were; and now,
when the State shall be nearly surrounded by free
States, and the escape of slaves become so easy,
and when so large a portion of the people are op-
posed to it, both from interest and principle, it is
thought by those well acquainted with the state
of public feeling that slavery will give way to
surrounding circumstances and Missouri itself
join the sisterhood of free States around her!
Should not such prospects satisfy the most zealous
abolitionists? Should not the part only
which is moral certainty create the most devout
thanksgiving? Utah, New Mexico, Nebraska,
the territory of a dozen future independent States,
and Kansas, all sure to be free, besides two or
three to be carved from Texas, and Missouri
itself to be free! Who could expect so much?
Who asks for more? The abolitionists have
harangued for freedom, preached for freedom, and
as they say, prayed, for freedom over this vast
territory. Should they not thank Heaven and
be content when they receive what they asked.

"Indeed they now admit almost without an
exception that such results have been secured by
the Nebraska bill, results, grand, permanent and
glorious, such as no single act of Congress has
ever before secured."

"The Nebraska bill works gloriously and tri-
umphantly for freedom.—No act of any presi-
dent or any congress has secured so much and
so suddenly and so easily for liberty."

This is the kind of support given the Kansas
Nebraska bill by the Democratic party of the
North, and the motive for it. For such support
we are called on to render thanks, and to put
our confidence in those who give it! We can do
and will do no such thing! We are sincerely at-
tached to the institutions of the South, and claim
not to be ignorant of her true interests. We
have long been satisfied that she has nothing to
expect from the "politicians" of the North, of
any party—least of all that party, mis-called de-
mocratic, which makes of the slavery issue a mere
foot-ball of party. If the union is to be saved,
and public tranquility re-established on the basis
of a just, equitable and national system, it must
be by the intervention of Northern patriots, as
contradistinguished from Northern politicians;
it must be by the agency of those who prefer the
welfare of the country to the success of a party,
and seek for themselves rather the enduring glo-
ry of having served in the cause of public virtue,
than the vulgar triumphs of a present elevation
and transient popularity. Much the larger half
of our existence as a nation, the party now in
power and those from whom they claim to have
descended have had control of the government.
If they were qualified and competent to dis-
pose of and determine this sectional trouble, they
have had abundant opportunities of doing so. But
instead of quieting, it has grown steadily and rap-
idly under their management of public affairs,
from a cloud no bigger than a man's hand to a
portentous and muttering blackness overshadow-
ing the whole horizon. The only time of late

years that we have seen the calm clear sky was
under the administration of Millard Fillmore.—
Scarcely was his successor in office before the ele-
ments became again confused, dark and stormy. It
may well be doubted whether the democratic lead-
ers do not prefer these scenes of agitation and cha-
os. For the most part their leaders are men of an
ambition, far exceeding their capacities. They
find in excitement and revolution the readiest
means of rising. The meanest dunghill fowl may
flutter upward in the storm, but the strong eagle
only can soar heavenward in a calm. We trust
that the conservative feeling of the country will
concentrate in the coming election and make its
saving power felt, if it yet have power to save.—
The occasion, demands it, and the nomination of
Millard Fillmore affords a rallying centre.—
The republic can furnish no citizen who is a
fitter embodiment of the sentiments and prin-
ciples of the conservative statesman and patri-
ot than he. Moderate and element in his
feelings—clear, comprehensive and perfectly
poised in his intellect—catholic and tolerant in
his party creed, experienced in state affairs, regar-
ding obedience to the constitution as above all
earthly obligations, looking upon the whole broad
expanse of our territory as his country, and im-
bued with a thorough devotion to republican gov-
ernment and well regulated civil liberty, he may
be trusted in any emergency in which human skill
would avail to shield from danger the institutions
framed for us by the great men who founded the
republic. This is no time for experiments. There
is wisdom that we should all heed in the words of
the dying statesman of Kentucky, when he declar-
ed that the foundation of his preference for Mr
Fillmore was that he had administered the gov-
ernment with signal success and ability; that he
had been tried and found true, faithful, hon-
est and conscientious.

THE EVENING NEWS.

Saint Louis:

WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 7, 1856.

PERILOUS VOYAGE FROM NEW HAVEN TO KANSAS.

Few persons in these parts have any idea
of the pitfalls and traps (set by those sons of
Diabolus, the "Border Ruffians") which en-
viron the road from New Haven, in the bless-
ed State of Connecticut, to Kansas, nor of
the arduous fears, and soul-shuddering hor-
rors that must be faced and braved by one
who sets out to make the trip. The dangers
of this journey would never have been known
to the world, had it not been for a thrilling
account of them given in the Hartford Con-
rant, by a highly imaginative young gentle-
man, who, notwithstanding the gauntlet of
terrors he ran, managed at last to arrive at
Kansas City, on the 11th of April, with hair
and hide uninjured. The letter, it is hoped,
will convince the good people of Hartford,
Connecticut, of the unquestionable heroism
of the writer; for though he may never have
been a hero before, he deserves to be consid-
ered one now, if for nothing else, for the he-
roic manner in which he encountered and
overcame imaginary dangers. Let us re-
count them.

At Cleveland a lot of Border Ruffian spies
got into the cars with the Connecticut emi-
grants, and showed such evident symptoms
of a design to assassinate the innocents,
that the latter were much excited, and each
"asked his seat mate if he had a revolver."
It was a terrible hour, but no butchery took
place—why, we are not informed.

line between Indiana and Illinois. They were thrown into an appalling state of consternation by a rumor that an army of "Border Ruffians" were at St. Louis waiting to slaughter every mother's son of them. This sanguinary fate was only averted, and the diabolical designs of the "Border Ruffians" circumvented by the conductor of the Terre Haute and Alton Railroad train (who fortunately turned out to be "a Connecticut man") "running slowly, so as to arrive at St. Louis at day-break, instead of at night as usual." What an ally was that conductor and how lucky it was they fell in with him.

More completely to outwit the horde of "Border Ruffians," who were waiting at St. Louis, to swallow the Yankees bodily, without pepper and salt, like so many oysters, the Yankees, with characteristic shrewdness telegraphed to "Mr. Hunt, the gentlemanly agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, at St. Louis," who met them 20 miles from the city, and on their arrival opposite St. Louis, transferred them secretly to the steamboat Clara, where the frightened emigrants "hunked in" and were safe for the nonce. What an admirable strategic manœuvre that was of Mr. Hunt's, and how grateful the terrified emigrants were to him for his mastery skill in thus bamboozling the "Border Ruffians!"

But the Clara didn't come up to time, and delayed her departure for a whole day, to the infinite discomfort of the emigrants, who were "narrowly watched by certain 'ruf' looking gentlemen, one of whom was heard to remark to his comrade that 'they (the ruffians) could handle them (the Connecticut innocents) easy enough!" A dozen of these ruffians took passage on the boat with the emigrants for the purpose of rising at midnight, and slaughtering them. They didn't do it though, for the following reason, as related by the letter writer:

Sunday the Rev. Mr. Crossman—one of our party—conducted religious services, a thing which the servants on board said had never been witnessed before on that boat. All parties paid respectful attention, and I think a favorable impression was left on the minds of those Missourians. And I verily believe that had it not been for those impressions, and those conveyed in private conversation, of the peaceable intentions of our company, we certainly should have had some desperate work.

What a godsend that preacher was! Nothing but the favorable impressions made by his sermon on the hard hearts of the "Ruffians," (twelve in number,) saved the emigrant party (one hundred strong) from a weltering massacre!

They were advised that when they reached Lexington, the "Border Ruffians" would come on board and disarm them, to prevent which it was suggested that they should range themselves at the gangway with their arms in their hands, and not let the "Ruffians" come aboard. They "did not, however, like that kind of bullying," and "concluded to remain quiet." They put on a very stern appearance, though, which impressed the "Border Ruffians" at Lexington with a salutary fear and kept them from attacking the innocents.

Finally, after many "hair breadth 'scopes," the whole party reached Kansas, "not hurt, but a good deal skered." We advise the Connecticut people to send no more emigrants to Kansas unless they be escorted by a regiment of Federal troops.

GEN. CASS ON SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY.
 Good old fatherly Gen. Cass, the paternal father of that sturdy stripling, Master Squatter Sovereignty, after having for months left his progeny exposed to the bleak blasts and barren rocks of Kansas, where, somehow or other, it has grown, in the teeth of formidable difficulties, from puling brathood up to lusty manhood—now comes forward to claim his offspring. He has asked and obtained leave of the Senate, to give an account of the birth, pedigree and history of "Squatter Sovereignty," defend the youngster from the myriad slanders heaped on his devoted head ever since he was born, and, in short, tell who "Squatter Sovereignty" is, where he came from, and what he expects to be. The exposition will take place in the Senate to-morrow.

This offer by General Cass to expound and explain a knotty doctrine is very timely.—The dogma is imperfectly understood and variously construed. In Kansas it is supposed to mean the right of squatters to defy the Federal Government, set up for themselves, build fortifications, and stock them with artillery, levy troops, issue scrip and kick up rows, once a week, or oftener, if desired. In Utah it means the right to have forty wives and an unlimited number of children. How Gen. Cass will reconcile these different constructions of the same principle, we cannot possibly divine. We wish him success, however, in his arduous undertaking.

Dubuque Daily Tribune.

Wednesday, May 7, 1856.

Kansas.

By the politeness of Mr. C. W. Harvey, we are permitted to copy the following, from a letter received by him this morning, from a friend at "Lawrence," dated April 27.

"I don't expect to go back very soon. I think the troubles will soon be over here. The investigating Committee are here, probing the matter. I presume you will hear all sorts of stories about Sheriff Jones being shot, but here is the whole matter. He came here on Saturday and attempted to arrest S. N. Wood. In the scuffle Jones lost his prisoner and his revolver. He then went off and came back the next day, which was last Sunday, and got a crowd around him and the posse of Pro-Slavery, that he brought with him, and instead of going to Wood's house, or attempting to find him, he took down a number of names to assist him. He behaved in a very foolish manner, which created some excitement. But his friends drew him out of the crowd that had gathered around him, some of whom Jones threatened to shoot &c. After going to a rum shop and getting something to drink, and a few oaths and threats being delivered, very much to his own satisfaction he rode away with the posse. On Tuesday last he returned with about 20 U. S. troops and arrested six of those whose names he had taken on Sunday. There was no resistance after taking these men he began to insult them by telling them with horrid oaths, (having drunk freely during the afternoon,) that they all ought to be hung on the nearest tree and with a drawn revolver declared he would like to shoot every d—d son of a b—h of them, &c., and finally declared if he had the power he would make every free State man and woman in the Territory, kneel down and kiss these bogus laws. In the evening about 10 o'clock some one fired a pistol, and two buck shots took effect in his leg. He then went into a soldiers tent, and sat down to look at the wound when some one fired a pistol ball through the tent and hit in the back, between his shoulders. He was carried to Franklin, four miles from here, where, I learn, he is doing well. The wound is not mortal. The citizens of Lawrence held a

meeting the next day after the affair and denounced the assassin, and Gov. Robinson offered a reward of five hundred dollars for the detection and conviction of the man before the United States court. And still the sun rises and sets as usual. All the prisoners are back, having been bailed.

What is the Issue?

The Pro-Slavery papers in the North, are ashamed to confess, that the *only* issue now before the people is *Slavery*, and endeavor to make their readers believe, that the issue is, in relation to *Democratic* principles.

We are not surprised, that men professing to be Democrats, should blush to acknowledge that they are laboring for the cause of Slavery Extension, and insist that this, is not, the real issue. But we cannot allow them, thus to mislead and deceive the people.

A few weeks since, "Douglas," who should certainly be considered as good authority, upon this subject, in a speech delivered in the United States Senate; defined, the questions at issue, and which are to be decided by the vote of the American People. We ask honest Democrats who love their country, and who are willing to forego old party ties, to save it from the withering curse of Slavery Extension to read the following:

SUMMARY.—In the Senate on the 4th, in the course of Senator Douglas' reply to Judge Collamer, the following passage occurs: "In your Black Republican creed, as proclaimed to the world, you stand pledged against 'the admission of any more Slave States;'"

- To the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law;
- To abolish the Slave Trade between the States;
- To prohibit Slavery in the District of Columbia;
- To restore the prohibition on Kansas and Nebraska; and
- To acquire no more territory unless Slavery shall be first prohibited.

This is your creed, authoritatively proclaimed. I trust there is to be no erasing or dodging the issue—no lowering of the flag. Let each party stand by its principles and the issues, as you have presented them and we have accepted them. Let us have a fair, bold fight before the people, and then let the verdict be pronounced!

Can any man read the above, and doubt that the issue is *Slavery*—and Slavery alone? Is not Senator Douglas good authority upon this subject, and is his position upon this subject not the same, as is that of Pierce and Buchanan?

If it is not; will our neighbors of the Express & Herald, define, *how* they differ?

If they do not do so, and still advocate the election of one of these men to the Presidency, let them no more claim to advocate *Democratic* principles. Democracy, is not *Slavery*—nor is Slavery, *Democracy*.

THE DAILY SENTINEL MILWAUKEE;

Wednesday Morning, May 7.

A "BORDER RUFFIAN" APOLOGIST.—The News has an anonymous correspondent, who professes to be well posted in regard to Kansas affairs; thinks very highly of the "Border Ruffians" and very meanly of the "Abolitionists"—the Free State men, meaning—and is especially disgusted with the Sentinel for what it has said on the subject, and more particularly for its encouraging the importation of Sharpe rifles into Kansas. This lover of peace and hater of strife and discord, grows eloquent as he dwells upon the enormity of sending arms and ammunition to the help of the Freemen of Kansas, and thinks such proceedings

altogether unworthy of a christian people. The public would better appreciate the value of the opinions and the sincerity of the sentiments expressed by this anonymous writer, if they knew his name. Should it turn out, for instance, that it was DAVID BONHAM, none could deny that the "Border Ruffians" had found a congenial champion, and the *News* a fitting correspondent.

Chicago Daily Journal

WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 7, 1856

For the Journal.
Willard's Speech.

Masses, Editors:— Permit a stranger, who chanced this evening to be present at Lieut. Gov. Willard's harangue, to clap his hands through you in loud and earnest approbation. Although you are doubtless opposed to the sentiments of the orator, yet you will hardly deny an American freeman, who can vote against you somewhere, if not here, the privilege of publicly expressing his delight.

This effort to show cause why Kansas should not be free, was announced to be made in your Court House; but as the patriotism of Pierce, Douglas & Co. finds itself uncomfortable within legal limits, and as the Genius of Slavery now asks all earth for its domain and needs all Heaven for its protection, it was decided to escape from the restraints of juri-prudence into the "lower law" freedom of the open air. Some supposed the adjournment was to enable the "Old Liners" to take a drink, but others thought, more justly, that it was to allow the sentiments of the orator to fill the metropolitan atmosphere with a wider impregnation. At all events the venue was changed, and on Washington street—oh, holy name!—and in front of the Wright Hotel, this eloquent defense of Douglassism was made, and from that point, through your branching streets, both the cardinal and the diagonal doctrines of Slavery were borne by the courier breezes to all corners of your State.

The speech was conducted on long established rules, and was entirely worthy of the cause it advocated. Its delivery was loud and rapid—an essential point with all special pleaders, who dare not allow their auditors time for reflection and comparison, and who can convert the rebellious, or confirm the faithful, only by deafening the ears and bewildering the brain. If left to themselves and uninfluenced by interest, men generally think correctly on all great public questions; and therefore the chief art of oratory is usually to persuade men to the wrong. Of course, then, as the object of the speaker is to impress his audience in favor of himself and party, the more of truth and principle he sacrifices to Self & Co., the more is he to be praised. In this line, the orator deserved especial commendation.

In the moral, as in the physical world, all precious and enduring things are self adorned and self sustaining, and so the veriest stammerer can be eloquent when he expresses and appeals to the spontaneous feelings of the heart. But the popular debater, who aims to rise above plain, honest talking, displays the consummation of his skill in giving the old and withered shams of falsehood and oppression, a tinsel semblance of that strength and beauty with which truth and justice are, naively endowed. Freedom has ever been the darling of the boy and the empress of the man, and every page worth reading in all the poems and all the histories of our race is ennobled by the record of her feelings or her deeds. To fulminate defiant thunders in her very presence, and to attempt the enlistment of freemen against themselves and against mankind, was a feat of courage in which the escape from mobbing was a decided victory, and an occasional low snout of individual approval was a glorious triumph!

When a public speaker feels himself compelled "to make the worse appear the better reason," and has a larger command of shams than of realities, it is wise in him to economise the more costly materials, and make shadows take the form of substance. And as ever-green honors are still made to the memory of that great

French cook who made a *Shistia* as good soup (to all appearances) as any other man could extract from the most solid of meats and savory of herbs, so did this champion of slavery, in substituting froth and flummery for beef and pudding, deserve far more applause than he received.

Another great requisite in popular oratory, laid down long since by Quintilian, and practiced on for ages by the Bancombes, was employed by the speaker with a dexterity attainable only by experienced talent. I mean the art of ignoring all that makes against you, and dwelling with emphatic repetition on all that is in your favor. His attempt to bring the sanction of Thomas Jefferson in support of slavery extension, had the ring of the true brass, and certainly deserved a brazen premium. The utter and life-long hostility of that great apostle of Democracy to the cherished institution of the South—a hostility expressed in thousand fold forms, and with more than Garrisonian strength, was most adroitly counterpoised and overshadowed by emphasizing his dislike to lines of sectional separation. The pathetic coolness with which this candidate for your next Governor endeavored to enlist the very fathers of our freedom in behalf of that benevolent system of patriarchal bondage, which distinguishes us so favorably from the despotic Governments of Europe, but which those old fogies strove by all means to restrict, was a piece of desperate daring which no motive weaker than self-interest could possibly inspire. His devotion to popular sovereignty was also beautifully managed; and it was quite a comfort to hear him descant on the grand principle of allowing the settlers in Kansas to decide the character of their own institutions, while he denied the validity of the decision they have already made by overwhelming numbers. Nor was it unskillful, the way in which he sunk the entire fact of a constitution being forced on that infant State by an armed invasion, and now sustained by the whole strength of the Federal Government, and the public favor of the Chief Perjurer of the nation.

The Lieut. Governor displayed a trustful piety far above the standard of ordinary saints.—He adduced the scriptural fact that the Lord was 400 years in delivering the Jews from bondage, and relied implicitly on Providence to free the Africans, who have been enslaved only 200 years, in its own good time. Most Christians seem desirous of advancing the manifest will of Heaven by the use of human means; but your would be Governor thinks such interference distasteful, if not rudely impious. Now, as the Americans are fall twice as white as the Egyptians, and the poor "Guinea chickens" full twice as dark as the Hebrews, the emancipation of our bondsmen may be computed by the formula 200x2x2—giving 800 years for that great consummation. This is trusting to Providence and Posterity with a vengeance!

I have not the means to dissect the speech, and criticize its details; but, as I understand it is stereotyped, I may some day have the pleasure of hearing a copy of it, in which case I should be happy to be a little more particular and elaborate.

It only seemed remarkable that the shifting crowd did not more often and more loudly applaud such skill and courage. But, perhaps, silent impressions are the deepest; or, perhaps, the "old liners" were too considerate to interrupt their champion in his desperate struggle against Truth and Freedom. An occasional vociferation from some stray listener sounded less like a reward of merit than like an encouragement for the orator to do better, if he could, or an exercise of the freeman's privileges of "jawing back again." The applause that expressed the satisfaction of the audience at finding the harangue concluded, was hearty and unanimous; but when the next Governor paid off the voters with a bare return of thanks for their attention, I thought I saw some symptoms of disgust. "Oysters for the crowd" appeared to many the least recompense that could be made to freemen for wasting their time, and having violence done their common sense and human feeling. But the more judicious reflected that the orator injured himself more than he did his audience, and how could a candidate be expected to feel for the stomachs of his hearers who magnanimously repressed every word of sympathy for thousands of his fellow-countrymen in Kansas—your brethren and mine—who are struggling against fearful odds, and beneath a darkened sky, to build up a young republic on the eternal foundations equal freedom and impartial justice?

Be-ides, it is a long while to October. Slavery will have to pour out its money for six months all over the Union, and it is entirely too early for the most patriotic lover of office to commence treating his countrymen.
C. H.
Indianapolis, May 3, 1856.
(Old Lide papers please copy)

CHICAGO DAILY JOURNAL

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

WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 7, 1856.

From Kansas

A correspondent of the *St. Louis Democrat* says Col. Sumner encamped opposite that place the 25th with a hundred and twenty dragoons. On the 29th he addressed a letter to Robinson, stating that the attack on Jones will produce great excitement throughout the Territory and on the Missouri frontier, and urging upon the people of Kansas the importance of ferreting out and bringing the assassin to justice; also that, the affair had been reported at Washington, and whatever orders are received will be instantly carried out.

Robinson replied that the attempted assassination of Jones was universally condemned by the citizens of Lawrence, and if the guilty party could be found he would be given up. It has been the policy of the people of Lawrence to yield in prompt obedience to the laws and officers of the Federal Government, and as Jones was acting by authority of that government on the day of the assault, the perpetrator of the deed was an enemy to citizens of Lawrence no less than a violator of the law.

Whitfield returned to Lawrence the 27th. Oliver acted as his attorney before the committee during his absence.

Sumner returned to Fort Leavenworth the 27th.

Kickapoo Rangers encamped opposite Lawrence and the people of that place were preparing to give them a warm reception. Cannon are in readiness and a picket guard out every night.

The *Republican's* correspondent says: The committee replied to Whitfield's note stating he could not attend the investigation at Lawrence, "unless they concluded that they would go to some place where he could introduce witnesses.

At a meeting held at Westport on the 2d inst., resolutions were passed denying the assertion made by the *Herald of Freedom* that the military companies were drilling in that place the day Jones attempted to make arrests at Lawrence, thereby showing the whole affair was premeditated.

Detroit Evening Tribune.

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 7, 1856.

Michigan Settlement in Kansas.

The organization of this company was completed yesterday at Niles. The first division, numbering about one hundred, left that point at 4 o'clock P. M. for their new home in the West. This company is composed of fifteen or sixteen families—the men being mostly young, active and intelligent farmers and mechanics. It is provided with ample tent equipage and provisions for the journey and the time which will elapse after its arrival before it shall get fairly to work.

A committee of three were sent out to the territory some four weeks ago to select a location and will meet this company at Lawrence and conduct them to the locality which they have chosen. After this pioneer company shall become settled, it is expected that it will be joined by another division under the auspices of the society. This division will be ready to start, it is hoped, by the 1st of July.

The members of the "Michigan Settlement in Kansas" go to the territory at their own expense, the "Provisional Committee" having taken measures to secure a reduction of fare, and raised a fund to assist them in establishing schools, erect-

ing mills, &c., after they shall get there. Those who desire it can emigrate to the territory at any time, singly, and still enjoy these last mentioned privileges by simply obtaining a certificate of membership in the "Settlement" before leaving the State.

It is desired that those who wish to join the company which will leave about the 1st of July, should forward their names and subscriptions to O. C. THOMPSON, Esq., of Detroit, the Treasurer.

The best wishes of the liberty-loving people of Michigan will follow these Kansas emigrants to their new homes in the West. They go to assist in laying the foundations of a new State, and we are happy to know that they are worthy of the exalted mission. They will be peaceable, law-abiding citizens, and while they will not seek to stir up strife and contention, they will not forget, if the decision and the trial be forced upon them, that Liberty is the crowning safeguard and glory of a State, nor fail to defend it with a fearlessness worthy of them and of us.

DAILY HERALD.

J. A. JARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDICT.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Wednesday Evening, May 7, 1856.

Kansas Correspondence.

Ruffian Laws Enforced at the Point of the Bayonet.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 26, '56.

EDITORS HERALD:—I wrote you on 24th inst. about the shooting of JONES, the man from Westport, Mo., who was appointed Sheriff over part of this Territory. As I suppose you have received that, I will give you some more particulars. He has, or had at the time he was shot, writs for some eighty persons of this town, and commenced making arrests of all he could find who had refused to act as a posse, as well as many who had not refused. When he saw a man who had in any way questioned his authority, he would start after him with a detachment of mounted troops, run him down, and arrest him. One was seized for asking by what authority he was making arrests. DR. HERINGTON, after being arrested by the Deputy, was released by request of the Sheriff. I think that I am safe in saying that this is the first time in the history of this or any other country, that the Sheriff has been known to exercise the pardoning power. But strange things are done here.

The prisoners returned yesterday. They were bound over (without any examinations) in bonds of \$500, and will have their trials at the next court. One hundred and fifty troops from Leavenworth are encamped about four miles from here. When JONES was shot, a messenger was sent to the Fort with the intelligence that the troops were all killed. Col. SUMNER came on with the above addition of troops, undoubtedly for the purpose of assisting in enforcing the Territorial laws; and as I have said before, this is the way and the only way that such laws can be enforced. Should the prisoners not appear in court, and an attempt be made to collect the penalty of the bonds, the U. S. forces would have to be called on to enforce such collection. How long this state of affairs will exist here, is a very important enquiry. JONES is still living, and is reported to be getting better. Another attack is expected from Missouri, but I think there is no danger. The authorities swear—yes, swear—"that the Yankees shall get down on their knees and kiss the laws." It is my opinion that there will be but little kneeling to these laws by the Free State men.

Yours truly,

JOE.

THE NEW TROUBLE IN KANSAS.—From the last accounts it seems that a hiring soldiery have been called to the aid of the "Border ruffians," for the purpose of "subduing" the people of Kansas. To enforce "popular sovereignty," that Territory is first invaded from Missouri, and failing to accomplish their purposes fully, the instrument of tyrants—a standing army—is now invoked. How long are these outrages to be tolerated? How long are the struggling friends of freedom in Kansas to be left to cope single-handed with the brute force that slavery is hurling against them?

We are not sure but it was the original purpose of sending these troops to Kansas, to assist the border ruffians to subjugate the Territory, instead of chastising the Indians, which was made a mere pretext. Such would appear to be a part of the slavery programme for wresting Kansas from freedom. It was first thought that by its proximity to the slave States, that a majority of actual settlers would be thrown into it from them to mould its institutions. Failing in this, the next move was to invade it by wholesale from Missouri, at the time of the elections, and thus get a Legislature subservient to the slave power. This succeeded very well; but the actual people of the Territory refused to be governed by these "foreigners," and the next thing is to call in a hiring soldiery to enforce slavery decrees at the point of the bayonet. These are the beauties of Douglas's popular sovereignty.—*Chicago Dem.*

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 7, 1856.

Who is Responsible?

The shooting of Sheriff Jones was a bloody and cowardly act. We are confident that it was not done by any Free State man who is considered prudent and sane. The authorities hasten to denounce the act, and to take measures to bring the perpetrator to justice. In this they show a very different, and a much more commendable spirit than the Administration at Washington, the Border Legislature, Gov. SHANNON, or any of the pro-Slavery officials, who seek to exercise unfounded authority in Kansas. It could not but be expected that they would. Yet the presses and spouters that have thrown upon the Massachusetts Aid Co and the Free State men, the responsibility of muddying the stream above them, in order to gain some false show of reason for intended outrages, will say that the shooting of Jones was instigated by those he had annoyed, threatened, bullied and put to inconvenience and loss. That is to be expected, and a good cause must and can endure much wrong. It would not surprise us if the assassin should prove to be some Missouri ruffian who took this opportunity to wreak vengeance upon JONES for some old offence, having no relation to present troubles. Traces of the deed have been discovered that may lead to the detection of the culprit.—The following warning note was sent to the wounded man. It was written in a vulgar style, mis-spelled and awkward, upon a small piece of dirty paper; but the envelope in which it was enclosed was stamped upon the seal with a peculiar design, and there must be fellows to it, which an acute detective will discover. The note ran thus:

[No date.]
"SHERIFF JONES.—You are notified that if you make one more arrest by the order of any magistrate appointed by the Kansas bogus Legislature, that in so doing you will sign your own death warrant. Per order.

SECRET TWELVE"

That note may catch the assassin. We hope it may, whoever he is.

From Kansas—A Pro-Slavery Account.

From the Montgomery (Ala.) Mail.

St. Louis, April 27.

They say there is a party of men (Abolitionists,) in LeCompton, Kansas Territory, just waiting for the arrival of the boat with the Southern emigrants. They (the Abolitionists,) say that we shall fight or come back, but they seem to think from this, that we won't fight at all. We are untried, but we will give them the best we have about us at that time.

You would be surprised to see the number of spies that they have out, that just follow us up like hawks; but when we find one out, we just run the boat ashore at the biggest canoe-brake we can see and put him ashore.

There are now at this place about six hundred Southern emigrants. One hundred and twenty-five left yesterday morning; about seventy-five the evening before. Maj. Bufford's company is all here, and there are still Mr. White's company from Georgia, and George Broom's company from La Grange, yet to come; which will number in all (Bufford's, White's and Brooms,) nearly fifteen hundred. I never saw people more bent on making it a slave State.

FREE STATE EMIGRATION FROM VIRGINIA.—A minister of the denomination of the United Brethren is now in Kansas, hunting a location for fifty families of his church in Virginia, who are prepared to emigrate this season, provided they receive a favorable report from their minister.

They are all in favor of Freedom, and will be an accession to our new State. The agents of the colony, we understand, are highly pleased with the country, and design locating south of Lawrence, on the Santa Fe road.

[Kansas Free State.]



WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 7, 1856.

That "Responsibility."

The Atlas labors, but labors in vain to evade the fact, that the responsibility for bloodshed in Kansas rests with the armed gang who have invaded that Territory and their supporters, and not upon the settlers whose rights are violated by that invasion. When assassins enter a house and murder its peaceable inmates, they only reap their just deserts if one of them gets a bullet-wound in return. Just so it is with the assassins of Dow and Brown, when they again enter and attempt new violence in Kansas.

The Atlas denounces the people of Kansas for having arms, and the people of Albany for furnishing arms to them. We are not sorry to have that question brought up and argued. If it is not the right of every citizen of the United States to keep arms, to make arms, to buy arms, and to furnish arms to other citizens, it is time it were known. If the Party to which the Atlas belongs intend to deny that constitutional provision which says "the right of the People to bear arms shall not be infringed," let it be understood by all means!

When President PIERCE orders Col. SUMNER'S Dragoons to encamp in Lawrence to enforce the infamous Slave Code of Missouri, he does precisely what GEORGE III did when he sent Gen. GAOR to enforce the Stamp Act and the Tea Tax in Boston. When JONES and the Atlas set out to make "arrests," they set out to do just what Major PITCAIRN did at Concord. The offence for which the first blood in the Revolution was shed, was the same as that of the Settlers in Kansas. They refused to submit to foreign tyranny.—They "were assembled with arms in their hands"! That was the crime done at Lexington. That is the crime charged at Lawrence!

Go on, gentlemen, by all means. Murder Dow, for "talking in a blacksmith shop."—

FRANKLIN was guilty of the same crime, in Massachusetts, and Plover would have shot him if he could have caught him. Chop Brown to pieces, for leaving his plough to attend a "meeting of rebels." PUTNAM committed the same offence, and many a red-coated JONES would have chopped him to pieces if he had but got a chance. Arrest POMEROY and HUTCHINSON and BRANSON, for exercising "the right of free speech." It was a crime under Lord NORTH'S Code, as it is under STRINGFELLOW'S. Search the houses for "Sharp's rifles," as GAGE did for "flint locks." Deny the right of the citizen "to bear arms." Trample on the Constitutional guarantees of "freedom of speech and of the Press." Learn, if you are bent on provoking the lesson, that when you make freedom "treason" and defence of domestic rights a "felony," you must expect to find "traitors" enough and "felons" enough to hurl you down from the public trust you have so long and so infamously abused.

ANOTHER BAIT.

Kansas for Slavery—all the Territories for the Southern policy of forced Labor—property in Slaves in and through Northern States—the recognition of Walker's practical government, and thereby of Cuban and other Pro-Slavery Filibusterism, have been coaxingly held out to the South by Pierce as bribes for their votes for the next Presidency. A little additional bait has just been thrown to Florida and parts of Georgia and Alabama. Pierce has "fully committed himself to the policy of removing the Seminoles by force." He has promised that the General Government shall foot all the bills of the mounted companies called out by Governor Broome, and has authorized this official person to summon "such additional force as may from time to time be required." The Floridians know that this is their last chance at the Federal Treasury. They will skin the Government in the most lively and thorough fashion. Ingrate would they be indeed, if they refused Pierce their vote at the Cincinnati Convention. He has bought it with a price—of the Seminoles blood and a raid upon the Treasury.

From Washington.

KANSAS DELAYS.

Correspondence of the New York Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, May 6.

The House committees, that ought to know better, are needlessly delaying the introduction of the bill for the admission of Kansas. Instead of deferring other business to that important object, they set Kansas back to advance individual projects. All this day has been consumed over a rail road bill introduced by Mr. Bennett, and the House adjourned before it was disposed of. At the rate things go on, Douglas's bill will be down from the Senate before the House bill is heard of. It seems a pity there is such a want of directness and unanimity of purpose as marks the action of the Opposition in the House.

Com. Stockton's letter creates quite a sensation. It is stated that he has avowed his willingness to stump his State for Judge McLean. The McLean interest has been strongly developed in these parts within a short time. Pennsylvania and Illinois are setting strongly toward him.

After a good deal of backing and filling at the West End, it seems to be understood that the Niagara Priest must wait for further intelligence from his filibustering Principal.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Times.

WASHINGTON, May 6.

The Senate Naval Committee propose to take action on the Naval Nominations this week without waiting for a vote on the Retiring Board question. The President has sent an Executive message to the Senate, withdrawing the promotions of two passed midshipmen—one for deserting his ship, and the other for drunkenness at Key-Weat, so that his vessel was compelled to leave him ashore. Their names have not transpired.

Ex-Senator William C. Dawson, died at Greenboro', Georgia, this morning, of neuralgia of the heart.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 7, 1856.

Kansas Conquered!

We do not see why the people of Kansas are not, for the time, at least, thoroughly conquered, and lying at the feet of their masters, the border ruffians of Missouri, backed by the administration, and the standing army, in every land the instrument of tyranny and oppression. If the citizens of Kansas have erred at all, it is in failing to resist the authority of the false legislature, by whatsoever and whomsoever sought to be enforced. We do not appreciate the force of the reasoning by which they defied sheriff Jones by himself, or with a civil posse, yet surrendered when he was accompanied by a single or half dozen soldiers of the regular army. At any rate their vaunted resistance to the territorial laws is reduced to a practical nullity. They are placed under arrest and marched off ignominiously for trial, simply for refusing to be the instruments in their own humiliation, for declining to assist in the arrest of their fellow-citizens for technical offenses under the bogus government of Missouri.

The recent proceedings were initiated, as direct accounts declare and as all reason indicates, for the very purpose of humiliating and subduing the citizens of the territory. They have accomplished their end. The slavery code of Missouri reigns over Kansas. To speak, write or publish anything against slavery, to harbor a person with the faint of negro blood, even unsuspectingly, is to commit a crime, and men who do not believe slavery right are excluded from the jury that shall decide upon the guilt or innocence of persons thus charged. Hedged all about with protective statutes, enforced now by the bayonets of the central government, slavery ran at last riot at will in Kansas. Though two-thirds to three-fourths of her judges disown and repudiate it, they are enslaved by a series of outrages unknown, heretofore, in our republic's history. Turn which way they will, the strong arm of power stares them in the face, insults them with its mockery of justice, and crushes out almost the very spirit of manliness.

Where is the remedy, where is there hope of relief from this bondage, this tyranny of the slave power backing up the cold forms of law that has no more of the spirit of republicanism or popular sovereignty than the code of Russia? The people's representatives are tied by a majority in the Senate that are the direct representatives or willing instruments of slavery. The executive, intent only on perpetuating his power, is himself the direct instrument of the oppression. There is little or no hope at Washington. There is no appeal, this side of the presidential election, but to arms. These the citizens of Kansas, from no cowardice, but from a forbearance that almost ceases to be a virtue, have declined. Upheld by their own determination, stayed by their own patient suffering, it is to be hoped eased in part by the fears, if not by the mercy, of their persecutors and conquerors, they may and probably will continue to strengthen themselves by the justice of their cause and the force of additional numbers, while they await the verdict of the country. Their condition, their history comes up, the great, overshadowing, direct issue. The question which we had thought practically settled by the natural course of events, seems thrown more completely and directly than ever before the people of the whole country in the issue of the pending national election. If that be carried by the party in sympathy with the conquerors of Kansas, we do not see, after what has passed, how—except by the resort, now rejected, of revolution—the people of that territory are to escape from the slavery and Missouri bondage. But a victory of their friends would strike the chains at once from off their persons—give freedom to the state, and make our boasted republicanism something more than a hissing hypocrisy before the world.

WHITE SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.—An exciting slave case lately occurred at Palmyra, Mo. A female slave of Mr Pond was captured on the ferry boat, making her way to Quincy, Ill. She had been kept at the house of a Mr Davis, a German, in Palmyra, for a few days, and brought thence by Scheible, another German, to the ferry boat opposite Quincy. When she was taken back to Palmyra, both Germans and a free negro were imprisoned. The Germans declared they had no suspicion that the woman was a slave, and several gentlemen of Palmyra testified that they had seen her at Davis's house and took her for a white woman. In fact she was white, and her genealogy had to be resorted to, to show that she had a slight taint of negro blood. The German who took her in his carriage to the boat was acquitted, but compelled to leave the state, being threatened with lynch law; and Davis is held for further trial and stands a fair chance for five years in the penitentiary for harboring a white woman. This is the institution Missouri proposes to force upon Kansas, and this law under which Davis is in danger of the penitentiary, is one of the code adopted for Kansas by the ruffian legislature, and to be enforced by U. S. muskets.

The Daily Spy.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1856.

The Outrages in Kansas.

Some of the apologists for the administration affect great horror at the recent shooting of the bogus Sheriff Jones at Lawrence. Now, although that self-constituted functionary was engaged in the infamous work of arresting Free State citizens, guilty of no crime but a belief in and an attempt to carry out peaceably the so much vaunted principles of "popular sovereignty," and although the warrant under which Jones was acting was issued under the authority of the invalid, Missouri-elected Legislature of Kansas, there is yet to be found the first individual, who defends the act of shooting him. While we saw the authorities of the United States conniving at if not stimulating the horrible murder of Dow and Barber, and the double murder and chopping up of poor Brown, and taking no measures to have the perpetrators of these deeds brought to justice, we on the contrary see the Free State authorities of Kansas, from the first, counselling on all occasions, the most extreme pacific measures, in the accomplishment of their purposes.—Accordingly, Gov. Robinson, immediately on hearing of the shooting of Jones, offers, on behalf of the Free State men, a reward of \$500 for the discovery and arrest of the perpetrator of that act. But we are looking in vain for the first step, taken by the administration for the discovery or arrest of the perpetrators of the diabolical murders and outrages of last winter, committed by the pro-slavery men—some of them done under the cognizance of persons acting under the authority of Gov. Shannon. The New York Tribune of Monday has the following appropriate comments on these points, by way of contrast in the two cases:

BOSTON POST.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1856.

THE DAILY ADVERTISER AND THE AD-MISSION OF KANSAS.

The Daily Advertiser of Saturday reiterates its statements relative to the qualifications of voters under the bill introduced by Mr Douglas. In order that the whole ground of the Daily may be understood, we will again cite the material part of the statement which it now pronounces "perfectly and exactly true."

"It provides that the election shall be held under the laws passed by that (Kansas) 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."

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL

WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 7, 1856.

No sophistry, nor evasions, nor retinements, can persuade plain people that the principles on which the insurrection in this State was defended, do not cover a great deal more than has been done in Kansas. It is this similarity that constitutes the great objection to the Topeka constitution. There is, however, this difference, that the people of Kansas did, under the pressure of dire necessity, what the insurgents of Rhode Island attempted to do without just provocation. There was no law in Kansas. A bogus legislature, elected by what the Post calls a "momentary invasion," had passed acts plainly in violation of the organic law of the territory and of the Constitution of the United States. This was the only authority except that of the General Government that existed at the time of the Topeka proceedings; and this was legally and morally no authority. On the other hand, the insurgents of Rhode Island rebelled against the undoubted authority of the State, an authority which they themselves admitted to be valid till they claimed to have superseded it, and they did this for the sake of obtaining in their own way, "without law and against law," the changes that were offered to them through all the forms and with all the sanctions of law.— They first united with the ultra conservatives to vote down free suffrage, and then took up arms to establish it. And now the men who did it deny the right of the people of Kansas to establish a State constitution in the same irregular and unauthorized way that half a dozen other States have, because they acted against the authority of a legislature that prohibited, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, the discussion of a question that Congress had left to the decision of the people!

KANSAS.—The accounts from Kansas are that the deputy sheriff of Douglas county is preparing, in the presence of the U. S. troops, to arrest one hundred citizens and carry them to Leecompton.— These men are charged with offences against the bogus Legislature, the validity of which is now under investigation by a committee of Congress. So violent and unnecessary a measure can only be undertaken from a spirit of low and malignant revenge, or from a desire to stir up strife. To take a hundred men, many of them heads of families, away from their homes at the opening of spring, is, of itself, a very severe punishment. It is done, too, by the authorities which have passed over in silence the repeated murders of free State men. However, the Cincinnati Convention will soon be over, and then there will be no further necessity of detaining so many men in prison on charge of refusing to obey authority which never had any validity.

American Democrat.

BALTIMORE, WEDNESDAY, MAY 7.

ABOLITIONISM AND DEMOCRACY.—Let those who would charge the American party with Abolitionism, read the following Democratic authority. On the one side is the testimony of the Charleston Mercury, an ultra Southern Democratic paper friendly to the present Administration, and on the other, that of a Democratic Free Soil member of Congress. It such evidence be not conclusive as to the fact that the strength of the Democratic party at the North and West, has consisted in its affiliation with Abolitionism, and all other sorts of fanaticism, we know not what is. The Democrats say that at present there is no such union.— Grant it, and it only accounts for the present entire prostration of that party. These factions have, they say, undertaken to do business on their own hooks, and in doing so they have left their poor old mother so weak that she is scarcely able to stand upon her legs. Causes produce effects.

THE NORTHERN DEMOCRACY.—The Charleston Mercury is in favor of Pierce's re-nomination. But it does not like the Democracy. It says: "The Democratic party has been overwhelm-

ed at the North by Abolitionism;—less, either for its own national ends or the protection of the South. The party is Abolitioned, dismembered, and prostrate." Mr. Cumberack, of Indiana, a Democratic Free Soiler, made a speech in the House of Representatives on the 7th ult, on the Kansas contested election case, in which he declared that "HE STOOD BY THE OLD DEMOCRACY DOCTRINE, AFFIRMING THE RIGHT AND DUTY OF SLAVERY INHIBITION IN THE TERRITORIES BY CONGRESS. THE DOCTRINE PROCLAIMED BY NORTHERN DEMOCRATS BEFORE THE PASSAGE OF THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT, WAS THAT THE ACT WAS INTENDED NOT ONLY TO MAKE THOSE TERRITORIES FREE, BUT TO ESTABLISH A CORDON OF FREE STATES TO THE PACIFIC." The country is becoming acquainted with the real Slavery sentiments of the Northern Democracy.

RICHMOND WHIG.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 7, 1856.

We have mused, with no little edification, on the shifting ground and varying issues assumed by the Democratic press of the South, in view of the approaching Presidential election. At one time, the rights and interests of slavery are magnified and pressed into service as the great and important feature in the ensuing campaign; at another, the rights of the States and the principle of popular government in the territories are pressed into active service; at another, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the support of the Kansas-Nebraska bill is the great question; and yet, at another, the preservation of the two-thirds rule, by the Democratic Convention, and the rigid enforcement of its principle, is the panacea for all the evils of the day.

To the reflecting mind, properly informed as to the secret party machinery at work to secure power and bestow patronage, these various weighty considerations, as presented, are most amusing. But to the unreflecting and excitable, they occasionally have the desired effect. It is, in this view, proper to refer to them, and, by a candid investigation, strip them of their tinsel, and expose them in their naked and heartless deformity. This we now propose to do.

We have already adverted to the extreme danger and revolutionary tendency of the effort to sectionalize the slavery question; and we hope that we have at least arrested a sufficient degree of attention among our readers to show that, so long as the Union lasts, and the Constitution and laws are observed, slavery, as it exists, and of right must exist, does not need any such artificial and out-of-the-way remedials; but, on the contrary, is weakened, if not betrayed, by every such fortuitous assistance. The mere abstract question of slavery is a very different one from the political and legal rights of slavery, under and by virtue of the Constitution. As to the first, every man must form his own individual opinion, to suit the convictions of his own mind: but as to the other—the Federal compact—the express declarations and necessary provisions of the Federal Constitution create the rights, and render it obligatory upon every good citizen, North and South, in obedience to the law, to recognize, support and defend the political and legal rights of slavery. No party, or set of men, have the power to violate these rights, or assail these interests, so long as the Constitution and laws are observed.

In this view, the individual opinion of men, as to the abstract right of slavery, does not, and, in the very nature of our theory of government, cannot, disqualify them for a thorough and unqualified appreciation and defence of the political and legal rights, under the Constitution. The South does not need the defence of its absolute rights on this subject. They are, by all candid minds, readily conceded. It is the results, as affecting her relative rights, which create the danger and widens the breach between the North and South. This point of view involves the territorial existence of slavery. Hence the excitement at this time as to Kansas. The principle

But the black republicans want on repeating the misrepresentation. The New York Evening Post contained a repetition of the same charges. On the 19th of April the Washington Union exposed the falsehood of these charges. It closed its exposition as follows:—"By the organic act of the territory, all citizens, whether native or naturalized, and all foreign born who have filed their application for naturalization, and taken the necessary oaths under the naturalization laws, are qualified voters. Not one word of reference is found in the bill to the code of laws passed by the Kansas legislature; no oath required to support the fugitive slave law; no payment of a dollar as a condition precedent to qualification as a voter. It is, therefore, clearly shown that the original statement of Mr Greeley was a bold and bald misrepresentation, and that its repetition by the Post, under all the circumstances, is an aggravation of the offence."

Notwithstanding all this, the opposition are determined to see in this bill what neither its author intended to put into it, what its language cannot justify, what its advocates in congress pronounce a perversion, and what the democratic press pronounce falsehood; and notwithstanding all endeavors to throw light upon the benighted, so it will be until after the presidential election. All that remains for those who would do a good work is to resort to the philosophical reflections, that nothing is easy to the unwilling; that no blindness is like that of the eyes that wont see, and no deafness like that of ears that wont hear.

Portland Advertiser.

Wednesday Morning, May 7, 1856.

WHIG AND REPUBLICAN SENTIMENTS.—It becomes the straight-whig leaders who denounce the Republican movement to be very careful lest they write down their own condemnation. If they will look back a few years, take their own professions and compare them with the present aims of the Republicans, they may not find so much difference after all. The main point of dissimilarity may be suggested by the earnestness with which these principles are now put forth and by the feasible method in which they are now brought to bear upon the politics of the country. Washington Hunt, of New York, is at present the great Northern straight-whig, and, of course, has the most to say about the sectional, abolition aspect of the Republican Party, solely because it aims to keep our territories free from slavery and rescue our government from its control. But when Mr. Hunt was in Congress he made the following spirited, Republican remarks:

"We are admonished by the Representatives of the South, that the interdiction of Slavery in territory that may be conquered or acquired, will bring the Union to an end. With equal frankness, let me assure you gentlemen, that the Free States will never consent to its admission as Slave Territory. That must be regarded as a settled question. The Northern mind is formed and fixed. Be not deceived by the readiness with which Northern Representatives barter away the rights of their constituents. Already has their recresancy aroused the indignation of the people. The time approaches when no man will dare to betray their confidence. We aim not to abolish but to preserve. We insist that this Government of ours shall not be employed to spread Slavery over the territory now free. That, Sir, is the lofty attitude and unaltered purpose of the North. In this there is no Abolitionism to justify the incessant denunciations that have been heard. Gentlemen seem to deceive themselves by neglecting a distinction too obvious to be overlooked."

TRUTH BY MISTAKE.—The Independent Democrat says of itself that "it has been a welcome visitor to thousands of the friends of freedom, justice and humanity, not any in our State, but throughout the country!" It is not strange that Fogg, in leaving for Kansas, bid farewell to the "friends of God" here, since his paper admits that it has been a welcome visitor to "not any" of that class "in our State."

recognized in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, that to the people or citizens of the territory, belongs, exclusively, the right, and in them, when legally organized, is vested the power, to adopt or reject slavery when the State constitution is formed, is, in our opinion, neither a pro-slavery nor anti-slavery feature. It is simply a plain, practical declaration of a clear right, and a distinct recognition of the fundamental principle of republican government—a legislative avowal of the constitutional power "reserved to the people." If the provisions of this bill had stopped at this point, and the selfish politicians could have forgotten the allurements of office, and served their country with half the zeal with which they sought to serve themselves, all would have been well; the country would now be at ease; the storm, which overhangs and darkens the hopes of the patriot, would never have gathered.

But no sooner had this bill passed, than it was, from its provisions, regarded at the North as a step onward in the march of free-soilism. The plan was formed to colonize this territory with the abolitionists, and free-soiler. This system, the bill allowed—legalized—justified. Hence the rifle system, the pulpit appeals, the mass meetings at the North. The South, as we have shown, are now appealed to send out their emigrants, that this territory may not be "taken possession of, and controlled by, Northern abolitionists." So stands this delicate question. We cannot discover wherein the rights of the South are thus peculiarly recognized or distinctly protected. But we do detect and must designate the feature in this bill, which, by its practical bearings, is dangerous and antagonistic to the South. It is the power given to the "new comer," the recognition of the "citizenship" of the squatter, who entitles himself to every political right, by the mere act of taking possession of, and holding the designated quantity of land. It is this feature which has imparted to the unnaturalized foreigner the power, in this territory, to vote on the formation of the organic laws, when, no where else in the United States, could he vote at all.

The great principle of the bill we endorse and will, in no way, fail to support; but it is asking too much to expect us to advocate this peculiar feature. We are not advocates of forced settlements, or precocious growth, in any section of the country. We regard all such legislation as dangerous and ill-advised, and the present results as natural as they are obnoxious to the spirit and genius of our Constitution. We must ask our readers to re-call the oft repeated declarations at the North, that this bill was free-soil in its tendencies, in favor of freedom, and that this was given by Northern men as their reason for supporting it.

Let us not be misapprehended. We distinctly approve, and will cordially support, the great republican principle of the bill; we will as distinctly advocate the non-repeal of the repeal of the Missouri compromise. We will adhere, with a tenacity unsurpassed by any, to the reserved rights of the States, and the Constitutional rights of slavery. We will assert the right, and maintain it too, of the Southern slaveholder to go with his property, whether slaves or not, to any of this territory, and settle, as of right, so long as it is a territory. But if he should be out-voted, and the territory becomes a free State, he may thank the friends of this peculiar feature in the bill, for his fate, and must yield to the consequences of such immature legislation. But, for the present, we must dismiss the subject.

ing Dow's murder, and boldly accusing the Free State party of the murder of Jones, which it does without any foundation for so doing, it passes by in silence the murders of Barbour and Brown, which the pro-slavery party openly boast of. The murder of the latter was one of the most atrocious crimes ever committed by civilized men; it was a horrible outrage, a savage, fiendish act, beside which the shooting of Jones dwindles into insignificance.

In attempting to give so discredit to a character to the Free State party in Kansas, our neighbor very prudently makes no allusion to the fact that, while the Free State party have denounced the murderer of Jones, and are making every effort to search him out and bring him to punishment, the Slavery party glory over the murder of Dow, and Barbour and Brown, and screen their murderers from the vengeance of the law. Gov. Shannon, it is said, boards with a "Ruffian" who boasts of his bonnection with the murder of Brown, who was tied and hewed to pieces by some fifty or sixty "Border Ruffians," but he has never made an effort to have him arrested, and by making his home with him, virtually places him under his official protection.

The attempt to fasten the responsibility of the outrages and murders which have been perpetrated in Kansas, upon the Free State party, is a very indiscreet one, to say the least of it, and must overwhelm the authors of it with confusion. It could never have the shadow of success without the grossest perversion of facts and a criminal suppression of the truth. The people of Kansas have suffered much in every way from the invasion, the thefts, the robberies and the murders of the "Border Ruffians," but the attempt to hold them responsible for all the crimes of their invaders, is an unparalleled refinement of injustice and cruelty. If the "Border Ruffians" have done nothing wrong they should submit to an investigation into the nature of transactions in which they bore so conspicuous a part, and their friends, if they wish to be regarded as honest and sincere, had better wait awhile before they begin to paint them as the innocent victims of the Free State party.

THE HERALD.

NORFOLK:

MONDAY MORNING, May 5, 1856.

A SWINDLE.—"A swindle of about \$25,000, as far as has yet been ascertained, has just been perpetrated by the head of a commission house in this city which has heretofore been in good repute. The party in question is a deacon in a leading church, and has by his professions of piety done much to gain the confidence of those dealing with him.

The swindle was committed by checks which were not provided for. The party left town on Friday last, ostensibly for the purpose of being married in a neighboring city, instead of which he took with him a frail sister as companion de voyage, leaving behind him another one in a condition to increase the census shortly. One Bank is a sufferer to the extent of \$4,400, and the remainder of the amount is distributed among several victims. A letter has been received from this Don Juan stating that before the letter was received he would be far at sea, but this is supposed to be for the purpose of distracting attention from his real destination, which is believed to be Kansas."

[From the New York Tribune of Wednesday.]

The annexed circular has been issued by the partner of the runaway deacon, to whom we have before alluded in this paper:

Matthew H. Nace, of the firm of Nace & Coe, having robbed the concern and swindled other parties in this city out of their money, has abandoned the same business. I therefore declare said partnership dissolved. All persons indebted to said firm will make payments to me and to me alone. I am now engaged investigating the concerns of the Company, and shall at the earliest moment, call the editors together and submit an exhibit of its affairs. All parties interested may rest assured that the assets shall be faithfully applied in payment of debts, without preference to any one

In view of the calamity in which I am most unexpectably placed, I indulge the hope, that creditors will not make necessary calls, but on the contrary will extend to me all possible indulgence.

New York, April 25, 1856.

ISRAEL COE.

New Orleans Evening Delta.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 7. OUR PREFERENCE.

We stated at length some days ago our reasons for preferring Judge Douglas as a Presidential candidate to the distinguished rivals who are in the field against him. We did so, not in any party spirit, but with a positive conviction that the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention was certain of success. The Democratic party, right or wrong, has the track to itself, and its backers have every reason for anticipating a "walk over." We stated at the time, and we see no reason for reconsidering the assertion, that the other parties had deliberately forfeited their chances, the Free-Soil organization by degenerating into Black Republicanism, and the Know-Nothing Order by selecting an impracticable man, a representative of conservatism—against which the events of the day are in conspiracy—an ungalvanizable corpse.

Our reasons for the Douglas preference were— First, his consistent progressiveness, his splendid position in the van of American expansion, and his great personal courage as a thinker and a statesman.

Second, the purity of his character, the unstainedness of his escutcheon, and his utter freedom from popular suspicion on each and every subject connected with the interests and progress of the United States.

Third, his truly constitutional standing with regard to the Nebraska-Kansas bill, of which he was the fearless father, his unequivocal attitude towards slavery, and his superiority to Mr. Buchanan in this matter, at least, on the grounds of promptitude, candor and personal decision.

Fourth, his availability with respect to the Central American question as contrasted with that of Mr. Pierce, who has either actually committed himself, or tamely permitted himself to be committed against the recognition of the de facto Government of Nicaragua.

Fifth, his soundness on the Cuban question, and every other question involving the expansive ideas of the time, which gives him a popular strength, not derivable from the clumsy diplomacy of Ostend Conferences.

We confined ourselves to the above reasons for our preference, deeming them sufficient and satisfactory; but another may be added, which derives immense significance from the events now transpiring in the Hispano-American States of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. We are all aware of the difficulties and disagreements caused to the representative men of this country by that hideous diplomatic fossil known in the world of Washington Avenue and Downing street as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. It has been a stumbling-block in the way of American and British enterprise, for it is almost equally unjust toward both the nationalities represented by Mr. Bulwer and Mr. Clayton, and has exercised no effect, save in repressing the natural development of humanity, in stabilizing superstition and semi-barbarism, and raising up a rickety but inconvenient barricade on the predestined road over which the nations must march. It was opposed to geographical necessity, and therefore to political necessity; it was a formal but carefully trumped-up humbug, a showy pretension and most mischievous sham. The practical diplomacy of Gen. Walker is the most decisive commentary on its utter worthlessness; and we presume no American Statesman regrets that it has been exposed and virtually drummed out from the policy of the United States.

Against the passage of this Clayton-Bulwer treaty Judge Douglas was one of the few Senators who cast his vote, and that is the additional reason for our preference which we promised to give.

The Daily Picayune.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 7, 1856

AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

There has been a new excitement in Kansas, which at one time threatened a new civil warfare between the Free State men and the Territorial authorities. We are not advised that it has altogether subsided yet, but if it has, it will be principally because the anti-slavery leaders, ex-Governor Reeder, and

DAILY GAZETTE.

GAZETTE CO.....Proprietors.

The Enquirer attempts to show that the side of freedom in Kansas, "is the side of murder, of base cowardly assassination, as well as of flagrant resistance to law." In order to fix this character upon the Free State party, it grossly misrepresents all the facts connected with the murder of Dow, a murder as base and cowardly as that of Jones. But, besides misrepresent-

terfered from political or personal motives, to check the revolutionary purposes of some of the more rash of their adherents.

It is difficult to gather from the confused accounts of the newspapers and letter writers from Kansas, the exact origin of the new trouble. What is clear is, that Sheriff Jones, of Douglas county, one of the Territorial officers, attempted to serve in the city of Lawrence—which is the anti-slavery headquarters—a warrant for the arrest of a man named Wood, accused of an attempt to rescue a prisoner from the Territorial authorities, on a former occasion. The man resisted. The degree of violence used is a matter of dispute; but in the end, the Sheriff was compelled to leave without the prisoner, and the population was excited to make preparations to resist by force any attempt to execute the process. The Lawrence correspondent of the St. Louis Democrat, who is on the anti-slavery side of the question, wrote on the 20th ult. that: "The Free State men say they will not submit to any process issuing from any court created by the bogus Legislature,"—meaning the regular Territorial Legislature. He talks of civil war as certain, if the authorities attempt to support their officers—proclaiming, "the people of the Territory do not like to fight; but there is a point at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue, and if driven to that position, a bloody time will be the result!" That position is defined to be, when the United States troops are brought in "to enforce Missouri enactments." Our readers know that the cant phrase among the anti-slavery men in Kansas is, that all who are not with them are "border ruffians," and all the acts of the Territorial Legislature, Missouri enactments. Two days afterwards, namely, on the 22d, the same writer describes the preparations for resisting the service of the Territorial warrant, as going on with great speed in Lawrence. According to him, they were occupied in preparations for armed resistance to whatever force Gov. Shannon might bring. Even the women were set to work making cartridges, &c., for the expected attack. The excitement arose from the receipt of intelligence that Gov. Shannon had ordered out the militia, and had also sent a requisition to Col. Sumner for the assistance of U. S. troops. Such, on the 23d, was the position of parties towards each other in Kansas, when new elements of excitement were thrown in, by an attempt to assassinate Sheriff Jones. By the assistance of the United States Dragoons, he succeeded in arresting Wood, and some others concerned with him in resisting the process. The prisoners were put under guard, but the excited populace threatened vengeance, and at midnight the Sheriff was shot at, and dangerously wounded. It was reported at first that he was killed, but the last telegraphic accounts reported him better. The act was so cowardly and atrocious that the Free State men of Lawrence themselves held a public meeting and denounced it; and Gov. Robinson, the bogus State Governor, offered a reward for the discovery of the assassin. The speeches at that meeting showed a very natural alarm that this act would be used to the prejudice of their party elsewhere, and it was disclaimed and denounced in very indignant terms; but the whole tenor of the speeches was in justification of resistance, by force, to the laws of the Territory, whenever they cannot be defeated and annulled in a less dangerous way. Gov. Reeder declared that his party would resort to all peaceable remedies—the ballot-box and the courts—and when these failed, "and they had no choice but to sit down under these laws permanently, or resist them by force, they would resist them without regard to consequences." He next complained that the courts had totally failed, and implied thereby that the time for forcible resistance was come—intimating that if it might be deferred, it would only be in the expectation that Congress would accept them as the true people of Kansas, and the anti-slavery constitution and government as the true sovereigns of Kansas.

The Governor of the pretended State followed, endorsing these sentiments fully, adding some malicious suggestions of his own, that the attempt to assassinate the Territorial sheriff was made by the Territorial party, in order to bring odium on the Free State men, and prejudice the Anti-Slavery party throughout the country—a miserable idea which probably found few believers.

The array of authority and men on the side of the Territorial Government, and of threatened revolutionists and insurgents on the other, continued to the latest dates we have from St. Louis. The failure of the telegraph lines prevent our receiving any later advices than these brought by the mails; and we therefore do not know how far the prevalence of faction in Kansas, encouraged by party fanaticism in Congress, and among the Eastern Abolitionists, may have pushed the spirit of insurrection. The presence in the Territory of the Congressional Committee, a majority of whom are of the Anti-Slavery type, and who cannot fail to see the consequences of these acts, may have a mellifying influence on their heated passions, but the temper displayed is one of rank treason.

Opening of the United States District Court at Leecompton.

From the Leecompton Union, May 8.
The United States District Court, for the First District, Kansas Territory, began its session in this city, on last Monday, at 11 o'clock. Judge Loomer, presiding. We were present when the Judge charged the Grand Jury. His charge was full, forcible and explicit, covering the whole ground. It requires no little nerve, on the part of a Judge, in these exciting times of ours, to impress upon the minds of the Grand Jury their responsible duties. Judge Loomer knew his duty, and, as an able, fearless and resolute jurist, he discharged that duty. He called the attention of the Jury to the rebellion and treasonable spirit now prevalent in our Territory, and referred to the foul assassination of a public officer, while in the discharge of his official functions. He spoke of the attempt on the part of men here to establish an independent Government, in opposition to the present existing one—also to assume offices of public trust, without due authority, and many other criminal offences committed in our midst. He told them that every citizen, as law-abiding and law-abiding citizens, made imperative by a solemn oath, to arraign these men before the recognized tribunals of the country, and make them suffer the just penalties of the law. He told them to summon evidence in order to sustain them, and in all cases the summons should be executed without regard to station, influence, threats or menace. He pledged them that in any and all cases, where such charges could be substantiated, the guilty person or persons should abide the dreadful consequences, incurred by their own blind folly and crime. He said the law of the land should be executed at all hazards. Judge Loomer's manner during the charge was calm, dignified and impressive. Occasionally, whilst referring to the many outrages upon life and law, he grew warm and eloquent, which produced a deep impression, not only upon the Jury, but all in attendance. Judge Loomer is the man of the right stamp, both as a jurist and gentleman. The Grand Jury have returned several bills of indictment, and it is rumored that the Marshal is now upon a visit to the Territories, Kansas and Robinson, but of course we cannot speak with certainty, as these matters are confined to the knowledge of the Court for awhile. The Marshal and Deputies are out for something, and no doubt they each have bench warrants in their pockets. A few days will explain all. We shall attempt to keep our friends posted, at this is an important court, upon the present crisis of affairs.

THE REPUBLICAN.

PUBLIC MEETING AT LECOMPTON.

At a meeting of the citizens of Douglas County, held at Leecompton, April 25th, Dr. Aristides Rodriguez, late of Pa., was called to the Chair, and W. Leamer, late of Pa., appointed Secretary.

Col. Anderson briefly explained the objects, that whereas a certain indignation meeting was held at Lawrence, at which A. H. Reeder and C. Robinson made speeches, intended for the express purpose of producing a false impression upon the public mind in regard to the attempted assassination of Sheriff Jones, therefore

Resolved, That the Chair appoint a committee of three to prepare a full and correct statement of the facts of the entire difficulties and lay them before the public.

Under this resolution, T. M. Crowder, late of Va., J. M. Alexander, late of Pa., and J. C. Anderson, late of Ky., were appointed said committee, who after a few hours, submitted the following report, which was unanimously adopted.

The meeting then adjourned.
A. RODRIGUE, Chairman.
W. LEAMER, Secretary.

The committee appointed to draw up a correct statement of the facts connected with the attempted assassination of Sheriff S. J. Jones on the night of the 23d inst., and expose the falsehoods contained in the speeches of Reeder, Robinson & Co., at what they term an indignation meeting, held at Lawrence on the 24th inst., beg leave to submit the following

REPORT:
In view of the desire expressed by the people of Lawrence to mislead the public in regard to the brutal attempt at assassination of the Sheriff of Douglas county, we calmly submit to the honest judgment of all men a correct account of the whole affair from its beginning to its final and deplorable end. There will be placed in your hands, by the newspapers of the day, the report of an indignation meeting held at Lawrence on the 24th inst., at which A. H. Reeder and C. Robinson made speeches, which, at a glance, can be seen to be a smoothing and a smothering over of the true nature of this deplorable event, and containing, as will

be shown from a review of the same and the accounts hereto attached, equivocations of the deepest dye, to say the very least.

You are all aware of the difficulties of last fall in this Territory, when it became necessary for the Governor to call out the military and proceed against Lawrence, then in a state of rebellion against the laws of the Territory, which happily resulted in a peaceable manner; S. N. Woods, who rescued Branson from the custody of Sheriff Jones, and for whom there was a warrant out on an indictment found by the Grand Jury of the second judicial District, for larceny, fled the Territory. When Chas. Robinson and A. H. Reeder appeared in the territory on Friday week last, about that time, S. N. Wood returned. Before their arrival the citizens resisted no arrests. Sheriff Jones could peacefully, with the exception of threats and foul language, serve writs. Reeder, Robinson & Co. came, however, backed by a lawless band, procured in the Eastern and Northern States, bound by secret obligations, as elicited by the Grand Jury of Jefferson county, from a member of their council, and under oath, without mental reservation, to obey all orders emanating from them as superior officers of the "Kansas Regulators."

These men came armed with Sharp's rifles and Colt's revolvers, which they "wear about them upon all occasions, and especially upon election days;" men sworn to make Kansas a free State, and, as Reeder himself states in his address to the indignation meeting, "to resist the laws" of the Territory "by force without regard to consequences." Such is the true condition of the inhabitants of Lawrence; they are bound together as a secret armed organization, with an arsenal of Sharp's rifles, Colt's pistols and some pieces of artillery. Some of these armed bands have arrived with uniforms all ready, and meetings are held, where they are regularly drilled in military tactics. These men have no pecuniary interest in the Territory; their expenses were paid by the Emigrant Aid Societies of Beecher & Co., and their chief object in being brought out, was the ostensible one, openly avowed by Reeder, Robinson & Co., on all occasions openly to resist the laws of the Territory "by force without regard to consequences"—in fact, a hired garrison, paid by emigrant aid societies. Listen to the language of Reeder, himself—mark it well, and judge whether such language is not the very quintessence of treason. We italicize.

"Your sufferings brought you much good in sympathy, emigration and material aid, which could not have been obtained in any other way."

Men who "were ready and willing on all occasions to shed their blood for their political rights, and the cause in which they were engaged."

These are the citizens of Lawrence and other portions of the Territory, who proclaim C. Robinson, Governor, and A. H. Reeder their Senator. Many of these emigrants, too, as will be seen from the affidavits attached, were ruffians from the States—men whose morality was steeped in crime, who own no religion but revenge and serve no God but their political demagogue.

Such then was the condition of the town of Lawrence, when the present difficulties commenced. On the 19th inst., Sheriff Jones was on his way to St. Louis, on business, when he learned from a reliable source that Wood was in Lawrence, and in duty bound as Sheriff, he for the purpose of executing the warrant placed in his hands by a justice of the peace of Douglas county, for rescuing Branson last fall, by an armed band of which he was the leader. With a single gentleman, his deputy, he proceeded to Lawrence and arrested S. N. Wood who was rescued from him by an armed mob—the laws of the Territory defied and his life threatened should he attempt to execute any more warrants in the to n. These threats were known to the whole town. Threats that were thus made publicly and in loud tones, could not but be known to Robinson, Reeder & Co.; they were fully aware of them. Indeed, on the very evening in question a public meeting was held, in which Robinson and Reeder were prominent actors, and we have it upon reliable authority, and from some of their own party, that Robinson and Reeder, both, in speeches advised and counselled the citizens to resist the laws of the Territory, to own no allegiance but a State government, and not to resist the United States, lest they might be overpowered. Their language was plain, and to all intents and purposes was that the arrest of S. N. Wood should be resisted even "by force, without regard to consequences."

On Sunday, the 20th, Sheriff Jones with a posse of four citizens of this county proceeded to make the arrest, when he was again resisted, threats made, and the Secretary pro tem of the bogus Government declared that he would sooner obey the laws of hell than the laws of the Territory. Sheriff Jones himself called upon the citizens of the place to aid him in carrying out the laws. He was disregarded and hooted, and every imaginable indignity offered to him, and his posse. Indeed, such is the state of affairs, that one of the posse, recently a citizen of Pennsylvania, proffering the usual salutation on the road to a woman, was met by the coarse remark, "go to hell, you d—d Missourian." As a fair and official account, we quote the return of Sheriff Jones to Gov. Shannon:

LECOMPTON, K. T., April 20, 1856.
His Excellency Wilson Shannon,
Governor of Kansas Territory:
SIR: On the 19th instant I went to the town of Lawrence in the county of which I am the Sheriff, to execute certain writs which were issued and placed in my hands to serve by a legal and proper officer for the arrest of one Samuel N. Wood. After arresting the said Samuel N. Wood, and being in my custody, he attempted to escape from me, which I prevented; whereupon a mob, composed of the citizens of Lawrence, came to his rescue, and with violence and force took him from me, and held me until he made his escape; at the same time my assistant was taken by

force and prevented from coming to my aid. At the same time that violence was done me, the arms which were taken from me and are now in their possession. I was notified that the laws of the Territory would not be respected by them, nor permitted to be enforced by any officer of the Territory. I came back to this place for an additional force, and returned to Lawrence with a posse composed of four men, citizens of this county, to assist me in recovering my prisoner, and arresting other persons for theft and other crimes. When there I summoned an additional posse from among the citizens of Lawrence; these latter refused to act, and with my small posse of four men, I attempted to make the arrests, and was again repulsed, and the prisoners taken from me by force, and most violent threats uttered against me and the laws of the Territory.

I now call upon your Excellency to furnish me with such military force as may be at your disposal to assist me in enforcing the laws.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,
SAMUEL J. JONES,
Sheriff of Douglas county.

Accordingly the Governor sent to Fort Leavenworth for a detachment of U. S. troops. Col. Sumner in answer to the demand, detailed Lieut. McIntosh with a force of ten mounted dragoons, who proceeded to Lawrence under the command of Sheriff Jones on Wednesday last. The investigating committee having removed to Lawrence to commence their duties, several citizens of this place went to that town for the purpose of being spectators. The chairman of this committee was one of those citizens, and on application with others, to a boarding house where they might obtain something to eat during their stay, were met with the answer from the woman of the house, "that it was contrary to her religion to give, that aid to Border Ruffians," and it is very doubtful whether they would have obtained anything to eat at all, but from the endorsement of one of their prominent leaders that they would act as gentlemen; and throughout the day, the pro-slavery men as all Union and national men are designated here, those with Gen. Whitfield, his advisers, his witnesses and the spectators were met with abuse and foul language from every side. They were objects of curiosity and notice, and whenever they passed, some insulting language would emanate, which was intended to rouse the passions and call forth some resistance either by blows or words. But nothing was returned that could in any way be construed as insulting to the dark fiends. Every man was on his guard, his language cautious and circumspect.

In the morning but few persons were to be seen in town, but when a detachment of troops happened to pass through the town from their mission to the Sacs and Foxes, the houses poured forth a host of men of every possible variety of countenance and character. Expressions as to sending United States troops were freely uttered. Gen. Pierce was openly and boldly denounced, and the coarsest language used toward the law and order men. They stated that it was all they wanted and wished, and that they would not be sorry to see the troops resisted; that it would be their benefit; that it would send them more material aid, and crush forever the Union and slavery. Indeed, no one but the hearers of the words uttered could imagine the blackguardism and abuse poured "hot from Tartarus" upon all law abiding and Union loving citizens. Threats were openly made against Sheriff Jones; many declared they would be glad to see him weltering in his blood, and that they "would yet fix him"; that it would not be long before the world would know who were the stronger party, and the damnable heretics be driven from the soil of Kansas. And yet, fellow-citizens, these were the men whom Reeder and Robinson claim to be peaceable and law loving citizens, gathered together in a "holy cause."

When Sheriff Jones arrived with the detachment of U. S. Troops, the crowd increased, and with the assistance of the said troops, he made some six arrests, quietly—the citizens declaring that they would not resist the United States Government, but still threatening vengeance against Sheriff Jones, and loudly denouncing the laws of the Territory. Modesty, even prudery, were to be seen in the miserable and fenshish blackguardism that was indulged in by these peaceable and law-abiding citizens against the President, Gov. Shannon and all law and order men. The chairman of this committee heard, an individual ask the leader of the town, Robinson, if "he wished his services, that he was ready," and placing his hand significantly on his pistol. The answer was, "wait." He heard, as did many gentlemen, the threats against the life of Jones, and plans of rescue. They warned Jones to be on his guard—they warned Lieut. McIntosh to use all diligence and means.

At night, Col. Preston was taken aside by a citizen of the place, who frankly told him that there was a conspiracy on foot to assassinate Sheriff Jones. As the afternoon passed away, the crowds became more and more open in their incandescence, and when a man by the name of Hunt was arrested, he was called upon, in the presence of Robinson, by some one in the crowd, "Hunt, why don't you shoot Jones?" And then expressions of the deepest wrath and the most devilish revenge were freely indulged in, and the most insulting language used to some pro-slavery men standing near the crowd. They were offered a fight—they were told to pitch in and they would see sights. In regard to the immediate facts of the assassination, we call attention to the following statement of persons, witnesses of the whole affair:

With Lieut. McIntosh, we went to the camp, intending to pass off time and spend the night. Soon after we had made preparations for sleeping, Mr. Jones came in and commenced talking in regard to the arrangements for the night, as to the care of the prisoners. Soon Lieut. McIntosh, Mr. Jones and one of (P.) went a few paces from the tent to get a glass of water. While so engaged, some persons came up and

insulted, where Sheriff Jones was, and making insulting remarks concerning his courage, when he (J.) arose from the stooping posture he was in and remarked, "here I am, gentlemen," and again stooped, when some person in a crowd standing near, fired into the party, when the remark was made, (by P.) "Jones, you are shot," and upon examination, it was found that a bullet had passed through his pants, without any injury.

The party returned to the tent, when we commenced talking about this dastardly and hellish attempt at assassination, when a man pretending to be drunk, intruded himself into the tent, in our opinion, for the express purpose of finding out the position of sheriff Jones. He took a seat, when he was told by the sheriff (P.) that the party had no use for him, when he immediately arose and left, and in less than five minutes, as we were conversing together, Jones fell, exclaiming "Oh!"

He attempted to draw his knife and find the dastardly scoundrel, worse than a fiend, who would thus, under cover of night, attempt the life of a fellow being, but the wound was such as to prevent his rising at all. The shot came from the hind part of the tent, and was aimed at the back of the Sheriff. We have no doubt, ourselves, that the whole matter was concocted—the rascal hired for the express purpose of assassination; and that there are many persons in the Territory who are anxious to shield themselves behind this foul and dark scoundrel, unworthy even the name of devil.

THOMAS M. CROWDER,
WM. I. PRESTON,
E. L. YATES.

So strong was the impression of open rebellion, even against the United States troops, by Lieut. McIntosh, that he immediately dispatched Mr. E. L. Yates, with one of his command, to Lieut. Stockton, who was encamped a few miles from Lawrence, and also an express to Col. Sumner for reinforcements. And yet these men would have us believe that all was quietude and a submission on their part. Throughout the town that night, gentlemen heard citizens of Lawrence express their joy at the assassination, and some went so far as to hope the surgeon would drug Jones and thus despatch him. These expressions were everywhere prevalent; they can be sworn to by good and reliable men. In view of all these statements, what impression could possibly be made upon all intelligent minds, but that the town of Lawrence was deeply interested in the assassination of Jones, and thoroughly implicated in the nefarious deed.

These, fellow-citizens, with the affidavits hereto attached, are the true facts connected with this monstrous outrage; and can it be supposed for an instant by intelligent men, that such a conglomerated state of society with such leaders, were not to a large extent acquainted with this brutal attempt, and parties to the transaction, shielding themselves behind their secret oaths and leading hired and sworn men to point the weapon of death under cover of night at a noble specimen of humanity, a man of high honor and integrity, and assassinate him in a manner, hardly worthy the purposes of one under the influence of a legion of devils. From fanatics and hired wretches, what more could we expect? Fanaticism renders an individual worse than the worst case of lunacy. When we remember too, that it is a matter of publicity, that Sheriff Jones sometime since received a letter signed by "One of the Secret Twelve," warning him that should he attempt any more arrests that he would be assassinated, can we have a reasonable doubt as to the true doers of this deed.

We have yet other facts, fellow-citizens, to lay before you—facts showing the utter disregard that Robinson, Wood, Reeder & Co., have to any law whatsoever, and that place them clearly and undeniably in the ranks of traitors and abettors of traitors—aye, of incendiaries and the persecutors of defenceless women and children.

While S. N. Wood was away from the Territory, he was engaged in raising men and means to carry out their "holy purpose of resistance to the laws of the Territory," and many of the men whom he brought in his company were from Ohio. To show the character of those men and the inducements offered them, Gov. Shannon received a letter from a very reliable source in regard to one of their meetings, where the speaker stated that "he knew a man who would give one hundred and sixty acres of land to any person who would assassinate the President, and another who would give \$450 for Gen. Clarke's scalp!" Men who enlist under such declarations, can they be considered in any other light than as hired assassins?—And yet these very men formed part of the company brought on by S. N. Wood, and before whom A. H. Reeder and C. Robinson made their addresses on the 19th inst., congratulating them upon their entrance into the Territory and upholding the "holy cause" for which they came to fight.

These men are incendiaries—these men of Lawrence, and as by their oaths they are bound to report progress to their superiors, can we doubt for an instant that throughout this whole outrage and the one we are about to mention, that at the bottom are to be found the head of this bogus organization, C. Robinson and A. H. Reeder? Has the assassination of the Sheriff of Sacramento City, California, passed from the recollection of men. Who was the leader of that lawless party there? Charles Robinson.

Read the following statement made to the Governor in relation to an attempt made by persons unknown to set fire to the house of Gen. G. W. Clarke in this neighborhood:

On Friday, April 25th, information was received at Leocompton that threats had been made by the outlaws residing in Lawrence against the life and property of Gen. George W. Clarke. Whereupon, the undersigned, knowing that Gen. Clarke was absent, and believing that in order to protect the dwelling house and other property of the said Clarke, it was necessary that some men should volunteer to guard the house and premises of Gen. Clarke, repaired, with several others,

at the request of Mrs. Clarke, to the dwelling house of the said Clarke, on Friday night for that purpose. We arrived at the said house a little after dark and kept watch all night. About 1 o'clock one of us stepped out to ascertain whether or not any one was approaching the house, when he saw three men retreating from the south-east corner in a stooping, sneaking posture. When these men were first discovered they were within ten feet of the house. They were immediately hailed twice in succession but refused to answer, and thereupon fled to a body of timber near by. Two of us after they had begun to run, discharged our guns, but without effect.

From the threats of violence made by the outlaws of Lawrence against Gen. Clarke and his property, we firmly believe that the persons thus seen came for the villainous and hellish purpose of assassinating Gen. Clarke, and burning down his dwelling house and destroying his property.

And we further believe that Gen. Clarke will be watched, waylaid, and assassinated, and his property destroyed unless a guard is kept in and around his premises.

We further state that sometime after these three men had concealed themselves in the timber, we saw a body of men emerge from the timber on horseback numbering some eight or ten who rode off towards the road leading to Lawrence.

A. J. CROCKETT,
M. M. HOLSEY.

Men's rights are held in no regard by these lawless bands of hired voters. Their property, their lives, that of their unprotected wives and children are in jeopardy. Official authority, except backed by United States troops, commands no respect, and has no restraining power upon the citizens of Lawrence. The peace of the Territory hangs by a single thread, and all caused by a set of men who uphold themselves before the world in direct rebellion against the government of this land. Are these things thus to continue? Will men tamely submit to be told by men of influence among this armed band of rebels, that they can show as many Sharpe's rifles as one would wish to see? That if they will throw themselves under their protection, no harm will be done them.

The chairman of this committee, along with other gentlemen, were told by G. P. Lowry, Esq., that he could show them just as many Sharpe's rifles, as they wished to see, and that if they would place themselves under the wing of his protection, while in Lawrence, he would protect them from insult and injury. Whence came these rifles, and by what authority are they held? Again: When the messenger of the shooting of Jones went to the hotel, and before any alarm was made, why was it that Reeder, Lowry and others came out with alarm on their faces, enquiring "what was the matter?" Why was it that A. H. Reeder could give his word that no harm should be done to any one else? Unless, indeed, they were the leaders, the heads and fronts of these armed hordes of secret "Kansas Regulators."

These speeches, that are put forth in the extra of the Kansas Herald of Freedom, are miserable attempts to shield themselves before the eyes of the world, from that blame which justly attaches to them as the leaders in this so-called "free State movement." Of what avail with such men are the proclamations of the President? Let us collate at once the ingrained rebellion and the happy consistency of these men who with words of treason in their mouths, pretend to charge upon the law and order men that they are the persecutors of men engaged in a "holy cause." Happy consistency!

Reeder says, their cause was too holy, too strong, too just, to need assistance.

"It is a cause in which they wanted the help of the Lord, and not of the devil; the help of honest, well-meaning men, not of murderous assassins; the help of orderly, law-abiding, though determined men, and not of outlaws and murderers." And yet he tells us in the same breath, that these men were ready and willing, on all occasions, to shed their blood for their political rights and the cause in which they were engaged, and that "the blood of your brothers has cried from the soil for vengeance." Mark well the following language:

"I am not here to justify Mr. Jones, or his course during the past winter, when by his ill-will towards the people here, his alleged misrepresentations to Gov. Shannon, he brought upon you a force like to destroy you. I am not here to justify the motives that induced him to come here Saturday, and doing what he did on Sunday last, or bringing yesterday those United States troops here, and his arrest of your citizens."

We are not disposed to judge any person harshly or unjustly, yet he, who could hold such language as this, cannot be viewed as a prophet "of the Lord," nor an "honest well meaning man," but rather as one of those spirits sent forth by the Lord to persuade Ahab to go up to Ramoth Gilead that he might there be slain. Read the following course of policy, and consider the desperate character of these blind leaders of the blind.

"Such was the doctrine set forth by the Free State party, that they would never submit to the laws of the Territory as a permanent institution, but would set themselves about obtaining remedies for the purpose of getting rid of them; that the ballot box and the Courts and all peaceful remedies should be resorted to, and after those remedies had been exhausted, and they had no choice but to sit down under these laws permanently, or resist them by force, they would resist them without regard to consequences. The people of town have been going on quietly, refusing to recognize the Territorial authorities, avoiding a conflict with the authorities of the United States, which must be destructive, thus keeping precisely in the right path, and in a position where your friends at home and abroad could defend and justify you."

"We have two alternatives presented to us—which we cannot evade if we would—that of stabbing our

own prospects, and doing violence to our own opinions, or on the other hand, denouncing the author of this act."

Why these inflammatory remarks; why these innuendoes against the only government recognized by the laws of the United States, if he be orderly and law-abiding? Can men who hold such language excuse themselves at the tribunal of public opinion?

Are they the men to speak to law-abiding citizens about what is right and what is wrong. Mark well this language:

"The people of this town have been going on quietly, refusing to recognize the Territorial authorities, avoiding a conflict with the authorities of the United States which must be destructive."

When they resist the Territorial authorities, do they not resist the Government of the United States? Can they be considered in any other light than as rebels and perpetrators of treason? Yet, how sagacious about destruction! Suppose a man were to assume to himself the title of King in this country, and have a few hundred men at his back, and refuse to obey the Governor and the laws of the State in which he might reside, what view would all men take of his rights? And yet this is the very position which Robinson and Reeder occupy before the world in regard to this Territory. Can they even be believed on their oaths in our courts? By no means. And shall their ostensible defence of this lawless outrage be heard by the citizens of this country? Reeder tells us that the courts have been sought. What court? We are aware of no court at which he or his party have sought redress, but that of a secret organization. He says that our sheriffs are "partizans, carefully selected for their work, and they select the jurors who are partizans!" This is not true; the jurors are selected by the United States Marshal, and the fellow know it, and yet wished to pervert facts, and send forth statements that bear upon their face the seal of falsity.

C. Robinson tells us that they are "engaged in a sort of warfare in the State of Kansas; it is an honorable warfare on our part," and yet, while the murder was being perpetrated, he, we have good reason to believe, was caucusing with some of his band in a gully behind the town; and this is an honorable warfare! But, listen to his remarks about Sheriff Jones, and then calmly weigh the judgment which we would pronounce against him, that he was one of the abettors of the attempted assassination of our Sheriff, and in all probability absented himself from Lawrence whilst the foul deed was being perpetrated, in order that he might point to said absence, as he has done, to clear his own skirts of all connection with the transaction.

"But then in comes a sheriff, who has made himself obnoxious in a thousand ways, aside from his political position."

Because a sheriff is unpopular, therefore he who resists an arrest by the same is perfectly justifiable, according to the code here prescribed to the "law abiding" citizens of Lawrence. Indeed, throughout these evasions of pretended indignation, we are struck with a singular fact, that the murder of Jones is no where condemned; only a sham indignation at the manner the nefarious deed was committed; and to produce the impression that it was not done by men of Lawrence. Precious quibbling!

"He comes into our streets and attempts to arrest men here without any cause whatever, or some very insignificant cause. He comes with a whole batch of warrants, to serve them upon a community that is exasperated against him for various reasons."

"Some individuals;" why does he disguise the notorious fact that all individuals.

"Refuse to be arrested and then he resorts to the army. There is a part of the army of the U. S. in town to-day. In times of peace, we have imposed upon us men of war, and they may remain here permanently."

Can you, fellow-citizens, suppose for a moment that one who could use such language in regard to Sheriff Jones, can be ignorant of who the murderer is? We believe he knows the assassin, and was privy throughout the unhallowed deed. Yet, he pretends great ignorance! Such are the men who profess to be engaged in "an honorable warfare."

We ask you fellow-citizens, to review these facts, and then pass your judgment. We submit the whole to the world, and ask all candid men to aid in bringing to their just deserts and condign punishment these rebels and assassins. To aid us in lifting the veil of obscurity, and expose A. H. Reeder, C. Robinson and their hired coopers, in their attempts to force upon the property holders and citizens of this Territory by secret organizations and armed bands a state of affairs to be deprecated by all true national men.

Yet these men call upon us to appear before their investigating committee! What guarantee has any law and order man, should he go to Lawrence, that he would leave there? Can any one who is not a member of their secret organization feel secure in even passing this town? No; it would be almost suicide. Let them first lay aside their Sharp's rifles

and Colt's pistols, and peaceably submit to the laws of the land, and then we feel secure in our property, our lives, and those of our wives and children. Give us security, root out this rebellion, frown down these ringleaders, and we have, fellow citizens, as fine and rich a country as ever the Almighty smiled on with his most gracious favors, and as law-abiding and peaceable citizens.

What guaranty has any witness of Gen. Whitfield, even, that should he now appear before this investigating committee to defeat the aims of "fast running" witnesses of Reeder, that his life would be secure from the hand of the assassin? They defeat the aims of the law on every side. We call upon men everywhere to bear witness against these rebellious wretches. Ever since their indignation meeting their bogus Secretary of State has declared that he would have shot the deputy Sheriff, who had a writ against him, had not Lieutenant Melntosh been with him. And yet this threat-

ener of human life was prominent in the meeting, and a member of their committee to ferret out the assassin. We say to these seekers after knowledge, "Let him that is guiltless, cast the first stone."

They beg leave to submit the following resolutions: Resolved, That the proceeding of the "indignation meeting" recently held in the lawless town of Lawrence, is a most unblushing attempt to mislead and deceive the public mind of the States, in regard to the midnight assassination of the Sheriff of this country, whilst fearlessly performing his duty, assisted by a posse of United States troops, and worthy only of the midnight assassin and his aiders and abettors, who thus hope to escape the odium which justly attaches to the perpetration of so diabolical a deed.

Resolved, That whilst we recognise the right of all citizens to test the validity of the Territorial laws before the judicial tribunals of the country, yet no good citizen can or will resist by force or violence the execution of those laws, such resistance being in spirit and effect TREASON of the deepest dye.

Resolved, That were the people of Lawrence sincere in their claim to be a law-abiding community, they would content themselves with peaceable resistance to the laws, appealing to the United States Judicial Tribunals of the Territory, for redress of alleged grievances, and if as they allege, justice cannot be had from those tribunals, they would appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States—a tribunal unimpached, we believe, save by outlaws and traitors.

That the failure of the people of Lawrence to thus legally and peaceably seek a redress of their alleged wrongs, their forcible resistance to the execution of the Territorial Laws, their known determination to resist on a bloody issue any process under those laws, taken in connection with their secret oath-bound military organization, amply supplied as it is, with artillery, Sharpe's rifles and other weapons of death, furnished them by persons residing beyond the limits of the territory, remote from our soil and having no feeling or interests in common with the peaceable law-abiding citizens of our Territory, rivet upon them the allegation of lawlessness and treason, and can be regarded in no other light by all good citizens.

Resolved, That so long as the town of Lawrence continues to be a grand military arsenal, supplying with the weapons of death evil disposed persons, incendiaries and fanatics, for the purpose of resisting the execution of the Territorial laws, and harboring, concealing, running off and protecting refugees from justice, there can be no guarantee for the peace and tranquility of the Territory. THOS. M. CROWDER, Ch'n.

We, the undersigned, citizens of Douglas county, Kansas Territory, upon our oaths state, that we were summoned by S. J. Jones, Sheriff of said county, upon the morning of Sunday, April 20th, as a posse to assist in the execution of legal processes upon persons living in Lawrence. Accompanied by the said Sheriff, we proceeded to Lawrence, at which place we arrived about 11 o'clock, A. M.

Upon our arrival in said place, said Jones, Sheriff, as aforesaid, was proceeding in the direction of the house of one S. N. Wood, against whom he (Jones) stated he had several warrants, one of which was for larceny, when he was surrounded in the street by several hundred men, and he (the said Jones) summoned four or five of those who were present to assist him in the execution of his process. Every man so summoned refused to recognize the legal authority of Kansas Territory. At this juncture the said Sheriff recognized several persons in the mob against whom he held warrants; he arrested one of them, who resisted him, and was rescued by the mob. The Sheriff then called upon bystanders by name, to assist in apprehending said person. Again he was resisted with threats and curses.

After attempting to arrest several other persons, all of whom were rescued by the mob, he again and repeatedly, called upon them in the name of the law to assist him in the execution of the legal processes which he held. He was asked by what authority he called upon them, he replied by the authority of the Laws of Kansas Territory, to which answers were made "call upon us in the name of hell and we will obey, but you can never arrest a citizen of Lawrence by virtue of your Territorial Laws." "We do not recognize them." "We will oppose them with our blood." "Do not undertake to arrest another man, Jones, if you do, you are a dead man." "If you ever succeed in arresting a citizen of Lawrence, your life shall pay for it." "Resign your office, Jones, resign your office, you shall never arrest another man in Lawrence."

Very many similar threats were made by persons in the mob in addition to these, all of which were approved by the mob, manifested by shouts of "yes," "yes." "We will never submit!" and by other ways, from which manifestations we knew that the resistance was universal and determined. Jones called upon a number of them who assisted in the said rescues and resisted the laws of the Territory for their names, when he was told that that they would give him the "muster roll," and the mob cried out, "take the muster roll, Jones, we all resist."

We deemed any further attempt to arrest the violators of law hopeless at this time, and we also regarded with anxious apprehension the public execution of the threats which had been made by the people of Lawrence against Jones and his consequent assassination. Under these circumstances, we mounted our horses, and amid the groans, hisses and insults of the mob which had followed, accompanied by said Jones, we left Lawrence.

WM. I. PRESTON,
J. C. ANDERSON,
W. F. DONALDSON.
Sworn to and subscribed before me, a Justice of the Peace, for Douglas county, Kansas Territory, this, twenty-eighth day of April, 1856.
J. W. SHEPARD,
Justice of the Peace for Douglas Co.

Dr. J. Cooper McKee, recently of Pennsylvania, was the fourth member in the posse, and would undoubtedly add his name to the above, but he is absent, doubtless professionally upon Sheriff Jones.

I do hereby affirm that the facts contained in the above report are true, to the best of my knowledge and belief.
I. M. CROWDER.

Sworn and subscribed to before me, this 27th day of April, A. D., 1846.
J. W. SHEPARD, J. P.

