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Poetry.

From the Vermont Caledonian.

Hope for Kansas.

BY F. B. GAGE.

Ho! ye hearts that bleed for Kansas,
In her terror and dismay,
Be not fearful nor disheartened,
Though the tyrant holds the sway;
Though the hands that guide the nation,
Tighten every link and band—
Freedom's spirit only slumbers,
And the time is near at hand.

Let the nation's great tribunal
Publish cunning pleas and creeds,
Time shall strip them of disguises,
And reward them for their deeds;
Let the nation's hoary councils
Frame oppression's basest laws,
Time shall judge them for their baseness,
God shall crush them for their cause.

Oh, thou Babylon of slavery!
On thy mighty palace walls,
Words of blood and fire are written,
And a voice for vengeance calls!
Even now thy guardian river,
From its bed is turned aside;
Lo! an army is upon thee
That shall crush thee and thy pride.

Not with broadswords nor with banners,
Comes that army to thy shore,
Not to fill thy vales with murder,
Nor to drench thy hills with gore;
'Tis the army of Opinion,
That shall crush and conquer thee,
That shall give the land to Freedom,
From the mountains to the sea.

Hark! O Slavery! From thy borders
Comes a warning loud and deep,
For Missouri speaks in thunder,
Just awakened from her sleep;
Lo! she heads the van for Freedom
In the struggle near at hand.
There's a rescue for the people—
There is freedom for the land.

God hath pierced thee, oh, thou monster!
Thou hast quailed beneath the blow,
And we watch and wait the moment
Of your final overthrow.
Then, O Slavery! crowd thy purpose,
For thy zeal is sure secure'd;
Every link and band ye tighten,
Only helps the chains to burst.

Political.

For the Herald of Freedom,

The Topeka Party.

It is the evident purpose of those who sustain the Topeka movement, to make a fidelity to that organization a test—a condition for membership of the Free State party.

Imitating the fanaticism of the pro-slavery party, they require an unqualified adherence to their policy as a choice to the awful penalty of excommunication.

There is room for an honest difference of opinion between men, upon the propriety of keeping up this State organization, and none but those who are either fanatical, or are worked upon by strong personal inducement, will presume to charge upon those who oppose the movement, either dishonesty or fidelity to the Free State cause.

What are the reasons upon which a claim to legitimacy for this Topeka organization is founded? Why is that party the only Free State party in the Territory? Why, because two years ago, the Free State men generally throughout the Territory determined upon forming a State Government, in consequence of a usurpation of the Territorial government by men foreign to the soil. Then, there were 1,700 voters in the Territory, all told, who gave their support to this movement. To-day, there are not less than 17,000 voters who are in favor of making Kansas a free State. Are these seventeen thousand to be ruled in their opinions as to policy by seventeen hundred? Did they who came since the ending of the strife between Kansas and Missouri, not bring with them a right to individual opinion, the right of exercising an individual judgment? Or are they to be whipped in, by party discipline, to the support of measures they do not approve—compelled to act in all things with this 1,700, by fear of expulsion from the Free State party?—the sword of excommunication perpetually hanging over them, with the command to fall into rank, or suffer the fatal stroke.

Now, whatever the extreme dogmatism and ambition of the leaders of this Topeka movement may force them to do, they may as well understand that the people who have recently come into this Territory for the purpose of settlement, are not of that class of men who can be used for mere party purposes, and that it would be a becoming prudence in them to take care, lest the number of the excommunicants is not greater than that of the faithful.

It will not be disputed that organization is essential to the accomplishment of any political object. Parties are necessary. But it makes a wide difference whether the end to be gained is merely a personal ambition, or the attainment of some object which is for the public good.

The opinions of the settlers of the present season, are entirely ignored by the Topeka party. It is assumed that all genuine Free State men belong to it, and those who oppose it are cast into outer darkness, as enemies of free institutions.

Your correspondent is one of the late immigrants: he allows no one to outvie him in devotion to Free State principles, and the doctrines of free institutions generally. Yet, not being convinced of the policy of this party, he in no case can be admitted to the fellowship of the *genuine* members of the Free State party—he is a veritable Border Ruffian. I am willing to give reasons for not supporting the organization. They have not yet, although the message of their Governor has appeared, shown any sufficient reasons for keeping it up.

The grounds for my faith are the following. They are commended to the earnest and careful consideration of every Free State man:—

1st. Kansas can never, by any movement of the present Topeka party, be admitted into the Union as a free State.—Congress rejected the application for admission when their Constitution represented a majority of the people of the Territory, and it will not be likely to reverse this determination when that Constitution is presented with the endorsement of only a tithe of the actual residents of the Territory.

