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A COMPLETE HISTORY OF KANSAS,

FROM ITS

First Discovery by the French, to the Close of the Year 1857.

BY THE EDITORS.

CHAPTER VIII.

APPOINTMENT OF GOV. REEDER—HIS ADVENT INTO THE TERRITORY—VISITS THE PEOPLE—ARRANGES THE DISTRICTS, &C.

On the 30th of June, 1854, by and with the consent of the Senate, the President appointed Andrew H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, Governor of Kansas, and Daniel Woodson, of Virginia, Secretary; Samuel D. Lecompte, of Maryland, Chief Justice; Saunders N. Johnson, of Ohio, and Rush Elmore, of Alabama, Associate Justices; Andrew J. Jones, of Virginia, Attorney; and I. B. Donaldson, of Illinois, Marshal. These appointments were for four years.

Governor Reeder and suite arrived in the Territory in October, landing at Fort Leavenworth. The three months' delay which had followed the appointment of the Territorial officers, before their advent here, had given the Missourians, who had resolved on governing Kansas and guiding its destiny, ample time to lay their plans and perfect their schemes for carrying out the arrangements which they deemed necessary to accomplish that end. The most talented men of the nation had labored for years to prevent Kansas from becoming a free State. The most talented men of the pro-slavery party were now in daily council to devise ways and means to secure the advantage which the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill had given them for establishing their "peculiar institution" on this new and virgin soil.

The plot and the plotters met Gov. Reeder at his first landing, and followed him step by step, at first with flattery, and then with curses, from his arrival to his departure from the Territory.

Gov. Reeder was a National Democrat. He came here well endorsed by the pro-slavery party in power. He was considered a pro-slavery man. He endorsed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He even regretted that he was not a slave-holder himself, and would have gladly done anything honorable to promote the interests of that party. But when they called on him, as they too often did, to commit crimes, to surrender his judgment to theirs, to act as their agent in dishonorable, political trickery, he utterly refused.

They visited him, they waited on him by committees, they addressed him by letters—every influence within their reach was brought to bear on his executive action, in order to bend it to their purposes, and to use him in furthering their schemes—with what success the sequel will show. The Territory at this time had a population of about 4,000.

After resting a few days at Fort Leavenworth, the Governor and suit commenced a tour of observation through the Territory. Passing up the Kansas river, they arrived at Lawrence, a city of tents, not yet quite two months old. Here they were received by the people with great enthusiasm. The Governor was welcomed by a speech from S. C. Pomeroy, Esq., which closed as follows:—

"Sir, in the name of all the interests we represent, in the name of our absent wives, sons and daughters, soon I hope to be here, in the name of all the weather-beaten, yet noble countenances, which beam upon you—having emigrated from every State in this glorious Union, as well as from the Mother Land, we give you a cordial a hearty welcome." [Loud Cheers.]

Gov. Reeder replied:—

"I thank you for the friendly, earnest and eloquent manner you have welcomed me in behalf of the able, hardy, and unshaven men, as you have called them, that surround me—men who have come here to make the wilderness blossom as the rose. Such a people as this, make the wealth of a State, and the prosperity of a nation."

He continued at some length, giving the people much satisfaction. After the ceremonies, all enjoyed an agreeable social interview. Friendly relations were established, and mutual understandings commenced, which have never been interrupted. After a very excellent public dinner, closed by sentiments and speeches by the leading men of Lawrence, the Governor arose to depart. He gave to all present his hearty congratulations; complimented the pioneer ladies, who so cheerfully had undergone many trials, and proven themselves sufficient for any emergency; and finally expressed the hope that the pleasant scenes and sentiments of this occasion might only be a precursor of those even more congenial and happy for all time to come. He left amid the cheers of the multitude.

He stopped at the various settlements on his journey, and was everywhere received with confidence and friendly greetings.

On arriving at Fort Riley, he was received by Col. Montgomery, the commander, and the officers generally, with great cordiality. In imitation of Major Ogden, of Fort Leavenworth, Col. Montgomery had given his approbation to the laying off and building up of the town of Pawnee, near the Fort. In compliment to Gov. Reeder, the proprietors gave him an interest, which was afterwards used as a pretext for his removal.

This journey was undertaken for the purpose of learning the geography of the country, the location of the settlements, and the districting of the Territory for the coming election.

This laborious task was performed to the satisfaction of all parties. He divided the Territory into districts, which have since been recognized and used by the Free State party up to this time.