EMIGRATION TO KANSAS.—Meetings were lately held at Alton for the purpose of discussing the practicability of establishing a line of packets between that city and points on the Missouri river, in order to enable free State emigrants to escape from some real or imaginary ill treatment, suffered by them on boats which make St. Louis the starting point of their trips. There does not appear to be any likelihood of an early establishment of the contemplated line, but an agent is making arrangements with steamers that leave here, to go to Alton in order to take them on board there. The David Tatum got a large number of passengers under this arrangement a few days ago, and the Keystone went up yesterday to receive on board five hundred persons bound for Kansas. We believe that large numbers of men are arriving daily in Alton, bound for Kansas, and that at least five boats will call there weekly for some time to come, to carry them to their destination.—Missouri Democrat, May 8th.

THE INTELLIGENCER.

SAINT LOUIS
THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 8, 1856.

Southern Emigration to Kansas

Already quite a number of young, active, and intelligent men have enrolled themselves from this city and vicinity, as an Emigrant Company for Kansas. They are making preparations for an early start, and have pledged themselves to at least one year's residence within the limits of this new Territory, and to permanent residence there, should they find climate, soil, and social institutions equal their present expectations.

Many of these gentlemen are illy able of themselves to procure all they need towards the expenses of removal, the purchase of land, and its occupation and profitable employment. To aid them in the enterprise, a subscription paper has been started, we learn, among our citizens, who favor the project of Southern emigration to the fields of Kansas, and who look to these efforts as likely to effect much in rendering that extensive future State, a source of pride and safety for the South, instead of one of bitter feeling and annoyance. So much is the South interested in counteracting the designs of the fanatical aid societies of the North, and having Kansas peopled by those who favor her own social system and her great institution, that we trust the departure of none of her sons, known to be reputable, loyal, and sincere, will be delayed by the want of means. Dollars become paltry considerations indeed, with reference to the interest the South has in demanding fair play in Kansas, the observance of all those rights which she has to Territory acquired out of the common treasure, or by the common blood, of the whole Union. Every effort for bona fide Southern Emigration to the new Territories should be encouraged, as a safe, certain, and peaceful method of obtaining justice for our section.—[Natchez Courier.

Daily Republican.

QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

Col. Buford and his Pro-Slavery Troop.

A correspondent in the Chicago Press gives an interesting account of the arrival of Buford and his company in Kansas.—There were some three hundred of them, armed to the teeth, and looking more like invaders than settlers. After arriving at Kansas City, a large part of the company got gloriously drunk to begin with. Many of them had spent their last dime, and begged hard for money to buy more liquor.—

Some are totally sick of Kansas already, and complain of Col. Buford. They say they were taken in, and heartily wish they had the means of returning to the South.

The whole company encamped near Kansas City the night after they arrived, and were in high glee at the prospect before them. During the night it rained heavily, and the next morning the aspect of the company was that of a drove of "drowned rats." "Chivalry was at a low ebb," and many of those redoubtable warriors looked melancholy and miserable. It is not expected that one in ten of them will remain in Kansas over the first winter. They are sent for the purpose of assisting the border ruffians to make Kansas a slave State, and when that is accomplished, their mission is ended.

The Government organ of this city is sorely exercised, because, as its asserts, the friends of Free Kansas, having a majority in the lower branch of Congress, have yet done nothing. We think they have, and a little more than is palatable to the Nebrascans. The election of Banks created a tremendous hellaballoo in the camp, and especially among Northern doughfaces, who pretended to believe that it was the forerunner of the dissolution of the Union, the triumph of Garrisonism, Abolitionism, Know Nothingism, and that the country was going right straight to ruin. Banks was elected, and the friends of the Union and of freedom rejoiced. That was one step towards arresting the course of despotism. The next was the appointment of a Committee to investigate the frauds and outrages which were committed by non-residents upon the actual settlers of Kansas—a measure which these very fellows, who prate so much about "popular sovereignty," opposed with all their might! These are but the initiatory steps to the ultimate success of our cause in the securing of Kansas to freedom, and vindicating the power of Congress over the Territories.

The Herald man may well be troubled in view of the certain success of the Anti-Nebraska party in the approaching election. He thinks they want the offices. They do that! It is rather an important consideration, and quite necessary to give effect to the principles of the party; and there are some office-holders—postmasters for instance—who will find the change rather inconvenient.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

MAY 8. DETROIT. 1856.

We may as well have the game, as the name. We have been accused of republishing articles from the *Day-Book*, (which we have not done) claiming the *Day-Book* as a Locofoco paper. We now republish such an article, and we believe that paper to be good Pierce authority, as every Pierce Postmaster in the North is a club-agent for it:

Slavery Extension.

The *Boston Post* says it is a libel on the democracy to say that they are in favor of slavery extension. Well, then, of course they are opposed to its extension; so is Greeley, and Seward and Hale and Chase, the men and the party which the *Post* opposes or assumes to oppose. There is no escape from this conclusion. "Slavery extension" is the sole question before the country, for Know Nothingism is merely a galvanized corpse, without life or motion beyond that imparted to it by the artificial necromancy. We repeat, "slavery," negro slavery, and negro slavery extension is the sole question before the country, and to be determined in the approaching Presidential election, and as Mr. Senator

Seward, above all other public men of the day, embodies the opposition to this slavery extension, the democracy, if opposed to it in common with Mr. Seward, should at once make him President; and the *Boston Post*, if opposed to this extension of slavery, should join heart and hand in placing the man above all others truly embodying that opposition, in the Presidential chair, for the good and substantial reason that the opposition would be most effective when thus represented. But the democracy are not opposed to slavery extension, or that which ignorance and delusion term slavery extension, and the time is at hand when those who assume to speak for it must understand what they are doing in this matter, or they had better hold their tongues, aye, had better cut out their tongues a thousand times over rather than thus help to mystify and bewilder, and indeed debase the common sense of the people.

We are a federation of sovereign states, and half of these states having a mixed population, having three millions of subordinate negroes in their midst with corresponding "peculiarity" of institutions or social and domestic relations which need expansion—room for development just as much, indeed far more, than our own homogeneous society of the North—the same southern or mixed population have, of course, the same natural right to migrate to the common territory of the federation as that of the North, and this equal right, actual and recognized, is the sole question before the country. To admit it is the expansion of southern society—the spread of southern population—the extension of slavery. To oppose it is the concentration of southern society—the damping up of southern population—the limitation of "slavery." These are the facts, the things, the actualities of the question, and we ask the *Post* where are the northern democracy? with Seward in shutting up the mixed population of the South, in limiting "slavery" or recognizing the equal rights of the South in the common territory, and the consequent extension of slavery? If the former—if the northern democracy, deluded by lies and bewildered by the terms "slave" and "slavery," are opposed to the future expansion of the mixed population of the South, or in other words, opposed to the extension of slavery, then they should have the honesty and manliness to let their southern brethren know it, and thus give them a chance to prepare for the inevitable consequence of disunion—and their own preservation.

Now, what is the position of the northern democracy? Are they so ignorant, so stupid, or by lies, by perversions of terms, by the inventions, the nick-names of imposture, by the words "slave" and "slavery extension," as to fear this issue?

No, indeed, a thousand, a million times, NO, there is not one single democrat in the whole broad North opposed to the expansion of southern society or so called extension of "slavery," and they only wait to have the truth spoken out, and things called by their right names, to sweep the abolition imposture from the Republic, and to bury its besotted tools in the profoundest depths—the lowest possible deep of the popular contempt.

Admission of Kansas.

The *Free Press* pleads and demands that Kansas be kept out of the Union, until the population shall have reached 93,420. It says:

"The bill reported by Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, provides for the admission of Kansas when she shall have population enough to entitle her to one member of the House of Representatives; viz: 93,420. In order to admission, it is provided that the Territorial legislature may call a convention of delegates to form a constitution. We give Mr. Douglas's own statement of the remainder of the bill."

The *Free Press* talks about precedent in the admission of States, and regards Kansas as exceptional. Kansas has 60,000 white inhabitants; Louisiana was admitted in 1842, with 34,311; Indiana became a State in 1816, with 23,890; Mississippi came in the next year, and three years after her admission, had only 42,176 white population; Tennessee was admitted in 1796, with 32,013 whites; Michigan came into the Union in January, 1837, after having played the farce of State Government two years, with a population of 31,356; Arkansas was admitted the year before with a white population of 25,671; Florida became a State in 1845, with a white population of 27,943.

The *Free Press* talks flippantly about precedents, and objects to the admission of Kansas, until she is known to have a population of 93,420.

It might be looked for and expected that a strong anxiety should be manifested by the Pierce democracy, for the admission of Kansas, with slavery, and we can conceive how the expression of such a wish, might be consistent with general views of policy, but it is much more difficult to conceive upon what ground a man calling himself the resident of a free State, can array himself against the admission of a free State, with a population one half greater than that of at least seven States which have preceded it.

As we have stated, no explicit rule of a general character has been fixed by Congress, determining the aggregate population necessary for admission to the Union, but the subject has been left open for the free exercise from time to time, of a healthful and sound discretion.

We should like to see who will be ready to stand up and protest against the admission of Kansas, merely because she comes as a free State.

When it was anticipated that Kansas would apply for admission with slavery, the *Detroit Free Press*, declared that it would be an act equivalent to revolution to refuse her admission, nay that it would lead to the most serious if not fatal consequences, even to delay her application, and if we do not mistake, at or about the time of the election of speaker, it charged such delays or refusal to admit Kansas, to be a part of the programme of the Republican party, whose predominance in the House of Representatives was typified by the triumph of Mr. Banks. Let the reader contrast its present position, seeking to hold Kansas at arms length, because she comes free, with its posture only three months ago, when (as now) of the mouth-piece and organ of the great Cass doctrine of "Squatter's Sovereignty," it called imperiously for Kansas to be made a State, because she came with slaves.

Now it exhibits the cloven foot, and shows how deep and sincere is its regard for the squatter, by the following contemptuous remark:

"To be sure, under the pre-emption law, squatters have selected large quantities of land, and will by and by receive titles to it from the government. But it would be a new thing under the sun for a State to be erected out of territory the title to every foot of which was still in the United States."

"Squatter Sovereignty" have ceased to hold that lofty place in the estimation of the *Free Press* and of Gen. Cass, since they have been found out to be chiefly freemen, and more especially since the *Richmond Enquirer* and other southern democratic papers have declared that the whole doctrine of squatter sovereignty, is a demagogue's humbug, with which the democracy, as such, will have nothing to do. A few weeks ago, Kansas was to be admitted, with slavery, because its settlers, who are squatters' demand it. Now her admission is to be postponed because "there is nobody there except squatters." Oh! consistency.

Detroit Evening Tribune.

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 8, 1856.

KANSAS AND MICHIGAN.

[For the Tribune.]

MR. EDITOR,—In my last communication published in your paper of May 2, I unintentionally committed an anachronism in stating that Mr. PORTER was the successor of HORNOR as Territorial Governor of Michigan. Gov. P. was the successor of Gov. CASS, and died in July, 1834, instead of 1836, as stated. From the death of Gov. P. to the removal of Mr. MASON, in Sept., 1835, the latter was the acting Governor; and was succeeded by JOHN S. HORNOR, appointed by Gen. JACKSON soon after the expedition to Toledo, of the 5th., 6th., 7th., 8th., and 9th. of Sept., 1835. Strict historical accuracy requires this correction, although the error is of no importance in reference to the main point I had in view; which was, to show that although the State government of Michigan had fully and absolutely supplanted and replaced the Territorial government from the 1st. Monday of Nov. 1835, down to the 26th. of January, 1837, the date of the act for our final admission as a State (nearly 15 months); yet General JACKSON'S administration never attempted and never contemplated the aggression of this anomalous State government, but suffered it to continue and to regulate all the internal affairs of Michigan;—although it claimed to be a State, a State out of the Union, and acting in open disregard of the Union. That it so acted is notorious; and that this action was unauthorized and unconstitutional was held by the Supreme Court of the United States in a case decided in 1847. [See 5 Howard's S. C. Reports, p. 343.]

Yet, inasmuch as it was a peaceful government, accepted by the people, General JACKSON made no complaint against it. He sent no instructions to



THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 8, 1856.

What is in Store for us.

"Social forms so widely differing as those of domestic Slavery, and (attempted) universal liberty, cannot long co-exist in the Great Republic of Christendom. They cannot be equally adapted to the wants and interests of society. The one form or the other, must be very wrong, very ill suited, to promote the quiet, the peace, the happiness, the morality, the religion and general well-being of the community. Disunion will not allay excitement and investigation,—much less bring last peace. The war between the two systems rages every where; and will continue to rage till the one conquers and the other is terminated." We hope and expect, and believe, that conservative men every where are about to adopt the principle that men should be governed, not "Let Alone," and that each one should be governed according to his wants, and moral and intellectual capacity. This is the principle, and is the only one that can save society from general demoralization and dissolution. How clearly and promptly does Carlye portray in his Latter Day Pamphlets this hastening of society into the gulf of chaotic anarchy! The opposite principle is that of *Laissez-faire*, or political economy which is ushering in Mormonism, Free Love, and all the other vileisms of the day. Every man at the North who values the right to private property, the purity of the marriage tie, or the sacredness of religion, must and will write a protest.

[Richmond Enquirer.]

We must confess that Northern Politicians, Northern Commerce, Northern Literature, and to some extent the Northern Church, have given to the Propagandists of Slavery, large authority to push upon us schemes of wicked policy, necessary to sustain the unnatural and conflicting relations which they bear to Economy and Republicanism. Fillmore's corrupt sanction of the Fugitive Slave Law, and general subserviency to the 347,000 Aristocrats of the South, were calculated to create the impression that Free-Labor society throughout was corrupt. The Union-Saving degradation which ensued upon our subjection to the Compromises, must have produced the impression among Southern politicians, that in regard to Democracy and State Sovereignty, the North generally was demoralized. If faith in our integrity, or doubt of our pliancy, remained after the people's termination of Fillmore's accidental Administration, they must have been effaced by the traitorous conduct of those Northern Congressmen who voted for the violation of the Missouri Compact. Can we then expect any limits to the selfishness and aggression of the Slave Power? Have we not invited them to use us, our rights, our interests, and our principles, to convert their own Republicanism, and our National Democracy into a Slave Oligarchy?

REGARD the above propositions, from the organ of the Virginia negro-breeding Democrats. Speaking for the Party which, South of Mason and Dixon's line, acts with, rules, and directs, the Federal Administration and all the Northern supporters of it, the Enquirer declares that Freedom and Slavery cannot long "co-exist in our Republic." It tells us, expressly, that Slavery does not mean to go out of the Union, and when it says that either that or Universal Liberty have got to be "exterminated," we can imagine what degradation and wrong the Oligarchy have in meditation for us. There can be no doubt about the wicked passions and schemes hidden under this Virginia doctrine, that "each man should be governed according to his wants, and moral and intellectual capacity." That is Louis Napoleon's government, and is the doctrine of the rule by bayonets and ball-cartridges. That is the Austrian doctrine of civil society. The invitation given above by the Enquirer, to "every man at the North" to "unite" in the acceptance of that doctrine, and the practice of its principles, may assume an imperative tone. If Kansas is made a Slave State, and the Oligarchy is strengthened in the Senate, and eventually made supreme in Congress, as there will be nothing

the military occupation of the Territory, as PIERCE has done in Kansas for the benefit of the slave-holding interest, to put it down by force of arms.

The case stands thus: In 1835 the people of Michigan organized and put in actual operation a State government, without authority from Congress; and, as the Supreme Court have held, in disregard of the power of Congress. The federal government, with General JACKSON at its head, and ROGER B. TANEY, now Chief Justice of the United States, and LEWIS CLAY, now a Senator from Michigan, in his cabinet, did not interfere with it, but permitted it to continue. No body spoke of it as being an "insurrectionary" government, except JOHN C. CALHOUN. He assumed it to be what PIERCE assumes the government of Kansas to be, "insurrectionary." The debates show this, while they also show that CALHOUN held the doctrine.—But even he, disloyal as he was, did not go so far as to recommend the employment of an armed force to put it down;—a thing which PIERCE, a Northern man, (O, Heaven, that the free North should be thus disgraced!) has recommended and ordered to be done in Kansas, even before any attempt was made to put the State government in operation!—Proud, free, wealthy, numerous and powerful North! what are your feelings at seeing yourselves thus dishonored by one of your own sons? Are we not all ashamed of him?—and are we not ashamed that we have furnished mothers, and birth-places, and cradles to such traitors as CRESSING and DOUGLASS?—the former born within sight of Bunker's Hill, and the latter in the State which ETHAN ALLEN and SETH WARNER rescued from the tyrannical ambition of the provincial Governors of New York and New Hampshire. We are obliged to look to the example of ANDREW JACKSON, a man of Southern birth, and himself a slave-holder, as a rebuke to the sordid, supple and servile conduct of our own flesh and blood! Is it not time the race of doughfaces was "crushed out" and "subdued"?—time that pro-slavery flunkeyism was made dishonorable and contemptible, and that the man who opens his lips in favor of the extension of slavery, should be excluded not only from all places of public trust, but from all respect of his fellow-citizens? But I beg to call attention to another circumstance. The latest news from Kansas shows that the "dragoons" of the American army, stationed at Fort Leavenworth, have been actually employed in arresting persons at Lawrence charged with petty offences, (not "insurrection") such as a refusal to assist the Territorial officers in making arrests &c.

I take the responsibility of asserting that this employment of the troops is unauthorized by any law of Congress, or by the Constitution. The President, and consequently the officer in command, has no right whatever to use them for any such purpose. It is a direct and unequivocal act of usurpation, for which the President of the United States, if he has directed it, is liable to impeachment. If death shall ensue to any individual while resisting such an attempt, it is MURDER on the part of the person making it. For there is no law authorizing such an employment of the federal troops, and the Constitution by no means grants to the President any such power. To me it is surprising that no member of Congress has called in question this tyrannical assumption of power on the part of the President. Clearly, he has no more authority to employ the army in *servicing process* in Kansas than in one of the organized States of the Union. Can he do it in the latter case? No one will so contend. Where is the law that gives him such a power in Kansas? Will his apologists inform me? And if there be none, have we of the North nothing to say, has Congress nothing to say, while this usurpation is going on in Kansas and our friends and countrymen there are arrested by armed platoons of federal troops, and marched about as prisoners of war, at the point of the bayonet? Are we governed in this country by military law? Is the American army, once the glory of our country, already converted into the *gens d'armes* of the President for the extension of slavery? It seems to be so in Kansas. And yet we hear no objection

made to it in Congress, nor even by the Northern press! What does this portend? Are we prepared to submit to a military rule? God forbid!

I again express the hope that the people of Kansas will resist these attempts by force. Let them shoot down the first officer or soldier who attempts to arrest any citizen of the Territory for an alleged violation of its infamous laws. The question will be thus brought to an issue: whether the President, by means of the American army, is to be the Governor of Kansas; or whether, like other communities, the people themselves are to be the guarantors for the enforcement and preservation of order.

This is an important question. It involves the power of the President, under the Constitution, as the head of the army;—and whether, in the absence of "insurrection," he has any right to employ the army against any but a *foreign foe*. I deny that he has any such right; and I assert boldly that it is in obvious derogation of the Constitution of the United States. A REPUBLICAN.

DAILY HERALD.

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

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Thursday Evening, May 8, 1856.

The Greater includes the Less.

That's a mathematical axiom, and it follows that those who can commit murder, will lie.—We have proof of this fact every time a despatch upon Kansas matters, dates west of St. Louis. The wires being in the hands of the "Border Ruffians," they make them say just what they please, and, if those villains were handling the electricity from the skies, instead of home-made lightning, it would be a just retribution, should a bolt knock the brutes into eternity.

The first flash of fresh news from Kansas, is invariably wholly false, or greatly exaggerated; we get the truth by due course of mail to St. Louis; verily, a lie can thus travel round the world, while Truth is pulling on his boots.

We have had despatches of late, representing COL. SUMNER, as cursing Free State men, calling them liars, and as asking that miserable Gov. W-HISKY SHANNON, the privilege of handling the citizens of Lawrence, at the point of the bayonet for the murder of JONES, the Missouri post-master, and usurper of the Sheriffalty in Kansas.

By reference to the despatch in to-day's paper founded upon the correspondence of the St. Louis Democrat, it will be seen that no such state of feeling exists between the Commandant of the government troops, and the people of Kansas. COL. SUMNER addressed a letter to the citizens, urging them to ferret out the offender, and Free State Gov. ROBINSON replied that all good citizens deprecated the act, and would use all exertions to ascertain who shot JONES, and bring him to justice. COL. SUMNER, too says that his orders will come from Washington, and he, of course, will obey them.

This last desperate attempt of the Missouri Ruffians to get the Free State men into a collision with the Federal Government, has most signally failed. While Kansas citizens never would yield, except with their blood, to an officer made so by the bogus Legislature of their Territory, they would bow in perfect obedience to the authority of the Federal Government, until all hope of justice short of a revolution is exhausted.

then seemingly to prevent it from becoming, the **Great** Federal Government of ours will be remodded. That it will cease to be Republican save in name, is certain. That the forms of Liberty only, will be left in the now Free States, is equally certain. And such a result will not be a particle more strange, than is the present marvelous and disgraceful fact, that through Politics the 347,000 men who own Slaves in the United States, effectively rule the 22,000,000 citizens who do not own Slaves.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 8, 1856.

A letter from Mr. J. P. Snow, on board the steamboat Clara, Missouri River, 500 miles above St. Louis, dated April 26th, '56, after giving some facts relative to the shooting of Sheriff Jones, says

"It is a very unhappy affair, and I fear will turn against the Free State men. We find no trouble in traveling up the river, but it is very evident that it would take but few words to create a row at any of the landings. At Lexington I saw a hearse followed by two carriages, lettered on the side "Border Ruffians," what it meant those best acquainted in Kansas matters can tell. Mr. Lines and his party went upon this boat the last trip before this, as far as Kansas, Mo. Among the names I notice H. K. Pease, and others from Hartford. At the Virginia Hotel, St. Louis, there was a party from the vicinity of Boston, for Kansas, and another party from Alabama, of about sixty each. From the number we see emigrating west, one would naturally think the east would soon be deserted; from Albany to Chicago, from twelve to fifteen cars full of passengers is considered a fair train. The majority of the people seem bound for Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas."

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 8, 1856.

If anybody is curious to follow a very bungling attempt at dodging a point, and to see how ridiculous a man can make himself by trying to crawl through several very small holes and sticking fast in them all, let him read the long leader of the Springfield Argus, Wednesday morning. The Argus had said that the "black republican" presses "justified and defended the shooting of sheriff Jones" at Lawrence. It goes into a column and a half, with an abundance of emphatic italics and capitals, but does not find a word anywhere to sustain its absolute and most outrageous calumny. It gets no nearer to it than to show that the republicans neither approve the character of Jones nor the business in which the administration has employed him. We should like to see the Massachusetts man outside of the state prison and the custom house, who does. If Jones had been shot while in the act of laying violent hands upon a citizen of Kansas, under cover of his bogus warrants, the case would have been different. But he was fired at in his tent at night, and it was a simple attempt at assassination—like the murders committed by the government officers and their allies, the Missouri outlaws, upon unarmed and peaceable citizens. It is useless however to reply to the false charges of the administration presses. It is their business to abuse and vilify the free state men of Kansas, no matter to what party they belong. No man can go to Kansas as a peaceable settler without exposing himself to systematic persecution from the emissaries of the administration there, and relentless vilification and abuse from the servile party press at home. Happily for Kansas and the Union, the day of retribution for both hastens.

The Daily Spy.

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1856.

DEMOCRATIC AUTHORITY.—The Detroit Free Press is an orthodox a Democratic journal as any in the country, not excepting the Boston Post. The administration journals are fond of quoting it; but we do not perceive that they have taken any portion of its comments upon President Pierce's course towards Kansas.— We give a tit-bit from it:

"But the President should pause long before treating as 'treasonable insurrection' the action of these inhabitants of Kansas who deny and repudiate the binding authority of the laws of the Missouri Kansas Legislature. For, in our humble opinion, a people that would not be inclined to rebel against the acts of a legislature forced upon them by fraud and violence, would be unworthy the name of Americans. If there was ever justifiable cause for popular revolution against a usurping and obnoxious government, the cause has existed in Kansas."

BOSTON POST.

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1856.

THE SHOOTING OF JONES: REBUKE ANARCHY.

We do not know authentically all the facts as to the shooting of Sheriff Jones; whether he was executing a writ issued by Gov. Shannon, or by the territorial courts, or by the congressional investigating committee. It is admitted, however, on all hands, that he was in the service of the law; in the service of officials recognized by the President of the United States as the legal authorities of the country—obeying their orders. Around him were Col. Sumner and the forces of the United States. These are FACTS; and upon this basis, as a starting point, we beg to call attention of good citizens, of all who mean to support the laws of the land, to the significance of the shooting of Sheriff Jones.

Now the vital point of the whole difficulty lies in this: that a portion of the people of Kansas refuse to acknowledge Jones as sheriff; and in this stand they are sustained by a portion of the opposition press, by all the black republican presses,—even by presses that affect to support the constitution. For months we have seen this officer continually alluded to as "the sham sheriff"; and it is said by a Boston press that he had no more authority to serve a process in Kansas than he had to serve a process in Suffolk county; and because he was appointed by the "territorial legislature." We have called attention to this fact. This Sheriff Jones was regarded as representing the territorial legislature, which is held by the opposition to be a spurious legislature; and the Big Springs convention resolved, that each and every citizen had full liberty to defy and resist its commands, if he chose to do it. It was resolved, at the same time, to try "peaceable remedies"; and if these failed, to proceed "to the bloody issue." We have now got to the stage of "bloody issue. Higher lawism in Kansas, as here in Boston in the case of Batchelder, has produced its legitimate fruit. Here are the results of the anarchical doctrines so long preached by freesoil politicians and fanatic parsons.

The fatal error is in the course taken by our higher law politicians, and in all such resolves and speeches and sermons as tend to foment sedition; as tend to transfer that obedience which is due to the regular officers of the United States, to a rival body created outside of this regular constituted authority. We might fill a side of our paper with such pestilential matter. Ten years ago freesoilism dictated the passage of a seditious resolution in the Massachusetts legislature on the annexation of Texas, to the effect that no obedience would be due to such an act of congress; and forty years ago, when Louisiana was admitted, this same Massachusetts actually

instigated its delegation in congress to endeavor to put her out of the Union on the ground that no obedience was due to the act of admission. This seditious spirit broke out in its most violent shape when the 1850 fugitive slave law was passed; when cities and towns and caucuses resolved to nullify it. It was then held that any individual had a right to resist this law; just as the Big Springs convention held that any citizen has a right to resist the territorial law. The thing has come to a head in Kansas just as it came to a head here in Boston, and the President of the United States is required to be as firm in the case of Kansas as he was in the case of Burns. There is no other course. Let this higher-lawism succeed and the natural, necessary result will be a complete stop to the functions of government. Internal violence will have destroyed our fair fabric of liberty. The life of our polity will have departed.

There is no escaping this conclusion. In vain do the black republican presses disclaim the responsibility of the shooting of Sheriff Jones; in vain do they attempt to cast off this burden; in vain will they try to escape the odium; in vain do they exclaim that assassination is not the entertainment they invite. The sum of their apology is, that when they said that each individual might resist the law, they did not mean that each might commit murder; their inflammatory appeals are not made to put bullets through officials, but votes into the ballot boxes; they, forsooth, only cry out lustily mad dog against Tray, and if the neighbors turn out with stones and clubs, and kill Tray, its none of their hunt.

This sort of apology will not go down with sensible men. It is a very mockery of justification to put forth for violent, inflammatory doctrines and harangues; doctrines and harangues which tend to unsettle society from its foundations, and which may come home to the case of every man, woman and child in the community; doctrines which are repudiated, condemned, by every patriot and statesman whose opinion is worth regarding, from the days of Washington down to the present day; and which inevitably and directly tend to the terrific brink of ANARCHY. And those who daily justify these doctrines and utter these appeals, can no more avoid the responsibility for the bloody work they lead to, than the incendiary who applies a torch at one end of a train can avoid the responsibility for the necessary result of the explosion at the other end.

The great and vital wrong is, in justifying forcible resistance to the territorial government. It is all idle, false, delusive, and a downright cheat to draw a distinction between the territorial government and the United States authorities. THEY ARE IDENTICAL. The Kansas men cannot resist the territorial government without resisting the general government. This is the voice of our whole experience. We again call to mind the decided course of President Jackson, in the case of Michigan; of the whole action of the supreme court; of the opinions of attorney generals of the United States. All are to the same point; that until congress abolishes or supercedes a territorial government, it is in force.

Let every good citizen who means to stand on the side of the constitution and the laws, resolve to rebuke these anarchical doctrines.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1856.

WHAT THE GENTLEMAN WHO GAINS HIMSELF "GOVERNMENT JONES" should have been shot, at Lawrence, is deeply to be regretted, on various accounts. In the first place, we have an impression (and so evidently has Senator Douglas) that to be shot is by no means a very pleasant thing, and Jones may have a family dependent upon his exertions for their support, and the idea of their distress is far from agreeable, even if he is a border ruffian. One sympathises with Mrs. Jones, who, poor soul, in her secret heart, no doubt, wishes that the "sheriff" had some safer calling. Secondly, the shooting of Jones is calculated to do mischief to a cause that was going on well, and which can be injured only by acts of violence. So plain

In this, that we confess we lean strongly to Governor Robinson's opinion, and are much inclined to believe that the *soi-disant* sheriff was shot by a *friend*. It is hard to have such suspicions of border ruffians, but the best of us are fallible mortals, and absolute perfection is not to be expected, even in those who have been trained in that exalted moral school of which Atchison and Stringfellow are the chief teachers. The trick is an old one, that of assassinating one of their own number, by conspirators, in order to turn the current of feeling in their favor, or to distract attention from their doings, care being taken to have things so managed as to cause suspicion to light upon the innocent, whom it has been found necessary to stigmatize as murderers. There is not a particle of originality about this murder, or attempt at murder, and Mr. De Quincey's *Connoisseurs* would turn up their noses at so gross a plagiarism, and which has not even successful execution to recommend it to the favor of those who are of so depraved a taste as to delight in crime.

Whoever shot Jones is only half as guilty as the hunker presses would represent him. They are shocked at the shooting of a *sheriff*, of a functionary of that law which, as we see from their approval of the conduct of the border ruffians, they hold in so devout respect. It is not the man Jones, but the *sheriff*, over whose wounds they are shedding such torrents of eloquence. What is the world coming to, is the course of their thoughts, when a *sheriff*, a legal officer, is fired at, and wounded, perhaps mortally? There is only one drawback to all their complaints. The man Jones was no more a *sheriff* than General Pierce is a hero or a statesman. He had no more right to attempt to arrest a man in Kansas than a citizen of Vermont would have to arrest a Canadian in the dominions of Victoria. If the inhabitants of that part of our territory which borders on Rhode Island were to choose a Legislature for our sister State, and that Legislature were to appoint one "Jones" a *sheriff* of a Rhode Island county, and the said "Jones" should be shot by a Rhode Islander, our belief is that the common opinion would be that he had been rightly served. This is precisely the case in the West, except that it is not known by whom the Jones of that quarter was shot. Jones is not a resident of Kansas. He is a citizen of Missouri, and was elected a Kansas *sheriff* by that infamous Legislature which was chosen for the new territory by Missouri border ruffians. Consequently he is no more a law officer of Kansas than he is of Massachusetts. He would have the same right to come into Massachusetts and seize one of our citizens for debt or crime, that he has to do so in Kansas. His very appearance in the character of a *sheriff* was a gross outrage on the people of Kansas, and an insult equally gross to the law. Had he been shot down while endeavoring to act as a *sheriff* of Kansas, he would have been properly served, though the act, considered with reference to circumstances, might have been imprudent. The fact that he was shot when he was not in the discharge of any of his (so called) official duties, is so much against those whom he was appointed to plunder and oppress; but, on the other hand, it makes in favor of the opinion that the shot was fired by one of the border ruffians, as that party alone could be benefited by the act. It is always a safe rule, when a crime has been committed, and the perpetrator is unknown, to attribute it to some one who had an interest in its being perpetrated. The free State men of Kansas not only had no interest in the shooting of Jones, but it was directly against their interest that he should be harmed. The border ruffians have an interest in any crime that may be committed, that shall tend to distract attention from the main question, which is, Shall slavery be established in Kansas, by violence, under the patronage of the general government? That is the joint and the Pierce administration, which would

not send a man to the territory to protect the actual settlers against the ruffians of Missouri, now sends battalions of soldiers to protect the establishment of slavery in a country that had been solemnly guaranteed to freedom.

The federal organs are all laboring to deceive the New England Democracy into the belief that Douglas's enabling bill is fair and above board, though it requires, in addition to the qualifications it prescribes, the *other qualifications* prescribed in the organic act. What they are we have clearly shown. Yet the Boston Post still persists that the bill has no trick to disfranchise anti-slavery voters, and quotes the Washington Union as follows:—

"Not one word of reference is found in the bill to the code of laws passed by the Kansas Legislature; no oath required to support the fugitive slave law; no payment of a dollar as a condition precedent to qualification as a voter."

Now we say that the Union, in affirming that *no oath to support the fugitive slave law* is required by Douglas's bill, is guilty of a wilful falsehood. How can it be otherwise when the organic act requires an oath to support the provisions of that act, and one of those provisions is that the fugitive slave law of 1850 is extended to and is "in full force within" that territory? Can a man swear to support the provisions of that act and not swear to support what it provides in its tenth section? Let the Post and the Union at least try to answer this, before they retire to rest with Annanias and Sapphira. And let them take notice now, if they should succeed, they will be stopped from charging perjury on the anti-slavery men who may take the prescribed oath, if Douglas's bill should pass.

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, THURSDAY, MAY 8.

LIBERAL OFFERS TO ESSAYISTS. We understand that Mr. Dave Atchison of Missouri, has offered a premium of \$1000 for the best essay on the subject of legislative enactments designed to regulate Border Ruffianism, to be accompanied by an outline of a law for consideration. The Board of Judges will consist of Dr. Stringfellow of Missouri, Big Thunder, the Anti-Rent Chieftain; Parker H. French of Nicaragua, and the Rev. Mr. Brownlow of Tennessee.

It is also stated that the South Carolina Legislature is about to offer a premium for the best essay on the subject of the regulation of slavery and the slave trade. Judges—Rev. Dr. Lord of New Hampshire, Hon. Jeff. Davis of Mississippi, Mr. — Legree of Louisiana, and John Mitchel, Esq., late of Ireland.

As the questions of Border Ruffianism and Slavery are among the important problems of the age, which ought to excite the attention of the ablest and most impartial minds, these efforts to bring out the wisdom which is lurking in the country on these subjects deserve attention. The impartial character of the Judges, in both these cases, cannot but be noticed.

THE FREE PRESS.

BURLINGTON:

FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 8, 1856.

Free Kansas Men all Wrong.

The jaundiced vision on Kansas affairs of some journals which profess to wish Kansas to be a free State, yet use all their influence in a way to help those who are determined to make it a slave State, cost what it may, is remarkable. The *Troy Whig*, which looks at every thing through Fillmore and Donelson spectacles, can see no occasion for "Free Kansas" meetings in New York or any where

else. Everybody at the North, it contains, says "that Kansas should be admitted into the Union as a free State"—and it cannot "see the wisdom of getting up a meeting to say it over again. There is no party clique or sect at the North that desires to see Kansas come in as any thing else than a free State. Old line Whigs, Hardshell and soft-shell Democrats, Republicans and Americans—all, all, are for "free Kansas." And it shows its friendship for "free Kansas," by an incessant fault finding with those who in Kansas or elsewhere are engaged in the work of securing its freedom. The shooting of Jones, by nobody knows whom, furnishes an occasion for a special manifestation of its disposition in this respect. That

was the fruit of the large importation of fire arms from the free States into Kansas. Not an intimation is made by it that the repeated invasions of Kansas by hundreds and thousands of violent men to usurp the elective franchise of the inhabitants, threatening death to the people and destruction to their property, harassing them, assaulting and killing them, and denying them even the right of free speech can have had any thing to do in the way of provoking the deed.— Carrying arms is a very bad business, it thinks. Loring lost his life at the St. Nicholas Hotel from the fact that Graham carried a dirk cane. As to the talk of Sharp's rifles having been furnished the free State settlers for self defence, the *Whig* says :

In all the rows and skirmishes which have taken place in Kansas, the parties on both sides have claimed to act in self-defence. The Missourians go to Kansas, armed, not as they say, to take life, but "armed for self defence." The free State men arm themselves, not to take life needlessly, but for "self defence." The result is plain. Brawls and fights multiply, and even an officer, a quiet, inoffensive man, is shot down while sitting in his tent at night. And the ball no doubt, came through the barrel of one of the Sharpe's Rifles which Beecher and others raised contributions for in our Northern churches, and sent forth to Kansas with their "blessing."

That is, in substance, the robber who places his pistol at the head of a traveler and demands his purse, and the traveler who, having been robbed once because unarmed, provides himself with the means of self protection against another attack from the same miscreant, stand on the same footing! One would suppose from the *Whig's* remarks, that the Missourian invaders had all along been as meek as Moses. What a "quiet, inoffensive man" Sheriff Jones has shown himself to be! Of course the presumption must be that precisely one of the rifles purchased by the contributions of "our Northern churches" was used by the unknown man who shot him!

The Commercial Advertiser has its eyes constantly hidden by goggles of much the same color. It is greatly shocked, because at the Lawrence meeting, where the act of shooting Jones was condemned in the strongest terms by all, Gov. Robinson declared that "he did not believe a man in Lawrence had anything to do with the transaction," and intimated a suspicion that the deed was done by some one of the pro-slavery men themselves. It says, "for a man who could thus blend absurdity and heartlessness before an intelligent community we, [the Commercial,] have no sympathy;" and "his offering \$500 on his official authority for the apprehension of the murder, when it is notorious that as yet he has no legal office and

can command no public funds does not even our feeling of distrust him." It considers it "a pitiable use to put the arms which have been sent so freely to Kansas, and a natural result of those persistent attempts to foster civil war in which some Republican journals have freely and unblushingly indulged."

"The attempts to foster civil war" which the Commercial charges upon some republican journals, we suppose consist in not urging upon the settlers of Kansas the duty of submitting quietly to all the demands of their invaders. From the general tone of the Commercial for some time past, we should infer that it considers nothing of a peaceable tendency in the nation but a quiet yielding to all the demands of the Slave oligarchy, wherever and however made. If they threaten to dissolve the Union unless they can have their way, then give them their way. If they send drunken hordes with bowie knives and revolvers to invade a free territory and force it into their own hands, by all means keep the liberty loving settlers in a defenceless state, because then they will be obliged to be peaceable; whereas if they are allowed to have arms, may be they will resist their invaders, and the Union will be endangered, and they alone will be responsible for all the consequences. Deliver us from such friends of civil liberty, say we.

The Independent.

NEW-YORK, MAY 8, 1856.

Kansas Church-Building Fund.—In addition to the sums already acknowledged, the following have been received:

From the Congregational Church at Gloversville, N. Y., per H. N. Dunning	\$119 94
" The Cong. Church at Williamsburgh, per J. H. Ladd	19 00
" H. Fink	4 06
" Edwin Craig	15 00
" Rev. John Adams, East Machias, Me.	1 50
" Wm. E. Hibbard, Montreal, L. C.	10 00
" Congregational Church, New-Britain, Ct.	7 00
" Broadway Tabernacle Church, N. Y.	74 00
" Congregational Church, Rocky Point, L. I., per Rev. T. Harris	20 50
" Congregational Church, Farmington, Ill., J. M. Williams, Pastor	35 00
" Congregational Church, Windsor Lock, per Wm. Patton, D. D.	30 00
" Congregational Church, Durham, N. H., per E. Lane	12 00
" Orren Spencer, Coventry, R. I.	6 00
" W. E. Abbott, Syracuse, N. Y.	5 00
" A. U. L., Conn.	5 00
" Cong. Church, South Hero, Vt. per Rev. O. G. Wheeler	10 00
" Friend, Waterbury, Conn.	10 00
" A. A. Colling, Hartford, Conn.	50 00

\$927 52

NEW-YORK, April 29, 1856.

ISRAEL MISON, Treasurer.

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1856.

Kansas Affairs.

Affairs in Kansas are becoming more and more complicated every day. The people of the Territory,—or, at least, a very large majority of them,—repudiate the authority of the Territorial Government and refuse obedience to its laws. That they have a perfect right to do this, upon every principle of justice and in strict accordance with the provisions of the Kansas and Nebraska bill, is to our minds perfectly clear. That bill confers upon them the right to elect their own Legislature, and thus, through their representatives, to make their own laws. Of this right they have been defrauded. The body of men which enacted the laws they are called upon to obey was not, in any respect, the representative Legislature of the Territory of Kansas. Its members were not elected by the people of Kansas. On the contrary, they were thrust upon them, in defiance of their wishes and to the exclusion of

the men they had elected, by armed bands of invaders from the State of Missouri. Suppose men from Canada were thus to invade New-York,—or suppose men from New-York were thus to invade New-Jersey, and seat their own tools in their halls of legislation, would any man claim that the people of New-York or of New-Jersey were bound to acquiesce, and that resistance on their part to laws thus imposed upon them would be treason and rebellion?

Thus far the people of Kansas have refused obedience to these laws, as they had a perfect right to do. Their attitude has been passive but firm. They have committed no violence and done no wrong. But it is becoming daily more and more evident that this position must be abandoned. The whole power of the Federal Government is to be thrown into the scale against them. The President's Proclamation, issued last Winter, made it apparent that the Federal troops would be employed to enforce upon the people of Kansas the enactments of the spurious Legislature, and the note from Col. SUMNER to the Mayor of Lawrence, which we published a few days since, announces his purpose to proceed to that city, under the orders of the President, for the express purpose of enforcing certain Territorial laws which the people had not suffered the civil officers of the Territory to execute. Resistance to the forces of the Federal Government is, of course, out of the question. It would be hopeless even if it were justifiable:—and it could be justified only upon grounds which would justify a revolution. Any refusal of the people hereafter to obey the Territorial laws of Kansas must be apparent rather than real. The interposition of the national power, in support of a gross and outrageous wrong, gives it the ascendancy; and from this time forward the people of Kansas must evidently submit to the laws which the Missouri invaders have imposed upon them.

How long this state of things is to continue, and by what means it can be remedied, it is not easy to see. So long as Kansas remains a Territory, and without some means of protecting the purity of her ballot-boxes, it is clear she will be constantly subjected to the same interference, that fresh invasions will take place at every election, and that her future Legislatures, like her past, will not be the representatives of her people, but will be imposed upon them by the border ruffians, whose rule and supremacy are sustained by the Federal power. Congress owes it to justice to provide immediately and effectually against the recurrence of such violations of popular rights in Kansas. But unless some provision of this kind is made, the fundamental principles of the Nebraska Bill, as well as the just rights of the people, are at the mercy of a Missouri mob.

The proposal of Senator SEWARD to admit Kansas into the Union immediately, with the State Constitution formed at Topeka, would at once restore peace and order to the Territory. But it is evident that it cannot and will not be adopted; and we presume it was not introduced with any expectation that it would be successful. The circumstances under which this Constitution was formed,—by a Convention called, not by any authority of the Government of the Territory, but in defiance of it,—and composed of delegates elected by a party, instead of by the whole body of the people,—would create, in any case, a very formidable barrier to its acceptance by Congress. But whatever may be the merits of the application for immediate admission, no one supposes for a moment that it can be successful. It might possibly pass in the House of Representatives:—but both the Senate and the Executive are immovably hostile to it. As a measure of practical redress, therefore,—from which the people of Kansas

can expect relief from their present situation, the proposal for its immediate admission as a State is out of the question. We must look elsewhere for a solution.

The bill introduced by Senator DOUGLAS provides for the admission of Kansas as a State, whenever its population shall reach 93,000; it also authorizes the Legislature to provide for the election of delegates to a Convention to form a State Constitution, and prescribes the qualifications of voters,—one of which is a preliminary residence of six months in the Territory and of three months in the election district. If the immediate admission of Kansas as a State is abandoned, as it certainly must be sooner or later, we confess we see no reason why the substantial features of this bill should not be adopted. We see no other way in which the knot is to be untied. Something must be done speedily, unless Kansas is to be abandoned to anarchy and disorder. Permanent relief can only come from her admission as a State:—and if this cannot be effected now, it must be effected by and by. When it shall have become apparent, therefore, that the first proposition is impracticable, and that Kansas cannot be admitted upon the Constitution framed at Topeka, we trust that such amendments as may be needed to render it perfectly just and unexceptionable, will be made to the bill of Mr. DOUGLAS, and that it may become a law. All that this bill need provide for, is the preliminary movement for the application, of Kansas to be ad-

Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

THURSDAY MORNING.....MAY 8

Friends of the Black Man.

The New York *Anti-slavery Standard* has the following letter from a free State correspondent:

TOPEKA, KANSAS, April 10, 1856.

"Probably four-fifths of the actual settlers are in favor of a free State, but much to my surprise and more to my sorrow I found that a majority of these were governed more by self-interest than by principle. The term Abolitionist is used here more than at home as a reproach. Then there are too many seeking office; they have been growing together like dogs over a bone. A majority are in favor of 'the black law'—a law excluding free negroes from the Territory—one in my opinion degrading to men who have just been fighting, and yet will have to fight for their own liberties."

How many of the followers of the Black-Republican chiefs, who have been honestly misled to sanction and approve the rebellion of Reeder and Robinson in Kansas, are aware that these free State men adopted as supplementary to their constitution an act excluding all colored persons from the Territory of Kansas. The Anti-slavery men—those who are opposed to the oppression of "the poor" African because he is weak and of black color—are called on to manifest their sympathy and bestow their countenance and support upon a faction which has so little regard for humanity, justice, the Constitution, and the claims of the colored race, as to deny them the small privilege of entering the Territory of Kansas and cultivating a small patch of the millions of waste land in that region. This is far worse than any conduct of the Southern slaveholder toward the African. On all the plantations the slaves are allowed a little truck patch, in which they may raise vegetables, fruit and poultry; they can go into the woods and cut what timber they need; they can fish in the streams, hunt in the forests, and, at times, use their labor for their own profit. So it is with the slaves. The free blacks have nearly all the

civil rights of citizens in the Slave States; they conduct all trades and pursuits, grow rich, hold property and participate in all the enjoyments and celebrations of their white citizens.

In the city of New Orleans, the free colored population own more than five millions of real estate; they monopolize many highly-remunerative trades; and, on the anniversary of the great battles of the city, they march in public procession with the whites, and share on equal terms all the honors of the occasion.

But these people, because of the misfortune of their color, can never enter the free State of Kansas under the constitution, which the so-called Republican party indorse—the constitution which Lane, Reeder and Robinson made. Even though they be citizens of other States, they cannot go into Kansas, regardless of the provision of the Federal Constitution: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Truly is the party, which would advocate such a constitution, called "Black-Republican." It is the party which has gone further than any other that has ever existed in this country, in its hostility to the African race.

WEEKLY ENQUIRER

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T. W. BENTON, Superintendent.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 8

How Kansas Stories are Manufactured.

The following, contained in the last intelligence from Kansas, is going the rounds of all the papers:

"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 two 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?"

Here is excellent material to manufacture into several editions of a tragedy of the most awful character. Two Missourians have been killed by two claimants to the property which the Missourians had marked out, and, undoubtedly, the killers were Sharpe-rifle, Free-State men, and the two men killed were Slavery-propagandists!

The New York Tribune will doubtless hear the following version of the affair:

"GALLANT DEFENSE OF FREE SOIL! "SLAVERY PROPAGANDISTS

"MADE TO BITE THE DUST!

"Our special and reliable correspondent in Kansas communicates to us the facts relative to the heroic and successful defense of the free soil of Kansas, by two worthy sons of the fathers of '76, against four Border Ruffians, who had gone into the Territory for the purpose of planting the black banner and imposing upon this young Territory the deep damnation of slavery. The ruffians have received a check which they will long remember."

The same facts, when they pass through the crucible of the opposite side, will have somewhat this character:

"BLOODY MASSACRE.

"TWO SOUTHERN MEN BASELY MURDERED BY "ABOLITION RUFFIANS.

"We give to-day the particulars of one of the greatest outrages which has yet stained the soil of Kansas. Two Pro-slavery men, who had secured a good title to certain land claims, were attacked on their property by two blood-thirsty Abolitionists and cowardly slain.

"Rise, Southerners, and avenge the slaughter of your brethren!"

We think this is not an unfair specimen of the *modus operandi* of the pestilent factionists and agitators to keep alive the passions and mislead the judgment and opinions of our people on both sides of this unhappy strife. Two men quarrel about conflicting claims to land, or any other subject of private contention, and such was precisely the case in the affairs of Dow and of Clark, and in the quarrel above referred to—and one is slain. If he happens to be a Pro-slavery man, he is a martyr to Southern institutions; if he is in communion with the Lawrence party, he has been sacrificed in the great cause of human freedom. On one side the killing is all right—on the other it is all wrong.

On the Pro-slavery side the following persons have been shot: Clark, Jones and the two men mentioned above. On the Free-State side, Dow, Barber and Brown are named as the martyrs. This would give a balance against the Free-State party, and yet to read the papers in the North and West you would imagine that all the violence, murder and bloodshed were confined to the Pro-slavery party, and the Free-State men were meek, pious, long-suffering Christians, who could not be induced even to defend their own rights, much less to invade those of others.

Such facts should admonish all good citizens of their duty to examine well both sides of all these occurrences, before they allow their feelings to be enlisted and their judgments forestalled and perverted by the miserable distortions and fabrications of partisan incendiaries.

NASHVILLE:

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1856.

The Position of the Democratic Party on the Slavery Question.

The *Union and American* of yesterday, (May 7th) states the position of the Democratic party on the Slavery question, as follows:

The Democracy as a party, North and South, East and West, believe in the doctrine of "non intervention" by Congress with the question of slavery in the Territories, as well as in the States; leaving the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. This is the common platform of the Democratic party in every section and locality. Upon this the party is a unit. True, the members do not all exactly agree in their construction of this platform. Many, North and South, hold that the people in a Territory can neither prohibit nor establish slavery until they come to make a constitution preparatory to admission into the Union as a State. This is our own well-grounded opinion. While many in each section believe that the people, as well in a territorial condition, as when they form a State Constitution, have full and ample power either to establish or prohibit slavery within the limits of the Territory which they inhabit; and that this right is clearly recognized by the Kansas act, and not prohibited by the constitution of the United States.

We thank our neighbor for placing this statement on record. We presume he weighed his language carefully, and put it forth as his well considered and deliberately formed opinion. We propose, therefore, briefly to examine the claims of the Democracy to soundness on the Slavery question, according to the showing of the *Union and American*.

"Many, North and South," says that journal, "hold that the people in a territory can neither prohibit nor establish slavery until

they come to make a constitution preparatory to admission into the Union as a State." 67

Those democrats who entertain this doctrine we grant, are sound. The people are the source of all political power, and when they assemble in convention, through their delegates, to frame a State Constitution, they have the right to determine whether their State shall recognize slavery as a domestic institution. But Democrats who subscribe to this doctrine are few in the North, and not "many" as the *Union and American* claims. Amongst all the Democratic leaders in that section of the Union, we can call to mind at present but a single one, Mr. J. GLANCY JONES, of Pennsylvania, who has announced his adhesion to it. If there are others we will be obliged to our neighbor if he will name them and give extracts from their speeches or writings.

It will give us great pleasure to recognize all such Northern men as sound and national on the slavery question; provided they agree to admit into the Union such new States as may adopt slavery as a domestic institution.

Again: "Many in each section," continues the *Union and American*, "believe that the people, as well in a TERRITORIAL CONDITION as when they form a State Constitution, have full and ample power either to establish or prohibit slavery within the limits of the territory which they inhabit; and that this is clearly recognized by the Kansas act, and not prohibited by the Constitution." This is the doctrine of SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY in its most odious sense. According to it, the first few emigrants who may "squat" in any territory, at the first session of the territorial Legislature, or any subsequent one, have the right to say to the emigrant from the South, "You must not bring your slaves here—this soil is consecrated to freedom; if you do bring them, they shall be freed!" This doctrine has been justly denounced by the *Union and American*, as "incompatible with the Constitution," and "of all others most odious to the South;" denounced by Mr. Calhoun as the "most monstrous doctrine ever advanced by an American statesman;" as "WORSE THAN WILMOT PROVISIONISM"—and by the *Richmond Enquirer* in the following language:

"Among the fair, but false and fatal theories of the day, none attracts so much homage as the 'Squatter Sovereignty' courtizan. 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 admiration of fools and demagogues."

Yet "many" Democrats "in each section" entertain the doctrine thus denounced, as our neighbor admits. We may add that the great body of the Northern Democracy entertain it; and profess to believe it is sanctioned by the Kansas-Nebraska act. Men who subscribe to such a doctrine can-

not **and** are not, altogether sound on the slavery question. They are worse than the Wilmot Provisoists, because the latter propose to act through Congress, a body in which the South could make itself heard and felt, whilst the former would act thro' the anti-slavery squatters of the North, a power more efficient and more certain in its operations against the rights of the South, and before which the South could neither make itself felt nor heard.

We are justified, therefore, in coming to the conclusion that the Democracy of the North are not sound on the slavery question, rated by the standard of the *Union and American*.

As the advocates of Squatter Sovereignty in the Democratic ranks claim that it "is recognized in the Kansas act," we think it due to the South that the Cincinnati Convention should declare explicitly what is the true interpretation of that act; and it will make such a declaration of it does not intend to give the party leaders an opportunity to preach with forked tongues, one doctrine for the South, and another doctrine for the North!

THE COURIER.

CHARLESTON.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 5. 1856.

Kansas Items.

We take the following items of interest from the *Enterprise*, published at Kansas City, Mo., on the borders of the Territory:

"The *Star of the West*, landed at our wharf to-day, April 12, over one hundred emigrants from Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Kentucky."

"Over 400 emigrants had arrived within two days, and more than 1000 during the week."

"Benjamin Brantley, Esq., and family, arrived on the 12th en route for the Territory. Mr. B. is well known in the upper part of Georgia, where he has always resided until infected with the Western fever."

"Six steamers arrived during the week, all with large freight and a number of passengers. Nine steamers left for St. Louis and other ports in the same time."

"The quotations of some of the principal articles are as follows: Missouri lead 7; flour, extra \$4.25a 4.50, superfine \$3.44.25; bacon, hams 9a 10c., sides 9c., shoulders 8c. Furs have advanced, prime con quoted at 45a55; mink 50 to 60c.; fox 20 to 30c.; otter \$1.25a1.75."

The *Enterprise* says that building is progressing rapidly, but there is a serious drawback for want of mechanics of all kinds and laborers.

"Any number of carpenters, bricklayers, stone-masons, brick makers, are wanted immediately. Laborers can find constant employment and the highest wages at Kansas city. Five hundred men are now needed."

We copy the following from the same paper:

"The *First Flat Boat*.—The flat boat Pioneer has arrived from the Kansas river with the first load of merchandise ever shipped in that description of craft. It was freighted at Lawrence, and opens a new chapter in the history of Kansas. In this age of steamboats and locomotives, people are apt to overlook humble beginnings, but those acquainted with the history of keels and broadhorns cannot fail to appreciate the importance of this branch of trade. It is important in another view—Kansas has commenced exporting—a fact which people in the older States have not even dreamed of, affording evidence of the wonderful growth of the territory, and of the energy and enterprise which, amid the political excitements of the last year, have been silent but effectively at work.

"Gen. Whitfield has arrived, and will be in attendance on the sessions of the Congressional Committee during its sittings in the Territory. The General is in fine health and spirits, and feels himself fully able to defeat all attempts of abolitionism to oust him from the seat he so ably fills. He has been warmly greeted by his constituents, and such has been his services to the Territory, that even a

majority of Free State men prefer him to Reeder, personally, as they all admit his fine ability, persevering industry and high toned and gallant demeanor as a gentleman. He has done more for Kansas Territory than all his opponents combined could accomplish, even were they to devote their efforts to so deserving a purpose.

CHOICE EXTRACTS.

From the *Squatter Sovereign of May 9*—Stringfellow's

COME TO SHOOT "ABOLITIONISTS."—We are behind with the paper this week, and also deficient in reading matter. The latter is owing to the absence of the editors at Leecompton—the former to the fact that when "the cat's away, the mice will play."

TOOK LEG BAIL.—The United States authorities got after REEDER, ROBINSON and others, but they took to their heels and vanished the Territory. What a commentary upon the valor of the Free-State army. At the first approach of danger, their commander-in-chief and prime minister desert their followers, and leave them without counsel, military or civil.

PRICE OF HEMP IS DOWN.—Bogus Governor ROBINSON was arrested on Saturday, the 10th inst., and will be detained until legal papers are forwarded by the authorities of this Territory. He was on board the steamer *Star of the West*.

EX-GOVERNOR REEDER is supposed to have escaped from the Territory by being blacked, and passing through Missouri as a body-servant of a pretended border ruffian. We hope our Government will get him before he can be defended by the black regiment in Kansas or a Boston mob.

These amendments, with all the leading rogues, who have been misleading ignorant people on the Kansas question, should now be punished to the full extent of the law; and, as the price of hemp is down, it would perhaps conduce to the interests of the raisers of that article if some of it were used on them.

HANG THE LEADERS.—The requisition upon the citizens of Kansas met with a ready response from this section of the Territory. Within twenty-four hours of the receipt of the notice, a large company were armed and equipped, and off for the scene of action.

It is expected two thousand abolitionists will be under arms to resist the enforcement of the laws and to screen the culprits.

Thursday, we believe, is the day fixed upon to carry the laws into effect, when there is but little doubt the authorities will have a sufficient force to enable them to do their duty.

The result will be looked for with anxiety by every one whose feelings are American. That there will be a collision we have not a doubt, unless the craven-hearted cowards, when they find that they have not a force of ten to one, succumb, and again swear fealty to the laws. Even this should not save them. Hang the leaders and give their blood and bigoted followers a stated time to leave, and then let the law-and-order men stay upon the ground until the last hound is outside the bounds of Kansas. It is the only course that will insure peace and quiet in this Territory.

MISSOURIANS GOING OVER IN CROWDS.—The ferry-boat *Lewis Burnes* has been making regular ten-minute trips across the river for several days. The amount of crossing at this point is such that a press of steam from daylight to dark is insufficient to put the teams over as fast as they arrive.

GOR HIM FAST.—His Excellency Bogus ROBINSON is now safely lodged at Fort Leavenworth, from whence he should only be taken to be hung.

Daily Democrat.

A DEVELOPMENT IN POLITICAL HISTORY.

We give publication below to a most remarkable exposition touching the secret history of the administration of James K. Polk. It is an elaborate letter addressed by Francis P. Blair, of Maryland, to a mass meeting of citizens assembled at New York city, and although we may not concur with the writer in all the political positions he has assumed for himself, yet the developments here made by the production of the correspondence of Andrew Jackson, and the light thrown upon the scheming and plottings of Mr. Calhoun to fasten his disunion designs upon the Democratic party as an interpolation in their creed are of too much historical value to be omitted from any journal that has the welfare of that party at heart. After addressing himself to the immediate occasion of his writing, Mr. Blair says:

It is grateful to me to receive an invitation to unite in your effort to restore the patriotism of the time when republicans of every party, were arrayed in opposition to the sinister designs of the nullifiers of the South.

They are more formidable now than ever.—They have an administration insaluted at Washington to aid their plots, which, receiving its power from the Democracy, has betrayed its organization—its name, and the accumulated confidence gathered around it, by the labors of the illustrious retrorers of the principles derived from Jefferson, together with the authority it conferred on those entrusted with the government, to assist the worst cause.

To use a homely expression, the Democracy has been sold out to Mr. Calhoun, and the flying par-

ty, a party which owes its origin to the appeals made by him to the slaveholding interest, operating on the fears of some, the avarice and ambition of others.

A brief account of the rise of this party will be useful, as explaining the source of its power and of the present troubles of the country.

Mr. Calhoun, after failing in his effort to attain the Presidency, by the sacrifice he made of Southern interests to manufacturing cupidity, in the first protective tariff, which he contibuted to enact, changed his tactics and devoted his life to achieve the object of his ambition by consolidating the slave power through appeals to its interests. He reversed his tariff policy and pronounced the protective system robbery of the South. Agriculture was indeed everywhere oppressed by an excessive tariff, but Mr. Calhoun and his partizans insisted that the whole burden fell on the South, although the North paid double the duties paid by the South.

His own and Mr. McDuffie's powerful appeals persuaded South Carolina that the Union was a mischief to her, and that as the central sea-board State, she would prosper more as the head of the Southern confederacy, than as a little slave oligarchy in the midst of great republican commonwealths, then looking to the gradual progress of free principles, for aggrandizement.

The more prosperous States of the South, although hostile to the tariff, would not adopt Mr. Calhoun's nullification for redress. His attempt to identify General Jackson's administration with South Carolina principles proved abortive. The plan to effect it was ingeniously contrived. A dinner, in honor of Jefferson's birthday, was the occasion devised to inaugurate the administration and the doctrine of nullification together.

The sentiments prepared for promulgation with this view were laid by the side of the new President's plate, to receive his sanction, but they met his reprobation in the famous toast: "The federal Union must be preserved"—which he inscribed on the paper. Mr. Calhoun's next step was to bring South Carolina alone into the arena, to defy the general Government and broach civil war, relying on the sympathy of the slave States to unite all in making common cause with her when coerced by the general Government. This hazardous plan of combining the slaveholding power in a war upon the Union, fell under the proclamation and the force bill.

Mr. Calhoun did not abandon, under this defeat, his favorite design of embodying the South as a section, to command the North or separate from it. The cry that slavery was in danger was his next rallying cry. The names of Tappan, Garrison, and other speculative enthusiasts, who argued the ease of the African race, in the hope of reaching the feelings and consciences of those who had the power of giving them freedom, were made the watchwords of his party. Mr. Calhoun endeavored to impress the feeling that these movements portended the invasion of the rights of southern slaveowners by the power of the northern states. There was not the slightest pretext for the apprehension. The great majority in all the free states condemned interference with the domestic institutions of the South. Even discussion of the subject, with a view to moral effect, was in the northern cities frowned down. But Mr. Calhoun was not content with this demonstration of public feeling in the free states. His next move was to convoke a sectional convention of all the states holding slaves, for the purpose of repealing of the northern legislatures, the suppression of the abolition societies, headed by Tappan and others; and he declared, that the South must dissolve the Union, unless the North obeyed his call to suppress the freedom of speech and of the press, if employed by its citizens in discussing the mischiefs of slavery. This extraordinary movement to enforce the persecution of free opinion in one section by demanding penal enactments, menacing a revolt in the other, on failure to comply, had the desired effect. It gave importance to the abolitionists, which it is impossible they would otherwise have acquired. Multitudes were ready to defend the freedom of speech, who were strongly opposed to the abuse of it.

The legislatures of the North would not persecute at Mr. Calhoun's bidding. He then appealed to Congress to suppress the circulation of what he called the "incentive" tracts of the abolitionists, and introduced a bill supported by a long report, to enforce a sort of censorship over every publication lodged in the mail. All were to be suppressed that could be construed as affecting slavery. Mr. Calhoun denounced a separation of the Union as the necessary consequence of the failure of this measure. It failed as an enactment, but did not fail to increase the agitation which it was destined to provoke.

Then followed the era of petitions from the North, which were multiplied as repulses to the

insults upon their authors, by Mr. Calhoun and his Southern conductors. They, in turn, avenged themselves upon the petitions by denunciatory speeches, by refusing to print, by laying them upon the table without reading, by subjecting them to every species of parliamentary contempt. All this exasperation, which Mr. Calhoun had taken such an active share in propagating throughout the class with which he identified himself, did not compass his object.

The great body of the people, North and South, saw that he aimed to reach the Presidency by combining the whole vote of the South in his favor, and putting it in the attitude of abandoning the Union, unless the North would call the great nullifier to the Chief Magistracy to prevent it. The intrigue of selfish ambition was so apparent in all his management, that Mr. Calhoun could not unite the South to his support. It valued the Union much more than it did Mr. Calhoun, and would not put it in jeopardy to make the experiment he proposed. It saw, too, that there was not the slightest inclination on the part of any northern State to trespass on the rights of their brethren of the South—that the panic about incendiary documents was a mere feint—that all the abolition pamphlets were but waste paper. If they had any effect, it was to make the master more severe and the slave more servile.

Having in vain tried to make the subservency of the slaveholder throughout the South pander to his selfish designs, as it did in South Carolina, mischance at last gave Mr. Calhoun the opportunity to touch a chord, to reach the feelings of slaveowners everywhere responded. It awakened the ambition of the whole oligarchy of the South. The conquest of new dominions for slavery touched that fibre in the heart, which, unhappily for the peace of mankind, is too much alive in every bosom. Mr. Calhoun, as the head of Mr. Tyler's administration, (a place which was opened to him by the hand of death) urged the annexation of Texas as offering a field to the South for the propagation of slavery, and opening its way to indefinite extension towards the West. He seized the occasion to address a letter to Lord Aberdeen, declaring this to be the purpose of the annexation, and another to Mr. King, our minister to France, in which he expiated upon the advantages of slavery. Thus offering, in the eyes of all Europe, an insult to the honest principles on which our Revolutionary Fathers and the authors of the Constitution, founded our government.

These patriots would not allow the word *slave* to be found in our Constitution. They provided for the extinction of the slave trade as a piracy. They prohibited it from every territory belonging to the Union. Mr. Calhoun coveted new territories only to afford room for its expansion, and made it his shameful boast to the world, that the power he had acquired as freemen, under the lead of patriots, who had shed their blood to establish the principle that "all men were born free and equal," was now to be employed to spread slavery over a continent.—Here, for the first time, Mr. Calhoun succeeded in drawing to his purposes the whole slaveholding interest, as well without as within South Carolina.

The ambition of conquest, especially, in those taught to dominate in their nurses' arms, cannot resist the tempting invitation to take cheap glory and rich spoils from a weak people. Besides we had a claim to Texas: It was already a slave State, and it was not then suspected that Mr. Calhoun looked beyond its boundaries to take new provinces, and extend slavery into Mexico. His avowed principle, therefore, was supposed to be limited by the practical result to which they were immediately applicable, and men who had no thought of conquering Mexico to convert it again into a land of slaves, cordially co-operated in bringing Texas into the Union. The scheme was then meditated, the consequences of which are now before us, and which one Brooke, of South Carolina, has declared, in the House of Representatives, looks to the absorption of Mexico, Nicaragua and Cuba.

The annexation of Texas produced the war with Mexico, which fully developed the ambition of the slave-holding interest for extended dominion. It was not satisfied with the acquisition of the rich State of Texas. It was not satisfied with the pledge given by Congress that four additional slave States should be created out of the territory conquered from Mexico, between the limits of Texas as they stood before the war and the Rio Grande, and other unsettled regions extending along the line of 36 deg 30 min. to New Mexico. Mr. Calhoun and his partisans threatened to sever the Union if California was admitted as a free State on demand of its citizens, unless all New Mexico were opened to slavery.

It is proper to look back to the successful means employed by Mr. Calhoun and his friends which enabled them to press such arrogant demands. Mr. Calhoun had made the slave hold-

ers a perfect southern phalanx by making it manifest that the success of action among them was essential to achieve their contemplated conquest; and it was also impressed as another pre-requisite, that they must have control of the federal administration, and to accomplish this a combination of personal interests must be contrived, to dissolve the adhesion of party principles. With these ends, Mr. Calhoun the actual head of Mr. Tyler's administration, called a convention of delegates, appointed by the office holders in all the States, to meet at Baltimore contemporaneously with the Democratic convention chosen to nominate a successor to Mr. Tyler. The Texas question was employed to produce a schism in the Democratic convention, a majority of which had been instructed to announce Mr. Van Buren as its candidate for the Presidency. The two-thirds rule was adopted to defeat his nomination.

It is now avowed by one of the South Carolina delegation, that Mr. Polk owed his nomination to Mr. Calhoun's friends. Col. Pickens and Mr. Elmore from South Carolina, attended as delegates and laid their credentials on the table, but did not become members, preferring to stand aloof, and not be bound by the decision of the body. While exerting their influence to control the result, they intimated that unless the man they would support should become the candidate, the nullifiers who controlled the Texas movement would defeat his election. Pledges were made on all sides, and Mr. Polk was nominated. But to make sure that the pledges of Mr. Polk's friends would be faithfully redeemed, Mr. Tyler's nomination, which was made in the convention of office-holders, then at hand and in session, was proclaimed and held in suspense, to be resorted to in case of faltering on the part of Mr. Polk. The skill with which Mr. Calhoun sitting in his cabinet, managed this double nomination between a President *in esse* and a President *in futuro*, for the same place, gives admirable proof of his dexterity in political intrigue. The point he had in view was, to make the power which he could enable Mr. Tyler to wield over the vote of the South, extort from Mr. Polk whatever concessions the nullifiers might demand, as the price of Mr. Tyler's withdrawal, to secure Mr. Polk's election.

The editor of the Globe knew nothing of the secret negotiations pending between Messrs. Polk, Calhoun and Tyler, during the three months that Mr. Tyler kept the field, nor, indeed, until after the inauguration of Mr. Polk. He did not understand why Mr. Calhoun, just at that time got up public meetings through the South, proclaiming a secession from the Union unless the tariff of 1842 was abandoned. It was the toxin to draw out the train bands of nullification, to enable Mr. Tyler to threaten Mr. Polk with opposition in that quarter. The editor of the Globe denounced this movement, and the abuses of Mr. Tyler's administration, because Mr. Calhoun's friends, who were connected with them, professed to be friends of Mr. Polk. Had not the Globe taken a course to show that there was no collusion between Mr. Polk and the authors of what so offended the public, the election would have been lost. Mr. Calhoun thus compelled the Globe to take the course which gave a pretext for Mr. Tyler to complain of its conductor, and to appeal to Mr. Polk to make a pledge, that it should not be the organ of his administration in case Mr. Tyler withdrew to secure his election, but that he would appoint one favorable to Mr. Calhoun and himself, in consideration of the sacrifice of their present prospects to his success.

This was the mode in which Mr. Calhoun reached his great desideratum. At last he had succeeded in making a thorough combination among the slave-owners of the South, animated in his cause by the hope of new conquests, and he had obtained in advance, a guarantee of authority over the official organ of the Executive, as a hostage, to control the succeeding administration.

To show the importance which Mr. Calhoun attached to the command of the official organ of the Democracy at Washington will require some detail and proof. This may be tedious; but as all the existing troubles of the country are to be traced to the disorganization and overthrow of that party, and the substitution of the powers of the nullifiers in its stead, although prolix, personal and somewhat savouring of egotism, the development may be excused as necessary.

Mr. Rives says, in a correspondence of his with Mr. Ritchie, in January, 1851: "A gentleman of high standing (Col. Pickens) warned me, and through me Mr. Blair, that he intended to use all honorable means to get rid of him as editor of the Globe, on account of his opposition to Southern men and Southern measures." This conversation, between Col. Pickens and Mr. Rives, took place in Washington, on his way home from the Baltimore Convention, where he had contributed to the nomination of Mr. Polk.

To accomplish this purpose Col. Pickens paid a visit to Mr. Polk, in Tennessee—but to prepare the way for it a letter was written, by Mr. Walker, afterwards Mr. Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, the purpose of which is disclosed in the following passage of a letter from Mr. Polk to Gen. Jackson, dated,

COLUMBIANA, July 2nd, 1844.

My dear Sir: I received of Mr. Blair a confidential letter from Mr. Senator Walker of Mississippi. I have communicated its contents, confidentially, to my friend, General Pillow, who will hand you this letter, and who will confer with you in regard to the steps proper to be taken, if anything should be done in reference to its suggestions. Gen. Pillow is my friend, and an honorable and reliable man, with whom you may safely communicate freely. The object which Mr. Walker desires to attain is an important one, and yet occupying the position which I do, it is one of so much delicacy that I do not see how I could write on the subject to any one. I submit it to your better judgment what you may deem it proper to do. The main object in the way of Mr. T.'s withdrawal seems to be the course of the Globe towards himself and his friends. There is certainly no necessity for the Globe to continue its attacks upon him or his administration. A separate Tyler ticket might put in jeopardy the vote of several closely contested States, and perhaps affect the final result. Surely Mr. Blair, or the Globe can be induced to cease his war upon the administration during the pendency of the contest at least.

It will be seen that nothing more of the dealing between Mr. Polk and Mr. Tyler's Cabinet was here revealed than the wish that the editor of the Globe should "be induced to cease his war upon the administration during the pendency of the contest at least;" the circumstances, then concealed, have since come to light, showing that a bargain was then struck, that the Globe's war should cease forever, and that an organ, friendly to Mr. Calhoun, should be substituted for the Globe. These disclosures were first indicated subsequently to Mr. Polk's election, by approaches to General Jackson, to reconcile him to the abandonment of the democratic organ which he had established at Washington, as a bulwark against the machinations of Mr. Calhoun, to destroy the integrity of the Union, to effect which, the press of Duff Green, had been first devoted by him. Not a breath as to the motives of Colonel Pickens's visit to Mr. Polk (which followed immediately after the letter of Mr. Walker to Mr. Polk, containing the proposals of Mr. Tyler's withdrawal,) was offered to reach the ears of General Jackson; but after the election in December, rumors of a design to make a change in the organ reached him through General Armstrong, who was sent to break it to him. General Armstrong, though affecting to sympathize with General Jackson's feelings and wishes, was, in fact, entirely devoted to Mr. Polk, and shared in all his collusion with Calhoun and Tyler, and was rewarded for it first by the rich consulate at Liverpool, and reaped his last harvest as editor of the Union, in the service of the nullifiers. General Jackson divulges what General Armstrong represented as rumor, but what was really the concocted plans settled upon by the coalition of Calhoun, Tyler and Polk, in a letter dated Hermitage, 14th December, 1844, in which he says:

••••• Our mutual friend, Gen. Robert Armstrong, spent a part of yesterday with me, from whom I confidentially learned some movements of some of our Democratic friends, no, or wisdom but of it, that would at once separate the Democratic party and destroy Polk and his administration, and support Mr. Polk's friends, and separate the Democratic party. I forthwith wrote Col. Polk upon the subject, and am sure he will view it as I do, a wicked and concerted movement for Mr. Calhoun's and Mr. Tyler's political benefit. It is this, to amalgamate the *Madisonian* and what was the spectator, and make that paper the organ of the government to the exclusion of the Globe. I am sure Polk will see it, and will resist the attempt, and will plot as I do. I will not be so stupid, and that is that Mr. Calhoun will in a few days of Polk's cabinet, nor any a plant to the Presidency. This is believed to spring from Mr. Blair's traits, incited into the brain of some of our pretended Democratic politicians who want to be great men, but will never reach that height.

As your friend on the political watch-dog I give you this confidential information, and I sincerely trust you will see the end and the secret moves of this wicked and wicked measure, that would at once divide and distract the *Republican party* and dissolve it—unless the measures we have adopted here may put it down, you will soon see the movement in Washington, and I hope, if attempted, the whole democracy will rally around the Globe and prostrate the viper for ever. This intrigue puts me in mind of Mr. Calhoun's traitorous and wicked plot as I do. I will not be so stupid, and that is that Mr. Calhoun will in a few days of Polk's cabinet, nor any a plant to the Presidency. This is believed to spring from Mr. Blair's traits, incited into the brain of some of our pretended Democratic politicians who want to be great men, but will never reach that height.

But there is another project on foot as void of good sense and benefit to the democratic cause as the other, but not as wicked, proceeding from weak and inexperienced minds.—It is this: to bring about a partner hip between you and Mr. Ritchie, you to continue proprietor and Ritchie the editor. This to me is a most extraordinary conception coming from any well informed man, or an experienced politician. It is true Mr. Ritchie is an experienced editor, but a sometimes goes off at half-cock before he sees the whole ground, and does the party great injury before he sees his error, and then has great difficulty to get back into the right track again. Witness his course on my removal of the deposits, and how much injury he did us before he got into the right track again. It is true Mr. Ritchie is an experienced editor, but a sometimes goes off at half-cock before he sees the whole ground, and does the party great injury before he sees his error, and then has great difficulty to get back into the right track again. Witness his course on my removal of the deposits, and how much injury he did us before he got into the right track again.

These are visionary measures of what is called political change, and I believe, will stick by me faithfully, should he not, he is lost, but I have no fears but that he will, and being informed confidentially of this movement, may have it in his power to pull it all down. One thing I know, General Armstrong and myself, with every influence, will stick by you as long as you stand out. Liberty to name names, but you will be satisfied with what I have said.

...with Mr. Ritchie's paper will be at once...
...to carry out Mr. Tyler's administration, and attempt to become the administration paper under Polk, and the copartnership between you and Mr. Ritchie broached to you by some of your friends and his, therefore, give this information that you may not be taken by surprise. There is the great...
...on going on at Washington this winter, and if I mistake not Mr. Polk, he will turn the whole to the bat and I think will. He has energy enough to give himself elbow room, under all and any circumstances, and you may rest assured he will have none in his cabinet that are aspiring to the Presidency. I write in confidence, and will soon again write you. You may rest assured in my friendship, all the politicians on earth, and the Democratic party as long as you own a paper, and as long as the party is true to itself you will be its organ, and true to its principles.

I am very weak and most close.
Your friend, truly,
ANDREW JACKSON.
On the 28th of February, he recurs to the subject with great surprise, at learning that a particular friend of Col. Polk's is enlisted in Mr. Calhoun's organ. He says, in this letter of the 28th February, 1845:

HERMITAGE, February 29, 1845.
"My dear Blair: For the first time on the 22d instant, I was informed that Col. Laughlin had gone to the city of Washington to become interested in the 'Madisonian.' If this is true, it will astonish me greatly. Some time ago I did learn that there was a project on foot to unite the 'Madisonian' and the 'Constitution,' and make it the organ of the Executive. Another plan is to get Mr. Ritchie interested as editor of the Globe—all of which I gave you an intimation of, and which I thought had been put down. But that any leading Democrat here had any thought of becoming interested in the 'Madisonian,' to make it the organ of the administration, was such a thing as I could not believe; as common sense, as once pointed out as a consequence, that it would divide the Democracy and destroy Polk's administration. Why, it would blow him up. The moment I heard it, I adopted such measures as I trust have put an end to it; as I know nothing could be so injurious to Colonel Polk and his administration. The pretext for this movement will be the Globe's support of Col. Benton. Let me know if there is any truth in this rumor, and guard Col. Benton against any abandonment of the Globe. I can do you but little harm. A few subscribers may withdraw, but it will add one hundred per cent. to your subscription list in one month after it is known. If true, I will place Col. Polk in the shoes of Mr. Tyler.

"Your friend, sincerely,
ANDREW JACKSON."
Four days afterwards, in a letter, he alludes to the efforts he had made to prevent Mr. Polk from entering into this coalition with Tyler and Calhoun:

HERMITAGE, March 3, 1845.
"In my letter I said to you, I had taken a firm and immediate stand to put it down. I wrote Col. Polk a frank and friendly letter, bringing to his view the attitude that making the Madisonian the administration paper, would place him in. It would be in the shoes of Tyler, and split the Democracy, and blow him and his administration to the Globe. There is no common sense in this, than I could conceive. But trust Colonel Polk, on the receipt of my letter, will crush this Tyler and Calhoun movement in the bud.
I am truly your friend,
ANDREW JACKSON."

From a succession of letters which I received from him in the months of March and April, it is evident he was constantly exerting his influence to avert the mischief, to what he called the "Republican party," threatened in the surrender of the State by Mr. Polk, and the adoption of the Calhoun organ to represent his administration. The following letter of the 9th of April, exhibits the whole dramatic personæ engaged in the intrigue. It is given in full. The names which appear in this letter, and the attendant circumstances, throw light on the whole transaction:

HERMITAGE, April 9, 1845.
"My dear Mr. Blair: I have been quite unwell, and my hands and abdomen, and it may be that my life ends in dropsy. All means hitherto used to stay the swelling have now failed to check it—be it so. I am fully prepared to say the Lord's will be done. My mind, since ever I heard of the attitude the President had assumed with you as editor of the Globe, has been in a most unexpected thing I ever met with, my mind has been troubled. It was not only unexpected by me, but has shown less good common sense by the President than any act of his life, and calculated to divide, instead of uniting the democracy, which appears to be his reason for urging this useless and foolish measure at the very threshold of his administration. And when everything appeared to augur well for, to him, a project of calling down upon himself the suspicions, by the act of secretly favoring some of the political cliques who are looking to the succession for some avowed. I have in my confidential letters, and particularly that of the 4th instant, brought fully to his view, in my plain, common-sense way, his situation, and ask him at last how he can justify his course to you, to the real democracy that sustained my administration and Mr. Van Buren's. It brought to the President's mind, when I pointed out upon the duties of the administration of the government, that Duff Green was the Democratic editor whose object was to beat the executive chair by me for Mr. Calhoun. He was the executive's organ until I found he was doing my administration injury, and dividing the Democratic ranks; that the Globe, with you its editor, took Duff Green's place. That you and Colo Polk went hand in hand sustaining all my measures, with ability and assiduity, when I advocated the election of Mr. Van Buren, and went hand in hand in sustaining his administration—united in his support for a second term—that ever since the Colonel's name was announced as the nominee of the Baltimore Convention, you have given him an unflinching support, and I have fully explained to him how your paper had been drawn astray from your own man-

...I then conclude by asking him what excuse can be given to the old substantial Jackson and Van Buren Democrats for not letting you and your paper go on as his organ until you are in some fault, and then as a gift to give you away. I ask: have you (the Colonel) any new principles other than those you have always advocated, and set forth in your inaugural, to bring before the people, that you think Mr. Blair will oppose, that at the very threshold of your administration you have repudiated Blair and his Globe from being your organ. I know this cannot be the case, therefore am entirely lost to conjecture any good cause for your unaccountable course to Mr. Blair, and wind up, telling him there is but one safe course to pursue, to get the friends of you, and direct you and the Globe to proceed as the organ of his administration, give you all his confidence, and all would be well and end well. This is the substance, and I had a hope on the receipt of this letter, and some others written by mutual friends, would have restored all to harmony and confidence again. I rested on this hope until the 7th, when I received yours of the 3rd, and two confidential letters from the President directed to be laid before me, in which it would seem that the end to be purchased, and to get clear of you as editor, is the great absorbing question before the President. Well, who is to be the purchaser? Mr. Ritchie and Maj. A. J. Donelson, its editors. Query as to the latter. The above question I have asked the President. Is it renegade politician, Cameron, who boasts of his \$50,000 to set up a new paper, to be one of them—who is a bankrupt in politics, and who got elected by selling the votes of the Whigs, and could not raise \$1,000 to be one of the proprietors of the Democracy. His very election has divided them in Pennsylvania, and a letter to me says he has done our mutual friend Buchanan much injury, he being charged with using secretly his influence to effect it, or would Cameron's ownership in part unite Horn, Kane, Lelper, Dallas, and a host of other old time Democrats in your expulsion? What decision? Who is Major Walker, of Tennessee, to be the purchaser? He is a bankrupt, and is vastly encumbered with debt by many a perfect bankrupt. Who is to purchase, and where is the money to come from? Is D. Wm. Gwin, the still-life of Calhoun, the great friend of R. J. Walker, Secretary of Treasury, a perfect bankrupt in property? My own opinion is that the contract made, the money cannot be raised, and the Globe cannot be bought. What then? The President will find himself in a dilemma, have to apologise, and the Globe he ordered, and Ritchie will return, not so well satisfied with the sagacity of the administration, as when he left Richmond. These are my speculations, as I may be in error. I would like to know what portion of the Cabinet are supporting and advising the President to this course, where nothing but injury can result to him in the end, and division in his cabinet, arising from jealousy.—What political clique is to be benefited? My dear friend, let me know all about the clique, and their movement on this subject. How handsome it is to me to see an old friend laid aside, principles of justice and friendship forgotten, and all for the sake of policy—and the great Democratic party, divided or endangered for policy—and that a mere imaginary policy, that must tend to divide the great Democratic party, whilst the Whigs are secretly rejoicing at the prospects of disunion in our ranks. I declare to you, it is a course that common sense forbids the adoption, and the Globe be it ordered, is to me, as it is to you, so much harmony and prospect of success. I cannot reflect upon it with any calmness; every point of it, upon scrutiny, turns to harm and disunion, and not one beneficial result can be expected from it. I will be anxious to know the result. If harmony is restored, and the Globe the organ, I will rejoice; if sold, to whom, and for what? This may be the last letter I may be able to write you; but live or die, I leave my friends and my country to your keeping, and as far as justice is due to myself, I know you will shield it. I ask no more. I rest upon truth, and require nothing but what truth will mete to me. All my household join me in kind wishes for your health and prosperity, and that of all your family; and that you may triumph over all enemies. May God's choicest blessings be bestowed upon you and yours through life, is the prayer of your sincere friend,
ANDREW JACKSON.

F. P. BLAIR, ESQ.
The first slight glimpse of the completion of the arrangement here fully developed between the triumvirates had been given immediately after Col. Pickens had made his visit to Col. Polk. A convention of Mr. Polk's friends assembled soon afterwards at Nashville, and adopted the course of the Globe in regard to the nullification meetings in South Carolina.
"It repelled (said Mr. Polk's Nashville organ, Mr. Nickolson's paper, I believe,) the charge of disunion against the real democracy with indignation and contempt," &c. The moment after the return of Col. Pickens to South Carolina, the nullification outcry was hushed. The confederates thus united looked upon it as a common interest to quiet the North's apprehensions in regard to the disunion tendencies of Mr. Polk's new allies. Mr. Pickens's successful mission was immediately followed by Mr. Tyler's withdrawal from the canvass.
An arrangement having been thus ratified between the contracting parties for an official organ in the interest of the nullifying party, in the event of Mr. Polk's election, the treasury of the United States, on the 4th day of November, 1844, (signs then manifesting the strongest probability of Mr. Polk's election,) placed \$50,000 in Mr. Cameron's bank, at a village nine miles from Harrisburg, to make provision for the purchase of the press. The election over, Mr. Cameron, in pursuance of the arrangement, informed Mr. Donelson by letter that he had this money at his disposal, and he was invited by the President to avail himself of it to purchase the Globe, or establish another press at Washington. General Jackson saw this letter, and got his first glimpse of the part assigned Mr. Cameron.
As soon as the new President arrived in Washington, he proposed to the editor of the Globe to permit Major Donelson to take his place, at the same time soliciting him to support the press by writing for it secretly. This was refused, and no doubt in consequence of General Jackson's opposition to Major Donelson's lending himself

and the influence he derived from the General's relationship, also declined the proposal of entering into the projects of Mr. Calhoun, and hesitated to avail himself of the means put at his disposal by Mr. Cameron. Mr. Ritchie was the alternative of Major Donelson. The latter was doubtless preferred by Mr. Calhoun, because he had been associated with him in breaking up General Jackson's first cabinet. That the confidential relations still subsisted which so signally marked their intercourse in the beginning of General Jackson's administration, this preference gives full proof, and it is further evinced by the fact, that Mr. Calhoun confided to him the execution of his last and most important official act—the midnight mission of the 3d of March to re-annex Texas to the United States.

The number of distinguished men who were called in to assist at the birth of the organ which was to establish the Southern dynasty by "placing Col. Polk in the shoes of Mr. Tyler," marks the interest which all the confederates took in the subject. Col. Pickens, General Pillow, Mr. Walker, Mr. Tyler, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Rhet, Mr. Cameron, Major Donelson, Mr. Ritchie, General Armstrong, Mr. Nicholson, (then editor of the Nashville Polk paper,) I believe, all figure in General Jackson's letter, as having their share in the travail. Mr. Buchanan, it appears from a letter on file in the Treasury Department, was not allowed to escape his part of the responsibility for the most delicate part of the operation—the taking the \$50,000 to establish an organ. Mr. Tyler was willing to let Mr. Cameron have the \$50,000 out of the public treasury to make provision for the political bantling on which so much depended; but as Mr. Buchanan was to become a special beneficiary in the premiership, it was considered a wise precaution, that he should, in writing, recommend Mr. Cameron as a fit recipient of this grace from the Administration, and of trust from the treasury.

The confidence thus reposed in Mr. Cameron all around, and the hold it gave him on Mr. Buchanan, elevated him to the Senate of the United States. Possibly the \$50,000 helped, as he only advanced out of it the first instalment for the Globe, as appeared from his testimony before a committee. The money was not refunded until 1847. In the meantime Mr. Cameron was purveyor of fat jobs for the press in the Senate, and some in which he was himself supposed to be interested. The government was, in truth, repaid out of his own money a gratuity of \$50,000 which was voted to Mr. Ritchie beyond his contracts, through the influence of Mr. Douglas, a sort of outfit for private life, on retiring from the press.

But he was not the only lucky man who derived dignity and emolument from this Treasury investment. Mr. Buchanan became Premier, Mr. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury, Messrs. Calhoun, Pickens and Elmore were severally offered the mission to England; Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Donelson, General Armstrong and Mr. Nichol-

son successive editors of the Organ, and the nullifying squadron of the South, through its instrumentality, have subjected to their control the organization of the Democratic party from that day to this. In virtue of it, they have had at their command the high stations of the government at home and abroad. And the present administration, from its induction to this hour, has been under the dictation of its leaders.

The question now to be decided before the country, is whether the nullifiers who have thus usurped the name and organization of the Democratic party, but who have no principles in common with it, shall be allowed to carry out their designs in such disguise. Their leaders on every question, in every difficult crisis of the country, from the commencement of General Jackson's administration have been against the Democracy.

Who are the leaders in the South who now make such loud professions of democracy? Who are they that repeat the word in chorus and have made it a party sing-song? Men who never were democrats, but abhorred the name when it rallied the country around an administration that was true to the representative principle, that the popular will, to the cause of free government, and now use it only to cover broken faith to constituents and violated compacts between States.

The leading men in Virginia at this time are Hunter and Mason, its Senators, and Wise, its Governor. What were they in the days of conflict for the democracy, during the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren—Hunter, a thorough Calhoun nullifier, Mason, a mock conservative of the Rives and Talmadge stamp—Wise, siding with Calhoun at every step in his deadly warfare against Jackson and Van Buren. Mr. Clingman, now a most prominent chief in North Carolina, in a late letter, bottoms his adhesion, and claims to the honors of the democracy of this day, on its hostility to that which recog-

followers.

Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, who has inherited Mr. Calhoun's place in his State and in the Senate of the United States, in a letter of instructions, has given this list of dignitaries who wield the truncheon of the Palmetto Democracy, from which he advises that the delegates to the Cincinnati Convention be drawn. He says: "Let the State send her very first men—such as Governor Richardson, Col. Pickens, Governor Hammond, Mr. Brownwell, Mr. Rhett, Governor Means, General Wallace, Mr. Woodward, General Thompson, Richard Simpson, Gen. Rogers. These gentlemen have reputations of something like Curule dignity." Gentlemen of "Curule dignity," in the days of Roman grandeur, were personages exalted by official station to the privilege of riding in a certain class of chariots, from the name of which that of their distinction was derived. Now the whole body appointed to go to Cincinnati to dictate a President for the Democracy, derive their "curule dignity" entirely from having ridden with Mr. Calhoun to his nullifying car.

Mr. Butler, while providing delegates to nominate a Presidential candidate at Cincinnati, is too honest to conceal a sneer at his fellowship with a name against which his political sentiments revolt. He hates all pretension to democracy on the part of his State, whose institutions are entirely at war with its principles, and he declares he would have preferred her "keeping aloof, avoiding the amalgamation of mass meetings, in which democratic numbers must move stronger than constitutional weight. I wish," he adds, "South Carolina could have retained her constitutional identity, maintaining doctrines that could survive a Constitution—that should give security and equality." The equality in "constitutional weight" here meant is that which would put down the doctrine of a majority governing in Republics. In this the nullifier speaks out.

Mr. Butler and General Atchison are the real authors of the Kansas act, but they never meant that the majority rule provided in the law should supplant the weight which the constitutional equality of the South would bring to bear it down, by adding force, and arms, and tactics to overcome the masses. These gentlemen, while maturing their measures, lived together in the city, in the closest intimacy, and now following the custom of the Roman consuls (Mr. Butler will pardon the allusion), one takes the field to carry out their plans, while the other remains in the Senate to give support to his absent colleague. These two are the heirs of Mr. Calhoun's designs. His Octavius and Antony. They are the masters of the administration, and may stand for the representatives at large of the spurious Democracy.

Georgia, next to South Carolina, holds most sway in the new party; and Messrs. Toombs, Stevens, and Dawson are confessedly the commanding men in that State. Where did they study for their democratic diploma? In the school of every opposition that ever assailed the party re-established by Jackson.

Florida presents Mr. Yulee, as its senator and minister, to support the new order of democracy originated in South Carolina, and by adoption the President's democracy. He was a devout worshipper of Mr. Calhoun, and his faith is his religion.

The party in Louisiana acknowledges Mr. Soule as its leader. A malcontent from France, who, as minister of the United States, insulted the governments of France and Spain by way of acquiring Cuba, through a peaceful negotiation, depending for its success on the good will of both!—and then proposed in the Ostend conference to ravish it by force from the arms of Spain, on the ground of necessity!! This gentleman carries the delegation of Louisiana to choose a President for the democracy, a function to which he is recommended by the boldest speeches for secession made during the debate on the compromise of 1850.