2d. The constitutional rights of the people of Kansas, which the Topeka Governor says must be vindicated and preserved, refers only to the 1,700—who voted for the Topeka Constitution. We are not aware that our constitutional rights have been taken from us. Although the bogus Legislature adopted an act for taking the census, which was in its provisions, especially the manner in which it was to be carried into effect, a most patent swindle, it has not amounted, in our opinion, to depriving citizens of their constitutional rights and privileges. The immunities of American citizens are the right to liberty, life, and the pursuit of happiness. When these are taken away, then there exists just cause for revolution—not before. When there are no means of throwing the yoke of oppression off, except by taking up of arms, then it becomes a justifiable act. If the constitutional rights of the people of Kansas are to-day disregarded, the federal government is the oppressor. Missouri is no longer in the contest, and war must be waged against that power which holds them in bondage. Now the simple question is, whether there has been such an invasion of popular rights by the government, as to afford any just reason for *revolution*. Our opinion is given above. Would it not be best to allow every man to decide for himself upon this point, or does the Governor, elected by 1,700 men, assume to tell the people of to-day that they are slaves to the general government, and should join his party to keep up a government, which, whatever may have been its original virtues, is now in manifest opposition to federal authority? The Governor can speak only for those he represents, and when he says that the rights of the people must be protected, he can only mean those who gave him their support; and we cannot see in what manner these rights are thus to be secured. Where is his power, or the power of the Legislature, to afford protection to persons or property? The whole assumed authority of that government, at this time, is a mockery. If it had power to enforce its laws whenever enacted, it would be, notwithstanding its pretensions to support freedom, an usurpation as gross as was that of the Missourians, of the Territorial government.

So long as the ballot box is left us, there is no grounds for revolution. We have faith that the Constitution which is to be framed in September will be submitted to a fair vote of all the actual settlers of the Territory. If so, cannot the pending political questions be peacefully and speedily settled? There is to be an election in October next, under the organic law, for a Territorial Legislature. May not, then, the usurpation be broken, and the last vestige of border ruffianism be destroyed in the government? We propose to wait until "our constitutional rights are taken from us," before setting up or aiding in establishing a government hostile to the government of the Federal Union.

3d. There is this, further, that the Topeka party persistently adhere to: It is not to organize a State government, to be prepared for emergencies, to use in a case that is further usurpation, but to set up an active, authoritative government, assuming to control the public interests of the country, and to be set in motion as soon as possible. Had it not been for the conservatism and sober sense of the Senate, in the recent session of the Legislature, a code of laws would have been adopted, and the government "set in motion."—Now to do anything of this kind, and make it successful, two very important things are essential—first, that it is not in direct opposition to the federal government; second, that a majority of the people support it. Without either of these elements, such a movement is certain to be defeated. If we mistake not, both of these elements are wanting in the Topeka organization.

4th. The recent election for delegates has proven the weakness of the pro-slavery party. It is shown by the returns that it is entirely powerless. What need, then, is there of setting up a government that is certain to result in defeat, and perhaps disgrace, when by simply exercising the privilege of voting, all that honest Free State men are striving for may be gained.

It is to be regretted that a division should exist in the Free State ranks now, when harmony and union are so necessary. But if all the Free State men in this Territory who do not sustain this Topeka movement are read out of the party, or refused fellowship with it, we opine that the leaders will find their party very small, and growing all the time beautifully less. FREE STATE.

☞ There was another meeting of the "Topeka Legislature" last week, at Topeka, which gave rise to another assortment of spicy and spunky speeches, the passage of a few patriotic resolutions, and another adjournment. There was also a "Convention of the people" at the same time and place, of which three day's previous notice was given, and at which some five or six hundred persons were present. We have seen neither the "laws" enacted, or the resolutions passed, and are therefore unable to give even their substance. We dare say, however, they are O. K.—*Squatter Sovereign.*

The Era.

The Geary City *Era* appears to us to be on the right track—a Free State paper, and laboring to make Kansas a Free State by developing the resources of the Territory and encouraging emigration. It has recently been established at Geary City, on the Missouri river, above Atchinson, is neatly printed by JAS. MCCAHON, at $2 a year, and ought to be sustained.

☞ The N. Y. *Tribune* charges the *Times*, as it does the *Herald of Freedom*, with being hostile to freedom.

For the Herald of Freedom.

The Present and Future of Kansas.

The people of Kansas are now, in almost every sense of the word, in a formation state. Their social and religious feelings and interests are yet in a great measure unsettled and undefined—so their educational and financial interests are but in embryo. The politics of the people have hardly been brought to bear, save upon the question of slavery. It will be seen at a glance that there is but little to undo. We have not here a lifetime to spend in battling against fixed habits, deep-seated prejudice, monied interests, nor, worst of all, corrupt officials, who have a fixed term of office, and so, for the time being, are beyond the reach of the people. Our work is emphatically one of progress. If we are wise, we shall endeavor so to acquit ourselves, that our work need not be undone, either by ourselves, or those who shall come after us. Perhaps there never was a people in whom so deep and wide-spread an interest was felt, as exists at the present time with reference to the people of Kansas. Our struggle thus far has elicited an interest wherever our cause has been known. Let us not loose our hold upon the sympathies of the good everywhere, by proving ourselves unworthy of them.