On his return to Fort Leavenworth, he was waited on by a committee of five, who had been appointed at a meeting held in the town of Leavenworth, on the 15th of November, to urge upon him the importance of an immediate election for members of a Territorial Legislatnre. This meeting was gotten up in Missouri, and composed mostly of people from that State.

It was the first public attempt of Missouri to take charge of the new governor, and dictate his policy.

Gov. Reeder's reply is worthy to be preserved, as it is characteristic of the man, and the key to all his subsequent difficulties:—

FORT LEAVENWORTH, K. T., Nov. 21, 1854.

GENTLEMEN:—On the 16th inst., you called on me in the capacity of a committee, claiming to represent and speak for a meeting of citizens of Kansas Territory, held the preceding day at Leavenworth City, and presenting me your memorial on behalf of that meeting. The memorial commences with the statement that you are acting under a resolution of such meeting, and ends by "urgently pressing" me to "comply with the wishes of those by whom you were appointed."

Finding that you did not come as individual citizens, acting for yourselves, but as the representatives of others, I took the ground that it was necessary and proper for me to know WHOM you represented, and that I must have a copy of the proceedings of the meeting which appointed you. Your chairman seemed at first to think that was unnecessary. I replied that it was very obviously necessary I should know, by the only authentic evidence, that you had been appointed, and by whom; and further stated, that unless the proceedings were furnished, I should not consider myself bound to notice your memorial. You then agreed to furnish them. I waited their coming until last evening, when I received from the post office a communication from you, dated the 17th inst., but with no postmark to inform me when it was mailed. This communication declines to furnish the proceedings of the meeting—professes to give reasons for the refusal—contains the very deliberate annunciation of some inherent rights of the people of Kansas, which no one would ever think of questioning, and some other propositions which must, in the confusion of correspondence, have got into that letter by mistake, as I have been utterly unable to discover how they were connected with the subject under discussion; and again requests that my answer to your memorial be made known to you, and those "whose organ you have the honor to be." The reasons you give may be very briefly stated. *First*, you say, that some of you, at least, are "recognized inhabitants" of Kansas; and asserting your own character as honorable men, you claim that I should have endorsed your own opinion on that head by taking your allegation of the facts, instead of asking for the usual and natural evidence of them.

Secondly, That the people of Kansas have a right to make known their wishes to the Executive without putting them in writing, or organizing any meeting for that purpose. To the latter, I have only to say, that I admit cheerfully the proposition it contains; but I am at a loss to understand what possible bearing it has upon the question whether I am entitled to a copy of the proceedings of this meeting which *has been* held, and an extract from which you profess to give. As to the first reason, passing over the indelicacy of gentlemen putting their personal character unnecessarily and improperly in issue, and demanding of me, who never impugned or impeached it, that I should dispense with the forms and vouchers which the occasion demanded, by adopting, in lieu thereof, any estimate of that character whatever, and especially one made by yourselves, as the basis of my official action, I beg leave to remind you that you are requiring even more than this, and, with signal modesty, demand that I should surrender my judgment to yours, and if you should be of opinion that the meeting who sent you was composed of "citizens of Kansas," I should take for granted that you are infallible, adopt your conclusions, and consider it unnecessary to judge for myself. Doubtless this would save a vast deal of trouble; and if I could take your infallibility for granted, it would leave me little to do but to register your decrees. That, however, is *not* my mode of doing business; and although I seek the opinions and suggestions of others, I prefer to judge for myself.

There is another very singular aspect of this reason of yours. Without inquiring of me what I intended to do in relation to an election of members of the Legislature, you attract public attention by assembling a meeting, and after a speech appropriate to the design of the meeting, a committee is formally appointed to prepare a grave and diplomatic memorial to quicken me in the performance of my official duty; and when you have made the affair thus public, precise, and ceremonious, as far as it is calculated to cast censure on *my* judgment and fidelity, you modestly insist that all the residue of the proceedings shall be as informal as you choose to make them, and that whilst you, by your actions, are censuring ME, I shall be required in the same transaction to recognize you as men who cannot possibly err in motive or judgment. These rules of equity and justice I have never learned; and I think, gentlemen, that to you belongs the merit of their discovery.