Two military chieftains hold Mississippi under a sort of martial law. The Secretary of War is provided in advance to represent her in the Senate during the next administration, and for the present he commands in the cabinet. In the Senate at the session of 1850, he out Heroded the Herod of South Carolina in pressing towards secession. He had taken all but the last step, that of walking out of the Senate and the Union with his bat in one hand and his State in the other. His second in the command of the Mississippi Democracy, General Quitman, also caught the pronunciamento infection from Mexican Santa Anna and the heroes of his cast. Gen. Quitman, it is thought, would have been content to take himself out of the Union for the sake of Cuba, and leave our poor republic to shift for itself. He could not compass his wish, and he remains to conquer the North for the South, making filibustering in Kansas, non-interven-

tion, and the putting down of the ballot box, the test of popular sovereignty.

In Tennessee, Senator Jones and other inveterate enemies of General Jackson have supplanted the old Democracy.

These are the heads that manage the political concerns of the slaveholders' party, and managing them fatally for their ultimate interests. They have put "the democracy proper" (to use Gen. Jackson's expression, to distinguish those he relied on from the Calhoun pretenders to the name) under foot. They hold the administration under the thumb, and every other Presidential aspirant at the North, looking to the Cincinnati Convention, and the fifty thousand office holders who seek to retain their stations, and expect their preservation from the election of some one of these aspirants, compose the rank and file of the northern mercenaries, whom Mr. Cushing may be said to represent, having first figured in Mr. Tyler's corpora's guard.

These are the elements of that spurious democracy which Gen. Jackson's intuitive sagacity foresaw would be the offspring of the political embraces of Calhoun, Tyler and Polk.—Among the last letters ever written by him, he predicted the ruin of the cause to which he had devoted his life, and that Mr. Polk would be among the first to lament the course that led to it. These brief extracts mark the distress with which this sad augury closed his career. In a letter of the 28th of April, he says:

"My dear friend: Under the circumstances with which you were surrounded, there was but one honorable course for you to pursue. I believe you abandoned your Democratic principles and divided the party, the one you have adopted. Being as we shall be, all united to sustain the great Democratic party, still the course adopted by the President with the Globe will do him an injury—it cannot with all our best exertions be avoided. The old democracy proper cannot see the propriety of the course adopted. (The italics are his own.) But it is done, and now what I say, that President Polk will be among the first of the old Democrats proper, that will regret it, and have cause to regret it."

In another letter, he again takes up the subject and reiterates the same train of thought, but breaks off his unfinished letter thus:

"I have used my voice to prevent that evil to him (Mr. Polk) and the Democratic party. I am too unwell to write much to-day. I look to a split in the Democratic ranks, which I feel sorely regret, and which might have been so easily avoided. I am very sick and must close."

In a letter of the third of May, he writes about the disposition of his papers, and recurs to his distress about "Col. Polk's" course, closing thus:

"My dear friend: I am exhausted and must close; I am a glubber of water from the toes to the crown of the head, and every time I write, must pause for breath. May the choicest blessings of Heaven be bestowed on you and every branch of your family, is the united prayer of the inmates of the Hermitage."

ANDREW JACKSON.

The Kansas act is now the test of Democracy. This is the declaration of the President—of his official organ—of his officeholders, and of the slaveholders. The Jefferson and Jackson Democracy is utterly scouted. And how is this test of the Democracy represented in Congress? In the House, from the North, "The Union" counts about seventeen; and of these there is scarcely one that did not reach his seat upon other issues than the Kansas question. In the Senate, from the North, there is not a Senator who can stand by the test, without notoriously misrepresenting his State. From the South, there are no longer Whigs or Democrats—all parties are swallowed up in nullification of party principles for the purpose of extending slavery over new regions, and without the justification of the want of room in the slave States. The fifteen slave States, with little more than one-third of the inhabitants of the free States, have an area of 851,508 square miles; the free States only 612,597 square miles—the slave States having also the advantage of a better soil and milder climate.

What a revolution in the course of the first half century has slavery wrought, in the principle that gave it birth! Freedom was the basis of that republic. It is now insisted that the Constitution carries the principle of bondage wherever its flag makes an acquisition. The Democratic party made Jefferson the apostle of its faith. Compare the Kansas act with the Declaration of Independence, and the ordinance of 1787. In his first paper, Mr. Jefferson asserts the rights of humanity—in the other, excludes slavery from all the territories of the Union. The Kansas act would spread it over the continent, and to effect it, establishes a new system of politics and morals for the Democratic party, for which it is prescribed as a test.

It is democratic now to break faith plighted between the States, in compacts made to preserve the Union and its peace.

It is democratic now to break faith with constituents, and violate the representative principle on which our republics are all founded.

It is democratic now to disobey the instructions of constituent bodies, and exert the force of the Government to defeat the efforts of the people to redress the wrong committed by one set of representatives, by turning them out and choosing another.

It is democratic now, after nullifying a clause authorizing Congress to make rules and regulations for the territories, and all the compromises regulating their mode of settlement, and interpolating the new principle of non-intervention as the substitute, to connive at the use of armed force to defeat the new law—to drive the settlers from the polls where they were invited to decide the question of slavery—to introduce voters from a slave state to impose slavery on the territory against the will of the rightful voters, the actual settlers—and to elect a legislature representing the slaveholders of the invading state—to usurp the government of the territory—repeal the organic act of Congress—and destroy the rights guaranteed under it.

It is democratic now to defend the establishment of test oaths, requiring all settlers opposed to slavery to swear allegiance to a law they hold to be unconstitutional, to entitle them to suffrage and enabling those not entitled to vote as settlers to avoid taking the oath of residence, on which the right of suffrage depends, by paying a dollar as a substitute for all other qualifications.

It is democratic now to expel, as aliens, citizens invited by the act of Congress to settle the territory and to intimidate emigrants opposed to slavery from entering, by examples of Lynch law which would disgrace barbarians.

It is democracy now to pass sedition laws, prohibiting discussion and the denial of slave ownership where slavery was not authorized, denouncing the penalty of death against that as a crime, which the organic law deputed as a duty to be performed by the people.

It is democracy now in a President to see this reign of terror established by force and arms, and an usurpation made to triumph over the laws of the United States, by a series of invasions publicly prepared, announced in advance, and occupying more than a year in accomplishing their object, and yet not to raise a finger to avert the wrong, but after its consummation to proclaim that he would use all the force of the Union, of the army, and the militia, if necessary, to maintain it.

Against this spurious democracy, which has thus perfected its system in the Kansas act, and made it their test, I, as a democrat of the Jefferson, Jackson and Van Buren school, enter my protest.

F. P. BLAIR.

THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS, FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 9, 1856.

Alton has been somewhat "exercised," individually and collectively, because of the visitations of a certain "committee" from Kansas, whose professed object was to secure to this city a line of steamers to Kansas. Various meetings have been held, and moves made, and much gas let off, and there the matter ends. The project was but a nest egg of half a dozen political fanatics, who meant well enough, perhaps, as regards the business character of our city, but whose ideas of trade and commerce are bounded by "border ruffians," and whose philanthropy will only square with Mason & Dixon's line. To report all these proceedings and speeches, and describe the operations of the BROWNS and POMEROY, SHANKLAND, and other itinerant vagrant Kansas lecturers and agitators who have visited Alton, and got up subscriptions among our poor folk, to pay their hotel bills, would require too much time and space. They are gone, and "bless 'em, let 'em go." WIDE AWAKE.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE BORDER RUFFIANS IDENTICAL. The Boston Post admits this. It says:

"It is all idle, false, delusive, and downright cheat to draw a distinction between the territorial government and the United States authorities. THEY ARE IDENTICAL. The Kansas men cannot resist the territorial government without resisting the general government."

Those Democratic newspapers which are trying to make the people believe that Pierce is not responsible for the outrages committed by the Border Ruffian Legislature, will please notice that they are called liars and cheats by the Post. For a wonder, the Post speaks the truth. Pierce and his Administration are responsible for the invasion of Kansas by the Missouri ruffians, for the murder of Barber, Brown and Dow, and for the impunity of their murderers. Let them be held to a strict accountability, and let the people take such action in November as shall disconnect the "United States authorities" from the Border Ruffian Legislature, and make them inimical instead of "identical," as the Post acknowledges that they now are.

Conservative Doctrine.

"Show us the man who would submit patiently to laws which prohibit him from writing, printing or even thinking upon the subject of slavery, and who would consent to be excluded from the jury box because he does not consider slavery a divine institution, and we will point to as abject a slave as was ever blessed beyond his merits with the rich gift of freedom. Such a man is not fit to live in a free country."—Boston Journal.

The Albany evening Journal, speaking in comment upon the foregoing, says:

"The Boston Journal is among the strictest set of Conservatives. It abhors 'radicalism' and 'abolitionism' as intensely as the New York Commercial. But it can thus condemn the 'Black Laws' of the 'Forder Ruffian' Legislature without abandoning its conservatism; and can give utterance to honest sentiments in favor of free speech without fear of being branded as an 'Abolitionist.'"

Some of its 'conservative' contemporaries would be more worthy of the respect of their readers if they had equal honesty, and be more worthy of their calling if they were less subservient to Southern dictation."

It is a fact worthy of note, that the newspapers which boast themselves of being "conservative" have borne without a show of resistance, not only the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, but with those later steps of slavery radicalism, which are rampant in the acts of the pseudo legislature of Kansas. Conservatism, if it means anything, signifies that form and essence of opinion which revolts at radical and unnecessary change, and which tends to preserve what there is useful in politics, laws, and the customs of society. It should have been the act of conservatism, to have rallied its forces to prevent so fatal and disgraceful an infraction of the true, well settled, and time sanctified policy of the country. But conservatism stood quietly by and allowed ultraism to strive unassisted, against the combined allies of Southern slavery, and Northern hunkerism. We cannot but admire the candor with which the Boston Journal speaks, in referring to the outrage forced upon the free settlers of Kansas, by the late false Legislature. Such a spirit is worthy of a free State, and a free newspaper, let its motto be what it may; still we cannot help regretting that more of the conservative press, have not dared to take ground as bold.

Nearly every so called conservative Journal at the North, has felt itself called upon to frown down even the most moderate expression of resistance to the ultra and high-handed legislation of the false Legislature.—By adopting that course, they threw their influence directly in favor of the most radical, dangerous and fatal of all measures—viz: those which seek to interdict the entertainment and expression of opinion, and to curb and restrict freedom of individual speech. So ludicrously false was the position into which presses of this class were forced, by the pressure of events, that many of them, having been led unawares, to conclusions which they did not foresee, turned round abruptly, and disclaimed all intention of disseminating opinions, having such tendency. In their zeal to vindicate themselves from the contamination of fellowship with Black Republicans and abolitionists, they fell into the opposite error of backing the pro-slavery men in measures which were as deficient of all constitutional law, as they were fatal to the hopes of the friends of free government.

Conservatism—the conservatism of freedom—great and valuable principle, of which either in name or advocacy, no man should be ashamed, even though among cowards, hirelings and blackguards, it draws upon him the names of Abolitionist and Black Republican; but a false conservatism, which ties up tongue, pen and hand, to an imaginary standard of the past, is a reproach and a disgrace. We are living not for the past, but for the present, our aims, if they are practical, are of today, not of a century back, and whatever we design to help, to correct, to reform, to create, or establish, depends upon present things, and not upon those of the past.

When newspapers talk of conservatism, the question should be put them—of which are they conservative—freedom or slavery, in order to fix their whereabouts

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Friday Evening, May 9, 1856.

From Kansas.

A Lawrence correspondent of 29th ult. of the Cincinnati Commercial says:

Those who were arrested at first were taken to Leocompton before a justice of the peace, and gave bail for their appearance at court a week from next Monday; when they set out on their return to Lawrence they were accompanied by the soldiers for three miles to protect them from a mob of pro-slavery men who had collected there. The soldiers are principally Free State men, and heartily detest the business of enforcing an oppressive code upon a people whom they believe to be justifiable in resistance.—Some of them say that if they are commanded to shoot, they will do it, but are very sure their guns will be either too high or too low, or so much out of the way that no Free State man will be injured.

To-night the soldiers have all left, and messengers bring in word that the Kickapoo Rangers and ruffians, amounting to 200 men, are camped about two miles from Lawrence in the Delaware country, and are breathing out murder and revenge for the shooting of Jones. The intelligence is confirmed by the Delaware Indians, a number of whom have come over to inform us. Messengers are sent to Wakarusa and Bloomington for assistance, and sentinels will be on duty through the night. It is thought they intend an attack before Col. Sumner can return from the Fort, which will not be until next Thursday. But a good many think they will not make an attack at all, but only prowl around and take persons as prisoners who have made themselves obnoxious to their party, and then disarm and murder them.

We gave yesterday an account of the exploit of an Ohio woman-Patriot, who gave the bogus Kansas Deputy Sheriff a hot bath. When men have such wives as our Buckeye friends Wood and SPEAR have, the Missouri Ruffians had better give it up. (The correspondent of the Missouri Democrat gives the following in confirmation of the "hot water" treatment administered by Mrs. SPEAR: *See p.*

Ho! For Kansas.—Plymouth Colony.

It is proposed to form a small colony of enterprising members with a "oneness" of spirit and aim, to go to Kansas as soon as may be.

It is proposed to call it the *Plymouth Colony*, as aiming to embody somewhat the principles and views of the old "Plymouth Colony" which first settled New England, and gave to our country its Democratic Institutions of Church and State.

Forty or fifty men, with or without families, is all that is desired; but they should be picked men—good and true.

Something like the following plan is proposed: to locate together,—form the nucleus of a community—lay out a new village with farms adjoining—commence with educational and religious institutions,—embody the mechanical arts, trade and agriculture, form a joint stock company of the public property, sell the farms to the highest bidder of the Company for choice or select by lot, expending, say, \$10,000 for lands and public improvements.

As there is as yet, no organization whatever, any person with qualifications and wishes as above intimated, desiring to unite with such a colony, can address *Leader office, Herald office*, or H. C. BLACKMER, Cleveland, and they will be duly notified of the first meeting.

UNITED STATES TROOPS IN KANSAS.—The troops taken to Lawrence, Kansas, by Col. Sumner, consist of four companies of cavalry, numbering three hundred men composed of company B. Capt. D. B. Sackett, and Lieut. A. V. Colburn; company C, Captain T. J. Wood, First Lieut. A. Iverson, and Second Lieut. J. R. Church; company G. Captain W. S. Walker; and company H, First Lieut. E. A. Carr, First Lieut. A. Ranson, Jr., Adjutant, and First Lieut. J. E. B. Stewart, A. Q. M.—*Union, May 8, 1856.*

The One Issue.

Both the political parties which enter the approaching Presidential contest as the opponents of the Americans, are substantially agreed that the slavery question shall be the exclusive issue of the campaign. The democratic party having repealed the restriction which forbade the extension of slavery northward, beyond thirty-six and a half degrees of latitude, appeal to the country to sanction that repeal. The Republican party, although it has become certain that Kansas will be a free State, insist that its immediate admission as such shall be the sole issue of the contest.

The issue, as presented by each of these parties, is frivolous. What is the use of setting the country by the ears in order to get a majority of the people to say that slavery may go into a region where it is certain it never will go?—And what is the use, on the other hand, of kicking up a universal row for the immediate admission of Kansas as a free State, when every season's emigration carries ten free state men into the territory to one man in favor of making it a slave State? We repeat, the issue is frivolous, and the election will show that the calm good sense of the country so considers it.

We may reach the same conclusion by a different mode of reasoning. The Federal Government derives all its powers from the Constitution. It is intended to carry out not merely one, but all the provisions of that instrument.—Now it is a simple matter of fact, of which every person may convince himself by reading the Constitution, that instead of being wholly occupied with the subject of slavery, it has very little to say about it. We are accustomed to venerate the framers of that instrument as wise men. If they were so, is it not unaccountable that they should have taken pains to make the most precise provisions respecting a great variety of other things, and take so little notice of a matter on which we are now told that the whole destiny of the country hangs? The Constitution surely cannot deserve all the eulogiums it has received, if, in less than seventy years from the period of its adoption, it has become so little adapted to the condition of the country that our elections are no longer to have any reference to the execution of any of its provisions, but must turn on a question that does not occupy a line of the whole instrument. What is there in the Constitution about slavery in the territories, or the admission of free States or slave States into the Union?—Not a word—not a single word. Things have come to such a pass, that two of the political parties of the country insist that every thing which is in the Constitution shall be ignored, and the whole politics of the country turn on a question which it no where mentions, or alludes to.

If the interests which the Constitution was framed to protect, and about which it throws its guards, are of any importance, let us choose the officers of the Federal Government with a view to the execution of its provisions. We are quite sure that the majority of the people will think that a subject, about which the Constitution is entirely silent, cannot possess the supreme importance which demagogues attribute to it.

The ignorant foreign Catholics who know nothing about the Constitution of the country, may be made to believe anything and vote for anybody, because their political faith and political action is never controlled by reason. But if the Presidential election is controlled by our intelligent Protestant population, a Chief Magistrate will be elected who will take care of all the diversified interests of the country, both foreign and domestic.

Letter from Kansas.

Correspondence of the Rochester Daily Democrat.
LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 26.

The friends of liberty will ere this have heard that trouble has began again in this region; but perhaps they will not understand how this was brought about. I wrote you that the Congressional Investigating Committee had gone to Leocompton. Not finding any suitable building there, the city being composed of a few shanties filled with workmen engaged in building what in the future is to be called "Missouri's Jolly," but said to be for a House for the Legislature to meet in, they returned and apartments were fitted up for them in the Free State Hotel. All was going on well, when Jones, the bogus Sheriff arrived, and undertook to arrest a number of respectable citizens, some for one thing and some another. Few were prepared to submit to this kind of coercion. He summoned help to arrest S. N. Wood, and demanding of your servant that he assist him. I told him I did not see any officer to make a legal arrest. He said he had the papers. Show them, says I; if they bear the signature of any one of the proper U. S. officers, I'll do it. Upon this he swore loudly, and promised me free board and lodgings. Succeeding no better with many others, he went to Leocompton and returned back with ten of Uncle Sam's troops, when began the arrests here. But the soldiers were told that one of them was as good as a thousand. That the city might be taken by one of them, but by 1,000 officers of the Bogus Legislature, not a citizen could be taken. Six men were taken, and after arresting them, Jones taunted them, and told them to remember that he as Sheriff of Douglas Co. had arrested them. Upon this they ordered him to stand aside. They were sent to Leocompton. At night Jones lay in one of the soldier's tents, and when it was dark, and he alone, as he says, he was shot at, the ball passing through his pantaloons. Still continuing in the tent, still alone, although the troops were in the city, ten minutes after, a shot was fired through the side of the tent, which his friends allege took effect in his back, the ball still lodging in the shoulder bone. He was taken in a sheet to the Free State Hotel, and every attention paid him. The notorious Dr. Stringfellow was there to attend him, with some five others.

I give my humble opinion that the appearances for this last day or two show, that this whole affair had been pre-arranged; and these are my reasons: After he was fired at the first time, he makes no particular noise about it; gets no assistance, asks no one to stay with him; but lays down again, and in ten minutes is shot in the back. A hole in the side of the tent is shown as evidence of the shot being made.—He is taken away his own Doctor, Stringfellow, who is ready with his assistants. He is attended to, and watched all night. News is at once sent to Washington. Whitfield's attorney from Georgia resigned,—dare not stay in such an "Abolition hole." Next morning, Jones is laid in a spring wagon, with a Doctor on each side, and escorted by ten mounted soldiers, taken four miles to Franklin with its ten houses.—Why was he removed? I asked Stringfellow. Because he is not safe here. That is not true. I ask who saw his wound? No one can I find that has got a glimpse of it, except his own friends.

This looks very like an attempt to operate upon the Investigating Committee. I believe if the pro-slavery cause demanded it, that Jones and fifty such would be sacrificed. The pro-slavery party find their cause is in a desperate state, and are therefore demanding desperate measures. The reader can judge for himself from the facts stated. All is excitement, but right must prevail, if its friends will stand by it. Emigrants are coming by hundreds—for every ten from

the South there are a hundred from the Free State.

The citizens held a meeting, and decided that the act was not done by any intelligent Free State man. Gov. Robinson has offered \$500 reward for the arrest of the delinquent. Resolutions were passed, condemning such violent and cowardly acts. We can afford to be magnanimous. I receive numbers of letters, asking me to write the news. News from Kansas is looked for by all persons that can read. I prefer to answer through the DEMOCRAT, all my anxious friends.
Yours, &c. D.



FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 9, 1856.

Higher and Higher.

Petty politicians educated in no school but that of the stump, have laughed at this idea of a DOUBLE EXECUTIVE; that is to say, all such minds run inevitably towards a central, irresponsible power, of which they hope to get, in whole or in part, the enjoyment.

But the grandest Government that ever existed—the one which has impressed itself most upon the legislation, the social ideas and military organization of modern Europe—the Roman Republic—had, as one of its most characteristic features, this division of the Executive power between the two Consuls. * * It is no new idea, therefore, that the Executive power may be divided, in a Republic, as a means of self preservation. The first two Consuls of Rome, represented in all probability, two great parties of the people. If it had been the fortune of our ancestors to see what kind of storm threatened to demolish their work, it is probable that they also would have decided on two Consuls. CAN POSTERITY REPAIR THE DEFECT?

[Charleston (S. C.) Standard.

Slavery skulked once in the Federal Politics, and asked its life of Freedom. Toleration was the condition of its existence. It acquired strength by bribery. It threw upon the ambition and the dishonesty of politicians representing free-labor interests. Gathering force from term to term, and grown in hope and in audacity, from year to year, it has strided from the wrong of the Texas Annexation, to the war upon Mexico, the establishment of the Compromises, the repeal of the Missouri Restriction, and the claim to share equally with Freedom all the territory of the Nation. It avows its purpose to keep Kansas out of the Union unless it comes in as a Slave State—it claims to take its bondsmen all over the Union, and hold them untouched of the Common and the Statute laws, which strike off the fetters of Slaves the moment they step upon free soil—and demands as the twin brother of Freedom, full, equal and undivided care and nourishment from the parent Republic. Necessarily aggressive and inevitably encroaching, it now menaces the free North with a future claim of superiority and control. Not content with substantially enjoying and exercising this at present, it intimates a desire for a formal recognition of this its title to govern the Republic by virtue of excellence.

Newest scheme in the purpose to make Slavery National, instead of sectional, is that of the Calhoun-taught Southerners, among whom is Caleb Cushing as a Massachusetts volunteer, to have two Presidents elected! If the South could be forever sure of an Executive, a check and block upon an Executive and Congress from the North, she would indeed be not only forever safe, but forever in the ascendant. The Carolinians who broached this monstrous proposition, found an advocate for it, in a New England Attorney General at the recent Henry Clay Commemoration at the Hanover Slashes!

THE DAVAGES IN FAVOR OF THE FREE SOILERS.

—At the Anniversary of the American Congregational Union, the Rev. Mr. Knight of Kansas said that the Missourians, universally cheating the Shawnees in trade, had inspired these Indians with a disgust for the Christian Religion. But since New Englanders and opponents of

Slavery had settled in Kansas, confidence in the fairness and justice of white men had returned. The Shawnees will go fifteen miles to buy of a Free Soil merchant, instead of trading with a Southerner in their own settlements. For the first time, they find one price put on goods for red men and white men. The Delawares also were so impressed by the kind and just treatment of the Free State people, that they offered last winter to send in their warriors to Lawrence, and make war on the Ruffians. What a testimony this is in behalf of Freedom and against Slavery!

Berkshire County Eagle.

PITTSFIELD:
FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 9, 1856.

The Kansas Investigation.

It seems that the administration, through its ruffian agents in Kansas, has determined to break up the congressional investigation which is obtaining the most indisputable evidence of the villainies in the Stringfellow and Atchison election of the bogus legislature.

The first witness examined, one Jordan Davison, confessed, on cross-examination, that there exists in Missouri, and has existed since the latter part of 1854, a secret society, known as the "Blue Lodge," "Sons of the South," "Social Band," "Friends' Society," and by various other names, the object of which is to extend slavery into Kansas. It had branches, as the witness had understood, in Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas, if not other States; and this society was used as a means to concentrate a party of men in the Territory at the election of the 30th of March.

It was abundantly proved by several witnesses that at the election held in the second district of Douglas County, on the 30th of March, the Judges originally appointed were compelled to resign by threats of instant death, in making which Jones, since known as "Sheriff" Jones, was very active; after which other Judges were appointed, who received all the Missouri votes that offered.

It was testified that at various Districts large bodies of men were in and encamped just before the election, and disappeared immediately after, and that the names on the poll lists far exceeded in number the inhabitants enumerated in the census, while but few of the names on the census lists could be found on the poll lists.

Alarmed at these developments, the ruffians have attempted the murder of one of the witnesses, and if we may believe a St. Louis dispatch, have undertaken to arrest Gov. Reeder, now prosecuting the investigation before the House Committee as contestant for the seat of Gen. Whitfield, and have undertaken to drag him away to Leocompton (a pro slavery nest), so as to paralyze and break up the exposure of their gigantic fraud.

At the same time, Pierce's Judge Leocompton (from Alabama) has charged his pro-slavery grand jury to indict all the State officers and members of the State legislature as guilty of high treason, and federal troops have probably arrested a part of them ere this. It was believed at Lawrence that an effort would be made, under cover of serving these processes, to seize and destroy the blasting evidence of border ruffian fraud already taken before the commissioners.

The shooting of Mace, the witness alluded to, was a most brutal and cold blooded affair. He had testified before the commission to some of the facts stated above. On the same evening he was fired at by two ruffians, (probably of the Kickapoo ranger gang,) near his own cabin. One of the balls took effect in his left leg, and he fell. As soon as he dropped, the ruffians both laughed heartily, and one of them said, "There is some more damned good abolition wolf hair," and went away, probably supposing he was dead. Mr. Mace was able to crawl back to his cabin.

The Senate has passed the resolutions recommending postal reforms.—The Senate on Tuesday debated the Kansas resolutions. Mr. Leavitt of Hampden, tried to get his pro-slavery resolve substituted, but could get only two votes in its favor. Several excellent speeches were made, the resolutions were stiffened a little, and passed to a third reading with only two dissenting voices—those of the Hampden Senators, who think Kansas a foreign state.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 9, 1856.

LIBERTY IN KANSAS.

The Deputy Sheriff of Jones is now in Lawrence with warrants to arrest about a hundred free state men for fictitious crimes against the bogus legislature. Col. Sumner is also there, with the whole force under his command, and, as he told Gov. Robinson, is anxious to settle the whole affair at once, by the sabre and the bayonet. He would at once place all Lawrence under military law, and proceed to its execution, because one of its inhabitants fired into his soldiers' tents. This is the "popular sovereignty" we were promised by the Nebraska Bill! Every proceeding of government shows a determination to establish slavery, by force, in the Territory, through the operation of the bogus legislature. It is a shame that northern men should be supporters of slavery under such pretenses! What is Congress about? Why does not the Com. or Territories, in the House, report at once, in favor of a State organization?

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
FRIDAY, MAY 9.

The Border Ruffians.

The Administration journals in this State are rather behind the age. Considering that the most of them are edited by United States officials, it is somewhat remarkable that they should thus lag in the rear. The Collectors of New Haven and Bridgeport, and the Surveyor of New London, must not be out-done by their brethren-in-pap elsewhere. The *Boston Post* (edited by an Administration official) speaks out boldly as follows:

"It is all idle, false, delusive, and a downright cheat to draw a distinction between the territorial government and the United States authorities. THEY ARE IDENTICAL. The Kansas men cannot resist the territorial government without resisting the general government."

The *Hartford Times* and *New Haven Register* will please take notice that this most prominent sheet of their party in New England, avows that the Administration and the Border Ruffians are one and the same. Deputy Sheriff SAM LATTUS may be the nominee of the Cincinnati Border Ruffians for President.

An Indian Dream.

At the recent anniversary of the American Congressional Union in New York, the subject of building churches in Kansas being under consideration, the Rev. RICHARD KNIGHT of that territory related the following anecdote:

The Conference of the Methodist Church South, which met at a place near the borders of Kansas some time ago, literally flooded the Territory with ministers of that denomination. He was happy to say, however, that the greater part of them had retired; the people had enough of that kind of Gospel already. They were aware doubtless of the character of one man, JOHNSON, who had been there for a number of years as a missionary among the Shawnee Indians, and whose influence has brought the Gospel and Christianity into disrepute. He was a Slaveholder and his associate was a Slaveholder. He (the Rev. gentleman) would relate in this connection a circumstance which, while illustrating the fact to which he had adverted, would also show the mode of Indian thinking. At a

quarterly meeting held a short time ago at the Shawnee Mission this Mr. JOHNSON requested one of the Indians, a good man, to speak. He refused for a considerable time, but was finally prevailed on to do so. Indeed, he had objected for a considerable time to speak whenever Mr. JOHNSON was present, so bad an opinion had he, and all the better class of Indians, of JOHNSON. When he got up, however, he said he felt considerable reluctance to say anything in consequence of a dream he had had which had greatly troubled his mind. He had dreamt, or thought he dreamt, that he died and had gone to Hell. After he had been in those doleful regions some little time, Mr. JOHNSON, their Missionary, entered; and the moment he entered, his Satanic Majesty immediately twisted off his tail, which he (the speaker) supposed was his sceptre of supremacy, and handed it to JOHNSON. "Now, JOHNSON," said he, "you take this; I am no longer master here."

The Daily Spy.

FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1856.

State Convention.

In less than four weeks from this time, on the fourth of June proximo, there has been called to assemble in the Heart of the Commonwealth, a State Convention of all the opponents of the Administration on the Nebraska issue. In that body there should be a general representation of all the lovers of liberty, irrespective of party. The lines between them and the border ruffian democracy are distinctly and firmly drawn, and there should be no attempt made to evade or shirk the great issue. No less marked or distinct is the issue between them and the supporters of the Fillmore ticket, the State Council of whom recently got together in Boston and chopped off the head of the Lieutenant Governor for having dared to hope that measures might be consummated for a union of the friends of Freedom at the North, in one political organization.

Surely, then, there can be no mistaking what should be the policy of the opponents of the Administration in the coming canvass. It should be in imitation of the course pursued by the Republicans and Americans of Indiana at a fusion convention on the 1st inst., where war to the hilt was resolved against the slavery extension policy of the Administration, against the admission of any more slave States, and a resolution was passed in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas as a free State, and where the only resolution passed relating to the subject of naturalization, was one declaring "in favor of the present naturalization laws of Congress with the five years probation, and that the right of suffrage should accompany and not precede naturalization."

By adhering to such a platform as this, the friends of freedom could sweep the country in the coming Presidential election. We hope those who shall come up here on the fourth of June next, will be thoroughly imbued with a sense of the importance of the crisis, and that in the proceedings of that Convention will participate all shades of the opposition to Pierce, Fillmore & Co.

Among the duties of that body, will be the appointment of six delegates at large to the National Convention at Philadelphia, on the 17th of June. The District delegates, to consist of three from each Congressional District, are to be chosen by District Conventions, called by the National Committee. That for the 7th District has already been called, to meet at Charlestown, May 15th. The others will undoubtedly be called in due season, but as there is not much time to spare, we hope the matter will be attended to without any unnecessary delay. The terms of the call, in all these cases, should be as broad and liberal in their scope as those for the national and State Conventions.

The Babes in the Wood.

Theodore Parker says that "Kansas and Nebraska are the Children in the Wood." They had fair inheritance, but the parents dying, left them to a guardian uncle, (the President). I hear the Northern mother say to him:

"You must be father and mother both.
And uncle, all in one."
"You are the man must bring our babes
To wealth or misery."

And if you keep them carefully,
Then God will you reward;
But if you otherwise should deal,
God will your deeds regard."

It is still the old story; the executive uncle promises well enough, but

"He hadn't kept these pretty babes
But twelve months and a day,
Before he did devise
To make them both away.
He bargained with two ruffians strong
[That is *Sprait-Whig* and *Democrat*]

Which were of furious mood.
That they should take these children young
And slay them in a wood!"

It is still the old story. One of the ruffians kills the other, but in this case Democrat, the strong ruffian, killed Straight Whig, a weak ruffian who had no backbone, and now seeks to kill the babes; he is not content to stain

"Their pretty lips with blackberries,
So all besmeared and dyed."

He "would make them both away." But that is not quite so easy. Kansas, the elder, turns out a very male child, a thrifty boy; he will not die—he refuses to be killed—but with such weapons as he has shows what blood he came of. His relations hear of the matter and make a noise about it.

The uncle becomes the town talk. Even the ghost of a Straight Whig is disquieted and "walks" in obscure places, by graveyards, "haunting" some houses. Nay, the Northern mother rises from the grave; perhaps the Northern father is not dead, but only sleeping, like Barbarossa in that other fable, with his Sharp's rifle for a pillow, who knows but he, too, will "rise" and execute his own Will? The history may yet end after the old sort.

"And now the heavy wrath of God
Upon the Uncle fell.
The fearful deeds did haunt his house.
His conscience felt a hell
His barns were fired, his goods consumed;
His lands were barren made;
Conventions failed to nominate;
No office with him stayed."

Shall Slavery spread over all the United States and root out Freedom from the land, or shall Freedom spread wide her blessed boughs till the whole continent is fed by her fruit, and lodged beneath her arms, her very leaves for the healing of the nations? That is the ultimate question."

Evening Advertiser.

Lowell—Mass.

FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 9, 1856.

Admission of Kansas.

The "Sharpe rifle" friends of Kansas territory are indulging in their jeremiads over the present deplorable condition of its inhabitants. They tell us that the laws of the territorial legislature are abominable, and that whatever may be the character of its laws, the legislature itself was not the people's choice, but its members were elected by, and themselves constituted a portion of, the people of Missouri. To require the people of the territory, therefore, to submit to such unjust legislation, to laws which their own representatives never enacted, would be, they tell us, despotic, arbitrary, tyrannical and anti-republican. The remedy they propose, for this evil, is the immediate admission of Kansas into the union as a state, with the *Topeka constitution*, and Charles Robinson for governor.

Were we to admit, for an instant, the correctness of all the charges preferred against the people of Missouri, were we to pronounce all the exaggerations true, and were we to denounce the enactments of the territorial legislature, we should hesitate long before we dared to recommend the adoption of the proposed remedy. The invasion of Kansas by the people of Missouri, or of Massachusetts, we would remedy if we could; if unconstitutional or oppressive laws have been enacted, we would have them repealed, or declared void, either by Congress, or the judicial tribunals; and if Kansas desired an admission into the union, and no objection presented itself other than that she was about to become either a free or a slave state, we would cheerfully admit her.

The opponents of the administration say

that unless we accept the Topeka constitution, the people of Kansas must still remain under the domination of Missouri—that there is no other mode by which the invasion of Kansas by the Missourians can be prevented. Unless this identical constitution can be adopted, it is insisted, that the local law of the territorial legislature, providing “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,) providing, 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,” must destroy every vestige of liberty in the territory. Such being the fact, as they tell us, it is insisted that it would be perfectly useless for the actual residents in the territory to attempt the formation of a constitution for themselves, under the operation of the territorial law.

Still we are of the opinion that the Topeka constitution, the work of a faction, and not of the people, is far from being a panacea for all these evils. The remedy, the true remedy, and the only constitutional remedy is the one provided in the bill introduced into the Senate, by Mr Douglas. That bill provides that at the election of delegates to a proposed constitutional 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.”

The provisions of “the organic law,” in relation to the qualification of voters are “that every free white male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years, who shall be an actual resident of said territory, and shall possess the qualifications hereinafter prescribed, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, and shall be eligible to any office within the said territory; but the qualifications of voters and of holding office at all subsequent elections shall be such as shall be prescribed by the legislative assembly; provided, that the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States, and those who shall have declared on oath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act; and provided further, that no officer, soldier, seaman or marine or other person in the army or navy of the United States, shall be allowed to vote or hold office in said territory, by reason of being on service therein.”

It has been claimed by certain wisecracks, of the Elizur Wright school, that as the election of delegates will be an election subsequent to that of the first legislative assembly, that the qualification of voters, prescribed by the territorial legislature, must govern. It is enough to say in answer to this objection that when this bill, introduced by Mr Douglas, becomes a law, if it ever does, it will become the supreme law of the United States, to which all local laws must conform, and this bill expressly provides that no persons can vote for delegates except white male inhabitants, twenty-one years of age, who have been six months residents of Kansas and three months residents in the district where they claim the right to vote.

Portland Advertiser.

Friday Morning, May 9, 1856.

“An idle and worse than idle crusade about the affairs of Kansas.”—Argus.

It is thus that the Argus characterizes the efforts of those who are striving, against the combined forces of slavery and the present Administration, to prevent Kansas, one dedicated to freedom by the most solemn compromise ever entered into under our Constitution, from being desecrated by the foul curse of slavery. The intention is clearly to convey the idea that no effort is necessary to make Kansas a free State, and that those who think otherwise are engaged in “an idle and worse than idle crusade.” In short, it is crying “peace, peace, when there is no peace.”

Now, there are one or two things connected with this matter which stand out in bold relief, and which the most common understanding—even the wayfaring man though a fool—cannot fail to understand.

In the first place, the Missouri Compromise, after having been acquiesced in for over 30 years, and after slavery had received and appropriated the consideration which the free States were reluctantly induced to grant to it, was repealed! And why was it repealed? Will the Argus just explain WHY it was repealed!

It was repealed for the sole purpose of affording additional facilities to the project of creating slave States from the territory which the slave power had once most solemnly agreed should forever remain free. If not for this purpose, will the Argus explain why, just at that particular moment when emigration was beginning to be attracted to this territory, it became necessary to violate this solemn compact entered into over thirty years ago!

But again—no one, we believe, now pretends to dispute that there has been and now is a fierce struggle going on in Kansas. What causes it?

At the elections in Kansas, large numbers of “border ruffians” from Missouri, rushed into the territory, surrounded the polls, and by lawless violence controlled the elections. Why was this? By what motive power were these lawless men impelled? The answer is furnished by those who instigated them, and by the Southern papers in their interest, as well as by all the attending circumstances. The object is by them unblushingly avowed—it is to make Kansas a slave State.

And this struggle is now going on. With a President and Cabinet known to be in favor of freedom and justice, it would soon be settled—slavery would soon be driven back to its own limits, and Kansas admitted into the union, as she of right ought to be, free and independent of the withering influence of slavery. Slavery knows very well the power of the executive. Without the aid and comfort to be derived from it, either directly or indirectly, even the attempt to make Kansas a slave State would have hardly been made. But now it hopes and struggles. If it can delay the admission of Kansas as a free State, and elect a pro-slavery President for the next four years, it feels confident of success. But if the next election shall call to the Presidential chair one who is opposed to the extension of slavery, Kansas will unquestionably be free.

This is, in brief, the whole history of this struggle—and yet the Argus, in view of these notorious and indisputable facts, stigmatizes those who resist these alarming encroachments of the slave power, as engaged in “an idle and worse than idle crusade about the affairs of Kansas!”

Watchman & State Journal.

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BY E. P. WALTON.

MONTPELIER, MAY 9, 1856.

Another Step Downward for the Dough-faces.

The Democratic Platform in 1852 was non-intervention with and no agitation of slavery; in 1854 it was squatter sovereignty, as contained in the Kansas-Nebraska bill; and now the Virginia Democratic organ decrees that “THIS GUN MUST BE SPIKED,” and a new battery erected for the defense of slavery, called “practical state equality,” which is to be defended by Federal intervention. We quote the new edict of the Virginia slavocracy, addressed to the Sham Democratic party:

From the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer.

“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 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 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 [all] 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 that 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.”

What does all this mean? What is this new “demand” of the South?—we use the Enquirer’s word. What is “practical state equality?” We think we understand it.—It is, simply, that the slaveholder must have an equal right with the freemen of the North to take his property into any Territory; and his property includes his slaves. Thus the new Democratic doctrine will be, that every root of Federal Territory shall be hereafter open to Slavery; and it shall be the duty of the Federal Government to protect Slavery there. Mark the words of the Enquirer: “We must, in the Cincinnati platform, repudiate squatter sovereignty.” [i. e., the people of the Territories must not be permitted to exclude Slavery by territorial action;] “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.” Thus far go the words of the Enquirer; but—query? if there is any vitality at all in this doctrine of “state equality,” is it not applicable to the States as well as to Federal Territory? and will not the next “demand” of the South be, to permit slaveholders to carry “their property” [slaves] to and hold it in every State in the Union?

Such is the new pill to be administered to the dough-faces. Perhaps they will take it quietly; we rather think they will. And what sort of state equality is this? The

slave States insist that their peculiar institution of Slavery shall be transferred to Federal Territory, and there be recognized and protected by the Federal Government. That is their demand. Why have not the Free States an equal right to insist that their institution of Freedom shall be transferred there, and receive the protection of the Federal Government? Shall we be told that it is not Slavery,—not the institution,—but only the slaveholder's property which is to possess this privilege? Ah! then let them sever the two; let them keep their peculiar state institution at home, and send their property to the Territories, untrammelled by their state laws—by that ownership, which they claim has been sanctified by state legislation.—We rather think the dose, with that qualification, will be popular: indeed, we will not object to it ourselves. But no: it is not equality which the South wants, but superiority. They want, by virtue of their state citizenship, a privilege which no Free State man can have by virtue of his citizenship.—This is not equality. They want a peculiar privilege in the Territories, which no Free State can recognize, and which the Federal Government has no right to recognize except in a slave state. This is not equality. They want their own local state privilege of slavery nationalized, at the expense of those who abominate slavery. We see no equality in that. They want to perpetuate and extend a constitutional inequality, which is now held without the consideration for which it was originally given, and which strict justice would require them to surrender; that is, slave representation in Congress. This is superiority—not equality. They want more slave states, in derogation of the equal right of the North to insist that no more slave states shall be admitted to the Union. This is not equality. They want Federal interposition for slavery, but none against it.—This is not equality. In short, they want

sentiment in the Benton convention, the speech of Francis P. Blair, Jr., of St. Louis, one of the delegates, is a fair exemplification. He said:—

There were other questions of far more importance to Missouri than Nebraska or anti-Nebraska, or know nothingism or anti-know nothingism. As to an endorsement of the Nebraska bill, what good would that accomplish? Resolutions were adopted by the Baltimore convention of 1852, and by the State convention, also, of that year, which pledged acquiescence in the then existing adjustment of the slavery issue as a "finality." The democracy of the Union and the State had pledged themselves to stand by the compromise of 1850, and discountenance a renewal of slavery agitation, in or out of Congress. Did they do it? Did they keep their solemn pledges? No. Scarcely had they made their pledges before they re-opened, by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the agitation of slavery. In view of these facts, why attempt the same old game? Why talk about finalities? It was quackery, nothing but quackery and folly. And instead of praising and glorifying the slavery agitators, and the author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, it becomes the democracy rather to indignantly censure, and call to account those who had betrayed their faith and forsworn their promises. We should call on Frank Pierce to blot out the perjury from his soul—should speak the language of indignation against those who had violated their oaths, and brought the country to the brink of civil war. The attempt to plaster over their perjury, was all quackery. Suppose we elect to office now, on the Nebraska finality, men who pledged themselves four years ago to resist slavery agitation, and had broken their pledge—how long would they stand on this last finality? Let us pay no premium to Pierce or Douglas and their co-workers, for their treachery—let us sing no pæans over their perjury. I have no confidence in such men. If one of them is nominated by the Cincinnati convention, so help me God, he can't get my vote.

This convention sent delegates to the Cincinnati convention, which is to nominate a candidate to succeed Gen. Pierce. And this is an instance of that compact and unbroken party to which the hunker organs alude to with so much flourish.

Judge Butler, of South Carolina, declared in the Senate, on Thursday last, that he would go out of the Union rather than submit to an interdiction of the right claimed for Southern gentlemen to carry their slaves into the national territories. The Union of Saturday parades the declaration under its editorial head with great delight. Such language from Seward or Hale would be abolition treason. From the quarter from which it now comes, it is merely a manly outburst of lofty chivalry. These Southerners, who crack their whips on their plantations, wish to crack them occasionally in Congress.—They feel towards the North as our friend's song feels towards his ass:

"Things have come to a very fine pass,
When a man cannot whallop his own juckass."

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1856.

A Railroad to Kansas.

As we indicated a few days since, the Committee on Public Lands of the House of Representatives have reported a bill granting alternate sections of land to aid in the construction of Railroads in the State of Iowa. The first of the lines named for which the donation is proposed lies between Burlington, on the Mississippi, to a point near the mouth of Platte River, on the Missouri. This road, when completed, will furnish a direct railroad connection between the New-England and the Middle States and the Territory of Kansas.

It is a proof of the pervading character of the Slavery controversy that the instant the

bill was read in the House half-a-dozen vigilant Southern gentlemen sniffed the breeze and detected the "taint of Abolitionism" in the measure, and, of course, set their brains at work to compass its defeat. It was insisted that to build a railroad from the hot-bed of Anti-Slavery agitation and Sharp-riflesism into Kansas would be a serious aggression upon the rights of the South, and palpable interference in the domestic institutions of a Southern or neutral Territory, against the intent and meaning of the Nebraska bill; and to correct so manifest an injustice, an amendment was offered providing a grant to a line of road from a central point of the South to the mouth of Platte River.

This episode in the Congressional struggle has other significations beside the proof it furnishes of the utter hopelessness of ignoring the questions which lie at the base of the contest over Slavery in this Union. It shows that, after all, the South feels itself compelled to resort to those methods of action in conducting its part in the struggle suggested by the practice of the North and the spirit of the age. After misrepresenting and denouncing the Emigrant Aid Societies and all their proceedings, that great movement has been imitated throughout the South with universal approval, and hundreds, if not thousands, of men have been hired to associate themselves as organized colonists, and to follow leaders into Kansas, at whose expense they are equipped for the expedition, and by whom their passage is paid.

It has been proposed in Northern newspapers to assist in the work of colonizing Kansas with free labor by commencing with energy of purpose, assisted with abundant capital, the construction of the railroad from Burlington to the Missouri, and to set the work in progress at both ends of the line. This would be propagating our principles through the agency of the spade and the pick-axe not less effectually, perhaps, than through saw-mills, worm fences, and stump speaking. It is estimated that the distance is within 200 miles, and that the cost of construction and equipment would not exceed \$20,000 per mile, or \$4,000,000 for the whole work. If any of our readers will take the trouble to refer to a map of the Northern and Middle States, he will see marked out a line of completed road, almost perfectly straight, from New-York City to the bank of the Mississippi opposite Burlington. The contemplated Southern Iowa Road, therefore, for which the aid of Congress is now invoked, will constitute the Western link of a chain of connection between Kansas and our commercial City, which now requires only a comparatively insignificant application of capital to finish. When finished the scene of present strife will be brought within three days' ride of Wall-street.

INTERESTING FROM KANSAS.

The Condition of Sheriff Jones—Probability of his Recovery—His Removal from Lawrence—The Free-State Meeting at Lawrence—Denunciation of the would-be Assassin.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Friday, April 25, 1856.
It is altogether a forced labor for me to write you to-night, for it is now nearly 11 o'clock, and I have been in service of some kind about twenty hours a day during the past week. Still I must keep the chain unbroken by adding another important link of occurrences since my last.

SHERIFF JONES IMPROVING.

Yesterday morning JONES seemed so much better that his physicians proposed to move him upon a bed to Franklin, about four miles distant, where he still remains; and, by news received to-day, he is doing well, and is regarded as out of danger, unless some extraordinary change takes place. When he left Lawrence he was escorted by a body-guard of seven or eight of the Leavenworth troops, who are still with him at Franklin, it is pretended, to guard

The Daily American.

MANCHESTER, MAY 9, 1856.

The Unity of Democracy.

Nothing is more steadily represented by the hunkers of the State, than that the democratic party is one and indivisible—united throughout the whole country, while other parties are divided and factional. Every intelligent man knows this to be false. The democracy of Vermont do not agree with that of Virginia, nor do the democracy of New York and several other States agree among themselves. John Wentworth one of the most prominent democrats of Illinois, does not yoke with Douglas, and in Missouri the Bentonians and the Atchisons are at war. We need not cite Pennsylvania and other States where the party is in the same condition. Below is an instance in point and it will take the gas out of several leaders in several of our New Hampshire organs. An attempt was made to unite the two wings of the hunkers of Missouri. The basis proposed was the Nebraska bill, the second issue which is carried over the heads of our New Hampshire hunkers, but it utterly failed. Even in the slave State of Missouri the two wings of the party could not unite upon it. The Atchison convention was the most numerously attended and recommended Gen. Pierce for re-election. Of the prevailing

him from danger. Everybody knows it is all downright foolishness, done for mere outward effect, as many other things are now-a-days, for no one believes that a hair of Jones' head would be harmed now.

"BORDER RUFFIANS" ASCENDING. Worse still, WHITEFIELD, STRINGFELLOW, OLIVER & Co., all left Lawrence with JONES, and now pretend, for effect again, that it is unsafe for them here; that they dare not risk their lives in our town; that they cannot risk summoning their witnesses here before the Committee, and therefore they ask to have the examination quashed—and all for effect again. They tremble before the facts that are accumulating in this examination, and what shrewd plan could a chief of border ruffians invent to incense the public against our cause? I don't believe they can accomplish their end this time—the examination will go on—and in Lawrence a good share of the time, mainly on account of their superior accommodations at this point.

PROCEEDINGS OF JONES' SUBSTITUTE. Early yesterday morning a substitute appeared for Mr. JONES in his capacity as Sheriff, in one SAM SALTERS, who is one of his Deputies, and after receiving the warrants from Mr. JONES, he took his place at the head of the troops and marched through the town with more dignity than he could button within his coat, in search of the outlaws, traitors, Abolitionists. For an hour or two his search was all in vain; at last he met Dr. HARRINGTON, a very worthy practitioner of our town, and informed him that he was his prisoner on the charge of refusing to assist in the arrest of Wood and others—the same as alleged against all the others the previous day. JONES received intelligence of the facts in a few moments, and sent orders for his immediate, unconditional release—or pardon in other words—for it was no less. If his jurisdiction as Sheriff allowed him to do this, it shows that the law is his servant rather than he a servant of the law. But, seriously, it shows that the whole process, from beginning to end, is a palpable farce, got up in part out of personal feelings of revenge—but more, for a pretext for some grander feat of subjugation and outrage. Who ever heard before of a prisoner being unconditionally released by a Sheriff, because he wanted his professional attendance? No further attempts were made to arrest any one, and about 11 o'clock A. M. they started for Leocompton, guarded by about a dozen of Uncle Sam's best specimens of generosity and good sense.

INDIGNATION MEETING. About this time an indignation meeting was held by the citizens of Lawrence to express their utter indignation at the assault upon Mr. JONES, and their willingness to make any sacrifice to bring the assassin to justice. I will inclose you the proceedings in full, which may be received as the universal sentiment of our community.

MILITARY MOVEMENTS. Colonel SUMNER, of Fort Leavenworth, arrived in town last night, on his way to Leocompton. He came because one hundred more of his men had been called to this place, and he found that the excitement was fast kindling into a flame at Weston and other points, on account of the assault upon JONES, and fearing a collision, he came to see for himself what it all meant. He says that while he feels under obligations to act most rigidly, in accordance with official instructions, still he is determined to allow no invasion upon our rights by the people of Missouri, or of any other place, and he has at his control, not only the force of that station, but that of other points along the frontier, in case there should be any necessity for demanding their interference. He has over one hundred men encamped on the opposite side of the river, but it is understood, to-night, that he has decided, after looking over the field, to order all but fifty back to the Fort, and let them remain for the present at some point near Lawrence.

EXCITEMENT AT WESTPORT AND INDEPENDENCE. We hear of considerable excitement at Westport and Independence, produced in a great measure by extravagant reports of the assassination of JONES. Extras were in circulation with the usual amount of calumny and falsehood displayed in large capitals, but we have not yet learned that any force has been collecting to molest us.

PRISONERS IN DANGER. Knowing that our six friends who were taken to Leocompton yesterday, as prisoners, were in the hands of ruthless enemies, I started this morning, in company with two of my neighbors, for that place, in order to procure bail for them if they desired it, and give them the privilege of returning home. We found on arriving there that they had been, if they were not then, in imminent danger, owing to the exasperated feelings of that community towards them. They feared for their own lives, and were exceedingly thankful for an opportunity to be released from such exposure. When they arrived there, although they recognized many about them who, upon former occasions, had greeted them as friends, they then glanced a cold look of disdain upon them, and would not even reply to familiar questions. When night came, the citizens proposed to relieve the soldiers, and keep a guard of their men over the prisoners. To this the prisoners strongly objected, and finally it was settled by having three of the soldiers sleep in the room with them,

and to the credit of Lieutenant McGROSH be it known that he refused several invitations to occupy good beds with some of the citizens of the place, but insisted upon being one of the number himself, to lie upon the floor, and guard the prisoners to which he had become greatly attached. Every prisoner there believes that if the soldiers had not been there, they should all have been deliberately murdered, so intense was the feeling to avenge the blood of JONES.

To-day it was far more quiet, and we soon obtained bail for the six, who are held to appear the first week in May, under bonds of \$500 each. They were unwilling to leave town unprotected. The soldiers themselves said they overheard enough, last night, to convince any one that it would be unsafe for the prisoners to leave alone, therefore they were more than willing to render them assistance. Accordingly, when we left, their full escort attended us as far as it was deemed necessary, and returned, after lavishing many choice wishes upon the prisoners, to whom they all seemed greatly attached. Every one detached here by Col. SUMNER is a good Free-State man, and this is an indication of what we can expect from him hereafter.

REFUTATION BY THE FREE-STATE MEN OF THE ATTEMPT TO MURDER JONES—PRO-SLAVERY FAISHERHOODS.

On leaving Leocompton I obtained a copy of an Extra which I inclose to you, containing a batch of slander and lying abuse, that would be no compliment to any thing but a Pro-Slavery sheet. They admit that the "peaceable arrest" of six persons "went off quietly," showing our regard for law and order, but the atrocious deed which followed, and which we deprecate as deeply as they, as the resolutions passed at our meeting will testify, they attempt to fasten upon us, when those acquainted with all the facts developed the last two days, believe it was committed by no citizen of Lawrence; nor no well-wisher of the Free-State Party. But it is now believed that it was that "hard-fetured scoundrel" described in the Extra, who shot JONES, and that man was a stranger to us all, and came into town on horseback with an accomplice, after nine o'clock at night, and called for something to drink at once, and as he went out inquired, "where does the Company camp?" and "can you tell where Jones can be found?" and other similar questions. It is fervently hoped that we shall yet be able to say, "thou art the man," and relieve the citizens of Lawrence from that odium our Pro-Slavery friends are attempting to fix upon us by such charges; that lying Extra contains. They may as we attempt to swim up the Niagara as to make it intelligent public believe that REEDER or ROBINS would ever look with anything but utter disdain upon so high-handed a crime, or would ever mix with any "secret organization" to effect so fiend a purpose. Once for all. This "secret organization" foray recently started against us, is their lie; bug-bear, that will only frighten its inventor; there is not, nor ever has been, to my knowledge, any organization of the name or character that ascribe to it, in Kansas. RANDOLPH.

The Public Meeting at Lawrence.

GOVERNOR REEDER'S SPEECH ON THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF SHERIFF JONES.

We published in yesterday's TIMES a report of the meeting held at Lawrence on the 24th ult. to denounce the attempted assassination of Sheriff JONES. In that report, taken from Chicago papers a very brief abstract was given of Gov. REEDER'S speech on taking the Chair, which we now publish at length, as it appears in the Herald of Freedom of the 25th inst.:

GOVERNOR REEDER'S SPEECH.

He supposed that all perfectly understood the object of the meeting, and that he concurred fully and entirely in the public sentiment which deemed such a meeting necessary.

The occurrence which happened in this town last evening, in whatever light it could be viewed, was an outrage on the individuals of this town, upon the public sentiment and reputation of the town, and a still greater outrage upon our cause. That cause was one which sought no aid or countenance at the hands of assassins, for it was too holy, too strong, too just to need such assistance.

It is a cause which must obtain the help of the Lord, and not of the devil; the help of honest, well-meaning men, not of murderers and assassins; the help of orderly, law-abiding, though determined men, and not of outlaws and murderers. They wanted the sympathies of their friends in the Free State, who have stood up and justified them, and a course as would not give any one cause to charge them with wrong doing and injustice.

The sincere and heart-felt sympathy that they have always had, has been given because they were always in the right—that the blood upon our soil, that cried for vengeance, has been that of our friends—that those whose hands have been stained with a high and sacred position they occupied before the people of the United States, and one they should always seek to maintain. He had stood up in the capital of the nation, when last December the telegraph was loaded down with the lies of their enemies, charging them with arson, murder, plunder, and all the crimes that disgraced a man and this community—and had proclaimed his honor that, that was untrue—that they were a law-abiding, peaceful, though determined people.

Subsequent events showed he was right, and that all the weight of outlawry and blood were with their enemies, as it had always been.

A entirely new phreasy has come over the state of things. The demon of murder, bloodshed and crime seems to be struggling to get out of the ranks of the enemy and enter ours—to enter this paradise to poison the foundations that underlay the reputation of the Free-State Party, of staining the flag of Freedom, blackening our character, and undermining our cause. In God's name, let it be driven out, and let our banner remain unstained. Let us keep our reputation, and maintain the tower of strength in which we have so far maintained our position. We have suffered wrongs almost unparalleled and unknown to any people since the days of the Revolution; your rights have been trampled upon, your territory invaded, your ballot-box rifled, robbed of those privileges which constitute the life of a republic. Outrage upon outrage followed quickly upon each other, and you have been wronged until your wrongs have become the theme of the freeds, the newspaper and the legislature of this country. Throughout the States the tale of your wrongs goes upon every breeze. All these things have happened among you, until you have been provoked almost beyond endurance. The blood of your brothers avenged from the soil for the entire territory has been brought here ready, with arms in their hands to destroy your property, yourselves and all you hold dear, and for the destruction of this entire community. Your good sense, prudence and bravery averted the blow. Your sufferings have brought you much good, in sympathy, emigration, material aid, which could not have been obtained in any other way; and there is no outrage which these invaders can perpetrate upon you, which will not return to you ten fold, like seed sown in good soil.

Shall all this be periled? Shall the sympathies of good, true, order-loving men, now rallying by thousands and tens of thousands in the Northern States for your benefit, be cast away? Shall we take away from them the arguments which they have made of the masses of the people—the entire population of the States—for our relief, and strike out of their hands the very weapons they are using for our cause, and give them to our enemies to be used against us? Are we so tired of success—so tired of our reputation as a peaceful, law-abiding people, that we should depreciate our character, and defeat the object we have in view? It would be worse than madness, after having endured the entire territory has been brought here ready, with arms in their hands to destroy your property, yourselves and all you hold dear, and for the destruction of this entire community. Your good sense, prudence and bravery averted the blow. Your sufferings have brought you much good, in sympathy, emigration, material aid, which could not have been obtained in any other way; and there is no outrage which these invaders can perpetrate upon you, which will not return to you ten fold, like seed sown in good soil.

Gov. REEDER concluded his remarks as follows: I am not here to justify Mr. JONES or his course during the past Winter, when, by his ill-will towards the people here, his ill-will towards the people here, his ill-will towards the people here, he brought upon you a force likely to destroy you. I am not here to justify the motives that induced him to come here on Saturday, and of doing what he did on Sunday last, of bringing yesterday those United States troops here, and his arrest of your citizens. I condemn as heartily as any other man in this meeting all his proceedings, from first to last. Yet I feel provoked and shocked at the event of last night, and deem that the perpetrator of that assassination is deserving punishment. I do not hold that any man should consider he had a right to roam about this community and take the life of any one, secretly and by assassination, whom he deems to have improperly taken from him any of his rights and privileges. If such a state of society is brought about here, we will well leave the barbarism which would render this Territory a vast plain of anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed.

If the man who committed this deed supposed he could so redress political wrongs, he did not understand his obligation to society, to the Free State Party; he did not know the laws of the Free State Party; the position they have taken before the people of the United States, the broad and solid foundation upon which it has maintained itself up to this time. Last September the Free-State Party of the Territory took a position which exists now unaltered and unmodified. In the report and resolutions they adopted, lines distinct and unmistakable are drawn. The future course of the party was indicated in some resolutions which I will read.

[He then read some resolutions adopted by the Convention of September last at Big Springs.] Such was the doctrine set forth by the Free-State Party, that they would never submit to the laws of the Territory as a permanent institution, but would set themselves about obtaining remedies for the same, by getting rid of the ballot-box and the courts, and all peaceful remedies should be resorted to; and after those remedies had been exhausted, and they had no choice but to sit down under these laws permanently, or resist them by force, they would resist them without regard to consequences. The people of this town have been going on quietly, refusing to recognize the Territory as a permanent institution, and the authorities of the United States, which must be destructive, thus keeping precisely in the right path, and in a position where your friends at home and abroad could defend and justify you. The courts have been sought, and I am sorry to say that little hope of redress is to be found there. The sheriffs of the Territory are partisans, carefully selecting their work, and they select the judges who are partisans. The conduct of any of these Judges, and the lengths they are disposed to go for the purpose of pleasing their own friends, needs no comment from me. You all know what took place in the case of McCrea. This has been demonstrated that the courts of this Territory are a hopeless place in which to obtain anything like law or justice.

We have appealed to another tribunal, the ballot-

box, and have gone to the assembled representatives of the nation. You sent me there as your representative, to go to the bar of that great tribunal, and there, in the face of the entire nation, to ask for that justice we could not obtain from any other tribunal, and which we have declared we are as yet unwilling to take into our own hands. That appeal is pending, is undecided, and upon it there has been no decision. A Committee of the Representatives of the nation is now among you, upon the very spot where these outrages have been perpetrated. They can examine the very fortifications erected here in the dead of Winter for the defence of our rights. They can go where your ballot-boxes have been rifled, and your polls invaded; to the very spots stained by the blood of your friends, murdered upon the altar of Slavery. They can go through your entire Territory, and hear your complaints, and report the facts to the representatives of the nation, where justice must be done. In the midst

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

Tribune May 9, 1856
Jones probably Shot by a Pro-Slavery Man.

MEETING AT LAWRENCE.

SPEECHES OF MESSRS. REEDER AND ROBINSON.

LAWRENCE THREATENED BY BORDER RUFFIANS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

LAWRENCE, Friday Night, April 25, 1856. I wrote you an account of the troubles here by last mail. I now inclose a *Herald of Freedom* Extra, containing the speeches of Senator Reeder and Gov. Robinson, which explain themselves. Jones was taken yesterday to Franklin, a village about four miles south-west of this city. His case is considered critical—the ball having lodged in the region of the spine. It is generally believed here that he was shot by a Pro-Slavery man who lives near Leocompton, with whom he had had some difficulty about a claim. Corroborating circumstances go to sustain this belief, as it is known that he has been dogged by this man for some time—that about dark a stranger rode into town and tied his horse behind one of the stores—that immediately after the shots were fired this man mounted his horse and rode off, before those who saw him knew of the attempted murder.

The Mail has been stopped somewhere in Missouri, for though the usual quantity of newspaper matter came from the East, not a single letter was in the bags. Is Postmaster Campbell a party to this?

The prisoners were taken under a military escort to Leocompton, and were required to give bail in \$500 each to a Justice of the Peace to appear at Court at its next session. They were charged with not assisting Jones to execute the Territorial laws when called upon to do so.

The Kansas Committee are in session to-day, although they adjourned yesterday, probably on account of the excitement. Some developments are being made in the testimony which will astonish the apologists at Washington.

Whitfield left here yesterday, and is represented before the Committee by Col. Wright, of Georgia. POTTER.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

LAWRENCE, Wednesday, April 30, 1856. I wrote you on the 25th, giving a few facts in connection with the attempted murder of Sheriff Jones. Since then nothing of any moment has occurred. The prisoners were taken to Leocompton, and, without even a primary examination before a Justice of the Peace or any other officer, were held to bail in the sum of \$500 each. They were guarded by the troops till they found bail, which they did immediately, and were escorted a mile or two out of Leocompton on their way home.

The Investigating Committee are very busy soliciting evidence in the Whitfield and Reeder case, and from what I have heard I can assure you that the outrages of the Ruffians have been more atrocious than any of your readers have yet heard, especially at the election of the 30th of March, 1855. Conflicting reports are made of Jones's case, some believing he will die, others that he will get well. My own opinion is that he will recover.

The Kickapoo Rangers are encamped about four miles from here on the north. There are said to be three hundred and fifty armed men in the camp. "They came to avenge the murder of Jones, and to assist the United States troops." Such is the language said to have been used by one of them to an Indian named Seixie. But although Lawrence is in a state of defence, there will be no collision between them and the Free-State men, as this will be prevented by the troops, who are stationed about four miles from this city.

The troops came here yesterday morning to arrest Mr. Deitzler, the Governor's private Secretary, who is a peaceable and good citizen; but as he was so unfortunate or so criminal as to refuse to assist Jones to make an arrest when that worthy asked him to, he, of course, must be arrested. But Salters, (Jones's Deputy) and his dragoons could not find their man, as he was not at home.

There was considerable excitement here last night among a portion of our community, as it was currently reported that the "Kickapoo Rangers" contemplated an attack upon this city, but nothing of any importance has occurred. POTTER.

THE TROOPS RETURNED TO THE FORT.

[Extract from a private letter.]

LEAVENWORTH CITY, KANSAS, April 28, 1856. Jones was not killed, only wounded, not by a resisting party, but by some unknown person who fired upon him at night as he was encamped with some men of Lawrence as his prisoners, who he had arrested for refusing to join his posse committatus on the Sabbath day. It appears that Shannon sent for Col. Sumner with his soldiers, to arrest this unknown man. Col. Sumner went with his five companies on this errand.

Gov. Robinson has offered \$500 reward for the discovery of the man who fired the shot.

Col. Sumner had his men encamped about four miles this side of Lawrence while he went to Leocompton to see Shannon. On his return, he quietly marched his men back to the fort.

The State Gazette.

TRENTON, FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1856.

Disunion and its Consequences.

The political situations, opinions and sentiments which prevail in Italy bear a striking similarity to what is now passing among ourselves. Let us endeavor to extract from the one a lesson which ought to be salutary to the other, for it may with truth be said that "Mutato nomine, de nobis fabula narratur."

Long has Italy groaned under the iron despotism of German bayonets at the North, Priestly leprosy in its centre, and Foreign mercenaries at the South. The entire population unites in hatred to tyranny, in anxiety to repel the intruders and unite the country into one native Government. This being the primary and all pervading aspiration, public sentiment becomes divided as to subsequent operations. Shall liberated and consolidated Italy become a centralized or a limited monarchy; shall it be one grand republic, or a confederation of minor republics, as the United States of America? Forgetting the measures through which freedom is to be attained they quarrel about the forms through which freedom shall be perpetuated; they neglect the means in order to quarrel about the end. Italy has been foiled in every attempt to become independent, by never presenting an undivided front to the oppressor. Venetians, Lombards, Sardinians, Romans, Neapolitans, pursued each their own petty predilections, indulged in their own petty jealousy, instead of rallying round a common cause.

How long have the Northern States of America been held under the yoke of the Southern influence? How often has dough-faced treachery foiled their vain struggles? How uniformly has ambition, or paltry considerations of traffic seduced or bribed their leading men? At length the patrons of Slavery, grown insolent by success, have thrown aside the mask of faith, moderation and humanity. A renewal of the slave trade, the extension of Slavery over the present and future territories, its license by United States law, carried home into every corner of the land in despite of all State legislation—such are the themes in actual agitation. From Dan to Beersheba a cry of resistance is shouted. But alas! where are we to look for that unanimity without which resistance most terminate in defeat and disgrace?—Democracy and Slavery, amalgamated and drilled, move with the complete discipline of an organized force, while the People are disputing and quarreling like a disorderly mob.

Recusant Democrats and Know Nothings, Whigs and Abolitionists, Americans and Temperance men are all Republicans, in as far as they agree in the mutually conceded objects of restoring the Missouri Compromise, sustaining Freedom in Kansas, preventing any farther extension of Slavery, and reforming the abuses and corruptions of our Executive. These are preliminary steps, and until these are accomplished it is evidently impossible to proceed a single inch. The policy is obvious of uniting to reach that point where the roads diverge, and where every man can mount his own hobby horse and trot forward upon his own course. Notwithstanding all this, it is really surprising to see the obstinacy with which men sacrifice the general acknowledged advantage within their reach, in order to clutch at some doubtful and disputed chimera. To enact a Tariff, to proscribe Foreigners, to make canals and railroads, bridges, harbors, to emancipate all slaves, to attain the secret aspiration of the Know Nothings; such and a thousand other ignis fatui, bring discord into our camp, where all must perish unless all can harmonize.

The case is too self-evident to deserve argument.—Unite and we triumph; divide and we must be defeated. And if we be doomed to adversity, let us not

The Semi-Weekly Times.

KANSAS AFFAIRS.

United States Soldiers Making Arrests—Another Invasion Threatened—Preparation for War—Miscellaneous News.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, Monday, April 28, 1856.

We were honored again this morning by the presence of about 20 of Uncle Sam's Army boys, who were under orders of Deputy Sheriff SALTERS, —jack-a-napes *pro tem*—for the purpose of making further arrests. They dismounted and walked to about half-a-dozen houses searching for various persons whom they charge with "doing nothing" when Supple JONES was in a fair way of getting whipped. Every body was "absent" just then, so nobody was caught. They next mounted and rode about half a mile to the residence of Mr. SEMZ, editor of the *Tribune*, who was also one of the same high offenders. They started to enter, headed by the indefatigable SALTERS, when a little boy below his teens, shot hot water through the key-hole at him with a "squirrel-gun." This only enraged the brave functionary, when he rushed into the house, as if to "give 'em Jesse," but, la mel before he could get fairly in, Mrs. SEMZ, true to her Kansas womanhood, threw a dipper full of the same boiling hot water into his bushy face, and, the report is, that the bristles have started gloriously. He was otherwise so much burned that he started immediately for Franklin to "dress up." They have made no further efforts during the day to make arrests, and are still at Franklin. Some dozen of our good citizens slyly left town about the time they came in this morning, as it was reported that they have warrants for them all. This is worse than despotic tyranny, worse than the oppression of Algiers. It is killing our business, driving emigration to other points, breaking up families, and throws the whole town into a general fever.

We are threatened again with a most deadly war. The camp fires of our enemies are already kindled at our doors. We are assailed not only by puny officers who seek to fine and imprison us, but to-day companies of horsemen have been seen upon the opposite side of the river, and our spies who were dispatched for information, have just returned—saying they were chased but not taken by them. Their true mission we cannot yet understand, but expect they intend to lurk about until a force comes from Missouri or somewhere else to join them, and then vent all their spite upon Lawrence. Reports are current that the Kickapoo Rangers are over there, but I do not credit the rumors. It is known that there is a stir along the border, but we are yet in the dark as to their movements. Authentic news is received to-night that six hundred emigrants from Georgia, under charge of Colonel BYRON, have reached St. Louis, en route for Kansas. This looks like "fun ahead."

We are again brushing the rust from our muskets, trying our skill at targets, and, this afternoon, orders were given to fit up and mount four small breech-loading cannons, that have been received this Spring from the East. To-night we keep out a watch, and our faces are beginning to be flushed again with the glow of genuine courage. You will be disappointed to know that, with all the foray that has been embossed from both the pulpit and the press, in regard to Sharpe's rifles in Kansas, not one has been received here this Spring, and only half a dozen revolvers. There is the same comparative delinquency in regard to money, but I will devote a chapter entirely to financial matters soon. I fear there is a screw loose.

The Committee are making good headway for us in their investigations, and are getting before them much valuable evidence that will make the Ne breakers call for the rocks and mountains to fall and bury the past. Jones continues doing well. The forests are green as June. Yesterday the rain fell three inches by measurement. We expect a boat from Pittsburg soon to navigate the Kansas. Money is rather more plenty. Wages continue high. Our town is full of spies, and the mails, as usual, will be very irregular. RANDOLPH.

pour out indignation and contempt upon the weak and stupid Italian, but bottle them up for home consumption, for infallibly the time will come when scornful Southern ridicule will force us to drink the very dregs. Let not the future historian record that in 1856 the heroic spirit of 1776 had become extinct, that Republicanism had degenerated into slavish subserviency, harmony into discord, purity and honor into venality and corruption. With mutual concession we infallibly triumph; with blind obstinacy we certainly shall ignominiously be trampled under foot in this the last struggle for Freedom.

American Democrat.

BALTIMORE, FRIDAY, MAY 9.

OHIO ON AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.—On Monday last Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, presented in the U. S. House of Representatives, the following resolutions, adopted by the Legislature of that State, in regard to affairs in Kansas:

JOINT RESOLUTIONS RELATIVE TO KANSAS AFFAIRS.—Whereas, the original policy of our country contemplated no extension of slavery beyond the limits of slave States, and no increase of the number of such States; and whereas, experience has sufficiently proven that every departure from that policy has been productive of evil, and of evil only; and whereas, by the repeal of the slavery prohibition of the Missouri compromise, the whole question of slavery, in its relation to the Union, the States, and the Territories, has been reopened; and whereas, the people of Kansas, deprived of the protection of that prohibition, and despoiled by armed invasion of their undoubted right to elect their own Representatives, have been compelled to choose between the alternatives of resort to the inherent right of every community, in the absence of valid laws, to provide for its own safety and good order, or submission to the unauthorized edicts of a pretended Legislature, seeking to compel the admission of slavery by appointing its own creatures to all territorial offices, whether executive or judicial, and by imposing such restrictions upon the rights of suffrage at future elections, as will exclude the opponents of slavery from the polls; and whereas, the people of Kansas, properly adopting the former alternative, have proceeded to elect a Delegate to Congress, and to form for themselves a State constitution, with a view to application for admission into the Union; and whereas, it is the duty, in the judgment of this General Assembly, of the Federal Government, and of the people of the several States, to unite their efforts to save the Territory of Kansas from the renewal of civil tumult and from the further shedding of blood; be it therefore.

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That the cause of the people of Kansas, engaged in defending themselves against lawless violence, and in asserting their inherent right of self-government, be, and hereby is, earnestly commended to the warm sympathies of the people of Ohio.

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and Representatives requested, to oppose all acts and measures which tend to recognize as legal and binding any of the acts of the pretended Legislature of Kansas held at Shawnee Mission.

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and Representatives requested, to use their best endeavors for the immediate passage of an act of Congress admitting Kansas into the Union as a free State, with such limitation of boundary as by Congress shall be deemed advisable; and in case Congress shall not consent to such admission, then to use their best endeavors to secure the passage of acts enabling the people of that Territory to elect their own Governor and other officers, and fully protect them in the exercise of the elective franchise.

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be further instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their best endeavors to secure the passage of laws prohibiting slavery in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and all territory embraced in the Missouri Compromise, and re-establishing the original American policy, as declared by the regulation proposed by Thomas Jefferson, in 1784, for the exclusion of slavery from all territory ceded or to be ceded; and of such other laws as shall best fulfill the high duty repeatedly acknowledged by the people of Ohio, of using all power conferred by the terms of the national compact, to prevent the increase, to mitigate and finally eradicate the evil of slavery, without encroaching upon, or in any way legislating upon, the right of any State to adopt and modify its own municipal laws, to regulate its own internal affairs, and to hold and maintain its equal and independent sovereignty with each and every other State.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to cause a copy of this preamble and resolutions, properly certified, to be forwarded to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

and the Governor of each State in the Union.
N. H. VAN VOORHES,
Speaker House of Representatives.
THOMAS H. FORD,
President Senate.

April 9, 1856.

DAILY GAZETTE.

GAZETTE CO.....Proprietors.

From Kansas.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat.
LAWRENCE, KANSAS, April 30, 1856.

In my last I mentioned that the Kickapoo Rangers were encamped on the opposite side of the river. Two of the citizens of Lawrence went over that evening to reconnoitre the position, &c. of the enemy. They were seen and fired upon, and chased by some Rangers on horse back, but by dodging in among trees, escaped. We have since learned that the enemy intended to murder them if caught. They are very bitter towards the people of this city, because Jones was shot here. Yesterday it rained very hard, and the Rangers dispersed. Where they now are is not known.

A gentleman visited Franklin last evening and reports that Jones is not expected to recover; the wound is a bad one; and very much inflamed. Sam. Lattus, into whose face a lady of Lawrence threw some hot water, when he came to search for and arrest her husband, is very badly off, one side of his face is scalded bad, taking off his heart and skin. It will probably be a long time before he will be out again. The report that he had resigned his office is confirmed. The Congress Commissioners are busily engaged taking testimony. Yesterday an old man named J. Davison, who has a claim about three miles from this city, and voted last year for a Governor and other officers for the State of Kansas, testified that he was a member of a secret society in Missouri, whose object it was to make Kansas a slave State. The society is called by various names, such as "Blue Lodge," "Social Band," "Friend's Society," "Sons of the South," &c. He joined the society in Cass county, February, 1855; came here with a party and voted on the 3rd of March.

Some baggage wagons belonging to the United States arrived to-day, loaded with provisions camping and cooking utensils. U. S. troops are to be stationed among the people of Lawrence to force them into subjection to the acts of the Legislature. Shannon, with the sanction of the President, has ordered these troops to be a posse at all times for the Sheriff. The squatters are to be arrested by scores, taken to Leocompton, and tried before the judges there for some alleged offences against the laws. This is to be what they call squatter sovereignty up here.

[From the St. Louis Republican.

WESTPORT, April 29.

Hurrah for Georgial Hurrah for Alabama! Hurrah for South Carolina and Tennessee! And why hurrah for them? Because they are doing their duty. Now, there are in this vicinity, lately landed from boats, over five hundred, perhaps more, emigrants from these four States. There was never such a crowded county; every hotel is more than running over. There are not half enough public houses to entertain them, and the citizens of this place have turned out to get the emigrants comfortable places for lodging. All the vacant houses and tenanted rooms of every description have been furnished Major Buford, for it is the bulk of his company that, at this time, makes the crowd. Add to this that to-day the F. X. Aubry arrived with a large number more of Southerners, and that they are likewise landing in great numbers at Leavenworth and Atchison, and you can see what the South is doing. If these things continue long, there will be no struggle at all; for the South is now several hundred ahead of the North in regard to this spring's emigration, while, at the same time the South is increasing every day, and the North falling off. To-day, the Yankee hotel at Kansas City looked somewhat like a "banquet hall deserted," none of the Southerners, scarcely stop here. The healthy reaction that seems to be taking place in the North, is stopping to a certain extent the flood of Abolitionism that threatened to overrun Kansas.

Major Buford's company will outfit here, and in a few days, set out for the Territory. They are a fine looking set of young men, and if they make as good settlers as they are doubtless good fighters. Kansas will be greatly indebted to the originator of the expedition. Three weeks ago, when the principal travel to the Territory appeared to be from the wrong source, the Free Soilers as soon as they got into Kansas, would be so insolent and insulting as to make it very unpleasant to travel the same road with them. But they are getting very quiet.

It is now thought that Sheriff Jones cannot live. He suffers immense pain, and is spitting blood; all his organs are completely paralyzed. His groans are heart-rending, and from the fact that he has to be turned over in the bed every few moments in the day and night, you can guess what they are for, and the nursing he requires.

I forgot in my last letter, to mention the handsome manner in which Major Buford's Company were received. On their arrival at Kansas City,

they were met by a delegation from Westport, headed by a brass band, a fine company of sprightly young men, and welcomed by Gen. G. W. Clark, who was responded to by Major Buford. This took place on the wharf. Afterward the crowd assembled in front of the "American," and called out several general for speeches. First your correspondent was called for, when he appeared on the steps, began to speak, and further deponent says nothing at this time. Then came Dr. Weibley and Mr. J. D. Pennybaker, who entertained the excited assembly agreeably for a few minutes. After some stirring music, most of the crowd adjourned to the Farmers' Hotel, where the Westport delegation and Company No. 3, Capt. Jones, were hospitably entertained by Milton McGege, Esq., or in our popular phrase, "Coon" McGege, who may be set down and considered by "all the world and the rest of man kind" as an entire team.

KANSAS, May 3.

The weather has been very fine to-day, and the mud nearly all gone, people can once more get about and do something. We had a tremendous rain; the creeks were very high and kept our mails back till we got out of patience. Mr. Childs, of this place lost a valuable negro by drowning in the creek between this and Kansas city. He attempted to cross it at night with a loaded wagon.

Major Buford's Company have all gone into the Territory. Yesterday morning, before leaving here, they were eloquently addressed by Mr. A. Baker, of Alabama, and Col. A. Anderson of Lexington, Mo., and at the close of the speaking the Major was presented with a fine horse, bridle and saddle. The horse was given by Mr. Samuel L. McKenney, of Westport, a gentleman of wealth and high standing. The horse is a spirited and well made sorrel, which cost one hundred and fifty dollars. The saddle, for which forty dollars was paid, was bought by subscription, and the bridle was presented by Mr. Dillon, of this place. The presentation was made as a testimonial of Major Buford's services in behalf of the South and the cause of Slavery for Kansas.

Commercial Journal.

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor and Proprietor.

FRIDAY MORNING MAY 9 1856

From the Richmond Whig, May 9th.

The Old Game to be Played over Again.

We have little or no faith in the sincerity of the professions made by the Northern Democracy in respect to the slavery question. Their past course touching this matter suffices to show us but too plainly that they are ever ready to play over again the same game of deception which has so often resulted in their elevation to power, at the expense of the rights of the South, and the general interests of the country. The union between the Northern and Southern sections of the Democratic party is based upon no common political principles, and upon no measures of public policy, which equally command the assent and approbation of both; but it is cemented only by the cohesive power of the public plunder. That is the bond of union between them, and that the impelling motive which brings them together in national conventions, and induces them to adopt a string of vague generalities for their platform, which is invariably interpreted in one region of the country in one way, and in another region in just the opposite way. Yet, to hear Southern Democrats talk, one would be led to conclude that there is a perfect identity of principle and policy between the Northern and Southern wings of this party—that upon all the issues prominent before the country they stand as a unit, cordially linked together by common sympathies and common objects. It is particularly their boast that upon the vexed subject of slavery, and the questions springing out of it, the Northern and Southern Democracy stand shoulder to shoulder, and that, therefore, they constitute the only national party in the country.

It would be bootless to attempt to expose seriously the hollowness and falsehood of so bald and ridiculous an assumption. It has not the slightest foundation upon which to rest, as the well-known sentiments and position of most of the leading Northern Democrats sufficiently attest. We defy any and all Southern and Democrats to point us to a single prominent member of their party at the North, whose views of slavery and the power of Congress over the subject, accord with the ideas and requirements of Southern men. To cite

The Nebraska bill and the votes of both Northern and Southern Democrats in support of it cannot avail. For it is but too true that the principles and motives which actuated Southern Democrats in their advocacy of that bill were not those which influenced their Northern allies. On the contrary, they were animated by entirely opposite and conflicting reasons, the purpose of both being to obtain a party advantage, and to practice a wilful and deliberate deception upon both sections of the country. Which section, however, is finally to be the victim of the trick, remains to be seen. It is certain, though, that one or the other is to be made to bite the dust—that is, the doctrine of squatter sovereignty is either to become the prevailing and established doctrine in the Territories, or it is not. If it does, then the Southern Democracy will be made to feel and see how cute their Northern allies are, and what value there is in the great Nebraska test. If it does not, we shall expect to witness a monstrous fluttering among the Northern Democratic pigeons. We shall expect to see them quickly washing their hands of the Nebraska bill and swearing that, but for their belief that it fully and perfectly recognized the theory of squatter sovereignty, it would never have received their sanction and support. And what then? Will it still be contended that the Democracy, North and South, are a unit on the slavery question? That they are the only national party in the land? That they are the only party capable of adjusting sectional differences, or worthy of the trust and confidence of the people?

But the great effort now making among the Democratic leaders of the North, and which, indeed has been making ever since the passage of the Nebraska bill, is to take the wind out of the sails of the Black Republican party by contending and representing that the Kansas-Nebraska act is purely a measure in favor of freedom; that whereas the Missouri Compromise permitted and protected slavery South of 36-30, its abrogation opens the whole continent to freedom, and that it is inevitable that, under the operation of the Kansas act, not another slave State will ever be added to the Union. And what more do the Black Republican party want? Is not this the very thing, the only thing, for which they are contending. No more slave States, is their motto. And this, too, is the Shibboleth of the Nebraska Democracy of the North. Where, then, is the practical difference between them?

The leading Black Republicans themselves perceive and feel that the Northern Democracy have tricked them, and partly shorn them of their strength as a distinctive organization, by taking the ground that Kansas and all other territories, according to the Squatter Sovereignty construction of the Nebraska bill, are obliged finally to come into the Union as free States. With this conviction stamped upon the popular mind of the North, of course those Democrats who were originally opposed to the Nebraska bill, will abate their hostility and come into its zealous support. And thus we should not be surprised to find a large majority of the Black Republican party siding with the Democracy in the coming contest. If by so doing, they can secure the freedom of Kansas, will not the whole aim and object of their organization be accomplished? What is the difficulty, then, in the way of a perfect and cordial fusion between them? Animated by common purpose, would it not be the height of folly to distract their forces by supporting separate candidates? They are far too wary, and love the spoils too dearly, to commit any such absurdity, except in appearance. Their cooperation in the Presidential election is a "faded fact." They may present separate candidates, but it will only be for the purpose of hood-winking and deceiving the public.

The Columbia Carolina Times of Tuesday say "The following gentlemen, headed by D. G. Fleming, Esq., under the patronage of the Richland Kansas Association, took their departure, per railroad, en route to Kansas, on yesterday afternoon. B. F. Murtishaw, John T. Mathias, John Carroll, Jr., H. E. Hardie, J. N. Busbee, L. Taylor, Johnston, and J. T. Peake. These are all young men of good character, and will make valuable settlers in the land of contention, should they choose to remain in the land of strife." *May 9.*

THE MERCURY.

CHARLESTON

Friday Morning, May 9, 1856.

FOR THE MERCURY.

Judge O'Neill and the Alumni of the South Carolina College.

To the Hon. Judge O'Neill:

SIR: I have just seen your letter of the 14th ultimo, to the Editor of the Greenville "Patriot," and admired your classic gem of a reply to the feeble defence of the Alumni against your foul aspersions, which I took the liberty to address to you. I desire you to understand, that no personal attack made by you on myself, will draw me from the issue which you have made before the people of South Carolina. To it I intend to hold you until you acknowledge your error, and make some effort to atone for its painful consequences. The great disparity between our ages, as well as the still greater one between the positions we occupy, warn me, sir, not to reply to your attack in the style of vituperation and perfumed vulgarity; but there is a reason, more potent than these. It is neither my habit, nor is it agreeable to the teachings of the school in which I have been educated, to forget the decencies and proprieties of the gentleman.

You have arraigned the Alumni of the College at the bar of public opinion, charged with the odious and disgusting vice of drunkenness, and upon their heads you have invoked the stern rebuke and maledictions of that public. What is the state of the trial? The public has been assembled at your invitation. You have picked your own jury, and, by a long system of cunning management, you had almost succeeded in persuading them to close their ears to our defence. We have plead not guilty to your indictment; and, proudly conscious of our innocence, we have challenged you to go on with the trial,—to produce your witnesses, to place them upon the stand, to give us the privilege of a cross-examination, and make good your charge, if you could; and we fondly indulged the hope that, at last, we were to have at least the semblance of justice. But sad has been our disappointment. Where is our bold and hitherto relentless prosecutor and persecutor? You, sir, have fled from the painful scene your ungovernable indiscretion and weakness have brought about. Why, and whither have you fled? Are you afraid to meet the investigation which you have so assiduously sought, and which you have so conscientiously labored to effect? One thing is certain,—you are absent at the trial, and the public is bewildered at the unexpected result. There is none now to accuse us, and in your Court of Sessions we would only ask for a discharge from arrest; and though no lawyer, I yet know enough of law to feel assured that even you would not dare to refuse us this right, and permit us to return once more to the bosoms of our families, free from the dark stain of opprobrium and crime you have endeavored to fix upon us. But, sir, we are not before your bar; we are at a bar where you, as well as all of us, are responsible. I intend to avail myself of the audience and the occasion, to comment upon your conduct in the matter, and request your attention; for, I flatter myself, that a candid perusal of my remarks may do you good, and hereafter be the means of keeping you out of broils and difficulties, in which neither your constitution or temperament fit you to figure with credit to yourself or State. In your reply to my defence, I perceive that you virtually proclaim your retreat from the investigation you have heretofore so ardently sought, and that, by implication, you claim a perfect right to scatter this foul charge of drunkenness against respectable men with impunity,—to poison the character of the Alumni of this College, and condemn them to the tortures of a living death, whenever you may please so to do. And you go further. You claim exemption from every responsibility, even to that of public opinion. In this matter, sir, you are vastly mistaken. It is my duty to say to you, that you are mortal, and, like other mortals, responsible at the bar of public opinion for your misdeeds. You are like the ostrich, which, when pursued by the hunter, sticks its head

in the sand, and vainly thinks itself hid from its pursuers. You have stuck your head in the mud, and flatter yourself that you are unobserved, when, in truth, your person is fully exposed to the gaze of all who please to look upon the spectacle. You have betaken yourself to your dignity at too late a period to be of any avail to you. You should have thought of that dignity which doth "hedge" in the position of chief head of the South Carolina Judiciary, before you ventured to fulminate your false and foul charge against the Alumni of this institution. An earlier contemplation of that dignity on your part, would have saved you and us from the painful position we both now occupy. In reply to my defence, you are pleased to denounce it as "vile and scurrilous;" and yet, singularly enough, you, in the very next sentence, say that you have not even read it. By what mighty power, then, are you able to characterise it as you do? You must possess the power of clairvoyance, or you must certainly be in communication with evil "spirits," when you thus denounce a simple defence, nay, rather an earnest entreaty to you, to reconsider your harsh and cruel denunciation, or at least to give us a fair trial at that bar to which you had dragged us, and before which you are so omnipotent. I am sure, had you read that defence, you would hardly have pursued the course you have since done; for, amidst your many follies and weaknesses, you are not so lost to every sense of shame as not sometimes to be visited by the "still small voice" of conscience. You will hardly induce any one to believe that your conscience has not seriously harassed you, and cost you many sleepless nights, since you ventured to place this foul charge in print. Why, sir, the murderer who strikes his victim to the heart, though he may escape the punishment due to his crime,—(and you have not been so fortunate,) is sometimes tortured as he reflects upon his horrid deed, and cheerfully would he give worlds could he but call his victim back to earth; and would you endeavor to make the public believe that you are so callous, so dead to every sense of honor, as not sometimes to have felt deep regret that, in a wild and thoughtless moment, when unconscious, it may have been, of the terrible extent and power of your condemnation, you doomed to the pains of a living death a large number of your unoffending and innocent fellow beings. If such be your character, I confess I have not heretofore appreciated you. No, sir; I know now, and I knew before, how deeply, and with what unutterable anguish, you regret your conduct; and would you but open your heart, it would pour out its lamentations in language worthy of your former self. I did think you had firmness and manliness enough to come out and admit your error, and restore us to that proud position which we had hitherto occupied in the public estimation. It would have been a manly and a noble action. It would have indicated a pure heart, a generous spirit, and a true courage, worthy of imitation. It would have been an example of priceless value to your countrymen, in comparison with which your eminent Judicial decisions, and your works of charity, would be counted as nothing. I appeal to you to say candidly, would it not have been better, would it not have been far more honorable, to have acted thus, than to have betaken yourself to the protecting example of your great exemplar, Dr. HENRY WARD BEECHER. I shall not reiterate with you on the propriety of following the example of this "venerable preacher." It may be all right and proper for you so to do, but I hardly think any other Carolina gentleman is envious to be considered as a disciple of this notorious and heartless Abolitionist and unprincipled Infidel.

It is said that there is a strong personal resemblance between you. I much fear least you have also exhibited a striking one in your heart, as well as in your mental endowments. It is reported that your "venerable preacher" and revered master, at a meeting held, I believe, in his own church, and on the sacred Sabbath, to raise a supply of "SHARPE'S RIFLES" to arm a company of Abolition emigrants to Kansas, with which to murder "Border Ruffians," was highly elated, and that his eye glistened with savage pleasure, when a Mr. KILLEM advanced and pledged a rifle for the bloody work. The name, he said, was suggestive to him of glorious results. Have you not exhibited something of this charitable

and Christian spirit, in your cold and cruel attacks upon the Alumni of our College?

With you, sir, I am done; but to that public, whose condemnation you has invoked upon our devoted heads, I cheerfully and proudly appeal. A Carolina public, sir, is not only an enlightened one but a generous and noble one,—quick to perceive and always ready and prompt to act the right. To its decision I leave the question,—Have you proved your stale charge of drunkenness against us?—together with that other question of importance only to you and myself,—Who has written the "vile and curtilous" article—you, Sir, or PEE DEE.

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

SATURDAY MORNING, MAY 10 1856.

Our Kansas Correspondence.
Thoughts and Things in Kansas.
NUMBER XIII.

ST. LOUIS, May 8, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—My pen has of late become so much addicted to discoursing Kansas affairs, that I find it difficult to turn its course abruptly from that channel. Still, I think I could have persuaded this unruly instrument to keep quiet respecting those affairs to-day, but for a certain telegraphic despatch which appeared in your Monday's issue, and which has just fallen under my eye. The despatch, it seems, comes from this city, and the matter for the greater portion of it is made up from the statements of the same correspondent of the *Republican* to whom, in these "Thoughts and Things," I have before paid my respects. Now, Gentlemen, it is a pity to spoil such nice large stories as are told in this despatch. But I am, nevertheless, strongly moved to make a pin-hole in the bladder which this Kansas Gulliver has blown up for the public.