We do not propose to discuss at this time the merits of all the several questions in which the people of Kansas are supposed to feel an interest, but simply propose some suggestions with reference to her future legislation.

Soon the people will be called upon to decide whether, not only shall slavery exist in our midst and paralyze our growth as a State, but to corrupt our entire legislation, render our educational efforts comparatively fruitless, destroy our moral perceptions, leave us of religion only the form—which is useful only as a means to an end—and, finally, work the utter ruin of all our own liberties. From the foregoing there is no escape. God has so ordered things, that any people who can witness the placing of a manacle upon a brother man, and see him driven to unwilling and unrequited toil, and not feel in their souls as bound with him, shall ere long feel the hateful fetters upon their own limbs. However unfeeling the *soul* of a man may become, the *limbs* never lose their sensitiveness, save when a noble spirit, by devotion to a great principle, has been borne by them up life's rugged steep, and God will not permit the last moments of such a being to be spent in bodily suffering. Such an one may well be at peace. The vitality of the former is *entirely* in our own keeping. God will never suffer both to lose their sensitiveness at once.

What we have to suggest with reference to our legislative acts, is: That we protect the rights of *all*, without reference to *age, sex or race*. 2d, That we place no hindrance or obstruction in the way of any one; or in other words, that we allow every one to occupy whatever place he or she may be fitted for, and then the man or woman who may occupy a menial position, will simply be doing what he or she is best fitted for. We are not able to see that, when government has secured to all the enjoyment of their rights, it can go further.

The phrase "Human Rights" is easily written, and one that it is very agreeable to speak. But when we come to *specify*, and define the duty of governments towards subjects, or citizens, it is found to be one of the most complicated, if, indeed, it is not the most complex of all subjects. How, then, shall we avoid inflicting wrong upon any one, and yet secure to all their just rights?

First, let us avoid any distinction or class legislation. Let the measure that we mete to others be the same we hope to receive for ourselves. This is simply the golden rule, and is understood by all, and by all alike. And to secure this, let us keep *all* power in the people, where it has source, and for whom governments are instituted. We say *all* power, by which we mean appointing power; for there is no office of sufficient importance to be worth an existence, but it is worth the people's while to fill it. We are aware that many objections are urged against this plan, but we conceive the appointing power of executives to be one great source of corruption. Let all our officers be directly responsible to the people, and then they will seek to serve the people. This done, it would seem we are on the high road to success; and there can be little doubt that if a people seek to deal justly by their fellow men, should they commit an error it would soon be discovered, for the unjust law would in that case be as likely to bear heavily upon the legislator, as upon any one; and men are not long in discovering an error, who suffer by it. This is God's mode—suffering and detecting what is wrong.

It seems to us, if the foregoing rule be observed, and the body of men who undertake to legislate, sufficiently acquaints itself with the wants of the people for whom it undertakes to act, there is little reason to apprehend that the work performed will not prove acceptable.

But a legislative body must not go back some centuries to ascertain its duties, but must study the wants of the present age. And what are some of the wants of this age, as contrasted with previous ones?

1st. It is now universally admitted by all *disinterested* persons, that "*all* men are created *equal*," (so far as rights are concerned,) and that they are possessed of certain "*inalienable rights*," and that among them are "*life, liberty*, and the *pursuit of happiness*." This granted, (and it is axiomatic,) it follows that if men have a right to *be* they have a right to be somewhere. From this, it most closely follows that one man, nor a class of men, may not absorb the land to the exclusion of others. This granted, and land limitation follows necessarily. In these general truths, it will be seen that sex and color have no notice taken of them. That is, they are considered as good as anybody, and no better.

From this, then, it follows that legal enactments should be the same for man as for woman; the same for white as for black. All should be allowed the largest liberty, until that liberty is abused, and then all men should alike be restrained or punished.

Let no one be startled at this equality of rights; for none of you are left out, and what more can any but tyrants or aristocrats ask?

We have not now time to go into what is technically called "woman's rights," but will simply premise that had the law-making power been in the hands of women, as it has been in the hands of men, they might have discovered as many reasons for legislating for their peculiar interests, as men have found. Indeed, their ingenuity might have discovered certain reasons that men never have, and never can urge in their behalf. Mind, we do not say they *would*, but only say they *might* have urged as a reason for more carefully guarding their rights, their physical inability to defend themselves against the encroachments of the ruder and more powerful portion of the human race.—Their sensitiveness might induce them to place certain restraints in the way of men indulging so freely as they now do in the use of profane language, the filthy habit of chewing tobacco, spitting upon stove hearths, carpets and floors, and tucking away in the corners of the room old quids, might also have been abridged. We say all this might have been; but as it is, they now only ask that they be admitted to an equality of rights. And does any man of sense believe that if they were, the world would be worse governed than it is now? Besides the foregoing, it is now generally admitted that the practice of selling intoxicating liquors as a beverage, is destructive of the welfare and good order of any community where it is suffered. This being the case, what good reason is there, that the practice should not be put an end to?