Your reasons being thus disposed of, allow me to repeat; you come to me as the agent of others, who you allege are citizens of Kansas, and are therefore entitled to a reply. I ask for a copy of the proceedings, in order that I may be satisfied as to that fact. You peremptorily refuse to give them. By all the rules of common sense, common courtesy, and common justice, I would be justified in refusing to notice your communication, as I had once resolved to do. I have, however, changed my mind, and will proceed to state some facts within the knowledge of the whole public of this vicinity—who will decide between us, if we disagree—and which I should have proven almost entirely by your own evidence, had you not from the pinching exigencies of the case, been compelled to refuse a copy of the proceedings.

The meeting *was not* of the "citizens of Kansas," as your proceedings will show, if you will produce them. It was a meeting composed mainly of citizens of Missouri; and a few of the citizens of Kansas. Your own body, whom I am now addressing, contains two undoubted residents of Missouri, one of whom is your chairman, who resides with his family in the town of Liberty, Mo., as he has done for years, and whose only attempt at a residence in Kansas consists of a card nailed to a tree, upon ground long since occupied by other settlers, who have built and live upon the claim. The president of your meeting was Maj. John Dougherty, a resident and large landholder in Clay county, Missouri, as he has stated to me since the meeting, and will not hesitate to state again, as he is a high-minded and honorable man, above all concealment or disguise. The gentlemen principally composing your meeting came from across the river, thronging the road from the ferry to the town, on horseback and in wagons, in numbers variously estimated by different persons at from 200 to 300; and after the meeting was over, they returned to their homes in the State of Missouri. These are facts as notorious here as any public occurrence can be; and every man with eyes to see and ears to hear, is cognizant of them.

They were the subject of much remark, and the cause of deep dissatisfaction; and even on the ground, in the meeting, and in reply to the speech of your chairman, who was chief spokesman of the occasion, this invasion of our Territory was loudly complained of by some of the outnumbered citizens of Kansas, and has frequently since been made the subject of indignant complaint to me. Such is the meeting from which you derive your authority, and such the title by which you assume to interfere in the regulation of our affairs. Few men, with all the facts before them would be hardy enough to say that the assumption is entitled to any respect. The law guarantees to us the right to manage our own affairs. It is the great, much-discussed feature of our Territorial government, and one which our people highly prize—under the pledges of which the inhabitants of the Territory have come and staked their future fortunes on our own soil.

The pledges of that law must be redeemed; and it were a poor and pitiless boon to have escaped from the domination of Congress, if we are only to pass under the hands of another set of self-constituted rulers, foreign to our soil, and sharing none of our burdens, no matter what may be their virtues, or their worth as men and citizens at home. It may be very desirable for gentlemen to live among the comforts of the States, with all the accumulated conveniences and luxuries of an old home, and make an occasional expedition into our Territory, to arrange our affairs—instruct our people and public officers, and control our government; but it does not suit *us*, and I much mistake the people of this Territory if they submit to it. One thing I am certain of, that having sworn to perform the duties of the office of Governor with fidelity, I shall denounce and resist it in friend or foe, and without regard to the locality, the party, the faction, or the ism from which it comes.

Thus much the citizens of Kansas have a right to demand at my hands, and to fail in it would be the baldest dereliction of official duty. We believe that we are competent to govern ourselves; and as we must bear the consquences of our own errors, and reap the fruit of our own decisions, we must decline any gratuitous help in making them.

We shall always be glad to see our neighbors across the river as friends and visitors among us, and will endeavor to treat them with kindness and hospitality. We shall be still more pleased, if they will abandon their present homes and dot our beautiful country with their residences to contribute to our wealth and progress; but until they do the latter, we must respectfully, but determinedly, decline to allow them any participation in regulating our affairs.

When that is to be done, we insist that they shall stand aside, and permit us to do the work ourselves.

This, gentlemen, with due respect to you personally, is the only reply I shall give to the suggestions in behalf of your meeting relative to the time and manner of taking our census and holding our election. Your obedient servant,

A. H. REEDER.

To F. Gwinner, D. A. N. Grover, Robt. C. Miller, Wm. F. Dyer, and Alfred Jones, Esqrs., *Committee.*

However willing he might be to serve the administration, however indifferent to the rights of the negro race, and however favorable to the policy of the slaveholding oligarchy, yet he could not violate his office oath, destroy his own self-respect, prostitute his power as Governor, to ends so base, without ceasing to be, in spirit and in manhood, ANDREW H. REEDER.

The man was superior to the politician—he could neither cringe nor bow.

The slaveholding junto were wholly unprepared for this refusal. Never before had President or Governor dared to thwart their wishes. They saw at a glance, that Reeder had turned a deaf ear to their solicitations,—he heeded not their advice—he was too independent to be led—too honorable to be bribed, and too impracticable for a tool.