I assure you that of the statements made in this pretentious despatch, all of which have not been published before are palpably untrue. There is a letter of mine published on the same page with this despatch. This letter was dated the 25th of April, from Lawrence. Now you will perceive that Gulliver's letter is not written at Lawrence, where the scenes he describes are reported as having transpired, but comes from Westport. You will perceive, too, that his letter bears date of the 26th, just one day later than mine. As it requires one entire day to travel from Lawrence to Westport, it follows that the *Republican's* correspondent could not possibly have an hour's later intelligence than was contained in my letter, and moreover he was indebted to reports and speculations of others for what he has stated. The fellow must be unpardonably ignorant of Kansas matters, or he is a marvellous adept at lying.

He says—and the despatch reiterates the fiction—that Col. Sumner (on the 25th, mark that; it was the very day I arrived at Lawrence from Leavenworth,) advanced upon Lawrence, with his entire force, and that he demanded satisfaction from the citizens for the act of shooting into the tent of his Lieut. Now, so far from there being any truth in this story, Col. Sumner was not in Lawrence that day. Moreover, the force which marched under his command from Fort Leavenworth have not entered Lawrence at all, unless they have done so since the second day of this month, and have come no nearer the place than Sicowie's Creek, about three miles on the Leavenworth road. It was there that I met them, on the 25th, and it was there, too, that I saw and spoke with the commandant of the garrison, Col. Sumner himself, who is described as expending so many visals of wrath over the heads of the people of Lawrence on that very day.

Mr. Gulliver also states that Col. Sumner's detachment consisted of the whole garrison at Fort Leavenworth! What a remarkably veracious correspondent! Is it any wonder that he is quoted as a perfect oracle, and that, when he speaks, the telegraph reutters his words, and sends them, with lightning velocity, all over the land? See now what a jewel of a narrator he is. It so happened that, when this detachment of

United States troops left Fort Leavenworth, I was there. I saw them get into marching order and move off. I conversed with the commandant, and learned the particulars respecting the detachment from his lips. He informed me that it consisted of four companies of dragoons, amounting to some two hundred in the aggregate.

Another thing: For the benefit of Mr. Gulliver and those who put confidence in his oracles, I can inform them, however unpleasant the information may be to some of them, that the veteran commandant of the forces at Fort Leavenworth, one of the noblest officers in the service, is at heart warmly in favor of Free State principles. If any cavalier wants the proof of this assertion, I can give it to him as much as he desires—possibly more. Of course Col. Sumner (the more is the pity) is compelled by his instructions from the War Department at Washington to call out his troops, for whatever specific purpose, on a requisition from Gov. Shannon. He could not do otherwise without giving up his commission. But he is in a false position while he is compelled to advance upon a peaceable town, with two hundred dragoons, because a chicken-hearted Governor happens to have a nightmare after a day of hard labor or an evening of hard study.

Dispatches like the one I have been endeavoring to hunt down, do an immense amount of mischief before the truth can overtake them. I have reason to believe that this romance, which got upon the wires here at St. Louis, is all over the union by this time. Well, the matter cannot be helped, and "what cannot be cured must be endured," I suppose. But I wish, when this letter is in type, if my suspicions are right in respect to the general currency of the despatch, you would take the trouble to send slips of the letter to some of the prominent papers which are most likely to have seized upon the untruthful paragraphs. These slow messengers may prove to be better late than never; and for Col. Sumner's sake, if for no other reason, it is important that the truth in respect to the matter should travel wherever the lies have gone, as *avant-couriers*.

In my anxiety to place before your readers an accurate portraiture of the political and social state of Kansas, it has just occurred to me that possibly I have not given sufficient prominence to the physical character of the country—its resources, its climate, its capacities—the differences in the soil of different sections—what portions are open to pre-emption, and which are Indian reservations—where the best and most abundant timber is to be found, and where there are streams suitable for saw-mills. I think I may venture to promise a letter on these subjects in a few days. The country—so much as this I must say now—when I left it, had donned its spring drapery, and very charming it appeared. Many wild flowers were blooming on the prairies and in the forests. Among these wild flowers were a beautiful species of the *Verbena*, which I had only seen before as an exotic; a showy species of the *Phlox*, very abundant; the *Vida Palmada*, a species of *Cupis* entirely new to me; the *Uavullaria*, apparently as much at home as if it were nodding in a Pennsylvania forest; the *Sanguinaria*, modest as ever; the *Claytonia*, my old favorite; the retiring little *Anemone*; the proud *Poleophyllum*, and the beautiful *Arbutus*. GRADGRIND.

The Daily Republic.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 10.

Intersecting from Kansas.

Correspondence of the Chicago Democratic Press.

ST. JOSEPH, May 1, 1856.

I have just made a trip on the Missouri river, from the mouth of the Kansas (or Kaw, as the Indians and many of the settlers call it) to this place. The object of the excursion was to see something of the character of the land in the northern part of the territory, as compared with that of the more central portion through which I have been travelling.

St. Joseph is about one hundred miles from Kansas city, by the way of the river, which is very much addicted to describing angles and curves, and makes nothing of going a score of miles out of its way now and then, apparently just for the whim of the thing. The town of St. Joseph is pleasantly situated, about forty miles from the mouth of the Missouri. It is a place of much more commercial importance than I had supposed. It is indeed one of the finest and most thriving towns situated on the Missouri above Lexington. I am not so well pleased with the appearance of the land in the western part of the territory, as with that in the valley of the Kansas. Still there are many excellent claims here, some of which comprise valuable timber lands; though I should advise the emigrant who intends to cultivate the soil, to strike out into the country farther south, at Kansas City or Leavenworth.

At some of the places we passed on this trip up the river, we found a perfect whirlwind of excitement growing out of the unhappy tragedy at Lawrence last week. The most exaggerated stories have been industriously put in circulation about it, and nearly everybody believes or affects to believe that the act was contrived and instigated by the Lawrence people. Consequently that little town, which has already become so famous on account of its persecutions, is the object of unnumbered anathemas. All the border ruffians speak of Lawrence as a doomed village. "Lawrence must be destroyed," has become as much a motto with them as the significant *Carthago est delenda* was with the old Romans. The cry is more fierce just now—it is only varied in this particular. This place must be levelled with the ground. Its fate is sealed. Its destruction is a question merely of time; but this last act of the Yankee rebels will hasten its downfall. Such are the threats I hear, perhaps fifty times repeated, every day, from men in high places, and men in low places.

There is a place on the river called Atchison, which has on various occasions gained signal notoriety for itself on account of the deeds of its citizens in behalf of border ruffianism. It has just been adding some fresh leaves to its chaplet of laurels. On Wednesday last (the day we passed Atchison) a young man by the name of Adams, who had last summer rendered himself obnoxious to the citizens by the utterance of anti-slavery sentiments, and who was at that time set adrift on a raft, in a very public manner, had occasion to visit the place again. It would seem that no reformation had taken place in his ethics. He was as much an abolitionist as ever, and so he declared himself. The people were greatly incensed against him. The propagation of such pestilent doctrines must be stopped, they said. So, in their wisdom, they held a sort of court martial over him, the result of which was that he must be treated with a coat of tar and feathers. An Atchison man, whom I met the next day, informed me that a large number of the judges were in favor of hanging, and that he was saved from this fate by only two votes.—These men, assisted by some thirty or forty young blades from South Carolina, who have recently arrived in the territory, and the object of whose mission is to aid in establishing southern principles by those peculiarly southern means, deliberately stripped Adams from the waist upwards, covered the naked part with a coat of tar, and in the absence of feathers, completed his wardrobe by placing on him a coat of cotton.

It was soon after this chivalrous feat was performed, as I said, that our boat stopped at the Atchison levee. Many of the actors in this serio-comic play were there—their hands still reeking with the tar they had employed. The South Carolina gentlemen were very turbulent, and if the truth must be told, some of them very drunk. Many of them, I noticed, carried a flask of whiskey in a pocket on one side, while a handle of a knife protruded from its sheath on the opposite side.

"Are there any abolitionists on board?" some of the Atchison chivalry inquired, as soon as the steamer touched the levee.

"Yes, boys, two or three of them," was the reply of one who stopped at this place, and who, I believe, was one of the citizens. "There is one abolition editor on the boat—the correspondent of the *New York Tribune*."

"Where is he? where is he?" was the inquiry from a dozen mouths.

I suppose from what followed, that the gentleman who communicated this choice morsel of information must have pointed out the wicked letter-writer to the crowd; but when the inquiry was made he was beyond hearing from the place where I stood. At all events, the mob turned their eyes upon a point near me, and screamed and yelled like wild Indians.

"There he is! throw him down! throw him down! let's have the *Tribune* man! we want to give him a new dress! Pass him along!"

Now, as this was the first time that your special correspondent had witnessed the effluence of this peculiar species of southern enthusiasm, and he being with a little philosophically inclined like honest Mr. Pickwick, he looked calmly on, as Aristotle might, serenely making his reflections, and wondering who of our number was so naughty as to write for the *Tribune*. The boat left the levee amid the yells of these patriotic saviors of the Union. Then a stranger took me aside, and said with great solicitude:

"We were all afraid you might step ashore there."

"I and why not! what have I done, pray?"

"Why—you see—in fact—they were very much excited."

"That's evident enough; but what have I to do with their excitement, or their excitement with me?"

"Oh, ah!—I thought, perhaps?"

"Speak out, my friend; let us have no riddles. Did they consider me in some way compromised with this awful man of the *Tribune*?"

The stranger looked at me with perfect astonishment. It was evident that he considered me very sly and close-mouthed; was a perfect gentleman, and, respecting my disinclination to be sincere on the occasion, tried to retreat, and to turn the matter off.

"My dear sir," I said, "there's some mystery here. I declare to you on my honor that I know nothing whatever of it, and shall feel greatly obliged if you will brush away the cobwebs of my ignorance."

"Well, the *Tribune*, you know, is rather unpopular with some people in these parts?"

"I should think it might be, judging partly from the character of the paper, and partly from the character of the people."

"The editor has published some pretty severe articles about these border ruffians as they are called."

"Yes, I'll testify to that. They were rather severe."

"Well, they were written by a man who traveled in these parts last fall and winter."

The gentleman watched my countenance narrowly as he said these words, as if to read their effect.

"Many people living on the border—they are very much excited, sir, very much indeed—I do not pretend to justify all they say and do—many people said that if they ever caught him back here they would—in short, they would be tempted to use him roughly."

"I see; then he has come back, and we've got the very man on board?"

"Why, sir, you should know, if any one does."

"But I don't know—I never saw the gentleman to my knowledge."

"Then you are not the man, after all?"

The fog was all cleared away from my mind. My dull perceptions had caught the idea at last. I assured the stranger that I was not the author of those Kansas letters.

"And you are not a correspondent of the *Tribune*?"

"I am not a correspondent of the *Tribune*."

And so the conversation ended, after I had pretty clearly expressed my mind to my good friend—for he was my friend—in relation to the character and tendency of public sentiment in an enlightened community—of American citizens, which could so endanger the safety of a peaceable traveler, doing his utmost to make himself acceptable to every one, and to mind his own business.

Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Saturday Evening, May 10, 1856.

IS SEWARD SINCERE

A man's character for sincerity and good faith must be at a low ebb when his own friends and supporters become his accusers. It will be recollected that in the early part of the session, Mr. Seward delivered a "war speech" on the subject of Clayton-Bulwer treaty. A few days afterwards the *New York Tribune* plainly intimated that he had not expressed his real opinion, but had practiced a ruse, for the purpose of putting an extinguisher on the war feeling which seemed blazing up among the supporters of the Administration. A lax morality may consider such a ruse pardonable, but it was hardly becoming the position of a member of the United States Senate.

Another of Mr. Seward's organs—the *New York Times*—now intimates that his proposition for the immediate admission of Kansas as a free State, is merely a political stratagem, and that it

is advocated for some other reason than because he has any expectation of its success. We copy the following paragraph from the *Times*:

The proposal of Senator Seward to admit Kansas into the Union immediately, with the State Constitution formed at Topeka, would at once restore peace and order to the Territory. But it is evident that it cannot and will not be adopted; and we presume it was not introduced with any expectation that it would be successful. The circumstances under which this Constitution was formed,—by a Convention called, not by any authority of the Government of the Territory, but in defiance of it,—and composed of delegates elected by a party, instead of by the whole body of the people,—would create in any case, a very formidable barrier to its acceptance by Congress. But whatever may be the merits of the application for immediate admission, no one supposes for a moment that it can be successful. It might possibly pass in the House of Representatives;—but both the Senate and the Executive are immovably hostile to it. As a measure of practical redress, therefore,—from which the people of Kansas can expect relief from their difficulties, this proposal for its immediate admission as a State is out of the question. We must look elsewhere for a solution.

The *Times* is correct in supposing that the admission of Kansas as a free State would restore tranquility. But neither Seward nor the Administration wish the question settled till after the Presidential election. The leader of the Republicans proposes a known and acknowledged impossibility, because it is indispensible that his party have some issue which will last till next November. It is of no practical importance whether Kansas is admitted as a free State now or a year hence. But it makes all the difference there is between life and annihilation, whether the Kansas question is kept open six months longer. Mr. Seward pretends he wants the immediate admission of Kansas only because he knows he can't have it. To grant his wish would destroy his party.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

SATURDAY MORNING, MAY 10, 1856.

SHERIFF JONES a Missourian.

That the bogus Sheriff of Douglas county, Kansas, is a Missourian, there is no doubt. He was when he was appointed, and he is so still. The last item of evidence on the subject is furnished by a letter in the *St. Louis Republican*, ultra pro-Slavery, dated at Westport, Mo., of which the following is an extract:

"Gen. Whitfield sent a despatch 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 get there before the brave fellow dies."

How happens it, if JONES was a legal officer in Kansas, holding a local office, that his family reside at Westport—one of the Border Ruffian strongholds? The fact is that he was no more the lawful Sheriff than any other swaggerer who usurps authority.

ANOTHER KANSAS LIE.—The Black Republican journals have been shedding crocodile tears for the last two weeks over the grave of Mr. Wilbur who was said to have been murdered by "border ruffians" as he stepped from the cars at some station in Missouri.

[Buffalo Courier.

Nota word was said about "Border Ruffians," in connection with the reported murder of Mr. WILBUR. Nor was it at "at some station in Missouri," but in Illinois, where it was supposed to have happened. It was not even charged that it was on account of his destination, or the opinions he may have expressed. The pro-slavery Courier, however, finds in the contradiction of the account of Mr. WILBUR's death, an occasion for charging that the rumor was got up for political purposes. As it first appeared in this paper, and came from relatives of Mr. W., of high respectability, we repeat its insinuation

as groundless and mean. The account was published in good faith, as was the contradiction, as soon as received, and both came from a source incapable of resorting to the tactics with which the *Buffalo Courier* is too familiar.



SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 10, 1856.

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

A business meeting of the Congregational Union was held Thursday, in the Church of the Puritans, at 3 o'clock P. M. Resolutions were passed in favor of pushing forward the accumulation of the \$20,000 fund for Church building, to be employed either as a gift or a loan, in Kansas; and of calling another Convention similar to that recently held in Albany, for the purpose of hastening the collection of the general fund of \$100,000, of which this Kansas fund is a part. Several interesting statements were made; a feeling of universal satisfaction with things present and prospective was exhibited in the tone of all the speakers, and the utmost unanimity of sentiment prevailed on every hand. The officers of the last year, with some changes, were re-elected, and the meeting was adjourned about 5 o'clock.

A reunion of the ministers and laymen with their fair friends of the Congregational Church, whom the Anniversaries in this city have drawn together from the Northern States, took place at night, according to yearly custom, in the Apollo Rooms, No. 410 Broadway. The assemblage was quite large. A small band furnished excellent music, and a few light refreshments were supplied from a table running down the centre of the apartment. Professor Benj. Silliman, Sen., who presided, was introduced by Rev. Dr. Anderson. Then followed an interval of social relaxation and physical refreshment. At a quarter past 8 o'clock, the meeting was "called to order."

A hymn was then sung by the assembly, after which the Rev. Mr. Knight, of Kansas, was introduced. He commenced by apologizing for his shawl, by pleading chills and fever—reminiscences of Kansas. A previous speaker said that the question involved was this, whether Kansas should have a free or a fettered Gospel? This is right; for, if Slavery enter Kansas, the Gospel will be fettered there. So far the Southern Christianity has not felt at home there. The Methodist Church South, that formerly occupied the ground, has mostly deserted it. One of its Pro-Slavery ministers, Mr. Johnson of the Shawnee Mission, has done much to bring the Gospel into disrepute, even among the Indians. At a religious meeting there not long since Mr. Johnson requested an Indian to speak. This Indian, a pious man, for a long time declined, as indeed had been the usual practice of himself and others of the better sort of his nation in Johnson's presence. At last, unwillingly consenting, he said that his reluctance arose from a dream. He had dreamed, he said, that he died and went to hell; after some time Mr. Johnson entered, whereupon his Satanio Majesty arose, twisted off his tail, by way of removing the emblem of sovereignty, and, offering it to the clergyman, said, "Now, Johnson, you take this; I'm no longer master here." Such men and such a Gospel will go into Slave Kansas. This church movement is one of special importance, inasmuch as the settlers of Kansas are poor men, who have nothing, or only a few hundred dollars at most; who have spent their funds in getting there, or who find it necessary to expend the remainder of them in establishing and maintaining themselves; so that for two or three years it will be as much as they can do to live. And those who had means, have, during the recent troubles, often patriotically used them all in the struggle against Slavery. Farmers have brought in for the Free-State cavalry even their last cob of corn and their last hundred weight of hay. Many have in this way utterly impoverished themselves. Missionaries at their work have been obliged to leave it and labor for a living; a necessity, by the way, which the Home Missionary Society ought to consider, since for the present, at least, the settlers cannot help them. This church enterprise will be fully appreciated; calls for aid will be plentiful when the existence and design of the fund is known. The Territory is rapidly

filling up, and all in it are desirous of the means of worship. Now, they meet in private houses. There are absolutely no houses of divine worship in Kansas. The hall at Lawrence which was used for such, has been occupied for barracks or offices, during and ever since the siege. The consequences of this religious destitution will be dangerous. Many of the settlers are young men. Unless they are firmly fixed in religious character, they break loose from all restraint, and finding neither churches nor divine service, they are degraded into inebriates or profligates. Much of this evil would have been avoided, had there existed even few and small churches. It is not the value of Kansas which is the measure of the importance of this crisis. But Kansas is the battle ground between Slavery and Freedom. The settlers are now again reported to be in collision with the authorities. Many arrests are said to have been made of those accused of having been engaged in the Branson rescue—misnamed a rescue, since Branson only walked peaceably away from men who made no attempt to hold him. The warrants issued for these men Gov. Shannon pledged himself publicly and in private, and personally to me, should not be served until there had been a trial and decision upon the validity of the laws under which they were issued. On this promise two leading men gave themselves up, and are yet under bonds for trial. Under these very warrants, and in spite of those repeated pledges, the present numerous arrests are being made.—Meanwhile the murderers of several Free-State men are at large, and even boast openly that they slew this man and that man.

These facts are only specimens of the condition of things there prevailing. The people of Kansas have been downtrodden. Many of us who went out there peace men have come back with very different opinions. One man, for some days after the siege of Lawrence commenced, refused to take up arms. He was a Garrisonian Nonresistant. A few days after the siege, however, I met him in the street with a Sharp's rifle and a pair of revolvers. I asked him if he had changed his opinions. He stammered out: "No, I-I've not ch-ganged my opinions at all, and I-I w-wouldn't lift a f-finger to f-fell a man, b-but these are wi-wild beasts." It was well known in Lawrence that the most terrible threats were made in the Border Ruffian camp against the chastity of our wives and our daughters. I ask if any man would not fight under such circumstances. Next to my commission to preach as a minister of Christ, I hold in estimation the commission which I have in my pocket of a staff officer in the Free State army. [Applause.] When I knelt down in prayer, with a brace of revolvers in my belt, there was a need's be about it, a necessity which made man feel that it was not incongruous. The erection of churches would also have an effect upon the Indians. Some of them, especially the Shawnees, seeing that all the white men who came to them came for the purpose of cheating them, would have nothing to do with religion. But now that Eastern men have gone out, they come sometimes ten or fifteen miles to a Free State settlement to trade, in preference to trading at their own settlement. They say that Eastern men sell to them at the same price they do to white brothers; and the Delawares even got so far into the gist of the quarrel last Winter, that they sent a formal offer of warriors to Lawrence. By the Topeka Constitution also, they are permitted to become citizens, a privilege which is granted them no where else.

HENRY WARD BEECHER was then introduced. He said that it was very easy for them when they were at home and in comfort, to imagine what they should do if they were in such and such circumstances. He did not believe any ships were ever handled so finely as he had handled ships when he had been lying in bed fixing out storms to suit him. He thought that the best battles that had ever been fought in the world he had fought lying in a garden out in the country. One could have it all his own way. It was in this realm of fantasy that they had peace societies and peace men. They belonged there. They walked there, they slept there, they drank there—they didn't fight there. It was the place where they lived and out of which their theorizing came. He was a peace man. When he was in New England and men were fighting in Mexico, he liked peace, he was decidedly for peace. But he never knew a man that had common sense and common honesty that would not fight, that is to say, use physical force to repel physical force. When he was brought to that exigency in which the honor of wife or the purity of daughter was in jeopardy, he who would not fight to defend them would be so much less than a man that they would have no name for him. This was no time for them to

criticise and doze in New York and Brooklyn where gunpowder never came. Men might be five-story high peace men here, and be perfectly safe. There was nothing risked by it. But he took it that every wise man and every humane man—that was, every Christian man—when he undertook to settle such questions threw himself, in imagination, in the field, where the men of Lawrence stood, and settled his principles as they would settle them, and not as men would settle them who were walking about the streets here in velvet ease. He was to remember the Slave not as he saw him in pseudo-religious newspapers in New York; he was to go down and ask the Slave mother, who was obliged to bring up her child to say that she was not first to him, and that another man was higher than his father or her, and think about Slavery as she would wish him to. So, in the defense of Kansas, he would feel as true and deep-hearted men in Kansas would have him feel.

And he held that he had a right to do so; for he held that there was just this difference between a minister and a layman: that what the layman did with a witness the minister should do with a vengeance. But the modern doctrine was that a layman should be a man, and a minister a smothered man—that a layman might think and act, but a minister must look around first. A minister was a kind of nondescript of man and woman, having the worst qualities of both and the best of neither. He thought that the world had never seen just such a time as they were now seeing. He read, and remembered what he had read, but he had tried in vain to find a parallel to what was taking place at this hour. There had been struggles for liberty before; but here were two nations—the North and the South—roused up and spurred on from the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico to their goal, to Kansas. If we could be moved and look down as the stars did, we could see the lines of march all converging toward the one point of Kansas. And what was the conflict there to which all were so eagerly rushing? Was it for soil? There was soil just as rich and deep and nearer to us. Was it because there were mines there? There were no mines except coal. Was it because there were premiums offered? There were but two things. Two genii were standing there, and this gigantic race of nations was to place themselves under the banners of Freedom or Oppression. From the moment when Christ pronounced the cardinal doctrines on which stood civil right and liberty, they had been, as he declared that they should be, in a state of conflict. It had been the battle of the ages, and they had thought that something had been gained—that there were some doctrines of civil rights that had been settled.

But what one single principle was gained after the Reformation—what one single truth was gained by the Puritan struggle in old England—what one single truth was gained by their fathers, who, like the old patriarch, wrestled with God in the wilderness—that was not publicly, openly and continually denied? And that not by a few convicts, not by a few presidential men whose cobweb heads had become dry by long separation from common life, but by one-half of America—territorially two-thirds of America—which was ready to stake its existence on the denial of civil and religious liberty. Every principle of Liberty is outraged and canceled by the Slave act. Could anything be more astonishing than that this country should be the theatre of such a scene, and that they who had rocked the cradle of Liberty should assist at its enactment? Yes—there was something a great deal more surprising. It was that the whole Governmental force of this Union should indorse this enactment. That was more surprising, but it was so. Unless a man had the mark of the beast, he could get nothing in Washington, and the bigger the beast the more he could get. It was not to be disguised that the interests of the army, of the navy, judges, executive, of every arm of the service in the land, was on the side of Slavery and against Liberty. We had known it for a long time, but it had only lately been openly developed. Was there anything more surprising than this rebellion of Servitude against Liberty? Yes; the religion of Jesus had been made to ratify the infernal compact, and the blood of Christ had been taken as its seal.

It had been said there that there would be a fettered gospel in Kansas if Slavery should succeed, but it would not be so. There would be a false gospel. That gospel which would permit men to be wasted by thousands and millions was to the true gospel what Saul of Tarsus standing by, holding the clothes and consenting to the deeds of the persecutors of the true faith, was to the Paul who afterward preached it. But there was something more astonishing than this.

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It was that, when year by year and year by year this experiment had been going on, while this terrible tragedy had been enacting, the Church of the North should stand by as a spectator and only occasionally dare to wish that it were not quite so bad, without doing any thing at all. If the revenues of the city of New York were to be cut off he would like to know if there were any space in all creation big enough to hold the cries of indignation. If the revenue of the State of Connecticut should fail—for though not very great in quantity it is intense in its nature—would there be any end to the reclamations. The hand of God's people would be heavier than the red-hot hand of old Jupiter; it would be nothing less than the hand of God Almighty himself. But what had been the state of feeling with which it was received by the North? There was some sadness and sorrow, but how quickly were the tears dried up. When, in 1850, they wanted to inculcate the old dead Slave law with the vital blood of a new malignity, the Christian public of the North said, "I will get mad; if somebody don't hold me I will do something." But a voice came saying, "Swallow your prejudices," and they swallowed them, and didn't have much to swallow either.

But when another step in advance was proposed, when it was proposed to destroy a compact more sacred than any constitutional obligation, because it was not legal merely, but one of honor, then the whole North rose up again and shook its fists. People thought that certainly the North would not bear that. But the South didn't. They knew that the North hadn't got half the length of its endurance. If they could have been brought to vote within six months, that vote would have been to the South what the sand-storms of the desert were to caravans, it would have suffocated them. But a year had passed, and the people were now so little in sympathy with God Almighty's Gulf Stream, that they would vote on this issue and on that, and there was no great comprehensive feeling bringing all classes together. Alas! it seemed to him that we had got the sepulchre in the North in which Christ was laid, and when we came, we found that he was not there. But he thought that there was something more astonishing than this, when a large body of the sons of New England arose, and, bolder than their fathers—for their fathers left the storm when they crossed the sea, while they went into the storm—when this heroic body of men went into the wilderness to battle for a principle, and stood there as representative men—and by and by we should have historians who would not seek office by writing history—and dared to defend their own sanctuaries, to protect their own children from desecration and destruction, the oldest and principal religious journals of the North who had never seen any special occasion to say a word against the invasion of every description of human right; when a man said that it was right for a Christian man standing on Christian principle to defend himself and family against men worse than wolves; the sounds that they heard in the air from them were like the rollings of a tocsin. He did so love Liberty, and he did so love the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that it would cut him to the heart worse than if he should see his own son led astray to see the Church of Jesus Christ so put to shame, even if this were a sham fight.

But it was no sham fight. Kansas was the door through which were to pass to all Western America more woes than any arithmetic could compute, or blessings such as the world never saw before. Like an army of scaly lepers, rotten throughout their bones, was the polluting tide of Slavery. But who could tell the glowing glory to the Continent if Victory came to the side of Liberty? It would put churches there, and the Bible there—the Bible that believed that a man had a right to himself, and that the blood of Christ had stamped him with a value which nature never gave him. From it would spring North schools, colleges, universities, towns and villages. But no statistics could express the real value of this new development of a Christian civilization. What the Bible Society would do by bibles, what the Tract Society would do by tracts, what all the other Societies would do by their instrumentalities, he thought God called on them to do by securing the Gospel to Kansas.



NEW HAVEN:

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1856.

FOR LATEST NEWS—SEE THIRD PAGE.

The New Cause of War in Kansas.

Recent circumstances have come to light at Lawrence, which increase the probabilities that Sheriff Jones was shot by one of his own ruffian party. It is known that he had been dogged about for some time by a squatter at Lecompton, with whom he had difficulty about a claim, and it is stated that on the evening when Jones was shot, a stranger rode into Lawrence, and tied his horse behind one of the stores—that immediately after the shots were fired this man mounted his horse and rode off, before those who saw him knew of the attempted murder. Although the tent in which Jones was shot was guarded by United States soldiers, and four shots were fired, yet no attempt was made to discover the assassin; on the contrary the soldiers left Jones alone wounded on the ground, while they ran off to see if their prisoners were safe, and he laid there a considerable time before assistance came. The Kickapoo rangers, the gang that cut up Brown with hatchets, on hearing of the assault upon Jones, hastened towards Lawrence and encamped about four miles from the city, saying "they came to avenge the murder of Jones and to assist the United States troops."

The prisoners arrested by Jones were taken to Lecompton, where without any of the usual form of examination, they were each held in \$500 bonds for trial, chiefly for the offence of refusing to act as Jones' posse in arresting Mr. Wood for the rescue of Branson. There was no arrest for any crime, except the refusal to recognize the authority of Jones. After giving bail the prisoners were escorted a few miles from Lecompton by the troops, and then left at liberty.

Correspondence of the Palladium.

Our Kansas Colony—Sleeping on the Prairie—Prairie Cuisine—Some of the Settlers—Their Attachment to the Territory—Sunday on the Prairie—Field for Christian Effort.

ON THE PLAINS OF KANSAS, April 26, 1856, 70 miles west of Kansas City.

MESSES. EDITORS:—As you will see, we are now out upon the prairie ocean of this far off country. We were detained at Lawrence until Saturday morning, waiting the return of our pioneers, and left at that time, bound West. We encamped for the Sabbath at this point near a log cabin; and as most of us walked from sixteen to twenty miles during the day, a hard bed upon the grass was a luxury. A few only could be accommodated in the cabin, as it contained but one room 12 by 13 feet, no window, and was occupied by a man with his wife and eight children, from a young lady of 17, down to a native,—and yet four of our company were provided with lodgings among them, and five others in an adjoining cabin, built for a storehouse, and without a floor; the remainder slept under tents and out upon the open prairie, snugly buried in a buffalo robe. One gentleman from Hartford, the most of an invalid of any in our company when he left home, slept in the latter style, and informed me in the morning that his rest was sweet, and better than any he had enjoyed on the way. He continues to sleep in the same way.

Our fare at this place consisted of coffee without sugar, bacon, bread and pickles. Six sat down together, and were furnished with three spoons and other fixings to match. Part of the company cooked for themselves, and enjoyed it very much. They make tea and coffee, broil ham, make hasty pudding and eat it with molasses,—making their spoons of sticks, and using the knives from their pockets. Some of the good marksmen occasionally have stewed plover, prairie chicken, and other game.

On our way, we stopped at Judge Wakefield's and Col. Walker's for refreshments, and passed the spot where Barber was shot. Judge Wakefield has a very good farm, about eight miles from Lawrence. You will remember that he was a candidate for Congress against Whitfield, and that the votes of one District given for him were transferred to the latter gentleman, or thrown out, because there was no such man as Wakefield in the Territory. Col. Samuel Walker is a member of the Free State Legislature, and came here among the first, in a company of about forty. They intended to have reached the Territory in season to vote at the first Territorial election, but on arriving at Boonville, on the Missouri river, they were put on shore by the captain of the boat, although they had paid their fare to Kansas,—for the pretended reason that the boat was overloaded. The captain, however, retained their freight, and left the men and their families behind. These men thus wronged and outraged, sought in vain for redress. They were also entirely unsuccessful in their efforts to procure teams, until two weeks had elapsed and the election passed. In the meantime, they witnessed hundreds of the citizens of Boonville, openly leaving for Kansas to vote, and return. They saw one thousand dollars distributed among the hiring voters, to pay their expenses, and two dollars per day for their time. This company were subjected to all sorts of embarrassment, and trials, and when Mr. Walker arrived upon his claim with his wife and children, he was reduced to ten dollars, and one of his children with a broken leg.

He immediately became an active participant in the great struggle for freedom, and sustained by his heroic wife, has forced his way to a condition of comparative competence and comfort. His cabin is a large one, all in one room, and is patronized extensively by travelers, from whom he derives a handsome income. They gave us a very good dinner for 25 cents each. The beds are arranged like the berths in a vessel, one above another. On one side of the room a platform is built, about 3 feet wide and 20 inches high, on which barrels and cupboards are arranged, and under which we noticed a hen setting, about four feet from the stove, where our cooking was done. This is made necessary in order to protect the young chickens from the various wild animals that are not yet driven off.

Mrs. Walker, like all the farmers' wives we have seen, who have been in the Territory a year, says she could not be coaxed, hired or driven away from Kansas. There are many who come out, remain a few days, and return disappointed, but of those who hold on a few months or a year, very few return; on the contrary, they become enthusiastic in their love for Kansas, and their deep interest in her welfare.

We spent our Sabbath very pleasantly, having religious service in the forenoon in the cabin of Mr. Shields, where we took our meals, and upon slabs fitted up for the purpose, outside and adjoining. In the afternoon we held a prayer meeting at the same place, and such meetings we have not often enjoyed at home. The settlers from a few adjoining cabins came in, and it was truly affecting to witness the gratitude to God manifested by them, that men of prayer had come to the Territory. If the thousands of Christians at the East, who are rusting out for want of active Christian duties demanding their attention, could know what a field is spread before them here, they would emigrate. The moral harvest, like the natural, invite the reapers to come hither and gather, some thirty fold, some sixty, and some an hundred,—and when the rich Christians of the East understand how they can make friends here with their mammon of unrighteousness, and by proxy be instrumental in establishing the pure gospel on these broad acres, they will respond to the call. It is true there is no lack of demand for active efforts at the East, in works of benevolence, and labor for the prosperity of truth and useful instruction, but there are many among you whose usefulness would be largely increased, were they transferred to this soil, and the effect of the transfer tend rather to improve the condition of those they leave behind, by exciting them to renewed activity, and thereby diffuse the blessing that results from a cordial and earnest devotion to the welfare of our race in the community where Providence has cast our lot.

We have not, as yet, seen anything to disappoint our expectations, excepting the want of a boat up

on the Kansas River, and it is still uncertain whether this stream will be to any considerable extent navigable, but there can be little doubt that a railroad will be constructed along its banks before many years, passing through thriving villages and towns, as busy and prosperous as any in the West.

The Republican.

May 10, 1856

The Kansas Settlers, and Those of Virginia.

All the vagabonds, plopers, 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.

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 (Va.) Enquirer.

This is simple libel. A man placed at so favorable a point of knowledge, as is the editor of a daily newspaper with a large exchange list, must know that the above description of the material of which the future state of Kansas is composed, is false and defamatory. Throughout the North, it is notorious that the settlers of the territory are in every respect superior to those who laid the foundations of any or all the American states, saving ever Massachusetts. They were the flower of the industrial classes of New England, the North, and the West. Educated, moral, sober and industrious, they took with them on their emigration, newspapers, schools and churches. Organized eastern society was, as it were, lifted up bodily, and wafted over the plains of Kansas, was there let down, and immediately put into harmonious and vigorous action. What was wanting to the complete manhood of these builders of a state, was soon supplied by the dangers which threatened it. These pressed on the timid and non-resistant, and compacted the vanguard of freedom in the West into a phalanx of citizens ready to fight in defense of the free society which they had the virtue and wisdom to construct.

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. Captain 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 funkeys," the founders of the state of Virginia, was a famine, in which the seed of the chivalry ate a "salvadge," "boiled and stewed with roots and herbs"—in which one of them actually killed his wife, "powdered her," and partially fed upon her, before his revolting crime was discovered—and in which "William Simmons, D. D.," an eye-witness, says, endured "what it were too vile to say"—all owing to "want of providence, industrie 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 taskmaster.

These promising state architects afterwards petitioned the crown for a present of "vagabonds and condemned men," to do that work which they found so irksome. Bridewell and all of 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 passage 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," "pickpockets," "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 shipmasters 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.

Albany Evening Journal.

The Atlas.

SATURDAY MORNING, MAY 10, 1856.

KANSAS—AN INTERESTING COMMUNICATION.—We have been favored by Dr. Webb, the indefatigable agent of the Emigrant Aid Society, with the following important communication from the joint committees of the citizens of Kansas and of the city of Alton, Ill., in regard to the plan of direct connection between the Free States and Kansas, without the intervention of St. Louis, in order to avoid the outrages to which goods and passengers have been subjected in the boats of that city, by establishing an independent line from Cincinnati and Alton to Kansas City.

ALTON, Illinois, April 28th, 1856.

DR. T. H. WEBB, Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:—As the prominent agent of the Kansas Emigrant Aid Society, permit us to call your attention to the action of the people of Kansas, in reference to certain difficulties which they desire to avoid, as well as to their plans for the future, in the desirable object of making that territory, once solemnly deeded to freedom, a free State. It is doubtless well known to you that numerous outrages have been committed upon the persons and goods of the free State men, and of free State emigrants to Kansas, on boats, and at ports on the Missouri river. The people of Kansas addressed a respectful memorial to the Chamber of Commerce at St. Louis asking, that as they could control the steamboat lines, they would use their influence to prevent these villanous encroachments upon their constitutional rights. The memorial was presented by a member of the Chamber of Commerce, and they refused to receive it, on the ground, that action upon it would divert Southern trade from the city. The people of Kansas in mass meeting assembled, after carefully considering this action of the St. Louis business men, refusing to speak against unconstitutional search and seizure of goods purchased of them, came to the conclusion that it was necessary to their present safety and future prosperity, that they should open a trade with cities of the free States, appointed and sent out a committee of five, consisting of G. P. Lowery, G. W. Brown, G. W. Hutchinson, James Blood and Ephraim Nute, Jr., to visit Alton, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Chicago and eastern cities, to make proposals for trade, and also to make arrangements for running boats from Alton, at the mouth of the Missouri, to Kansas, concentrating the emigration at Alton, thus saving forty-four miles of unnecessary travel, as St. Louis is twenty-two miles below the mouth of the Missouri river. That committee visited our city. Their object was set forth, and our people in mass meeting, demonstrated most satisfactorily to that committee that they earnestly sympathized with the Free State men of Kansas in their efforts to redeem Kansas from the curse to which demagogues had attempted to doom it. The action of our people will be seen by the published proceedings in papers accompanying this letter. By virtue of the power conferred on us by that meeting, we address you, and desire to urge upon your attention the feasibility and advantages of the plan proposed.

It is evident that Free State sentiment in Missouri, including St. Louis, is held in abeyance, and the commerce of Kansas passing through that city, must continue to wear the galling chain.

Emigrants bound to Kansas can come through to this point from Boston or New York for about twelve dollars each, by the way of the Chicago, Alton, and St. Louis Railroad, or by the Terre Haute and Alton Railroad. By the Ohio and Mississippi road it now costs fifteen dollars. * Boats from St. Louis to Kansas are willing to touch at Alton on their way up, and will carry passengers and freight at same as from St. Louis; so that to start five dollars for each emigrant is necessary, and at least five dollars for each emigrant is saved. If this trade should be a prosperous one, the Cincinnati boatmen would open lines to Kansas, stopping at Alton for emigrants coming in by the railroad. This idea should be encouraged at Cincinnati. St. Louis boatmen have conspired to retain all the Missouri river pilots, whether employed or not, to prevent their acting for Cincinnati boatmen, thus keeping out competition from free States, and enabling them to charge such rates of freight and passage as they see fit to extort.

Pilots can now be procured. There are two running on the Missouri, whose families reside in this city, and their sympathies are with our friends in Kansas, and they will embark in this enterprise.

We are informed by the officers on the Terre Haute road, that they will contract to bring emigrants to Alton in less time and cheaper than any other company. Theirs is the most direct route, being from fifty to one hundred miles shorter than the Ohio and Mississippi or Chicago, Alton and St. Louis roads. The Kansas committee are fully determined that the purpose for which they were appointed shall be accomplished, and we, first as citizens of a free State, and secondly as desirous to secure the commercial advantages of Kansas, of our own city, and of cities in the free States, pledge them, on behalf of our people, a hearty co-operation.

With assurances of a deep sympathy with you in the noble object in which you are engaged, we are

Yours, most respectfully,

G. W. BROWN,	} Kansas Committee.
G. W. HUTCHINSON,	
JAMES BLOOD,	
E. NUTE, JR.,	} Alton Committee.
W. T. MILLER,	
A. NELSON,	
J. W. SCHNEPP,	
L. S. METCALF,	

P. S. We should be happy to hear from you on this subject, and to hear such suggestions of plans as may seem to you calculated to encourage the friends of freedom in Kansas.

* (The above prices must have reference to emigrant trains, the character of which has been such that we have always advised our Kansas immigrants to avoid them. We have never recommended any to go, nor have we forwarded any, save as first-class passengers; and arrangements are now in contemplation and will soon be completed for the conveyance of such from Boston to Alton for \$21.25.)

THOMAS H. WEBB.]

A TRIFLING GRIEVANCE.—The Post, arguing that the people of Kansas had no right to frame for themselves a State Constitution, as the people of several other Territories have done, says:—"When the Topeka movement was commenced, not a single case of oppression had occurred in Kansas under the territorial laws, IF WE EXCEPT THE MOMENTARY INVASION BY MISSOURIANS, FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONTROLLING ELECTIONS." That's all; just a little invasion, a "momentary" affair, and not for any really bad object, only for the purpose of controlling the elections! And yet the people have made all this fuss about it, and have presumed under this slight provocation—we say nothing of two or three murders thrown in, for these were only "momentary," instantaneous in fact—to apply to their case the principles that have been repeatedly endorsed by Congress, that have been held up by the Post as the fundamental doctrines of free government. How unreasonable!—*Providence Journal.*

KANSAS.—We have recently seen a letter, written by one of the Lawrence pioneers, from which we learn that "emigration is coming in like a flood" into that territory. Our friend writes—"I assure you our hearts are rejoiced. Lawrence is crowded. Our new hotel is about ready for travellers. It is expected it will be the best hotel west of St. Louis." The same writer also expresses the opinion that "there is no State in the Union where manufactures will pay so well. We have Arkansas and Missouri on the east and south, manufacturing nothing, and a vast market on our west. We are badly off at Lawrence for mills. The only one in operation is a very small one. A soap and candle factory, lard oil factory, flouring mill, planing mill, machine shop, &c., &c., are all needed, and a grand opportunity is offered for investment and enterprise."

THE SLAVE TRADE.

When any community resolutely persists in barbaric tendencies, we may be certain that in its hesitation at adopting modern reforms, it will be found reviving, or attempting to revive, ancient and long condemned abuses. The journals of South Carolina, intent upon carrying slavery into Kansas, are naturally still further intent upon bringing it from Africa. They find this course, which will fill the civilized world with horror, necessary, in order to sustain something like logical consistency. An institution so blessed in its fruits must have been blessed in its origin; and if the international slave trade be such a benevolent thing, the old slave trade, which Mr. Newton, the

friend of Cowper, in his youth engaged in, only to denounce with bitter resentment in his old age, at the horrors of the middle passage—the trade which after a discussion of unprecedented length, so many enlightened governments joined in prohibiting, must have been after all, like his Satanic Majesty, not so bad as painted. Already South Carolina, grown effete for want of the supply which that abominable traffic afforded, is calling for a revival of the obsolete commerce in human beings. The following is from the Charleston (S. C.) Standard:

"If we must have territory let us have slaves to cultivate it; or, if it be too offensive to the tastes of this enlightened age, let us have leave to live within that which we possess, and abandoning the race after a continually vanishing horizon, let us fortify ourselves within our present limits, and show to the world what slavery can do, when its efforts are extended to higher objects than merely extending a frontier. In either event there will be a necessity for the South to demand a modification of its present relations to the general government, and in doing this we cannot help confessing that it were more manly to say at once that the restrictions upon the slave trade shall be removed; that if it be a virtue not to purchase slaves from the importer, we will practice it without the control of Congress, and if western men must have slaves for the cultivation of the soil, that they may take them unbridled as did our fathers, and not have leave to drag them from the older States which they have assisted in improving, and where they have secured the right of an enduring home."

We put this shocking avowal upon record in New England, as evidence of the horrible degeneracy to which the arguments of the Pierce democracy will lead us. It is in this way that a prominent paper of South Carolina speaks of a business which Webster blasted in one of the most eloquent of his orations— which the great powers of the world are in alliance to suppress, and which cannot be revived with the consent of the Northern States of this confederacy. Nay, more; the revival of it would be opposed, and without question successfully opposed, by a majority of the governments of both continents. We may not fear such a consummation; but we may expose the illogical stupidity which urges it.

Boston Daily Courier.

SATURDAY MORNING, MAY 10, 1856.

EMIGRATION TO KANSAS. A correspondent of the New York Evangelist, writing from Kansas City under date of April 15, says:—

Crowds of emigrants are coming into the territory every day. There is not a boat arrives from St. Louis that does not bring multitudes of them. Since my arrival here, three days ago, parties have come from Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, Illinois, Michigan and Pennsylvania; and in estimating the extent of the immigration into the territory, it should be remembered that as many parties proceed upwards to Fort Leavenworth as there are that stop at this place. There are now upwards of fifty steamers plying constantly between St. Louis and ports on the Missouri, as least as high as Independence. All these steamers are crowded with passengers, by far the greater portion of whom are emigrants. Among this multitude, what portion, so far as my inquiries have extended, are from the slave states? Not one in twenty. And many of those, even, who come from these states, come with free principles, and prepared to cultivate their farms by the aid of free labor. A very intelligent gentleman from Kentucky, who, with his family, came up in our company from St. Louis, was one of this number.

The letters to the St. Louis Republican are more full of the accounts of the arrival of Southern emigrants, which they say outnumber the Northern men, but they say nothing with regard to the views of the emigrants upon slavery in the territory or the state.

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Lowell, Saturday, May 10, 1856.

Saturday Morning, May 10, 1856.

KANSAS. The investigation into the shooting of the Missouri bully called Sheriff Jones, who is going to recover, develops the startling fact that he was shot by a fellow Missourian who had followed him from home to execute vengeance on him for some private cause. This assault on Jones has been improved by the "border ruffians" and their sympathizers of the Post, Lowell Advertiser, and other prints of "high and low degree," to create a prejudice against the people of Kansas in their struggle against the invading hordes of slavery-extendors from Missouri.

This is equally dishonest and contemptible. This ruffian Jones cannot legally be a sheriff in Kansas, for he is a citizen of Missouri, and is said to be at the present time a postmaster in that State under Gen. Pierce. Yet the attempt is made by the Democratic pensioned presses to represent this assault of one drunken Missourian on another as a bloody rebellion of the Free-State men of Kansas against the legal authorities, suppressing the fact that the Free-State men publicly denounced the act and are taking great pains to discover the assassin. The Springfield Republican says of this attack on Jones:—

It is known that he had been dogged about for some time by a squatter, with whom he had a difficulty about a claim, and it is stated that on the evening Jones was shot, a stranger rode into Lawrence, and tied his horse behind one of the stores—that immediately after the shots were fired this man mounted his horse and rode off, before those who saw him knew of the attempted murder. Although the tent in which Jones was shot was guarded by U. S. soldiers, and four shots were fired, yet no attempt was made to discover the assassin; on the contrary, the soldiers left Jones alone, wounded, on the ground, while they ran off to see if their prisoners were safe, and he lay there a considerable time before assistance came.

The Kickapoo rangers, the gang that cut up Brown with his chets, on hearing of the assault on Jones, hastened towards Lawrence and encamped about four miles from the city, saying they came "to avenge the murder of Jones and to assist the U. S. troops."

The prisoners arrested by Jones were taken to Lecompton, where without any of the usual forms of examination, they were each held in \$500 bonds for trial, chiefly for the offence of refusing to act as Jones' posse in arresting Mr. Wood for the rescue of Branson. There was no arrest for any crime, except the refusal to recognise the authority of Jones. After giving bail, the prisoners were escorted a few miles from Lecompton by the troops, and then left at liberty.

The U. S. troops and the citizens of Kansas had lived in perfect harmony, the soldiers loudly expressing their disgust at the course of the Missouri invaders and at the course pursued by Pres. Pierce's officials. The latter are striving hard to bring about a collision between the citizens and the soldiers, but the forbearance of the former and the "strict construction" of duty by the latter has hitherto prevented. Every noble impulse of human nature should rouse the people of the free States to union in hurling from power the present wicked, detestable administration.

Slavery in the Supreme Court

A case has recently come before the U. S. Court, and it is said a decision has been agreed upon by a majority of the Judges, which will be likely to awaken the whole country to the question of slavery. It ought to produce a sensation not less profound than that awakened by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. If these repeated and outrageous encroachments will not awaken the people of the country to the dangers which threaten us from that source, it would seem that they would not be convinced, though one were to rise from the dead.

We have long seen and felt the control which the slave power has exercised over the Executive and legislative branches of our Government.—But with the Judiciary it has heretofore been less apparent, although it has been very careful to secure a majority of the Judges. And it would seem, from the report of the decision in the case to which we have alluded, that this branch of the Government has been at length coerced into its service, even to the extent of making a decision, the principle of which, even Southern jurists, in times past, have united in pronouncing as most preposterous and absurd.

Senator Toombs, a bold man, just fitted for a defender of this institution and a leader in its diabolical attacks upon the peace and prosperity, if not perpetuity, of this Government, long ago affirmed what other Southerners claimed, that slavery was a national institution, and that he would "call the roll of his slaves under the shadow of Banker Hill Monument." His words were treated as the ravings of a fanatic—for up to this time, all the decisions of the Courts, and the unanimous sentiments of the leading men of the land, both North and South, had been against him. Al had decided that slavery was but the creature of positive local enactments, and lived only by municipal law, and died the moment the slave passed from the soil where such laws are operative.—Hence the necessity for a provision in our Constitution to reclaim fugitive slaves: But neither the letter nor the spirit of this provision extends to slaves voluntarily taken into Free States.—Hence the decisions of the Supreme Court, Southern Sduges acquiescing and approving, had been in accordance with this principle, that the voluntary taking of slaves by the masters to a free state, gave them freedom; and often times has freedom been granted them when claiming it under that decision. But a Washington correspondent of the New York Independent writes that a majority of the Judges have over-ruled all previous decisions of the Court, and declare that the law of a slave state holds a slave in bondage, while in transit in a free State. If so, slavery is national, and in this Republic, universal. It would seem that having repealed the Missouri Compromise, and finding that the northern portion of one of the great political parties, under the deluding influences of adroit and selfish political leaders, has been gradually suborned and coerced into acquiescence or approval, slavery now lifts its head and proudly proclaims that there is nothing so iniquitous or absurd, as that Northern doughfaces cannot be made to succumb to it.

The case upon which it is said the opinion was rendered, this writer gives as follows:

"A slave in Missouri was taken by his master to Rock Island, in the State of Illinois, and from thence to Council Bluff, in Iowa. The slave married a slave woman. A child was born to this couple while in Council Bluff, and also upon the Missouri, while in transit, over the free waters of the country. When back in Missouri, the slaves claimed their freedom."

The writer adds that Judges McLean, Nelson and Curtis from the Free States, dissent, and are

engaged in writing out their opinions—and thus as the Supreme Court become sectional, and prostrated before the slave power of the country.

The Newburyport Herald, one of the most conservative papers in New England, speaking of this decision, says:—

"If this be so, and with all these details, it would seem as though there was foundation for the rumor, though it is hardly possible at the same time, not only is there no free soil in the country,—not one inch that may not be contaminated by the footprints of a slave, but there is no State sovereignty. There used to be a party that talked of State rights—that the people of a given locality, Massachusetts or Kansas, were in full possession of all the powers God had given them, which they had not ceded to the general government; and it was for them to say whether slavery should exist among them or not; but if this decision has been rendered, Toombs may come to Bunker Hill, and march his chattels over its green sward, and it is not in the power of Massachusetts to prevent the desecration of her holy of holies.—If a mob assails him, he can command the army of the nation in his defence; and if his slaves refuse to return, he will have the same claim for a national vessel to carry them home, that the master of Anthony Burns had to call in a man of war to carry his negro to Virginia.

We say we cannot believe that so monstrous a decision has been made, for it will appear to every man that a slaveholder can no more keep his slaves in Massachusetts for one day, if he assents to their coming, than Brigham Young can come to Boston with his thirty six wives, in violation of our local laws, and establish his Sodom in New England. We have observed however, that any evil is never at rest; feeling its weakness it ever seeks to make itself strong, and generally in every movement becomes weaker. It may be that the madness of slavery and the Providence of God have permitted such a decision that in honest freedom mankind may trample the institution beneath their feet.

Certainly they would not recognize its binding force, courts or no courts, compacts or no compacts, life or death. The negro himself will always have free transit through Massachusetts provided he won't stop, for nobody wants him here, but will keep straight on to Canada; but the day has gone by for any other transit—the return of fugitives is the verge of forbearance; beyond that may God save the slaveholder or the Supreme Court from attempting to step."

The Vermont Phoenix.

BRATTLEBORO, VT.
SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1856.

Kansas in the Senate—Senators Collamer and Douglas.

The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Evening Post writes as follows concerning Judge Collamer's recent speech in the U. S. Senate:

Judge Collamer's speech, which occupied two days, was a complete refutation of the fallacies employed by Mr. Douglas in his minority report, to justify the principles of the Nebraska bill and policy of the administration in reference to the people of Kansas. Those fallacies are in many cases patent to the dullest comprehension, nevertheless one could not help wondering at the number and size of the rents which the "envious Casca" made in the report embodying them. And the whole thing was done with such excellent good humor, and the blows, one after another, told so effectively upon that unfortunate document, that finally Senators were less surprised at its demolition, than at the fact that so flimsy a fabric had ever been put together.

Judge Collamer, who, by the way, was the Post-Master-General under Taylor's administration, is a grey-headed, sleepy, judicial-looking personage, with rather a clumsy delivery; but the blunt carelessness of his phrases in the present instance furnished a sort of cover and excuse for some of the hardest hits that have yet been given to Douglas and his friends. These hits seemed at first to be purely accidental, and were taken in good part by his opponents, but they kept coming so fast and so pat that by and by they produced a general flutter

Ebening Standard.

NEW BEDFORD:

Saturday Evening, May 10, 1856.

on the other side. Douglas would begin to stir and converse with his friends, and finally interrupt the speaker, who would always sit down and listen with the utmost composure to the question. When this was over he would rise again, Antæus fashion, and without the least excitement or apparent intention of hurting anybody, hit his antagonist another still harder blow. Then he would pause, and cocking up his eye, which would twinkle and brighten with suppressed fun, look at his friend from Illinois, as if to inquire whether he wanted more of the same sort.

That Douglas was conscious of his discomfiture was evident from the nature of his reply. Eluding the discussion of Judge Collamer's main positions, he branched off into an electioneering harangue, charging those who resisted the doings of the spurious Missouri legislature of Kansas with opposing the laws of the United States. He particularly denounced the "Black Republicans," who, he said, had come to Congress with the purpose of repealing the Fugitive Slave Law and restoring the Missouri Compromise, but who are now merely insisting on the immediate admission of Kansas. Here his remarks became still more *mal apropos*, ungenitorial, more loud-voiced:—"Your abolition and Know-Nothing party, (pointing to the other side of the House,) are backing down; you are lowering the black flag, and I mean to hold you to it." This sentiment (which I give as I remember it,) was uttered with an energy that drew down applause from the galleries, for whose benefit it was doubtless intended, and thereupon Douglas concluded, apparently satisfied with the result of his eloquence.

[For the Boston Daily Advertiser.]
WHO ARE THE REBELS!

A few weeks ago we undertook to defend the settlers in Kansas from the charge brought against them by the government organ and other democratic newspapers, that they are plotting treason against the federal authority. We asserted that whatever course the Government chose to pursue, there would be no resistance offered to it, nor to any of its representatives, down to an Irish corporal: that this would be the case even though the Government at Washington should undertake to enforce the "Missouri Code" enacted by the non-resident Legislature. Could there be any stronger evidence of their loyalty to their own Government than this? All this has since been denied by the same prints.

The recent attempt of the Borderers to bring on another crisis has brought this feeling to the test. Though their agent, "Jones, sheriff of Douglas Co." was treated with contempt, and would have been resisted, had he brought a Missouri army along with him, he had no sooner obtained ten of the U. S. soldiers from Gov. Shannon, than he secured the obedience of every man in the very citadel of treason and rebellion. Would the citizens of Boston have shown their respect for government more conspicuously? We took a pride, not unmixed with pain, when a black fugitive was marched through our streets to the wharf, under a guard of some hundreds, because we gloried in the loyalty of our people. Could we have stood by and seen our own relatives, brothers, fathers and sons, marched along under a file of U. S. troops?

Read the printed account of the proceedings at the citizens' meeting when this same "sheriff of Douglas County" had been dangerously wounded by some miscreant whose passions had impelled him to attempt his assassination. The sentiments are worthy to be recorded in letters of gold, and placed upon the pillars of the Capitol. At no time has the heroism of that noble son of Massachusetts, Gov. Robinson, been more conspicuous. We have his word for it that "Wherever the U. S. authority appeared, the men bowed to it in respect and submission. Not a word was spoken or a hand raised against the authorities. A corporal could go without his guard, and arrest every man in Lawrence."

We hope never to be reluctant to withhold the expression of satisfaction and praise of those whose actions merit it, without waiting to learn whether they belong to the same political party with us, or whether we may not by so doing be "strengthening the position of the enemy."

MASSACHUSETTS OPERATIVES AND EMIGRANTS DEFENDED.—In reply to the taunts and slanders of the slaveholders in Congress, Hon. Mr. Buffinton, of Fall River, the other day made a speech in defence of Massachusetts men and opinions which must have made their assailants feel cheap for the time being, if it was their fate to be within hearing. After speaking of the achievements, commerce, and resources of our Commonwealth, he said:—

"But we have been told, sir, by the gentleman from South Carolina, that all this is a 'magnificent diorama,' and that we 'do not show the machinery with which it is worked.' He 'sends an arrow,' and it goes poisoned with sneers at a 'large array of starving operatives,' which, so far as my own district is concerned, I challenge him to find. There are 'operatives' there in abundance—almost every man is an 'operative'; and it has been shown on this floor, sir, during this session of Congress, that Massachusetts 'operatives' are not to be despised. Sir, I am a representative of 'operatives.' The farmers of my district are all 'operatives;' and mingled among them, sharing their society, in every town are other 'operatives,' engaged in manufactures of every kind. In my own immediate home, 'the beautiful city of Fall River, I am surrounded by 'operatives,' whom I meet wherever I go, in the street, in the lecture-room, and in the worship of God, while the busy hum of their machinery is never out of my ears. I know 'operatives' well. We turn with exultation, sir, to those who are trained to mechanical trades in our workshops—who have no resources but their own exertions—but who can enjoy the benefits of education, and are not debarr'd from official positions at home by being possessed of estates worth so many pounds. The 'operatives' are the men—prompted, stimulated and urged forward with the hope of excellence, and are the pride of Massachusetts."

In defending the obnoxious opinions of Massachusetts, Mr. Buffinton very adroitly quoted from a speech of Attorney General Cushing in 1837—somewhat different from his Slash Cottage oratory—at a time when he thought it politic to be true to his sentiments:

"Gentlemen," said Cushing, "denounce, in no measured terms, the distinguishing opinions of Massachusetts on the subject of this great question of public liberty. It may be that such opinions are more strongly held, and more universally understood, in New England than elsewhere in the United States. I may not deny it. Deny it! I glorify in the fact. It is the proof and the result of our old and persevering dedication to liberty."

Gentlemen talk to us of these or great fundamental rights—as the freedom of speech, of opinion, of petition—as if they were derived from the Constitution of the United States. I seek such a doctrine. They are rights of heaven's own giving. We hold them by the supreme tenure of revolution. We hold them by the dread arbitrament of battle. We hold them by the concession of a higher and broader charter than all the constitutions in the land—the free donation of the eternal God, when he made us to be men."

To these sentiments on civil liberty, Mr. Buffinton traced the interest Massachusetts has taken in the emigration to Kansas, and proceeded to defend it with eloquence. Here is what he says of the military aspect of the case:—

"But a bugbear, sir, is ever held up when the New England emigrants are mentioned. We are told, sir, by way of proving their total depravity, that they go armed with *Sharpe's rifles*! Is this a Yankee notion? or has it been the case from the first settlement of the Mississippi valley, that every emigrant who went forth has taken a rifle with him, and taken the very best rifle that he could get? When Missouri was settled, sir, would it have been fair to have made a to-do because some enterprising emigrants went there with percussion-lock rifles, then just beginning to supersede the old flint and steel? Or would you have expected Daniel Boone, when he first explored the fertile slopes of Kentucky, to have carried an antiquated match-lock, because 'flint and steel' was a 'Yankee notion'? I fear, sir, that gentlemen who are so fond of using this expression do not understand the definition of this word 'Yankee;' and for their benefit I will quote from the speech of an honorable member of Congress, made when a new State was asking for admittance. He

told his fellow members, sir, upon the authority of time-honored tradition, that—

"During the revolutionary war, two citizens of Connecticut were sent to New York to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. At the table of the commander of the British army, where these gentlemen were invited to dine, (not, however, for any votes they had given,) the term 'Yankee' was overheard in an under tone. Lord Howe, in a pleasant manner, asked these gentlemen the meaning of the term 'Yankee' which he had heard at his table, (casting a look of reproof and censure upon some young officers from whom it came.) The reply was—'It is derived from two Indian words, signifying Wasp and Hornet, and is full of meaning—the Wasp never abandons the citadel; the Hornet drives the enemy from his borders.'"

Since the time when Captain Miles Standish was appointed to teach the Puritans "the use of arms," the citizens of Massachusetts have ever held it as an axiom that "It is the first duty of a freeman to be a good citizen; the second, to be a good soldier;" not that they desire the blood stained laurels of the conqueror, or booty won by the sword; but, depend upon it, sir, they will ever maintain that freedom for which their fathers fought, and which they will ever defend. They consider that the dedication of any large portion of the community to the exclusive business of bearing arms, is as adverse to the rights and interests of the Republic as it is hostile to our common institutions and our common safety. And what better proof of this could we have, sir, than in the fact that a thousand able-bodied men have been idling away the past six months at Forts Leavenworth and Kearney, waiting for a chance, to "crush out" freedom in Kansas "by authority?" I, sir, protest against this military interference which is becoming so supreme, though I do not believe that the American people will ever so crouch to martial law as to make a provos marshal's guard superior to a sheriff's posse, or to desecrate the parchment on which the Declaration of Independence is written, by permitting it to be taken for a drum head.

The State Gazette.

TRENTON:
SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1856.

The Approaching Conventions.

We publish to-day the call issued by the Opposition members of the last legislature, for a Convention to meet in this city on the Fourth of June next, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Governor of this State. We also publish the call of the Republican Central Committee, for a Convention to meet in Trenton on the 28th of May next, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the National Convention. We hope that every Opposition paper in the state will give both these calls a conspicuous place in their columns, constantly until after the Conventions have been held, and that the people will everywhere take pains to be properly represented in these important meetings.

We have some suggestions to make as to the proper course to be pursued in the Republican Convention of the 28th inst., and shall take an early opportunity to give them publicity, but to-day we desire to speak more particularly of the Gubernatorial Convention, and shall do so very frankly, being guided entirely by a regard for the success of correct principles, and to that end a thorough union of all the members of the Opposition.

The call, as our readers will notice, is directed to all "the opponents of the present General and State Administrations." The primary meetings for the election of delegates should be called in the same manner; and we regret to see that in some parts of the state a different course has been pursued by calling pure "American" meetings for that purpose. Such a course will probably result in the selection of double delegations, and difficulty, jealousy, and heart-burnings in the Convention.—The work of Harmony must commence by a thorough and honest union in the primary meetings, and the selection of delegates without

reference to party designations. If a man is heartily opposed to the present administration it matters not whether he be a Republican or American, a Whig or a Democrat; he is eligible as a delegate, and no farther questions need be or should be asked. Such are the means, and the only means in our estimation to insure a harmonious convention, a thorough union, and a nomination that will be successful at the election.

The two great elements of the Opposition in the next canvass, it is plain will be Americanism and Republicanism. A candidate who can combine the strength of both of these must unquestionably be elected. Nothing can prevent it but discord and division among ourselves. It behooves us, then, to be most careful and judicious in the selection of our standard-bearer in the coming fight. Among the gentlemen mentioned as combining all these elements of success, Hon. WM. A. NEWELL, of Monmouth, seems to be the most prominent. Already have various American and Republican papers published in Monmouth, Ocean, and other counties, declared for him, while both the Republicans and Americans of the first and second Congressional districts are almost unanimous in his favor. Should he be nominated, these two districts would roll up majorities for him that it would be impossible for the Border Ruffian Democracy to overcome.

Dr. Newell has served two terms in the House of Representatives from this district; and during that service has given numerous better and more substantial proofs of his devotion to the cause and principles of Republicanism than any mere speeches or paper avowals can possibly furnish. During his service the Ordinance of 1787, for the preservation of Freedom in the Territories, was repeatedly before the House, and invariably received his support. In 1850 the famous Compromise measures agitated not only the two Houses of Congress, but the whole Union. Upon them Dr. Newell voted as every true Republican would have had him do. He voted for the admission of California as a Free State, and for the abolition of the infamous traffic in slaves in the District of Columbia, under the shadow of the Capitol; and against the Fugitive Slave Law, and against paying to Texas \$10,000,000 for territory which no more belonged to her than to the State of New Jersey, and against allowing the then comparatively unsettled territories to establish slavery within their borders.

Dr. Newell is not a talking man, but we have shown by his acts that he is a reliable friend of Freedom, and a determined opponent of Slavery. On the question of the day—the substantial restoration of the Missouri Compromise—he has not hesitated to declare freely at all times his detestation of the infamous Kansas-Nebraska swindle, and to avow his purpose to aid in securing the restoration of the Compromise of 1820, and the admission of Kansas only as a Free State. Although, as we have said, Dr. Newell is not a stump orator, he has always, when nominated for any public station, declared very frankly, fully, and ably his position on the topics of the day. Thus, when in 1848 he was re-nominated for Congress, he addressed the Convention on the subjects that then agitated the public mind, in a brief and pertinent speech, from which we make the following extracts:—

After declaring his views in relation to the protection to American industry, internal improvements, &c., he said:

"But a subject of more importance than any of these—one which threatens not only to widen the breach between the parties, but which looks to a disruption of the Confederacy itself, claims the attention of the country. The question of the extension of Slavery in the territories of the United States may well be called the question of the age—one whose consequences will not end with the present generation, but which looks forward to the setting sun of time.

"Pregnant as it is with evil—deeply as we may deplore its untimely introduction—it is now practically before us, and from its consideration there is no escape. It has been thrust upon us by an administration, the chief object of whose existence seems to have been to devise means to perpetuate and extend this its favorite institution. It is the legitimate consequence of the acquisition of territory which we do not need, and which can only bring with it unalloyed mischief. If for generations to come, the tide of immigration to our shores shows no diminution from the past, and our own natural increase is not impeded by war, pestilence or famine, we shall have land enough, without including that immense wilderness on the Pacific, to supply all this demand for more than six hundred years to come. And where is the political Methusalem whose anxiety for posterity extends further into the future than this period will carry him?

"It has been argued as an offset to the difficulties in which it has involved us that the climate of the new territory is salubrious and its soil responds kindly and luxuriantly to the labor of the husbandman. This may be true; but were it an Eden, and its subterranean chambers filled with mines of gold, I had rather peacefully surrender it to those of whom it was obtained, without any remuneration for the millions it has cost, or the rivers of our best blood which have ran down upon its surface, than that it should be the means of extending this accursed institution, or cause a rupture of our hitherto happy and harmonious confederacy. Let others do as they may, on this subject my mind is clear, my course straight-forward. I will not be found at the meridian of the nineteenth century, advocating, or by my vote sustaining the propagation of human slavery. It is a curse to the South or any other country where it may exist. It interferes by the competition of slave labor, with the interests and prosperity of the North. It prevents the immigration of free labor into the territories where it exists, thus virtually excluding by far the greater portion of our population.

"But there is to my mind a high moral obligation to oppose it, which overrides all considerations of policy—all sectional interests—all political contingencies—which shall by me be most religiously observed."

Can the most ardent Republican desire more than this? It goes to the full extent of their platform, and its language is as apt as pertinent, and as applicable to the present condition of affairs, now in 1856, as it was in 1848. The extension of slavery is still more the settled purpose of Mr. Pierce's administration than it was of Mr. Polk's. "It has been thrust upon us by an administration, the chief object of whose existence seems to have been to devise means to perpetuate and extend its favorite institution." These words, spoken of Mr. Polk and the questions of that day, in 1848, read almost as if they had been spoken of Mr. Pierce and the Kansas Nebraska bill in 1856. They are equally applicable, equally forcible, equally true, and equally sound.

In thus setting forth the position occupied by Dr. Newell, we do not wish to be understood as entertaining any feelings of opposition to other gentlemen who have been named in connection with the nomination for Governor.—Any other person equally sound and reliable, and possessing equal strength with Dr. N., will receive our hearty and earnest support. But what we wish to do is to show that in him we have a candidate who, while he is and always has been the determined and powerful foe of the Kansas perfidy, also possesses strength outside of the ranks of the Republican party, and who can combine the whole of the Opposition forces upon himself, and thus ensure success.

It is of the utmost importance that the present reckless and corrupt State Administration should be hurled from power, and the State Government restored to the honesty and economy for which it was characterised before

the advent of the new rule in 1851. On this point all the members of the Opposition are united as one man; and it only remains to make this union available and successful by the nomination of a candidate around whom all are ready to rally with that confidence and enthusiasm which is the sure harbinger of success.

The Convention will be held on the 4th day of June, and we urge our friends throughout the State to select their delegates in time. In choosing them, we hope the primary meetings will send their best men, unobstructed and unpledged. Then let there be a ~~public~~ conference—let the merits of candidates be frankly and freely discussed, and let us have the man placed in nomination who can poll the most votes—provided, always, that he is a reliable opponent to slavery aggression—and then, without any jealousies or any prejudices about mere party resignations; join in as one man and elect him, thus restoring to the people a good government, and purging the State from the charge of being a confederate in the work of enslaving Kansas.

Notwithstanding the length of this article we cannot conclude without once more urging upon our friends everywhere, the impropriety of calling their primary meetings on any other than the terms of the call of the Opposition members, as published by us this morning.—Applying party names to meetings convened to elect delegates to a Convention composed of all—Whigs, Democrats, Americans and Republicans—who are opposed to the present administrations, is not only in bad taste, but is contrary to the letter and spirit of the call, and to the intentions of its originators. Let there be mutual forbearance and a mutual desire to unite for the benefit of the state and the cleansing it from the stain of pro-slaveryism, shown upon all sides, and all will be well, and our success rendered certain.

Commercial Journal.

E. M. RIDDLE, Editor and Proprietor

PITTSBURGH.

SATURDAY MORNING, MAY 10, 1856

The Lawrence Men.

We find in the *Tribune* a very full report of the speeches and resolutions of the Free State men, in a meeting called relative to the shooting of Jones. The *Tribune* remarks upon them justly, that if any body wishes to understand the difference between the Border Ruffians and the Free-State men, let him compare these speeches with any of those ever delivered at Border-Ruffian meetings, and with the general tone of the *Border-Ruffian Press*.

NASHVILLE:

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1856.

Mr. Benjamin and the Cincinnati Enquirer.

His conversion to the principles of the Kansas Bill is the more remarkable and impressive from the fact, that in the contest between General Taylor and General Cass he was one of the ablest assailants of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty as proclaimed by General Cass.

We extract the above from the *Cincinnati Enquirer* of May 6th. It is the concluding paragraph of an article headed

Accession in which the speaking of the late somerset of Senator BENJAMIN of Louisiana, which has let him down in the camp of Democracy. We have not seen Mr. BENJAMIN'S speech on the Kansas question, and do not know the position he has assumed on the construction of that act. He was in the Senate at the date of its passage, and supported it; and we have presumed that he gave it the Southern construction, and repudiated the Squatter Sovereignty version. But from this rather remarkable paragraph which we judge to be from the pen of Judge WALKER formerly of New Orleans, and now editor of the *Enquirer*, we are forced to conclude that he has straddled the Northern hobby. We are not the less surprised at the position of Judge WALKER himself.

He says Mr. Benjamin's "conversion," (not to the Nebraska Bill for there was no need of "conversion," to a measure which he had supported on its original introduction,) but his "conversion" to Democracy, is the more remarkable, in that eight years ago he was "one of the ablest assailants of SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY as proclaimed by Gen. CASS." 'Tis true the paragraph says "his conversion to the principles of the Kansas Bill" but this is equivalent to Democracy, which claims the Kansas Bill as its peculiar property.

Are we to understand that when a man becomes converted to the principle of the Kansas Bill, or Democracy, he becomes a supporter of Squatter Sovereignty? It would seem so. For here we see a Southern man, the editor of a Democratic paper in a Northern State, characterizing such an event, as 'remarkable and impressive' because in the canvass of '48 the convert alluded to was *opposed* to Squatter Sovereignty. Why speak of Mr. BENJAMIN'S conversion to the principle of the Kansas Bill as "remarkable and impressive" if it did not involve an entire change in his construction of that principle? Convert means to *turn over: to change*; and when a man becomes converted, we say he has changed.

Then the matter stands thus. While Mr. BENJAMIN was a Whig, he construed the principle of the Kansas Bill to be non-intervention in the regulation of the slavery question in the territories by any other power than the people of the territory, in the capacity of formers of a State constitution; or in other words State sovereignty, as directly antagonistical to Squatter or Territorial sovereignty. But Mr. BENJAMIN has changed; he has publicly announced his adhesion to the Democratic faith, and his intention to support Democratic men, and we find a distinguished Democratic editor hailing this change and "conversion," and characterizing it as "remarkable and impressive" from the fact that he once held doctrine at variance with that he now holds, and once was an able "assailant" of the faith he has now become converted to. In other words Mr.

Benjamin opposed Squatter Sovereignty in 1848. Mr. Benjamin has become a convert and supporter of Squatter Sovereignty in 1856. Is not this an inevitable inference from the language of this Democratic journal?

We await the arrival of Senator BENJAMIN'S speech with some degree of anxiety. We are curious to know if he has unequivocally asserted this most damnable doctrine, or whether he has couched his avowal in terms of dubious import. The texture of the Jewish Senator's mind is said to be peculiarly legal; that he is apt and facile in making "the worse appear the better reason." He has chosen a role which will give employment to this faculty. A quaint but sensible friend of ours, once spoke of the law as a "jargon of words begotten in the night of time." If Mr. BENJAMIN expects to figure as a Democratic politician,

he will have use for all of his "jargon," however great his supply. And if Judge WALKER has correctly represented him, his first effort will demand his most ingenious application of it.

But the position of Judge WALKER is alike singular. Till within a few weeks past he has been a resident of Louisiana, and the editor of one of her ablest Democratic journals. We are compelled to infer, too, that he has been converted. We do not doubt that he supported Gen. CASS in 1848, but we have a little doubt that he then stoutly denied the squatter sovereignty version of the Nicholson letter, and reprobated it as strongly as Mr. BENJAMIN. He is rejoiced at the "accession" of Mr. Benjamin to a faith he once "ably assailed," and we are forced to conclude that he now professes that faith himself.

These facts are eminently suggestive. To our mind they clearly shadow forth the future. They show that the Southern Democracy are yielding up principle to effect a cohesion of the elements at Cincinnati. We see a Southern Senator, with a well-earned fame as an able and consistent friend of the rights of his section, adopting a view of a great statute, which view he once assailed as unconstitutional, and odious and unjust. We find a distinguished Southerner, but a few weeks a resident of a Northern State, congratulating the country on the fact. What does it mean? What can it mean, but that they are ready to sacrifice Southern rights at the altar of party success? We observed another ominous fact on the occasion of Mr. BENJAMIN'S going over, and consecration under the rites and ceremonies of the Democratic church. Gen. CASS, the Mentor of Northern Democracy, rose in his place and welcomed the wanderer to the fold. He was profuse in his compliments to Judge WALKER'S convert. And in addition, appointed a day on which he would preach an ordination sermon, with the beauties of squatter sovereignty as a text. Be it remembered, too, that is the same Gen. CASS which Mr. BENJAMIN so "ably assailed" in 1848, on account of his squatter sovereignty

heresy.

In pondering these things, we have asked ourself if it was possible that this transportation of Judge WALKER to Cincinnati, and this adoption on his part of the Northern construction of the Kansas act, could be a deliberate party manœuvre. Have the leaders of the great national Democratic party satisfied themselves, that in order to preserve their nationality, it is necessary that there should be at least a partial unity of sentiment among its members in regard to sectional issues? Have they become alarmed at the exposure which American papers are making of the hideousness of the loved idol of their Northern brethren? Have the Southern wing concluded to succumb, and is it Judge WALKER'S part to stand, as it were, on middle ground, and veil its frightful features, and reconcile the Southern rank and file to its worship? What will the Richmond *Enquirer* say to this programme of operations? In the fullness of its Southern heart, it recommended that it should be "kicked from its pedestal." The *Union and American*, too, has denounced it as "most odious to the South," but, as if preparing to surrender, it said on Thursday last that "*many in each section believe that the people, as well in a territorial condition, as when they form a State Constitution, have full and ample power either to establish or prohibit slavery within the limits of the Territory which they inhabit: and that this right is clearly recognized by the Kansas act, and not prohibited by the Constitution of the United States.*"

We have reason to suspect that there is at this time, assembled in this city, a preliminary meeting of the Tennessee delegation to the Cincinnati Convention. We have observed numerous familiar Democratic faces from the various portions of the State, and can conjecture no other business for such a congregation, than to determine on their position as to platform and candidates. Are they deliberating the policy of submission? Have the general orders been given out that the Southern members are to come prepared to be satisfied with a general endorsement of the Kansas bill, with no explicit construction of its meaning, and are our friends undetermined how to act? Are the "*many in each section*" spoken of by the *Union and American*, asserting their right to rule the remainder, and prescribe their belief? As improbable as it may seem to some, we are ready to believe that such questions as these have agitated this private conclave. Such propositions would, we know, be exceedingly distasteful to some gentlemen in that delegation, but great is Allah and Mahomet is his prophet—great is party, and success is its only object.

We have a proposal to that delegation: We defy any member of it to go to Cincinnati, and propose in the Convention a distinct and unequivocal repudiation of the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty.

Circulation larger than any paper in Western Virginia.

S. T. Garrison & Co. are our authorized Agents for Cincinnati, Ohio.

Reading Matter on Every Page.

SATURDAY MORNING.....MAY 10

From the Richmond Whig.
 We have mused, with no little edification, on the shifting ground and varying issues assumed by the Democratic press of the South, in view of the approaching Presidential election.— At one time, the rights and interests of slavery are magnified and pressed into service as the great and important feature in the ensuing campaign; at another, the rights of the States and the principle of popular governments in the territories are pressed into active service; at another, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the support of the Kansas-Nebraska bill is the great question: and yet, at another, the preservation of the two-thirds rule, by the Democratic Convention, and the rigid enforcement of its principle, is the panacea for all the evils of the day.

To the reflecting mind, properly informed as to the secret party machinery at work to secure power and bestow patronage, these various weighty considerations, as presented, are most amusing. But to the unreflecting and excitable, they occasionally have the desired effect. It is, in this view, proper to refer to them, and, by a candid investigation, strip them of their tinsel, and expose them in their naked and heartless deformity. This we now propose to do.

We have already adverted to the extreme danger and revolutionary tendency of the effort to sectionalize the slavery question; and we hope that we have at least arrested a sufficient degree of attention among our readers to show that, so long as the Union lasts, and the Constitution and laws are observed, slavery, if it exists, and of right must exist, does not need any such artificial and out-of-the-way remedies; but, on the contrary, is weakened, if not betrayed, by every such fortuitous assistance. The mere abstract question of slavery is a very different one from the political and legal rights of slavery, under and by virtue of the Constitution. As to the first, every man must form his own individual opinion, to suit the convictions of his own mind: but as to the other—the federal compact—the express declarations and necessary provisions of the Federal Constitution create the rights, and render it obligatory upon every good citizen, North and South, in obedience to the law, to recognize, support and defend the political and legal rights of slavery. No party, or set of men have the power to violate these rights, or assail these interests, so long as the Constitution and laws are observed.

In this view, the individual opinion of men, as to the abstract right of slavery, does not, and, in the very nature of our theory of government, cannot, disqualify them for a thorough and unqualified appreciation and defence of the political and legal rights under the Constitution. The South does not need the defence of its absolute rights on this subject. They are, by all candid minds, readily conceded. It is the results, as affecting her relative rights, which create the danger and widens the breach between the North and South. This point of view involves the territorial existence of slavery. Hence the excitement at this time as to Kansas. The principle recognized in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, that to the people, or citizens of the territory, belongs, exclusively, the right, and in them, when legally organized, is vested the power, to adopt or reject slavery, when the State constitution is formed, is, in our opinion, neither a pro-slavery nor anti-slavery feature. It is simply a plain, practical declaration of a clear right, and a distinct recognition of the fundamental principle of republican government—a legislative avowal of the constitutional power "reserved to the people." If the provisions of this bill had stopped at this point, and the selfish politicians could have forgotten the allurements of office, and served their country with half the zeal with which they sought to serve themselves, all would have been well; the country would now be at ease; the storm, which overhangs and darkens the hopes of the patriot, would never have gathered.

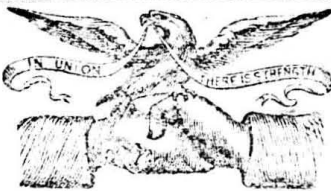
But no sooner had this bill passed, than it was, from its provisions, regarded at the North as a step onward in the march of free-soilism. The plan was formed to colonize this territory with the abolitionist and free-soiler. This system, the bill allowed—legalised—justified. Hence

the rifle system, the pulpit appeals, the mass meetings at the North. The South, as we have shown, are now appealed to to send out their emigrants, that this territory may not be "taken possession of, and controlled by Northern abolitionists." So stands this delicate question.— We cannot discover wherein the rights of the South are thus peculiarly recognized or distinctly protected. But we do detect and must designate the feature in this bill, which, by its practical bearings, is dangerous and antagonistic to the South. It is the power given to the "new comer," the recognition of the "citizenship" of the squatter, who entitles himself to every political right, by the mere act of taking possession of, and holding the designated quantity of land. It is this feature which has imparted to the unnaturalized foreigner the power, in this territory, to vote on the formation of organic laws, when, no where else in the United States, could he vote at all.

The great principle of the bill we endorse and will, in no way, fail to support, but it is asking too much to expect us to advocate this peculiar feature. We are not advocates of forced settlements, or precocious growth, in any section of the country. We regard all such legislation as dangerous and ill-advised, and the present results as natural as they are obnoxious to the spirit and genius of our Constitution. We must ask our readers to re-call the oft repeated declarations at the North, that this bill was free-soil in its tendencies, in favor of freedom, and that this was given by Northern men as their reason for supporting it.

Let us not be misapprehended. We distinctly approve, and will cordially support the great republican principle of the bill; we will as distinctly advocate the non-repeal of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. We will adhere, with a tenacity unsurpassed by any, to the reserved rights of the States, and the Constitutional rights of slavery. We will assert the right, and maintain it too, of the Southern slave-holder to go with his property, whether slaves or not, to any part of this territory, and settle, as of right, so long as it is a territory. But if he should be out-voted, and the territory becomes a free State, he may thank the friends of this peculiar feature in the bill, for his fate, and must yield to the consequences of such immature legislation. But, for the present, we must dismiss the subject.

Staunton True American.



STAUNTON, VIRGINIA:

SATURDAY MORNING, MAY 10, 1856.

Immigrants and Slavery.

Hon. Andrew Ewing, a leading democrat of Tennessee, of late one of the representatives of that State in Congress, made a speech in the House of Representatives in 1850, on the admission of California as a State, in which he used, the following language:

"We stand almost alone amongst the highly civilized portion of mankind in the maintenance of the institution of domestic slavery; the whole of civilized Europe has been thoroughly indoctrinated with opposition to it.— The thousands and millions of emigrants from her shores ALL come with their prejudices against it, and when they arrive in this country they find the most lovely portion of the continent in the possession of the slaveholders. Most of the mechanical trades and labor on farms and public roads in our country is performed by slaves, and these foreigners are more or less excluded from this wide field of employment which they had partially pre-occupied in the North. Interest is thus superadded to the early prejudice of education against slavery. Unfortunately too, the large mass of this class of persons have had no knowledge or experience of the advantages derivable from republican institutions or the solemnity of constitutional obligations."

No fair man will deny that this is a correct description of the character and sentiments of foreigners when they arrive in this country.—

Nine hundred and ninety nine of every thousand of them have "been thoroughly indoctrinated with opposition" to slavery, and "come with their prejudices against it."— Arriving at New York, or Boston, or Philadelphia, as nearly all of them do—upon free soil—they have no inclination, and but little inducement, to come South and enter into competition with slave labor. They remain in the free States, increasing their representation in Congress, and swelling their preponderance in the Union; or they push on to the Territories of the West and contribute to making them free States. This is the process by which state after state has been hurried into the Union in the North-west, and the means by which the Emigrant Aid Societies of the North expect to convert the remaining Territories into Free States, before the South can supply a sufficient quota of the population to control their institutions. With these palpable and inevitable results staring them in the face, is it not most extraordinary that the Democratic leaders of the South should resist those reforms of the naturalization laws which the American party propose making? And if there could be anything more extraordinary it is not to be found in the amazing assumption that while pursuing this policy they claim to be the true friends of the South and the real champions of slavery!—Lynchburg Virginian.

New Orleans Evening Delta.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 10.

In the Senate, on the first instant, an interesting and highly significant debate occurred on a resolution submitted by Mr. Weller, of California, calling on the President for any correspondence, not heretofore communicated, with our Minister to Nicaragua, in regard to the recognition of the new Nicaragua Government.

This resolution was ably sustained by Messrs. Weller and Douglas, both of whom disagreed with the policy of the Administration relative to the new Government of Nicaragua, and contended that as a legitimate and de facto Government, both according to precedent and international principle, it should be acknowledged. Mr. Douglas further remarked that

"It was the firmest and most stable government they had had since throwing off the Spanish yoke; and so far as he knew, justice was more impartially administered, and the rights of man and of property were more sacredly guarded and protected under the existing government than under any previous one. Nor was it any objection to his mind that an American by birth was in command of the Nicaraguan army. Nicaragua has as much right to become an asylum for emigrants from this country as we had to receive European emigrants. She had as much right to naturalize Walker, and give him military command as we had to do the same by Gen. Shields. Further, Nicaragua has as much right to send an American by birth as Minister to this country as we have to send a man of foreign birth to represent us at the Court of Spain, Italy or Holland. He believed that we ought to enforce our neutrality laws, but not to go one hair's breadth beyond the line of strict duty."

Right here Senator Butler, of South Carolina, interposed in his solemn, respectable and gouty way, (like Sir Leicester Dedlock, doubtless, it is the privilege of himself and his family to inherit the gout!) and said—or is reported to have said—that we "ought to be careful and not involve ourselves in war with any nation through the acts of intermeddling adventurers."

Senator Butler is one of a few straggling remnants of the ancient régime of South Carolina politics, and, in right earnest sooth, we believe it will be a glad day for the South and for the country, when the last leaf flutters in the autumnal wind upon that withered and sapless tree!

In the South, that political school has not been, in the true and catholic sense, of the South. It has never extended the hand of cordial amity and alliance to the sister Southern States of South Carolina—to Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi or Texas. While other Southern States were active, practical, and illustrating with healthy manhood and vigorous chivalry the creed, and the militancy of the creed, of the South, it wrapped itself in the solitude of its own abstractions—or rather the borrowed abstractions of John C. Calhoun—much as a terrapin insulates itself from harmful contact within its crustaceous integument. It has not been able to walk in the giant footsteps of that great man gone. It seems only to have been ambitious to parrot some of the least important political axioms of that lofty-headed statesman, without the heart or capacity to grasp the comprehensive scope of his logic or execute the grand mission, or evangelism, of which he was the appointed apostle.

It was not the politicians of this school who brought about the annexation of Texas and inaugurated the programme of Southern expansion; who have practically appreciated the importance to the South of Cuba and the command of the Gulf; nor is it these men who are now carrying the institutions of the South into Kansas and combatting for Southern interests and the tropicalization of commerce in the Isthmian regions of Central America. What matters it to them if Greeley, Beecher & Co. are abolitionizing Kansas, or if Great Britain and Spain are introducing free-negrodism and coolieism into Cuba, and are endeavoring to paralyze Southern interests in Nicaragua and the adjoining States, so long as South Carolina, or rather a few dosing pundits of that State, can boast its boundaries intact and its *status-quoity* duly respected?

Of this class of politicians Senator Butler is a worthy specimen. His principal political stock in trade appears to be respectability—intense respectability—petrified respectability—and how often have we rendered sincere *solennest* homage to the soporiferous and staltic effusions of his senatorial eloquence! Not at all do we marvel to see him, as the brief report of his remarks indicates, echoing the dictum of the immaculately stupid Clayton and characterizing General Walker and his compatriots as intermeddling adventurers. Clayton and he are well worthy of each other; they are *par nobile fratrum*, and if it were in accordance with the laws of matrimony that two bifurcate belmdes could marry, they should be joined in strictest wedlock. Contrast the querulous petulance of the remark we have quoted with the broad-browed, manly and statesmanlike recognition given to the Nicaragua movement by Douglas, Weller and Quitman, and it withers into infinitesimal penury of both mind and heart.

Only a short time since, an association of sagacious and active spirits in South Carolina, in utter defiance of the lassitude and immobility inculcated by the school of impracticabilities to which we have alluded, armed, equipped and sent out a small expedition of emigrants from that State to Kansas, in order to vote for or fight for the pro-slavery cause in that Territory. What did Senator Butler say to that? Were not those emigrants "intermeddling adventurers" fully as much as Walker and his followers? Let the two cases be sifted minutely, morally politically, and wherein lies the difference to justify the denunciation of such dunderheads as Clayton and Butler in the one, and their apparent acquiescence in the other? We say apparent acquiescence, for we believe that Senator Butler and his school are not really in favor of extending slavery to Kansas, or of extending its area in any direction, but hold to the doctrine that it can only be preserved by being caged in and imprisoned in South Carolina and that immediate neighborhood.

Of course the remarks we have made are not intended to apply to Keitt, to Orr, to Townsend, and other such men of South Carolina. They, we are delighted to observe, are discarding the old formulas which hampered and initialized the politics of that State. They are casting off from her the incrustations which once encumbered, and are making room for her expansion and progress as an integral part of the South, whether in the direction of Kansas, Cuba, or Nicaragua. They are fully alive to the necessity of making the creed of the South militant—of acting instead of talking—of realizing instead of theorizing alone—and above all, insisting upon the actuality of Calhoun's favorite doctrine, the equilibrium of the two great sections of the Union, and the right of the concurrent majority to govern in the federal organization.

Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

SUNDAY MORNING.....MAY 11

KANSAS, May 3.—The weather has been very fine to-day, and the mud having nearly all gone, people can once more get about and do something. We had a tremendous rain; the creeks were very high and kept our mails back until we got out of patience. Mr. Chiles, of this place, lost a valuable negro-man by drowning in the creek, between this and Kansas City. He attempted to cross it at night with a loaded wagon.

Major Buford's Company have all gone into the Territory. Yesterday morning, before leaving here, they were very eloquently addressed by Mr. A. Baley of Alabama, and Colonel A. Anderson, of Marion, Mo., and at the close of

the speaking, Major was presented with a fine horse, bridle and saddle. The horse was given by Mr. Samuel L. McKenney, of Westport, a gentleman of wealth and high standing. The horse is a spirited and well-made sorrel, which cost one hundred and fifty dollars. The saddle, for which forty dollars was paid, was bought by subscription, and the bridle was presented by Mr. Dillon of this place. The presentation was made as a testimonial of Major Buford's "services in behalf of the South and the cause of Slavery for Kansas."

I wish to introduce the proceedings of a public meeting held to-night here, which will prove that the *Herald of Freedom* told a "lie" about that "military drilling."

PUBLIC MEETING.—At a meeting of the principal citizens of Westport, Missouri, held in the store-house of Messrs. Kearney & Bernard, on the evening of the 2d of March, 1856, a committee, consisting of Colonel A. G. Boone, Charles E. Kearney, Esq., and Mr. Brocket, was appointed to draft resolutions, and they reported the following:

The *Herald of Freedom*, an Abolition paper issued at Lawrence, in Kansas Territory, having published the following in relation to this city, viz. that "in Westport the military companies were drilling the same day Jones attempted to make arrests in Lawrence, which shows the whole affair to have been premeditated," it is, therefore,

Resolved, That the assertion is a falsehood worthy of its source, as it is both base and baseless.

2. That on the day mentioned, for months before, or any time after that day, there was no parade, either civil or military, in our streets, or anywhere in Westport.

3. That the people of this place are too busy at this season of the year, and especially this spring, to engage in military parades.