There are but two principal reasons why laws should be enacted. One is, that they should be a "terror to evil doers," and the other, a "praise to those that do well." We venture the assertion that any such law will never prove injurious to any person who, if not restrained, would injure his fellow men. What, then, should be our policy with reference to rum making and rum selling? We say, distinctly, prohibit it altogether. Let the the rule be, place no burthen or restraint upon any legitimate article, or business, of trade or commerce, and prohibit such as are known to be hurtful. We are aware that many men who are temperate in their habits, believe that were we to prohibit distilling, we should ruin the market for coarse grains. They believe the large demand created by distilleries, to be of great advantage to the grain raiser. We shall attempt, in another article, to show that such is not the case. That, on the contrary, the *less* the demand, the better for all concerned. VERITAS.

In a Dilemma.

The Richmond *South*, the representative of the more radical portions of the Southern people, still supports the administration. It has, however, got itself into a dilemma. It took occasion, previous to GOV. WALKER'S departure to Kansas, to criticise his opinions and projects, so far as they had crept into the newspapers. It went so far as to lay all the blame of Southern defeat in Kansas to Gov. Walker, because it was reported that he would recommend the Convention to submit the Constitution to the people for a vote. Such a recommendation the *South* claims is an invasion of Southern rights, and an insult to the people of the slave States. It now appears, according to Gov. Walker, *that Mr. Buchanan and the Cabinet were agreed upon this point*—that the Administration is pledged to grant the people of Kansas a chance to vote upon the Constitution framed by the Convention soon to be elected. The *South*, therefore, really attacks the Administration. The Petersburg, Va., *Intelligencer* charges it with so doing, and it replies as follows:

"The Petersburg *Intelligencer* might justly accuse us of some want of candor in not directing our strictures against Mr. Buchanan, instead of the Hon. Robert J. Walker, if it were true that the Governor of Kansas necessarily speaks the sentiments of the President of the United States. *But we know that such is not the case.* Neither Reeder nor Geary was governed by the instructions of President Pierce in their Kansas policy, and it is just as likely that Walker misrepresents the views of the present Administration. In any event, it will be time enough to hold the Administration responsible for Walker's declarations, *when they are known to be approved by the President.*"

We have here the the bold and distinct statement that Mr. Buchanan does not uphold Mr. Walker in his course. No one, we think, will doubt, whatever the future may reveal, that Gov. Walker stated the truth when he declared in his Inaugural that the Administration, before he left Washington, agreed with him in his views.

It is perhaps not strange that the *South*, with President Pierce's conduct towards his appointees fresh in its mind, should venture to believe that President Buchanan will disown Mr. Walker and his sentiments; but it may be reckoning without its host. Whatever Governor Walker's defects may be—and he has grievous ones—he is not a man to be trifled with, by even a President.—*National Era.*

Claim Jumping.

There is no more fruitful source of difficulty, in Kansas, as in all western countries, than this. Each week adds to the list of murders in our Territory, mostly growing out of this one thing; and there is no law to come to the rescue and settle the differences arising between parties on this point. We would not take the life of a human being for all Kansas, and the rest of the globe flung in besides. And we cannot see why men should act thus for the sake of 160 acres of land, valued by Government at the paltry sum of $200. If a man complies with the pre-emption law faithfully, no honest person will be guilty of interfering with his rights; and in that case, he who has first complied with the statute, can pre-empt, notwithstanding all improvements made by a second party. Then one course would be to let such intruders stay, and the day is not distant when the law will remedy such evils, and cut them adrift. Until the statute of the United States in such case made and provided, is complied with, no one has a right to a claim; after that a person is sure of securing his land when it is open for proving up. Then, we say, live with a clear conscience, and avoid using deadly weapons in settling such controversies. It is a serious thing to take the life of a fellow creature, however bad may be his actions, and it is much better to hesitate before doing it, than to regret it afterward.—*Kansas Leader.*

Pretty Talk.