This unexpected refusal called out curses, both deep and loud. The leading pro-slavery paper of Platte county had the following:—

"How little have our Southern friends—impulsive, hospitable, and rash—understood the character of the Governor of Kansas! Many have often said, 'He will favor the South; his sympathies are with the South; but, coming from a free State, he dare not do it openly.' Upon what reasonable premises—upon what rational induction of the Governor's acts and conduct—could such absurd hypothesis be predicated? 'We will yet make a proselyte of him,' said they. Such a proselyte as they would make of the shrewd, calculating, and far-sighted Governor would be, to them, 'two-fold more the child of hell than he was before.' The developments that have already been made in the executive character are amply sufficient to found a sound conclusion in regard to his future course and intentions.—Impulsive and unreflecting people! you have not scrutinized him closely. You have mislead and mistranslated him.—He has understood *your character* better than you have understood his. Affable and polite in outward manner, but cold, guarded and designing within—the external manner of a man wholly engrossed with self-aggrandizement and the steady accomplishment of his own private purposes. Possessing many qualities that go to make up a strong man, the executive character is yet deficient in one great essential. An infirmity of purpose, and a weak, nervous oscillation of mind, are idiosyncrasies with the Governor of Kansas. Governor he is, and would be Senator hereafter! He is not without ambition—would play false—would wrongly win, and yet he fears to do it boldly, like a man. He is a small nonpareil edition of Talleyrand and Metternich combined, without a spark of Jackson's 'eternal' in his whole composition.

"Isolated and alone upon the *frontier* he stood. In the midst of gentlemen of high official character and talent, the great 'non-committal' was distant and repulsive; for without the *encouragement* of friends, he *dared* not proclaim publicly that he was a Free Soiler, and would do all, consistent with his official oath and dignity, to make Kansas a free State, as he had a right to say, and a right to do; for he knew not what evils the passions of an impulsive people, roused to their highest pitch in an exciting contest might hurl around his devoted head. *No doubt* in his midnight dreams, his Excellency saw his Honor Judge *Lynch*, with his grave judicial aspect, sitting at the foot of his bed, remarking, with all the politeness of Richelieu to Baradas, that 'the court had taken his case in consideration, and decided that the *air* of Kansas did not agree with him.'"

An election for delegate to Congress was called, to take place on the 29th of November. The candidates were Col. J. W. Whitfield, M. Flenniken, and J. A. Wakefield. J. W. Whitfield was brought forward by the pro-slavery party. He was formerly of Tennessee, and an officer in the Mexican war.

He is a tall, energetic young man, of good address, unfinished education, and strongly biased by party.

Mr. Flenniken was Gov. Reeder's particular friend—a lawyer—and came to the Territory a strong National Democrat, with the hope of being elected to Congress.

Judge J. A. Wakefield was a settler, had come out with his family, was living on a claim, had been a Whig, was now a Free Soiler—and ran on the ticket as hostile to slavery. He is rather past middle age, somewhat corpulent, and has had much experience in public life.

But the Free State candidates had no chance to be elected. All Western Missouri organized, and pledged to come to Kansas to vote, whenever the leaders demanded.

The leading men of the State, and of the South, had been consulted in getting up the plan, while the immediate execution of it was trusted to David R. Atchison, Ex-Vice President of the United States, and to Gen. B. F. Stringfellow, aided by other gentlemen of wealth and talent, on the borders.

From a published speech, made at meeting of the citizens of Platte county, Mo., just before this election, by Hon. David R. Atchison, the following extract is given, illustrative of the position taken by Missouri, and which it was expected Gov. Reeder would sanction and support:—

"When you reside within one day's journey of the Territory, and when your *peace*, your *quiet*, and your *property* depend upon your action, you can, without an exertion, *send* five hundred of your young men, who will vote in favor of your institutions. Should each county in the State of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided quietly and peaceably, at the ballot box. If we are defeated, then Missouri and other Southern States, will have shown themselves recreant to their interests, and will deserve their fate."

The 29th of November came, and with it over 1,700 voters from Missouri, to vote for the Missouri candidate, who was "triumphantly elected."

J. W. Whitfield received	2,268	votes.
Judge Wakefield, "	249	"
M. Flenniken "	305	"

Whitfield's majority was greater than the whole number of legal voters in the Territory.

Notwitstanding this outrage, witnessed as it was by the Executive and all the officials of Kansas, Whitfield received a certificate of election, and took his seat in Congress.