4. That until they heard of the dastardly deed of shooting Sheriff Jones in the dark, and in the back, they were pursuing the even tenor of their way, vainly thinking, as they sincerely hoped, that the troubles in Kansas were at an end; and that the course of the *Herald of Freedom*, in this regard, is an attempt to direct public attention from the guilty parties, and to throw the odium of committing this cowardly act on those whose skirts are clean of Jones' blood.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

On motion it was

Resolved, That copies of the proceedings of this meeting be furnished the *St. Louis Republican* and *Pilot*, the *Washington Union* and *New York Day Book*, the *Baltimore Sun* and the newspapers of Jackson county, and that those papers be requested to publish them.

SAMUEL L. MCKINNEY, President.

JOAB BARNARD, Secretary.

Let the country take this as a specimen of the truthfulness of the Abolition papers of the Territory; it will do to judge them all by.

Jones is some better. No boats for several days, and the crowd is growing less, although there is still a great jam at Kansas City.

H. C. P.

FULL PARTICULARS.

An extra from the *Lecompton Union* gives more minute details of the attempt to assassinate Jones than have yet been received. We extract the material part of this publication:

On Saturday, the 19th of April, S. J. Jones, the Sheriff of this county, heard from an authoritative source that S. N. Woods and others, the main leaders in our late difficulties, against whom he had processes, had arrived in Lawrence at the head of bands who had sworn to resist the execution of our laws, and other others of their secret organization. Mr. Jones immediately proceeded to Lawrence and arrested Woods. Immediately upon the arrest, Woods was rescued by a mob, who offered every indignity to the officer, and remarked that they would sooner obey the laws of hell than the laws of Kansas. Mr. Jones, being overwhelmed by numbers, desisted further process, but returned to Lecompton and summoned a posse to attend him. They proceeded to make arrests, but, like the former, were resisted. Mr. Jones returned with his posse, and reported to Governor Shannon his efforts to arrest, and failed from the resistance of armed mobs. Upon which report, Governor Shannon ordered a file of dragoons from Fort Leavenworth, to assist in executing the laws. On yesterday, the 23d, the troops arrived, and accompanied by Mr. Jones, proceeded to Lawrence and made some four or five arrests. Not having served all of their processes, they remained till night, and encamped near the town, that they might succeed in arresting S. N. Woods and others, who were more deeply implicated, who kept concealed during the day.

Frequently during the day squads were assembled in different parts of the town, and were heard to propose means of rescuing the prisoners from the troops, and killing Jones and the other pro-slavery men who were attending the session of the Congressional Committee. News came to Mr. Jones several times during the day to be on the look-out, as a conspiracy was being formed to kill him when night came. Mr. Jones rather treated the matter with indifference at first, but

so many warnings influenced him to be careful, for he knew that he had to deal with a parcel of hired scoundrels, who only wished the coming of night to commit their nefarious intentions. When night came, Mr. Jones, in order to be near the prisoners, remained with Lieutenant McIntosh, the commander of the troops, in his tent. Several times low murmurs of an outbreak were heard from the crowd assembled about the tent.

Once Mr. Jones went out to get some water at a well near by, and while there was shot at, but with no effect, the ball passing through his pantaloon. He returned to the tent again, and re-seated himself with the commanding officer, and Colonel Wm. I. Preston, of Richmond, Va. and Mr. Thomas M. Crowder, of Norfolk, Va. He was there only a few minutes, before a hard-featured scoundrel came into the tent, apparently drunk, making some remarks as to the troops. Mr. Jones told him his company was not desired in there, and requested him to leave. He, notwithstanding his apparent intoxication, immediately left with as steady a step as any one. Some few minutes after he left, Mr. Jones was shot through the tent, the ball entering his spine about the point of the shoulders.

He, upon the report of the pistol, (for it must have been a five-shooter, judging from the cavity,) fell, and, as all thought, dead. He was taken to the Free-State Hotel, and his wounds examined and dressed. Upon examination, and by probing, the ball was found to have taken a course circular in its tendency, bearing right under the shoulder-blade and lodging somewhere, as near as could be judged, about the region of the lungs. His spine was fractured in the passage of the ball. He now lies mortally wounded, without the shadow of a hope of his recovery.

Subjoined will be found a copy of some writs held by Mr. Jones, showing that he was not only resisted and murdered in the capacity of county Sheriff, but United States Deputy Marshal. They have murdered a State officer. They have murdered a United States officer. Also will be found below a statement from Colonel Wm. I. Preston and Mr. Thomas M. Crowder, of the incidents in the assassination:

MEMORANDUM OF FACTS.

Sixth day of July, 1855.—Warrant issued from the District Court of Shawnee County, at Tecumseh, for S. N. Woods, on an indictment found by the Grand Jury of said county, for larceny.

Thirteenth January, 1856.—Warrant issued by Samuel Crane, Justice of the Peace, against Edwin or Edward Monroe, for larceny.

Tenth November, 1855.—Warrant issued against S. N. Woods for rescuing Branson out of the custody of Sheriff Jones, by Hugh Cameron, Justice of the Peace.

Tenth April, 1856.—Warrant issued by Jos. W. Shepperd, Justice of the Peace, against Samuel F. Tuppen, — Smith and John Spear.

Mr. Editor.—In compliance with your request, we give below a correct statement of the immediate facts connected with the assassination of Sheriff Jones:

Being in Lawrence on the 23d instant, we saw the peaceable arrest of six persons by Sheriff Jones, with a detachment of United States troops, under Lieutenant McIntosh. Every thing went off quietly till just before dark, when some men congregated about in different places, abused the pro-slavery men, General Pierce, Sheriff Jones, &c. Several times in the evening we warned Sheriff Jones, (upon information being given us, that possibly an attempt upon his life would be made,) to be cautious and circumspect. With Lieutenant McIntosh, we, with a gentleman by the name of Yates, went to the camp, intending to pass of time and spend the night. Soon after we had made preparations for sleeping, Mr. Jones came in and commenced talking in regard to the arrangements for the night—for the care of the prisoners.

Soon Lieutenant McIntosh, Mr. Jones and one of us (P.) went a few paces from the tent to get a glass of water. While so engaged, some persons came up and inquired "where Sheriff Jones was," and made insulting remarks concerning his courage, when he, Jones, arose from the stooping posture he was in, and remarked, "here I am, gentlemen," and again stooped, when some person in a crowd standing near, fired into the party, when the remark was made (by P.) "Jones, you are shot," and upon examination it was found that a bullet had passed through his pants without any injury. The party returned to the tent, where we commenced talking about this dastardly and hellish attempt at assassination, when a man, pretending to be drunk, intruded himself into the tent, in our opinion, for the express purpose of finding out the position of Sheriff Jones. He took a seat, when he was told by the Sheriff that the party had no use for him, when he immediately arose and left, and in less than five minutes, as we were conversing together, Jones fell, exclaiming, "Oh!" He attempted to draw his knife and find the dastardly scoundrel, worse than a fiend, who would thus, under cover of night, attempt the life of a fellow-being, but the wound was such as to prevent his rising at all. The shot came from the hind part of the tent, and was aimed at the back of the sheriff.

meat of the Missourians, Mr. Wallace, a leading pro-slavery man, asked me to attend his store, as they were going to make arrests, after the rescue of Branson, saw Jones, and was told that he (Jones) was writing to Colonel Boone, of Westport, Mo., and that there would be a bad man in the Territory, said I, my God! what does this mean? why don't he go to the Governor? (objecting to by Colonel Woodson), Mr. Wallace told me that he was Mr. Jones' aid, he told me repeatedly that he was Jones' aid, and served as a d in carrying messages for Shannon and Jones, I was introduced to Jones by Wallace, Wallace told me about the rescue, said Branson was rescued by 30 or 40 men the night before, he then told me that Jones was going to send to Missouri for aid, at my suggestion he went to Jones and tried to get to Jones, Jones was writing, not more than ten feet from Jones when Wallace told me this conversation was loud enough for Jones to hear, but the room was nearly full, Jones finished writing, got up and walked to the door, gave the paper either to Coleman, Hagers or Buckley, and said, "there goes my dispatch to Missouri, and by G—d! I will have revenge before I see Missouri." In half an hour another dispatch was now off, which Mr. Wallace told me was to Governor Shannon, and I remained loudly because the dispatch was first sent to Missouri, instead of to Governor Shannon, a few days afterwards, saw Franklin men from Missouri armed, saw body of men under command of Captain Shaw, knew some of them personally, knew they were from Missouri, (witness here named several of them.) they encamped at Franklin, Deputy Sheriff Lattus came to me and said now I will have revenge upon Lawrence, there he was the one stone left, and another man came continually pouring into camp towards Missouri, they said they came to serve Shannon if he would let them and if he would not they would do their duty anyhow, others were more moderate, they brought artillery, guns, rifles, revolvers, knives and swords, they told me they were organized into companies, A, B, C, D, they tried to organize a company of Territorial militia at Franklin and did, Mr. Leak commanding, don't know his first name, he is a traveling gambler, he told me so himself, there was no other company of Territorial militia there, Mr. Wallace told me Jones commanded these men, was told afterwards General Strickler commanded them, afterwards saw General Richardson and he told me he commanded them, Mr. Wallace went to the camp often and I went there at times with him, at Frank in he seemed to be in command of the company, for the company, Wallace told me he was with Jones when Branson was arrested, Wallace brought a written note to me from Gov. Shannon requesting that I should come to Blue Jacket's, I went immediately Shannon wanted to know of me what had taken place in Lawrence at political meetings, and whether threats had been made against Jones or any person connected with the Territorial Government, I saw Indians in the camp at Lawrence, they were in company with the army about the camp while they were at dinner, saw a man pour a handful of bullets into the hands of an Indian, and tell him he wanted him to save a Yankee scalp for each bullet, the Indian said he would, the same man also took the Indian's bottle and carried it away to get it filled, the same Indian told me afterwards "that he no kill Yankee, me want to get white," Wallace expressed a decided determination to come with the Missouri troops to Lawrence, and die with them, if necessary, I was roughly treated by them, and while I was away they blackguarded my wife and family, if I was away from home at night, they would not let me go home, they would not let me go to the post office in Lawrence, I threatened to apply to the laws for protection, one of them told me by God, I should like to see you get any benefit of laws against us, in consequence of their troubling and harassing us, I could not attend to my stock, and thereby lost a cow and calf, I was doing business in a store, and wanted to go home at night, and they prevented me from going, heard of many other deprivations committed, but know of none myself. (Here Governor Reeder offered to prove by the witness, that in conversation with two councilmen of the Territorial Legislature, they said that their object was to legislate so as to drive the Yankees from the Territory? (objected to.) was in company with Dr. Wood and Mr. Wallace, going into camp Wood told us he had come from Lexington with Gen. Richardson, and about three or four miles above Lawrence they met two men riding out on the prairie, a Mr. Burnes and Major Clark rode out after them, Gen. Richardson directed Wood to ride out and call them back, Wood saw Burnes, Clark and another man popping away at each other, one man was not firing, the two men then rode away and Burnes remarked we hit one of them, I saw the fire afterwards was introduced to Clark, and heard him tell the story and say we gave one * Yankee his winter quarters for I saw him reel on his horse.

Crises examined.—My conversation with Wallace was before any of the Missourians came up, it commenced in Wallace's store on the morning after the rescue of Branson.—Committee then adjourned until to-morrow morning 8 o'clock. S. F. T.

He was taken ashore quietly by the citizens, and placed under guard in the house of Mr. Sawyer. No indications of violence were manifested. Robinson wanted his wife to go on to St. Louis, but the citizens advised her to remain with him, as there would be less danger of his receiving ill-treatment in her company. She remained with him. The citizens pledged themselves that, if the arrest should prove to be unjustifiable, they would release Robinson and pay his expenses to his destination.

It was rumored at Lexington that Robinson and Reeder were to have met at Kansas, and taken passage together, and as Reeder had not passed Lexington, it was supposed that he had been arrested, too, a some point above.—St. Louis News, May 12.

has yet murdered a free State man, Charles, the Indian Agent, is retained in the most important office in the Territory. Let the people of Indiana remember these facts, when the time comes to vote, as it will come next fall, whether Kansas shall be free.

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

MONDAY MORNING, MAY 12 1856.

Our Kansas Correspondence.
Thoughts and Things in Kansas,
NUMBER XIV.

St. Louis, May 6, 1856.

Have you ever spent four weeks amid the discomforts of a new country, eating dubious food, sleeping on the soft side of black walnut planks, and shut out from the luxuries of civilization generally? and then has the scene suddenly changed with you, and have you found yourself reveling, not exactly in the halls of the Montezumas, but in the saloons of one of the best hotels of which our republic can boast? Do you say so? Then I shall not attempt to make you understand my present feelings, for this is precisely my own case.

I landed from the steamer F. X. Aubry two days since, and proceeded straight to Barnum's Hotel, where I at once took possession of a comfortable room, elegantly fitted up, treated myself first to a bath, then to a splendid dinner, and afterward—as great a luxury as any—to the reading of the papers. Barnum's Hotel is unrivalled in the West. Indeed, though I have traveled pretty extensively in most sections of the United States, I should not know where to go to find one better; better, that is, in all those appointments which together make up the sum of comfort for the traveler. There are houses where more parade is made, where there is a great flourish of trumpets, where the gongs make greater clamor, where the chandeliers and the pier glasses are more expensive, where there is more of the semblance of gentility, and where the bills are larger. But I cannot think of one in which the substantial comforts, so grateful to every traveler, and which make a hotel not a faubourg but a real home for the time being, are found in greater profusion. Mr. Barnum has associated with him Mr. Fogg, from the Granite State, and the *Argus* says of both of these gentlemen, they are constantly on the look-out after the well-being and well-feeling of their guests.

Here I saw, for the first time, a few of my published letters; and here I saw, too, without a little pain, that in your laudable (but mistaken) anxiety to get at the truth in relation to Kansas affairs, you have published sundry extracts from the letters of the correspondent of the *Missouri Republican*, a journal which cannot be trusted, however reliable it may be on other matters, in any of its statements respecting the Territory. The letters of the *Republican's* correspondent are tissues of misrepresentation (innocent or intentional, I will not say which) from beginning to end. Pray don't trust him any more. The light he will give you is an *ignis fatuus*, and if you follow it, it will lead you into the dismal swamp—see if it don't.

Equally unreliable are the miserable sheets published at Westport, at Independence, at Leecompton, at Kickapoo, at Weston, and at Atchison. The paper published at Leavenworth City, though under pro-slavery influence, is not bought, body and soul, by the pro-slavery party, and has just decency enough to enable it keep on tolerably good terms with the Free State people. But I would trust it just the same, and just as far, as I would trust a tame jackall. I should watch it narrowly and constantly. I should endeavor to keep in mind, that though it was a tame jackall, it was a jackall nevertheless. I have read the statement of the Lawrence outrage, and the circumstances connected with it, in the columns of these different journals, and in no one instance have I found such statement at all in accordance with the facts. In gleaming intelli-

The Daily Journal.

MONDAY MORNING, MAY 12 1856

Pro-Slavery Business.

While the Free State men of the North denounce the shooting of the ruffian Jones, not a pro-slavery paper in Indiana dare say a word against the murders which Mr. Pierce has approved, and the perpetrators of which his officers in Kansas will not prosecute. The murderer of Dow was held to bail in a mock proceeding, but it is well understood that he will never be tried in earnest or meet the penalty of his bloody guiltiness. Free State men are oppressed by armies of ruffians, and the Pierceites even of Indiana apologise for the outrage now, though six months ago they denounced it; and Free State men are murdered in cold blood and not a paper can condemn it. But the moment a villain kills a pro-slavery ruffian, who was most insultingly, and without the shadow of legal authority, making prisoners of men who had violated no law, every "old line" paper comes down with unsparring wrath upon the Free State party, though the Free State party denounce the crime, and instead of contenting themselves with idle lamentations, like those who assail them, they go actively to work to secure the arrest of the murderer. This contrast shows in what direction the "old line" party of Indiana leans, and how inevitably it is tending to the most extreme pro-slavery policy.

The latest outrage we have seen noted in Kansas, we clip an account of from the *Kansas Tribune*. No Administration paper has said, or will say one syllable in condemnation of it:

On Monday of last week, Erastus Moffet, a worthy and influential Free State citizen residing near Deer Creek, being in search of a horse which had strayed away, inquired of a being in the shape of a man, who calls himself by the name of Pleasant Wood—one of the Law and Order Men called out by Shannon to keep the peace of Lawrence—if he had seen him, Wood in the most insulting manner, told him to keep his horse at home, or they—the Law and Order Men—would shoot him. Mr. Moffet, not wishing to have any more words with a man so destitute of common decency, to say nothing of respectability, turned to leave, when Wood seized and threw a stone striking him on the head, inflicting a severe wound, and knocking him senseless from his horse. How long he lay in that state he does not know, but when he came to himself his faithful horse still stood beside him, but the villain who threw the stone was not to be seen. With much difficulty he succeeded in getting on his horse, and reaching his home, where he now lies in a very precarious condition.

"How long," says the *Tribune*, "shall we submit to such outrages?" Just as long as Mr. Pierce or any of his party continue to direct the National Government. There will be no release from the terrors of invasion, of personal assaults, of brutal lynchings, and bloody murders, while the President's officials, with the President's connivance, allow such outrages to go unpunished. The only man who attempted to oppose the mob, the President removed from office, and censured in his message. The only officer who

Attempted Escape of Gov. Robinson from Kansas—His arrest by the Citizens of Lexington.

We learn from the officers of the *Star of the West*, just down from the Missouri river, that an interesting event occurred on their boat at Lexington, being nothing less than the informal arrest by the citizens of that city of Gov. Charles Robinson, of Kansas, for treason. The facts are these:

Robinson took passage on the *Star of the West* at Kansas City, Friday, without registering his name or destination, or intimating whither he was bound. He was disguised in a suit of grey jeans, and slouched hat, which hung over his face and concealed his features. His wife was with him. He immersed himself closely in his state room, and held no communication with any one aboard the boat. On the arrival of the steamer at Lexington, a small company of citizens, among whom were Gen. William Shields and Samuel L. Sawyer, Esq., having heard that Robinson was fleeing from Kansas to avoid arrest for treason, and having learned also that he was secreted on the *Star of the West*, went aboard of her, communicated their suspicions to the officers, and requested permission to search the boat. Consent was given, and Robinson was found.

*Thomas Barber was the man murdered.

gence from Kansas, therefore, it would be well, I think, to give these papers a thorough lettering alone. They are like poor watches which embarrass a man in his guesses, and so are worse than nothing. I am sorry to say that I was obliged to leave the Territory for a time. It would have been my choice, but for an obstinate cold, which began to show a great liking for my lungs, and which utterly refused to be exorcised while surrounded by so many discomforts, to remain a month longer, as I intended to do when I determined on making the excursion. However, the bold and fearless Redpath has gone back to Kansas again, and you will have the benefit of his spicy letters in the *St. Louis Democrat*. I suppose Mr. Redpath can be trusted. I am greatly mistaken if he does not make the ears of those Border Ruffians tingle before long.

Apropos of the epithet *Border Ruffian*, I think no one need hesitate to use it any longer, for fear of its harshness and severity, for the truth is, that most of the Missourians who have been so kind as to help the Kansas people manage their affairs, have adopted it and glory in it. First and last, I have had at least a dozen of the better and more enlightened class of Borderers, introduce themselves to me as *Border Ruffians*. At Lexington, I fancy—I saw a handsome coach on the levee with *Border Ruffians*, in gilt capitals, on the panel of the door. That is the name of the coach, it would seem.

And that reminds me of another coach, owned by one McGee, who led the largest company up to Lawrence to vote, and which runs two or three times a day between Kansas City and Westport. This coach has the figure of a goose on one side, and over the picture, in a semi-circular form, is the glaring inscription, so pregnant with meaning, "*Sound on the Goose*."

This Mr. McGee, by the way, has some rare information touching the Kansas election, which the Investigating Committee intend to elicit from him. He is an old bird, however. It will be difficult to catch him in an ordinary trap, and just before I left the Territory, I learned that he was having himself arrested for some great crime or other, so that when he was wanted by the Committee it would be out of his power to wait on them. It strikes me that this is a tolerably good move on the chessboard. But it takes two parties to play a game, and I should not be in the least surprised to hear that an equally good move has been made on the other side.

Your readers will very naturally inquire what is the prospect on the whole of a state of peace and quiet in the Territory. I reply that such a state, for the present, cannot reasonably be hoped for. While I do not anticipate any very serious consequences, I do look for many petty *molees*. It is the policy of the Pro-Slavery party now to worry and harass the Free State men, and to provoke them, if possible, to commit overt acts of violence in retaliation. I know that this is their policy. I do not speak at random. I have been behind the scenes, where this plan is openly acknowledged. The introduction of some three hundred men from Alabama and Georgia—all young, reckless, headstrong, without any knowledge of the means of obtaining a livelihood, and with very little disposition to avail themselves of such means even if they were acquainted with them, is unfortunate at this juncture. If they could be set to work on farms, or in workshops or stores, they would of course be kept out of mischief. But it is my belief, from what I have seen and heard of them, that not one in twenty will do or attempt to do anything having the most distant blood relation to honest industry. I sincerely hope and pray that five hundred industrious, hard-handed, strong-minded men, fresh from the Free States, will soon let the light of their sun-burnt faces be seen in Kansas, and help do battle—peaceable, but firm, and unflinchingly battle for the right.

GRABGRIND.

Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Monday Evening, May 12, 1856.
Admission of Kansas.

We quoted, on Saturday, a paragraph from the *New York Times*, in which that paper stated that Mr. Seward's proposition for the immediate admission of Kansas with the Topeka constitution is so palpably impracticable, that even the proposer could have had no expectation of its success. Considering the fact that the *Times* is a prominent organ of the Republican party, this admission is significant. Not less so is the following expression of opinion that a bill similar to that of Mr. Douglas's is the only way in which relief can be afforded. The *Times* says:

"The bill introduced by Senator Douglas provides for the admission of Kansas as a State, whenever its population shall reach 93,000; it also authorizes the Legislature to provide for the election of delegates to a Convention to form a State Constitution, and prescribes the qualifications of voters—one of which is a preliminary residence of six months in the Territory, and of three months in the election district. If the immediate admission of Kansas as a State is abandoned, as it certainly must be sooner or later, we confess we see no reason why the substantial features of this bill should not be adopted. We see no other way in which the knot is to be untied. Something must be done speedily, unless Kansas is to be abandoned to anarchy and disorder. Permanent relief can only come from her admission as a State—and if this cannot be effected now, it must be effected by and by. When it shall have become apparent, therefore, that the first proposition is impracticable, and that Kansas cannot be admitted upon the Constitution framed at Topeka, we trust that such amendments as may be needed to render it perfectly just and unexceptionable, will be made to the bill of Mr. Douglas, and that it may become a law."



MONDAY EVENING, MAY 12, 1856.

A Letter from Fort Leavenworth, in another column, describes the sort of emigrants the South sends to Kansas.

Nobody can observe the Kansas Companies starting from St. Louis, Mobile, Charleston, and New Orleans, without being struck by the remarkable contrast between them and those which go from Boston, Albany and Cincinnati. The Northern Companies are Emigrants, to settle. The Southern Companies are Soldiers, to invade.

We all see and know what sort of men leave or pass through here. Each goes to seek his fortune in the Territory. Each goes to resume his Trade or Profession, and to peaceably gain his livelihood by it. They are Farmers: they are Mechanics: they are Lawyers and Doctors: they are Merchants. They are only organized, as German Emigrants are, for travelling purposes. They are not formed into military companies. Each carries arms, but only such as are necessary to protect himself and his household.—Each means to stay there. He makes no arrangements to return. He quits his Home here, and makes a new one there.

Look at a Southern Company, and see the difference.

They are drilled and organized as Troops. Their arms are all alike and all furnished them by their employers. They have their Captains, their Lieutenants, and their Quartermasters.—They are under pay. They are under written bond to march where their leader bids, halt where he orders, fire when he commands. If

each had some employment at home, he leaves it there. He cannot pursue it in the Territory, for he cannot settle where he chooses, nor stay where he desires. Some of them go for adventure. Some go for profit. Some for political ends. Most of them have no better employment than to drink, beg and gamble, like those described in another column. None, or almost none, ever think of settling permanently anywhere, or of going to work at any peaceable occupation. Their homes are behind them. They mean to go back "after election." If they are Slaveholders they do not take their Slaves with them. If they have families they leave them in Alabama and Georgia. They have not the remotest idea of doing anything but to cast their illegal votes for Slavery, and to intimidate or defraud the real Settlers of the privilege of casting theirs. If they shall succeed in engrafting the system on the Kansas Constitution, then and not till then, will they think of going there as *bona fide*, actual Emigrants. Otherwise they will go back where they come from.

The Uncovering of the Villainy.

We shall present to our readers in convenient instalments, the testimony before the Kansas Commission, the publication of which, condensed from the *New York Times*, we commence this evening. We invoke careful perusal of this most wicked conspiracy against Liberty. Striking feature in this Slavery propagating villainy, is the oath-bound, secret, midnight-working machinery, employed by it for the subjugation of Kansas. The people will be admonished afresh against the dangers of secret societies for political objects, by witnessing their complete adaptation to schemes against Freedom, and their natural serviceability to Slavery.

A new and more impressive sense of the dangers Kansas was exposed to, and is yet exposed to, at the hands of the Slaveholding Democrats and their agents in Washington and throughout the North, will be got from the perusal of this remarkable testimony.

THE KANSAS INVESTIGATION.

Proceedings of the Congressional Committee.

THE EVIDENCE TAKEN.

Frauds Confessed by Missouri Democrats and Sworn to by the Settlers.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, April 30th, 1856.

IN COMMITTEE—Present, Messrs. Sherman (Chairman), Howard and Oliver.

EVIDENCE OF JORDAN DAVIDSON.

Mr. Jordan Davidson was sworn, and being examined, testified as follows:—Came to Kansas from Missouri to vote; understood Reeder had sent East for voters, so we came; other inducements were given; don't know of any one who came and voted Free State ticket and returned; Bond was the only one prevented from voting that I know of; I was thirty yards from trouble with Bond; did not see much of it.

Cross-questioned by Reeder—Did not understand Reeder had brought on voters from the East; other inducements were to extend Slavery into Kansas; our people who came thought they had the right; I contend myself they had a right; I was not at election last Fall; was not here in '54; there is a secret society to extend Slavery into Kansas; society called by various names—"Social Band," "Friends' Society," "Blue Lodge," "Sons of the South," by others; don't know as I know what it is properly called; have been at a meeting or two; have never been at any meeting in this Territory; have seen no Lodge in this Territory; it was formed some time in the latter part of 1854, probably; have 200 copies of its ritual; think written minutes are kept of proceedings; we are to extend Slavery into Kansas; we have signs and pass-words by which we know each other; object was to extend Slavery into Kansas, and unite all the friends of Slavery for that purpose; am told it exists in other States, as well as Missouri; am told by some one who belonged to said society

in Virginia; he may have joined it in Missouri; exists probably in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas; was first in Lodge latter part of February, 1855, at Pleasant Hill, Cass county. This society was used as a means to concentrate a body of men on the 30th of March, 1855; was a good chance to come and vote; don't know that it was lawful, thought it was right; don't know of any Anti-Slavery men who came into the Territory on purpose to vote; friends of the society could tie a ribbon in their coat and be protected; it was used as a means of understanding each other; at any rate, they were sworn to find out all they could from the other party; expresses were sent and received concerning Kansas emigration and elections by this society; committees were appointed; lodges were used at that period for the purpose of notifying men to come here; heard Mr. Wade, of Westport, speak of the Society first; don't know who are the founders of the Society; think it originated in Missouri; never heard that it originated in Washington; first Lodge I ever heard of was in Westport; a person who was the general agent to initiate came into Cass county; he came to me, asked me some questions, and I answered them; he initiated me; this agent was from Cass county; Mr. Palmer initiated me; did not see him with any of the parties on the 30th of March; don't recollect the oath precisely; substance of it is to promote by all lawful means the extension of Slavery; never heard any of the leaders say it was unlawful to come over and vote; heard one person in Lodge ask how they could vote in Kansas, if they were not citizens of Kansas Territory lawfully; answer was, we will swear in some how; my conversation with Palmer amounted to his asking my willingness to extend Slavery into Kansas.

EVIDENCE OF WILLIAM LYONS.

Wm. Lyons.—Resided in this District on the 30th of March, 1855; saw a body of strangers encamped at that time; had conversation with Mr. Shelby; he told me he had come over one hundred miles to vote; he said that eight hundred Missourians would vote on that day.

Cross-examined.—They were armed with guns and knives; I voted for Delegate to Congress, in the Fall of '54; saw a great many persons passing the day before election; they were strangers; I live on the California road, on the way to Douglas; they said they were going to vote; they were from Missouri, and many of them told me so; suppose there were over 100 who went to Douglas to vote, the place of election; saw some of them returning on the day and some the day after the election; they were strangers to me; had no women, children, or furniture with them; they were noisy; I lived in this district and voted here; those people hurried for Whitfield, and for Hill, and some for Whitfield and Hill both.

Cross-examined.—Was one of the officers of election after Benson and Ramsey left on the 30th of March, 1855, at Douglas; was appointed by the people on the ground at the time; I took charge of duplicate papers not sent to the Governor's Office; kept these books until the Legislature convened at Pawnee; have not got the books now; books have been destroyed, lost or something, while I was away from home; last November or December, while I was from home, the children got hold of them and lost a part of those I had found; I put away papers containing a list of some of the voters; it was in my father's house; his family was living there; I left it, and have never seen them since; expect father used them for shaving paper, not thinking them of much account; asked father if he knew anything about them; he did not; Wanful acted as one of the judges of that election; he was to make the returns; knew that he took them and started.

EVIDENCE OF HAMMOND MUZZY.

Hammond Muzzy, sworn.—Was at Douglass on 30th of March, at election; saw a large crowd there, and many wagons; got there just as Mr. Mace did; he tried to vote, and when the Pro-Slavery party said his vote was a Free-State vote they said he should not vote it; several men took hold of him by the collar and pulled him away; he took hold of me and we were both pulled away together from the poll; they cried out, "Cut his throat," "tear his d—d heart out of him," saw one man draw a knife upon him; saw a man with a lever, trying to pry up a corner of the cabin; others cried out, "Don't do it until you have orders;" saw Ellison come out the cabin with the ballot-box in his hand, and cry out, "Hurrah for Missouri!" Ellison was one of the judges; heard Jones (now Sheriff) say he would give the judge five minutes to resign or die; Jones gave one more minute, and they then left; these judges were Ramsay and Benson, both Free-State men; the crowd then commenced voting; saw no Free-State man vote.

EVIDENCE OF AUGUSTUS WATTLES.

Augustus Wattles.—Came into the Territory on the 1st of May, 1855; settled on Rock Creek, Second District; I have examined the poll list of the 29th of November, 1854, of the Second District, in connection with census, and find 25 on census on the poll lists; there are names of persons on that list that I know in Missouri; every man outside of these 25 are non-residents; I was a candidate before the people, at the second election, and went through the District and became acquainted with the people.

EVIDENCE OF GEORGE UMBARZO.

George Umbarzo.—Arrived in Kansas on the 24th or 25th of March, 1855; settled in Second District; have resided there ever since; at the election of 30th of March, 1855, about noon, I saw the Judges of Election driven away from the ballot-box; went to Mr. Ramsey's house; considerable excitement among the Judges and Clerks of Election and others; Ramsey gave me poll-books, and told me to take care of them; I started for home, was overtaken by eight or ten horsemen, surrounded, and poll-books taken from me by force; Sheriff Jones was one of the party, and he seemed to act as a leader; after they had got the books, they wanted me to go along back with them; I objected; they said I must go; one man took me by the collar and said he would shoot me if I did not go; I forced his hand away, and told him to take care of himself; got on a horse behind Jones, and rode back to Ramsey's; on our way a man came out of a house, and threatened to cut my throat if I did not behave myself; the same man called me to the window, and asked me to vote, handing a Missouri ticket; I refused; I soon after left; while riding they threatened Benson's life, if they got him.

Cross-examined by Mr. Reeder.—There were more voters there than than residents now; saw some of them start for Missouri.

EVIDENCE OF WM. H. ROSE.

W. H. Rose sworn.—Came to Kansas November 14, 1854; settled on Switzer creek, branch of Osage, Seventh District; resided there ever since; was at election on 30th March, a short time; saw on the day before election a large company coming in about 10 o'clock A. M.; some came in wagons, some on mules; about fifty wagons, some two and others four horses, about thirty to fifty horsemen; they camped near the polls, on claim of Mr. Prentiss, in the timber; I went home; the next day, about noon, went to the polls; there were quite a number around the polls, and some going away; the men were armed; saw no flags; the crowd were all strangers; have seen none of them there since.

Sherman questioned.—Mr. McClure took the census; I was Justice of Peace at that time; Mr. McClure lives in my District.

EVIDENCE OF JAMES R. STEWART.

James R. Stewart.—Came into Kansas 4th of November, '54, and settled in the Seventh District; on 29th of March, '55, saw a large number of strangers camped near the place of voting; I passed through the camp and recognized two persons residents of Missouri; I asked several where they were from, they said Missouri; I asked what they came for, they said to vote; next day, the 30th, went to the polls; two of the judges appointed did not serve; all were present; Snell and Harvey; Snyder served, with two strangers; the men from the camp voted without being sworn; the men were armed; a number of them wore badges, and acted as leaders; they supported Strickler for Council, McGee for Assembly; the men left that same evening; they returned the same way they came; have not seen them since; there were about three hundred votes polled.

Cross-questioned by Mr. Woodson.—They had provision and fodder in the camp; brought with them; after voting they returned on the Santa Fe road towards the East.

EVIDENCE OF A. HORNER.

A. Horner.—Came to Kansas 14th November, '54; settled on Switzer Creek; was there 30th March, '55; on the 29th of March a large company, with a large number of wagons, some buggies and horsemen, and camped near the place of voting; the next morning the poll was opened; two of the Judges appointed by the Governor did not serve; don't know whether fear prevented them from acting or not; the crowd elected two others as Judges, and went on voting; at noon adjourned for dinner; saw one of the Judges come out of the house with ballot-box under his arm, and he took it down to the camp of the Missourians; I returned after dinner and got acquainted with one of the crowd (who was a Dutchman like myself;) he wanted me to vote and asked me to go up to the polls I asked if he lived or had a claim in the Territory; he said he did not, and they had come up on a wild goose chase to vote; after voting they

all started back to camp, between two or three hundred, all strangers to me; they had their provisions had fodder, and brought it along with them; also, tents and tickets for Strickler and McGee; they came from the East, on the Santa Fe road, and returned the same way; they kept the ballot-box in their camp until their return from dinner.

Cross-examined.—I came to Kansas with a Company; my main object was to get a home here; no pledges were demanded of us; know of no other object of the Association than to assist us in getting homes; attended one or two of their meetings; saw nothing contrary to this.

EVIDENCE OF N. B. BLANTON.

N. B. Blanton called and sworn.—Came into the Territory in September, 1854; settled on the Wakarusa, five miles from here, and have resided there ever since; came from Jackson county, Mo.; was appointed one of the Judges of election for the District; was in Missouri for two or three weeks before election; when I came up home on the 28th March, met a company of men; did not know them; they told me they were coming to Lawrence to vote; some of them told me they were from Booneville and some from Columbia; they found I was one of the Judges, they wanted to know if I would let them vote without swearing; I came about fifteen miles with them; should suppose there were 100 of them; some eight or ten asked me this question; saw some of these men here at the election of 30th of March; I told them I could not let them vote according to the oath I would have to take; they were all citizens of the United States, and had the right to vote; they endeavored to persuade me to let them vote.

They endeavored to get me to resign, and became much enraged because I would not; an old man asked me to continue as Judge, receive their votes, and they would pay me; I did not then resign, but left them; I resigned on the morning of election; was in one of their camps near my house; they came there the evening before the 30th; they came over to Lawrence; saw some of them here; there were fifteen or twenty there; looked over part of the poll list, and know some of the men whose names are there to reside in Missouri.

Cross-examined.—They said that if I did not receive their votes their men would hang me; they told me that they wanted to get a Legislature to suit them, and make Kansas a Slave State.

The Sort of Emigrants the South Sends to Kansas.

Correspondence of the Chicago Democratic Press.

FORT LEAVENWORTH, K. T., May 1, 1856.

The famous party of Southern immigrants, under the command of Col. Buford, have just arrived. I was in Kansas City when they landed from the boat. I am not able to state their number definitely, and perhaps my readers will have more authentic information on this subject than I can lay my hands on at present. The company do not number less than three hundred, and I am afraid that four hundred would not be too high an estimate. They appeared more like a regiment of armed invaders than a party of peaceful immigrants. The gallant Colonel, at the head of his band, seems a very Napoleon of a chief. His men are under strict martial discipline.

Soon after the party landed at Kansas City, a delegation from Westport came down to the levee, and in a somewhat uproarious style gave the Southerners welcome, in behalf of the Border Ruffians. Great speeches were made—great in their way—on both sides. The Ruffians bade them God-speed in their "noble and God-like enterprise of assisting in the establishment of Southern principles in Kansas," assured them, that the "chivalry of Missouri" were with them, and expressed the strongest convictions that the Yankees would soon find themselves "licked out of the Territory." They did not fail to make capital of the recent assault upon Jones, "one of the noblest men on God's footstool," and declared that his blood must and should be avenged. Like the blood of Abel, it had a voice, and "cried to them from the ground." This and much more equally sensible, equally truthful, equally eloquent, came from the lips of the knights of Westport to the ears of their brethren from Georgia and Alabama.

The immigrants, on their part, responded in a similar strain. Col. Buford made a glowing speech. It is difficult to say whether his chivalry, his patriotism, his philanthropy, or his piety was the most prominent in his harangue. On the whole, it was the general impression that his piety made the most show. It took the form of a huge "horn," and I thought it seemed rather uncomfortable to him. His motto and that of his brave band—so he assured us with a voice

full of emotion—was “Bibles, not rifles.” It is not a bad motto, is it? But under the circumstances—and I ask the Colonel’s pardon twenty times over—I couldn’t help laughing when he uttered the words—absolutely laughing—so extravagantly that I had to hide my face in the crowd in order to be respectful, as I desired to be, to the speaker.

To make his words more impressive while uttering them, he took from his pocket a veritable Bible, and held it up proudly before his auditors. His speech produced great sensation. The Border Ruffians gave three cheers for the Bible, three cheers for the Colonel and his party, three groans for the Abolitionists, and then all hands dispersed to “liquor.” An incalculable amount of whiskey was drunk on the occasion, and not a few of these Bible-loving pilgrims got most overwhelmingly drunk.

A great majority of this company are young men. It would seem that most of them are reckless adventurers, ripe for anything with excitement and danger in it—men who were moved to join the expedition by the same arguments and for the same reason that influence verdant youths all the world over to yield to the soft persuasions of a recruiting sergeant. Many of these young men, before they reached the Territory, had spent their last dime. One of the company—a father, with apparently good principles—was mourning that his son, before he could interfere to save him, had lost all his money at the card-table. It was sad to see how depraved some of these youths, just entering on the threshold of active life, had become. Stepping into the bar-room of the hotel for a few moments, a friend of mine heard several of them, whose purse had been exhausted, begging the bar-keeper for liquor, and, failing to obtain the article by this means, they tried hard to operate on the sympathy of their Missouri friends, and plead with them, “for God’s sake,” to give them money enough for one dram.

The whole town was in a state of disgraceful uproar during the few hours these Southerners remained. Some of these volunteers expressed themselves as greatly dissatisfied with the whole scheme of Col. Buford. They were sorry they had enlisted, pretty clearly insinuating that they had been “taken in,” and wished themselves well out of the scrape. One of them declared he would give \$1,000 willingly if he had never joined the party.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
MONDAY MORNING, MAY 12, 1856.

Nomination of Pierce.

Among the names mentioned as candidates for the presidency in the approaching canvass, no one has surprised us more than that of Franklin Pierce whose claims to that position are just now being urged by the Boston Post and its echoes.

We had supposed that Pierce had so far disgraced himself by the course he has taken, in regard to the extension of slavery, that even his most devoted friends would not deem it politic, to say the least, to attempt the countenance of an administration which has done more to place the democratic party (so called) in its present low estate, than any other cause. But in this we were mistaken, for it would seem from an article recently published in the Post, that not a solitary act of the present administration requires an apology, or should be regretted by the democratic party. Read what it says:—

“From the frank declarations of the inaugural to the last exposition on the Kansas question, his official course has been in a straight forward, undeviating line of adherence to constitutional rights; with not a shadow of disguise or of non-committalism about it; ever rising above local prejudices; ever one, from the highest position of responsibility, regarding equally all sections of our common country; ever casting consequences to the winds, and taking counsel of those great principles which made our country, and which alone can preserve our country.”

In speaking of the compunctions of conscience, which some of the actors in the Nebraska perfidy suffered, the Post continues:—

“They have looked into the matter new, and the more they turn the bill over, the bolder they grow. The cordial national response to the strong national messages of president Pierce revealed to the party the full strength of their position under their bill; and at this time the democracy could no more be rallied on the principle of a restoration of the Missouri line, than it could be rallied for a restoration of the old rotten United States bank. Let each member of the democratic party glory in the front his organization bears against the heresy of know nothingism and the treason of black republicanism, for never was there a more righteous front.”

Taking these extracts as the sentiments endorses

ed by the democratic party, as they undoubtedly are, let us look for a moment at the consistency of the present administration of which the Post seems so proud; and see in what a disgraceful position they place that party.

In the first annual message of president Pierce, he most positively affirmed that to the utmost of his ability he should discountenance any agitation of the vexed question of slavery. But this declaration was hardly made, when an opportunity was offered for its fulfillment. Was the influence of the executive to be found on the side of conciliation, as promised? No; but on the contrary, it was foremost in creating strife, by urging the passage of a bill which could but produce the most bitter sectional animosity. The Missouri compromise was repealed, and the Kansas and Nebraska bill smuggled through Congress. But this is not all. Not satisfied with having removed every barrier to the spread of slavery in the country, the administration stands pledged to enforce a code of laws in Kansas, in the making of which a large majority of the actual settlers of that territory were forcibly denied a voice—laws which deny the right of free speech and a free press—laws evidently made for the purpose of establishing slavery in Kansas, even at the expense of every principle of right and justice.

These are the leading acts of the present administration, to which the Post and its satellites have no exception to take. Perhaps there may be consistency in such a course; but there is only one way in which we can perceive it, that is by regarding the declaration of Pierce in his first annual message: “That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have power to avert it, those who placed me here may rest assured,”—as thrown out merely to blind the people to his secret scheme of promoting the extension of slavery.

Whatever else may be proved from the course of the existing administration, it most conclusively shows that the democratic party has reached the disgraceful point to which it has been so rapidly tending for the past few years, that of being the blind, unquestioning tool of the slave power. We are well aware that most of the organs of the party are ashamed to be found in such a position, and, consequently, they deny the fact, and strive to make it appear that the party has not changed, but still rests upon the principles that upheld it in the days of Jefferson and Jackson. But are not such attempts vain? Where is the first word uttered by either of those patriots, which, by any reasonable construction, would evince that they would approve of the opening of the free territories of the Union to the blasting curse of slavery? On the other hand were they not always in favor of treating slavery as a sectional and not a national institution?

We do not make these remarks because we are unwilling to see president Pierce nominated by the party which he so truly represents; but because we think that the fact should be borne in mind that the course of the present administration, not only meets with the approval of the democracy of the South, but has the unqualified sanction of the leading organs of that party here at the North; and thus we shall be able to see more clearly the vital issue between freedom and slavery, which will be the test question in the approaching canvass.

WHAT THE SOUTH PROPOSES TO DO IN KANSAS.—(From the Richmond Whig.)—We are in favor of the South meeting the North on the plains of Kansas, and there doing whatever may be considered necessary to protect itself, its citizens and its property in the enjoyment of what the constitution guarantees alike to all, without wrong or prejudice to any. We are for yielding neither jot nor tittle to the aggressive movements and unjust demands of the organized band of fanatics and robbers, who, under the auspices of the abolition leaders of the North, are emigrating to Kansas for the purpose of swindling the South out of its equal rights in that territory. On the contrary, we are for resisting them with all the means in our power, at every hazard and to the last extremity. We are even willing, if it needs must be, to oppose Sharps’ rifles with Sharps’ rifles. In a word, we stand ready to approve and encourage every effort which southern men, in their wisdom and judgment, may decide upon, to promote emigration to Kansas from the southern states. If Kansas can possibly be rescued from the grasp and dominion of the free soilers and

abolitionists, and erected into a defence of slavery and southern institutions, why, in God’s name, we appeal to the patriotism and enterprise and liberality of the South to rally to the rescue, and consummate the glorious work.

Kansas Affairs.

There have been several reports of the death of sheriff Jones, but the latest account is that he was better and likely to recover. The United States troops were still in camp at Lawrence, but no further arrests had been made. The ruffian papers of western Missouri were circulating exciting stories and appeals, with the manifest design to instigate another siege of Lawrence. We quote from the Platte Argus, Atchison organ, an article showing as bad a spirit in maligning the free state settlers in Kansas, as does the Argus here in expounding the same cause:

“S. J. Jones, sheriff of Douglas county, K. T., basely assassinated by a cowardly wretch instigated by the traitors of Lawrence, is dead? We also learn that the abolitionists have assassinated another pro-slavery man named Arny, Anarchy, and indeed, civil war now hovers over that unhappy territory. Though the instigation of Reeder and Kobin’s, and other leaders of the rebel of Kansas no man, woman or child—not of them—is safe from the balls of Sharps’ rifles or the dagger of the midnight assassin. This state of things cannot long remain. Either law and order must be established, or the reign of terror is firmly fixed. We have received the proceedings of the law and order committee of Leecompton, in the Union extra, comprising a true and full history of Reeder and Robinson’s attempts to inaugurate civil war and rapine, and the fiendish assassination of Jones, but being too long for this issue, we shall insert them in our next. We are greatly mistaken if speedy vengeance be not soon visited upon the bloody traitors of Kansas by an outraged people. Black republican rule must come to an end in the West.”

The investigation of the congressional committee goes on quietly at Lawrence, many witnesses being in attendance from the various election districts. The Herald of Freedom says, the testimony taken thus far makes out a worse case for Whitfield and the bogus legislature than had been previously represented. The evidence introduced on the other side generally turned out in the end to sustain materially the accounts of the free state men.—Immigration into the territory does not continue so large as the opening of the season promised. The determination of the general government to sustain by military force the usurped and most despotic government of the Missouri ruffians, has no doubt kept thousands of free state men from the territory. As to the proportion of free state men among the new emigrants, accounts vary with the tendencies of the writers. A correspondent of the New York Evangelist, writing from Kansas City, is quite positive that not one-twentieth of the emigrants are from the slave states, and of these the larger portion of the Kentuckians are decidedly for making Kansas a free state. On the other hand, the papers of Western Missouri represent that three-fourths of the emigrants this season are pro-slavery. Major Buford’s company, who started from Georgia with bibles under their arms and muskets in the baggage, arrived at Kansas City, May 1st, with the order of their weapons reversed, the bibles having been stowed away and the muskets shouldered. They had a public reception at Kansas City, by a delegation from Westport, Mo., and on that occasion Major Buford took out his bible to give emphasis to his speech. Most of this company are restless young men, and many had spent their last dime on the route, and were seen begging for liquor at the hotels. They are not the men for settlers, and if they do not get an opportunity for fighting, for which they were sent, the majority of them will soon make their way back again to their southern homes. On the 2d they started into the territory, after Maj Buford had been publicly presented with a valuable horse, bridle and saddle from patriotic citizens of Westport, and been told by the donors that they “relied upon his valor to aid in establishing slavery in Kansas and in driving the abolition rebels from the territory.” He said they certainly might do so.

The latest mail dates from Lawrence are of April 28. Col Sumner and the most of his U. S. troops had gone back to Fort Leavenworth—a small body remained. Sam. Lattus, a deputy of sheriff Jones, with a party of 30 U. S. dragoons undertook to serve a lot of warrants under the territorial laws against the free state men. Visiting the house of Mr Speers, an editor, to secure him, the deputy was greeted with a bucket full of hot water from Mrs Speers. He backed down, and the commander of the troops then went for

ward and was courteously received; but the man sought was not comendable. Mrs S. has great respect for U. S. officers, but sheriffs and such like are not permitted to enter her dwelling. Lattus also arrested a doctor, who said he could not go, because he was attending sheriff Jones, and the case being referred to the latter he annulled the writ entirely. Thus it would seem that the sheriff possesses more than executive powers. Sheriffs this way do not annul writs, or nol pros. suits. Lattus, disgusted with his experience, had resigned his deputyship.—The Kickapoo Rangers, a border ruffian military company, were encamped opposite Lawrence, and the people of that town were in martial array to defend themselves from a threatened attack from them.

A minister of the sect of United Brethren (Moravians) was in Kansas early in April, and selected a location south of Lawrence, on the Santa Fe road, for fifty families of his church in Virginia, who will emigrate to Kansas this season. They are all in favor of freedom and will be a valuable accession to the new state.

Gazette & Courier.

MONDAY, MAY 12 1856.

Another letter written by a member of the third party which went out this Spring under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Company, says—

I shall go to farming, and have agreed with a man to break up 100 acres for me, at \$3,50 per acre. I decide to do this, as the best thing to be done—with ordinary success, I can raise this year on my hundred acres 2500 bushels of corn, and this will all be needed next winter. The great mistake which the farmers and squatters have made, is in putting in so little corn and grain. Lt. Gov. Roberts raised last year on the sod 3500 bushels of corn—from 20 to 30 bushels to the acre. My claim will cost nothing at present; it will cost say \$100 to fence it; my cabin will cost \$50 or more. I like the country very much so far. There may be finer countries, but I have never seen them. What disease there may be in such a good looking outside, I cannot now tell. The emigration from the free states is large. Every day we have many arrivals here, and as many more go north probably.

Twenty-four men left Georgetown, S. C., for Kansas, on Wednesday. One hundred families are preparing to go from Louisville, Ky., and vicinity, to locate at prairie City in Kansas, a site located by a Kentucky company.

BOSTON POST.

MONDAY, MAY 12, 1856.

WANTED—A SERAPH!—ONE ACCUSTOMED TO PLAYING ON A HARP PREFERRED!

The N. Y. Tribune has the following out of its usual columns of advertisements:—

“We want preachers of the gospel of Kansas. We don't want any 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 (necroman-tic) power lie in unimagined opulence beneath our feet. Where is the enchanter whose wand shall vitalize them?”

We do not know whom to commend to them for their necessity except the man who preached upon “the harp of a thousand strings—serpets of just men made perfect.” It is doubtful, however, if that hard-headed philosopher would do—as he does not quite

answer to the description of a seraph or “a Cherry-bum,” or a Griffin, or a Gyasticus!

It is evident that the present leaders at Washington do not come up to the requirements of this advertisement. There are many who have several of the seraphic qualifications, but none combines all. For instance, Greeley looks like a yellow-covered seraph faded and swelled with too much washing. But his conversation is not heavenly, but the opposite; and the lyre is his favorite amusement, and not the harp. Jack Hale might set up for “a glorified spirit,” but as his pockets are filled with coppers picked up in the lobbies, he cannot do more than sit up—he cannot rise to the blue Emyrean. Then who ever heard of such a seraph with such breeches pockets and copper in them?

Summer is full of “rhapsody,” but prides himself on his “back bone” rather than his wings; he would make a good seraph “of dissenting principles,” if he would only try. Banks comes under the head of the cherubim rather than the seraphim, and looks both ways—into the republican and American quarter. Wilson, whose doleful camp-meeting dirges and dismal prophecies remind us of those “who continually do cry,” answers one of the requisitions of the advertisement. Perhaps Matteson and some members concerned with the lobby, might be entrusted with the harp, if they would give bonds not to steal the golden strings!

But after all, is it necessary for the seraph to be a harpist? Is it mere music that is wanted? Are there not other consolations in life besides that of sweet sounds? other notes, than vocal? Is not paradise described as flowing with milk and honey, as well as joyous and heavenly strains?

The men at Washington have mistaken the necessity of the case. The advertisement should read—

WANTED—A seraph with a fresh breast of milk for a suckling party.

Fremont is the nurse that ought to be engaged. The others named for the interesting duty are old and dry. Let Fremont be called in and unveil his fresh bosom (the Mariposa grant) to the hungry infant, and our word for it there will be less squalling, and no call for seraphs!—*Albany Argus.*

Eveing Telegraph.

BOSTON, MONDAY, MAY 12, 1856.

CITY AND SUBURBAN.

THE CHURCH IN KANSAS. The services in Rev. Mr. Fuller's Church, Hanover street, were conducted yesterday afternoon by Rev. Ephraim Nute, pastor of the first Church in Lawrence, Kansas. The new house of worship in Lawrence is being built, the Unitarians at the East having contributed to that end. The troubles inflicted upon the citizens of Kansas by the border ruffians have retarded the work, and made it necessary for Mr. Nute to solicit the moderate sum of fifteen hundred dollars, which is needed to complete the work so auspiciously begun. Mr. Nute stated in his report on the success of his ministry in Kansas, that the Unitarians have not been pioneers in the missionary efforts at the West, but have waited until society has resolved itself into a more settled and definite state. Hence their ill success. Other denominations had laid the foundation of churches previous to them, and when the Unitarians did commence their labors, they had an amount of prejudice to overcome which did not so stand in the way of the first comers. When he first went to Kansas there was no appropriate place in which to hold a meeting. The only substitute obtainable was a small room used by a number of other denominations in succession. On a succeeding Sunday the people were gathered together in the open air to the number of two hundred or more, and his congregation has increased. He had noticed that many people in some of our larger cities were advocating ultra non-resistance, and animadverting upon the practise of the settlers' arming in self-defense.

Such persons should witness what he had witnessed. Should see a neighbor and friend, the most peaceful of men, brutally murdered; should witness the grief of the mother, the wife, the sister, all dependent on his arm, and now left alone in the wilderness, and they would then know why the settlers of Kansas took up arms to defend themselves and their families from the worse than savage bands from the borders of Missouri. He had seen timid and refined women, who, at the East, would have shrunk from the presence of an instrument

of war, courageously and firmly grasp the implements of death in the days of their seige. Were he to select the most eloquent and decided words in condemnation of the tyranny attempted to be imposed on the settlers, they would be from the lips of men from Virginia and Kentucky who were in the ranks to defend Lawrence. Mr. Nute thought the New England emigration to Kansas an offspring of the religious sentiment, and eloquently urged his hearers to carry fully into practise the glorious theory of their religion, and to make use of the great opportunity opened in the West. The speaker concluded with a desire to carry back to his people in Lawrence hope and comfort from New England.

New-York Daily Tribune.

MONDAY, MAY 12, 1856.

WASHINGTON, Saturday, May 10, 1856.

It is suggested at a distance in quarters that ought to know better, that if the admission of Kansas under the Topeka Constitution cannot be accomplished, the opposition in Congress should fall back on the Douglas bill and pass it. Whether this suggestion arises from the weakness of not comprehending the subject, or from that of desiring to appear astonishingly impartial, it is none the less absurd and mischievous. That any journal professing to favor the cause of Free Kansas should be so injudicious as to advocate such a course is a subject of equal astonishment and regret. The editorial article in *The Times* of Thursday last, to which I allude, is utterly condemned in political circles here, as alike weak in conception and inconsiderate in exposition. Kansas has just two chances to be delivered from Slavery. One is to be admitted under the Topeka Constitution, and the other is to stave off her admission indefinitely. If the Constitution under which she comes here and asks admission is set aside, and the territory refused its application, then there is nothing else left to do but to gain time for securing an unmistakable preponderance of Free State votes. Freedom, as Mr. Calhoun said of Slavery, when he was resisting California as a Free State, “must have ‘time to get in.’” Time must be given to purify, first, the local government of Kansas. The Free State settlers, though in a majority in the territory, are held in subjection by the usurped and illegitimate authority now bearing sway therein. There is a bogus Legislature, with a Judiciary to back their enactments, and an army encamped on the soil to enforce them at the point of the bayonet. The rectification of this unparalleled and scandalous condition of things must be made by the force of numbers, operating upon public sentiment, and through what expression it may be allowed to find through the ballot-box, where no effort will be lost to overpower it by spurious votes. But the process is slow. The numbers cannot be obtained in a moment. Their action, even then, is impeded by obstacles in the hands of the usurping authorities, of the most formidable description. Official power acts promptly. Unorganized masses, however strong under disciplined association, are yet weak when acting without power to enforce their judgment, and in opposition to the compact forces of unscrupulous official authority. Numbers, in Kansas, unless entirely overwhelming, avail nothing. Kansas, in her infancy, was easily reduced by her conquerors. The voice of her citizens were overborne and lost in a torrent of foul play. They are stronger now; but that added strength is more than counterbalanced by the advantages obtained by the invader's position, through their laws and the countenance of the Federal authorities and the presence of the Federal troops in sustaining them. As it has been in the past, as it is now, so will it be for some time to come. And thus the only chance for Freedom is to keep the Territory open long enough to secure a sufficient predominance of numbers to destroy all hope of overcoming it by irruptions of the Border Ruffians. The only reliable evidence we can have of the proper time to think of making Kansas a Free State, unless it is done under the Topeka Constitution, is when her people have recovered the control

of the Territorial Legislature not an instant ago. And to advocate the passage of a law which is going to precipitate a convention while the population is yet small, (for who believes that 93,000, or yet 73,000 people will be waited for by the Usurpers before it is called,) and while the Territory is in the hands of the Border Ruffians, is to advocate its inevitable transfer to the Slave Power. The Douglas bill does this, and it is therefore the most fatal weapon that can be placed in the hands of those who are endeavoring to make Kansas a Slave State. The proposition to pass it is to be condemned utterly as the most devilish suggestion that could be made at the present period of the Kansas struggle.

The only tenable ground upon which to stand for the recovery of Kansas to Freedom, is to insist upon her admission under her present Constitution, and upon the passage of an act by the House for that purpose. The other branches of the Government should then be required to yield their acquiescence to the popular demand for the recognition of Kansas as a Free State. But if this righteous demand is resisted, as we have no right to declare in advance that it will be, then the next step is to hold Kansas wide open to emigration until time shall multiply the number of its citizens, to the extent that all danger is past of her having to receive a Constitution at the hands of the Pro-Slavery ruffians of Missouri. This is so plainly the duty of the friends of Freedom in Kansas, that it is astonishing that any man who ever devoted time enough to the subject to write a paragraph upon it should not have perceived the fact. This course is so reasonable and proper also, and so sure to end in beneficent results, that it should, and we think will receive the cooperation of Administration men from the North, in Congress, who are not yet so thoroughly corrupted and case-hardened as to be willing to deprive the Kansas settlers of their only hope of making that Territory a Free State.

It will be time enough for the Douglas bill to be passed when the Free States shall have had a full opportunity to declare whether they ratify and approve the repeal of the Missouri restriction and the attempted consignment of Kansas to Slavery.

If the North shall prove itself so stultified and besotted as to vote in the Presidential election to surrender Kansas to Slavery (a supposition not to be for an instant entertained), will then be passed over the heads of the friends of Freedom, and without asking or thanking them for any assistance they can render toward consummating the great act of infamy.

J. S. P.

The testimony thus far has been introduced by Gov. REEDER, who personally examined the witnesses. Gen. WHITFIELD is in attendance but has secured the legal assistance of Col. Woodson of Independence. This gentleman, it must be remembered is himself a "Border Ruffian," and sent into the Territory the cannon brought with the invading force in December last. He is a man of shrewdness and energy, and his influence has been great in stimulating the excitement in Jackson Co. His brother-in-law, it is said, (living also in Jackson Co.) was one of the judges of election manufactured for the Seventh Kansas District, by the invading voters on the 30th of March, 1855. It will readily be seen that he remits no effort to obtain the testimony as fair as possible for the Atchison party.

The bearing of the Committee are eminently correct and candid. Both Mr. HOWARD and Mr. SHERMAN are men of prepossessing manners and conduct the investigation with great fairness. Mr. OLIVER, too, seems personally all that could be asked of a Platte County Congressman. Were it not for his intimate connection with the conspirators of his party, I should have every confidence in his treatment of the case. And, intimate as is that connection, I yet believe that this investigation will have the effect to modify even his course.

The different members of the Committee have expressed themselves in private on the state of affairs here as being worse than they could have expected. At Washington, they say, no adequate idea is formed of the emergency in which the people of Kansas are placed. A few evenings since, while the "Kickapoo Rangers" were hovering about the town in the woods across the river, Mr. OLIVER inquired who those scoundrels were; and, on being told, he said he wished a Yankee company would muster and drive them off. "I will help," said he, "if necessary."

Good jokes sometimes enliven the investigation. Yesterday, during the examination of Mr. STEWART, of Council City, Gen. WHITFIELD insinuated that Gov. REEDER might own stock in the town. This Gov. REEDER denied, and retorted that there was a town bearing his opponent's name. Gen. WHITFIELD denied owning any stock in the town of Whitfield, and Mr. HOWARD laughingly suggested that the General might be too shrewd to take stock in any enterprise bearing that name. WHITFIELD rallied after a moment, and replied "Whitfield stock is a sort that you may be very glad to get shut of." "Yes," retorted Mr. OLIVER, "and you will be very glad to 'get shut' of us before we finish with you!"

Emigration is very large, and as the Territory becomes further explored, people here begin to learn that it is even a finer country than they had dared hope for. We are now enjoying copious rains, in their legitimate season. There can no longer be a question that, with free institutions secured, Kansas will become one of the choicest States in the Union.

Touching the late political troubles here, of which you have been advised by other correspondents, I regret to say that they are ominous of serious danger. Contrary to all expectation on the part of the real friends of law and order, the enemy will not consent that the presence of the Congressional Committee shall procure us an armistice. On the contrary, with an audacity and depravity unaccounted for, they have seized the opportunity to commence a new system of persecution, which bids fair to produce the reality of that civil war which they have so long seemed to court. The plot now seems to be, to use the so-called Territorial authority, tyrannical as are the laws, and filled as are the offices with the unscrupulous tools of the slaveocracy, for the purpose of worrying out the last remnants of patience on the part of Free State men, and absolutely driving them to the extremity of forcible resistance. And the issue is now darkened with the shadow of the Federal authority; for the United States troops have been placed by the President at the disposal of SHANNON, and resistance to the bogus Sheriff of Douglas County, has now become literally resistance to the general Government. So much for the SUFFERANCE, thus long, of this gigantic wrong of a tyrannical government founded on a now proven monstrous fraud; a sufferance rendered ten-fold worse in its effect, through the shameless complicity of a corrupt President and his subservient appointees. And how much longer will Congress permit this thing to last, and suffer the sacred name of law to sanction outrages which would disgrace the veriest despotism of the Old World?

There is no manner of doubt that this new demonstration of Sheriff (?) JONES against innocent citizens of Lawrence, is made by positive direction of the Federal Executive, to embarrass the Investigating Committee and the Free-State men of Kansas, and to generally embarrass the cause of Freedom. And if he or his deputies can but irritate our men to the point of forcible resistance, and involve us in the consequences of resistance to the United States troops, the matter will be made use of to rekindle the prejudices of all who are not fully up to the trickery of the party.

But of one thing let the people of the North be assured: any resistance to the Federal authorities, should it occur, will result from the uncontrollable feeling of the masses, and not from any influence of the leaders. On the contrary, the whole effort of the latter, as it always has been, will be to restrain. The policy of Gov. ROBINSON, Lieut.-Gov. ROBERTS, Senator REEDER and all other leaders of the party, is

eminently conservative, and no effort will be spared to restrain the outbursting indignation of the free-men of Kansas until Congress shall have had an opportunity to know fully and judge of our wrongs.

The long talked-of regiment of Major Brown, of Alabama, has at last arrived. I have information of their arrival at Kansas City and advance into the Territory. They number in all some four hundred men; each purporting to be furnished with a bible and rifle. The rifles were not generally visible, but the Bibles were—huddled into a basket on the hurricane deck of the Steamboat. They obtained their passage from St. Louis to Kansas City for eight dollars each; eastern emigrants paying *freete*. Soon after leaving the wharf at St. Louis, Major Brown discovered that his valise had been stolen, and five hundred dollars of his own money stolen, together with nearly as much more left with him for safe keeping by members of his company. The men were immediately mustered on the hurricane deck, and the roll called, showing five to be absent; and no doubt was felt that the robbery was perpetrated by these five members of his own band!

At Lexington the boat stopped long enough to allow the company the honor of a grand reception. They marched to the Court-House, and had a grand gratification meeting. Gen. SHIELDS, of Lexington led off in a speech up to the exigency, in which he pledged money and men to the work of making Kansas a Slave State. He found inspiring texts in the devices on the banner of the company; on one side "The Supremacy of the white race;" on the other, "Kansas the outpost of Slavery." On these themes he waxed eloquent. He said that Major Brown had risked life and spent money in this enterprise; and if his purse should fail, he pledged the honor of Lexington to its replenishment.

Major Brown's speech was very poor; he was greatly excelled by a member of his company named BAKER, who is really an able speaker, and who remains in Lexington to raise funds for the enterprise.

The company received a contribution of five thousand dollars in Mobile, on leaving.

When the company arrived in Kansas City, they were mustered and treated to a new batch of speeches, in which they were exhorted to go to Lawrence and avenge the death of Jones; it being then supposed that he was dead.

But after all these terrifying details, it may be consolatory to know that this enterprise does not possess in itself the elements of success. The standard of personal character and physical power among the members, is low. After all the Southern talk about Yankee papers, what do you think of a member of this famous company begging of a New-Yorker a dime to pay for a drink? and another asking of the landlord of the hotel in Kansas for a piece of bread and meat which he was not able to pay for!

Nor is the organization practical. They are made to sign an agreement so stringent as to be extremely distasteful. The plan is, for each one to preempt a quarter-section, for which Brown is to pay and receive one-half the land. This is clearly illegal—the preemption oath preventing any such understanding. Already members of the company are preparing to bolt.

Now, how easy for the North to turn all this to advantage. A great many of the men already say they shall go back after the next election. Many more will become Free State men; and if Northern capital is only at hand here to loan them when the land comes in market, they can snap their fingers at Maj. Brown and keep their whole quarter section in a strictly legal manner.

But to do this, the North must be alive. And here let me say, that one of the first objects of those who have at heart the good of the cause, should be to provide an ample fund, out of which Free State men may loan wherewith to pay for their claims; for unless this is done, if the lands come soon into market, they will in a majority of cases fall through poverty (having spent their means in staying thus long,) to secure their claims, which will be snatched up by Pro-Slavery men, who have no lack of funds.

LIBERAL.

New-York Daily Times.

THE KANSAS INVESTIGATION.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

HIGHLY INTERESTING EVIDENCE.

The Election Frauds.

TRUE HISTORY OF THE DECEMBER INVASION.

Disclosures about Secret Pro-Slavery Societies.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE TERRITORY.

SOUTHERN EMIGRATION.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Wednesday, April 30, 1855. The Congressional Committee for the investigation of affairs in Kansas has now been several days at work in this place. Here they will remain for a while and then go to other prominent points for the convenience of attending witnesses.

The programme is to first take evidence on the election frauds and then on the invasion of December. But it has already happened that the examination has drawn out evidence on both matters in connection.

American and Gazette.

PHILADELPHIA:

MONDAY, MAY 12, 1855.

Later from Kansas.

A correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial writes from Lawrence, Kansas, under date of April 29th:

Col. Sumner has returned to Fort Leavenworth with the greater portion of his troops. A few yet remain to do the bidding of Shannon, Jones & Co.

Early this morning the deputy sheriff, accompanied by six soldiers, proceeded to the house of Mr. Spear, editor of the Kansas Tribune, for the purpose of arresting him on a charge of resisting Jones' authority as Sheriff. The deputy was met at the door, as he attempted to enter and search, by Mrs. Spear, who dashed a dish of hot water in his face. The effect was such, it is said, as will preclude the necessity of shaving for some time to come. To the infinite merriment of the soldiers, he held a hasty retreat, and has gone to Franklin, the soldiers say, to share the hospital with Jones.

Those who were arrested at first, were taken to Leocoma before a justice of the peace, and gave bail for their appearance at court, a week from next Monday, when they set out on their return to Lawrence. They were accompanied by the soldiers for three miles, to protect them from a mob of pro-slavery men, who had collected there. The soldiers are principally Free State men, and heartily detect the business of enforcing an oppressive code upon a people whom they believe to be justifiable in resistance. Some of them say that, if they are commanded to shoot, they will do it, but are very sure their guns will be either too high or too low, or so much out of the way that no Free State man will be injured. To night the soldiers have all left, and messengers bring in word that the Kickapoo Rangers and ruffians, amounting to 200 men, are camped about two miles from Lawrence, in the Delaware country, and are breathing out murder and revenge for the shooting of Jones. The intelligence is confirmed by the Delaware Indians, a number of whom have come over to inform us. Messengers are sent to Wakarusa and Bloomington for assistance, and sentinels will be on duty through the night. It is thought they intend an attack before Colonel Sumner can return from the Fort, which will not be until next Thursday. But a good many think that they will not make an attack at all, but only prowl around and take persons as prisoners who have made themselves obnoxious to their party and then disarm and murder them.

The U. S. officials in Kansas, have pulled down or cause to be removed, all the houses in the town of Pawnee, on the ground that it was built on Indian land. One of the houses destroyed belongs to Governor Reeder, and cost \$1,000.

At the anniversary of the American Congregational Union, the Rev. Mr. Knight, of Kansas, said that the Missourians, universally cheating the Shawnees in trade, had inspired these Indians with a disgust for the Christian religion. But since New Englanders and opponents of slavery had settled in Kansas, confidence in the fairness and justice of white men had returned. The Shawnees will go fifteen miles to buy of a Free Soil merchant, instead of trading with a Southerner in their own settlements. For the first time, they find one price put on goods for red men and white men. The Delawares also were so impressed by the kind and just treatment of the Free State people, that they offered last winter to send in their warriors to Lawrence, and make war on the Ruffians.

The Herald of Freedom, of the 26th ult., has the following relative to the Congressional Commissioners:

The Congressional Commissioners opened their session on the 23d instant, at the Free State Hotel, in this city. Ex-Governor Reeder is in attendance. General Whitfield and his counsel, who is understood to be Mr. Wright, a gentleman of the legal profession, from Georgia, were also present at the commencement of the session. Considerable discussion of a discursive and preliminary character was permitted at the outset, between Messrs. Reeder and Wright—the latter insisting that Gov. Reeder should submit certain specifications on which to form an issue between him and Gen. Whitfield, and the former alleging that the issue was antecedently formed in Washington, and was a matter vastly more important than a mere matter of difference between himself and Gen. Whitfield. Dr. Stringfellow was also present, and claimed a right to be heard, and by courtesy on the part of the Commissioners was listened to for a while. Verily, if one man claims to be heard, as a right, so may another, and if every one is to be listened to, the hearing would be interminable, and amount to a total defeat of the object for which the Commissioners were appointed. They were not in session the 24th, owing probably to the excitement in town. Yesterday, the 25th, they commenced taking testimony touching the election of the memorable 30th of March. The testimony thus far is substantially the same as the accounts published here at the time of and immediately after the election. Witnesses are in attendance from many districts, and the evidence is clear and explicit, sustaining the fact that frauds and outrages were committed.

Commercial Journal.

B. M. RIDGLE, Editor and Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH.

MONDAY MORNING, MAY 12, 1856

GOV. REEDER'S SPEECH.

AFTER the cowardly and as is reported successful attempt to assassinate Jones in Lawrence, K. T., very promptly a mass meeting assembled there, at which nearly the whole town was present, to express their indignation at the outrage and their determination to bring the villain to justice. Ex-Governor Reeder was called to the chair and made the speech which we subjoin. Governor Robinson addressed the meeting in nearly the same strain, expressing the opinion that

the assassin was an enemy of the Free State men. A series of resolutions were passed, declaring that the Lawrence men will do their best to ferret out the scoundrel and bring him to punishment, etc. As Mr. Reeder claims to be a good Democrat, and, as we believe, is such in a just and proper signification of that word, we give his speech on taking the chair at the meeting aforesaid:

He supposed that all perfectly understood the object of the meeting, and that he concurred fully and entirely in the public sentiment which deemed such meeting necessary. The occurrence which happened in this town last evening, in whatever light it could be viewed, was an outrage on the individuals of this town, upon the public sentiment and reputation of the town, and a still greater outrage upon our cause. That cause was one which sought no aid or countenance at the hands of assassins, for it was too holy, too strong, too just to need such assistance. It is a cause in which they wanted the help of the Lord, and not of the devil; the help of honest, well-meaning men, not of murderers and assassins; the help of orderly, law-abiding, though determined men, and not of outlaws and murderers. They wanted the sympathies of their friends in the Free States, who have stood up and justified them, and that sympathy they must obtain by pursuing such a course as would not give any one cause to charge them with wrong-doing and injustice. The sincere and heart-felt sympathy that they have always had, has been given because they were always in the right—that the blood upon our soil, that cried for vengeance, has been that of our friends—that those whose hands have been stained by murder and assassinations have been our enemies and oppressors. It was a matter of pride and congratulation, that in our ranks there were men who denounced crime, murder and assassination, though they were ready and willing, on all occasions, to shed their blood for their political rights and the cause in which they were engaged. It was a high and proud position they occupy before the people of the United States, and one they should always seek to maintain.—He had stood up in the capitol of the nation, when last December the telegraph was loaded down with the lies of their enemies, charging them with arson, murder, plunder, and all that could disgrace a man and this community; and pledged his honor that that was untrue, and that they were a law-abiding, peaceful, though determined people.—Subsequent events showed that he was right, and that all the weight of outlawry and blood were with their enemies, as it always had been. An entirely new phase has come over the state of things. The demon of murder, blood-shed and crime, seems to be struggling to get out of the ranks of the enemy and enter ours—to enter this paradise to poison the foundations that underlie the reputation of the Free State party, of staining the flag of freedom, blackening our character, and undermining our cause. In God's name, let it be driven out, and keep our banner unstained. Let us preserve our reputation, and maintain the tower of strength in which we have so far maintained our position. We have suffered wrongs unparalleled and unknown to any people since the days of the Revolution; your rights have been trampled upon, your Territory invaded, your ballot-box rifled, robbed of those privileges which constitute the life of a republic. Outrage upon outrage followed quick upon each other, and you have been wronged until your wrongs have become the theme of the fireside the newspaper and the legislature of this country. Throughout the States the tale of your wrongs goes upon every breeze. All these things have happened among you until you have been provoked almost beyond endurance. The blood of your brothers have cried from the soil for vengeance. Invaders have been brought here, ready, with arms in their hands to destroy your property, yourselves, and all you hold dear, and for the destruction of this entire community. Your good sense, prudence, and bravery, averted the blow. Your sufferings have brought you much good, in sympathy, emigration,

material aid, and other ways, and there is no outrage which these invaders can perpetrate upon you, which will not return to you ten-fold, like seed sown in good soil. Shall all this be periled? Shall the sympathies of good, true, order-loving men, now rallying by thousands and tens of thousands in the Northern States for your benefit be cast away? Shall we take away from them the arguments with which they have moved the masses of the people—the entire population of the States—for our relief, and strike out of their hands the very weapons they are using for our cause, and give them to our enemies to be used against us? Are we so tired of success—so tired of our reputation as a peaceful, law-abiding people that we should depreciate our character and defeat the object we have in view? It would be worse than madness, after having enjoyed for months the fruits of such a reputation, to exchange it for that of rowdiness, assassination, and the paltry, miserable satisfaction of sending a man who has injured us to his last account with all his sins upon his head. It is useless, to ask those questions here. All must be satisfied, since this untoward event has taken place, that the entire sentiment of the community denounces and condemns it. The community has too high a regard for its own reputation, for justice, awe, and for the safety of their town, and for the final success of the great and glorious cause in which they are engaged, to peril all for such a poor gratification such an event as last night can afford to an evil-minded man. Such a course can receive no sympathy from this people, and they will out themselves off from all responsibility of the deed.

The door of the deed may have been a citizen of this town, or he may not. He may have done it from political motives or personal enmity. However that may be, it is still an assassination. I am not here to justify Mr. Jones or his course during the past Winter, when, by his ill will towards the people here, his alleged misrepresentations to Gov. Shannon, he brought upon you a free likely to destroy you. I am not here to justify the motives that induced him to come here on Saturday, and of doing what he did on Sunday last, of bringing yesterday those United States troops here, and his arrest of your citizens. I condemn as harshly as any other man in this meeting all his proceedings, from first to last. Yet I feel revolted and shocked at the event of last night, and deem that the perpetrator of that assassination is deserving of punishment. I do not hold that any man should consider that he had a right to roam about this community and take the life of any one secretly and by assassination, whom he deems to have improperly taken from him any of his rights and privileges. If such a state of society is brought about here, we may as well leave the country, for we would soon be in a state of barbarism which would render this Territory a vast plain of anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed. If the man who committed this deed supposed he could so redress political wrongs, he did not understand his obligations to society, to the Free State party; he did not know the creed of his own party, the position they have taken before the people of the United States, the broad and solid foundation upon which it has maintained itself up to this time. Last September the Free State party of this Territory took a position which exists now unaltered and unmodified. In the report and resolutions they adopted, lines distinct and unmistakable in some resolutions which I will read. [He then read some resolutions adopted by the convention of September last at Big Springs]. Such was the doctrine set forth by the Free State party, that they would never submit to the laws of the Territory as a permanent institution, but would set themselves about obtaining remedies for the purpose of getting rid of them, that the ballot-box and the Courts, and all peaceful remedies should be resorted to, and after those remedies had been exhausted, and they had no choice but to sit down under these laws permanently, or resist them by force they would resist them without regard to consequences. The people of this town have

Lynchburg Virginian.

Monday Morning,.....May 12, 1856.

FOR PRESIDENT.
MILLARD FILLMORE,
OF NEW YORK.
FOR VICE PRESIDENT.
ANDREW J. DONELSON,
OF TENNESSEE.

The Staunton Convention.

The transactions of the American Convention at Staunton will, we doubt not, be accepted, in the main, as satisfactory to the friends of Mr. Fillmore in Virginia—Whigs as well as Americans. The occasion seems to have drawn together a very respectable concourse of intelligent and excellent citizens, whose proceedings have all the more weight with us from the fact that they seem to have been very little controlled or participated in by professional politicians.—We take the composition of the body to be an indication of the sort of support Mr. Fillmore will receive throughout the Union—not that of old party hacks or brawling demagogues, not ultraists and agitators, nor mercenary spoilsmen nor unprincipled changelings,—but the staid, sober, thinking, conservative body of the people, who love the Union and the constitution, and whose highest political ambition is to contribute towards the preservation of both. We need scarcely say that the Staunton convention in the harmony, dignity and good sense that characterized its sessions stands in honorable contrast with the disorderly and turbulent conclave which assembled in Richmond a few weeks ago, under the auspices of the Democracy. The resolutions, with one exception, command our hearty assent. We regret seriously that the convention admitted, by implication, that the Kansas bill embraced an assertion of the odious principle of squatter sovereignty. The admission was not only not warranted by fact, but was on many accounts most injudicious and impolitic. If squatter sovereignty is established by the Kansas bill, then squatter sovereignty is constitutional, because the Kansas bill is expressly made "subject to the provisions of the constitution." Unless it can be shown that this doctrine, properly characterized by Southern Democrats to be "as odious in practice and as indefensible in principle as the Wilmot proviso," is in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, it is an egregious and fatal blunder to admit that it is contained in the Kansas bill. For the effect of such admission is to acknowledge the right of the Yankees and foreigners, who are rushing to Kansas, to put this grant of the Kansas law into execution, by at once proceeding to legislate the South out of Kansas. These are necessary results of the admission that the Kansas bill countenances the heresy of squatter sovereignty. We confess our surprise that the intelligent gentlemen who met at Staunton could have come to such conclusions. For our part, we do not hesitate to say that if we had construed the Kansas bill as establishing squatter sovereignty, we should have opposed it as the most fatal legislation to the South that had ever been attempted in Congress. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, had it been doubly as unjust and wrong as it was, could never have reconciled us to the assertion of a doctrine so subversive of order, so destructive to equality, so skulkingly promotive of free soilism, so vile in theory and so monstrous in practice as squatter sovereignty. It is poor relief from the error of the admission to have protested against the incorporation of the principle as wrong—for that would not prevent its being law if it were there, nor would the abolitionists in profiting by the law regard the protest. The true

position for the South to take—the position of principle as well as of policy—is to deny that squatter sovereignty is sanctioned by the constitution, by the Kansas bill, by any usage or precedent of the government, by reason, right or necessity—that all these are against it, and that the South will never submit to its practical application, but will resist all and any such attempts "at every hazard and to the last extremity."—These strictures are made in no censorious or captious spirit, but with regret, and only as due to the position which this journal has uniformly maintained and will continue to maintain.

CHARLESTON

Monday Morning, May 12, 1856.

Kansas Meeting in Prince William's and adjoining Parishes.

Pursuant to notice, the citizens of Prince William's Parish and adjoining Parishes, met on the 26th April, at the Whippy Swamp Cross Roads, to unite with other citizens of the State in maintaining good order in Kansas, and sustaining the purity of the ballot box. The meeting was called to order by requesting Dr. J. W. WYMAN to act as Chairman, and Hon. A. L. EDWARDS as Secretary. It was then moved by Dr. POOSER, that a committee of three be appointed to prepare suitable resolutions for the occasion—the Chair appointed Messrs. W. J. GOODING, R. A. TAYLOR and Captain HENRY SMART, who retired and soon after reported the following preamble and resolutions:

In view of the high-handed measures adopted by aid emigrant societies of the North, to stain the purity of the ballot box in Kansas, and by this means destroying the very vitality of the Constitution, and subverting the fundamental principles of Republican Government, we, the citizens of Prince William's Parish, have thought proper and fit to assemble, and, with united strength, oppose all such lawless proceedings, and aid Kansas in prosecuting her political wishes, and ultimately framing her Constitution on the principles inculcated by Republicanism and by the spirit of the Nebraska bill. Equality of rights is vouchsafed by the Constitution, and as sacred as the instrument itself; and "eternal vigilance" is the watchword of South Carolina, whether the battle field for the issue be in her own border, or in Kansas. Be it, therefore,

1. Resolved, That we have beheld with no little mortification the very active part taken by the Free soil party, for the purpose of corrupting the moral and republican sentiments of the United States in relation to Kansas.

2. Resolved, That we deny the right of any party or combination to enforce such prescriptions as are detrimental to the welfare, prosperity and peace of our country; and, as such has been the case, we believe it incumbent upon us, as the aggrieved party, to subvert, if possible, the aim of such lawless proceedings.

3. Resolved, That we contemplate with pleasure the patriotic spirit which animated the people of Missouri, to aid their border friends in arresting the frantic career of Northern bigotry; and that we will not be behind any of our fellow citizens in lending our assistance to the friends of good order in Kansas.

4. Resolved, That a committee of six be appointed by the Chairman—three to receive funds, and three to receive the names of emigrants.

After being read, and previous to their adoption, the meeting was ably and eloquently addressed by Messrs. F. W. FICKLING, GEORGE P. ELLIOTT, LEROY YOUNG, Dr. POOSER, and Captain HENRY SMART. The resolutions were then put and unanimously adopted. Under the fourth resolution, the Chair appointed Hon. JOHN E. FRAMPTON, Messrs. B. MCBRIDE and GEORGE P. ELLIOTT, a committee to receive subscriptions; and Messrs. R. A. TAYLOR, JOHN MARTIN, and Hon. JAMES E. DELOACH, as a committee to receive and report the names of emigrants.

Before the meeting adjourned, a letter was received from the Hon. J. E. DELOACH, approving the object of the meeting. The Committee were then instructed to meet at this place on the 4th day of July, and report progress. It was then

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Charleston Mercury and Standard.

The meeting then adjourned.
J. W. WYMAN, Chairman.
A. L. EDWARDS, Secretary.

been going on quietly, refusing to recognize the Territorial authorities, avoiding conflict with the authorities of the United States, which must be destructive, thus keeping precisely in the right path, and in a position where your friends at home and abroad could defend and justify you. The courts have been sought, and I am sorry to say, that little hope of redress is to be found there. The sheriffs of the counties are partisans, carefully selected for their work, and they select the Jurors who are partisans. The conduct of any of these Judges, and the lengths they are disposed to go for the purpose of pleasing their own friends needs no comment from me. You all know what took place in the case of McCrea. Thus has been demonstrated that the courts of this Territory are a hopeless place in which to obtain anything like law or justice. We have appealed to another tribunal, the ballot-box, and have gone to the assembled representatives of the nation. You sent me there as your representative, to go to the bar of that great tribunal, and there, in the face of the entire nation, to ask for that justice we could not obtain from any other tribunal, and which we have declared we are as yet unwilling to take into our own hands. That appeal is yet pending, is untried, and upon it there has been no decision. A committee of the representatives of the nation is now among you, upon the very spot where these outrages have been perpetrated. They can examine the fortifications erected here in the dead of Winter for the defence of your rights. They can go where your ballot boxes have been rifled and your polls invaded, to the very spots stained by the blood of your friends, murdered upon the altar of Slavery. They can go through your entire Territory, and hear your complaints, and report the facts to the Representatives of the Nation, where justice must be done. In the midst of this progress, where everything was going on smoothly, peaceably and satisfactorily, and all good citizens were congratulating themselves upon the successful progress of this appeal, the hand of some malicious, insane, evil-disposed individual undertakes to throw down this superstructure we have so carefully built up, and mar our entire prospects by this unjustifiable and atrocious act. If the man who struck that blow did it to help our cause, he must have been blind and insane in his reasonings, and ignorant of the very first idea of the position and character of the Free State cause. He must bear the consequences of his deed. I have no sympathy with one who would trifle with the lives and property of the people here. We are not bound to let any man, no matter what may be the cause of his actions, so act as to mar the prospects of future success. We have two alternatives presented to us— which we cannot evade if we would—that of stabbing our own cause, destroying our own prospects, and doing violence to our own opinions, or, on the other hand, denouncing the author of this act. I am happy to find such entire expression of opinion in this community.

I expected it to some extent, but I am surprised, agreeably so, to find how unanimously outspoken and sincere is the denunciation of this act. If I knew the man, I would name him here now. I should consider it a sacred duty which I owed to each man of you, and to the cause in which we are engaged, to the cause of justice and honor, to name that man before the whole community, and let him take the consequences of this ill advised and self advised act upon his own head. What you will do in relation to this matter is not for me to dictate. This meeting must decide for themselves. I thank you for the distinction you have conferred upon me in calling upon me to preside over this meeting. I am pleased that so large and respectable an assemblage have taken this matter into consideration, and feel that there can be no risk in committing this subject into your hands.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

LAWRENCE, K. T., May 7, 1856.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

The William Campbell arrived at the Levee at Kansas City on Monday evening, at 8 o'clock. The wharf presented a bustling and commercial appearance. Every foot of it that was not covered with barrels, engines and other freight, was occupied by men. I landed and immediately started by the "People's Line," for Lawrence, intending to walk all night, and attend the forenoon session of the Congressional Investigating committee. As I knew the road intimately, and it was a starlit night, I expected to be able to accomplish the journey.

"A HARD ROAD TO TRAOEL."

But before I reached Westport, I began to doubt the probability of arriving at Lawrence so early. I had to wade through a swollen stream and walk through a lake of mud, from one to two feet in depth. After passing through Westport, the road continued to get worse—increasing in depth and *boot-jackishness*—until at last it became necessary to pull the straps of my boots every time that I wanted to lift my feet, in order to avoid the disagreeable task of walking in my socks. Four to eight miles of this exercise exhausted me. I reached the Baptist chapel—two miles from the Shawnee Mission—and as it was too late to rap the people up there, walked into the chapel and lay down on a seat. CONSCIENTIOUS SCRUPLES.

I have seen people sleep in church, to all outward appearance, with uncommon comfort; but I could not do so. Like Gen. Cass, when an important debate in the Senate was prolonged till Sunday morning, I had religious or conscientious scruples against engaging in such a profanity. It was so cold too, that it was impossible to sleep, even if I could have overcome my educational scruples. I lay there for an hour or two shivering, and perhaps praying, and perhaps not. I mention this as a fact, not as a probable cause of my wakefulness. Of course not.

I RESUME THE JOURNEY.

At daybreak I resumed my journey. Instead of the shrill piping of frogs, the howl of prairie wolves and lowing of oxen, all which constitute the nocturnal music of the Kansas wilderness, innumerable birds "enlivened the air"—see Laura Matilda—with their "cheery sunny carols"—see ditto—while the blossoms of the shrubbery, the beautiful wild flowers along the roadside and the immense expanse of verdure, whose only boundary was the horizon, were equally grateful to the eye. Every sense was gratified by the perfume of the blossoms, the beauty of the landscape, the music of the woods and the mildness of the temperature.

But the roads were nearly as bad as before. Before I reached the Shawnee Tavern—ten miles from Lawrence—I had to walk through miles of deep mud and wade through, at least, a dozen streams. With my pantaloons inside of my boots, I sometimes succeeded in crossing without discomfort; but several streams were so deep that the water came over the tops of them. Disrobing was not to be thought of. I think I ventured to suggest, in my last communication, that objections may be urged against cold molasses. The same reason applies to crossing streams with dry garments. It's too slow.

When I reached the Shawnee Tavern I ordered dinner: it was three o'clock and I immediately retired. I awoke next morning. You may infer that I was rather tired when I arrived at the tavern.

I entered Lawrence this forenoon.

To-morrow I shall begin my independent investigations. In the meantime, I send you the news of the day.

LAWRENCE GOSSIP—JONES' RECOVERY.

Mr. Jones, who was appointed by the Barons of Kansas, Sheriff of Douglas County, is not dead, nor in a dying condition. He is rapidly recovering. The people here are on the track of the cowardly assassin. He is supposed to be a man, a personal enemy of Jones, a pro-Slavery Squatter, who has frequently of late been heard to threaten his life.

The attempt of the St. Louis Republican and its border echoes to lay this cowardly act at the door of the Free State party, has excited great indignation here. Two days before I left St. Louis, a man was murdered there. What would the Republican have said, if the New York Tribune had charged that murder on the pro-slavery party of Missouri? Yet such a charge would have been as just as the Republican's characteristic accusation of the Free State men of Lawrence. Did the Democratic party of New York murder Bill Poole? He was a prominent member of the Know Nothing party as Jones is of the pro-slavery faction, yet who ever thought of charging the unterrified with his death? Thank God, villainy is its own punishment!

THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

The Congressional Committee went to Topeka yesterday; they will return to-morrow. I will send you their evidence as soon as they return. The evidence is appalling.

HIGH TREASON AND WAR.

A messenger from Tecumseh has just arrived with the news that indictments of High Treason have been found against Reeder, Robinson, Roberts, Lane, Deitzler, and other prominent free State men. As Sir Charles Coldstream remarked, "There's going to be a row here."

The Atchison forces are marshalling in the border counties. Secret handbills are in course of circulation in Platte, Clay, Jackson and Buchanan counties. This news was brought here to-day, by a slaveholder of Missouri, who, although a Douglas Democrat, is opposed to the iniquitous course of Atchison and the administration. He told the Free State men to prepare for defence, without a moment's delay. They are prepared. There is a guard out to-night.

This morning a special messenger brought the following note from a prominent Free State citizen, of Leavenworth:

"LEAVENWORTH, May 6.

To Governor Robinson: It is believed by the Friends that it is necessary for you to look out. Pro-slavery men are organizing at Atchison."

A gentleman from Wyandott brought a similar notice from Friends in Missouri.

Over one hundred young men from South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia, all armed to the teeth with pistols, Sharpe's rifles and Bibles, encamped on Silver Creek, 15 miles from Lawrence, last night, and are now within a few miles of this city.

It is said they intend to take Lawrence by surprise. I shall be surprised if they do!

In haste,

Y.

LAWRENCE, May 7, 1856.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

Judge Lecompton has summoned Reeder to attend the grand jury, sitting at Lecompton, as a witness. Reeder refuses to attend on the ground that his life would not be safe at Lecompton, but offered to go provided they would insure his protection; at the same time he plead his privilege as a Congressman, to exempt him from being forced to attend. The majority of the Congressional investigating committee sustain him in his refusal, Oliver dissented. A warrant for Reeder's arrest has been issued, and he told the Deputy Marshal to arrest him at his peril. Troops are expected here to-morrow to assist in making the arrest. The free State men look upon this as an attempt to break up the proceedings of the investigating committee which is proving the frauds of the regulators, and makes them extremely uneasy.—

Whitfield was absent yesterday. There is very great excitement on both sides, and a collision is anticipated between the "Squatters" and the "Regulators." "Y."

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat.

LAWRENCE, May 8th, 1856.

The Investigating Committee have returned from Topeka. I am informed that the free State men have witnesses who will prove that Mr. Oliver, the member from the 4th District in Missouri, and one of the Investigating Committee now in Kansas, was in company with the men who invaded Kansas on the 30th March, 1855, and made several inflammatory speeches to the mob. Did you ever!

Reeder was summoned to-day to go before the Grand Jury at Lecompton as a witness. He refused to go. Now comes the tag of war.

The story about the free State men selling their Sharpe's Rifles at Independence for provisions is said to be a gross fabrication. V

THE DAILY SENTINEL.