There are some men in this Territory who have worked themselves up into the belief, that there is a second Thermopylæ in Kansas, and that, Leonidas-like, they must there sacrifice themselves in behalf of Freedom, in order to be ranked among the "faithful," and secure a place in the regions of endless bliss. Such deluded creatures are either to be PITIED or RIDICULED until they are restored to their senses. Wherever a public meeting is held, we find these would-be patriots, holding forth in stentorian tones, proclaiming their own virtues and those of their particular followers, in something like the following language:—"We speak from principle, vote from principle, DIE for principle." Such Buncombe rhetoric as this would have been well enough in Peter the Hermit, when addressing the wild and turbulent mass of fanatical crusaders that thronged around him; but in our civilized and enlightened country, it is all sheer bombast. Fast specimens of "Young America" may be captivated by such "spread eagle" oratory, and be induced to fling up their caps and give vent to their zeal in a few hurrahs, but men of good sense are only disgusted by it. All this "pretty talk" about principle, is only a mask to cover up the inordinate desires of these "shriekers" for places of office and power. These dear fellows, who are so anxious to DIE for Liberty, had much rather LIVE to be United States Senators, Members of Congress, Governors and Legislators of Kansas. There is a motive in all this hifalutin, which cannot always be concealed and kept from the searching gaze of the people. These immaculate politicians and Quaker heroes are after the "loaves and fishes," but in order to direct public attention in another direction, and away from themselves and their own sinister motives, they shriek "stop thief," to those whom they are unable to control, and accuse them of being the men who are doing these things. Should these patriots ever perish in defence of their principles, we should expect to find them "with their backs to the field and their feet to the foe." If they are brave we shall find it out when the hour of danger comes; if not, it is miserable policy to be boasting of it now. As soon as Kansas is admitted as a free State, "Othello's occupation's gone," and these would-be statesmen sink back to their former level, above which they never would have risen had it not been for the circumstances in which good fortune placed them. The money-loving correspondents of the leading Eastern papers will find their "stock in trade" exhausted as soon as this Territory puts on the dignity of a sovereign State, and law and order reign supreme throughout our borders. Then is it not time that we begin to inquire what all this "pretty talk" about LIVING for principle, and if need be, DYING for principle, means? These men value their lives as highly as any of us, and therefore we conclude that there is something wrong, when such egotistical expressions are prevalent among a *certain* class, when there are no signs of danger anywhere. Why shall we countenance such leaders in pursuing a course which must inevitably end in moonshine *or* something equally unsubstantial. These men do not want Kansas to become a State—will not have it become so if they can help it, until they have each secured a good, paying office, or at least the promise of one, under the State government. They know that Congress will never admit us under the Topeka Constitution, or any other Constitution owing its paternity to any action on the part of the Free State organization.—While the Democratic party is in power, we can only be admitted through an enabling act passed by Congress, or under the legislation of the bogus concern *called* a Legislature, and holding its sessions at Lecompton. We can choose between this course and our present unhappy condition, without law, without Courts and without justice. Then shall we follow the Topeka METEOR any longer? or shall we counsel together, and take the shortest honorable route into the Union, regardless of the "pretty talk" of our modern Spartan heroes?—*Kansas Leader.*

"Popular Sovereignty."

The Richmond *South* has a long article, which attacks Gov. Walker, of Kansas, for an alleged complicity with the Free State men. The heaviest of its direct charges against him is, that he is in favor of submitting the Constitution, to be formby the Convention elected in June, to the vote of all the actual settlers in Kansas. Says the *South:*

"Congress and the President solemnly abjured the right to dictate any system of Government to the Territory of Kansas; but the Hon. Robert J. Walker assumes the prerogative of instructing the Constitutional Convention, upon a matter, too, of the most vital importance. Congress left the people of Kansas free to organize a State Government in their own way, and upon the principles approved by their own judgment; but the Hon. Robert J. Walker informs them that he will not allow them to adopt a Constitution, but upon the condition of submitting it to the inhabitants of the Territory. Thus it is that he respects the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska act, and reverences the sovereignty of the people."

If the readers of the *South* can be deceived by such arguments as these, they must love to be cheated.

It is astonishing to see such an intelligent and able editor advocating *Popular Sovereignty* in such a manner. The essence of the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty requires that *the people of Kansas* be allowed to adopt such a Constitution as they desire. We have read the *South* carefully, and have seen no denial of the generally admitted fact that a majority of the settlers of Kansas are in favor of making the Territory a Free State. The *South* claims boldly that the bogus Territorial organization, if let alone, will make a slave State of Kansas, and, according to it, the Government has no right to interfere with the plans of the pretenders. The fact that but a minority of the people can vote, (if such is the case,) under the regulations of the bogus Legislature, is of no importance whatever. Gov. Walker is to be marked by the people of the slave States, because he will not connive at such an iniquitous proceedings. We can scarcely credit our eyes, that a journal, second to no Southern journal in the vigor and ability of its editorials, should so coolly advocate Border Ruffianism. It shows us to what length the advocacy of a bad cause will lead its advocates.—*National Era.*

Are These Things So?

"Demagogues who are out of office under that organization—the Topeka as at present constituted—secretly connive to destroy it. They hope to take a better position in a new throw for chances, and would sacrifice the best interests, and the prospective freedom of Kansas."