RUFUS KING & WM. H. WATSON, PROPRIETORS,

Under the Name and Firm of Rufus King & Co.

MILWAUKEE:

Tuesday Morning, May 13.

FROM KANSAS.

Correspondence of the Sentinel.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, April 23, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS—The ball has commenced to roll. The Government troops have to-day, at the command of the President, invaded our town, for the purpose of imposing upon a free people, laws which they never enacted, and against which they have continually protested. At this moment, 10 o'clock, p. m., the Sheriff of the bogus Legislature for this County of Douglas, has been shot within ten feet of where I am writing. The crisis is approaching, and who shall be held responsible for the consequences!

On Saturday and Sunday last, Jones, the Sheriff, attempted to make arrests in this town, on a charge of rescue in the Branson case last winter; also on Sunday, of some who were charged with rescuing S. N. Wood from the Sheriff on Saturday. Both efforts were unsuccessful. Gov. Shannon then telegraphed the President for a file of soldiers, and Col. Sumner, commanding at Fort Leavenworth, was ordered, in return, by the President, to place a file of soldiers under the command of Jones in order to make the arrests.

This afternoon, as was anticipated from information received, he made his appearance, with a Lieutenant and six men, in our streets, and commenced making arrests. Most of those most obnoxious, embracing all in town who were concerned in rescuing Branson last fall, were careful to be out of the way, as all of our people, without exception as far as I know, were determined to submit to the General Government, and to be arrested if the attempt was made, although they would resist the Sheriff alone to the death. If the General Government recognised the validity of those laws and took upon itself to enforce them, they would submit to it, but to the Territorial, never. Jones made five arrests this afternoon, all of them of those who on Saturday and Sunday either resisted him in his attempt to make arrests, or who did not assist when he called upon them, in a general way, in the name of the commonwealth, to do so. No opposition was made to the arrests to-day, and everything went on quietly and peaceably, with the exception of some half smothered curses against our oppressors, from the Territorial Legislature and their agent Jones, down to President Pierce.

The arrests were completed, so far as made, about 9 o'clock, and then, as if to bully and outrage our people as much as possible, and apparently as an invitation to them to rescue the prisoners, they were quartered in a small house in the centre of our principal street. It was the unanimous expression of our principal men, so far as I heard and knew it, and their effort in the streets and elsewhere, both before and after the arrests, that the law, as enforced by the authority of the President, should be permitted quietly and peaceably to take its course, as without doubt, the effect abroad would be far more favorable to our cause than violent opposition or violence of any kind committed in connection with this matter.

I was in the street after 9 o'clock this evening, as well as before, and all was quiet, or, at least, all appeared so, except that there were some dozen men and boys around the windows in the front of the house where the prisoners were confined. I stopped among them for a few minutes but heard nothing indicating an intention to commit any violence. They were generally perpetrating jokes at the expense of the prisoners inside or of the soldiers outside. Occasionally some harsh remark or threat would be heard in reference to Jones.

I came into my house a few minutes before 10 o'clock, and sat down to write. My house is almost immediately behind the one in which the prisoners are confined, and in the rear of that house and within a few feet of mine, the two tents of the soldiers are pitched. Jones was in the one immediately opposite the window where I am writing. After I came in there were three pistol shots fired very near my house with several minutes interval between them, but as firing guns in our streets is a very common occurrence day and night, no particular thought was bestowed upon it until the last one, upon which there were two or three exclamations of pain as from a person shot, and the exclamation from others that Jones was shot. I went out and found that he was lying in the tent, resting on one elbow, perfectly conscious, but with his lower limbs senseless and immovable. Examination showed that the ball entered the small of the back and passed through, as I have casually learned: It is pronounced by the surgeons in attendance a very bad, but probably not a fatal wound. He was shot through the cloth of the tent from the outside.

This, in the present state of things, is a very unfortunate circumstance, for although our citizens, or our people, cannot, justly, be held responsible for the act, still it will be made use of to our prejudice and to the injury of our cause.— Jones has many violent personal enemies, as he has been personally, and otherwise, active in driving several from their claims, and has made himself personally obnoxious in other ways—and personal threats against him—not against his life that I know of—have been frequently made.— The act was a cowardly assassination, and a public meeting of our citizens will be held to-morrow to disavow the act, and to pledge themselves to use their efforts to discover its author and deliver him up to justice.

Some of the dragoons present left immediately in the direction of Fort Leavenworth, and probably to-morrow will bring with it more foreign means of enforcing our own laws upon us! Beautiful consistency. When before in the history of this government has such a proceeding been had? Where have the laws of a State or Territory been so obnoxious to its own people—to those whose legally elected representatives have made them, as is claimed by our opponents, that the foreign power has been called in to requisition to enforce them? What a commentary upon this assumption! But the day of reckoning must come, and woe to the guilty ones.

The Congressional Investigating Committee commenced its labors in this place this afternoon. No evidence was taken, the time being consumed in settling the course of proceeding. The connected seat of Congressional Delegates will be first disposed of. Gov. Reeder conducts his own case; Gen. Whitfield's is conducted by General _____, of Ga.—I do not, at this moment, recall the name! Witnesses will be summoned, at Reeder's suggestion, from Missouri, among whom will be some of the principal men of the State who were here at the election of the 30th of March last.

The persons arrested to-day are John Hutchinson, one of the Free State members of the Legislature, expelled by the "border ruffians," last summer; Mr. Warren, of Leavenworth, who fled from that place for his life last winter, and was a prisoner in the enemy's camp during the siege of Lawrence; Rev. Mr. Fuller, and Messrs. Lyman and Smith.

24th—A. M.—Jones is alive, but he can live but a short time longer. I.

THE REPUBLICAN FIGHT FOR SLAVERY IN KANSAS.—If Kansas is not a slave State, it will not be the fault of the Republicans of these Northern States, for they have done all in their power to make it so, and still do all they can, still hope almost against hope, that it may yet become so.—*News, of Sunday.*

If the *News* and its tribe really believe this very probable story, they have a capital chance to spite the Republicans and save Kansas to Freedom, after all. Kansas is now applying for admission into the Union with a *Free State Constitution*. If the application is favorably received by Congress, the fight is over, and all danger of Kansas becoming a Slave State is at an end. The Republicans in Congress will vote to admit Kansas now, as a Free State. Let the *News* call on the Democrats in Congress to do likewise, and if they heed its call, the whole question will be settled in a trice.

Detroit Evening Tribune.

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 13, 1856.

THEY CAN'T GO NEBRASKA.—There are quite a number of Democratic papers in the State that in general politics do not servilely copy after the *Free Press*. It may sustain Border Ruffianism but they will not. It may favor the nomination of Pierce or Douglas but they will, at least, not be silent.— They do not object so much to the men as to the infamous measures with which they are allied.— Here is what the *Monroe Commercial* has to say upon this point:

"There is no use of attempting to disguise the public opinion of Michigan. It is decidedly for Mr. Buchanan as the democratic candidate for the Presidency. Mr. Buchanan as the candidate will receive the support of hundreds of conservative national men who have not, heretofore acted with the democratic party, and the hundreds who left the ranks when the Kansas Nebraska act was forced upon the country will return to the party with him as the standard bearer. This they will not do if either Pierce or Douglas is nominated. It matters not whether the prejudice against them is well founded or not. It exists, and will exist at least until Kansas becomes a free State.

And this is what the *Ann Arbor Argus* says on the same point:

"As to President Pierce or Senator Douglas it is useless to disguise the fact that the nomination of either would prove an unfortunate nomination for the Democracy of Michigan. We have no charges to bring against President Pierce, but certain it is that he has been unfortunate; and that however successfully the future may vindicate his administration it would be folly for the Democracy to nominate him for a second term. This much the entire Democracy of the State and Northwest must admit.

Douglas is still more objectionable to the Democracy of Michigan. The Democrats of this State have not forgotten that he is responsible for the defeat of Gen. Cass in the convention of '52, and of course feel little disposition to aid him in

the convention of '56. It was in his power to have given Gen. Cass the nomination at the last Baltimore convention, and obstinately refusing to do so, of course he can make no claims upon the Democracy of Michigan. There are other objections to him but this so effectually disposes of any pretensions that may be put forward in his behalf, that it is unnecessary to state them.

DAILY HERALD.

A. HARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDETOT.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Tuesday Evening, May 13, 1856.

Plymouth Colony.

This project of forming a Colony in Cuyahoga County, for the purpose of locating in Kansas, is not a speculating scheme. It is proposed, to make it a mutual joint-stock association, with a Constitution and By-Laws for its government, democratic in its character, resembling free-church government, or like the family circle in its government, all working together for the mutual good of a common cause. It proposes to commence from the very beginning with religious and educational institutions, incorporating them into the working plan of the association, as essential ingredients of its constitution.

The great want that exists and will exist in Kansas for some time to come, is a religious tone and character. The tide of emigration which is pouring into Kansas, necessarily keeps the public mind and society in general, in an unsettled state, unfavorable to the cultivation and continuance of that moral tone, which is peculiar to a more established and tranquil state of society. Thus, there is a great and glorious work to be done in Kansas, by religious teachers, both clerical and laical.

How many are there in this community who "come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty" host of oppressors? O, ought not the cry rather to be, "who will not put his hand to the plow in this glorious work?" Can there be one in this city who considers it a dishonor to espouse the cause of the oppressed against their oppressors?

Every blow that is struck in Kansas for the right, tells for the interests of our whole country. Every man that we send to Kansas, will return to Ohio four-fold, in a commercial as well as moral point of view. Let the onward progress of Slavery propagandism be stopped, by the admission of Kansas into the Union as a Free State, and enough will be saved to the Public Treasury, to arm and equip and settle the whole Territory of Kansas with "live Yankees." "An ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure." Why cannot we take a realizing sense of the plain teaching of this old proverb, and bring it to bear practically, upon this case of "Slavery vs. Freedom"? The time *must* and *will* come, in the providence of God, when this curse of Slavery shall cease to exist in our land and the world. And the "signs of the times" indicate to us that this period is not far distant in the future.

Do you doubt it? Compare the public opinion of the present age with that of ten or twenty years ago, on this subject. See you no difference in the aspect of Slavery as viewed from these two stand-points? See you not the future, foreshadowed by the past? It takes not the vision of a prophet to foresee the speedy downfall of Slavery and oppression in our land and the world.

"Then let us pray, that come it may,
As come it will for a' that;
That Right and Law—the bonnie twa,
May bear the palm for a' that!
For a' that, and a' that;
It's coming yet for a' that;
We've got the Right, and Right is Might,
And Might is Law, for a' that!"

Interesting fro u Kansas.—Proceedings of the investigating Committee.

The New York Times of yesterday morning contains about four columns of closely printed matter, embodying the first three days' evidence taken before the Congressional Committee now engaged in pursuing its investigation at Lawrence. The Times, it appears, sent its own reporter along with the committee, and the evidence as reported verbatim is the same which the committee will submit to congress as the result of their labors.

The programme is to first take evidence on the election frauds and then on the invasion of December. But it has already happened that the examination has drawn out evidence on both matters in connection. The testimony thus far has been introduced by Gov. REEDER, who personally examined the witnesses. Gen. WHITFIELD is in attendance but has secured the legal assistance of Col. Woodson of Independence. This gentleman, it must be remembered, is himself a "border ruffian," and sent into the territory the cannon brought with the invading force in December last. He is a man of shrewdness and energy, and his influence has been great in stimulating the excitement in Jackson county. His brother-in-law, it is said, (living also in Jackson county) was one of the judges of election manufactured for the Seventh Kansas District, by the invading voters on the 30th of March, 1855. It will readily be supposed that he remits no effort to obtain the testimony as fair as possible for the Atchison party.

The correspondent of the Times says: Touching the late political troubles in Kansas, of which our readers have been fully advised, the correspondent regrets to say that they are ominous of serious danger. Contrary to all expectation on the part of the real friends of law and order, the enemy will not consent that the presence of the congressional committee shall procure the people an armistice. On the contrary, with an audacity and depravity un-conjectured, they have seized the opportunity to commence a new system of persecution, which bids fair to produce the reality of that civil war which they have so long seemed to court. The plot now seems to be, to use the so-called territorial authority, tyrannical as are the laws, and filled as are the offices with the unscrupulous tools of the slaveocracy, for the purpose of worrying out the last remnants of patience on the part of free state men, and absolutely driving them to the extremity of forcible resistance. And the issue is now darkened with the shadow of the federal authority; for the United States troops have been placed by the President at the disposal of SHANNON, and resistance to the bogus sheriff of Douglass county, has now become literally resistance to the general government. So much for the SEFFERANCE, thus long, of this gigantic wrong of a tyrannical government, founded on a now proven monstrous fraud; a sefferance rendered ten-fold worse in its effect, through the shameless complicity of a corrupt President and his subservient appointees. And how much longer will congress permit this thing to last, and suffer the sacred name of law to sanction outrages which would disgrace the veriest despotism of the Old World?

The Division of the Missouri Democracy.

Earnest efforts were made on the recent simultaneous occurrence of separate State Conventions to bring about a reunion of the two sections of the democratic party in Missouri. But it thoroughly failed, and the variance now seems wider than ever. The basis of union proposed was acquiescence in the Kansas-Nebraska bill

as a finality on the slavery question, and denunciation alike of republican and know nothingism; but the convention of the Benton democracy refused to accept it. The Atchison convention was the most numerous attended, and recommended Gen. PIERCE for re-election. Of the prevailing sentiment in the Benton convention, the speech of FRANCIS P. BLAIR, JR., of St. Louis, one of the delegates, is a fair exemplification. He said:

There were other questions of far more importance to Missouri than Nebraska or anti-Nebraska, or know nothingism and anti-know nothingism. As to the endorsement of the Nebraska bill, what good would that accomplish? Resolutions were adopted by the Baltimore convention of 1852, and by the state convention also, of that year, which pledged acquiescence in the then existing adjustment of the slavery issue as a "finality." The democracy of the Union and the state had pledged themselves to stand by the compromise of 1850, and discountenance a renewal of slavery agitation, in or out of Congress. Did they do it? Did they keep their solemn pledges? No. Scarcely had they made their pledges before they re-opened, by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the agitation of slavery. In view of these facts, why attempt the same old game? Why talk about finalities? It was quackery, nothing but quackery and folly. And instead of praising and glorifying the slavery agitators, and the author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, it becomes the democracy rather to indignantly censure, and call to account those who had betrayed their faith, and forsworn their promises. We should call on Frank Pierce to blot out the perjury from his soul—should speak the language of indignation against those who had violated their oaths, and brought the country to the brink of civil war. The attempt to plaster over their perfidy, was all quackery. Suppose we elect to office now, on the Nebraska finality, men who pledged themselves four years ago to resist slavery agitation, and had broken their pledge, how long would they stand on this last finality? Let us pay no premium to Pierce or Douglas and their co-workers for their treachery, let us sing no psalms over their perjury. I have no confidence in such men. If one of them is nominated by the Cincinnati convention, so help me God, he can't get my vote.

Mr. BLAIR spoke bitterly against the "regulators" and "border ruffians," and his speech is reported to have elicited frequent applause from a very large audience. The conventions were held at Jefferson City, the capital of the state. There is clearly a healthy leaven at work in Missouri. Her slaveholders are in no position to carry on an aggressive campaign upon free territories. They need all their resources to maintain their existence at home.

Both the rival conventions appointed delegates to the national convention at Cincinnati, and nominated separate electoral tickets for President and Vice-President. It is not probable that both will agree to support what is done at Cincinnati, however.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 13, 1856.

SLIDING, NOT SLIDING.

The mawkish attempts of the Southern press and pulpit, to give a sanctimonious aspect to the effort to colonize Kansas, temporarily, with slaveholders, has not failed to disgust sensible and honest men everywhere. Maj. Buford organized a band of three hundred reckless young men, to go out for a summer raid into Kansas. The account of the contributions for rifles, for the New Haven company of emigrants had reached Alabama, accompanied by the raucous comments of the dough-face northern press. With a determination to parodize that expression of New England zeal and grit, the company under command of Maj. Buford was marched to the Baptist Church, and the pastor presented to each member a Bible, which was metaphorically to be their defence against the Sharpe's rifles carried by the Yankees. This farce was no doubt

liked by the dough-face allies of slavery in the North; but it could not but have been regarded as a transparent cheat from the start, made more gross after the arrival of the band upon the Free Soil of Kansas. A correspondent of the Chicago Press writes that at Kansas City, a formal reception was given them in behalf of the Border Ruffians, and the two parties, united in a grand frolic, showed a "spirit" which was not of the Bible exactly. Maj. Buford made a speech, in which he aired his patriotism, his pluck and his Bible, and manifested that he was somewhat inebriated. The correspondent writes further:

To make his words more impressive while uttering them, he took from his pocket a veritable Bible, and held it up proudly before his auditors. The Border Ruffians gave three cheers for the Bible, three cheers for the Major and his party, and three groans for the Abolitionists; and then all hands dispersed to "liquor." An incalculable amount of whisky was drank on the occasion, and not a few of these Bible-loving pilgrims got most overwhelmingly drunk.

A great majority of this company are young men. It would seem that most of them are reckless adventurers, ripe for anything with excitement and danger in it—men who were moved to join the expedition by the same reason that influences verdant youths all the world over to yield to the soft persuasions of a recruiting sergeant. Many of these young men, before they reached the Territory, had spent their last dime. One of the company—a father, with apparently good principles—was mourning that his son, before he could interfere to save him, had lost all his money at the card-table. It was sad to see how depraved some of these youths just entering on the threshold of active life, had become. Stepping into the bar-room of the hotel, for a few moments, a friend of mine heard several of them, whose purses had been exhausted, begging the bar-keeper for liquor, and, failing to obtain the article by that means, they tried to operate on the sympathies of their Missouri friends, and plead with them, "for God's sake," to give them money enough for one dram.

The whole town was in a state of disgraceful uproar during the few hours these Southerners remained. Some of these volunteers expressed themselves as greatly dissatisfied with the whole scheme of Maj. Buford. They were sorry they had enlisted, pretty clearly insinuated that they had been "taken in," and wished themselves well out of the scrape. One of them declared that he would give \$1,000 willingly if he had never joined the party.

The Courant.

HARTFORD: TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 13, 1856.

Connecticut Kansas Colony.

LAWRENCE, Kansas Territory, }
April 19th, 1856.

Mr. Editor:—Our party arrived here after three or four days and nights of successive traveling and encamping, and have been encamped here several days awaiting the report of the pioneer party. That party met us last evening and reported a location sixty-five miles up the Kansas river. This morning we are busy in getting our teams under way, most have already started and the remainder will soon be off. We shall drive fifteen miles to-day and encamp for the Sabbath at a place called Big Springs.

This place (Lawrence) is literally crammed full of people. Emigrants are coming in almost every hour. A company from Ohio of more than a hundred arrived last night. Several smaller parties have arrived and gone on their way since our arrival, and all free state men. The investigating committee reached here last evening and will make this their headquarters during the investigation. A meeting of welcome to the Connecticut and Ohio companies was held last evening in the new "Free State Hotel," and was addressed by Gov. Robinson, Ex-Gov. Reeder and Esquire Wood; responded to by Messrs. Lines and Perry.

Of all the immense immigration into the territory this spring, I have not seen a single Southerner.

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It was reported on our arrival at Kansas City that a hundred South Carolinians were expected on the "Polar Star" that evening.

The steamer arrived as was predicted, but instead of one hundred South Carolinians there were about twenty free state men from Illinois. But upon asking these Illinoisians of the whereabouts of the Southerners, we were informed that there were some on board when the boat left St. Louis, but that they all dropped off along the river in Missouri, and not one reached Kansas City.

While I write, an attempt was being made by Sheriff Jones (pro-slavery) to arrest Mr. Wood, the gentleman alluded to above. He was one of the noble fifteen who rescued Branson from a lawless band of Missourians last fall at the time of Dow's murder.

The circumstances were that Branson was in company with Dow at the time of his murder, and was the only free state witness against the murderer. The border ruffians managed to obtain from the pro-slavery authorities in Kansas, certain papers, under the authority of which they proceeded to remove Branson out of the territory that his testimony might not be had in the above case. The Lawrence boys heard of this transaction, and fifteen rode to the rescue, and coming up with the party requested Branson to turn his horse towards Lawrence. The ruffians protested; and said if he did they would shoot him on the spot. Nothing daunted, however, he turned his horse back, the Lawrence boys surrounded him and escorted him triumphantly back to Lawrence. And now it is for this crime that an attempt was made to arrest Wood. Several are already under arrest, but Wood and some others of the party, left the territory last fall. Wood has been lecturing in Ohio (his native State) through the winter, and it was through his instrumentality that the company of one hundred from Ohio (which arrived last night,) was organized. Sheriff Jones is embracing this early opportunity to secure his victims; but the men of Lawrence, are again awake, and the watchword is "rescue." The Sheriff has hold of Wood, pulling one way and the Lawrence boys the other, and he seems to be having some rough handling. The free state boys are too resolute however for the Sheriff and his posse, and they have relinquished the attempt. What will grow out of this is difficult to determine; yet there is a feeling of desperation on the part of the pro-slavery men, and it is rumored that Jones will call on Gov. Shannon for the aid of the militia. But there is a determination and firmness manifest in the countenances of the men of Lawrence that will rebuke a larger force than was brought against this city last winter. Oh! it would do your free state heart good, to see the trenches and breast-works thrown up by these same men at the time of the invasion last winter, and hear them tell the days and nights they spent in them in momentary expectation of an attack, and how their blood boiled at the report of the murder of Barber, which happened at that time, and only a short distance from this place. I have been on the spot, and my indignation was aroused when I thought of his defenseless condition, going as he was from these trenches, just at night, to see to the wants of his family two miles distant, and falling into the hands of the enemy, with no weapon upon his person, was shot. I have seen one of the party which was engaged in this diabolical outrage, and the citizens here say that vengeance awaits him.

News has just reached here of another tragical affair which took place but an hour ago in the adjoining town, Franklin. The circumstances as related are as follows: Two men having taken adjoining claims, and having made some improvements upon them, finding that the government surveys conflicted to some extent with their previously recognized boundaries, an attempt was made to adjust the matter amicably, but failing in that, an altercation ensued, when one of the parties fired upon the other killing him instantly; then the guilty fled. An officer is in pursuit of the recreant. More anon. Yours, truly, E. M. W.

The Daily Spy.

TUESDAY, MAY 13, 1856.

KANSAS.—The renowned Major Buford of Alabama has reached Kansas with his pro-slavery emigrants. They were about 175 in number, and on arriving at Westport, Mo., met with a grand reception from the citizens, who presented to Major Buford a horse worth \$150, and a saddle that cost \$40, for his "services in behalf of slavery in Kansas." A correspondent of the Chicago Democrat says the members of the company were very fond of whiskey and card playing.

Boston Journal.

TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 13, 1856.

EVENING EDITION.

THE NEWS FROM KANSAS. The telegraph brings important news from Kansas. There has been a new outbreak of "squatter sovereignty," and a crisis in the affairs of the territory seems to be rapidly approaching. Governor Robinson has been detained by a mob of "gentlemen" at Lexington, Mo., who assumed that he was a fugitive from justice, and arrested him without the shadow of authority. Gov. Reeder, who was in attendance on the Congressional Commission, had been summoned to appear before the Grand Jury at Leocompton, the pro-slavery head quarters, but had declined, on the ground that he is privileged by his connection with the Kansas commission. It was expected that he would be *dragoned* into submission! Judge Leocompton, doubtless acting under instructions from the administration, has charged the grand jury to indict all the Free State officers and members of the Legislature for high treason. To crown the whole, and make confusion worse confounded, it is reported that an armed body of ruffians was on the way to Lawrence to destroy the evidence which had been taken before the Kansas Commission, and an attempt has actually been made to shoot one of the witnesses, a Newburyport man, who had given evidence against the border ruffians!

The state of affairs in Kansas may well excite the most earnest solicitude of the friends of peace and good order. The administration is carrying out with a high hand its policy of "subduing" the free State men, and it finds able and fitting coadjutors in the aptly styled "border ruffians." One would suppose that if the policy of moderation, forbearance and conciliation did not commend itself to the government as the most proper way to deal with the troubles in Kansas, a decent respect for the Congressional committee now in Lawrence, would have dictated a suspension of the efforts to *dragoon* the freemen of Kansas into submission to the laws of an odious Legislature. There was no necessity for sending Sheriff Jones to Lawrence just at this juncture, and there is not a lawyer above the class of third rates, whose judgment is not warped by admiration of the institution of slavery, who would pronounce any act of the free State Legislature treasonable. That body attempted to impose no laws upon the territory, and organized no government which would conflict with that established by Congress. The free State men doubtless made a mistake in acting under the constitution they had adopted, before it had been ratified by Congress, but in setting up the machinery of their self-instituted government they very wisely refrained from putting the machine in motion, or from attempting to subvert the government established by Congress. Then why should the administration be so eager to prosecute the work of subduing the free State men? Why not give Congress an opportunity to decide upon the justice of their complaints against those who have given laws to the territory?

Some of the evidence given before the Kansas Commission has found its way into print. So far as it goes it fully sustains the charge of invasion and illicit voting by Missourians. One of the witnesses, Jordan Davidson, confessed with much nonchalance that he came to Kansas last Spring from Missouri to vote, having understood that Governor Reeder had sent East for voters. Other inducements were to extend slavery in Kansas.

He said there was a secret society by the name of slavery in Kansas; society called by various names—"Social Band," "Friends' Society," "Blue Lodge," "Sons of the South," and others. He was a member of the society. There is no compulsion in it, said the witness, beyond law; we are to extend slavery into Kansas according to law; we have signs and pass-words by which we know each other; a man who belonged to the Order was not compelled to come into the Territory to vote. He was one of the judges at the election in Douglas, having been elected by the people on the ground at the time, but could not tell what had become of the papers relating to the election, of which he took charge. They had probably been destroyed.

Hammond Muzzy was at Douglas on the 30th of March at the election. He and Mr. Mace were forcibly dragged from the poll because they sought to put in a Free State vote. Saw Ellison (one of the Missouri invaders) come out of the cabin with the ballot box in his hand and cry out "Hurrah for Missouri!" Heard Jones (the sheriff) say he would give the Judges, Ramsey and Burson, both Free State men, five minutes to resign or die. They left and the crowd then commenced voting. Saw no Free State man vote.

Several witnesses testified to the fact of large bodies of Missourians coming over and voting in various precincts. They came, it would seem, some on horseback, some in wagons, and some in buggies, and many of them encamped in the neighborhood of the polls on the night previous.

This is a specimen of a large amount of evidence that has been given before the commission, fully sustaining the charges which have been brought against the Missourians, and we can scarcely wonder that the Border Ruffians are anxious to suppress the evidence of their lawless interference in the affairs of Kansas.

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, TUESDAY, MAY 13, 1856.

THE NEWS FROM KANSAS. The telegraph brings some very important news from Kansas. Border ruffianism seems intent on outdoing itself. The new outrages on the people of Kansas, planned at Washington, and executed by the aid of the United States troops at Fort Leavenworth, have stimulated the Missouri borderers to break loose again.

Gov. Robinson has been seized and detained by a Missouri mob, while going to St. Louis with his family; Gov. Reeder is to be seized by the border ruffians in Kansas, in order to withdraw him from the sessions of the Investigating Committee, where his presence is necessary; witnesses whose testimony is unfavorable to the ruffians, are way-laid by assassins; and finally, armed gangs of pro-slavery ruffians are planning to attack the Committee and destroy the record of its proceedings.

It appears that Judge Leocompton, acting of course under special instructions from Washington, has "charged the Grand Jury" to indict all the State officers and members of the Legislature, for "Treason." And this is "Squatter Sovereignty!" How much more can be endured from this infernal Slave Power!

THE KANSAS RESOLVES. The Kansas resolves passed the Senate this morning, with only two dissenting votes, Messrs. Brown and Leavitt of Hampden County.

Mr. Daniel Warren, (Fillmoreite) made some opposition to them at first, but finally caved in, not daring to vote against them. Now let the House speedily take them up and pass them.

Evening Advertiser.

TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 13, 1856.

Popular Sovereignty.

The Richmond, Va. Enquirer holds the following language in relation to what it pleases to denominate "Squatter Sovereignty."

"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 inurious distinctions are

different 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."

If by "Squatter Sovereignty" the Enquirer means "popular sovereignty," or the right of the people, in any state or territory, to mould and fashion their own institutions or form of government, provided it be republican, according to their own taste or fancy, or their own notions of right and expediency, we certainly hope, it will never be repudiated either in the Cincinnati or any other democratic platform. But we have certainly no objection to the express assertion of "State equality," unable as we are to perceive how the one can be justly regarded as antagonistic to the other. We know where it is the shoe pinches with our democratic friends in Virginia. They complain that "injurious and invidious distinctions are made between the people and the property of different sections in the Territories." Who is it, we ask, that makes distinctions? admitting, for a single instant, that they are made. Is it the federal constitution? No. Is it any enactment or law of Congress? No. Not even the Nebraska bill, or the organic law of Kansas and Nebraska territories, meddle or interfere with that question, in any way, whatever. A man may purchase a slave in Virginia; he cannot in Massachusetts; why? Does Congress forbid it? No. Does Congress authorize it? No. Congress does nothing about it, or if it does, it clearly transcends its constitutional powers. Virginia and Massachusetts are equal and independent states, and neither having surrendered to Congress any power or right to legislate in relation to this right of property, each state can manage this matter according to its own liking.

The great question with the Richmond Enquirer, we apprehend, is whether a slaveholder can carry his slave, into Kansas territory, and there continue to hold him as a slave, independent of territorial legislation. Northern democrats, many of them, have maintained the negative of this proposition, and Southern democrats, unless we have read their arguments amiss, have been divided upon the question. It is a question, however, which the mere politician should not discuss. It is a question, which, whenever it becomes one of practical importance, should be decided by an independent judiciary.

If, however, the Enquirer, is dissatisfied, and wishes for an immediate adjudication upon the question, or wishes Congress to interfere and settle it, by providing that slaves may be held in all the territories, what, we ask, would this be but a repeal of "the Nebraska bill," a condemnation of the great measure of the last Congress? That bill, or that law, provides that slavery shall not be legislated into or out of the territory; what is the legitimate effect of that provision? Do the South complain that slavery is not legislated into the territory? so do the North that it is legislated into it. Why is not the complaint of one as unreasonable as the complaint of the other.

It is charged that "Squatter Sovereignty is the most efficient agent of free-soilism." "THIS GUN MUST BE SPIKED," says the Enquirer, "MUST BE SPIKED." How? What can the Cincinnati convention do

to pass a resolution asserting absolute State equality? Really, we have no objections to a cartload of exactly such resolutions. More than that—we believe, and so does every democrat, North and South, that the States are now equal, and also that the territories should be equal also. Whether "Squatter Sovereignty," fairly carried out, shall be the means of creating free or slave states, is not a question for deliberation. Whether "Squatter Sovereignty" is, or is not, "the most efficient agent of free-soilism," depends entirely upon the will of the people, who are themselves the most interested in the settlement of the question. Whatever may be done to interfere with this right of the territories, whether it be to legislate slavery into or out of them, will be inconsistent with the acknowledged principles of national democracy—it will be taking a step backwards, and assuming the well known position of the black republicans that Congress has a right to interfere with the domestic institutions of the territories.

Daily Citizen and News.

Lowell, Tuesday, May 13, 1856.

For the Citizen and News.

To the Men of Kansas!

Stand firm, ye gallant Kansas men!
For Freedom's cause contend;
Strike for the right—the right is yours—
Your liberty defend!

Though Douglas, Cass and Pierce unite,
With hindish hoos, t'assail,
And Shannon, too, with ruffian band,
May for a time prevail!

O, fear not then, ye Kansas men,
The North comes to your aid,
Her gallant sons with gold she sends,
And rifles, powder, lead.

Ne'er let New England's free-born sons
Before proud tyrants flee;
Past—past is their insulting hour,
And Kansas shall be free!

Let not foul Slavery's bloody stain
Your Kansas-land disgrace;
Nor let the cursed lash be raised
O'er Africa's injured race.

Then, Freedom's blood-stained banner cleanse,
By Slavery long defiled,
The Stripes and Stars may, blending, wave,
Far o'er your Kansas-wilds. ELLA.

Lowell, May 5, 1856.

Newark Daily Mercury

TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 13, 1856.

A View of Slavery Extension from Judge McLean.

We have frequently expressed our preference for JUDGE MCLEAN as a candidate for the Presidency upon grounds which seemed perfectly satisfactory to us, and we publish in another column a letter from him written and published in 1847, and therefore of sufficient age to take away from it any suspicion of having been induced by the present position of the canvass. This article is limited (in the language of the *Pittsburg Gazette*.) to a constitutional consideration of the power of Congress over slavery in the territories and the existence of it in the States. It takes the ground that slavery exists only by virtue of the municipal law, of a State, and that it could no where exist except by law.

This being the case, it would follow that slaves taken into any place where slavery was not established by law, they could not be held as slaves. Any one on a moment's reflection will be convinced of the soundness of this conclusion. Without the local law, can a man be made property? In the Slave States the local sovereignty has made man property, which descends to heirs, and which may be sold on execution by creditors. No man is now so blind as not to see that this could not be where the law did not specially authorize it. Slavery then being limited to the range of the law where it is established, it cannot exist anywhere without the authority of law. This is demonstrated in the letter of Judge McLean, who also shows that Congress has no power to institute slavery, or in other words, to establish it. There would be no danger of any one taking slaves into free territory, where they are not property, and consequently cannot be sold on execution or otherwise, nor

descend to heirs. The law in a free territory makes no distinction as to personal rights, between a white man or a colored one. No one man can be subjected to the will of another, unless he is made subject to it by law.—Slavery in Kansas is there in violation of the Constitution, and without warrant of law, justice, or anything but the power and force of the Slave Power, which has subjugated that territory.

It must be observed that the view taken by Judge McLean places the question of slavery on constitutional ground, and settles it upon principles for which the north contends, whilst it does no injustice or violence to the South. This eminently conservative ground we are prepared to stand by, and we ask of our readers a careful perusal of the article.

The *New York Times* publishes, from its own reporter, the proceedings of the Investigating Committee sent into Kansas by the House of Representatives. The testimony develops many facts hitherto unknown, and the investigation promises to accomplish great good in putting the Kansas question in its true aspect before the country. The first witness examined before the Committee swore that he went into Kansas from Missouri to vote; that all who went from Missouri voted the pro-Slavery ticket; that the inducements held out for Missourians to vote in Kansas was that Slavery might be extended therein; that there are secret societies in Missouri, having as their object the extension of the "peculiar institution" into Kansas; that Missourians, if opposed in attempting to vote, were to swear in their votes anyhow; that the elections were officered by Missourians, who made out the returns, &c., &c. Another witness testified that 800 Missourians voted in Kansas on one day. Another testified that violence was used by the pro-slavery Missourians to prevent the Free State residents of Kansas from voting. Indeed, all the testimony thus far taken, goes to substantiate all that has been said as to the outrages of the Missourians, and proves conclusively that they, and not the people of Kansas, controlled the elections. As to the present difficulty in the territory, the correspondent of the *Times* says that the present plot of the pro-Slavery gang seems to be, to use the so-called Territorial authority, tyrannical as are the laws, and filled as are the offices with the unscrupulous tools of the slaveocracy, for the purpose of worrying-out the last remnants of patience on the part of the Free State men, and absolutely driving them to the extremity of forcible resistance. And the issue is now darkened with the shadow of the Federal authority; for the United States troops have been placed by the President at the disposal of Shannon, and resistance to the bogus Sheriff of Douglas County has now become *legal resistance to the General Government*. So much for the suzerainty, thus long, of this gigantic wrong of a tyrannical government founded on a now proven monstrous fraud; a suzerainty rendered tenfold worse in its effect, through the shameful complicity of a corrupt President and his subservient appointees.—And how much longer will Congress permit this thing to last, and suffer the sacred name of law to sanction outrages which would disgrace the veriest despotism of the old world?

NEWARK DAILY ADVERTISER

TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 13, 1856.

Scales of Justice in Kansas unequal.

We have already lamented the cultivation and growth of the imaginative faculty among us, especially in all our political movements and speculations. One example has been given of trying to use it to further the plans of Walker, by dragging in among the reasons for recognizing his government, that it would spite Great Britain, and thus gratify a national prejudice, which so many persons in this country are forever busy in cultivating and spreading.

Another specimen of the same faculty in an abnormal state is manifested in allowing the shooting of Jones, the Sheriff in Kansas, by an unknown person, to have any weight in the formation of a solid judgment on the outrageous interference of foreigners from Missouri in the election of the legislature of that territory, and the subsequent action of that Legislature. What relation has the shooting of Jones by an unknown, probably some deeply injured man to the forcible usurpation of the sovereignty of Kansas by strangers, and the tyranny of the bogus legislature afterwards? None at all. Yet for want of a little clear logic, attempts are made, absurdly enough, to infer, because Jones was a Sheriff by commission of the usurping powers, and happened to be shot by no-

body know whom, that therefore the Border Ruffians were in seizing on the ballot boxes, packing a legislature and enacting partial and unjust laws to perpetuate their power and bring in slavery! How ridiculous to permit such an act, done long after the iniquitous usurpation was perpetrated, to have the least effect in forming an opinion on that great fraud.

One thing, however it *does* prove, and it is this, that the party in power in Kansas can suffer free state men, as they have done, to be murdered publicly, and then say and do nothing about it to this day, and yet when the man Jones, not yet dead, however, is shot by an unknown person, they can clamor lustily for vengeance! This gross and criminal partiality it proves distinctly enough to the disgrace of the party to which Jones belongs; and it is very likely to this connivance of him and them in foul murders of free state citizens and making exertions to bring the guilty to punishment, that the Sheriff has met his fate.

We cannot look to this act of a single individual from whatever provocation, as in any way the act of a party, much less as a justification of the criminality of those now ruling in Kansas, incurred by them in obtaining or using their ill-gotten power. No argument in proof of this is required, for this fact alone is overwhelming, that a large majority of voters in that territory is and always has been in favor of a free state, and yet we behold the wonderful anomaly, that all the departments of the government, executive, legislative and judicial, are filled entirely with pro slavery men. Is not that fact alone abundant evidence, that fraud or force, or both have been successfully used? We want no other, though the Congressional Committee, now in the territory, will probably exhibit in their report testimony enough of particular acts of violence and usurpation to invalidate the acts of those who seized upon the government there. In the meanwhile every good citizen must wish the territory admitted as soon as possible into the union to prevent the horrible scenes, which must, by-and-bye occur in a community, a majority of which are thoroughly convinced, that the existing government is a rank usurpation.

From Washington.

In the Senate yesterday, letters were received from Gen. Wool and Gov. Stevens, of Oregon, with regard to the Indian wars, but they contained nothing new. Mr. Cass made a long speech on squatter sovereignty and the power of Congress over the territories, in which he differed in many respects from the conclusions of Mr. Douglas' report.

The House, after refusing to suspend the rules to receive Mr. Clingman's resolution to authorize the President to employ the forces of the country to protect American citizens and their property on the 15th, mus, requested the President to state whether U. S. troops in Kansas have been employed to arrest persons charged with violating laws passed by the free State Legislature, and if so, by what authority they are so employed.

Commercial Journal.

E. M. RIDDLE, Editor and Proprietor.

TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 13, 1856.

A HOLE.

We have noticed in a great many papers the republication of a report from the 'Squatter Sovereign' to the effect that about three miles above the town of Atchison, Mr. John Parker and son, while attending some fishing lines, were startled by a tremendous roaring in the Missouri. Soon after they discovered an immense whirlpool taking in logs, driftwood and water in large quantities. It even appeared to render the river lower. It may have no significance that this report was published in the Squatter on April 1, nevertheless we have heard not a word about it since, and conclude the hole has since filled up. If so, would it not be well for the Border Ruffians to take early advantage of the opening and 'go in' where all their peculiar institutions may find a congenial home?

PITTSBURGH GAZETTE

PUBLISHED BY D. N. WHITE.

PITTSBURGH:
TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 13, 1856.

THE CINCINNATI PLATFORM.—There are indications now that the Democratic party, under the lead and control of the South will change its position on the slavery question at the Cincinnati Convention.

Slavery used to be modest and retiring. It was content to exist by mere sufferance. It laid claim to no legal or constitutional support without the states. It sheltered itself behind state sovereignty, and local and municipal authority.—Now it arrogantly claims shelter under the broad wings of Nationality. Nothing less will satisfy it than the recognition of the principle, that the Federal Constitution carries with it into all its Territories, the rights, immunities, and privileges of chattel slavery, and that there is no power which can abrogate this right, while the territory remains under a territorial government. It has not got so far yet as to deny that a State, in its sovereign capacity cannot abolish or prevent the evil. The next step will be to declare that the right to hold slaves is inherent and inalienable, and cannot be abolished by State governments!

The South is no longer content with the squatter sovereignty doctrine. She fears that it may prove a losing game to her. She must have something more as the price of her votes. She is already shadowing forth the platform she designs to dictate to the Cincinnati Convention. The *Richmond Enquirer*, an authentic exponent of Southern views says:

"We must, in the Cincinnati platform, REPU- DIATE 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 asser- tion in the platform of the abstract proposi- tion 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 NORTH- ERN 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 suc- cess."

In a subsequent issue, the Enquirer says:

"The sovereignty of the People is a noble principle, and should command universal homa- ge. '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.

"We cannot conceive how any doubt can arise as to the full, perfect, unlimited, and sovereign power of the Federal Government over the Terri- tory 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."

* * * * *

"Yet the power of the Federal Government over the Territories is not an unconditional and complete sovereignty. Like every other trust power, it is limited by its nature and objects.—The Territories are the common property of the States; the Federal Government, as their agent, is entrusted with the control of this property, and is bound by the obligations of equality and honesty in the administration of the estate. The Federal Government cannot discriminate invidi-

ously between the citizens of the States in the enjoyment of the common property, nor impose partial and oppressive burdens, upon those who stand on a level of perfect equality. For illustration: the Federal Government cannot say to the citizens of New York, 'you may carry your property to Kansas,' and to the citizens of Vir- ginia, 'you shall not carry your property to Kansas, Nay, more: the Federal Government is empowered and obliged to see that the citizens of the States have equal rights in the Territo- ries, and to secure them in the quiet enjoyment of their property. For illustration: if any opera- tive local law should, exclude Slavery from Kan- sas, the Federal Government is bound to remove the restriction. 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. These are political postu- lates, self-evident propositions in the theory of our Government."

Here is the Southern doctrine, in its latest phase, distinctly set forth, and the Cincinnati convention will be required to ratify it. All the Northern Democratic papers and leaders have for the last two or three years been declaiming on the beauties of Squatter Sovereignty, but after the Cincinnati convention they will be com- pelled to assert it is an imposture, a cheat, a hum- bug!

Buchanan and his friends have placed them- selves fair and square on the "Squatter Sov- eign imposture," and there the South intend to leave him, to mourn over blasted hopes, and the bitter trials of Doughfaceism. If the slaveoc- racy had only given a hint in time, of its new task, all would have been well; but to decoy the Pennsylvania convention, and the "favorite son" into such a predicament, from which there is no decent way of escape, is cruel!

Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 13

THE CINCINNATI DAILY ENQUIRER

The attempt of the editor to get out of the difficulty by indorsing Senators Brown and Benjamin will not do. The right of a State to come into the Union "whenever it had sufficient population and had formed a republican constitution, whether that constitution estab- lished or prohibited slavery," is one thing, and the "squatter sovereignty" of the Kansas-Ne- braska Bill is another. "Black-Republican" as we are, we do not hesitate to subscribe to the former, while doctrinally and practically we have nothing but dread and hatred for the latter.

The above is from the *Commercial*, of this city, a paper which has expressed its preference for Governor Chase for the Presidency. It contains an admission which will, no doubt, surprise some of its friends and readers. Though the style of that journal, in its discussions, is not of the character which renders controversy with it profitable or agreeable; yet we cannot forego the opportunity of manifesting our satis- faction at this manly concession to the truth and republicanism of the principle of the Kan- sas Bill now before the Senate.

The *Commercial* has placed itself at last on high ground—on precisely the ground of the *Enquirer*—to-wit: "That the people of Kansas have the right to determine whether they will come into the Union as a free or a slave State. That is the great practical question which is solved by Mr. Douglas' bill. The *Commercial* does not hesitate to subscribe to this doctrine of "the right of a State to come into the Union whenever it has sufficient population, and has formed a republican constitution, whether that constitution established or prohibited slavery."

Our cotemporary does not subscribe, there- fore, to the programme of the Black Republi- can party, as we find it set forth by the Na- tional Committee, E. D. Morgan chairman, as

"opposed to the extension of slavery," and "in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State." He cannot, therefore, be opposed to Mr. Douglas' bill, or in favor of the Robinson and Lane Constitution. His admission covers a fatal objection to the latter, as Kansas, it is not pretended, contains the population referred to in the doctrine unhesitatingly subscribed to by the Commercial, as "a sufficient population."

The Commercial then stands fairly and squarely on the Kansas Bill. That bill has nothing to do with the "squatter sovereignty" which the Commercial justly denounces; and here we again agree with it in the attempt of outsiders, Missourians or others, not *bona fide* residents in the Territory, to control and form the constitution and government. We believe that there have been serious irregularities and violences in the organization of the present Territorial Government. We do not justify them, neither do we approve the remedy of revelation employed by Lane and party. The question of the legality of the Territorial Government, and of the laws passed by it, must be determined by Congress and the Courts, not by Sharp's rifles and revolvers. These are questions of fact, which require patient and impartial investigation, before we shall be able to form a satisfactory judgment of them.

But the doctrine of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which forbade slavery in Kansas, and "the right of the State to come into the Union whenever it has sufficient population and has formed a republican constitution; whether that constitution established or prohibited slavery," is the material and essential principle "which we do not hesitate to subscribe to," "while doctrinally and practically we have nothing but dread and hatred" for that squatter sovereignty which gives to "border ruffians," "scoundrels" and "outsiders" the power of controlling the government and making the laws of the Territory.

Greeley Wooing Garrison.

The following extract from the debates in the Anti-Slavery Convention, shows that the consistent Abolitionists begin to comprehend and appreciate the hypocrisy of the rebels who, in Kansas, are trying to steal their thunder, while, in fact, they are the bitterest enemies of the Africans:

"Mr. May, of Syracuse, made a speech in favor of this society going in for freedom in Kansas. Mr. May thought the object of the society must be gained step by step.

"Mr. May, of Boston, said that every member of this society was, of course, in favor of freedom in Kansas; but they could not touch this non-extension movement. It was false in principle. He had contributed money to arm the Northern men going to Kansas—(applause)—before he heard that colored men were excluded from the Territory by the Free-State Constitution. If he had known that, he would not have given a cent. This society had always opposed the prejudice against color, which was the handmaid of slavery in the North, and it could not now desert that principle. He would vote for a resolution condemning Robinson, Reeder, Lane and other Free-State leaders in Kansas, for excluding colored men.

"Mr. May, of Syracuse, had not been informed about the negroes. It was not in the constitution.

"Mr. Johnson said that the people voted on that question at the time that they adopted the constitution, and made it the duty of the Legislature to make a law excluding colored people.

"Mr. S. S. Foster answered Mr. May. He was opposed to the Free-soil party in toto. Mr. Foster, in effect, took the same ground that he occupied yesterday, which was reported in the Herald. Senator Sumner, in Mr. Foster's opinion, was no better than thousands of slave claimants at the South."

This is the party to which the New York Tribune says the "Republicans"—those who held the meeting at Mount Pleasant on Saturday last—owe their existence. Behold how sweetly the Tribune smiles upon the fascinating Garrison. Can he resist such blandishments?

"Next, as a citation, take the meeting of the Abolitionists. Here is a body, lately despised of men, which has interrupted the constitutional history of the Union, and roused the lukewarm spirit of the North to the fact that the slave power is insatiable, and that it makes compromises but to break them; which, in the midst of its own disagreements, its Garrison and Goodell divisions, has yet nourished the spirit of freedom so far that there is at last a North and a Republican party to bring back the organic law of the Union to its original meanings, to so indoctrinate the peccant Democracy with the religion of liberty that the time will come when Congress shall be able, according to the Constitution as written, to guarantee a republican form of government to every State."

But, alas! the invincible Garrison steels his heart to all such bewitchery, and, with the aid of Lucy Stone Blackwell and Abby Foster, resolves:

"That while we appreciate every earnest effort made by the republican to prevent the introduction of slavery into Kansas, our charge against it is, that it swears to uphold and execute all the provisions of a pro-slavery constitution, by which an oligarchy of three hundred and fifty thousand kidnappers are enabled triumphantly to hold in hopeless bondage four millions of our countrymen; that it disclaims every wish and intention to change the constitution in that particular, and, therefore, to this fearful extent it is a pro-slavery party."

Garrison, too, insists that abolition is impossible until the Union is dissolved.

Amiable Abolitionism.

The Abolitionists of Rhode Island lately held a convention, at which, among other resolutions they unanimously adopted the following:

"That as Nero fiddled while Rome was burning, so a distinguished conservative citizen of Massachusetts, Hon. Edward Everett, at a time when the States are on the brink of a civil war, and the liberties of the people all in the dust under the hoof of the slave power, goes forth to deliver an elegant but fulsome panegyric upon the character of Washington, and to secure for himself thereby the applause of an idolatrous multitude, ostensibly as a mark of profound veneration for the memory of the 'Father of his Country'; but manifestly in view of all the circumstances, to give comfort and aid to a slaveholding oligarchy, to perpetuate a pro-slavery compact, and to aim a fresh blow at the anti-slavery movement."

Mr. Everett's offense hath this extent, no more: he is the author of a most eloquent oration on the life and character of Washington, which he has pronounced in several cities of the Union, in pursuance of invitations to that effect. This he has done gratuitously, the proceeds of admission being devoted to a fund for the purchase, by an association of ladies, of the grave of Washington. In what way this proceeding gives "comfort and aid to the slaveholding oligarchy," nobody but an Abolitionist can divine. If the Union be the "pro-slavery compact" alluded to, it is possible Mr. Everett's patriotic eloquence may help to "perpetuate" it. We hope it may.—*Detroit Free Press.*

A 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?

The foregoing is taken from the Kansas Free State, and shows what efforts are being made to keep up excitement. Some men are bubbles, and exist upon the foam of excitement. When the waves subside, the bubbles have burst and the swelling, shining gentlemen "are no more."

New Orleans Evening Delta.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 13.

The affairs of Kansas are assuming a menacing aspect. Resistance to the execution of the laws of the territory is anticipated, and the United States troops are in readiness at the call of Gov. Shannon to aid the sheriff in making a great number of arrests. If the Free State party do not submit, the consequences will be disastrous.

The Kansas Investigating Committee of the House will be thus furnished with a new subject for inquiries, and in fact, as eye witnesses, will be themselves competent witnesses.

Upon the eve of the Cincinnati nomination three important questions, each apparently of a controlling character, arise—the enlistment and Crampton questions; the Kansas war; and the Niagara filibuster and destiny question.

The first and last are of a deeply dangerous character, and the other is likely to prove a source of vexation and mortification to the Executive. The rebuff which is on the way from the British Government will place the administration in a very awkward position.

ION.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BY W. G. CLARK & CO.
OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CITY.
OFFICE 44 ROYAL STREET.

MOBILE:
TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 18, 1856.

ABOLITION MADNESS.—The abolitionists out heroded Herod in their New York anniversaries—that is to say they eclipsed, if possible, themselves. One speaker advised his friend "to purchase Sharps rifles to fight with in Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama"—advice which was received with enthusiastic applause.

Lucy Stone concluded an address laudatory of the murder of her child by the female slave at Cincinnati, with the furious exclamations—"Curses on the Constitution!" "Curses on the Fugitive Slave Law!"

These exhibitions have called forth the following comments from the Philadelphia Bulletin:

Curses and murder! The murder of slaveholders by Sharps' rifles—of slave children by their mothers—insane denunciation and dissolution of the Union.—Such are the favorite measures of these reformers.—Have these people, and with them the more lukewarm adherents to their doctrines, deliberately concluded that the welfare of the black is to be preferred to that of the white? Is every mother justifiable in murdering her infant because a hard life lies before it? If this be so, then infanticide should become as common as petty larceny. And finally, what do those who advocate peaceable measures in reform think of such political aids as rifles and curses?

As for the disunion abolitionists, it is manifest from their every meeting, that, however furiously they have railed during the present week—as of old—the idea does not appear as yet to have occurred to any of them how the slave is to be freed by disunion. The question has been publicly put them and they have answered by ravings. But the fact is that they neither know nor care what they really do want. Some of them who are "mad for notoriety" and filled with crude romance, and an intense longing for theatrical effect, enjoy these annual meetings, where they can indulge in blood-thirsty and treasonable harangues, and be regarded as terrible fellows by the weaker brethren. It is such ultraists as these who would have gone into extremes in any party and for anything. They would have hated the North as they now hate the South, had chance given them birth on the other side of the line, just as the melo-dramatic Lucy Stone would have been a raging advocate for long trains, if the Bloomer dress were the one generally prevalent. It was of such women as Lucy Stone, screaming curses in discriminate rage, that the Poissards of the French Revolution were made—and it is such a method of asserting principle, which, when it has gone a little further, fills insane asylums and graves. A melancholy lesson may be gathered from these abolition meetings, and we trust that our readers may profit by it on the principle of extracting good from evil.

Daily Democrat.

FROM KANSAS.

Congressional Investigating Committee

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

LAWRENCE, Kansas, May 7, 1856.
The Investigating committee is in session. Gov. Reeder examines the witnesses. He is seated at the table smoking a Dutch pipe, with a stem about four feet long. Mr. Whitfield has not returned yet. I submit the following:

Mr. Moore sworn.—Examined by Gov. Reeder.—I came into Kansas from Indiana in August, 1854, and settled on Ottomoe creek, and have lived there ever since. I was at the election on 29th November, 1854, in that district.

At that time my acquaintance was limited, but I do not think more than 30 legal votes were cast at our polls. I saw great numbers of strangers there. I inquired where they all came from. I was told they were from Missouri. They were encamped about three hundred yards from the place of voting, on the banks of the creek. They were armed with double-barrelled shot-guns, pistols and revolvers. I heard them say they had as good a right to come from Missouri to vote that as Yankees had to come to vote from New England. The principal portion of them returned home in buckies, carriages and wagons—taking loads, shouting, using profane language, and they appeared to be under the influence of liquor. I saw them walk.

Cross examined by Mr. Oliver.—I did not know many of the strangers. I knew one of them. I understood he was from Missouri. I heard at least a dozen of them say they

from Missouri. I saw at least twenty-five of them vote. I have resided in the District since November.

Gov. Reeder—I was at the election of the 30th of March. I had by this time become better acquainted with the people of the District. My son was appointed one of the Judges. I went early with him to the polls. The polls had been appointed at Dr. Chapman's house. On arriving there I found that the precinct had been moved to some half a mile from the polls. I went there. I saw a great number of men, bugles and horses. With few exceptions the men were entirely strangers. Not more than a dozen of them were citizens of the District. The election was held in a double cabin. The men were drinking and playing at cards. They said their whisky had nearly given out and they had sent a man to hunt some more. The free State men determined not to vote, but to draw up a protest and send it to the Governor. We then had a little conversation with the Governor. We recognized some of the strangers, men whom I knew to be citizens of Missouri. There appeared to be two elections. One appeared to be kept in a house without a cover on. One man appeared to act as judge, clerk and receiver. He said he was taking votes for a new Governor. I asked him if Governor Reeder was dead? He said he had run away. (Roars of laughter, in which Reeder participated.) More than two-sided Government (laughter). They surely had not all voted who were to have a two-sided Governor. His name is Timothy Keizer.

By Mr. Howard—I think there were, at least, one hundred illegal votes cast. I did not stay there longer than two hours. I heard them say they all were Whitfield men. I saw a man who they voted for was Thomas Johnson. (Rev. Thomas Johnson, of the Shawnee Mission, I presume, was the candidate for two-sided Governor.)

The next witness called was Dr. Westfall; but, as I have already sent you his testimony, I will not repeat it. I submit a synopsis of the evidence, not yet posted, taken at Topeka and Tecumseh:

James Reed, sworn—I reside at Washington Creek. I have lived there nearly two years, and am well acquainted in the district. I was at the election at Willow Springs on the 1st of October, 1855. I saw a great number of Missourians there. Mr. Whitfield was a candidate they voted for. Some Free State men were also present. I saw a man who they voted for was Thomas Johnson. (Rev. Thomas Johnson, of the Shawnee Mission, I presume, was the candidate for two-sided Governor.)

W. A. M. Vaughan (proslavery) was called upon and sworn—I lived at Tecumseh on the 30th of March, 1856. I have lived there since September, 1854. I came from Missouri. I saw a great number of strangers here on the day of election. Some were in the hotbeds, some in wagons, others in houses. I was in their camp on the Shingoes. There were several men there. I was introduced to them. I don't know that I heard where they were from. There were several names on the poll books whom I know to be Missourians. I saw some men whom I knew to be Missourians in town.

These men had hemp in their button holes, and would say in their votes saying, "All in favor of the hemp!" I saw no man vote on that day who did not wear hemp. They would tell you they had claims; they were there, but I did not go out and see any of the delegates when the came in, but when they arrived the fact would be announced by cheers and speeches. A great deal of drinking was done, and threats made against "the abolitionists." There was no Free State ticket there that day. We contemplated having one, but on ascertaining that they intended to come over in overwhelming forces, we abandoned the idea. We could have carried the day by a large majority if the Missourians had remained at home. I had a list of the actual settlers who voted on that day, but my house was burned down during the invasion and the list with it. These men got to fighting among themselves. I saw an old man and a boy, about ten years of age, who were beaten by them, and were bruised and bloody. These men were armed. I heard persons declare, at Weston, Mo., that they were coming over. I heard it publicly announced that these men came from Missouri. Mr. Kellogg, a proslavery man, who was a candidate, refused to run because the Missourians came over to vote. If any man had protested against the election, his life would have been in danger. I refused to sign the certificates to the Governor, stating that the election was fairly held.

E. R. Zimmerman, sworn—I came here in December, 1854, from Pennsylvania. I settled in Kiekappo, and have resided in that district ever since. I was one of the judges of election on the 30th of March. Hayes, about seven miles from Kiekappo, I went the afternoon before election to Hayes, and saw camp fires all around. Next morning only one of the other judges appointed by Gov. Reeder, appeared at the polls—Thompson. A crowd of strangers soon began to gather around, demanding that the polls be opened—our residents left. Thompson and I appointed another judge, and selected two clerks. I had considerable difficulty in getting the judges to open the polls. They would not go out and answer to the crowd outside. They were both proslavery men. We agreed to an oath to administer to the voters. The first man that came up in answer to the oath, he said, "I'm here." He finally took the oath, swearing he was a resident. The other judges were disposed to take his vote without swearing him.

Cross examined by Mr. Whitfield—D. A. M. Grover was the candidate for the Council, and Dr. Harris and Mr. Weddell for the House. I did not see any one prevented from voting. I saw Grover, Harris and Weddell did not get a majority of the votes of the district. I have been in the Western country since December, 1854.

Mr. Whitfield—Are not elections here noisy and quarrelsome in the Western country?
Witness—Our free State elections have all been orderly and quiet—when the invaders come over they have been stormy. I was not personally threatened, nor do I know of any special threat against me if I should protest; but it was common talk among the proslavery men, that it would be dangerous for any body to protest. And we so regarded it.

By Mr. Reeder—I was carrying notes concerning our Convention for forming a constitution, through our district. At the hotel at Atchison, a man from Missouri pulled the papers away from me, read them to the crowd, and insulted and abused me. They asked me if I had read the Squatter Sovereign? If I did not know they would not permit any body to put up such bills here? If I did not know I was guilty of high treason? They talked about trying me before a Justice of the Peace. They took my papers from me and used them for lighting their cigars. At night the landlord gave me a room. I heard men, among others Mr. Kelley, associate editor of the Squatter Sovereign, using threatening language.

Mr. Whitfield objected—Mr. Oliver objected. Mr. Whitfield and Mr. Oliver did not wish the Committee to investigate every little trouble. Of course not.

Gov. Reeder said that he wished to prove that it was impossible for a man to enjoy his political opinions peaceably in the town of Atchison, and the District it can over awe. The majority of the Committee decided to receive the evidence.

Witness—Mr. Kelly said that it would be a good plan to hang me and set an example for all abolitionists. Another said I had better be put on one side of a raft and my pony on the other and sent down the Missouri. Another said that they had better keep me there until the day the speaking was to come off and have some fun when Lane and others came there. Next morning they came to me and asked me where I was going? What all this meant? I told them the object of it. After this conversation I went down home, as I agreed, by the other side of the river, in order to pacify them. They advised me never to call there again with Abolition Documents. If I did, they said, my life would be short. It was against the law, they said, and treasonable. There were some fifteen of them and they were very much excited. The night before I heard them say they were determined that I should not go to Doniphan.

Missrs. Oliver and Whitfield's nervousness visibly increased. They objected. The resolutions of instruction to the committee were read by Gov. Reeder. The majority decided that it was their duty to inquire minutely into everything concerning which the witness had testified.

By Mr. Oliver.—This conversation at night referred to me, as carrying about these handbills. They said they would have no Free State men speak in their town.

By Gov. Reeder.—I had handbills in reference to the election of delegate to Congress, in regard to the Constitutional Convention, and another announcing a meeting at Atchison, at which speeches would be delivered upon the political issues of the day.

By Mr. Whitfield.—I was asked by Robert Biddle, of Leavenworth, to distribute them. I understood that the movement for a State organization was not participated in by one party only. I know of many proslavery men who voted for the Constitution. I was never at any meeting where they resolved they would repudiate the laws. I was at a meeting at Leavenworth when the object of the State movement was stated by Mr. Parrott to be to vote for delegates for a Constitutional Convention—to be voted for by the people. Proslavery men were nominated as candidates at this time, but declined.

James F. Merriam, called and sworn—I was at the election in this district on the 20th of March. I saw from three to four hundred Missourians there. After driving from the polls two of the judges appointed by Governor Reeder, and selecting two others—proslavery men—they proceeded to vote. There were threats made against the anti-abolitionists. I heard a man make a speech and say that he heard that the abolitionists were coming from Pawnee and Topeka, in the afternoon, to take possession of the polls. He said he had a farm in Missouri and had spent about a week in coming here, and did not want to come here for nothing. He advised them to stay and guard the polls, and remain until the candidates elected should receive their certificates from the Governor. The men were, many of them, drunk. I did not vote, because I did not consider the election legal.

I have no space for any further evidence. The laws must be enforced, says Pierce. Are you quite sure of that fact, Mr. President? J. R.

LOUISVILLE JOURNAL,

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Third Street, between Jefferson and Green.

MORE OUTRAGES!

REEDER, ROBINSON, LANE, & Co., CHARGED WITH HIGH TREASON.

From the correspondence of the St. Louis Democrat.

LAWRENCE, K. T., May 7, 1856.
A messenger from Tecumseh has just arrived with the news that indictments of High Treason have been found against Reeder, Robinson, Roberts, Lane, Beitzler, and other prominent free State men. As Sir Charles Coldstream remarked, "There's going to be a row here."

The Atchison forces are marshalling in the border counties. Secret handbills are in course of circulation in Platte, Clay, Jackson and Buchanan counties. This news was brought here to-day, by a slaveholder of Missouri who, also a Douglas Democrat is opposed to the iniquitous course of Atchison and the administration. He told the Free State men to prepare for defence, without a moment's delay. They are prepared—There is a guard out to night.

The morning's special messenger brought the following note from a prominent Free State citizen of Leavenworth.

'LEAVENWORTH, May 6.
'To Gov. Robinson: It is beloved by the Friends that it is necessary for you to look out. Proslavery men are organizing at Atchison.'

A gentleman from Wyandott brought a similar notice from Friends in Missouri.

Over one hundred young men from South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia, all armed to the teeth with pistols, Sharpe's rifles, and Bibles, encamped on Silver Creek, 15 miles from Lawrence, last night, and are now within a few miles of this city.

It is said they intend to take Lawrence by surprise. I shall be surprised if they do! In haste. V.

Another Exile.

A few days since we formed the acquaintance of Mr. Patrick, formerly editor of a paper in Greencastle, Ind., who had been compelled to leave home for personal safety. His crime was the writing of a letter to the paper with which he had been connected, giving a truthful account of the outrages which he had witnessed. For this he was hunted around Leavenworth for several days, and finally taken upon a mob and beaten with a club, and that by one of the "law and order" company, who held a place of honor (if it be such) in the Territorial Legislature.—*Kansas Free State, April 28.*

Mr. Patrick is as little of an "Abolitionist" as any man in Indiana. His paper was the first to denounce the "abolitionism" of the Republicans, and declare that it wouldn't go with them in their fanatical extremes. He was for staying the "slavery agitation," and was in most respects quite as good material to manufacture into an "acquiescer" (which is the transition state between a "free man" and a "doughface") as could be found, out of the "old line" party. Of all men who were not avowed advocates of slavery extension, he should have been the last, to excite the suspicion or hate of the border scoundrels. But his coming from a Free State and expressing his desire to see Kansas free, has subjected him to the usual penalties of such heresies. The Administration and its tools here, as well as in Kansas, will say that "he was well served—that he was interfering with the affairs of the people, and got his deserts." If he had been cut to pieces, like Brown, or shot through the heart by one of Pierce's Indian agents, like the poor fellow during the "siege of Lawrence," he would have met no sympathy at the hands of the "old liners." They are struck with horror when the most noisy and mischief making rowdy of the border is shot by an assassin whom the Free State men are laboring to secure; but they take very complacently the murders and beating of their own State's citizens, their brethren, who have sinned against Pierce and Atchison just as far as every "old liner" sinned in 1849, and no further.

Free State men know just what to expect from Mr. Pierce and his party. If they are killed, with every circumstance of brutality and horror, no effort is to be made to punish the murderer. If one of the oppressors is killed by a personal enemy, the United States army is to be ordered out, as it was in Jones's case, to search the houses and insult the wives of Free State men. These are blasting facts, with which the whole bloody record of the Kansas difficulties, and if we are ever to see an end of their occurrence, we must have Kansas admitted with the Constitution, that her people in accordance with the Nebraska bill, have made. That consummation, the "old line" party of Indiana, under the direction of Mr. Douglas and Mr. Pierce, who act under the lash of the Slaveholder, are determined to prevent. It is their settled policy to resist Kansas coming in as a Free State. Their leaders denounce the Free State men as "rebels" who "must be subdued," and kick their respectful petitions under the table. If anybody doubts the tendency of the "old line" party, let him keep an eye, as we have done, on the *Sentinel*, which one year ago denounced the border ruffians as strongly as any paper in the country, and now charges the blame of the Kansas troubles upon those who were the victims of the ruffians' force and fraud.

THE KANSAS EVIDENCE.

The evidence elicited by the Kansas Commissioners is of the most startling nature, and fully bears out the report which hitherto have found their way to the public, through the columns of the press.

The testimony, is but a history of wrong and riot, of relentless persecution and highanded outrages.

The mission upon which the Missourians were sent, it appears was not alone to violate the ballot box, but murder was a part of the programme and plunder the ruffianly reward.

Here is a sample of the evidence:

Hammond Muzzy, sworn—Was at Douglas on 30th of March, at election; saw a large crowd there, and many wagons; got there just as Mr. Mace did; he tried to vote, and when the Pro-Slavery Party saw that his vote was a Free-State vote they said he should not vote it; several men took hold of him by the collar and pulled him away; he took hold of me and we were both pulled away together from the poll; they cried out "Cut his throat," "tear his d—d heart out of him;" saw one man draw a knife upon him, without doing any injury; saw a man with a lever, trying to pry up a corner of the cabin; others cried out, "Don't do it until you have orders;" saw Ellison come out the cabin with the ballot-box in his hand, and cry out, "Hurrah for Missouri!" Ellison was one of the judges; heard Jones (now Sheriff) say he would give the judge, five minutes to resign or die; Jones gave one more minute, and they then left; these judges were Ramsay and Burson, both Free-State men; was there when the other judges were appointed; the crowd then commenced voting; saw no Free-State man vote; don't know whether Jones voted that day.

Marcus H. Rose, of Seventh District—Have examined census-roll and poll-books, of Seventh District, of 30th March; there are 52 voters on the census, 17 of them on the poll-books; there are 234 names on the poll-list; 8 legal voters on the poll-list are not on the census-roll; 6 of the 8 had been there and built cabins and were away when the census was taken; 2 are new comers; there were 607 votes cast in our District on Nov. 29, 1854; in my judgment there could not at that time have been more than 25 or 30 resident voters in that District.

Thomas D. Hopkins, called and sworn—Came into the Territory, June 1854, from Carroll Co., Missouri; I settled nine miles south of Lawrence, and have resided there since; I was here at the election the 30th March; met here a good many of my acquaintances from Carroll County; saw them in camp and about the polls. (Witness here gave the names of many with whom he was acquainted from Missouri.)—They told me there were about twenty-five of my acquaintances there from that settlement; it is about 125 miles I think from here; they said they came to vote and intended so to do; they said they wanted to make it a slave state, if it wasn't they would lose their property, and if it was necessary they would come again; they told me there were from 700 to 1,000 in this place, and that there would be from 5,000 to 10,000 here in the Territory from Missouri to vote.

It will be seen that among the chief of the free-booters was the renowned Sheriff Jones, the shooting of whom has thrown the whole troupe of Douglasites into lamentation and mourning. While we by no means approve of the attempt made upon his life, it can readily be seen that a man who was so lavish of threats to cut other people's throats, could very easily call upon himself the fate which he has met, from those of his own household.

Another feature of the programme is elicited also, in the fact established by the testimony, that a secret society exists, of the Douglas party, for the purpose of extending Slavery into Kansas!

We do not wonder that Douglas & Co. have been so eloquent in denouncing "dark lanterns" and "secret oaths," when they were using them to carry their designs upon Freedom into execution.

Mr. Davidson was called before the Commissioner, and examined.

Daily Journal.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

SYRACUSE:

WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 14, 1856.

The Kansas Investigation.

"The work goes bravely on." The Congressional Investigating Committee have commenced the prosecution of their investigations into the facts of the Kansas elections, and the disclosures thus far made are more than confirmatory of the accounts we have already received through newspapers and correspondents of the outrages and usurpations of the Missouri Border Ruffians. The examination of witnesses before the Committee commenced on the 24th of April, and some reports of the proceedings have at length come to hand. The first witness examined, one *Jordan Davidson*, confessed, on cross-examination, that there exists in Missouri, and has existed since the latter part of 1854, a secret society, known as the "Blue Lodge," "Sons of the South," "Social Band," "Friends' Society," and by various other names, the object of which is to extend Slavery into Kansas. It had branches, as the witness had understood, in Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas, if not other States; and this society was used as a means to concentrate a party of men in the Territory at the election of the 30th of March.

It was abundantly proved by several witnesses that the election held in the second district of Douglas County, on the 30 of March, the Judges originally appointed were compelled to resign by threats of instant death, in making which Jones, since known as "Sheriff" Jones, was very active; after which other Judges were appointed, who received all the Missouri votes that offered.

It was testified that at various Districts large bodies of men were in and encamped just before the election, and disappeared immediately after, and that the names on the poll lists far exceeded in number the inhabitants enumerated in the census, while but few of the names on the census lists could be found on the poll lists.

We also have advices to the effect that an armed force of Border ruffians were on their way from Leavenworth to Lawrence, where the investigation is being held, with the intention of breaking up the investigation, and of seizing and destroying the testimony. Let them do it. "They whom the gods intend to destroy they first make mad."

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 14, 1856.

The Congressional Investigation in Kansas.

The New York Times of Monday has the first instalment of the testimony taken by the Committee sent to Kansas to inquire into the facts relating to the alleged frauds upon the elective franchise in that Territory. As far as it goes it fully sustains the charges made against the Border Ruffians, of an invasion of the Territory for the purpose of overwhelming the Free State voters, and initiating the rule of the Barons of Slavery over that soil. Among the most rampant and insolent of the blustering

crew who joined the train-bands of Atchison, in the enterprise of establishing slavery there, was the bully Jones, who, it is affirmed, has been wounded by some unseen hand. We are unable to give the whole testimony to-day; but will sketch it as fully as our space admits.

Jordan Davidson testified that he came from Missouri into Kansas to vote—was initiated previously into a secret society, the design of which was to extend Slavery into Kansas—inducements besides that benevolent object were held out to him and others to make the trip. This witness swears—there is a secret society to extend Slavery into Kansas; society called by various names—"Social Band," "Friends' Society," "Blue Lodge," "Sons of the South," by others; don't know as I know what it is properly called; have been at a meeting or two; have never been at any meeting in this Territory; have seen no Lodge in this Territory; it was formed some time in the latter part of 1854, probably; have 200 copies of its ritual; think written minutes are kept of proceedings; we are to extend Slavery into Kansas; we have designs and pass-words by which we know each other; object was to extend Slavery into Kansas, and unite all the friends of Slavery for that purpose; am told it exists in other States, as well as Missouri; am told by some one who belonged to said society in Virginia; he may have joined it in Missouri; exists probably in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas; don't recollect the oath precisely; substance of it is to promote by all lawful means the extension of Slavery; never heard any of the leaders say it was unlawful to come over and vote; heard one person in Lodge ask how they could vote in Kansas, if they were not citizens of Kansas Territory lawfully; answer was, we will swear in some how; my conversation with Palmer amounted to his asking my willingness to extend Slavery into Kansas.

Wm Lyons resided in the district in March, 1855, and saw a large body of strangers come to the place of voting, one of whom said he had traveled 100 miles for the purpose of voting. They had no furniture, women or children, nor any of the usual signs that denote actual emigrants, and left the place within two days after the election. *Hammond Muzzy* testified that he was at Douglas on 30th March, and saw also a large crowd of strangers, who set upon and threatened to kill a Mr. Mace, who offered a Free State vote at the poll. When the Pro-Slavery party saw that his vote was a Free State vote they said he should not vote it; several men took hold of him by the collar and pulled him away; he took hold of me and we were both pulled away together from the poll; they cried out, "Cut his throat," "tear his d—d heart out of him;" saw one man draw a knife upon him; saw a man with a lever, trying to pry up a corner of the cabin; others cried out, "Don't do it until you have orders;" saw Ellison come out the cabin with the ballot-box in his hand, and cry out, "Hurrah for Missouri!" Ellison was one of the judges; heard Jones (now Sheriff) says he would give the judge five minutes to resign or die; Jones gave one more minute, and they then left; these judges were Ramsay and Benson, both Free State men; the crowd then commenced voting; saw no Free State man vote. *George Umbarzo* saw the Judges of election driven from their seats in the second election district. The poll-books were handed to him for preservation and he started with them for home, but was overtaken by eight or ten horsemen and the books were seized by force. Sheriff Jones was one of the party, and he seemed to act as a leader; after they had got the books, they wanted me to go along back with them; I objected: they said I must go; one man took me by the collar and said he would shoot me if I did not go; I forced his hand away, and told him to take care of himself; got on a horse behind Jones, and rode back to Ram-

... on our way a man came out of a house, and threatened so cut my throat if I did not behave myself; the same man called me to the window, and asked me to vote, handing a Missouri ticket; I refused; I soon after left; while riding they threatened Benson's life, if they got him.

There were more voters in that district than there are residents now. He saw the Ruffians start for home after voting.

A. Horner was at Switzer's Creek on election day, and saw a large crowd, who bullied the election judges out of their position and chose others, keeping the ballot-box in one of their tents while at dinner. There were two or three hundred, and had their fudder and provisions with them. One of them said he had no residence or claim in the territory, but came on a wild-goose chase, to vote. N. B. Blanton residing on the Wakarusa, was a judge of the election. There came a company of 100 men election day, who tried to persuade him to let them vote without swearing, and failing in this became enraged and threatened to hang him. He knew some of them to be residents of Missouri. They said they wanted to get a Legislature to suit them, and make Kansas a Slave State.

That is sufficient for a beginning. Instead of publishing this testimony, the Pierce and Douglas press will keep up a hullabaloo about the atrocious attempt to assassinate Jones, who was willing to give a judge five minutes to decide between allowing his Ruffian compatriots to deposit illegal votes, and his death by the Ruffian code.

EVIDENCE OF WILLIAM M. McCURE.
William M. McClure, called and sworn: Resided at Pawnee at the time of the meeting of the Legislature; accommodations had been made by Maj. Kertz to board fifty persons; another boarding house kept by Mr. Terples would accommodate twenty; there were three or four rooms on the lower floor; a Mr. Knapp could accommodate twenty-five or thirty; Mr. Low could accommodate fifteen or twenty; Mr. Low's was at the Fort, one or two miles from the town plot; he ran a carriage to and from the town to carry persons to their meals; persons boarded at all these places; (objected to by Col. Woodson;) I believe some of the members remained in their wagons and tents, excepting one night when they had a heavy rain; there were accommodations for the members of the Legislature and their officers; they had a two story stone building to meet in, 40 by 60, and it was appropriated exclusively for that purpose; there was one case of cholera while the Legislature were there, caused by dissipation.

Question by Reader—Did you hear any member of the Legislature give any reason why they removed?

Ruled out by the Committee.
Reader asked to introduce in order to prove that the members said if they had the Capitol at Jefferson City, in which to meet, and the Planters' House to board in, they would not remain a single moment. It had been asserted over and over again that they had no accommodation there, and that the members were dying with pestilence; he was anxious to introduce it in order to nail the falsehood to the counter.

EVIDENCE OF J. M. WINCHELL.
J. M. Winchell called and sworn—Came into the Territory 1st October, 1854, and returned in Spring; settled Council City, Seventh District, and have resided there ever since; I came to Lawrence on my way to Kansas City on the last of November; first heard of trouble while on my way down on 1st day of December; met number of persons coming up into the Territory armed; during few days following I heard at Kansas City threats of destruction of Lawrence, and remarks saying that inasmuch as the river was closed it was a favorable opportunity to cut off the Free-States men of the Territory, and Lawrence was the first place to begin with; saw men armed, going through the streets yelling in a very disorderly manner; it was understood Shannon had called out the militia of the Territory, and these men said they intended to be enrolled as such; was induced to visit Shannon to learn the truth in regard to these matters, and did so on 4th of December, in company with Eldridge, of Kansas City; I told Shannon I thought he had been misled in regard to affairs in the Territory; he admitted that he might have been misled as to the disposition of the people of Lawrence, and expressed a belief that if the people here could understand his views, a collision might be avoided; he said people of border counties had become excited, and feared the feeling was beyond his control; wished me to express to the people of Lawrence his opposition against any outrage which might be committed against them by the force—his determination to protect them—that they must give up their arms; gave me a pass that I might come through without molestation; saw him next morning; said deputation from Lawrence had visited him during the night; he was confirmed in the belief that he misunderstood the people of the Territory; that he would immediately visit the scene of difficulties; that he had ordered Col. Sumner, from Leavenworth, to march with force under his command and meet him at Delaware crossing; but that he should further order him to march to Lawrence for their protection, and that he should no longer demand of them to deliver up their arms, and hoped through the influence of prominent men from Missouri to induce the Missourians to return home; that he had received letters from Gen. Strickler and Sheriff Jones; the letter of Strickler was moderate in its tone, that of Jones to the opposite; told me to tell the people of Lawrence he would be in the vicinity that night in company with Col. Boone and Col. Childs, men of influence with Jones and the Missourians.

I saw many men armed, from Missouri, who said they were going to assist in the destruction of Lawrence, and that a few hours had been given the people to send their women and children away; I arrived at Wakarusa crossing about dark; they refused to permit me to pass; they told me Gen. Strickler commanded; was conducted to him; showed him my pass and he sent us forward; on arriving in Lawrence, learning a Committee of Safety had been chosen and then in session, I visited them and told them the errand of Shannon; but little confidence was had in his intentions; it was determined, how-

ever, to act strictly on the defensive, and as to endeavor to set the Governor right as far as the people of Lawrence was concerned; was informed the town was then guarded and men organized to defend the place; next day by request of Gen. Robinson, Eldridge and myself saw Shannon to know when he would visit the town; proceeded to Franklin and were stopped by a guard; finally permitted to proceed on explaining our business; were told Shannon had gone to Leecompton; others told us he was at Shawnee Mission; some told us Jones was in command, some that Strickler, some that Richardson was. On arriving at Wakarusa were stopped by sentinels who utterly refused to let us pass; the house where the commanding officers were said to be, being across the creek and just in sight; they leveled their guns and said they would fire if we tried to pass; this was on the main highway; stated I wished to see Shannon and was told he was not there; finally one man told me he was there but I could not see him; I demanded to see Sheriff Jones, and a man went to tell him; I was permitted to ride down to the creek to water my horse under escort, one man swearing my horse belonged to the American Hotel at Kansas City, an Abolition establishment; messenger sent for Jones returned and requested me to go and see him at the house opposite; I started and the guards again leveled their guns at me and stopped me; the messenger coaxed them and they finally let me go; on arriving at the house told Jones I wanted to see Shannon; Shannon came out of the house, as the guard would not permit me to enter it; Shannon expressed himself as he had the day before; he had seen several of the leading men from border counties and through their influence he hoped to prevail upon them to return home; that there were 1,200 of them there on the ground; that he would be at Franklin and wished a deputation of the citizens of Lawrence to meet there and escort him to town; he gave me a pass to return and I did so; in the morning a passenger arrived at Lawrence from Franklin, stating that Shannon was prepared to visit the town, and an escort of ten, under command of G. P. Lowry, were detailed to escort him; Col. Boone, of Westport, and a gentleman I think named Strickler, from Missouri, and the messenger named Carney, were met at Lawrence by Generals Robinson and Lane and other prominent men, who conducted the Governor to the Committee of Safety's Room; communications between people of Lawrence, Shannon and those with him were friendly; Shannon desired a paper should be drawn up expressing the feelings of the leading men of Lawrence and of his own; expressed a belief that the business could not be done that day; returned to Franklin that night to come up next day, and expressed a hope that he, with those with him, could induce the Missourians to return home; expressed himself freely concerning these men, and said they were beyond his control; Col. Boone said these men were almost uncontrollable in their desire to destroy the town and people in it, and compared them to a pack of hyenas; Committee of Safety convened during the evening, and Committee were appointed to draft such a document as Shannon desired, leaving it subject to any alteration Governor Robinson might think necessary; Shannon returned to Lawrence the next day, according to promise, about noon; I returned to Kansas City in company with Mr. Eldridge; I was Chairman of Committee to draw up the treaty; previous to my going to Kansas City, I had an interview with Sheriff Jones, who came into town in company with Captain Shaw, of Missouri; Jones appeared excited because a company escorted him in town, and swore he would come in and out of town when he pleased, and he should resign his office if Shannon made any arrangements to dispense with the services of these men he had here to assist him; told Jones I was going to Kansas; asked him if there would be any trouble in passing the camp at Wakarusa; Shaw wrote me a pass, which Jones countersigned; at Franklin was met by two horsemen, who told me I could not pass; told them I had a pass from Jones; they said he had no authority there; told them I had a pass from Captain Shaw; they said they did not know him; I inquired if a pass from Shannon would be sufficient; they said no; finally consented to look at pass of Captain Shaw; Eldridge gave them some cigars and they let us pass; at Wakarusa was again stopped; the sentry was obliging; glanced at our pass; told us that the boys had just been opening goods in a wagon and thought it uncalled for.

On our way to Kansas, 8th December, saw many men returning; became evident that the camp was breaking up; Monday following returned to Lawrence; saw Shannon on the way, going east; he said the difficulties were over,



WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 14, 1856.
THE KANSAS INVESTIGATION.

CONTINUED PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

Interesting Evidence.

We continue from yesterday's Times the publication of the evidence taken before the Congressional Committee for the investigation of affairs in Kansas, holding its sessions at Lawrence. We take up the testimony at the point at which the report in yesterday's paper was broken off.

SEVENTH DAY.
EVIDENCE OF C. S. PRATT—CONTINUED.

C. S. Pratt, called and sworn: Was one of the clerks of election on 30th of March, 1855; Mr. Abbott and Mr. Cameron were there as Judges; Mr. Blanton was absent; a party of men, strangers to me, nominated and elected a Mr. Cummings Judge to fill the vacancy; he did not take the prescribed oath; Mr. Abbott objected to the vote of a Mr. Paige; before it was decided a Col. Young came forward and demanded to vote; Abbott objected; Col. Young then stated that he was competent to decide himself whether he was qualified; Abbott still refused; the other Judges concluded to receive his vote; Abbott then resigned; a Mr. Benjamin filled his place.

EIGHTH DAY—THURSDAY, May 1.
EVIDENCE OF SAMUEL C. SMITH.

Samuel C. Smith, called and sworn: Arrived in the Territory on 29th March; settled on the Wakarusa, about two miles south of Blue Mound started from Boston on 13th March; came out under auspices of E. Aid Co; all benefit derived from them was that I got my passage some \$5 cheaper than I could any other way, and it was pleasanter to come out in a large party; our party was the first out that spring; did not know when the election was to take place until after we arrived at St. Louis; they did not know in Boston; never was asked by the company as to my politics, and never heard the question asked of any one; there were from 150 to 200 in our party; about 50 women and children.

of future troubles; I have been told that the actual number of men encamped at Wakarusa was 1,200, by John Martin, Adjutant to Gen. Strickler; on going from here to Wakarusa, saw a prisoner whom the guards had taken at Franklin, and were then conveying to camp; he struggled violently, and one of them cried, "God damn your Abolition heart!" they conveyed him off; it was not alleged that he had done anything; Sheriff Jones admitted to me that General Pomeroy was arrested without any crime being charged upon him; Jones said that Pomeroy was arrested without his authority, but he could not help it, for the men there would arrest whom they chose; I remonstrated with Jones about their keeping Pomeroy; he made no reply.

Cross-examined—Shannon told me, at the first interview, that this force was the Sheriff's posse; he did not state that this force was gathered because Lawrence had prepared to resist; Shannon, at the second interview, disclaimed having anything to do with them; he said nothing about legal authority over them; he disclaimed the power to control them, or the wish to control them; he expressed a regret that the men had ever come into the Territory, and a disbelief in his power to control them; I did not hear him disclaim any authority over them; Jones told me that he had been resisted by a body of thirty-eight men, who had rescued a man named Branson from him; he said he was determined to perform his duties of Sheriff at every hazard, that these men were here as his posse, and that he could not control them; he said his life had been threatened, and he had been in Lawrence several times to give persons an opportunity to shoot him, and he should continue to go there; when I arrived at Lawrence, from Council City, on my way to Kansas City, no preparation had been made here for defence; when I came up from Kansas City the people were preparing for defence; I was told there were from 500 to 1,000 men here under arms; there were 200 Sharpe's rifles here, and but one piece of cannon, very little ammunition; guards were placed about the town; don't know the number; I never received a challenge from a sentinel on going in or out of Lawrence; I know it was intended to keep a horse-guard every night; I think it was intended to have a countersign every night.

By Gov. Reeder—As I was passing down to Kansas city I met a man coming this way; I saw one gentleman whom I afterwards learned to be Col. Woodson, of Independence; I heard threats made against the American Hotel at Kansas city by the same parties who had made threats against Lawrence; there were some three or four citizens of Kansas city who would have encouraged a proceeding of this kind, but a large majority of the citizens of Kansas city were opposed to it; I know that Col. Eldridge purchased this property of the Emigrant Aid Company, and these threats were made against it on that account, and because it was kept to accommodate Northern and Eastern emigrants; I know that some of the leading citizens of Kansas city, fearing the Hotel would be destroyed, issued a circular denying that its proprietor was an Abolitionist, and sent a deputation to the camp at Wakarusa with it in order to prevent a destruction by them on their return; I saw parties crossing the river at Kansas city on their way to Lawrence, uttering most hideous yells and threats against the Abolitionists.

By Mr. Woodson—Kansas city is in Missouri, on the extreme edge.

EVIDENCE OF LEWIS A. PRATHER.

Lewis A. Prather, called and sworn: Came to Franklin 6th July, 1855, from Missouri; was below Independence in Missouri, in Sept. last; a body of men overtook me, of whom I asked, "Where are you going?" they told me they were from Saline county, Mo., and were going to Kansas to vote; saw them again near Westport; their numbers had increased; knew they voted; stood near the polls at Franklin and saw them; before we got to Westport saw a hemp stock and hemp rope hanging out the wagon, which they told me was to hang the Abolitionists with; a Robt. Grant told me when he learned how much I was opposed to their coming here to vote, I should be rewarded with the rope first if I did not look out; they claimed the right to vote under the acts of the Territorial Legislature; there were about sixty; they did not claim to be citizens; I asked them particularly about that; one of them said, "We have claims in the Territory;" another said, "Jim, what is the use of telling that d—n lie, you know we are going to vote same as we did on 31st March, and return;" they said they were going to tear down Lawrence and slide the d—n town into the river; they wanted to know why the Free-State men were not going to vote on

the same day as they; I answered that the Free-State party expected to elect Gov. Reeder on that day; they said, "God d—n Gov. Reeder, he will not be alive on that day, and Robt. Grant said he would kill him wherever he could get a chance, and the more Abolitionists he could kill at a fire the better; they asked me if I was going to vote on the 1st; I told them no; they then said I was worse than an Abolitionist, for I was nothing but a d—d Southern traitor; on Monday, when the polls were opened, I was called upon to act as Judge of Election; refused to serve in consequence of my opposition to law and the Missourians being there to vote; they threatened me in consequence, Mr. Whitlock, member of the Territorial Legislature, in particular; when the polls were opened I placed myself where I could see who voted, and stood with pencil and paper in hand to note who voted; I made sixty-three foreign voters, and from twelve to fifteen resident voters; some of them who came up with me did not vote at Franklin, but voted at other places, as I was informed.

Cross-examined—General Whitefield was the only candidate at the election.

By Gov. Reeder—Robert Grant lives in Saline county, Mo.; he so told me; lived in Franklin during the invasion of last November; my house is within a mile of the encampment of the Missourians; Mr. Wallace, a leading Pro-Slavery man, asked me to attend his store, as they were going to make an arrest; after the rescue saw Jones, and was told that he (Jones) was writing to Col. Boone, of Westport, Mo., and that there would be a bad turn out in the Territory; said I, "My God! what does this mean? Why don't he go to the Governor?"

Objected to by Col. Woodson.

Mr. Wallace told me that he was Mr. Jones' Aid; he told me repeatedly that he was Jones' Aid, and served as Aid in carrying messages for Shannon and Jones; I was introduced to Jones by Wallace; Wallace told me about the rescue; said Branson was rescued by thirty or forty men, the night before; he then told me Jones was going to send to Missouri for aid; at my suggestion, went to Jones to try to stop it; went into the room to try to stop it; Jones was then writing; was not more than ten feet from Jones when Wallace told me this; conversation was loud enough for Jones to hear, but the room was nearly full; Jones finished writing, got up and walked to the door, gave the paper either to Calman, Hagers, or Buckley, and said, "There goes my dispatch to Missouri, and, by God, I will have revenge before I see Missouri;" in half an hour another dispatch was sent off, which Mr. Wallace told me was to Governor Shannon; I complained loudly because the dispatch was first sent to Missouri, instead of to Shannon; a few days afterwards, saw at Franklin men from Missouri. [Witness here named some of them.] They encamped at Franklin; Deputy-Sheriff Salters came to me and said—"Now I will have revenge upon Lawrence—there shall not be one stone left upon another; men continually came pouring into camp from towards Missouri; they said they came to serve Shannon, if he would let them, and if he would not, they would do their duty anyhow; others were more moderate; they brought artillery, guns, rifles, revolvers, knives and swords; they told me they were organized into companies; saw Companies A, B, C and D; they tried to organize a company of Territorial militia at Franklin, and did; Mr. Leak commanded; don't know his first name; he is a travelling gambler; he told me so himself; there was no other company of Territorial militia there; Mr. Wallace told me Jones commanded these men; after was told Gen. Strickler commended them; afterwards saw General Richardson, and he told me he commanded them. Mr. Wallace went to the camp often, and I went there at times with him; at Franklin he seemed to act as a Commissary for the Franklin Company; Wallace told me he was with Jones when Branson was arrested; Wallace brought a written note from Shannon to me, asking my attendance at Blue Jackets; I went immediately; Shannon wanted to know of me what had taken place in Lawrence here at political meetings, and whether threats had been made against Jones, or any person connected with the Territorial Government; I saw Indians in the camp at Wakarusa; these Indians were armed, I think; saw arms about their camp while they were at dinner; saw a man pour a handful of bullets into the hands of an Indian, and tell him he wanted him to save a Yankee scalp for each bullet; he said he would; the same man also took the Indian's bottle and carried it to get it filled; the Indian told me afterwards that he did not mean to kill Yankee; we want to get whiskey; Wallace expressed a decided determination to come

with the Missouri troops to Lawrence, and die with them if necessary; I was roughly treated by them, and while I was away they black-guarded my wife and family; if I was away from home at night they would not let me go home; they would not let me go to the Post Office, nor to Lawrence; I threatened to apply to the laws for protection; one of them told me, "By God! I should like to see you get any benefit of the law against us;" in consequence of their troubling and harassing me I could not attend to my stock, and thereby lost a cow and calf; I was doing business in store and wanted to go home at night, and they refused to let me go; heard of many other depredations committed but know of none myself; (here Gov. Reeder offered to prove from the witness that in conversation with two councilmen of the Territory Legislature, they said that their object was to legislate so as to drive out the Yankees from the Territory; objected to.)

Was in company with Dr. Wood and Mr. Wallace going into camp; Wood told us he had come from Leecompt with Gen. Richardson, and about three or four miles above Lawrence they met two men riding out on the prairie, a Mr. Burns, of Western Missouri, and Maj. Clark; rode out to meet them; Gen. Richardson directed Wood to ride out and call them back; saw Burns, Clark and another man popping away at each other; one man was not firing; the two men then rode away, and Burns remarked, we hit one, for I saw the fur fly; afterwards was introduced to Clark, and heard him tell the story, and say, we gave one Yankee his winter quarters, for I saw him reel on his horse.

Cross-examined—My conversation with Wallace was before any of the Missourians came up; it began in Wallace's store, and was the morning after the rescue of Branson.

The Springfield Daily Argus.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1856.

Stave off her Admission Indefinitely.

The *Tribune*, as was to be expected, attacks the *Times* for its article on Kansas affairs, approving the passage of Senator DOUGLAS' bill. Its Washington correspondent says:

"That any journal professing to favor the cause of Free Kansas should be so injudicious as to advocate such a course, is a subject of equal astonishment and regret. The editorial article in the *Times* of Thursday last, to which I allude, is utterly condemned in political circles here, as alike weak in conception and inconsiderate in exposition. Kansas has just two chances to be delivered from Slavery. One is to be admitted under the Topeka Constitution, and the other is to stave off her admission indefinitely."

The admission under the Topeka constitution of course is not expected. The real game is "to stave off her admission indefinitely." To admit Kansas would be to use up the whole capital of these Republican patriots, and therefore they are opposed to any plan of admission which has any chance of success. They would vote against Senator SEWARD'S bill if there was a possibility of its becoming a law. They want Kansas for a foot ball in the Presidential election, and this correspondent of the *Tribune* distinctly states that "it will be time enough for the DOUGLAS bill to be passed" after that is over.

The hypocrisy of this whole movement is transparent. These politicians claim the admission of Kansas under the Topeka Constitution, on the ground that it has the sanction of the majority of the inhabitants of the Territory. But when it is proposed to admit her under a Constitution to be formed under the sanction of the law, by a majority of legal voters, they declaim against it. One or the other horn of the dilemma they must take—first, that their pretence that the Topeka Constitution has the sanction of a majority is false, or, second, that if true, they do not desire to provide for the admission of Kansas, even with a certainty that she will come in free, until after the Presidential election.—*Albany Atlas & Argus.*

HARTFORD:
WEDNESDAY, MAY 14.

Kansas News.

A few days ago a gentleman of Lawrence, a Mr. Cracklin, was coming through a strip of timber about four miles distant, on the Delaware reserve. He was followed and shot at by a small party of Le-compton men, encamped on the opposite side of the river from Lawrence, and who were stationed there to catch those who might attempt to escape having the bogus laws enforced upon them by Jones's Deputy; but fortunately for him, the approaching darkness and a dry ravine offered the opportunities of escape from almost certain death.

We chronicle the attack upon Mr. Mace below. Gov. Robinson offered a reward of \$500 for the apprehension of his assailants and intentional murderers.

An old man named J. Davidson, who has a claim about three miles from Lawrence, and voted last January for Governor and other officers for the State of Kansas, testified before the Congressional Committee, that he was a member of a secret society in Missouri, whose object it was to make Kansas a Slave State. The society is called by various names, such as "Blue Lodge," "Social Band," "Friends' Society," "Sons of the South," etc. He joined the society in Cass county, February, 1855; went to Kansas with a party and voted on the 30th of March.

The latest news is as follows. A despatch from St. Louis, dated the 13th says: Mrs. Robinson arrived here yesterday morning. She published a statement respecting her husband's detention at Lexington. She says Gov. Robinson was going East on personal business, and denies that he was aware of the indictment previous to leaving the territory. Otherwise her statement does not materially differ from yesterday's despatch.

The Lawrence correspondent of the *Democrat* under date of the 7th instant, says indictments for high treason had been found against Messrs. Reeder, Robinson, Roberts, Lane and other prominent Free State men. The news brought to Lawrence by Missourians is, that secret handbills are circulating, that forces are marshalling in the border counties, and the people have been warned to prepare for defense.

The Shooting of Mace.

A great amount of sympathy has been shown by journals in the Border Ruffian interest in this section of the country, for the Missourian JONES recently shot by an unknown hand in Kansas. The attempt was made, of course, to fasten the odium of this outrage upon the Free State men. That no one of their number was the would-be assassin, is universally believed, and we have no doubt that it will be so proven. Had the fact been otherwise,—had the upstart been pistoled by some man upon whose rights he had trampled, it would not have been surprising, although no mitigation of the crime, under the peculiar circumstances. That it was not so,—that the people of Kansas are not goaded to madness and do not rise in a body and shoot down their tyrants and usurpers, furnishes deep and enduring evidence of their law-abiding character and their desire for peace.

We would call the attention of those who more especially sympathize with the sufferings of Mr. JONES, to the last outrage upon life reported from Kansas, a cowardly attack upon a Free State settler by the name of MACE. Mr. J. W. MACE, who went from Newburyport in Massachusetts to Kansas, and has resided in the territory more than a year, was summoned before the Congressional Committee to render his testimony in relation to the election frauds and invasion. His exposures bore hard upon the self-same JONES that was shot the other

day, who was then undeniably a postmaster in Missouri, and not even a Sham Sheriff. According to MACE's testimony, JONES was the leader of a gang of desperadoes from Missouri who took possession of the polls at Bloomington. JONES was foremost in driving away the Free State men and in threatening the Free State judges of the election. He showed himself the same bully and ruffian that he was at Lawrence the other day.

Mr. MACE having told what he knew of these matters,—nothing more than his duty, and something which he could not have avoided, even if he had so chosen,—returned to his lonely cabin. Attracted in the night by the barking of his dog at the supposed proximity of a wolf, he leaves his hut to track the animal, and when on the brow of a bluff, is shot at by a brace of wretches concealed in the ravine below. The shot of one grazes his right shoulder,—that of the other enters his left leg below the knee,—and as he falls, his dastard assailants, supposing him dead, give a fiendish laugh, and one of them shouts, "There is more damned abolition bait for wolves."

What does the *New Haven Register* think of this matter? Let its editors contrast the two cases of JONES and MACE. The first, a dweller in Missouri, acting under questionable authority in the arrest of citizens of Kansas, is shot by an unknown hand, on account of a personal feud, it is afterward ascertained. For him the *Register* has poured out its sympathy. The other, a peaceable Free State man, who has committed no offense, save that of appearing before the Congressional Committee and rendering his honest testimony,—is shot down on a lone prairie, and left for food to the wolves. Will the *Register* have any sympathy for him!

JONES did not die. Neither did MACE. Although abandoned for dead, he succeeded in crawling to Lawrence, where he is now doing well.

What can be the character of the cause that thus fears investigation, and thus revenges itself on men who testify against it.

BOSTON POST.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1856.

THE SHOOTING OF SHERIFF JONES.

Citizens who mean to stand by the principle of the supremacy of the law and to frown upon anarchy, cannot but read with astonishment the editorials which the shooting of Sheriff Jones elicits in freecell journals; we mean those that deny to him an official character; those that hold he had no more authority to serve that writ in Lawrence than he had to serve one here in Suffolk! Let us remark, in passing, that should an official in Kansas abuse his authority; should he do an illegal thing; should he commit a trespass of any sort, he would be just as much answerable for the act on the soil of Kansas as such officers are on the soil of Massachusetts; and the laws furnish the citizen with the same means of redress.

It is not necessary, for our purpose, to examine the precise writ Sheriff Jones was serving. The case, however, was not one arising under the local election law, or the local slave law, of Kansas,—laws which a portion of the citizens of Kansas object to. It was a different case altogether. But our point goes farther than this; to the vital point of *authority* legal to serve any writ, which is here flatly denied; and to the manner in which this denial is made by freesoilers. These editorials supply a fresh illustration of the senseless, wild, fanatical, disgraceful and inflammatory appeals of the day; appeals as bloody and ferocious as they are ranting and shallow; appeals as pestiferous in their influences as they are insulting in their character. We pass by the flashings of our nearer freecell lights, to take a sample from that central luminary, the *Albany Evening Journal*, a dyed in the wool higher law Seward press. In discoursing on the shooting of Sheriff Jones, this press says—

— "When President Pierce orders Col. Sumner's dragons to encamp in Lawrence to enforce the in-

amous slave code of Missouri, he does precisely what George the III. did when he sent Gen. Gage to enforce the stamp act and the tea tax in Boston. When Jones and the Atlas set out to make 'arrests,' they set out to do just what Major Pitcairn did at Concord. The offence for which the first blood in the revolution was shed was the same as that of the settlers in Kansas. They refused to submit to foreign tyranny. They 'were assembled with arms in their hands'! That was the crime done at Lexington. That is the crime charged at Lawrence!"

We have but a line for this fanatical stuff. The people of this country, through their representatives in congress, have instituted an organic law for Kansas; the President, as their agent, is bound to execute it; and Col. Sumner is the instrument simply to preserve the public peace, so that the officers of the law may act: the British parliament, in 1775, claimed to bind the people of the colonies in all cases whatsoever, in laws they had no voice in making; Gen. Gage was sent out to reduce the people to submission to such law: and now an American press has the effrontery to insult the intelligence of the people by comparing the duty devolving on a president whom the people have elected, to the acts of a king whom the people denounced; and a gallant and worthy man, supporting the laws of his country with Gen. Gage, a tool of tyranny!

But while the demagogue journals here are engaged in such a work, demonstrating to their own satisfaction that Sheriff Jones had no authority to appear in Kansas as sheriff, lo and behold, Charles Robinson, their "real governor" in Kansas, comes down upon their position with a terrible Paixhan! To do him justice, this man, ever since it became evident that, as real governor, he had something to do to maintain his title, has been backing down very severely; but he finds it difficult to control the terrible spirit of insubordination and anarchy which he invoked. In a letter dated April 27, this man writes, that Mr Jones was acting WITH THE AUTHORITY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT; and characterises whoever shot him as A VIOLATOR OF THE LAWS.

If this be the case, then Mr Jones, we opine, had at least as good a right, as sheriff, to serve a process in Kansas, as any of our sheriffs have to serve processes in Massachusetts! What have our freecell, higher-law journals to say to this fire in the rear? If this does not knock the platform from under them, then we do not understand the meaning of words. Here C. Robinson, governor, admits that Jones was a legal officer! There is no getting away from this! It is a death stroke to their fundamental theory! We hope we shall hear never a word more about this officer being a "sham" or a "bogus!"

Now just consider in what a sad plight this admission placed the Albany demagogue! Fancy him in his musings! He would mutter—Hout, ye Robinson man, what are ye doing? Have n't we demonstrated for ye how much ye are abused? Haven't we made it out that President Pierce is a George III., and Col. Sumner is a General Gage, and Jones is a Pitcairn; and their cause a "foreign tyranny;" and that the crime just charged of resisting it at Lawrence is no more crime than was the crime done by the men of Lexington! Have n't we made out this as straight as a turnpike? Are ye as blind as moles that ye don't see this, and as dull as beetles that ye can't comprehend it? But what have ye done? Ye have admitted that Jones was a legal officer! admitted that those who resisted Sheriff Jones were violators of law! Ye have thus knocked us as flat as flounders! Ye make it out, forsooth, that we, your friends, are the Britishers, and that Pierce, Sumner and Jones are the Lexington patriots! Call you this backing your friends?

It is time that sensible men should have done with this Kansas demagoguism. It cannot stand an hour's trial. It is the merest folly, a downright insult to American intelligence, to compare President Pierce, executing the laws of the congress of these United States—laws made by the people—with George III. executing edicts in which the people had no voice. Those who do it presume upon an amount of ignorance in those they expect to dupe, which does not

MANCHESTER, MAY 14, 1856.

Were not the public mind prepared for almost any outrage in Kansas, the news which we publish this evening would shake the community to its profoundest depths.—The good sense and conservatism of the American people can alone prevent this germ of a revolution from taking root throughout the Republic. The people of a town in Missouri, who had nothing more to do with the matter than the people of this city, have arrested Gov. Robinson, a citizen of Kansas.—Gov. Reeder is hemmed in by a posse of officials from Leecompton, and the proceedings of the Congressional Commission are threatened to be smothered. Such is the state of affairs that it is not improbable the U. S. Dragoons now stationed at Leavenworth will be called to aid in furthering both these audacious acts, as they were recently to aid in the arrest of John Hutchinson and others.—Treason is the epithet already applied to Robinson, Reeder and others, while it has come about that Atchison, Stringfellow and Shannon, and those other delectable scamps, are defenders of the government.!

Manchester Democrat.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 14 1856.

Kansas Correspondence.

ZEANDALE, KANSAS, April 15, 1856.

Dear Brother,—Having a little leisure, I improve the opportunity to tell you something about our affairs and Kansas-matters generally. My health is improving, and the rest are very robust and hearty. Your letter was received day before yesterday. I am glad to learn that New Hampshire has vindicated herself so nobly, both in regard to the Temperance and Anti-Slavery questions. Considering the powerful side issues, and the tremendous array of influences brought against the New Hampshire Republicans by the government at Washington—the corrupting tendency of money, and almost superhuman personal exertions, I think the victory greater than last year.

Let every Republican take courage and labor earnestly to perpetuate the conquest so nobly gained. I occasionally see the *Union Democrat* and it is surprising to see that men, who pretend to any decency, can so outrageously falsify the truth as does that paper in regard to Kansas matters. The Editor has not the excuse of ignorance, and is not misled by false reports, but he carefully conceals what he knows to be true, and boldly publishes what he knows to be false. Andrew B. Marshall, formerly of Weare, who was always a reliable Hunker Democrat, was by special invitation a correspondent of the *Union Democrat*; and Campbell, the editor, requested him to make a true statement of the condition of affairs in Kansas. Mr. Marshall gave him a full and true statement of affairs derived mainly from personal observation; but as it reflected severely upon the course of the Administration,—which the plain honest truth could not help doing—Campbell re-

fused to publish it, and has ever since been culling out and filling his paper with all sorts of lying extracts from our calumniators. The *Patriot* too represents that several *free state* men of Kansas are supporters of the Administration and approve of the President's course with regard to us. Now, that is not true. There is not a free state man in Kansas who does not look upon the President as having joined with the people of Missouri to promote our subjugation, and force slavery upon us against the will of more than three fourths of the inhabitants. The fact is, we have such strong reasons for thinking so that no sane man can believe otherwise.

While the Missourians were invading our territory, depriving us of the right of suffrage and choosing our rulers from among their own number, who enacted laws with the avowed object of humiliating us, and forcing us into resistance that they might have an opportunity and excuse for our extermination, we petitioned the President earnestly and respectfully to interfere for our protection, which he not only refused, but commenced immediately to inflict upon us outrage and insult, which he has kept up ever since. I wonder that the Democrats of New Hampshire can be so misled by their corrupt party papers, as not to be able to see it.

Nearly one half of the members of our Legislature are "old line Democrats," and so with a large portion of the people, and all concur in condemning the President as bitterly as any Free-soil men east do. The pretence that Gov. Reeder had been speculating in Kaw lands, or in a projected city on the government reserve, was all a shallow subterfuge. He had done no such thing; and if he had, it would not have been a sufficient cause for his removal. Jefferson Davis "let the cat out of the bag." He announced the fact that Gov. Reeder would be removed, before it actually occurred in a speech to his "fellow citizens" of Mississippi, declaring that it was on account of his *free state* predilections, and not on account of land speculation.

Gov. Reeder possessed the respect and sympathy of most of the people of Kansas, and we respectfully remonstrated against his removal. But Shannon has rendered himself contemptible in the eyes of all parties, by his treatment of his allies, as well as his attempts to subjugate the real citizens. He at first summoned the Militia, organized under the spurious Legislature (which in numbers was a true indication of the real strength of the Pro-Slavery party in Kansas) and they rallied to his standard to the enormous number of fifty. Not feeling quite strong enough to subdue the rebellious citizens of Lawrence, and being refused a regiment of U. S. troops by the commandant at the Fort, and being also informed by the under officers that if they were to come they would stand by the citizens of Kansas; he posted off his emissaries to Missouri for help, well knowing that his patriotic allies, there, were itching to perpetrate by whole-sale murders what they had heretofore been obliged to limit to individual cases. They rallied an array of twelve hundred warriors, full of hot blood and hotter whiskey, who swore upon their swords, muskets, and cannon (with which they furnished themselves from the U. S. Arsenal unmolested and unrebuked at that time, or since) and also by their great God, *Rot-gut Whiskey*—to whom they sacrificed

in their orgies three of his most devoted worshippers—that they never would return till they "waded waist deep, in the blood of Yankees." With this mighty host he encamped at the safe distance of eight miles from the devoted city. Imperious as any Roman conqueror, conscious of his unbounded strength, he approached the entrenchments of the city, with a flag of truce, delivered to the inhabitants the conditions, by complying with which, they could avert the impending storm; otherwise he would let loose upon them the *dogs of war*. The conditions were three, first, to deliver up all violators of law, and, second, to deliver up their Sharp's Rifles. In the first place he was answered, that all violators of *real law*, would be readily given up. In the second place, he was informed, that the people were willing to do the fair thing and proposed, if he insisted on his proposition, to compromise by keeping their rifles and giving him the contents.

This reply disconcerted even the valorous Shannon. His knees smote together like Belshazzar's and he heard the words "*mene mene tekel Upharsin*" which rang in his ears, like a ghostly message from the other world; and, all at once, he became pliable and *whiskey-benevolent*; he voluntarily shouldered the whole blame, by acknowledging it an executive blunder. He disowned and discarded his allies, and threatened to turn the Lawrence forces upon them, if they did not disperse. He, in a measure, recovered from the effects of the liquor, but his fear redoubled. He begged Lawrence folks, not to punish his acknowledgment till he had passed through Missouri on his way to Washington. He has since by promises and, perhaps, confession accommodated matters with the Border Ruffians. They excuse him, no doubt, on the ground that he was drunk, and, certainly, no persons knew better how to sympathize with a man in that fix than they.

The President by sending back that creature, Shannon—when he was known to be a nuisance in the eyes of nine tenths of the people of Kansas—and by continuing in office the Indian Agent, Clark, who brought down to the siege of Lawrence, a company of Indians, threatening to scalp the d—d Yankees, and who boasted that he murdered Barber; and the Senate, by confirming the odious nomination, thereby endorsing the acts of the Border Ruffians, who elected a Legislature, and imposed it upon us *by force*, and insulted us by their despotic code of laws which virtually disfranchised every free state man, and made every pro-slavery man from any state, without previous residence in the territory, a legal voter, by the payment of *one dollar*, and which forbids any free state man, under heavy penalties, from speaking, writing, or printing his honest sentiments, have committed the administration party, and all its sustainers to the issue of forcing Slavery upon Kansas, against the will of more than three fourths of the people. It shows, also, that they have determined to strangle in its cradle their infant child "*Squatter Sovereignty*" whom their political prophets declared to be the *Democratic Messiah* who was to save the *glorious Union* and, before whom, every true Democrat must fall down and worship; because "forsooth" with all its God-like power, it could not save Kansas from freedom.

But though the President and his party, are sold to Slavery and its indefinite extension and are bent on trying to accomplish by

foul means what they could not do by fair, and notwithstanding the immense power they wield, by means of prejudice and government patronage, I feel sure they *must fail*, for the enormity of their own deeds is resting upon them, and opening the eyes of the people. We know we have *truth and right* on our side, and we are confident in the belief that He who "maketh the wrath of man to praise Him" will bring the schemes of a God-defying President and Senate, and their adherents to naught.

We have been entirely without law, in the territory, ever since the removal of Gov. Reeder. No officer created by the bogus Legislature (Pierce's darling protege) has ever shown his head in this vicinity. The only indication, I have known, of the existence of such a functionary, is the posting up of a notice in a private house some ten miles distant, informing us that he will meet our citizens at that place on a given day and assess upon us a tax. Now as we hold to the old creed of our revolutionary fathers, that there should be no taxation without representation, we all, of course, decline the proposal and respectfully refer him for his taxes to the persons who did our voting for us!

I feel certain that *Kansas must and will be a free state. Nothing but a United States army, sufficient to crush the freeman of the state, can prevent it.* And should that be attempted, it would ultimately result in the destruction of slavery in all the States.

They tried the test of population and were beaten five to one. They next invaded our territory, drove us from the ballot boxes, and elected a legislature, not one member of which was chosen by the people of Kansas, and, although they are backed by the President, its acts are not only a dead letter but operate strongly against them. They next attempted conquest but found they were too late for that operation, their leaders deciding that it would take *six thousand* men to take Lawrence. They are now, at this late hour, forming Emigrant aid companies, but the North have the advantage of them there. They have exhausted every expedient they could invent, and now only hope to succeed by the aid of the standing army under the control of the President. Pro-Slavery men in the western settlements are selling out and leaving the state, and Free State men are coming in rapidly. But I have not room to write more on this subject now.

Your affectionate Brother,

JOSEPH H. PILLSBURY.

The N. H. Patriot.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1856.

Didn't they Bargain for it?

Some of the free soil papers seem very much grieved to find that Sheriff Jones of Kansas, has been shot. They are shedding crocodile tears over the event, and writing long sermons, filled with "deep regrets" and "heartfelt sorrow," and charging the outrage, finally, to the hot blood of youth, rendered too impetuous and reckless by the constant irritations of their enemies. They do not justify, but only excuse, the villainous deed. A correspondent of the Boston Journal, whom we quoted on Monday, says: "This is the first act that I have ever regretted, chargeable upon the free state men of Kansas."

But why, we ask, regret it, or shed tears over it, or grieve for it? Was it not bargained for? For what were those rifles sent to Kansas, if not to be used? Have these snivelling hypocrites—for we cannot find it in our thoughts

of justice to call them anything else—forgot the appeals which they made to our people for deadly weapons a few months ago, only a few weeks ago? Have they forgotten the scene at the New Haven church, where Henry Ward Beecher begged for twenty-five rifles, and pledged another church for twenty-five more? Suppose we refresh their memories with a passage from the account of the doings there.—We give it just as it appeared in their own organs:

Rev. Mr. Dutton, (Pastor of the Church)—One of the deacons of this Church, Mr. Harvey Hall, is going out with the Company to Kansas, and I, as his Pastor, desire to present to him a Bible and a Sharpe's rifle. [Great applause.]

F. P. Pie—I will give one.

Stephen D. Pardee—I will give one for myself and also one for my wife.

Mr. Beecher—I like to see that; it is a stroke right and left. [Great laughter.]

Charles Ives—Put me down for three.

Thomas R. Trowbridge—Put me down for four. [Continued laughter.]

Dr. J. I. Howe—I will subscribe for one.

A gentleman said that Miss Mary Dutton would give one.

Dr. Stephen G. Hubbard—One.

Mr. Beecher here stated that if twenty-five could be raised on the spot, he would pledge twenty-five more from Plymouth Church—fifty being a sufficient number for the whole supply. [Clapping of hands all over the house.]

Prof. Silliman now left Mr. Beecher to speak for the bid, and sat down to enjoy the occasion.

Mr. Killam—I give one.

Mr. Beecher—Killam—That's a significant name in connection with a Sharpe's rifle.—[Laughter.]

Killam—KILL 'EM—said Mr. Beecher, is a significant name in connection with a Sharpe's rifle! Mr. Beecher, it seems, knew what was to be done with the rifles. He was not bargaining for boy's play. KILL 'EM, was his motto! They have killed only one of them; and what arrant hypocrisy to pretend to be sorry for it!

But the rifles, these long-faced abettors of murder now tell us, were only intended for defence. They were to be used in defending the free state men against invasion and murder by the "border ruffians." There is no truth—not a particle of truth in this! They were intended for the very purpose indicated by this cowardly murder. They were intended to be used in resisting the laws, just as they were used, or as one of them was used, on this occasion. Such, at least, was the intention of the free state men of Kansas. Must we again refresh the memories of these forgetful gentlemen? Here are two resolutions adopted at a Territorial Convention of the free state party—the same convention which nominated Reeder as delegate to Congress:

"Resolved, That we owe no allegiance or OBEDIENCE to the tyrannical laws of this spurious Legislature; that their laws have no validity or binding force upon the people of Kansas, and that every freeman among us is at FULL LIBERTY, consistently with his obligations as a citizen and a man, to DEFY AND RESIST THEM, if he chooses to do so.

"Resolved, That we will endure and submit to these laws no longer than the best interests of the Territory require, as the least of two evils, AND WILL RESIST THEM TO A BLOODY ISSUE, as soon as we ascertain that peaceable remedies shall fail, and forcible resistance shall furnish any reasonable prospect of success; and that, in the meantime, we recommend to our friends throughout the Territory the organization and discipline of volunteer companies and the procurement and preparation of arms."

Here are plain words, most certainly. The "PROCUREMENT AND PREPARATION OF ARMS" was for the purpose of RESISTING THE LAWS "TO A BLOODY ISSUE." The arms have been procured. Mr. Keach stated in an anti-slavery meeting in this city, a week ago last Sunday, that the Governor of Rhode Island contributed one rifle—perhaps the rifle first to immortalize itself. The arms procured, the next work was to resist the laws. They have been resisted. An officer of the government has been shot down while in the discharge of his duty—while serving a precept growing out of the commission sent to Kansas by the House of Representatives! The BLOODY ISSUE has been realized. Killam has become in fact a very significant name!

And what right have these Kansas guardians to find fault? What have they realized but the legitimate fruits of their preaching? With the resolutions we have quoted already before you, what else did they, or could they expect? Had they not endorsed the proclama-

tion, put forth by the free state men, that the murderer of Jones was at "FULL LIBERTY" to "DEFY AND RESIST" and KILL that officer?—Did they not bargain for all that has occurred?—*Providence Post.*

"Kill-em!"—*Ward Beecher.*

The dastardly assassination of Sheriff Jones, in Kansas, is the legitimate fruit of the Sharpe's rifle crusade. The deed was probably committed with one of the favorite weapons of the North Church, and the cowardly way in which it was committed, would seem to mark it as the work of some sneaking fanatic who lacked the courage to meet his victim face to face. It was one of the meanest, as well as the most atrocious killings, we ever read of. Poor Jones was sitting quietly in his tent, unsuspecting of danger, and conversing with his friends, when his assassin, under cover of the night, prowled behind him and shot him in the back, piercing the spinal marrow. The marksman was evidently one of Ward Beecher's, thinking that "it was an everlasting disgrace to shoot at a man and not hit him." What will be the result of this, remains to be seen. If the "border ruffians" were not better citizens, and men of greater forbearance than those who are seeking to raise a civil war in that Territory, by the organization of a revolutionary government, and inciting resistance to the U. S. officers, a terrible border fray would be the consequence. As it is, the "freedom shriekers" in Lawrence are alarmed at the effect the tidings will have upon the country—and their mock Governor, (Robinson,) who, by the way, signalized himself in California a few years since, by leading on a riot in which the Sheriff and Mayor of Sacramento were killed by his friends, has gone through the form of issuing a reward for the arrest of the assassin. A few crocodile tears are grudgingly shed over the affair by the New York Tribune, and other journals of that type whose political capital is all invested in "freedom for Kansas." But what a howl would have spread over the whole North, if the parties in this affair had been reversed, and Sheriff Jones had been the killer instead of the killed. Its enormity would have been the staple for speeches and sermons, from now till the Presidential election, and meeting houses would doubtless have been again opened for subscription to save the "defenceless freemen of Kansas" from the "wolves, and bears, and other beasts of prey." Calculated as this affair is to rouse the passions of the friends of the murdered man, we have great faith in the good sense of the men who are at the head of the law and order party in Kansas, that they will restrain any violence in retaliation. We sincerely hope so.—*New Haven Register.*

MARK IT.—Congress has been in session five months, yet the black republican majority in the House, while constantly professing their ardent desire for the admission of Kansas, have not taken the first step towards the accomplishment of that object. If they want Kansas admitted, why don't they pass a bill for that purpose? Let this fact be considered by the people. It shows that these men do not desire the admission of Kansas. They know that it would be a death-blow to them. This is admitted by some of them. The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune admits it in the most explicit terms. He writes as follows:—"Politically, it [the admission of Kansas] would be the severest blow that the Republican party could receive, for it would reinstate the Democratic party everywhere in the North in a day." This is the reason why the black republican leaders do not desire the admission of Kansas; and therefore it is that they have taken no steps to procure her admission; therefore it is that they so violently oppose Mr. Douglas' bill for her admission; and to delay and postpone definite action on the question and an early decision of it, was the great object of their sending to Kansas an investigating committee, whose arrival there was signalized by renewed forcible resistance to the laws and the murder of an officer in the discharge of his duty, by the "free state" ruffians there, who are the willing tools and hired instruments of the political desperadoes who are seeking their own elevation to power through treason, rebellion and all manner of fraud, corruption and wickedness.

NEW BEDFORD:
 Wednesday Evening, May 14, 1856.

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

We have most important intelligence from Kansas. It appears that another scheme has been devised by the border ruffians, to subvert the rights of the unfortunate emigrants. The investigation of the Congressional Commission is bringing things to light, which the ruffians are anxious should remain hidden. Gov. Reeder, who is familiarly acquainted with all the facts in the Kansas case from the commencement, is an important witness for the Free State men. He is consequently troublesome to the pro-slaveryites. To get him out of the way, a false and malicious charge has been preferred against him by the villains who now exercise control in the territory. Upon the result of the investigation depends whether Gov. Reeder shall be admitted to a seat in Congress as delegate from Kansas. He should certainly be entitled to the privilege of attending the Commission and aiding them in obtaining testimony, while his rival, Gen. Whitfield, should be entitled to the same privilege if he desires it.

There is most evidently a conspiracy in Kansas to arrest and put out of the way every man who can in the least contribute to the advancement of the Free State cause. The border ruffians who are sustained apparently by the authorities, stop at nothing, not even at murder, to accomplish their purposes. A Mr. Mace, who testified before the Commission, to the ruffianism and frauds committed by the Missourians at the Kansas election, has been decoyed from his cabin, shot at, and left for dead by the ruffians, to be devoured by the wolves. Fortunately, he recovered sufficiently to make his way to Lawrence where he is doing well. His case was probably intended as a warning to all who should in any way express a Free State sentiment.

A poor, miserable tool of the ruffians is a certain man named Le Compton, who holds the position of Judge in the territory. He recently requested the Grand Jury to find bills of indictment against Gov. Reeder, Gov. Robinson, Roberts, Lane, and other prominent Free State men, for high treason, which was accordingly done. Gov. Robinson had previously started for the East with his wife and family, on personal business. He was detained by the sympathizers of the ruffians in Lexington, Missouri, on the ground that he was fleeing from arrest. His wife arrived at St. Louis on Tuesday morning. He is still in the hands of the ruffians.

It is understood that Messrs. Howard and Sherman, of the Congressional Commission, have stated that Gov. Reeder was protected from arrest by his privilege. Mr. Oliver, a member of the Committee and a Missourian, is said to be prompting the ruffians to more overt acts. The life of Gov. Reeder is in imminent peril, yet he will not desert his post. We should not be surprised to hear that he had been slain, at any time, by the Missouri pro-slavery murderers. Sheriff Jones, about whom so much talk has been had, was the leader of a mob of 200 or more Missourians who invaded Kansas last year and drove the settlers away from the ballot boxes, with pistols and bowie knives. Jones and his murderous crew gave the judges of the elections five minutes in which to resign, or die. A pretty fellow he is truly to execute the laws.

A party of 250 Southerners, mostly from Georgia, under command of Maj. Bufford, have arrived in Kansas city. They announce their intention to be the destruction of Lawrence. They are a poor, miserable set of desperadoes evidently bent upon mischief. They are all armed. Each man had a gun and a bible presented to him at home. During their trip up the river, the bibles were thrown overboard. They have gambled all their money away and are poverty-stricken. Despatches state

that an armed force is on the way to Leavenworth, to destroy the testimony taken by the Congressional Commission. Should the threat be carried into execution, it will not be unexpected. The ruffians feel and know that they have the government on their side. They dare do anything.

Such is the brief history of the present state of affairs in Kansas. Where is the responsibility of it? We can find it in no other place than with the general government. From the first settlement of the territory until to-day, the leaning of the National Administration has been with the Missouri ruffians and those who have attempted to subvert the liberties of the early emigrants. Things have now reached a crisis. Should the Congressional Commission be harmed or interfered with in any way, Congress will be compelled to take notice of it and thus bring the question before the country in a tangible shape.

The government and all concerned in these Kansas frauds and ruffianisms fear to have the facts come out. It will place them in no enviable light before the world, and every effort is making to conceal the conduct of the miscreants. We hope we do not mistake the stuff the American people are made of. We hope these infamous proceedings in Kansas will in some way be avenged. Let justice be done though the heavens fall. Let the wrongs and enormities in Kansas be righted or else let us take our position among the meanest, the most contemptible and debased people on the face of the globe.

NEWARK DAILY ADVERTISER

WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 14, 1856.

Where shall the Whigs go?

Amid all the mutations of party, the Whigs proper have hitherto preserved a "masterly inactivity."—Thousands like Mr. Webster have asked the ourselves, "Where shall I go?" Yet, as the time for action has not arrived, they still remain at their post, ready for their country's service whenever they are satisfied of the true course. They must soon, however, decide whether they will support the American, the Republican, or the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, or make an independent nomination of their own. The latter course would be useless, and is not likely to be adopted; and but few, it is presumed, will support the Democratic nominee, unless directed to that course as the least of evils presented. Can they then preserve the conservative and national character they have heretofore enjoyed, and support the Republican nominee or the principles, of that party?

The Whigs, in regard to the slavery question, stand now where they ever have stood, opposed to the extension of slavery; but, at the same time, preferring an honorable compromise of the subject to a civil rupture or danger to the Union. They are for the Constitution and its compromises; and although one of the compromises, that of Missouri, has been broken, yet still they adhere to their principles, and require a restoration of the broken compact, or its equivalent; the admission of Kansas as a free State. If this be the only object of the Republicans, there was no necessity of the formation of a new party for that purpose: for all the Northern Whigs, Americans and opposition men go the slavery question to that extent.

True, the Republicans have seized that question as peculiarly their own, as a prominent feature on which to build up a new party, at the risk of dividing the opposition, though thinking alike on that point. Why? Surely not for the mere purpose of carrying that point only, else they would have taken a different course.—Was it not for the purpose of doing what has been often heretofore attempted, but without effect, viz: to build up a great free-soil or anti-slavery party? Is it not for this that Seward and Butler, Blair and Giddings, Hale and Chase, and the Buffalo Convention men of New Jersey are seen co-operating together? Is it not for this that the Pittsburgh platform, and the National and State call in New Jersey, of the Republicans, is based not merely on the restoration of the Missouri compromise, but also for the exclusion of slavery from all the territories, notwithstanding the compromise of 1850? Why do they ask for the restoration of the compromise of 1820, and the violation of that of 1850? Does not this mean the organization of a great Sectional Northern Anti-Slavery Party, to be created and sustained by the revival and re-agitation

of the whole slavery question, the same as if no compromise had ever been made? Is not this to cast away as worthless the labors of Clay and Webster and their fellow Whigs, and to subvert the conservative principles of the Whigs, to which they have ever adored, whether their banner was floating in triumph or trailed in defeat?

The Whigs of '76 compromised the question of slavery by the North Western Territory Act of 1787; they did it again and again during the administrations of Washington and Jefferson, in the enactment of the act of 1787, the passage of a fugitive slave law, the admission of free and slave States, and particularly in the Constitution; and their successors did the same thing by the acts of 1820 and of 1850. Have we been wiser or better than they, that we should now attempt to sweep the whole away, organize a party, lying exclusively north of Maryland and the Ohio river, and proclaim to our brethren south of that line eternal war, disunion or political subjugation? Are the Whigs prepared to join that party, and march to political conflict under the lead of Butler, Blair, Giddings & Company?

It is said that the National Convention will strip the platform of everything but the simple question of the restoration of the Missouri compromise or Kansas a free State, and nominate a good conservative man.—Suppose they do—and we should be willing from confidence in the man to support him in preference to a worse nomination—will that relieve us of the difficulty? The platform will not, if at all, be razed from principle, but from policy; else, as the Whigs and all hold to the restoration of the Missouri compromise, the Republicans would come to us, and not ask us to go to them. But there will still remain the grand object of building up a great anti-slavery party for future service, and the future elevation of some of its leaders. Indeed, whatever the operators may calculate on, that seems to be the great object of the present organization: for the most sanguine of the intelligent men of the party neither expect or hope for present success. Not a vote will the Republican candidate obtain from a slave State, however distinguished may be his claims or his talents; and the loss of a single large free State, or two or three smaller States, will inevitably defeat his election. Hitherto, when the Whigs went into a political conflict, it was with the prospect, or at least the hope of victory; it was so when we elected "Tippenanoe and Tyler;" so when we elected Taylor and Fillmore, and so when we strove manfully to elect Henry Clay and the gallant Scott, but were defeated by a portion of the same men who are now amongst the prominent men and leaders of the Republicans.

The prospect of victory might cheer on the young and ambitious to "go ahead"—though not sure they were "right"—but the self-satisfaction of being guided by correct principle, like the lofty sentiment of Clay, when he said he would rather be right than President, is to every true Whig of more importance than the proudest triumph of ambition. But in this case, when there is neither prospect nor sound principle to beckon the Whigs over to the Republicans as a party, why should we go? A union of the Whigs, Republicans and Americans has been talked of; but the Republicans have taken the entire matter into their own hands, by calling a convention on the 28th of May, to nominate an electoral ticket—of course they want no union with Whigs, except they come as converts. If the electoral and gubernatorial conventions are all postponed for two or three months, a union is probable. More anon.

AN OLD WHIG.

Daily Democrat.
FROM KANSAS.

Congressional Investigating Committee.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

LAWRENCE, K. T., May 8, 1856.

Testimony of James M. Arthur.—I am a native of Jackson county, Indiana. I emigrated from Clay county Indiana, and arrived in the territory in June, 1854, immediately after the passage of the Organic Act. I moved my family to Sugar creek, near the old Pottawatomie Catholic Mission, on the 10th of August, 1854, and have resided there ever since that time.—The voting precinct for our district was appointed

ed at Big Sugar creek by Gov. Reeder. This precinct is eighteen miles from the Missouri State line.

Two or three days before the election (the 30th of March,) Henry Younger, of Jackson county, Missouri, who has a farm some ten or fifteen miles from Independence I am told, called on me at my house and introduced himself as a candidate for the Kansas House of Delegates for that district. He gave me a copy of Gov. Reeder's proclamation.

I asked him where he lived!

He said he had not moved into the Territory yet, but had a claim four miles below me.

I asked him if he thought himself a legal voter or a resident before he had moved his family into the Territory?

He said he thought he was, and that the Kansas and Nebraska bill made every man who was in the Territory on the day of the election a voter.

We argued this point for some time and had some angry words before we parted. Younger hinted that Missourians were coming over, and that he allowed he'd be elected. Missourians, he said, had as good a right to vote in Kansas as Yankees.

THE ELECTION AT SUGAR CREEK.

On the morning of the 30th of March, the judges appointed by Reeder—myself and two proslavery men named John Brown, at present bogus sheriff of Linn county, and Elisha Tucker, formerly of Jackson county—were at our post and swore ourselves in, as prescribed by Reeder in his proclamation.

Shortly after the opening of the polls, a company of strangers arrived, some on horseback, others in carriages and some in wagons. One two-horse wagon was loaded with guns—there was nothing else in it.

As soon as they entered the yard before Elisha Tucker's house, (where the polls were opened,) they took their guns out of the wagon and stacked them up against an apple tree.

They then came and offered their votes. I don't know where they got their tickets; I never saw a proslavery ticket in the Territory until these men offered theirs.

I refused to take their votes unless they would swear that they were bona fide citizens of Kansas. They talked angrily when I said so, and said that they would vote and would not take the oath.

John E. Brown then turned round and said to me, "Unless you take the votes of these men you must resign." I denied that it was my duty to do so. He persisted. I then asked Elisha Tucker what he thought of the point in dispute. He tried to evade an answer, but finally said he thought they were legal votes.

Seeing that it was impossible for the squatters to obtain justice, I resigned, and they immediately elected Hickman Smith, a proslavery man.

This happened about nine or ten o'clock in the morning.

I remained around the polls till four o'clock—until the result was announced.

About ninety votes were polled, but not more than thirty or thirty-five of these were cast by bona fide citizens of the territory. The free State men refused generally to vote at all; but including the pro-slavery squatters who voted, the Missourians cast a very large majority of the vote.

Mr. Arthua was a member of the Kansas Constitutional Convention, and one of the Representatives elect of the Free State Legislative Assembly. In politics he is a National Nebraska Democrat.

STATEMENT OF DR. WESTFALL.

I emigrated to the Territory on the Sixth of January last. For about ten years past I have lived in Cass and Jackson counties, in Missouri. I am a physician. I am well acquainted with the prominent citizens of Jackson, Cass, Lafayette and Johnson counties.

For about ten years previous to the 30th of March, 1855, I had kept a dry goods store in Jackson county—less than ten feet from the line which divides the State from the Territory. I was always regarded as a pro-slavery man until the formation of secret lodges in Jackson county, to control the Territorial elections. I have no moral objections to slavery; I would own slaves if able, if I lived in a slave State. My relations are slaveholders. I am not a free-soiler. I am a Nebraska Democrat. When in Missouri I voted the Benton ticket. I have no objections to the extension of slavery provided that its extension is not forced upon the people of Territories by foreign citizens.

Secret lodges were formed for the purpose of controlling the elections in Kansas. I was repeatedly invited to join them, but refused to do so.

They then began to brand me as a free-soiler, but I paid no attention to them, and finally accused me of being an abolitionist.

They became so malignant—tried so incessantly to ruin my character and trade—that I determined to thwart their designs on Kansas.

On the 29th of March, a company was organized to invade the Territory and control the elections at Bull creek. I was invited to go with them by several citizens. I said I would go. I determined to send the Executive information of the frauds and thereby defeat the invaders' designs.

On the evening of the 29th, we encamped near Bull creek precinct, which is twenty-five miles from the Missouri line. We came in wagons, buggies and horseback. I presume there must have been five hundred encamped within one mile of each other that night. The largest company was from Cass county; the smaller one, in which I was, were from Jackson. They were all armed heavily.

About sundown, one of the two proslavery judges, appointed by Governor Reeder, came up to me and stated that the Free State judge of elections did not intend to act, and asked me to officiate in his stead.

I supposed that this offer had been made for the purpose of proving what they considered my political heterodoxy, and that they expected me to decline. But seeing that by accepting it, I could obtain the most minute knowledge of their proceedings, and thereby enable Gov. Reeder to refuse certificates to the candidates elected by the invaders, I promptly accepted the office, and on the following morning went to the polls in company with Jack Park, formerly of Kentucky, and Mr. Payne, formerly of Tennessee, whom Gov. Reeder had appointed as judges of the election.

Park had a claim on Bull creek, and had built a little cabin on it, but had never lived in it. He lived with Col. Gill, of Jackson county Missouri. He had only been in Missouri a few months before the election and returned to Kentucky shortly after the election and has resided there ever since.

Mr. Payne had been a few weeks from Tennessee—his family were in Tennessee at the time. He also had a claim in Bull creek, but had never lived on it. He lived at Col. Gill's also. He returned to Tennessee immediately after the election and has never been back since.

When we met at the precinct I asked how it was about swearing in the judges, and said that I could not serve if I had to commit perjury before acting. I said also that I could not see how a man could take the oath prescribed by Reeder and receive the votes of Missourians without committing perjury.

They remarked that I need not give myself any uneasiness about that as they didn't intend to take any oath.

The polls were opened about ten o'clock A. M., and closed about four o'clock in the evening, or perhaps later; as near as I can recollect about three hundred votes were polled at our precinct. I knew that nine-tenths of the voters were citi-

zens of Missouri! I knew the majority of them personally.

VOTING FOR A YOUNG BORDERER!

Samuel Wade, of Jackson, voted once for himself and once for "Jim Wade." Jim is a boy of nine or ten years of age. I asked him why he had voted for a child? He said he had laid out a claim for him close by his own claim, and he expected Jim would be a legal voter some time!

Both of my associate Judges knew Samuel Wade's family, but made no objection to his vote.

The election at our precincts resulted in the election of four representatives and two Senators.

I have known Henry Younger, one of the Representatives elected to the Legislature, for the last ten years. He has a large farm near Independence; is one of the wealthiest citizens of Jackson county; is a large land and slaveholder in Jackson and Cass counties, and has never resided in the territory, except during the session of the Legislature at Pawnee and the Shawnee

drove into camp on horseback, whooping and shouting. It was about eleven o'clock at night. Hamilton told us that there was danger of our not carrying the Pottawatomie precinct, and asked a company to march there at once. The Pottawatomie precinct is at least sixteen miles from the Bull creek precinct.

About sixty men organized and marched immediately for Pottawatomie.

After the election we returned home. As soon as the returns were made I rode to the Shawnee Mission and had an interview with Governor Reeder. I related to him the scenes in which I had participated, on the 30th of March, and asked him what ought to be done. He told me to tell the citizens of the District to get up a remonstrance, or protest, and forward it to him. I met some gentlemen from that District at the Governor's office, and he advised them to get up a protest officially. I understand that they did so, but it was not received in consequence of arriving after the time prescribed by the Governor in his proclamation.

The Congressional Investigating Committee—How the Administration Party View it—Attempts to Break it Up—Reeder Summoned as a Witness—Warrant for his Arrest—The ex-Governor shows his "Backbone"—Opinions of members of the Committee.

LAWRENCE, K. T., May 9, 1856.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

The Congressional Investigating Committee has been in session for fifteen days. They have collected a mass of evidence of outrages committed on the rights and persons of American citizens, unparalleled in the recorded history of civilized Western communities. Senators will never again presume to say that it is doubtful whether Kansas was ever invaded. The cry of "abolition lies," which has been so effective in certain sections of our country, will never again be raised by the friends of the administration. Douglas and his report will have to go to the wall. The free State men of Kansas, instead of being regarded as rebels and fanatics, will be looked on as men with a marvelous talent for silence and long-suffering. The people of the Southern States, who have hitherto been inclined to regard the followers of Atchison as champions of their rights, will repudiate them with scorn and rally to the support of the squatters they have so often condemned.

The administration party in Kansas, conscious of these things, have been zealously striving to thwart the object of the committee. Although it has set on an average ten hours a day, the organs of Pierce have sought to create the impression that it has been idling away its time. They next attempted to deny the impartiality of the examination. General Whitfield said, or is reported to have said, that he could not bring his witnesses to Lawrence as their lives would not be safe. The committee promptly determined to hold a session at LeCompton and Tecumseh—

both of them pro-slavery towns. They went there, but General Whitfield failed to produce his timid witnesses even there.

The next movement was a bolder one.

As Reeder was about to leave Tecumseh, an officer of the Territorial organization served him with a summons to appear as a witness before the grand jury at Lecompton. Gov. Reeder informed the officer that he declined to obey it.

Yesterday afternoon, as the committee were in session, a deputy Marshal, appointed by the Barons of Kansas, appeared in Court and served a writ of attachment on Gov. Reeder, who was examining a witness at the time.

The Governor arose and informed the committee of the fact. He said that he had declined to obey the subpoena for three reasons—informality in the writ, insecurity of person, privilege as a member of Congress. The writ was not properly addressed to any officer; it did not specify the day in which it required him to appear, and it was not properly attested. For the same reasons he protested against this writ of attachment. He said that he had been recognized by the House of Representatives as a claimant for the seat of Delegate from Kansas and that, therefore, he was entitled to the privilege of a member of Congress, conferred by the sixth section of article I of the Federal constitution:

"They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place."

He claimed that he was protected from arrest under the clause relative to protection in going to Congress; but he maintained that it included all preliminary steps requisite in order to obtain a seat. He therefore, claimed the protection of this Court.

The committee consulted together for several minutes, when Mr. Sherman said:

The application of Governor Reeder that this committee secure to him his privilege from arrest, places us under some embarrassment. He is here by our invitation, and to aid us in an important public duty. But for us he would not be here. We are required among other things, to take testimony touching the contest between Gen. Whitfield and himself, and heretofore we have had the benefit of their attendance and aid. While they are asserting their claims and producing evidence to sustain them, they have contributed very much to elicit the truth. To be deprived, in any way, of their aid would seriously hinder, delay and obstruct us in this investigation.

And yet, while this committee is in session and Gov. Reeder is engaged in examining witnesses before us, a Deputy Marshal comes into our midst to serve on Gov. Reeder a writ of attachment issued by a Territorial Judge. This, we are forced, will compel him to leave his writ, if enforced, as a witness before another duty here to attend as a member of the House of Representatives that we are here, and in consequence of that order that Governor Reeder is now within the jurisdiction of the court which issued this writ.

The sessions of the committee are open, and their duties and course of proceeding are well known to Judge Lecompte. It may be proper to mention that a majority of the committee were at Lecompton, where his court was in session this morning, and that no mention was made of his desire to secure the attendance of Governor Reeder, or that he would issue an attachment for him.

The question is upon us without notice, and without time for reflection.

While I regret the attempt to enforce process on Governor Reeder, yet I do not see how the committee can aid him. The question of privilege is a personal one, which we have no right to determine. It must rest entirely between the court and himself. If similar process was served on me, although admitted to be privileged from arrest, I would probably obey the process, and plead the privilege which the Constitution confers, before the court. This however, is a question upon which the committee can take no action.

Under the circumstances in which Governor Reeder is placed, I am of opinion he is privileged from arrest, and that his duty requires him to stand our sittings and not those of the Territorial

Courts—but of this he must judge for himself. Mr. Oliver, of Missouri, very briefly stated that he differed from Mr. Sherman's opinion, that a contesting Delegate was covered by the Constitution in the matter of privilege. He held, that the sitting member only was entitled to the privileges given in the sixth section of the Constitution.

As to the legal question, however, this Court was not the proper tribunal to decide such a point. He merely expressed his opinion as Mr. Sherman had expressed his views on the subject. Mr. Howard, of Michigan, said:

The great business of this committee is to collect facts, and not to make judicial decision.—The question here raised is not one that the committee has anything to do with. We are not called upon at this time to take any action upon the subject. By the sixth section of the first article of the Constitution, Senators and Representatives are privileged from arrest, except in case of treason, felony and breach of the peace. It is a personal privilege. Gov. Reeder is the contestant for a seat in the House of Representatives. His memorial has been received by the House. This committee, appointed to take testimony in his case, and he is now in attendance in obedience to the summons of the committee, and it is quite necessary to the prosecution of our work. My own opinion is, that under these circumstances, he is privileged from arrest to the same extent that a member of the committee would be.

Under the resolutions of the House, the committee have power to arrest persons who shall for any cause whatever, obstruct or hinder them in their investigation, and send them to Washington to be treated as for contempt of the House. The committee will only use this power in case of wanton and flagrant cases of hindrance in the performance of their duties. Especially will the committee avoid all unnecessary collision with the legal authorities. The committee decline to take any action on the subject, and in this we are unanimous, although we differ as to the question of privilege.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 15, 1856.

A Kansas Settler's Journal.

The following letter, from Mr. ANTHONY, who went from this city to Kansas with the company from Albany and Boston, in April, gives an excellent idea of the wants of the emigrant, on his first arrival in that new country, and the means that exist there for satisfying them and providing for homely comforts. It may serve as a sort of guide to others who are about to emigrate:

PEOLA, K. T., May 2, 1856.

I wrote you last while on the Missouri river. We are now among the Peola Indians, near Osawattamie. We were seven days on the Missouri river; arrived at Kansas city on the 26th April, early in the morning, landed our baggage, threw a tent over it, and then started in pursuit of oxen, wagons, &c. It rained all day. We went four miles to get our teams. Bought four of the best yoke of oxen we have seen on the road—all in good order. The best cost \$110, next \$100, mine \$90, and one yoke of steers, \$75. We got a second-hand wagon for \$75; new wagons cost \$130. It took us all day to get them, and a wet time of it at that.

Sunday morning, we got our teams down to the levee, and loaded up. We also bought plows, farming utensils, tools for making shingles, with one cross cut saw, nails and house trimmings. All purchased plenty of provisions. I got a sack of flour, meal, bag of corn, hams, keg of molasses, rice, tea, sugar, mustard, vinegar, &c., altogether amounting to \$41 38.—There are five of us, who calculate to stick together; and all have good teams, and a fair amount of means. We think we can start as good a breaking team as there is in the Territo-

ry. Traveled about ten miles, Sunday; passed over some most beautiful country; saw at least 4000 mules on the prairies, in charge of Mexican and Santa Fe merchants and traders. Had good fare that night.

Monday, made eighteen miles; struck our tents in the woods, and let the cattle feed on the bottom grass, which is four inches high. We have two tents for fifteen men. The boys shot three chickens, a rabbit, four snipe and five pigeons, which we dressed, and made a good dish of soup, and with crackers, &c., had a good supper. About ten o'clock we went out, got our cattle and chained them; then spread down a wagon cover in our tent and went to sleep; kept a good fire in front of the tent all night, which made it quite comfortable. A smart shower in the morning.

Tuesday, we made but eight miles; pitched our tents, but it began to rain, and we started for a house. Found good accommodations with Dr. Bradford, an agent for the Indians. He has a grant for 1200 acres of the very best kind for a farm, and is a fine man—would not take a cent for our entertainment.

Wednesday, went five miles—to Peola or Bull creek. At the ford, found the water twenty-two feet deep, so we got board here for the "summer," with an Indian by the name of Battice. Fare tolerable; board \$1 per day.—Waited two days. The water has fallen, so that the boys went across this morning.

Friday, will be off by noon; eight miles to Osawattamie—will get there to-night. We are quite sure we shall locate around Osawattamie. Mills went to Lawrence. From all reports, we are on the route to find the best timber and prairie.

The Indian agent has just divided \$3,500 among the Indians. On Wednesday, just before supper, they ran after a hog, killed him, and in less than two hours, one-half of it was roasted for us. They cooked a turkey at the same time; so you see we have not been starving. The Indians are all very kind. We had a shooting match Thursday; Sharpe's rifles came out victorious. They made some very extra sports.

The country we have passed through this far, is entirely ahead of Iowa and Illinois. It is all covered with blue joint, which indicates a rich soil. Any quantity of stone in the banks. I never saw a country so well supplied with water as is the Indian reserve we have passed over. A spring rises out of the ground directly in front of the house, which throws off water enough to turn a grind stone. The Indians here had the ague last summer, and it is said all must have it; but we will try our luck.—Think Osawattamie is the place for a mill.

There are some good claims for sale there—one for \$50—all wood; but we wish to look for ourselves before we buy. The boys want some help to get the cattle; so good bye. Write to Osawattamie.

J. M. A. KESION OR LIE—THIS WAS THE LANGUAGE OF THE SPURIOUS SHERIFF JOXAS, when leading a band of Ruffians who assailed the Free State Election Judges of Kansas. The empty bravado of this agent of the Pierce administration, was not regarded by men who had nothing to fear while doing right. He lived to threaten and enact other outrages upon Freedom, until some one exasperated beyond endurance, attempts to give him his quietus. Now, the late non-plussed pro-Slavery press, becomes blatant over this atrocious assassination of a Sheriff (!) and proclaims this JOXAS, lately so full of threatenings of slaughter, a very martyr to duty—and to Slavery! It is certainly a great card for the late dumb-founded propagandists—they can harp upon this supposititious shooting of their pseudo Sheriff, and forget that the Congressional Committee in Kansas are uncovering a scheme of fraud and outrage that exceeds any thing of the kind before known in Christendom.

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN KANSAS.—The outlaws in Kansas, fearful of an exposure of their misdeeds, seek to remove by legal process the witnesses for the people. Gov. REEDER's resistance to the proscription of Judge LROOMPT and the minions of slavery, is sustained by a majority of the commission holding its session in the Territory, and will probably be protected from arrest. But meantime, says the Evening Post, in order to signify to the witnesses on behalf of the people that they must not tell all they know, Mr. Mace, who has testified to the frauds committed in the Kansas elections, has been decoyed from his cabin, shot at, severely wounded, and left, as the ruffians who committed the deed supposed, to be devoured by the wolves.

We greatly misapprehend the spirit of the American people if they submit quietly to such infamous proceedings, or if they do not hold to rigid accountability the administration by whom they are instigated and abetted. It is now manifest that the President does not intend that a full investigation of the circumstances, under which the Shannon government in Kansas was begotten, shall be made, or if made, that the results of it shall ever reach Washington; and it would seem that there is no crime too desperate for his partisans to perpetrate in carrying out his wicked purpose.

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
THURSDAY, MAY 15.

A Change of Front.

When in 1854, the Administration undertook to reverse the policy of the government in relation to the Territories, a great deal was said on the subject of "Popular Sovereignty," "Territorial Sovereignty," and both were blended in a confused jumble with "State Sovereignty." It was found impossible to get from those who sought to set aside the Territorial system which had its origin with Mr. JEFFERSON as early as 1784, in the old Congress of the confederation, and which had been practiced upon by every Administration under the Constitution, a definition of what they meant by "popular or territorial sovereignty," which became familiarly known as "squatter sovereignty." Our neighbors of the *Hartford Times*, who at that time persisted in adhering to the Jeffersonian doctrines and principles, though they have since been silenced, ably defended the ancient faith, and ridiculed and opposed the PIERCE and DOUGLAS scheme and the whole folly of "squatter sovereignty." They were met by that enlightened and intelligent journal, the *New Haven Register*, at every step, with the sage and profound remark, "let the people rule." Mr. Senator TOUCEY with equal profundity befogged himself on "popular sovereignty," and made strange assertions about the "South-Western Territory at the adoption of the Constitution."

This dogma of "squatter sovereignty" has never been defined by any of its advocates to their own satisfaction. It was a demagogue appeal, meaningless and absurd, but used for purposes of deception by some who led captive simple credulity. Sovereignty is an attribute of a State or Empire that is independent, but does not belong to a dependent territory or province. In despotic countries this sovereignty resides in the crown, but in a republic with the people, and hence the distinction between popular sovereignty as known with us, and the hereditary sovereignty of the monarch, which prevails in kingly governments. The States of this Federal Union are each of them sovereign in all respects except so far as they have voluntarily and in certain specified particulars, parted with powers to the central government,—but no territory is sovereign.

In Kansas an attempt has been made on the part of the people to assume sovereign power and authority, and they have formed a constitution of civil

government, which they have presented to Congress with a request that Kansas may be recognized in that capacity, and admitted into the family of States. But those who two years since talked so loudly of "squatter sovereignty," and daily exclaimed, "let the people rule," now deny their own doctrine. They object to letting "the people rule in Kansas," because they have not obtained the consent of a border ruffian legislature of a neighboring State. Mr. DOUGLAS, with his usual consistency and honesty, scoffs at territorial sovereignty, and denies the people any right in their primary capacity, without an "enabling act" from Congress, authorizing or permitting them to exercise popular or independent sovereignty. Kansas, for which they professed to have such special regard, is denied all rights. She is at this moment under a despotism more odious than exists in almost any country. Her people are denied the common rights recognized in most civilized countries. A legislature elected by a people foreign to their jurisdiction has imposed upon them laws that disgrace not only civilization but humanity, and the laws thus made and imposed, the President is attempting to enforce by military power. Such is the condition of popular sovereignty, established as the policy of this administration.

Finding that the people of the territory are carrying into effect the sovereignty that was declared to be theirs, and that they were establishing a government that excluded slavery, it is now demanded that "squatter sovereignty" shall be rejected from the party platform. When there were no people in Kansas, the cry was, "let the people rule;" now that they have a large population, and propose to take upon themselves actual sovereignty, the privilege is denied them. This is what we suppose is so whimsically styled "National democracy."

The *Richmond Enquirer*, the recognized and the efficient organ of the Administration in Virginia and the South, is laying down the sectional doctrines of its party, and telling what must be done and what must be left undone at Cincinnati. It thus speaks of "squatter sovereignty" which Mr. TOUCEY advocated, and the *New Haven Register* and *Bridgeport Farmer* discoursed upon so wisely two years ago, and on which the *Hartford Times* for some time past has been so reserved:

"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 consequence 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."

These are orders from the sectionalists and they must be obeyed. "This gun must be spiked."—"Squatter sovereignty," which two years ago was used to repeal the Missouri Compromise, must not be permitted to stop the progress of the "peculiar institution," nor must the people of Kansas be permitted to take upon themselves any sovereignty without an "enabling act." We are told what the "South demands," and what "Northern democracy must be ready to concede."

Again we quote from the *Enquirer*, which lays down doctrines in regard to "squatter sovereignty," which make Senator TOUCEY and the custom-house and post-office editors in this State appear supremely ridiculous.

"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.

"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 stipendiary journals, whose editors belong to the custom-house and post-office, worshipped the "squatter sovereignty impostor,"—the counterfeit copy of the sovereignty of the people—"the ugly idol that should be kicked off the pedestal"—the "adoration of fools and demagogues." Custom-house officers of the *Register* and *Farmer*, attention!—to the right about face!—"the South demands it." Those who have listened to "the fools and demagogues" that have made squatter sovereignty the "ugly idol" of their adoration, must again change fronts. The consistent state rights men who have

refused to deviate from the path of principle, who would not permit themselves to be controlled by mere party drill, and who have been denounced, slandered and abused for their firmness and independence in resisting the folly and sectionalism of the Administration, are not among the "fools and demagogues" who have recognized "the counterfeit copy of the sovereignty of the people." Firmly planting themselves on the rock of never-changing principle, regardless of the tricks, evasions and schemes of petty expediency to which "fools and demagogues" have resorted, they refused to be controlled by mere organization, which was running into strange absurdities. What a compliment is indirectly paid to these bold and resolute men, who under adverse circumstances have maintained their faith, and been slandered and proscribed for doing so. What a rebuke to the time-servers that have trifled and equivocated with principles, is administered by this leading champion of the organization to which they are attached. In order to remove all obstructions to the extension of slavery, and to nationalize a local sectional institution, "the fools and demagogues" of the North advocated squatter sovereignty. Now, when the Missouri compromise is repealed, the order comes forth that "this gun must be spiked," the "South demands it,"—"the Northern democracy must be ready to concede it." The new catch phrase to be substituted for "squatter sovereignty" is to be "State equality," and State equality is to be construed to mean Slavery in the Territories. Of course the custom-house and post-office editors will conform themselves to these sectional orders, for with them there is no principle in the case; and so long as the power and patronage of the government is devoted to sectional efforts to nationalize slavery, just so long will these "fools and demagogues," as their own leading journal now calls them, be found subservient to sectional decrees.



BY BARCOCK & WILDMAN
DELHI BUILDING—OPPOSITE THE RAILWAY
STATION-HOUSE.
JAMES F. BARCOCK. CORNELIUS WILDMAN.

NEW HAVEN:
THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1856.

FOR LATEST NEWS—SEE THIRD PAGE.

Enforcing the Bogus Laws.
It now seems quite apparent that Col. Sumner is sent to Kansas chiefly for the purpose of enforcing the edicts of that mockery of a republican government, known as the Bogus Legislature. There has, thus far, this spring been no insurrection or invasion to warrant any interference by the Government troops, and it is an alarming state of things indeed, especial-

ly to all the old fashioned and honest State Rights men, to find the Central Government, with fixed bayonet in the States and Territories when a negro is to be captured, or an insolent tool of the Administration like Sheriff and Post Master Jones of Missouri is to be arrested.—None but abject slaves would submit to the outrageous usurpations of the "Border Ruffians," whether they are supported by the United States troops or not. The question of resistance to such enormous wrongs should be one of time and expediency merely. The principle which requires resistance is precisely that which animated our fathers in their contest for the freedom of the colonies. If this Administration suppose that because the people of the free States are the warm friends of the Union and the Constitution, they will submit to be deprived of their dearest rights in the name of the Constitution and of the Union, they will find their mistake in due time. The people of Kansas have shown an extraordinary degree of forbearance thus far, and we doubt not will continue to show it, unless they find that it is the determination of the National Government to reduce them to "absolute despotism," in which case we trust they will count their lives cheaply compared with their liberties. Imagine for a moment what an excitement would be produced in the South, if the Administration should dare to back up usurpations by Free State men like those which have been perpetrated by the Missourians. If a mob drove away Mr. Hoar from Charleston, what should we expect but a universal uprising in the South against such outrages upon the slave holders as have been committed in Kansas by them?

within the special jurisdiction of the people of Kansas, then Cass's whole theory of "squatter sovereignty" may as well be buried first as last. What right has Congress to presume so far to "regulate the internal affairs of the people of a territory" as to dictate to them on this matter in any way whatever? None at all, if there be any meaning in the Nicholson letter, or in the re-echo of its sentiments in the speech from which the above extract is quoted.

As Gen. Cass has assured us, in his speech of last Tuesday, that "the recent troubles in the territory of Kansas had not in the least weakened his faith in the right of man to govern himself," it is hoped that he will still continue to adhere to his old doctrine, and apply it in all its length and breadth, to the present state of affairs in Kansas, by voting for its immediate admission as a State with its present constitution. Let him demand the immediate carrying out of his so much vaunted "squatter sovereignty" policy, by the present national administration, which he gave the whole weight of his vast influence to instate into power.

But we have not much confidence. However much we should be pleased to see him do it, that Gen. Cass will come up to the scratch in the present case, in defence of his own doctrine, although in so doing he would be only walking in the foot steps of the precedent established in the admission of his own State into the Union. Yet we are curious to see how he can manage to get round the matter, or evade showing his hand explicitly one way or the other.

The Atlas.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 15, 1856.

"SICK OF KANSAS."

That we are obliged to publish frequent and detailed accounts of events occurring in Kansas—that these necessarily occupy a large space in our paper—that they may become wearisome to those who do not sufficiently estimate their importance, we are very ready to admit. But there are two considerations which we beg leave to urge in extenuation of our offence:

I. It is the duty of every man to interest himself in this government under which he lives in peace, to which he is indebted for his prosperity, from which flow so many of his blessings. The Declaration of Independence may have been a farce, the revolution unnecessary, the fathers mere impostors, and the liberty for which they fought a delusion. It may be the better part to leave government to chance. Russians and Austrians do this, and trust to good luck for a good ruler. But are Americans ready for this? Are they willing to leave the administration of affairs in the hands of the Democratic party, trusting not to the virtue, not to the intelligence, not to the humanity of that party, but to its forbearance? Will they sit quietly down, taking humbly and thankfully the dole which Locofoecism sees fit to provide? Already, through the indifference of men of character, our boasted republicanism is changing into something like absolute despotism. From the President we already have proclamations announcing that brutal and tyrannical laws must be enforced by the dragoons of the government—mercenaries, many of whom have learned the sanguinary art of doing a tyrant's work in countries where tyrants do not fear the people. A majority of Senators do not care a shilling for the liberty of which they talk. Rumors reach us, incredible and almost disheartening, of a decision by the Supreme Court, which will absolutely establish slavery in Massachusetts. In Kansas, the odious doctrine of constructive treason has been revived. Power, always hateful to freemen, political power self-created, and owing no duty or responsibility to the people, is there exerting itself to extinguish the last vestiges of civil liberty. So that it is absolutely certain, unless the lovers of freedom make instant and united effort, that we shall soon have only the name of freedom. All history teaches us that the forms of that freedom may survive long after its

spirit has departed. If those to whom is connexed this precious heritage are ready for its surrender, are so absorbed in business or pleasure, are so deeply lapped in luxury, so strongly bound by indolence, that they cannot make one manly effort for the rescue of their political rights, then we leave them in the slough of their indifference. But are there no others—are there not young men just starting in life men of liberal thoughts, high hopes, and honest purposes—men who have read our history to some purpose, and who mean that the truth which it teaches shall not be buried fathoms deep in the sea of the past, who will give heed to the events of the day and their best work and mind to the cause of constitutional freedom?

II. No man is a hero to his valet—no events appeal great to the men under whose very sight they are going on. Kansas is a small territory—the men there engaged in a desperate strife are a mere handful—the distance between them and us is very great. Kansas is small, but Boston was smaller once, and Bunker Hill is smaller now. There was hardly a regiment of men battling for liberty at Thermopylae. Distance, indeed, may take something from the dignity of this Kansas contest; for, if from a neighboring State (if any of our neighbors could be guilty of such an offence) a horde of armed ruffians should invade your house or mine, good reader; or should drive you or me, by dint of bowie knife or rifle, from the polls; or should arrest our governor, or charge our legislature with treason, it is safe to say, that any resistance which we might make (and some we should make) would be deemed, at least in Massachusetts, of historical importance. The contest in Kansas occupies a narrow field, but the principles which are involved in it, principles both moral and political, are anything but narrow. We can be minute enough, sometimes, in our admiration of virtue. A single good man struggling against evil, we call a spectacle worthy the vision of God. There are many thousand good men struggling so in Kansas—men who have listened to the prayers, and profited by the instruction of the New England clergy—men who have been taught in New England schools—men who have gained muscle and nerve by tilling the New England soil. Are they not worthy our regard and sympathy? But men are nothing—principles are everything. The Greeks are at our door—have we the love of freedom in our hearts? Is this whole common law liberty, which the race for three centuries has been acquiring, to be swept away as worthless? and in its place are we to have the romance of a republic and the reality of despotism? You may count the bulwarks of liberty upon your fingers—they are very few, but we have heretofore deemed them impregnable. Habeas corpus, the trial by jury, an independent and honest judiciary, popular suffrage, inviolability of life and property, a government deriving its power from the consent of the governed;—these are all! But we have heretofore thought them to be something. Which of them has not been cast down, repudiated and rejected by the government of the United States, and by the marauders of Missouri? And yet, listless or engrossed by other pursuits, men say they are weary of the story—like the unjust judge, they send away the poor petitioners for sympathy and succor—they will hear the cause another day. We say no. We say that the cause must be heard now, at once, attentively and thoughtfully. Its demand is imperative. Another day will not answer; for, another day there will be no cause to hear. Despotism will have triumphed. The administration will have conquered freedom. At one stroke a hundred rights will have been erased from the charter of our liberty: a hundred wrongs will have passed into precedents. Now or never!

Kansas Resolutions.—At 10 minutes after 11 o'clock the special message was taken up, being the resolves in relation to the Territory of Kansas. Mr. BRAKENRIDGE said he hoped, with an amendment which would be offered at a proper time, these resolves would pass without much debate. He then reviewed the positions in the minority report, dwelling especially upon the assumption that Massachusetts has no right to express an opinion as to slavery and the affairs of Kansas. In 1845, the Democratic Legislature passed strong resolutions against the admission of Texas (more distant than Kansas), as calculated to extend slavery. In 1850, Democratic legislation introduced a resolve that Congress has the right to make all good laws and regulations for the government of the Territories, one of which is the prohibition of slavery therein. Resolutions of the Democratic Legislature of

The Daily App.

THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1856.

Gen. Cass on "Squatter Sovereignty."

As seen by our Congressional record, Gen. Cass concluded his speech on "Squatter Sovereignty," in the Senate, on Tuesday. As to whether he made any attempt to defend his old position of entire denial of the constitutional right of Congress to legislate in regard to territorial affairs, we can tell better when we see a full report of his remarks. As far as they have come over the wires, they seem in a remarkable degree both "foggy" and "foggyish," on the matter. In 1850, the great Michigander laid down his doctrine with distinctness as follows, in his speech in the United States Senate, March 13th, of that year:

"There are two positions I have always maintained with reference to this subject—first, that Congress, under the Constitution, has no right to establish governments for the territories; secondly, that under no circumstances have they the right to pass any law to regulate the internal affairs of the people inhabiting them. The first may be a matter of necessity; and when the necessity exists, if a Senator votes for it, he votes upon his own responsibility to his constituents. If they believe the necessity, and support him, he is safe, but if not, he must fall. If I had voted under such circumstances, I must have looked to my constituents for my justification; but under no circumstances, could I have voted for any law in interfering with the internal concerns of the people of a territory. No necessity requires it, there is no necessity which would justify it."

To apply this doctrine to the present time, in the case of Kansas, what could be said more strongly in favor of the principles upon which the people there have acted throughout, in their organization of a State Government, independent of "interference by Congress in the internal affairs of that territory." If meeting at their own time and in their own mode to institute a State Government for themselves, and the right to ask a mission into the Union, be not business or "affairs" coming strictly (according to his doctrine)

...resolutions in 1852, were also quoted. In 1853, the Democratic party resolved that it was unalterably opposed to the extension of slavery, and in 1855 it resolved that it is as once the merit and glory of the Democratic party that a principle is so eminently national as the extension of slavery, as represented nationally by the President, or in this State by those who make this minority report, had hardly acted upon the immediate plan. Their theme was the same, but the performance of the music seemed to be varied to suit the taste of another latitude.

Massachusetts has always claimed and exercised the right to give utterance to her views on all matters of great public concernment, and her legislative history shows that every party in power has earnestly and vigorously asserted its own position. Mr. B. then quoted from the resolutions on this subject passed by former legislatures, and passed to a consideration of the wrongs and outrages inflicted upon the free State settlers of Kansas—many of them the worthy sons and daughters of Massachusetts. The protestant uttered then by the President was such as would be afforded by a Simon Legree to Uncle Tom, such as a helpless lamb would receive from a hungry wolf. We must meet the question of freedom or slavery sooner or later, and we must do the better for the interests of freedom in Kansas, and elsewhere, and for the tranquility, integrity and honor of the United States. The best and surest way to preserve the Union, is for each of the States to claim its rights—no more and no less—and then defend them. He believed and hoped that no one may say and vote here, as he trusted he would be such that none may say we have betrayed the trust which we received from our forefathers, to enjoy, defend and transmit unimpaired to those who shall come after us.

Mr. WHEE moved to amend the fourth resolve so that it would provide that Kansas ought to be admitted with her present constitution.

Mr. SHAW favored the resolves and the amendment. The question is, shall Massachusetts say a word for freedom, or shall she by her silence in effect say a word for slavery? Mr. Shaw entered at length into the subject of a worse aggression, and particularly of Missouri legislation in Kansas, showing that every free State man in Kansas had been in reality disfranchised, and urging that if the bill proposed in Congress by Douglas recently should pass, Kansas could never have another free State constitution.

The yeas and nays were ordered on the amendment on motion of Mr. APTZ, and it was adopted—yeas 22, nays 3. Messrs. H. C. Brown, Leavitt, and D. Warren voted no.

Mr. D. WARREN then moved to amend by striking out the fourth resolve, for the reason that it contained in the four words just inserted—"with her present Constitution." This matter was the result of outside influence, and he objected to extraneous legislation. This very phrase was originally proposed by a party claiming to hold a high office in Kansas, and was designed to make Massachusetts the ally of Kansas in her domestic troubles. He proclaimed a strong anti-slavery sentiment, but would not be drawn into the hocus-pocus, bogus Free Soil sentiment, which has been flying over the country within a few years, and which would have submitted a minority report, but which would be carried through, and the yeas and nays would be ordered on the amendment, and he might ultimately vote for the resolution, unamended, and in his conclusion proposed to withdraw his amendment. Mr. Shaw objected to the withdrawal, as Senators might wish to speak to the amendment.

Mr. WHEE said he had offered his amendment just adopted, on his own responsibility, and did not know that it had been before the Committee until today. He believed it was a proper amendment. If Kansas be not received with the present constitution, there is great danger that she will be given over to Americanism slavery. He was an American, he was surprised that any American should oppose the present amendment. The only objection at Washington to the present constitution of Kansas was that it is a free State constitution; and if Kansas be admitted with the Union with that constitution, it will end the whole difficulty at once and forever.

Mr. LEE thought the feeling throughout the Commonwealth upon this great question was much stronger than at this Board. The people are anxious to express their sympathy with the struggling freemen of Kansas. If our hearts already been shed there, and unless wise counsels prevail, the seeds of a civil war may have been sown which will deluge the Mississippi valley with blood. It is our duty to speak out, on our own account, and as the descendants of the founders of our liberty, and as the representatives of Massachusetts. He inserted the four words inserted today, and the yeas and nays were ordered on the fourth resolve in the vote of the yeas and nays, and the four words inserted today constitute the soul and pith of that resolve. He hoped the resolutions as they then stood would be allowed to go forth as the voice of Massachusetts.

Messrs. SHAW and DAWLEY spoke further in favor of the resolves.

The amendment to strike out the fourth resolve was rejected unanimously, without a division.

Mr. LEAVITT moved to substitute the resolves reported by the minority for those under consideration, and briefly supported his amendment. Notwithstanding all that had been said about the Democratic resolutions in New Hampshire and elsewhere, his mind did not seem to be affected, and he could see no reason for changing his views, as expressed in the minority report, now before the Senate, and in a recent one. The report speaks for itself, and he has to say no more about it, but wanted the yeas and nays in the question of substitution.

Some discussion occurred on various points of order (Mr. MILLS in the Chair), and the amendment was lost—yeas 2, nays 23. The yeas were Messrs. C. Brown and Leavitt.

The yeas and nays were then ordered to a third reading—yeas 26, nays 23—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Bartlett, Hatch, H. Bates, Barker, Brainard, Brakembridge, Bull, Burdick, Dawley, Dewey, Fisher, King, Lee, Mills, Munroe, P. F. Porter, R. H. May, Mow, Rogers, Shaw, Sutton, Taylor, Towne, D. W. Warren, G. W. Warren, White—26.

NAYS—Messrs. H. C. Brown, Leavitt—2.
[Mr. ORJONE was present, but did not vote.]
At 25 minutes before 3 o'clock, adjourned.

The evidence already taken before the Kansas commission is ample to put an end to the Bogus arguments. It is as clear as noonday, that many hundreds of Missourians entered Kansas as voters, that they voted there, that they committed numerous, defensible and illegal deeds against peaceable voters, took possession of the polls by force, of the ballot-boxes by force, and in several instances held pistols to the heads of the Judges of elections to compel them to vacate their posts. All this was done, there is ample evidence of it, and we do not believe that Governor Shannon means to interrupt the commission in their labors. This would be to go directly against his own interests.

It is idle for any government to organize injustice; above all, it is folly in the executive of the United States. America was never more free than she is to-day, and her affairs must be conducted after a liberal fashion. If illegal deeds are done in Kansas, if justice, good faith, and propriety are there trampled under foot, the consequences will assuredly fall upon the heads of those who commission others to perform these base actions. An excuse will less avail in the hands of the executive than elsewhere. The people are very jealous of government interference in their popular rights.

The best thing to make Kansas a free state, is for the United States dragoons to interfere, and molest the Kansas investigating commission. The arrest or detention of Governor Robinson by the Missourians, is another excellent Free State move. These iniquitous proceedings will be the best arguments possible against the extension of slavery. If these are the fruits of that tree it were better to cut it down and cast it into the fire. It must be judged by its fruits,—certainly very rotten and vinegar-like productions, so far as we are informed. It must be evident enough, that the Kansas crisis cannot last forever. A day must come, perhaps it is not far distant when the struggle between truth and human rights and injustice must come, whether in the national legislature, or on the solitary prairies of the territory.—Wherever it comes or whenever, we are sure of one thing, the right must prevail. There has been wrong enough in the American government, and the time is ripe for a new order of things.

The Independent.

NEW-YORK, MAY 15, 1856.

FROM OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT.

Questions from the country answered—State of the Kansas question in both Houses—Deficiency Bill—Its nature—Army Appropriations and Deficiencies—Duty of the House to protect the Rights of the People—Water Works—Illness of J. R. Giddings—Singular circumstances attending it—His reply to friends, &c., &c., &c.

DEAR INDEPENDENT:—The free portions of the country are sending up to their representatives this question, "Why don't you pass an act admitting Kansas instantly and let the Senate come to a test vote upon that question?"

The position of Kansas affairs in both Houses is simply this: In the lower branch a report was submitted from the Committee upon Territories, of which Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, is chairman, providing for the immediate admission of that State with her present free constitution. That report was referred to the Committee of the Whole for discussion and propositions to amend. That same Committee of the Whole is a vast sepulcher, or prison-house—a sort of political purgatory.

According to the rules of the House no bill can be taken out of that tomb, unless by a two-thirds vote, and must be reached in its ordinary course with anything of a respectable minority opposed. Taking precedence of this are several important matters, none, however, so important as this in my humble opinion. Connected with this is the fact that the "Appropriation Bills" have precedence over all. Now this body of legislators have been, and are still, engaged in what seems an in-

terminable battle over the Deficiency Bill, of whose nature I notified your readers briefly in my last. 121

Two Committees of Conference have reported successively that they were unable to harmonize upon a basis to claim the concurrent action of their respective Houses so as to pass the bill. It is reduced now to the simple question as to whether the constitutional power of the House to control and guard the public purse shall be preserved or not. Whether this body is to be a mere cypher, doing the bidding of the Executive and Senate—disbursing money at their call, without a question, or whether the immediate representatives of the people shall control the people's public purse.

The Executive has already at his disposal the strong power of the army, and the no less power of the federal patronage of the country, in which he is aided by a Senate of the same pro-slavery stripe. The judiciary is in fellowship with "the peculiar institution," and will favor it in any especial emergency. Now if the disbursement of the public money is to be subject to the dictum of the Executive and Senate, what safe grounds have the great mass of the people against the mad ambition of some Nero, living or yet to be born? At all hazards and at the last extremity, I hope the House will insist upon its constitutional rights, and fight this battle now and make a finish of it.

One striking feature in the amendments of the Senate is a deficiency appropriation of one million dollar for the army!!! Think of that Americans—you who boast of a country without a standing army in time of peace! The regular appropriations for the army alone for the past year have exceeded one million dollars. And why? The answer is, that the army was moved westward toward the Pacific coast for the purpose of controlling the Indians and preventing depredations upon the white settlers. Let your readers peruse the letter of General Wool upon the subject of our army operations in Oregon, and they will learn our cruelties and bad faith upon the part of our army, which even heathen or half-civilized nations would stand back appalled. But a small army has also been supported near the battle-field of liberty in Kansas. Tyrants use an army for the purpose of subjugating the liberties of the people. Napoleon the first sustained himself while the army lasted, but when the bloody sun of Waterloo set he was powerless in France. Napoleon the third performed and sustained—even now sustains himself in his infamous coup d'etat by a hiring army whose officers were his supple tools.

We boast of no standing army, and yet we have sufficient to call for millions of dollars appropriation yearly, and all subject to the orders of the federal Executive. Has the army been used by the present incumbent to favor liberty in Kansas? And farther—the Executive saw fit to move the army and exceed all the appropriations which he asked for the fiscal year, making the whole responsibility by himself or agents is there no check at all to this exercise of power over the public purse? Certainly there is, and the country will sustain the House in its exercise, thus guarding their own liberties.

Another amendment of the Senate has been made and refused. It is that of an appropriation for the so-called "Water Works." The object is to introduce water from the falls of the Potomac (some fifteen mile distant) to supply the cities of Washington and Georgetown with water. The scheme is overgrown, and would doubtless concocted to give patronage to the score and hundreds of loungers in this city supported by the purse of the country. It received an appropriation some two years ago, I think, of three hundred thousand dollars, and then commenced a stupendous concern which over double the amount of water required for your great city of New-York was to be conveyed to these little Lilliputian cities, which, according to their past history and present prospects, can never run higher than fifth or sixth-rate cities of our country. Five million dollars of the people's money will not pay the bills if this project is carried out, besides employing offices or sinecures for friends of different administrations which will succeed each other.

There is still another objection to these amendments of the Senate. The Constitution provides that "Appropriation Bills" shall originate in the House of Representatives. Innovation is the order of the day. It must be deemed necessary

The Mercury.

NEW-BEDFORD:

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 15, 1856.

THE KANSAS CRISIS.

This never-ending business is again in order, according to the telegraph, the Pro-slavery people being so regardless of all decency as to have interfered with the proceedings of the Kansas commission, and to be about ready for making away with General Reader, Governor Robinson (they are all Generals or Governors) and the members of the Topeka legislature generally. Those United States dragoons also appear to be very much in the way in Lawrence. But the members of the Kansas commission are men of spirit and know their own rights, and the best thing that can happen for the Free State cause, will be an interference with them, by either the United States dragoons, or the Kickapoo rangers.

... necessary by the Slaveocracy to curtail the power of the popular branch, for the free States, even with the three-fifths of slave property representation against them, are not only rolling up a strong majority in this branch, but are making this question of slavery extension and slave power the question in their nominations and elections. It certainly has an ugly look to those who have heretofore found doughfaces enough from the North to subserve their purposes. The Senate with an equal State representation is consequently looked to for help, and is now crowded to the last inch of its constitutional powers. *And it will yet overstep them.*

But pardon this digression. The deficiency bill is still pending, and another Committee of Conference appointed. After that is disposed of, reports from the different committees will be in order, and I understand they are burdened even now with them, notwithstanding sufficient have been reported to fill the calendar of the House. In the meantime, the Committee of Investigation are vigorously prosecuting their work in Kansas, and when completed will return and bring in an election report upon the adverse claims of Reeder and Whitefield, with the authenticated proof of the invasion, illegal voting, and utter subversion of the rights of the people by the Missourians. About that time the question of the admission of Kansas as a State will be reached upon the calendar of the "Committee of the Whole," and the merits and demerits of the entire Kansas question will be before the House and the country. You may then look for some decisive and strong action upon all the questions involved in this issue, previous to which time patience must perfect her work in the hearts of thousands of sympathizers by this protracted delay.

The Senate will probably come to a vote upon the Douglas report at an early day—say within a week or two. The design of that is deep. It is a demagogue's scheme for political effect alone. Whether it will produce its designed effect upon the former partisans of this administration at the North remains to be seen. Mr. Douglas's bill provides for the admission of Kansas as a State when she has a sufficient population according to the present ratio of representation in the lower House. But the Missouri bogus legislature of Kansas are to call the Convention, (not the people,) and they are to direct us to who shall vote and what shall be the qualifications; and they also are to appoint the judges of the elections. In other words, the voice of the people of Kansas is to be silenced, and the breath of liberty smothered, while slave-holding Missouri, with her ruffian hordes, dictates for them a constitution adapted to the work and protection of women-whipping and cradle-robbing. Now, when the Free-State representatives in the Senate vote nay upon this proposition, all pro-slaverydom will ring its changes upon their inconsistency in not voting to admit Kansas as a State. That bill will come down to the House, and, in my opinion, will sleep the sleep of death, either upon the Speaker's table, or in that Acedama of buried bills—the "Committee of the Whole."

The House was suddenly startled on Thursday by the fall of our old liberty-loving friend, Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, while he was addressing that body upon the vital questions involved in the deficiency bill. His whole soul seemed to be absorbed in the subject of discussion, and he never spoke better. His stalwart, massive frame, crowned by a head of silvery whiteness, connected with his long experience in legislative affairs, and his unwavering consistency and devotion to freedom for the eighteen years of his public life spent in this hall, entitled and won for him the profound attention of both his friends and opponents. On being several times interrupted, his countenance was seen to flush, and suddenly, as if death had shot a bolt at him, he sank to the floor insensible. He fell very nearly in the same place—next the same seat from which his old companion in arms sunk under the touch of his last enemy. Confusion reigned in the House. He was aided to a sofa in the recess, and soon recovered from his attack. It was also somewhat singular that upon his being aided to the Speaker's room, he was led to the same sofa where the "Sage of Quincy"—"the old man eloquent"—was laid, and near which his spirit took its flight from earth to heaven. The associations of that room, and the circumstances surrounding him, were

too much for our old war-horse friend, and in twenty minutes he was found in his usual seat—a little pale and weak, but yet strong in courage to finish his argument. In two hours he resumed his subject, surrounded by a deeply-attentive audience, and made a powerful impression upon the House. When importuned by his friends to cease, and not get excited by his subject, his answer was worthy of the moral hero who uttered it,—*"I know of no better place to die than here, and in the discharge of my duties."*

So should every lover of his country feel and act in all circumstances and in all places—here, in Kansas, at the ballot-box—everywhere.

Pardon me, dear editor, for the course which I have been led to take in this letter. I had promised myself to treat your readers with something of a variety this week, but this shifting panorama of Kansas affairs, and the importunity of friends who desire to be "posted up" upon that question, has led to the present letter. I will open another book upon Washington affairs ere long.

Yours, PUTNAM.

SATURDAY, May 10, 1856.

Commercial Journal.

E. M. RIDDLE, Editor and Proprietor.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 16, 1856

GIVEN OVER.

The St. Louis Republican gives over to hardness of heart and blindness of mind the wretched Free-Soilers of Kansas, and in its issue of Saturday says that Col. Sumner has returned with his troops to Fort Leavenworth, from which they will not be called, unless in a case of great emergency. The people of the Territory are in an arduous state, and almost every day outrages are perpetrated by the Free State people, in order to bring on hostilities. The execution of civil process in Lawrence is entirely out of the question—they defy all attempts of the kind. How long will this anomalous condition of things last?

The inquiry is pertinent. We imagine that it will be permitted to last some time.

The Daily Picayune.

NEW ORLEANS.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 15, 1856

THE KANSAS PROSPECTS.

The game of the free State men in Kansas is nearly played out. The vigorous measures taken by the Territorial authorities, supported by the troops of the United States which have been furnished to suppress insurrection, have defeated the hopes of those who had resolved on subverting the regular Government by the aid of Sharpe's rifles there, and the political support of the Free Soilers elsewhere. Heretofore they have refused obedience to the Territorial laws, and resisted the Territorial officers, and claimed that the only lawful authority in the Territory is that which they set up in their party convention which made the spurious State constitutions at Topeka. Intermediately they would submit to the functionaries directly appointed by authority of the United States, but they proclaimed inflexible determination to refuse obedience to anything emanating from the Territorial Legislature, or Territorial officers. They have been urged to maintain this position by the encouraging plaudits and promised support, personal and material, of enthusiastic partisans at the North; and contributions of men, money and arms, have been sent out to them to help them in forcible resistance, which they threatened. Preachers have exhorted in their favor, and begged from the pulpit for rifles, to be sent to them, to enable them to shoot down the officers of the law which they had determined to disobey; and grave Senators, the oracles of great parties, have lauded them as heroes in a cause all but holy, and invoked for their admiration and support.

But all this time it must have been evident that the movement could not succeed when brought up to the practical test of positive and armed resistance. There must have been some calculation upon political results and combinations which would save them from the necessity of proving their faith by actual deeds of arms; something which might effect their object by other means, or so connect it with other questions of an absorbing nature as to change its character and shift its responsibilities. In its simplest form, it was resistance to established authorities, and therefore insurrection. The subversion of established authority by force, resistance to its civil processes, made effective by superiority of force, is successful insurrection, which makes revolution. It was all the time evident that this could not be permitted by the federal authority without omitting its plainest duties under the law, and abandoning its most essential features. The crisis of trial has come, and the result is what should have been foreseen. The regular territorial organization, its laws, and its officers, are sustained by the arm of the Federal Government, and there is no escape from the obligation of obedience. The inhabitants of the Territory are compelled to obey the laws and officers of the Territory, and the adversaries are without power to resist of themselves, and there is no power anywhere to uphold them in resistance. Aid cannot come to them without incurring the guilt of levying war against the United States, and all the legal consequences of the crime, and there is no hope for them from that quarter. They must submit, and the news from the Territory leads to the belief that they have come to the conclusion that submission is unavoidable. Some there may be with passions inflamed and heads bewildered by the violence of faction to which they have led themselves, who may commit breaches of order and expose themselves to the penalties of the law by foolish acts of insubordination, but the great body of the Free State fanatics or dupes have, we apprehend, arrived at the conclusion that they cannot maintain the position, and that they must abandon it. They will, doubtless, clamor against the despotism which could not permit them to overturn governments, abolish legislatures, and resist the officers of the law at their own caprice; but they never had the right to expect any government to become partisans of a revolution to overthrow authority sanctioned by the same laws to which it owes its own powers and means of interposition.

The energy of these demonstrations will, we think, settle affairs within the Territory; so far, at least, that the regular territorial authorities will be maintained in their full vigor, and that there will be no extended or organized opposition—none that is effective, and, probably, very little more than furious declamation.

This being settled, the next and immediate question is on the permanent adjustment of the vexed questions out of which these conflicts have arisen. It is very clear that the causes for grievance will not be removed, nor the internal dissensions composed, until the inhabitants of the Territory determine their own form of government, and establish it in a manner satisfactory to themselves. That is the main question before Congress, and all parties there appear to have concurred in the opinion that the only practical settlement—the settlement which will repair past errors and secure the reign of order and harmony—is the formation of Kansas into a State, as soon as possible, with institutions freely and fairly selected by the people; and her admission into the Union.

The policy of the Anti-Slavery party—the same who have backed up the Free State men in the line of violence which they have been constrained to abandon—is to accept, now, the constitution made by the Topeka Convention, summoned in contempt of the Territorial organization by its adversaries, and adopted for the avowed purpose of subverting that as fraudulent and null, and to admit the State into the Union, at once, with that constitution.

Upon that issue the "Black Republicans" have been for some time laboring to make all the politics of the country turn for the next Presidential canvass. It was thought to be a popular measure, likely to unite all who were opposed to the Nebraska bill—leaving in abeyance all the anti-slavery and other ques-

Daily Democrat.

FROM KANSAS.

Reports of the Congressional Investigating Committee.

ELECTION FRAUDS IN KANSAS.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, May 9, 1856.