We copy this extract from a communication to the N. Y. *Tribune*, written by its special Kansas correspondent, and if the charge made in it is true, it furnishes another striking proof of the weakness of mankind. An office under this organization would be about as remunerative and honorable as sawing wood at a quarter of dollar per day, and boarding one's self at Kansas prices in the bargain.

This is the view we take of the case, and now for our reasons. The Free State Government organized at Topeka, was well enough in its day, but that time has passed.

The party in power have once repudiated and condemned it, and in their subsequent action there is no guaranty that they will not do so again, if an opportunity is presented them. We shall expect to see the Millennium full as soon as the admission of Kansas into the Union under the Topeka Constitution, unless it comes up in a very different way from what it has heretofore, or unless the Republican party succeed in getting control of all the various branches of Government—which is an impossibility previous to the expiration of Mr. Buchanan's term of office. Then we say that it is mere boy's work to convene a Legislature, pass laws, and hold elections under such an organization, as long as there can no practicable good come out of it, nor even a RESPONSIBILITY that that Legislature will ever be recognized by the "powers that be" at Washington, as legally constituted—their laws as binding or their elections as valid. Those who follow it, are pursuing an IGNIS FATUUS, which will soon vanish and leave them in ten fold darkness. Those who are its leaders, and who are such great sticklers for principle that they could not vote at the recent election, will wave their objections to the bogus laws, and advise the people to go to the polls under those laws, only when they can succeed in procuring some office or emolument through such a course, and when this time comes, some plausible excuse will be conjured up for giving such advice. Are we to elect a delegate to Congress in October next? We believe that the Topeka Legislature fixes one day and the Lecompton another. If we vote at the time prescribed by the former, our delegate will nor be admtted to a seat in the House of Representatives; if at that appointed by the latter the coast will be clear, and the Democratic members of Congress dare not oppose his admission. We confess that we are waiting with some anxiety to see what course will be recommended by the engineers of the Topeka organization, with this stern fact staring them full in the face. We shall see whether they will allow Whitfield or Stringfellow to represent us at the National Capital next winter, when a little exertion could prevent it. We shall see whether they will brand as demagogues and doughfaces those who propose to do as free men have a RIGHT to do, and oppose any one of that class of politicians by voting against him. We put the question to the people to-day. Shall we storm the Democratic Malakoff in October, elect a Republican delegate to Congress, take possession of that Legislature which the Administration recognizes as legal, and have things our own way generally, or shall we stand aloof and shriek fraud! fraud! as heretofore? The N. Y. *Tribune* and its correspondent will undoubtedly recommend the latter course to us, but we say, pursue the former. They have "axes to grind," we have none. They have a President to elect in 1860 and want to use Kansas to do it, and after that they will admit it into the Union as a Free State; we have no such object to labor for, and would have it admitted as soon as possible. Then let us act, and act immediately. Let us agitate this question and know what is to be done. Let us know who is for us and WITH us and the reverse. Whilst this special correspondent is writing prosy letters for the Eastern market, advising measures that are utterly impracticable and condemning those who do not act as he does, let us be up and doing for Free Kansas. The liberty-loving citizens of this Territory are equal to the emergency. Then organize for the October strife and labor earnestly and manfully for victory.—*Kansas Leader.*

First Standard Parallel Road.

The Commissioners to locate the Territorial Road, on the First Standard Parallel, from Atchison to Vermilion City, started out yesterday morning for the purpose of commencing the work. The Commissioners are John P. Thompson, Peter Kuhn, and Henry Kuhn. It is their design first to explore the road, and then returning, locate it upon, or as near the parallel as practicable. It is believed, that there are not to exceed three or four places where they will be obliged to leave the Parallel, and in these only for short distances. It is also believed that it will not be found necessary to build to exceed three bridges, one on the Grasshopper, one on the Red Vermilion, and one on Elkhorn. The other streams have good rock crossings, and are fordable the greater part of the year.

The distance to Vermilion City is 76 miles. It is located on the Black Vermilion, a fine water power stream, which drains one of the richest agricultural districts of Kansas.

The road to Vermillion passes through a rich, beautiful and well watered country. A large part of it is still unoccupied, and we advise men in quest of good farms to examine the country immediately. It is destined in a few years to become one of the very wealthiest agricultural portions of the State.

The parallel road referred to above, leads directly to the Republican Fork of the Kansas, and thence through Bridger's Pass to Salt Lake and California.—*Squatter Sovereign, 20th ult.*

Leavenworth Bookstore.

MESSRS. CLAYPOOLE & NEWBY, of Leavenworth, have placed us under renewed obligations for favors. Their Book and Stationary establishment seems to be a favorite with the people of Leavenworth, and is already extensively patronized, though but recently established. The *Herald of Freedom* is for sale at their counter.

To Persons Coming West.