I sent you by a special messenger to Westport this morning, several letters in relation to the present condition of affairs in this Territory; and reports of the proceedings of the Congressional Investigating Committee now in session in this city. As they will occupy all the space you can spare for Territorial news—at least in connection with your correspondence from other sections of Kansas—I have not written out for you the proceedings of this morning at all. I will very briefly give the evidence produced this afternoon.

The first witness called was the Rev. Pardee Butler, who was sent on a raft down the river last autumn, and tarred and feathered at Atchison a week ago. Mr. Butler described the first outrage in a letter to the Democrat last Fall; and informs me that he has just posted you a communication in relation to the more recent atrocity. I therefore omit his testimony.

THE VOTING INVADERS.

Mr. ASAPH A. ALLEN, sworn—I came into the Territory in Nov. 1854; on the 30th of March I left Topeka early in the morning and went down to Tecumseh; I saw many residents of Missouri, whom I knew, there—the witness named some of them—they said they came up there to vote and they did vote. I saw them on my way from Tecumseh to Lawrence; I saw on the road numbers of armed men—as many as 200—on horseback; some of them I knew; they were going up; they came on to Lawrence and voted; I lived at Lawrence at that time. The crowd around the polls was so dense I could not get a chance to vote until toward the evening.

THE BESIERS OF LAWRENCE.

The Thursday before the peace I left Topeka for Kansas city to purchase goods in company with a pro-slavery man who lived in Kansas; I staid at Franklin all night. Next morning a company of men commanded by Capt. Wallace came and arrested me, and took me before Gen. Strickler. He asked me what my politics was; I told him I was a free State man. He said he would have to keep me then. I was conducted to the "Yankee's tent" as it was called. I saw Gen. Pomeroy and a company of United States surveyors who had been arrested with him.

LIFE IN THE INVADING CAMP.

They were drilling all the time I was there. I saw three pieces of cannon. The men were armed with United States guns. They detained us till Saturday evening. There was no charge made against us, nor trial had. They did not stop the other gentleman with me. His name was Chick. He was pro-slavery. The only charge they had against the Surveyors was, they were Free State men.

The officers treated us very well, but there were from fifty to one hundred of the men standing round, who were very insulting. I wanted to send an order for goods to Kansas City, and they gave me paper; but on reading it over, General Strickler caused me to write it so as it would not indicate where I was. The order was sent but never reached its destination.

On Friday night about eleven o'clock, it was reported that one of the d—d Yankees had shot a picket guard.—Quite a company gathered round the tent, and we heard them say they would hang the d—d Yankee they had got in the tent. Some of them got ropes. A number of officers gathered round the tent, and in time succeeded in quieting them.

About half an hour afterwards David R. Atchison and Col. Boone, of Westport, very quietly came into the tent, and requested Gen. Pomeroy to get ready as soon as possible—and quietly—and follow them.

They said they did not dare trust the boys, who might hang them. Pomeroy did not know them, and declined to go. Gen. Strickler came in and introduced them. Their head quarters was at Blue Jacket's. He went with them there, and I saw no more of them. I passed the guard once, having heard the password—it was, STRING-FELLOW!

I was standing in front of the tent, when a man came up, and mistaking me for a guard, asked me the password. I pretended to forget it. He then asked another man, and I overheard the answer.

The next day in the afternoon, one of the guard told me they did not wish to retain us, but they were afraid if they let us go, their men would mob us.

They started the gunners out to the prairie to practice shooting, and most of the boys followed them. They had United States cannon—three of them. I knew many of the men I saw in camp—some were from Platte and Jackson counties, Liberty and Lexington.

Very few of the men were squatters. They all spoke as coming from Missouri.

After the boys went out to see the firing they took us over to Blue Jacket's. They then gave us a pass to the picket guards, ordering them to let us pass unmolested. It was signed by Rev. General Strickler.

They kept about \$75 worth of truck from me—two, blankets, saddles, bridles, revolver, &c. I gave them to General Strickler. I saw him at Lawrence afterwards and asked him to return them. He said he knew nothing of them, and supposed they had been returned. They were never returned.

I saw members of the same companies at Westport afterwards. A great number of men in the camp were drunk.

I saw them stop the mail when in camp. The driver had to get out of the wagon.

I emigrated from Missouri to Kansas. I had lived in Missouri two years.

DEATH OF BARBOUR.

S. N. Simpson, sworn—I was in Lawrence, in December last when Barbour was killed. I heard of the murder when about a mile from the place where he was killed. I suppose it was twenty minutes after his death when I heard of it. I met the company of horsemen who had pursued Mr. Barbour. I saw Dr. Wood in the company, and Major Clark, an Indian Agent. Mr. Clark said to me: "How do you do Major?" I made no answer. Wood said to Clark: "It's Mr. Simpson." I rode on to my brother's (about a mile) and when I got there, a man rode up and said Barbour was shot. Mr. Coleman and his wife saw Barbour shot, I believe.

Dr. S. B. Prentiss, sworn—I saw the body of Barbour. I am a physician of fourteen years experience. Barbour's death was caused by a pistol ball in the abdomen. No post mortem examination was had.

REPORTER ON THE STAND.

William Phillips was sworn—Mr. Phillips is the special correspondent of the New York Tribune. He is from Chester, Illinois. He gave an interesting and vivid description of the camp on the Wakarusa, of the mob which destroyed the ballot box at Leavenworth, and of the dismissal of the "Law and Order" militia in that city. As he has already narrated his adventures, however, in the most widely circulated journal in the Union, it is unnecessary for me to state what he saw and described.

REEDER'S ARREST AND REPLY.

I gave yesterday some particulars in regard to the issue of a warrant to arrest Reeder. After the committee had given their decision, declining to interfere at the time being, Governor Reeder rose and replied to the argument of Mr. Oliver, which he disposed of courteously, but sarcastically and laconically. He said that he would now state the resolution he had formed. He would stand on his privilege as a member of Congress. He stated that the law required every court to be cognizant of the fact of who were and who were not entitled to the privilege, and if they infringed it they did so at their peril. If any officer, he said, in attempting to arrest a privileged citizen, should be shot or seriously injured, there would be no redress. They were trespassers and the law would give them no protection. He concluded by saying that he called the court and these witnesses to testify that he claimed his privilege, and that if any man attempted to infringe it he should do so at his peril.

The room was crowded, and it was impossible to suppress the applause which followed this announcement. The officers looked rather frightened, although no man—not even D. B. Atchison—need fear any violence here—by the citizens at least, or when the citizens are near by to prevent an inopportune act. Mr. Oliver rose and went out with them.

Yesterday evening the leading Free State men of Lawrence held a private meeting to consult as to the course to be adopted in the approaching crisis. The object of this movement is evident enough—it is intended to break up the fatal investigation; for the Governor was summoned to appear as a witness in a case of which he cannot by any possibility know anything; for it occurred when he was at Washington city this winter. Reeder truly said that if they once got him into their hands, unless he had an escort strong enough to protect him, they would never permit him to take part again in the investigation.

This morning a messenger started for Leocompton with a note for Judge Leocompton from Gov. Reeder, explaining the causes of his refusal to appear.

The messenger returned at noon with a verbal answer, that Leocompton had no answer to make.

The messenger brought a letter from Gov. Shannon for Bucoombe via Gov. Reeder. I understand it is as prolix and dull as his letters usually are.

The majority of the Investigating committee dispatched Dr. Robinson as a bearer of dispatches or of evidence to Washington. They fear, it is said, that an attempt will be made by surprising Lawrence to destroy the evidence they have already collected, as well as prevent them from proceeding in the investigation. Dr. Robinson left Lawrence this morning.

A messenger from Leocompton, who arrived this afternoon, informs us that the Marshal is riding to all points of the Territory for the purpose of preparing the militia for action.

A messenger from Leavenworth arrived here at midnight, and stated that the militia there were ready to march before daybreak this morning to Leocompton, there to be joined by the companies from Delaware, Douthan, Kikapoo and Atchison.

Oliver started for Leavenworth this morning—he said—to see his family, or get letters. Oliver is rather liked here, but he has a downcast look. If he had a decent cause, there might be hope for him yet. He told me, in a conversation on politics, that he had no party now; there were no

tions upon which we agree. For awhile it was boldly stated. It was put forth in party resolves, advocated in party addresses, elaborately wrought out into a vital issue by powerful organs of party opinion, and strongly put forth in the Senate of the United States, by the chief leader of the anti-Nebraska forces, as the great question of the day. It still makes its appearance in many quarters as a party test; but we think we cannot be mistaken in the opinion that this, too, will be abandoned, and a more rational and politic form of settlement will be acceded to, even by the most furious zealots now, for the admission of the State.

To men not blinded by the most malignant spirit of faction, it must be evident that the immediate admission of Kansas, under the circumstances in which this application is made, is utterly impossible. An irregular convention, got up in the spirit of insubordination to the regularly constituted authorities, designed to oppose and overthrow them, chosen without any sanction of law, or a safeguard against fraud, or evidences of right, a mere party gathering of avowed malcontents, can never be permitted to stand for a whole political community, and be recognized as the creators of a sovereign State. The Senate of the United States has been from the beginning so firmly fixed in its opposition to this enormous pretension, that there never has been a hope that it could be carried through Congress. It has been advanced and urged, with a view to keep up an excitement, necessary to make a cohesion for political elements that might not otherwise fuse together at election time. It is

not so certain now that it could be carried through the House of Representatives, fixed as is the anti-Nebraska majority in that body. It is certain that it cannot get through Congress, and we begin to believe that it will not get through either House, and that the emergencies of the times will extract from faction a reluctant abandonment of its purposes, and a consent to an adjustment which is peaceful and practical, which will prove so satisfactory, and can be carried by both Houses. There are a great number of men very decided in their party opinions, who will not agree to keep open the disorders and contentions in Kansas, merely to be pabulum for a political canvass—or refuse to remove them by any fair measure, merely to support the lawless proceedings of Robinson, Reeder, Lane, and the other chiefs of the insurrectionary convention.

The admission of Kansas can be provided for in the regular way. The territorial authorities may be lawfully suspended, in the form to be prescribed by Congress, and a State constitution framed by the legitimate inhabitants, under the sanction of laws which Congress may prescribe. There are abundant precedents as to the forms which may be adopted. All that is required to heal the disensions is, that the preliminary elections for ascertaining the will of the real people shall be fairly conducted; and it is surely competent for Congress, in the enabling act, to prescribe rules which shall guard against fraud or violence. A new convention, to be called whenever the population is ascertained to be sufficient, with effective provisions to secure fair voting, will dispose of all these disputed points of authority, and show what is the popular will, which ought to control finally. It seems to be conceded, that in a short time the population will be sufficient to justify the formation of another constitution, and that under such a bill Kansas will become a State and without opposition, sooner than it could be forced through Congress under the present constitution, even by the most complete success of the political party which patronizes it.

A bill of this character is before the Senate, and appears to be gaining ground in the House. It is a measure for peace, and these are indications, not very decided, but certainly encouraging, that it will finally prevail, and thus dispose, during the present session, of the whole practical questions connected with Kansas.

Whigs; he couldn't agree with the Know Nothings, and he could not recognize any division in the Democratic party.

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To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

OCEANA, P. O., STRANGER CREEK, K. T., May 6, 1856.
DEAR SIR: The bar of public opinion seems to be the only tribunal to which the free State men of Kansas can appeal for redress. I must, therefore; a second time ask your indulgence while I make a statement of facts. One year ago I came to Kansas and bought a claim on Stranger Creek, Atchison county. On the 15th of August the Border Ruffians of the town of Atchison sent me down the Missouri river on a raft. We parted under a mutual pledge—I, that if my life was spared, would come back to Atchison, and they, that if I did come back they would hang me. Faithful to my promise, in November last, I returned to Kansas with my family, visited Atchison in open day, announced myself on hand, and returned without molestation. Kansas being yet sparsely settled and having few meeting-houses, it was determined that Mrs. Butler should live on our claim with her brother and her brother's wife, while I should return to Illinois and resume my labors as a preacher. I have been for a number of years in the employ of churches in the counties of Brown and Adams, Illinois, a majority of whose members were, I suppose, born and reared in Kentucky.

April 30th, I returned to Kansas, and crossed the Missouri at Atchison. I spoke to no one in town, save with two merchants of the place, with whom I have had business transactions since my first arrival in the Territory. Having remained only a few minutes, I went to my buggy to resume my journey, when I was assaulted by Kelly, co-editor of the Squatter Sovereign, and others—was dragged into a grocery, and there surrounded by a company of South Carolinians, who are reported to have been sent out by a Southern Emigrant Aid Society. In this last mob, I noticed only two who were citizens of Atchison, or engaged in the former mob. It is not reported that these emigrants from the Palmetto State seek out a claim and make for themselves a home, neither do they enter into any legitimate business. They very expressly describe themselves as having "come out to see Kansas through." They yelled, "Kill him!" "Kill him!" "Hang the d—d abolitionist!" One of their number bustled up to me and demanded: "Have you a revolver?" I replied "No." He handed me a weapon, saying, "There, take that, and stand on ten steps, and, d—n you, I will blow you through in an instant." I replied, "I have no use for your weapon." I afterwards heard them congratulating themselves in reference to this, that they had been honorable with me. The fellow was furious, but his companions dissuaded him from shooting me, saying, they were going to hang me.

If I can picture to myself the look of a Cuba blood hound just ready with open jaws to seize a panting slave in a Florida swamp, then I imagine we have a correct daguerre-type likeness of the expression worn by these emigrant ruffians. Many of the many sentiments, high toned courage and magnanimous feelings of the South Carolina chivalry, when first they scented in their own estimation, the blood of a live abolitionist, and yelled, "Hang him! hang him! hang the d—d abolitionist!" They plinked my arm behind me, obtained a rope, but were interrupted by the entrance of a stranger—a gentleman from Missouri—since a certain to be General Tutts, slayer of Buchanan county. He said, "My friends, hear me. I am an old man, and it is right you should hear me. I was born in Virginia, and have lived many years in Missouri. I am a slaveholder and desire Kansas to be made a slave State, if it can be done by honorable means. But you will destroy the cause you are seeking to build up. You have taken this man, who was peaceably passing through your streets, and along the public highway and doing no person any harm. We profess to be law and order men, and should be the last to commit violence. If this man has violated the law, let him be punished according to law; but for the sake of Missouri—for the sake of Kansas—for the sake of the pro-slavery cause, do not act in this way."

They dragged me into another grocery, and appointed a moderator. Kelly told his story. I rose to my feet, and calmly, and in respectful language, began to tell mine. I was repeatedly jerked to my seat, and so roughly handled that I was compelled to desist. My friend from Missouri earnestly besought them to set me at liberty. Kelly turned short on him and said, "Do you belong in Kansas?" He replied, "No, but I expect to live here in Atchison next fall, and in this matter the interests of Missouri and Kansas are identical." Mr. Lamb, a lawyer in Atchison, and Mr. Samuel Dickson, a merchant of the same place, both pro-slavery men, also united with Gen. Tutts in pleading that I might be set at liberty. While these gentlemen were thus speaking, I heard my keepers mutter: "D—n you, if you don't hush up, we'll tar and feather you." But when Kelly began to see how matters stood, he came forward and said, "he did not take Butler to have him hung, only tarred and feathered." Yet in the other grocery he had said to the mob they "should do as they pleased." He dared not take the responsibility of taking my life, but when these unfortunate men, whose one-idea-ism on the subject of slavery, and of southern rights, has become insanity; when these irresponsible South Carolinians, sent out to be bull dogs and blood-hounds for Atchison and String-fellow; when they could be used as tools to take my life, he was ready to do it!

Our gun powder moderator cut the discussion short by saying, "It is moved that Butler be tarred and feathered, and receive thirty-nine lashes." A majority said "Aye," though a number of voices said "No." The moderator said, "The affirmative has it. Butler has to be tarred and feathered and whipped." I began to speculate how that sort of thing would work as far North as the latitude of Kansas. There was a good deal of whispering about the house. I saw dark, threatening, and ominous looks in the crowd. The moderator again came forward, and in an altered voice said, "It is moved that the last part of the sentence be rescinded." It was rescinded. I was given into the hands of my South Carolina overseers to be tarred and feathered. They muttered and growled at this issue of the matter. "Be d—d," said they, "if we had known it would have come out in this way, we would have let ——— shoot Butler at the first. He would have done it quicker than a flash." One little sharp visaged dark featured, black eyed South Carolinian, as smart as a pricket, and who seemed to be the leader of the gang, was particularly displeased. "D—n me," said he, "if I am come all the way from South Carolina, and have spent so much money, to do this go up in such milk and water style as this."

They stripped me naked to the waist, covered my body with tar, and then, for the want of feathers, applied cotton wool. Having appointed a committee of seven to certainly hang me the next time I came to Atchison, they tossed my clothes into my buggy, put me therein, accompanied me to the suburbs of the town, and sent me naked out upon the prairie. I adjusted my attire about me as best I could and hastened to rejoin my wife and little ones on the banks of the Stranger Creek. It was rather a sorrowful meeting after so long a parting, still we were very thankful that, under a good Providence, it had fared no worse with us all.

The first mob that sent me down the river (always excepting Robert S. Kelly) were courteous gentlemen compared with this last one. When I was towed out into the middle of the stream I do not remember to have heard a word spoken by the men on shore. Their demeanor indicated that they felt themselves performing a painful duty, though perhaps, a necessary one. This last mob, when they left me on the borders of the town, screeched and yelled like a party of New Zealand cannibals. The first mob did not attempt to abridge my rights of speech in reply to all the hard and bitter things they said against me. They patiently heard me to the end. For this I felt to thank them—from my very heart I did thank them. But these men that have come to introduce into Kansas that order of things that now obtains in South Carolina, savagely gagged me into silence by rapping my face, choking me, pulling my beard, jerking me violently to my seat and calling out, "D—n you hold your tongue." All this was done while my arms were pinioned behind my back.

Many will ask now, as they have asked already, what is the true and proper cause of all those troubles, which I have had in Atchison? I have told the world already. I can only repeat my own words. I have said, "The very head and front of my offending hath this extent, no more. I had spoken among my neighbors favorably to making Kansas a free State, and said in the office of the Squatter Sovereign, I am a free seller, and intend to vote for Kansas to be a free State." It is true that Kelly, by an after-thought, has added two new counts to his bill of indictment against me. The first is, that I went about the town of Atchison last August talking abolitionism—(I have not the honor of being an abolitionist); and second, that I spoke somehow or other improperly in the presence of slaves. All this is not only utterly false, but the charges are *ex post facto*, for not a word was said of this the day they put me on the raft. The New York Tribune publishes me as a Methodist preacher, that was put on a raft for preaching abolitionism. I am a member of the denomination, known as Disciples (Campbellites), and have never alluded to the subject in my preaching. I published a narrative of the whole affair in the Missouri Democrat, not one word of which has ever been denied, to the best of my knowledge, except this: I said, I had heard that Kelly "was born in Massachusetts." He says, he was not born in Massachusetts—that he was born in Virginia. Robert S. Kelly, Co-Editor of the Squatter Sovereign, and government printer, shall be born just where he pleases.

Still it will be regarded as mysterious and incredible, that a man should receive such treatment, for uttering such words as I report myself to have uttered. The matter is plain enough, when the facts are understood. Prior to August 16, 1856, there was, properly speaking, no free soil party organized in Atchison county—perhaps not in the whole territory of Kansas. Free-soilers did not know their own strength, and all were disposed to be prudent—some were timid. Here in Atchison county, we were determined that if the Border Ruffians were resolved to drive matters to a bloody issue, the responsibility of doing so should rest wholly with themselves. There are many free soilers in this county—brave men, who have no conscientious scruples to hinder them from arming themselves, and preparing to repel force with force. The Border Ruffians sought, by a system of terrorism, so to intimidate free soilers, as to prevent them from organizing a free soil party, or even discussing the subject of freedom and slavery in Kansas. They carried this to such an extent of outrageous violence, that it came to be currently reported that it was as much as man's life was worth, in the town of Atchison, to say "I am a Free Soiler." We deprecated violence, and wished a

peaceful discussion of the subject. It was therefore most fitting, that a man whose profession forbade him to go armed, should put to the test of actual experiment in the town of Atchison, whether an American citizen, of blameless life, could be permitted to enjoy the right of free speech—the privilege of expressing views favorable to making Kansas a free State—such views being uttered without any tinge of angry, abusive, or insulting language. It was for this purpose the above words were spoken, and which have been the cause of all my troubles in Atchison.

If the Border Ruffians had permitted me to depart in peace, they would have proved themselves, simply, harmless bullies afraid to execute their own threats; if they had taken my life, their act would have been without the shadow of an excuse to mitigate its atrocity. But, whatever might have been the result, I had counted the cost, and was prepared to meet the issue.

If there is any class of men that stand behind the curtains, and pull the wires, we would respectfully represent to them, that it will do no good to urge these understrappers on to these deeds of violence and ruffianism. We are not of a class of men to utter childish complaints at any wrongs that we may suffer, but we know our rights and we intend to have them.

In conclusion we would suggest to South Carolina that she had better send for her emigrants home again. They will do her cause more harm than good. However this way of regulating matters may do among the field hands of a South Carolina rice plantation, it won't do here at all. We, in Kansas, are not made of metal to be worked in such a way.

Subscribing myself the friend and well-wisher of all good and civil men, whether North or South, I am very truly,
PARDEE BUTLER.

Daily Republican.

QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 16.

INVESTIGATION IN KANSAS.

The Missouri Republican contains a batch of lies, republished from the Leocompton Union, in reference to the attempted arrest of Reeder. When the Marshal appeared to make the arrest, the members of the Committee all agreed that this was a case in which they must decline to interfere, leaving Reeder to take whatever course he deemed proper. Howard and Sherman expressed the opinion that Reeder was free from arrest—Oliver a contrary opinion; but they all agreed in declining to interfere with the action of the territorial courts.

Notwithstanding, the Union charges Howard and Sherman with preventing the arrest, and with "declaring war in Kansas," and makes a great many other charges equally absurd and groundless. The fact is, nobody can believe a word that appears in the pro-slavery papers in reference to Kansas. The Mo. Republican publishes another string of lies from its correspondent.

The Marshal who left Reeder, without making the contemplated arrest, has issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens to meet at Leocompton with sufficient force to enable him to make the arrest. Reeder, however, at last accounts, was about going with the Committee to Leavenworth, where the Republican's correspondent says he will be arrested.

Among other lies circulated in the pro-slavery papers, it was repeatedly asserted that the Committee were sitting at Lawrence to prevent Whitfield from bringing forward his witnesses, who were afraid to be seen in Lawrence. This lie is spiked by the fact that the Committee promptly removed from Lawrence, and held sessions at Leocompton and Tecumseh, both pro-slavery towns, where Whitfield's witnesses

could be heard. It is hardly necessary to say that the witnesses were not forthcoming—in fact, he had none to come.

The Committee, we are informed, have accumulated "a mass of evidence of outrages committed on the rights and persons of American citizens unparalleled in Western history." The evidence has become so perfectly overwhelming, that the Border Ruffian clique are rendered perfectly furious, and are ready to do any deed of violence to stifle the investigation. We should not be at all surprised to learn that after the investigation is over, the Committee have been attacked, and all their work destroyed. No doubt such a deed would be gloried in by the authorities at Washington, and Douglas would bring into the Senate a long report justifying the whole affair.

CHICAGO DAILY JOURNAL

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

FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 16, 1856.

"OLIVER" NOT ASKING FOR RIDER!

The St. Louis *Republican* publishes a sketch of Mr. Oliver's speech, at Westport, Missouri.

Mr. Oliver is a member of the Kansas commission. He "spoke pathetically of the attempt on Sheriff Jones' life,"—but omitted the humane portion of it, when he gave the Judges of election "five minutes to resign or die"—and said Lawrence "looked like barracks for soldiers rather than the abode of citizens: like a rendezvous of rebels rather than a village of loyal people; and that the Territory presented the appearance of men preparing for war, rather than farmers tilling the soil, mechanics at their trades, and men and women following the peaceful avocations of domestic life, but omitted to give the true reason that it was to protect themselves from the murderous marauders from among his own constituency.

Mr. Oliver was very severe upon our Societies, but "spoke of the American party very gently."

"MR. OLIVER said nothing disrespectful of the Americans, and none could have been displeased with his remarks."

Of course Mr. Oliver could say nothing disrespectful of the "Americanism." It hunts in couples with Border Ruffians. Its grips dark lanterns, and secret oaths, are made to further the ends of Slavery in Kansas.

Mr. Oliver could not well say less—he could not consistently ask for more, than that Americans as the natural allies of slavery, should be treated "respectfully!"

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CITY OF CHICAGO.

Friday Morning, May 16, 1856.

KANSAS REVISITED.

NO II.

The Missouri River—Fare to Kansas—Lexington Border Ruffians—The Carpet Bag Gentry—Emigrants from the South, and how they behaved—Their Speeches—Jail Birds—Southern Republicans—Missouri River Towns—Effect of Slavery upon them.

CABIN OF STEAMER WILLIAM CAMPBELL,
MISSOURI RIVER, MAY 5, 1856.

Editors of the *Chicago Tribune*:

We expect to be in Kansas City at about 2 o'clock P. M. We are now fifty miles below it. Since we left St. Louis, we have met two "rises"—one below the Gasconade, the second

below Lexington. The Missouri, at this point, is six or eight feet higher than when we left St. Louis. It has rained heavily every night, and of course, we have run in the day time only. If these rains continue we shall have a great flood—"in a few days." The immense amount of snow on the plains and mountains, if it melts immediately, will cause such a flood as we have not had for many years past. It is to be hoped however, for the interests of commerce, that it will imitate the mysterious Miss Lucy's example, and "take its time." If it does so—disappear gradually—we may expect a "fine river" till autumn.

The cabin fare for passengers, above three years of age from St. Louis to Kansas City or Leavenworth, is twelve dollars each. The steerage passengers, of course, "find themselves"—in provisions, and in rather uncomfortable quarters, too.

Every passenger is allowed a moderate amount of baggage, but is charged extra for everything that comes under the head of "freight." He may take without charge a large trunk—sometimes two; but boxes, bedding, tools and furniture must be paid for, extra, in advance.

Freight is charged at the rate of fifty cents per hundred pounds from St. Louis to Leavenworth—or any point below it. Above Weston and as high as St. Joseph, seventy-five cents is charged.

When we landed at Lexington a number of rowdies came on board; boasted that they were Border Ruffians; and in order to prove their very modest assertion, called for whiskey, swore most profanely, maltreated the English language, and said they would hang every d—d Abolitionist they met. But they very wisely confined themselves to the vicinity of the bar.

Free State men need fear no insults from the rowdies of the river towns when in any of the St. Louis packets; those steamer excepted, perhaps, which have already gained an unenviable notoriety by permitting their passengers to be maltreated. Every Northern man can easily ascertain the names of these steamers and avoid them. Let the Republican press at the Northern States publish a black list of all St. Louis steamers, on board of which any Free State man may be insulted, or whose Captains permit any freight entrusted to them to be detained—as was recently the case with the chest of "Carpenters' tools" at Lexington—and there will soon find that these outrages will cease, and the Missouri packets be as trustworthy as the steamers on the Hudson or Ohio. If the Lexington rowdies had attempted to arrest any passengers on board of this steamer, or examine any freight, they would have found it necessary not only to "subdue" nine-tenths of the emigrants, but to "crush and conquer" every deck hand, officer, and waiter on board. We had too many revolvers, shot-guns and "carpenter's tools" to make such an attempt either desirable or safe.

The Black Oligarchy have a great talent for nick-names. They have given to the Buford men the title of Carpet-bag Gentry,—an expressive, as well as insulting designation. It is one of innumerable indications of the contempt in which the non-slaveholding population is held by the Privileged Classes of the Southern States. Poor men in the North, are not despised, even if their total personal estate may be packed away in a carpet bag. Please Heaven! working men, however poor they may be, shall never be despised on that account in Kansas!

We have a young man on board who came up, the other week, with a company of fifty of the scions of the first families of South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana. He says that the majority of these were drunk nearly all the time. You could often hear the report of half a dozen pistols at once. The chivalry amused themselves, when on deck, by firing off pistols into the air at imaginary Northern men with Northern principles—they called them Abolitionists—smoking cigars, quarrelling among themselves, and on one or two occasions, drawing their bowie-knives on each other. The appeared to have been educated to despise labor, and certainly had never been accustomed to work. As the steamer approached the Territory, they called a meeting of their company to pass resolutions of thanks to the Captain and officers. My friend describes it as an amusing affair. It was impossible to preserve order. The chivalry felt very independent, and insisted on speaking all at once. "Gentlemen," said one of them—"I hic—move—I move—move—I move."

But he made no motion. Several speeches, equally eloquent and to the point, were delivered, and finally the Resolutions were adopted.

Twenty-five of them landed at Leavenworth, and immediately proceeded inland. Next day four of them returned—cursing the country, damning the fare, and "blasting the eyes" of

Leavenworth City. They said they never saw such a mean country; that they wouldn't stay in it a month. One of them, who went to Atchison, also returned—without his hat. He had kept a "brick" in it for several days before he lost it.

Not by men of this class are great colonies founded, or international triumphs achieved. If the South desires to make her mark on Kansas, she must send there her free working men, and her sober "men of means." But she dare not do so. Her working men are not the friends of the Oligarchy—and the Oligarchy know it. Meanwhile, let them remember that the prison and the gallows are the only "Domestic Institutions" that drunken young rowdies ever founded or maintained. It is hardly worth the trouble and expense they are at to found these "peculiar" institutions in Kansas.

I have already stated that we have emigrants on board from Western Virginia and Western North Carolina, and that they are the advanced guard of others who are anxious to live where labor is honored and free speech permitted.

I learn that a gentleman from Western Virginia passed up the river last week as the agent for one hundred families of the Old Dominion, who have resolved to leave a State whose leading journals call free schools an abomination, free society a pitiful experiment and failure; and maintain that the principle of Slavery—not negro slavery merely, but enslavement of the "poor white trash"—is right, expedient, and in accordance with the revealed will of the Almighty.

Hope they won't bring a copy of Jefferson's Notes, or Washington's correspondence, or Patrick Henry's, or Randolph's, or Madison's speeches along with them, and thereby subject themselves to imprisonment in the penitentiary for violating the provisions of the Black Laws of Kansas!

MISSOURI RIVER TOWNS.

Had Missouri been admitted into the Union as a Free State, it would have had twenty miles of railroad for every mile it now has; its population would have been, at the lowest computation, at least one third greater than it now is; St. Louis would have been as rich, populous, and prosperous as Cincinnati, instead of being less prosperous than Chicago is; the State's vast mineral resources, and its agricultural wealth would have been developed long ago; its river's banks studded with large and thriving cities, its land and stocks quoted high in market and its position in the Union would have been prouder than it now is.

Between St. Louis and the Territory there is not a single city, worthy of the name. Jefferson City is a village. Glasgow, Hermann, Boonville, and Lexington are petty and unprosperous towns. Such are the inevitable results of slavery.

The banks of the Ohio—on the free soil side—are thickly strewn with wealthy, prosperous and populous cities. Such is the inevitable result of free labor!

St. Louis is the only prosperous city in Missouri, and it has a free soil population. It has not one slave for every hundred white freemen. Hurrah for free Kansas!

SENTIER ROUGE.

Kansas Outrages.

If there be a man among us whose blood does not boil over at the wrongs perpetrated in Kansas, or who does not feel outraged at the grim despotism exercised by Ruffians and sanctioned by the Government, we pity him; for he is the tool of a heartless tyranny, and fit for slavery itself.

By what right, under what color of right, was ROBINSON seized and held as a prisoner by Missourians, when traveling on one of the free high-ways of the nation? By what pretext of justice or under what rule of hospitality, was he torn from his wife and children, and forced into a vile subjection? Who made these barbarians the dispensers and executors of the Law? Why, a handful of men on the border are making a mock over justice, trampling it under foot with proud barbarity, and the Rulers of the Nation are sustaining them in it, encouraging them by word and cheer, by the armed soldiers of the United States, to push on their dark and bloody work.

The Congressional Commission, too, appointed to unveil the villainies of the Missouri usurpation, is to be broken up. Aye, even this bad and bold step is to be taken, to prevent the proof which shall blazon their villainies effect-

ally **186** world. Why else the attempt to seize and imprison REEDER? Why the mad endeavor of that half crazed *Alabamian*—Judge Lecomple, to put under arrest for treason every leader of the Free-State men? The border ruffians are men of blood— They mean to have, and will have, their way, if ROBINSON and REEDER, and every *Free State voter*, has to wet the soil with their life-blood.

If any man supposes we exaggerate, or think we are excited, let him look at the facts, the proof, now being developed before the Congressional Commission, and the brutal acts daily perpetrated by the Missourians. On the 29th J. Donardson was brought before the jury who testified:—

That he had a claim about three miles from Lawrence, and voted last January for Governor and other officers of the *State of Kansas*, that he was a member of a secret society in Missouri, whose object it was to make Kansas a Slave State. That the society is called by various names, such as "Blue Lodge," "Social Band," "Friends Society," "Sons of the South," etc. He joined the society in Cass County, February, 1855; came here with a party and voted on the 30th of March.

The Pro-Slavery men unite, have their secret oaths and signs, go about armed, and are resolved to extend Slavery into Kansas, if it has to be done through fire and blood. They mean to stifle investigation. They will drive off the free settlers, or kill them. And Federal officers and Federal troops are ready to back them in their devilish purpose.

Affairs look gloomily in Kansas. But were they ten-fold more so, we should say, let no such word as *yield* leap to the lip of a freeman. Now is the time for grit. Now the watchword of every defender of law and lover of liberty should be NEVER SURRENDER! We would sacrifice anything and everything for the peace of the Republic, *save* the right to be FREE—to think, write, speak, move and act, as becomes a FREEMAN; and we would yield that—the basis of its progress and power, and of every citizen's weal—only with life itself.

The Pro-Slavery men make this fatal issue and force it upon us. They say, "Submit—let human chattelism spread over Kansas, and wherever we may will it to go, and imprisonments, arrests for treason, assaults, lynchings, indignities shall cease—you shall have peace." We answer, No—never! Better all these—better the rack, torture and death, than a subjugation which will "subdue" the vital principle of Liberty in the Republic, and crush out its glorious action in any citizen. We answer, we will never submit to the enslavement of Kansas, and if the Free States know their duty or their interests, they will answer as one man, "NO SURRENDER" to such an infamous and outrageous alternative.

Southern Position on Kansas.

WASHINGTON, May 13.
The Southern delegates to Cincinnati say, that after the New York difficulty is settled they will insist upon the construing of the Nebraska bill so as to take the position that the Territories shall not be permitted to take any action upon the subject of slavery until they shall be ready to come in as States. The Richmond Enquirer and other Southern presses have commenced this, and have been followed up by Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, on the same side. Mr. Cass is to reply to Mr. Brown to-day. The speech of Mr. Cass defining his position on this matter would fill ten columns of the *Herald*.
—*New York Herald's Correspondent.*

DAILY TRIBUNE.

FRIDAY, MAY 16

KANSAS REVISITED.

NO. VI.
The Election Frauds in Kansas.

LAWRENCE, STATE OF KANSAS, }
Friday, May 9, 1856. }

Editors of the Chicago Tribune:

I subjoin the evidence of several witnesses examined before the Congressional Investigating Committee this forenoon. Oliver is absent. Whitfield is in town. Reeder has not attended the session this forenoon. Gov. Robinson has been sent to Washington by the Investigating Committee, with a sealed packet of important evidence, which, they fear there is a plot on foot on the part of the Black Propaganda to seize by surprising Lawrence, and giving it up to the invaders.

PRO-SLAVERY TESTIMONY.

Mr. Berhart, (pro-slavery), sworn. "I came into the Territory in November 1834, from Missouri. I settled on Mari-de-se, some call it Osage, in the Bull Creek District. I have lived in the same district ever since."

"I was present at the election of the 30th of March. I saw a good many strangers there and a great many men I knew from Missouri. I had some conversations with the strangers, (he named several of them,) they lived in Cass county; they came there to vote, I reckon; you will find your name on the poll books I reckon; some of them were armed. I rode through their camp in going to the polls, and stopped at one of them in returning. There were something about, I guess, two hundred that I didn't know; if I saw the poll books I might know."

"I am acquainted with pretty near every man in the district; it was sparsely settled then; they have come in pretty thick since."

"In the precinct I voted, there could not have been more than fifty legal votes. There was a heap of settlers I did not know; there warn't exceeding ten out of the neighborhood that voted, who were legal voters."

"A great many of the settlers staid at home. I had heard previously that Missourians were coming over. They don't deny voting; they take it upon themselves as an honor. Before I left Missouri, before I went into the Territory and when there on visits after, I heard heaps of them say they intended to come over to vote. I think I was in Missouri on about the first of March and heard many of these men say they intended to come over to vote; they said they had claims there. I had a right smart acquaintance there. There was some noise and confusion there; swearing and drinking—two men in particular were very noisy. All the squatters who were on the ground voted. So did the Missourians."

"Dr. Westfall who was one of the Judges of Election lived in Missouri."

"Mr. Younger, they say, lived in Missouri; I've never seen him in the Territory. He lives in Missouri now. He was elected a Representative of the Kansas Legislature. I saw him at a caucus in the Territory before the election; he made a speech. Fox and him were the only ones who spoke. Younger said the Missourians had a right to vote. Fox contradicted him and said that the men who mashed down the brushes and cleared the land,—the squatters—were the only persons entitled to vote. They got into an angry discussion and I left. Fox was a Free State candidate. This was a week or two before the election. They did not nominate that day the Pro-Slavery party in the caucus. Fox was nominated by the Free State party that day. I never heard of the Pro-Slavery party in the caucus. Fox was nominated by the Free State party that day. I never heard of the Pro-Slavery candidate having been nominated in the Territory. Coffee, Lykins, Wilkinson, Younger, Scott and Hascale were voted for by the Missourians and elected."

Younger's farm in Missouri is near Independence. He has no claim in the Territory, that I know of; he said he had a claim on Sugar Creek. His family have never been in the Territory that I know of. He is rich.

MISSOURI TESTIMES AGAINST THE INVADERS.

Mr. Jesse W. Wilson, (pro slavery) sworn—"I came into the Territory on the 26th of August, 1854, and settled in the Bull Creek District. I came from Missouri. I lived in Jackson County and was tolerably well acquainted there. I am one of the oldest settlers in the District. I suppose it was eleven o'clock when I got to the polls on the 30th of March. I saw

a great many persons there. I suppose that there were not less than two hundred non-residents from Missouri there; some I was acquainted with; some not; they all said they came from Missouri."

[The witness named several Missourians he saw there and conversed with.]

"They said they came to vote, and did vote. They lived in Jackson. They said they had come to retaliate on the Emigrant Aid Society, who had sent paupers out to vote. No men sent out under the auspices of that Society lived in my district. Our settlers were from Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky—all from the Western States."

"The Missourians said they intended to make it a Slave State. They were armed with muskets, shot-guns and bowie knives—armed as the saying is, 'up to the teeth.' I saw no serious disturbance when I was there. I did not see over from twelve to fifteen settlers vote."

The large majority of the settlers in my district were Free State men. If none but settlers had voted, the Free State candidates would have been elected. I never saw Younger in the Territory; he does not live there."

"I was at the election of the 29th of November. There were Missourians there. They voted. Many of them I have never seen nor heard tell of their being in the Territory since."

He mentioned the names of several citizens, of Missouri, who were present at the election. A Judge of Missouri was one of them—he did not vote himself but countenanced the proceedings of the invaders. The poll books were produced, and the witness pointed out the names of several men who voted."

ANOTHER MISSOURIAN TESTIFIES.

Mr. Marshal A. Garrett, sworn—"I came to the Territory in November; settled at Big Blue. I came from Missouri. There was a party voted on the 30th of March from the Wyandott nation. I was one of the Judges of Election. Some of these men said they had located Wyandott floats, and the others claimed that they were there and had a right to vote."

AN INVADER TESTIFIES.

G. W. Gillespie, sworn—(Pro-Slavery.)—I came to the Territory from Missouri on the 1st of April. I was living at St. Joseph during the March election, 1855, and went over and voted in the Territory on that day. There was a large crowd there. There might have been two thousand there. I voted at Burr Oak precinct."

"I had no communication with them. I saw them pass up regularly and deposit their ballots. Dinner was free at the camp for every one; they had a booth for provisions; everybody that wanted to eat went up and helped themselves."

"The ferry-boats from Missouri and Kansas were free all day. I went over after I had voted. We had peatable and good times generally."

"When I came from St. Joseph to vote, and on returning to Weston, I saw large number of men—hundreds and hundreds on both sides of the river—crossing and re-crossing. It was none of my business where they came from. I just tended to my own business; voted, got my dinner, and some good beer. I do not remember who was voted for. Richardson and Whitehead were two of them. My two sons and son-in-law came over with me and voted. I am a Kentuckian by birth. I don't want to be called a Missourian!"

He mentioned one of the Invaders who, he said, had voted that day, and who had married a daughter of his, but was divorced from her five years ago, and had recently married a widow worth \$10,000.

VIRTUOUS INDIGNATION AMONG ROGUES.

Dr Westfield was recalled:—Mr. Sherman pointed to the poll books and said that the names of several men were entered as having refused to take the oath, whose ballots were rejected on that account. He asked the witness to explain this fact.

Dr. Westfall was one of the Judges of Election appointed by the Missouri Invaders, and accepted the office in order to obtain a knowledge of their designs and defeat them. He testified on a previous examination that hundreds of men from Missouri had voted on that occasion.

"Dr. Westfall said that this refusal to accept votes was arranged dodge—perfectly understood between the judges and voters—in order to deceive any persons who might subsequently examine into the election frauds. He said that not one man in a hundred was challenged; and he would pretend to be very angry and threaten to whip the Judges for not accepting the ballot offered."

information when in New York, as to the soil, climate, &c. as to the best routes of getting to Kansas.

"At the time of that election there was a decided majority in favor of making Kansas a free State. At present that majority is overwhelming."

BOILED LINEN QUALIFICATION!

"Ferguson, one of the Judges, on my remarking that he was not a settler of this precinct, said that he had his washing done at Potawatomie, and that made him a legal voter."

"This closes this morning's sermon. Squatter Sovereignty is a great institution, isn't it?"

SENTIER ROUGE.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 16, 1856.

The Kansas Investigation.

Continued Proceedings of the Congressional Committee.

The report of the testimony has been received and published in the Times, up to May 1st. We give some striking points made for the people in the last despatches.

REMOVAL OF THE LEGISLATURE.

It is known that the Bogus Legislature met at Pawnee city, under the proclamation of the Governor; but not liking to be so far from their own homes and friends in Missouri, they at once resolved to adjourn to the Missouri station, on the border. The plea was made that the location chosen by the Governor was unhealthy, and that there were not proper accommodations provided. The following evidence proves that both allegations were false. What was the object of the removal can readily be judged from the character of the laws passed—which, as some of the members said, were intended to drive away the Yankee settlers:

William M. McClure, called and sworn: Resided at Pawnee at the time of the meeting of the Legislature; accommodations had been made by M. J. Kertz to board fifty persons; another boarding house kept by Mr. Terples would accommodate twenty; there were three or four rooms on the lower floor; a Mr. Knapp could accommodate twenty-five or thirty; Mr. Low could accommodate fifteen or twenty; Mr. Low's was at the Fort, one or two miles from the town plot; he ran a carriage to and from the town to carry persons to their meals; persons boarded at all these places; (objected to by Col. Woodson.) I believe some of the members remained in their wagons and tents, excepting one night when they had a heavy rain; there were accommodations for the members of the Legislature and their officers; they had a two story stone building to meet in, 40 by 60, and it was appropriated exclusively for that purpose; there was one case of cholera while the Legislature were there, caused by dissipation.

Question by Reeder—Did you hear any member of the Legislature give any reason why they removed?

Ruled out by the committee.

Reeder asked to introduce in order to prove that the members said if they had the Capitol at Jefferson City, in which to meet, and the Planters' House to board in, they would not remain a single moment. It had been asserted over and over again that they had no accommodation there, and that the members were dying with pestilence; he was anxious to introduce it in order to nail the falsehood to the counter.

THE ATTEMPT TO DESTROY LAWRENCE.

Another writer, Mr. J. M. WINCHELL, testified concerning the march of Missourians against Lawrence, last December, under the lead of Sheriff JONES, and by order of Gov. SHANNON. This witness was one who persisted in getting an interview with Shannon, and disabusing him in reference to the intentions and position of the people of Lawrence. That weak tool of a wicked government, was unable to resist the palpable evidences of the good character, honest purposes and steady determination of the

Free State men, and as is well known, agreed to a treaty, by which the citizens of Lawrence were admitted to their rights, and the blood-hounds from Missouri were baffled without blood-shedding. We quote from his testimony, the following:

THE RETURN OF THE MISSOURIANS.

On our way to Kansas, 8th December, saw many men returning; became evident that the camp was breaking up; Monday following returned to Lawrence; saw Shannon on the way, going east; he said the difficulties were over, and thought he should resign his office, for fear of future troubles; I have been told that the actual number of men encamped at Wakarusa was 1200, by John Martin, Adjutant to General Strickler; on going from here to Wakarusa, saw a prisoner whom the guard had taken at Franklin, and were then conveying to camp; he struggled violently, and one of them cried, "God damn your Abolition heart!" they conveyed him off; it was not alleged that he had done anything; Sheriff Jones admitted to me that Gen. Pomeroy was arrested without any crime being charged upon him; Jones said that Pomeroy was arrested without his authority, but he could not help it, for the men there would arrest whom they chose; I remonstrated with Jones about their keeping Pomeroy; he made no reply.

THREATS AGAINST A FREE STATE HOTEL.

Mr. Winchell, to Gov. Reeder—As I was passing down to Kansas city I met a man coming this way; I saw one gentleman whom I afterwards learned to be Col. Woodson, of Independence; I heard threats made against the American Hotel at Kansas city, by the same parties who had made threats against Lawrence; there were some three or four citizens of Kansas city, who would have encouraged a proceeding of this kind, but a large majority of the citizens of Kansas city were opposed to it; I know that Col. Eldridge purchased this property of the Emigrant Aid Company, and these threats were made against it on that account, and because it was kept to accommodate Northern and Eastern emigrants; I know that some of the leading citizens of Kansas city, fearing the Hotel would be destroyed, issued a circular denying that its proprietor was an Abolitionist, and sent a deputation to the camp at Wakarusa with it, in order to prevent a destruction by them on their return; I saw parties crossing the river at Kansas city on their way to Lawrence, uttering most hideous yells and threats against the Abolitionists.

Mr. Winchell, to Mr. Woodson—Kansas city is in Missouri, on the extreme edge.

THE ILLEGAL VOTING.

Cumulative evidence on the subject of the illegal voting last fall, was taken. The following is from a Missouri emigrant, who was a judge of election:

Lewis A. Prather, called and sworn: Came to Franklin 6th July, 1855, from Missouri; was below Independence in Missouri, in Sept. last; a body of men overtook me, of whom I asked, "Where are you going?" they told me they were from Saline county, Mo., and were going to Kansas to vote; saw them again near Westport; their numbers had increased; know they voted; stood near the polls at Franklin and saw them; before we got to Westport saw a hemp sack and hemp rope hanging out the wagon, which they told me was to hang the Abolitionists with; a Robt. Grant told me when he learned how much I was opposed to their coming here to vote, I should be rewarded with the rope first if I did not look out; they claimed the right to vote under the acts of the Territorial Legislature; there were about sixty; they did not claim to be citizens; I asked them particular about that; one of them said, "We have claims in the Territory; another said, "Jim, what is the use of telling that d—n lie, you know we are going to vote same as we did on 31st March, and return;" they said they were going to tear down Lawrence and slide the d—n town into the river; they wanted to know why the Free State men were not going to vote on the same day as they; I answered that the Free State party expected to elect Gov. Reeder on that day; they said, "God d—n Gov. Reeder, he will not be alive on that day, and Robt. Grant said he would kill him wherever he could get a chance, and the more Abolitionists he could kill at a fire the better; they asked me if I was going to vote on the 1st; I told them no; they then said I was worse than an Abolitionist, for I was nothing but a d—d Southern traitor; on Monday, when the polls were opened, I was called upon to act as Judge of Election; refused to serve in consequence of my opposition to law and the Missourians being

here to vote; they threatened me in consequence, Mr. Whitlock, member of the Territorial Legislature, in particular; when the polls were opened I placed myself where I could see who voted, and stood with pencil and paper in hand to note who voted; I made sixty-three foreign voters, and from twelve to fifteen resident voters; some of them who came up, with me did not vote at Franklin, but voted at other places, as I was informed.

ARMING OF INDIANS AGAINST THE FREE STATE MEN.

The same witness testified as follows:

I saw Indians in the camp at Wakarusa; these Indians were armed, I think; saw arms about their camp while they were at dinner; saw a man pour a handful of bullets into the hands of an Indians, and tell him he wanted him to save a Yankee scalp for each bullet; he said he would; the same man also took the Indian's bottle and carried it to get it filled; the Indian told me afterwards that he did not mean to kill Yankee; he wanted to get whiskey; Wallace expressed a decided determination to come with the Missouri troops to Lawrence, and die with them if necessary; I was roughly treated by them, and while I was away they black-guarded my wife and family; if I was away from home at night they would not let me go home; they would not let me go to the Post Office, nor to Lawrence; I threatened to apply to the laws for protection; one of them told me, "By God! I should like to see you get any benefit of the law against us," in consequence of their troubling and harassing me I could not attend to my stock, and thereby lost a cow and calf; I was doing business in store and wanted to go home at night, and they refused to let me go; heard of many other depredations committed but know of none myself; (here Gov. Reeder offered to prove from the witness that in conversation with two councilmen of the Territorial Legislature, they said that their object was to legislate so as to drive out the Yankees from the Territory; objected to.)

A COLD-BLOODED MURDER.

Was in company with Dr. Wood and Mr. Wallace going into camp; Wood told us he had come from Leecompton with Gen. Richardson, and about three or four miles above Lawrence they met two men riding out on the prairie, a Mr. Burns, of Western Missouri, and Maj. Clark; rode out to meet them; Gen. Richardson directed Wood to ride out and call them back; saw Burns, Clark and another man popping away at each other; one man was not firing; the two men then rode away, and Burns remarked, we hit one, for I saw the fur fly; afterwards was introduced to Clark, and heard him tell the story, and say, we gave one Yankee his winter quarters, for I saw him reel on his horse.

This Clark is an Indian agent. Although boasting of having killed a Free State man, who had given him no provocation, he was unmolested by the authorities, so vigilant in rooting out and driving from the territory all tendencies to make it a Free State, and to fasten Slavery upon the soil! This damning record will convince the world of the true character of Slavery and its supporters and abettors.—The Administration press carefully exclude all allusion to this investigation and its results from their columns. They are so anxious to stifle the whole thing, that they cease to utter their lamentations over that unhung villain JONES, Nicaragua, and its companion rascal, WALKER, have now all the attention and sympathies of the Pierce administration and its organs. Will the true Democracy of the North abide this shameless prostitution?



FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 16, 1856.

The Albany Emigrants to Kansas—Incidents of the Route.

The Second Party of emigrants for Kansas under the auspices of the New York State Kansas Committee, left this city on the morning of the 14th inst. The "Kansas Car" was well filled and accessions to the Party were made at Rama, Syracuse, Rochester and Lockport, mak-

ing a company of about forty persons. A large number of the party were accompanied by their families. On either side of the Kansas Car was a banner inscribed

"HO! FOR FREE KANSAS!"

On the arrival of the train at Syracuse, RUSSELL LEBBARD, Esq., on behalf of the citizens, presented the party with a beautiful banner with the following inscription:

"NEW YORK STATE KANSAS PARTY NO. 2."
"Liberty and Equality will Secure Peace and Prosperity."

The "Kansas Car" was received throughout the State with intense enthusiasm. At Suspension Bridge the Great Western Rail Road with ready courtesy assigned a separate car for the Colony, and the banners were attached to the car through Canada.

A meeting was held in the Depot, on the Canada side, at Suspension Bridge, during the detention of the cars, at eleven o'clock P. M., at which it was resolved to found a Free City in Kansas. The thanks of the Colony were presented to the New York State Kansas Committee, and to their Agent, C. PEPPEB, Esq., for the aid and assistance rendered to the party; and also to the citizens of Syracuse for the beautiful Banner presented by them, and the Company resolved that its folds should only be unfurled to the breezes of the plains of Free Kansas.

At half-past eleven, the Company took leave of the meeting, and the cars started bearing another contribution of free hearts and strong arms for the cause of Republican institutions on the soil consecrated to Freedom by the Fathers of the Republic.

The third party under the direction of the New York State Committee will start from Albany on the 4th day of June next.

The Daily Transcript.

E. K. PANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS.,
FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 16, 1856.

American District Convention.

The Americans of the several cities and towns in the 9th Congressional District, who repudiate the nomination of Fillmore and Donson, and who are in favor of sending delegates to the American National Convention at New York, June 12th, are requested to meet in their several towns and cities, for the purpose of electing delegates, to the number of 3 times the number of Representatives to which they are entitled in the General Court in valuation on year, to attend a District Convention, to be held in Worcester, at Horticultural Hall, on the 23d day of May, at 10 o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of choosing one delegate and substitute, to represent the 9th District in said National Convention.

This call is issued by order of the Executive State Committee of Massachusetts, appointed at an American Convention, held in Boston, May 13, 1856.
For the Executive Committee.

J. WALDO DENNY, Secretary.
T. S. WHITE, Chairman.
May 15, 1856. dtm29th

The Battle Ground.

Kansas has been for months past the most absorbing topic of conversation, the most interesting subject of newspaper discussion and the chief centre of interest to politicians.—News from that territory has been looked for with the greatest anxiety, and every fresh item of interest has been read and discussed by almost everybody with more than ordinary eagerness. If the contest there going on concerned merely the parties who are on the ground, or involved nothing of greater importance than the question of which party should possess the soil and hold the political control of the territory, it would not be possible to keep the whole nation in a state of excitement about it. But every intelligent citizen perceives, that in the result of the struggle in Kansas are involved questions of the greatest moment to all parts of the country. It is not even simply a question whether the institution of slavery shall be extended over Kansas, but

it is also, whether the character of our federal government shall be wholly changed from that which our fathers made it, and become henceforth a machinery to enslave men, destroy the liberty of speech and establish despotism; it is whether mob law, riot, and lawless outrages shall be henceforth stronger than the Constitution and the laws; whether any set of men in any State can invade a neighboring territory, organize Legislatures, make laws which set at defiance the laws of God and the country, and then proceed to enforce obedience to these enactments, by murdering the people, investing their towns with hostile armies, seizing upon peaceable citizens, and resorting to any and every possible means ever adopted by ruffians and pirates; it is now to be settled whether citizens of Massachusetts, who emigrate to Kansas or any other free territory of the United States, are to be compelled to submit to such rules and laws as citizens of Missouri and South Carolina choose to establish for them.

The late intelligence from Kansas shows that the pro-slavery men, sustained by the Administration, are determined to carry out their plans at all hazards; they do not intend to fail in consequence of any scruples about law, justice, decency or any such little matters.

The government, disappointed in their attempt to prevent an investigation of the frauds and outrages committed in Kansas by its own adherents, boldly endeavors, to frustrate the design of the appointment of the Kansas Commission by arresting on charge of high treason the most important witnesses in the case and sends soldiers to compel Gov. Reeder to cease his attendance upon the Commissioners and surrender himself to the keeping of the very scoundrels whose villainies the Commission is charged to investigate! at the same moment Gov. Robinson, another important witness against the border ruffians, is arrested without even the poor pretence of any legal process and by a mob of citizens of Missouri and forcibly detained; another witness, Mr. Mace, a native of Massachusetts is decoyed from his residence at night and a dastardly attempt made to assassinate him so that he might no more be a "swift witness against rascals whom Stringfellow and Pierce are leading, and to complete the chapter, a hostile force from Missouri march to Lawrence with the avowed intention of seizing the records of the Commission and destroying the town; these and such events as these are now daily occurring in Kansas. Where is all this to end? Is this the kind of freedom and equal rights to be accorded to free citizens of this country in the territories? Are we to sit tamely by and see the federal government use its power for the oppression and destruction not only of liberty and law, but of the honest freemen who have settled in the territory, invested their property, located their lands, and made themselves citizens in a perfectly legal manner, and who have committed no offence whatever against any law of the United States or of the territory of Kansas? When President Pierce was informed of these latest outrages of the pro-slavery men in Kansas, he coolly remarked:

"If there is to be armed resistance to the laws of the country and the constitutional rights of the South, it might as well occur at this time, and in Kansas, as elsewhere."

What a hypocritical rogue and supple tool of his Southern master! is Franklin Pierce! What "rights" have the South in Kansas? Have they any more or different rights than the people of Massachusetts? Yet President Pierce avows that in his opinion the "rights of the South" are alone worthy of protection in the territory. We do not know that civil

war would be so very bad an affair if we are compelled to choose between that, and the continued rule of such creatures as Pierce, Douglas and Stringfellow.

The Atlas.

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 16, 1856.

"If there is to be armed resistance to the laws of the country, AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF THE SOUTH, it might as well occur at this time, and in Kansas as elsewhere."

This is said to have been the exceedingly sagacious and kind-hearted remark of the President of the United States, upon the receipt of the recent startling intelligence from Kansas. A dispassionate hearer would have found it very difficult to discover any connection between the observation and the events. What were the incidents reported?

I. A peaceable citizen (Gov. Robinson), travelling through the State of Missouri, is seized by an irresponsible mob, and detained without warrant and against law.

II. An attempt is made to arrest a witness (Gov. Reeder), while he is in attendance upon a commission of the House of Representatives, and thus to prevent him from giving his testimony before that commission.

III. A witness who had given his testimony is shot, and left "bait for wolves."

And the President of the United States, when he hears about these things, can only talk about "the constitutional rights of the South!" Truly, we are a people nine times blest in our President—and nine hundred and ninety-nine times blest in the prospect of getting rid of him.

KENNEBEC JOURNAL.

AUGUSTA, FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1856.

False Security of the North.

Danger of the Free State men losing Kansas.

A Washington letter writer of a late date, says with great truth:

It has been trumpeted abroad for the last eight or ten months all over the North, that the population of Kansas was five to one in favor of its being a Free State, and that, therefore, the danger of Slavery, which menaced it, was over. Thousands of the Democratic party indignant at the removal of the Missouri Restriction, and who had condemned it by voice and vote, have thus temporarily abated their hostility, and resumed their old places in the Democratic organization, thinking that though a great wrong and outrage had been committed, yet that after all no practical damage to Freedom would come of it. The spread of this unfounded belief has naturally weakened the ranks of the Anti-Nebraska men.—Yet it has nowhere broke them, as it is natural to suppose it might. The admitted fact that Kansas is inevitably to be a Free State, through the force of Northern emigration, has been seized by the file leaders of the office-holding party, and held up to their followers as evidence that notwithstanding all that had been said and predicted, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise would work no real mischief. The consternation which everywhere fell upon the leaders when the foul blow was first struck at Freedom has been supplanted by jubilant anticipations that its feared consequences were ward off, and that the off-ended masses of the party could be reclaimed by active efforts, which have accordingly been energetically and confidently put forth. In this consists the secret of the apparent partial revival of the strength of the Democratic organization in the Free States. When the true state of the case is made manifest to the public understanding, and it is seen that the north has been reposing in a false belief of the ultimate safety of Kansas, the current will return, must return, with renewed violence. When it is seen, as it will be seen, that the expectations in regard to Kansas being able to make herself free, are wholly unfounded, and are tending to her inevitable

permanent enjoyment, the same swelling popular effort that produced such overwhelming results in 1854, we have good reason to believe, will expand with a not less significant demonstration in 1856.

The Presidential contest is thus we believe, to evoke all the fires of 1854 growing out of the outrage of the repeal, and the political iniquity of its authors, intensified by the prospect of certain Slavery for Kansas if the party in power are able to retain their power. This issue must electrify the canvass till the North

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 16, 1856.

THE SOUTH IN KANSAS.—The following is from the Richmond Whig. It will be seen that it is a full avowal of a determination to do all that the "fanatics" of the North are charged with on the other side. It will call forth, however, no condemnation from those papers which can see nothing national except slavery:

"We are in favor of the South meeting the North on the plains of Kansas, and there doing whatever may be considered necessary to protect itself, its citizens and its property in the enjoyment of what the Constitution guarantees alike to all, without wrong or prejudice to any. We are for yielding neither jot or tittle to the aggressive movements and unjust demands of the organized band of fanatics and robbers, who, under the auspices of the Abolition leaders of the North, are emigrating to Kansas for the purpose of swindling the South out of its equal rights in that territory. On the contrary, we are for resisting them with all the means in our power, at every hazard and to the last extremity. We are even willing, if it needs must be, to oppose Sharp's rifles with Sharp's rifles. In a word, we stand ready to approve and encourage every effort which Southern men, in their wisdom and judgment, may decide upon, to promote emigration to Kansas from the Southern States. If Kansas can possibly be rescued from the grasp and dominion of the free soilers and abolitionists, and erected into a defence of slavery and Southern institutions, why, in God's name, we appeal to the patriotism and enterprise and liberality of the South to rally to the rescue and consummate the glorious work."

Stringfellow begins to complain that the South has sent him in Buford's army nothing better than "Southern paupers." Fifty of them fell short of funds at Kansas City and Stringfellow had to pay their bills. At St. Louis four of them deserted, having stolen a thousand dollars of Buford's money. Their bibles have not saved them from gambling and drunkenness.—*Doston Chronicle.*

By the following from a correspondent of the New York Tribune, it will be seen that the bibles were not used in a way that would be likely to produce great benefit, the pioneers of slavery preferring a newer dispensation than they could find in that volume, from Genesis to Revelations:

"On the trip up the river the bibles were thrown promiscuously into a large bucket on the hurricane deck, and the company were below handling an article known among gamblers as a "pocket testament," and it was by such means that they lost their money, what little they had.

while J. W. Whitfield, assisted by S. H. Wadson of Missouri stands on the defensive. We cannot publish in full all the testimony which has already reached us, but here is a synopsis;

Jordan Davidson testified that he came from Missouri to vote in Kansas at the Legislative Election, March, 1855; contended that he had a right to do so; understood that Reeder had brought on Anti-Slavery voters from the East to make Kansas a Free State, and had given prior and secret intelligence to the East as to the day on which the Election would be held; witness had attended some meetings of a secret society existing in Missouri, and he supposed in other Slave States, intended to plant Slavery in Kansas; he joined this society in Cass County, Missouri, in February, 1855; it was known as the "Sons of the South," "Blue Lodge," and by various other names; the members were known to each other by secret signs and passwords; sometimes by a ribbon tied in a button-hole of the coat; witness recognized some twenty-five to fifty of his brother members (in Missouri) at the poll held at Douglas for the Legislative Election; knew no Anti-Slavery man, not an actual resident of Kansas, who voted at said election; witness was one of the Judges of Election after the original Judges left the ground. [All this was drawn out of him sorely against his will. Much of it was corroborated by several other witnesses, whose testimony we need not repeat.]

Hammond Muggy was likewise at Douglas at the 30th March Election; saw a large crowd there, and many wagons; got there just as Mr. Mace did; he tried to vote, and when the Pro-Slavery Party saw that his vote was a Free-State vote they said he should not vote it; several men took hold of him by the collar and pulled him away; he took hold of me and we were both pulled away together from the poll; they cried out, "Cut his throat," "tear his d-d heart out of him;" saw one man draw a knife upon him, without doing any injury; saw a man with a lever, trying to pry up a corner of the cabin; others cried out, "Don't do it until you have orders;" saw Ellison come out of the cabin with the ballot-box in his hand, and say out, "Hurry for Missouri!" Ellison was one of the Judges; heard Jones (now Sheriff) say he would give the [original] Judges five minutes to resign or die; Jones gave one more minute, and they then left; these Judges were Ramsey and Burson, both Free-State men; a there when the other Judges [Davidson & Co.] were appointed; the crowd then commenced voting; saw no Free-State man vote; don't know whether Jones voted that day.

William Lyons testified that over one hundred Missourians voted at Douglas on that day; saw some returning to Missouri that day and some the day after; they told him they were from Missouri; one of them told him he knew of eight hundred Missourians who would vote in Kansas that day. Witness testified to similar voting by Missourians at the first election of Whitfield, Nov. 1854.

Augustus Wattle corroborated this last testimony. George Umbargo saw the original Judges of election driven from the poll by threats of violence at Douglas about noon of the 30th of March election; Sheriff Jones was one of the party, and seemed to act as leader; Ramsey (one of the original Judges) gave witness the poll-books and charged him to take care of them; witness started for home, but was overtaken by eight or ten horsemen, surrounded, and poll-books taken from him; Sheriff Jones (not then Sheriff, even in pretense) was one of the party; forced witness to accompany them back again; his life was threatened; also that of Benson, (another of the Judges,) who had escaped; saw some of the voters start for Missouri.

James R. Stewart attended the poll in the Seventh District; [Douglas is in the second;] two of the legally appointed Judges did not serve, and their place was supplied by strangers; many who lived in that district did not vote; those who did vote were nearly all strangers; they were encamped near the poll; recognized two of them as residents of Missouri; the strangers voted without being sworn; they were armed; they went east [toward Missouri] after voting; about three hundred votes were there polled, nearly all for the Pro-Slavery candidates.

I. B. Titus corroborated this testimony. A. Horner testified to similar proceedings at Switzer Creek; the strangers arrived and encamped the night before election during the election they adjourned for dinner, and took the ballot-box down to their camp meanwhile; they had their provisions and fodder along with them.

Hallam Rice confirmed much of the foregoing. Marcus H. Rose testified that there are 52 voters in the Seventh District, according to the official Census taken just before the 30th of March Election; of these, seventeen appear by the poll-books to have voted at that election. Six hundred and seven votes were cast there at Whitfield's first election (Nov. '54), and two hundred and thirty-four in March, '55.

James R. Stewart confirmed Mr. Rose's statement. Robert Morrow came with a load of goods from Kansas City (Mo.) into the Territory on the last day of last October (Whitfield's second election, under which he now holds); was passed by forty or fifty people between that and Gum Spring (the next best poll in Kansas); more passed him afterward; there was a crowd of about a hundred at Gum Spring, all strangers to witnesses.

William Jessie witnessed the 30th March Election at Douglas; was a voter there; there was no trouble until 33 votes had been taken, when a voter was objected to because he would not swear he resided in the Territory; the crowd insisted that he should vote without swearing; while this was going on a dozen came to vote and were pulled away; pistols were presented to the Judges, and they were told their brains should be blowed out if they did not receive the votes of those persons who refused to take the oath; they declared they came there to vote and they would vote; one of the Judges, Mr. Ellison, rose and said, receive no votes until I return; he went out and came in; we must close the polls or else there will be 500 shots fired in here in less than five minutes; they tried to overthrow the cabin; at this time Mr. Ellison got the ballot-box; the doors were broken open; Ellison rushed out and cried out hurrah for Missouri; I gathered up some papers and gave them to one of the Judges; the crowd rushed into the cabin; I left the cabin; soon saw a man come out with some papers in his hand; saw that they were blank papers; I hunted for Messrs. Burson and Ramsey, the other Judges, to see if they had come out;

found them, and heard a man telling them he would give them five minutes to resign or die; I went into the cabin to see Burson again, and saw a man holding a watch in his hand; I told Burson he had better leave his house; he said he did not want to leave his own house; he finally did with Ramsey and myself; we went, some fifteen in number, to Mr. Ramsey's house; I asked Burson where the poll-books were; I found the poll-books in his pocket; he handed them to Mr. Humbecker; Mr. H. and Mr. B. then went toward their homes; a crowd of men came on horseback and asked where the poll-books were; we told them we did not know; they swore they were there—went off and returned again and abused us; Mr. Jones, now Acting Sheriff, was with them, on horseback, with Mr. Humbecker behind him; soon others came after Judge Wakefield; they demanded he should go with them; he consented to go with them after three had promised to protect him against harm; Jones was one of the three; the cry and search was then for Burson; I found him and went away with him; when I returned, the bigger part of the company had gone; Jones, now Sheriff, was the man who was holding the watch and telling him they had five minutes to resign or die; some were there voting when I got back; when they left they went down East; I suppose there were nearly 400 strangers there; have not yet seen them in the District since; they were well armed, with knives, guns, and revolvers; I do not know as any settlers of the District voted.

Thomas B. Wolterton testified to same fact, to sixty persons coming from Missouri; coming over and voting for Whitfield at Willow Springs in October last. They told him (understanding him to be on their side) that they came over to vote for Whitfield and thus make Kansas a Slave State; one told him that he had been over and voted at the 30th of March (Legislative) election.

N. B. Houten removed into the Territory from Missouri in September, '54; settled on the Wakarusa; was one of the Judges of Election at Lawrence, 30th of March, '55; was in Missouri for two or three weeks before the election; coming home, fell in with a company of strangers; they told him they were from Booneville and Columbus, going to Lawrence to vote; hearing he was a Judge, they asked if he would let them vote without swearing; recognized some of them at the poll; when they found I could not be persuaded to let them vote, they endeavored to get me to resign, and became much enraged because I would not, and threatened to hang me; an old man asked me to continue as Judge, receive their votes, and they would pay me; I did not then resign, but left them; I resigned on the morning of election; I was in town on the morning of the election; did not go to the poll; was in one of their camps near my place; they came there on the evening before the 30th; they came over to Lawrence; saw some of them here; there were fifteen or twenty there; looked over part of the poll-list, and know some of the men whose names are there to reside in Missouri.

Peter Baatger came into the Territory from Iowa, 1st September, 1854; settled at Black Jack Point, on Santa Fé Road I was at the election at Mewhinny's, on Ottawa Creek, 20th November, 1854, [Whitfield's first election.] a year ago; saw great many men traveling; some of them encamped near my house; came into my house off or on; asked me how I was going to vote; told them should vote for a Free State; a Mr. Royalston, who resides near Westport, in Missouri, told me he was bound to have it a Slave State; if they had to make it so by the point of the sword; I asked them if they had claims in the Territory; one man put a stake down by my camp, and said that was all the claim he wanted; they all voted and I voted; one man who stood with me all night, said as Dr. Chapman was one of the Judges, they got a man drunk, called him sick, sent the doctor to him, and then appointed another Judge in his place; these men told me they were from Missouri; there were arms in their wagons, and nearly every man had a revolver; after the election they returned on the road toward Missouri; I started for Independence next morning; saw many men going toward Missouri; on the road some of these hurried for Whitfield; saw numbers of persons going to the election of 30th March; saw many of them returning from it; some of these men were from Missouri; I had seen them there, having teamed a good deal the Fall before; there were but few settlers east of me; I was the last settler that way in my district; think there were twenty-five passed my house before breakfast on their way to the election; Dr. Chapman's is four miles from the Missouri line.

Thomas D. Hopkins—Came into the Territory, June 1854 from Carroll County, Missouri; I settled nine miles south of Lawrence, and have resided there since; I was here at the election 30th March; met here a good many of my acquaintances from Carroll County; saw them in camp and about the polls. [Witness here gave the names of a man with whom he was acquainted from Missouri.] They told me there were about twenty-five of my acquaintances there from that settlement; it is about 125 miles I think from here; they said they came to vote and intended so to do; they said they wanted to make it a Slave State; if it wasn't they would lose their property, and if it was necessary they would come again; they told me there were from 700 to 1,000 from Missouri in this place, and that there would be from 5,000 to 10,000 here in the Territory from Missouri to vote.

Cross-examined—I heard them say that the Aid Company were sending out voters and to counteract that they came, but they did not say this was the first inducement; they wanted to elect a Legislature of their own and establish Slavery here; I did not hear them speak of the Aid Company here; there was little skirmish here; I don't think any Free-State man had a chance to vote while I was here; it was about 1 o'clock when I left; I think no Free-State man were voting when I left; I voted.

By Gov. Reeder—I was at the election of 29th of November, 1854, in the 14th District, at Dr. Chapman's; there were many there whom I had known in Jackson County, Mo. [Witness here named many whom he saw there.] I was in Missouri a short time after the election at old Judge Brookins'; he told me he had outfitted 20 men to come up and vote; I saw men from Cass County there at the election; they told me they came to vote; at that precinct there were from 80 to 150; they were opposed to its becoming a Free State, and advanced this as a reason why they came; Chapman's is from 40 to 45 miles from the Missouri State line, and about 4 miles from the boundary line of the District.

the essential and universal fraud and villainy of all the Elections in Kansas which were held under Federal auspices; but to what end? Our readers already know the truth; and those who uphold the Border Ruffians and make themselves accomplices to the enslavement of Kansas will be careful not to read the evidence, and not to believe it if it should be read in their hearing. So we stop right here, only giving the two following minutes of testimony because they refute the Pro-Slavery lie, which was used as a pretext for all this rascality, that Gov. Reeder gave private notice to the Eastern Emigrant Aid Societies of the 30th of March Election in advance of his public proclamation, and thus enabled them to rush in Yankee emigrants to vote at that election:

Charles Robinson—I arrived at Kansas City with a party about a week before the election; I have seen the list of passengers who came out that time, since I testified before, and the women and children amounted to 66; the larger portion of this party went up to Topeka; the company consisted of 160 or 170; this company was the only company under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Company that Spring; I first heard of the election at St. Louis from Dr. Leib; did not hear in Boston before I left when the election was to take place.

Samuel C. Smith—Arrived in the Territory on the 29th of March; settled on the Wakarusa about two miles south of Blue Mound; started from Boston on 19th March; came out under auspices of Emigrant Aid Company; all benefit derived from them was that I got my passage some \$5 cheaper than I could any other way, and it was pleasanter to come out in a large party; our party was the first out that Spring; did not know when the election was to take place until after we arrived at St. Louis; they did not know in Boston; never was asked by the Company as to my politics, and never heard the question asked of any one; there were from 150 to 200 in our party; about 50 women and children.

From Our Special Correspondent.

LAWRENCE CITY, K. T., April 30, 1856.

The fluctuating and varied rumors that met me before I reached Lawrence, at the different points I visited, all convinced me of the impossibility of writing about Kansas affairs except from the very locality of the occurrences to be narrated. The recent troubles in Lawrence have not been very alarming or exciting, but they have been intensely annoying and disagreeable. They first originated in an attempt on the part of Mr. Jones to arrest Mr. S. N. Wood. The sum and substance of his offending was his being connected with the rescue of Bradson last Fall—a rather stereotyped cause of difficulty, considering its insignificance. The truth of the matter is that it was a convulsive effort on the part of the Ruffian party to convey an impression to the Commission of Congress, now in Lawrence, that the people of Lawrence are a lawless set. The conduct of Jones has all along been of a very aggravated character. As if the fact of any legislative body stepping over the heads of the people and electing their local officers for them was not sufficient insult, this interloper, who does not live in the community he thus annoys, has been particularly active. In fact, of all the Sheriffs elected for the different counties of Kansas, by the bogus Legislature, Jones is the only one who has been heard from. The others were either ashamed or afraid of the duty assigned them, or wanted to wait, at least until they had some better justification for official interference. Reckless and unscrupulous, Jones is the fit tool of those who have used him. On his shoulders, it would appear, the Pro-Slavery party have rested the heavy burden of testing how far the people would submit to persecution from this farce of legislation. No one could have been more indefatigable than he has been. The petty nature of the business out of which he has made such great events to grow is conclusive of his zeal, and of his lack of something more respectable to work upon. Several of the parties connected with the rescue of Bradson were arrested last Fall, at the heels of the siege of Lawrence, but as the whole affair is too insignificant to make capital out of in the courts, action in the case of these prisoners has been deferred from time to time, so that the *casus belli* might not be lost, and the matter exposed by investigation. Thus it was that when the Pro-Slavery men and Border invaders saw that the Commission of Congress were coming to Lawrence, they set their wits to work to discover how they could demonstrate that the people of Lawrence were not "law and order" people, and the unflinching Jones

was dispatched to arrest any person connected with the rescue of Bradson, whose arrest had hitherto not been attended to. What makes the whole thing more funny is, that Bradson himself (who was only arrested on a pretended peace warrant, by the by,) is still at large.

The necessary and appropriate material for the needed arrest was found in the person of Mr. S. N. Wood, who was engaged in the rescue, it is said, and who had returned to Lawrence. The outrageous and monstrous character of these annoyances being so palpable, some few of the citizens of the place, when he seized Wood, went between them, but without offering further violence, and merely said, "Come, come, we will have no row or fighting in our streets." Jones then addressed such persons as he saw in the streets, as suited his purpose, and called them to aid in arresting Wood. They not recognizing him as a Sheriff, put their hands in their pockets, but treated him with no further disrespect, save by taking no notice of him. He had, however, got what he wanted. Away up to Gov. Shannon he went, and to the Governor's and the President's eternal disgrace be it spoken, the United States troops from Fort Leavenworth were called out, and under charge of Jones returned to Lawrence to arrest those men, who had committed no crime save to pay no attention to him.

What a monstrous spectacle do the people of the United States here witness! The regular troops are called in to enforce certain things called laws, imposed upon a free people who repudiate them, and to sustain certain would-be officers on the people who never chose them, and upon whom they were thrust by fraud. Talk of Louis Bonaparte's despotism! President Pierce, with his minions with gun and bayonet, coerces into a bitter obedience to the legislation of fraud the free people of Kansas! What is becoming of our Government? Are those who are thus ground into a degrading serfdom the descendants of those men who fell in defense of a popular government at Lexington or Bunker Hill?

Jones and the military paraded the streets of Lawrence, and as the people wished to offer no opposition to anything like United States authority, arrested some half dozen political offenders; men guilty of that awful crime of turning a deaf ear to the orders of a man whom they could not regard as a Sheriff, when he wished to make a posse of them. Well secured, they were kept in a tent that night, which was pitched in town—Jones and his soldiers having more arrests to make in the morning. I do not give the names of those arrested, but would merely say that they included the most respectable men in town, merchants and others.

That night Jones, instead of going to the hotel as he might have done, stayed with the military in the tent. There was a light in it. It might have been about 10 o'clock at night when some unknown person fired a pistol-shot at the tent, aimed, no doubt, at Jones, who received the ball in his back near the spine. The pistol must have been a small one, as the ball lodged. This outrage, which was at least cowardly, created great regret among the citizens of Lawrence. A meeting was held next day, and the attempted assassination deprecated in the severest terms, and a reward offered for the discovery of the guilty party. I find that most of the respectable people in Lawrence do not believe that it was any Free-State man in the town or vicinity that committed the deed, as it is well known that Jones, for his conduct in other respects, has some bitter and resentful enemies among the Pro-Slavery men who reside in the Territory.

Jones still lives and will possibly recover. He was first taken to the Free-State Hotel and every attention paid to him, but subsequently was removed to Franklin, and his wife sent for from Missouri. The troops are now camped near Franklin, and are under the charge of Jones's deputy, a person very like the man he represents, only a little less so or a little more so, whichever will convey the best idea of the littleness and meanness of such a character; for, although Jones is wounded, I do

not feel myself called upon to give a milder record to truth.

The Commission of Congress which had gone up to Leocompton, merely made their acknowledgments to that prospective metropolis and came down to Lawrence and entered upon their duties. They hold two sessions per day of five hours each. From this point they will proceed to Tecumseh, a place some twenty miles above this on the Kansas River, where they will stay several days and then return here. They will afterward go to Leavenworth City, and to a Baptist Mission somewhere down toward Whitfield's—on the Indian Reserve, I think. So far, the testimony submitted to them is of the most decided and important character. All of the outrages of which the public have been apprised, and a good many more, together with the frauds and violence at elections, will be amply attested. Some of their sessions are held secret (where they are likely to compromise men not yet indicted for the crimes charged), but most of them have been open. The three members of the Commission, Howard, Sherman and Oliver, sit behind the desk, and with them Secretary Woodson of the Territory. The officers attending the Commission have their respective places. Whitfield and Reeder, who are both in attendance, have their desks, and, as well as the Commission, examine and cross-question the witnesses. Several reporters are present. Mrs. Sherman accompanies her husband to Kansas. I have been told that Mr. Oliver of the Commission (the Border-Ruffian member) has said that he had no idea the outrages had been so bad.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Saturday, May 3, 1856.

Jones is now considered in a fair way of recovery. He is still at Franklin and has not been removed to Missouri, as I suppose the distance was too great to make the conveyance safe for his wound. The troops are still below, near Franklin, towards the Wakarusa. They have been going around under the command of Sam. Salters, the insignificant deputy of a would-be sheriff, but have not distinguished themselves for anything remarkable during the last two days. Their most celebrated duty has been to give an escort to Gen. Clarke, the Indian Agent, who was returning to his place in the Territory (it is near Leocompton) He had to go up the California road, some two miles distant, and as he is said to be the murderer of Barber, the troops were called upon to guard his precious person safe to his home. And thus the United States troops that have been hounded on by Pierce and Shannon and Jones, to arrest men for the most insignificant offenses, are also employed to shield the person of one whose own conscience tells him he ought to have cause for alarm. What a prostitution of the powers of the Government!

The men who were arrested in Lawrence for standing with their hands in their pockets when Jones wanted to make a posse of them, were taken up to Leocompton under escort of the military, and were there held to bail in five hundred dollars each, without having been examined. The object of the arrests had been accomplished.

In enumerating the achievements of the Government troops, under Salters, I had almost forgotten an interesting incident. They went to the house of a man to arrest him; he was not at home. Salters having stated his designs and wishes to the lady, she treated him gratuitously to a little scalding water. It was, doubtless, the first step in the process of pickling a "Salter." I have not heard that this unprecedented outrage has qualified the gallant matron for an arrest, but I presume not—it would hardly pay.

Another shooting affair came off the night before last, only it was a Free-State man that suffered, as is generally the case. The sufferer was a Mr. Mace, who lives some five miles from Lawrence. He has been shot at twice, and on the evening in question received a ball in his leg. The shooter in this case is also unknown, but some men from Missouri are suspected. An indignation meeting was held in Lawrence, last night, but the tone of the speakers was generally very mild and conservative.

One speaker, however, a Mr. Leggett, said that if any man shot his friend, as long as there was no law in the country the offender had better keep out of his way. Gov. Robinson, on being urgently called upon, spoke at some length. He said that there was no law in the Territory, except for one side, and enumerated the different cases of outrage committed here, and their sequel. He said that the officers, or men who wished to be officers, were all the supple tools of the Pro-Slavery faction, and were not going to stir themselves in the prosecution of a Pro-Slavery man, no matter what he might do. There was not a man in the Territory who believed that if a Pro-Slavery man was to shoot down any Free-State man, in broad day, in Lawrence, he would be brought to punishment for it.

But to indulge in private revenge was not a safe or proper course. The people of the Territory had no law; they could not appeal to those men who wished to usurp authority as officers; no freeman could respect himself and do that, but they must go on and as a people make laws of their own. He urged the people not to give way to any spirit of revenge, and deprecated the attack on Jones as cowardly and base.

Mr. Lowry also made some excellent remarks. He said that until they had laws, they must use all their moral power to frown on and discountenance these assassinations, and attempts at assassinations, let them be made by whom they might.

Some little dissatisfaction was evinced by a few of those present, at taking leave of the matter without steps to prevent the recurrence of such affairs as that which had called this meeting together. Alas! what could they do? All the power—real or bogus—under the General Government, or under the Missouri-made Territorial laws, is in the hands of men who are wedded to Slavery-Extension in Kansas, and who will further that, and by any and every means. There is no law, justice or security in the Territory for Free State men.

Gov. Shannon was down at Lawrence yesterday. He is deeply moved by the fact of Jones being shot. He has offered \$500 reward for the guilty person. Discriminating Governor! there is no reward for the arrest of the man who shot Mr. Mace, or for those who cruelly and basely murdered Brown and Barber and Dow.

The Commission advance with their work; they held a secret session yesterday.

There is some little uneasiness expressed about another attack on the people of Lawrence by men from Missouri, who, I understand, have threatened a general vengeance on Lawrence for the shooting of Jones. I do not think, however, that there will be another invasion and siege now.

The bands of Southern Pro-Slavery emigrants—most of whom came up under the command of Major Buford—are staying down in Missouri, near Westport, and within a few miles of the frontier of the Territory. They received a considerable sum from the Southern Emigrant Aid Society of Lexington, as stated in the Lexington papers. They also received \$500 from a similar Society in Kansas City. What they of Westport and Independence have contributed I have not learned; but the new comers are living on the good people down thereabouts. I apprehend that this mode of billeting out these bodies of men will work its own cure. Both parties to the transaction are in a fair way of becoming disgusted with each other. Buford's men were received in quite a triumphal manner at Lexington, on their way up. The boat in which the largest batch of them were, (some three hundred—there are said to be seven hundred in all, but most likely it is an exaggeration)—stopped at that place, and the party got a public reception. There was a meeting, and in the most important address, which was delivered by one of the Southerners, the Union was spoken of very disparagingly, and the determination to destroy it expressed rather too plainly, seeing that it came from such ardent disciples of those who claim to be the "National party." After a good deal of

other nonsense, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That we hail with delight the interest now being manifested in the Southern States in regard to the settlement of Kansas by her Pro-Slavery and law-abiding citizens; and that we welcome with open arms those gallant sons of Alabama and of other Southern States, now on their way to their new homes in Kansas Territory, as well as those who have preceded them on their way, as men with whom the South can trust her dearest rights under the Constitution; and we hereby pledge ourselves to them, and such to the other, that we will aid and assist them in every proper way, and should emergencies require we will march shoulder to shoulder with them to the last struggle for Southern rights.

Resolved, That we shall ever cordially welcome to the soil of Missouri our friends of the South, who have forsaken their homes and presided to join us in the contest now going on in Kansas, and that we assure them that our homes shall be theirs, Kansas, and that we assure them that our hearts shall be theirs, our hopes theirs, our fortunes theirs, and in the Missouri grant, our hand of the South, and to trust that the future State of Kansas will be another tie to cement us in a common brotherhood."

This is a verbatim copy all but the italics. There is no baggaging about the business. The South has come to help Missouri, and Missouri still means to help in the conquest of Kansas. Such is the avowal, and such the world will yet learn to be the fact.

FROM WISCONSIN.

KANSAS MEETING—ANOTHER LAND JOB.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

MADISON, Wis., Thursday, May 8, 1856.

The Border Ruffians of Wisconsin having been put down by the late decision of our Supreme Court, we are now at liberty to turn our attention to the Border Ruffians of Western Missouri. Our State is not indifferent to the struggle now going on between the forces of darkness and light, Despotism and Freedom. You have already had proof of this in the generous response lately made at Milwaukee, where both men and arms were freely offered for the preservation of Freedom in Kansas. Since then other meetings of like character have been held in various parts of the State. Last week one was held at this place, and though the weather was very forbidding, the attendance indicated unmistakably that Dane County is alive to the great question up for solution. Prof. Daniels, well known as our former State Geologist, has lately returned from a personal inspection of Kansas—his tour of observation having been undertaken at the solicitation of the friends of Freedom in this State; and he is now giving our citizens the result of his trip to that country. He reports it as being an exceedingly fair country, offering inducements to the settler second to no other portion of our States and Territories. He confirms the most glowing accounts of its salubrity, beauty and fertility, and speaks in high praise of the character of the inhabitants already there.

At the meeting held here last week, a Committee was appointed for the purpose of raising a fund in aid of Freedom in Kansas, and the Committee are actively canvassing this county for this purpose. A company of emigrants has already been formed, and will leave in a few days for Kansas. Other companies, doubtless, will soon follow.

Congress, it seems, is very benevolently determined to aid in the construction of three lines of railroad in this State, by grants of public lands. It is news to most of us, and not very welcome news either. It may sound very kind and considerate, but we are not so poor as to need any Government aid in building our roads. A good Providence, in giving us a good climate and good crops, has put us in a condition to build our own highways, be they of iron or of earth, and we look upon these proposed aids, in our State, as only so many projects for plundering the national treasury. I happen to know that President Pierce, himself, has some lands in the northern part of the State, which might be increased in value if a railroad could be engineered through them. Some of his friends in and about Washington are probably likely to be benefited in the same way. Why don't our Congressmen pass a bill to build a road to the Pacific, where aid is really needed? Is it because they have no lands to be benefited? Who knows? MADISON.

A GEORGIAN'S EXPERIENCE IN KANSAS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

St. Louis, Friday, May 9, 1856.

Having just had an interview with a sharp-featured, bilious-looking Georgian, direct from being disgusted with a sight of the elephant in Kansas, and now attempting to make his way toward home, without "any dime," I have transcribed his own unvarnished statement of facts, which may serve as an offset to the statements we frequently see in the Pierce-and-Douglas sheets respecting the disaffected Yankees, who are said to be returning in crowds and begging their way home. Our Georgia friend, whom I will call Mr. T. W., is highly indignant at the usage he has received, but requests that his full name may not be published.

as he is well aware of the truth, has a full report of the facts would earn him, from men in his own State who would scruple at nothing in the shape of revenge upon seeing themselves shown up in their true light. Nevertheless, he is determined. Should he have the good fortune to reach his own village in Georgia he will seek a hearing through the press of his parish, and fully expose to the representations and frauds by which himself and about one hundred others were induced to join the company of one Jones, for a crusade into Kansas (to use his own words) and "help to make it a Slave State," for and in consideration of a rifle, six months' provisions, and a bonus of one hundred and sixty acres of land.

Under the solemn assurance that their private funds would be returned to them immediately on their arrival in Kansas, they spent their own money, freely paying their own passage and generously supplying each other in true Georgia style with whatever their friends stood in need of to make them comfortable—in fact, using what means they had for the common good as long as it held out; but, upon their arrival in Kansas, finding all obligations, such as tended to place them in funds again, like Mississippi bonds, entirely repudiated. Our Georgia friend thinks he can see an evident design among the leaders to reduce the crowd to a state of abject dependence—the better to control their movements and effectually cut off all possibility of disaffected ones making their escape.

What kind of employment during times of peace was intended for those who landed in localities where timber was scarce, our informant was not advised, but as theirs happened to be a timber region, they soon found that their six months' provisions had to be earned as they received it at what was to them the entirely new occupation of rail-splitting, which rails, beyond a doubt, could be made available for fencing in the claims of their Georgia Captain. Unaccustomed to that kind of employment, and feeling themselves most grossly imposed upon, they cast about to calculate their resources, when it was found, that out of a company of eighty, their entire cash capital amounted to less than five dollars. They had gone out to Kansas to "see fair play," and found no one disposed to act otherwise than fair, except their own leaders. They were marshaled in Kansas fully intending to stand up for the rights and dignity of Old Georgia to the last, but they were the last men to claim for themselves rights and privileges which they denied to others; and they saw no reason why emigrants from Pennsylvania and Ohio should not feel themselves inspired with a State pride just as legitimate, so that whatever might be their affection for the South, their honest sense of justice would never permit them to disgrace the Revolutionary fame of their native State by taking sides against the right of free discussion and the liberty of the press, particularly in the Territories of the United States, where all could meet upon common ground. Even these Georgians were by no means insensible to the arrogance and injustice of the extraordinary attempts now making to force Slavery into a climate so uncongenial, as compared with their own. Indeed, our friend gives it as his deliberate opinion that the whole course of things must have the counter effect upon Jones's party, and cause them all to vote against Slavery to a man.

Whether from patriotism or the hard reality of the prospect before them, our Georgian, together with some twenty of his companions, essayed to find their way back to this city, and being a mechanic, so far succeeded in making himself useful to the engineer of a steamboat as to obtain his passage down. His companions, however, were not so fortunate, for when their pockets were found unprovided, they were set ashore, at the different towns and wood-yards all the way down. Upon arriving in this city our hero applied to me for employment, frankly stating his adventures and necessities, the latter apparent enough at a single glance. Unable to comply with his request, "to allow him to " tote anything we had to tote about the works," owing to a full supply of labor just then, we were

happy, however, in extending to him such hospitality and aid as our limited means would permit.

Having formerly had much intercourse as a journeyman among the free white laborers and mechanics of the Southern States, I do not hesitate to say that, for native honesty and "good solid horse sense," as well as for individual thrift and enterprise, I do not think our friend will suffer in the least as compared with the average of Georgia mechanics. In truth, I have never seen a laboring man of the South who would not denounce Negro Slavery as a curse to the white race, as well as to the States that fostered it; and though ever ready to denounce Abolitionists who seek to interfere with slaves as property in the several States, they are equally ready to denounce Northern Yankees who come South and sell their time as negro-drivers. Honest as are the mass of the laboring men of Georgia, they will admit in this Kansas contest no principle that will not do equal justice to the North as well as the South; and already they begin to find the Northern emigrants grossly misrepresented at the South. They begin to learn that, instead of the Eastern men trying to drive away the Southern, they are perfectly willing to leave this question of Slavery or Freedom to the actual settlers.

The fact that Slavery degrades his own race appeals to the honest convictions of the Georgian with double the force that it can to the New-England mechanic. The frightful ignorance that surrounds the free white laborer on all sides in the South—made more apparent from so often seeing his own social position compared unfavorably with the slaves themselves, who are, with a show of pride in the owners, said to be better fed and better clothed. All this our Georgia friend appeared to know without the need of argument; and, as he came the next day to thank us, in extending our hand, we impressed him with the fact that, however disposed he was to disrespect the institutions of his own State, if he would be true to his own craft, and to his own blood and kindred, he could not assist to extend that which degrades the one and degrades the other.