In all the Eastern States, in New England, and in some of the Middle States, there are hundreds of persons who are not only not getting rich, not making a fortune, but are actually growing poorer every year. And this is no fault of theirs. They are sober, honest, and industrious. They work all day long, and every day in the week; and this they have been doing for years and years. But *competition* is all around them, and in every shape. The population is becoming dense. These persons are married, and most of them have large families. There is another class, whose fate is darker still. In all large cities there are thousands of young females, who have been compelled by the misfortunes of their parents, to seek active employment for a livelihood. The great mass of them earn a scanty and precarious subsistence by the incessant labor of the needle. They earn enough to keep body and soul together, and to cover themselves with scanty habiliments, and that is all. Is it any wonder that when temptation comes in the shape of promises of comfort and ease, and relief from a life of hopeless, sunless drudgery, that they take the one fatal step, and glide by degrees into that abyss of shame and degradation that yawns forever at their feet?

Now, these great evils may be remedied, not altogether, indeed, but to a very great extent, and at the same time the West will be greatly benefitted.

There are thousands of thousands of acres of unoccupied and unimproved lands in the States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and other States and Territories north and west of us. This land, too, is the most fertile and productive in the world. The farmer, who in sterile New England has been accustomed to wrench with cruel labor from the unwilling and rocky land ten or fifteen bushels of wheat, or twenty to thirty bushels of corn to the acre, finds that here, with one quarter of the toil, he can produce twice that amount. Nor is distance from market any objection. By an admirable system of railroads, covering the West with a network of iron, and penetrating to the remotest corner, a market is brought to every man's door.

Nor are the agricultural resources of the West her only claims on public attention. Her mineral wealth is just beginning to attract attention. It is, as yet, undeveloped, but enough has been brought to light to demonstrate, beyond all doubt, the existence, in Illinois alone, of mineral treasures to an extent that will make her the peer of Pennsylvania in the departments of mining and manufactures.

We want men to work our mines, and to cultivate our unimproved lands. Let the teeming East send us their hundreds of poor farmers—poor, we mean in this world's goods, but rich in honest hearts, strong hands, and rugged health. Let them come here with their wives and children, their substance, whether great or small, and if they have a poor cousin or niece who is wearing her fingers to the bone in making shirts at ten cents apiece, or who is filling her lungs with the dust of a factory, let them bring her along with them. Let the toiling laborer, too, who works at 75 cents a day, propel westward. If he is honest and industrious, he can do better than that on our new farms or in our mines, and in a few years will find himself master of a home of his own. There are hundreds of instances of men coming to Illinois poor, who, by persevering industry, have become wealthy. And there is room for thousands more.—*News Letter.*

Building Cities.

We believe all nations have had some pretensions to eminence in founding cities; and from the days of Nimrod, the founder of Nineveh, to the town builder of Nebraska, no doubt each can present evidences satisfactory to himself that he was chief in the work of rearing great marts of trade and centres of population. But from Nineveh and Bagdad, to Rome and Constantinople, cities owed their pre-eminence to despotic rulers who compelled empires to pay tribute to their capitals. It was not till after that small band of sea kings left their homes in the German Ocean, in the early centuries of the middle ages, and spread commerce and freedom over Western Europe, that the people assumed the task of building great cities, and controlling the destinies of States by the influences of trade. And it was not until American enterprise was felt upon the earth, that this power was fully developed.

Here, we have reversed the order of the old world—our seats of government are the weaker and less powerful cities—our commercial towns the potent and controlling communities. The people are their own almoners, and control the results of their own energy and industry. What is Washington to New York, or Jefferson City to St. Louis? The gigantic commercial interests of metropolitan cities would grind to death the plots of political capitals. There is a wonderful freedom, power, and force in the laws which govern commerce, and is of infinite potency in the economy of nations.

As an evidence of the vitality of the commercial germ, we need only refer to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco. These cities now control the monetary affairs of the continent, and are all children of the people. The people have made them—in some instances despite the concentrated efforts, persisted in for years, of the whole political power of States directed against them. There is a profound philosophy in this—a logic that is irresistible, in favor of permanence of our institutions and prosperity. Europe has enjoyed her little of political freedom from the influences of her few free commercial cities. Our country is girdled and encircled with them.

There is a higher object than mere gain to be attained in building up great cities, and there is no nobler work to be performed for our country and children, than is achieved by him who assists in laying the foundation of these conservators of prosperity and republics. The men who found a city are benefactors to humanity, and occupy a prouder niche in the estimation of the good and wise, than those who conquer a nation.

Let every citizen, then, be cheered in the work before him, with the reflection that he is adding one more safeguard to the Republic—one more barrier to the "decline and fall" of this, the greatest nation yet raised up to civilize and regenerate the world.—*Kansas City Enterprise.*

☞ We noticed this week a load of new hay in our streets.

Beautiful Simile.

This beautiful simile is from Longfellow's "Hiawatha:"

Never stoops the soaring vulture,
On his quarry in the desert,
On the sick or wounded bison,
But another vulture watching
From his high aerial look out,
Sees the downward plunge and follows;
And a third pursues the second,
Coming from the invisible ether—
First a speck, and then a vulture,
Till the air is dark with pinions.

So disasters come not singly;
But as if they watched and waited,
Scanning one another's motions,
When the first descends, the others
Follow, follow, gathering flock-wise
Round their victim, sick and wounded;
First a shadow, then a sorrow,
Till the air is dark with anguish.

Panic Makers—The Interest of the West.

There is a class of shrewd "financiers" in this country—operators in "fancy stocks" and alarmists and schemers in the world of trade and commerce—who, when they have a point to gain or a selfish object to accomplish, resort to the policy of creating *panics*—frightening the timid by prognosticating a "financial crisis," and shaking public confidence in all matters of credit and finance, by hullaboo stories of coming "hard times." So often have these *bears* repeated this game successfully in various departments of trade and speculation, that it seems incredible that the public continue to be influenced by their hypocritical croakings.

At the opening of each year's business, these alarmists are particularly clamorous and doleful in their discouraging and mischievous policy. They attempt to shake heaven and earth, in order to convince the world that there will surely be short crops of grain, and that, from some cause or other, there will be "tight times," and a "tremendous crash." This game is just now being played, when the fact must be apparent to every person in the land, and to every intelligent business man, that the prospects for an abundant harvest, and for a prosperous financial year were never more flattering than they are at this moment. If we could probe the private motives by which these alarms are attempted to be produced, we would ascertain that the whole secret lies in the fact that the authors have an object of their own in view, by which their own speculative interests are to be advanced. Such men would immolate a whole nation upon the altar of their cupidity, if by so doing they could line their own pockets with gold.

This game, we may here remark, is also just now attempted to be played in another and altogether new direction. The *land interest* is the object of their present croakings. "There is going to be an awful crash," they pretend, "among the holders and dealers of lands." And why? "Because," they say, "too much of our credit is being staked in land speculations." Well, what of that? Is not real estate always worth as much as it brings? Is it not a good and always safe investment? Is not the land in constant demand, and must not that demand be supplied? Are not the new lands cheap, and do not men buy and sell them at cheap rates? When paid for, as in most instances they are immediately on purchase, are they not good and valuable property? How—in the name of common sense, we ask it—how can there be a "general crash" in the land interest? True it is, that if a man is foolish enough to risk his credit, on high interest, beyond his ability to meet payments, he will be taken by a "crash." But will such exceptional cases produce a *general* "crash?" No—it is folly to reason thus.

These prognostications by Eastern philosophers, that there will be a reaction in the real estate business of the West, have been repeated for the last five years, and yet the business is as sound, safe and secure at this moment, if not more so, than it ever has been—and judicious capitalists and speculators feel more secure in their investments in real estate to-day than they did a year or two years ago. The secret of the efforts on the part of Eastern men to shake the public confidence in this matter may be found in the important fact that Eastern capital is finding its way hitherward a little too fast to suit their own selfish ideas. In this consists all "the milk in the cocoa-nut." But their attempt to create a panic in this direction, will prove entirely futile. The land interest is as firm, reliable, profitable and safe as any department of business in the country, and so it will continue to be, we have no doubt, as long as there is land to sell.—*News Letter.*

Shaving the Beard.

Dr. Elliotson, in his "Human Physiology," 5th edition, says:

"It cannot but be a custom most insulting to nature to shave off the beard, which if kept in proper trim, as birds and beasts instinctively keep their plumage and hair in good order, completes the perfection of man's face, and the external distinction of the sexes; and whatever ladies pretend to the contrary, renders man far more attractive to women—at any rate, when custom has time to lessen their seeming repugnance; for their preference for men with good whiskers is certain. Shaving was forbidden by Moses, and therefore, according to Jews and Christians, by God; it was a severe punishment among the Indians, and an irreparable insult among the Germans. The Osmanlis swears by his beard, and spends half his day upon it.—Shaving prevails in Europe, because the kings of France set the example to their courtiers, who were followed by the nation, which formerly gave the *ton* to neighboring nations, and therefore was at length followed by all, in this troublesome and unmanly fashion."

On Dit.

It will be remembered that about two two years ago, Rev. Pardee Butler was tarred and cottoned, by a pro-slavery mob at Atchison, and sent down the river on a raft with a black flag floating over him. He landed at the point where the new town of Sumner is situated. He will preach at the latter place next Sunday, under the same flag, which he has carefully preserved.

What a change! What a happy change! The spot which witnessed the denouement of one of the most fiendish outrages ever perpetrated, is now the site of a future city—not by the procurement of these banditi, but in spite of them.—*Leavenworth Times.*

☞ Mercury up among the nineties.