Here was the first false step of Gov. Reeder. He hoped to conciliate by concessions. He hesitated, he faltered, he fell. Had he taken ground here, peace might have been saved to Kansas. But he saw the coming storm, and feared to brave it. He made for the nearest harbor, and foundered upon the quicksands of expediency.

Before the Courts were organized, before the Legislature had met, the Judiciary of the Territory took active, partizan sides on the all-absorbing question of slavery, and prejudged the case before a hearing. Judge Lecompte was one of a public meeting held in Kansas, composed mostly of Missourians, which passed the following:—

"*Resolved*, That the institution of slavery is known and recognized in this Territory; that we repel the idea that it is a moral and political evil, and we hurl back with scorn upon its slanderous authors, the charge of inhumanity; and we warn all persons not to come to our peaceful firesides, to slander us and sow the seeds of discord between the master and the servant; for, as much as we deprecate the necessity to which we may be driven, we cannot be responsible for the consequences."

This one act, of itself, would, in times of public virtue, have caused the immediate dismissal of the Judge, for thus compromising his official character for impartiality, and for violating the organic act, which stipulates that the people of the Territory "shall be left perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way."

Judge Elmore brought into the Territory with him several slaves. The judiciary, at so early a day, lost its character for truth and justice, which it has never recovered; and up to this day, the cry of the people is, "Give us a new judiciary."

Soon after the election, Gov. Reeder moved his office and effects to the Shawnee mission, two miles west of Westport, Mo., and remained there during the winter and spring.

In January and February, 1855, he caused a census to be taken, which exhibited a population as follows: 5,128 males, 3,373 females—total, 8,501. Of these, 3,469 were minors, 242 slaves, and 151 free negroes. There were, when the census was taken, only 2,905 voters in the Territory.

The Governor also appointed Justices of the Peace and other officers, to act in various localities, under the organic act, and the mental machinery of civilized communities was put in operation, and worked harmoniously till Missouri came again with her politicians, her banditti and her Border Ruffians, to usurp the power, seize the government, and control the destiny of Kansas.

During the winter, active measures were taken in Missouri to organize the population more thoroughly, and stimulate them to come to Kansas to vote, and if necessary to success, to kill those who might oppose them.

The people of Kansas were made aware that these plans were laid—that secret societies were organized—that funds were contributed to hire men, to purchase arms and ammunition, for the purpose of overrunning Kansas, taking possession of the ballot boxes at every precinct, putting in men from Missouri for members of the first Legislature, and thus secure to the slaveholding oligarchy a foothold, and a permanent control of the present and future destinies of Kansas. The border counties of Missouri were thickly populated, and had been long settled, were violently pro-slavery, and were under the lead of unprincipled demagogues, who spared no expense nor effort to accomplish their unlawful and treasonable designs.

To defeat this, the chief reliance of the Free State party was in the principles of the American government, and faith in the Territorial and National Executives. During the winter, "Free State Societies" had been formed, for the purpose of securing unity of action; for unless minor differences were laid aside, it was evident to all that the people would be defeated. In Lawrence, in Manhattan, in Pawnee, and in several other places, meetings were held by the citizens, to protect themselves from the fatal results of an illegal invasion by the citizens of Missouri.

The citizens of Manhattan invited the Governor to call the first Legislature far up in the interior of the Territory, that it might be removed from the influences and fears of Missouri. But all these efforts and precautions were of no avail.—When the election came, Kansas was overwhelmed by an avalanche of violence and crime, in magnitude and power entirely irresistible and unexpected. The barriers of law, and American usage, which had been erected for protection by the Free State settlers, were swept away like straws before a tempest, and have never since been found. In their stead has been inaugurated a system of tyranny, falsehood and fraud, hedged in and protected by U. S. bayonets, nourished and supported by United States money,—kept in favor and palmed upon the American people by false issues, false glosses, and false statements, which, up to this time, the people of Kansas have found no means of effectually answering or resisting.

After Governor Reeder had made his appointments of magistrates, constables, and other officers, of such persons as he found in the Territory, and generally Old Line Democrats, the Missouri people, who considered Kansas theirs, made loud complaints. The matter was discussed in that State in public meetings, and in newspapers. A short extract from one will illustrate the feelings of the whole:—

"We have been reliably informed that his Free Soil Excellency, Gov. Reeder, has been careful, in a large number of instances, to appoint to the offices of justice of the peace, constables, and other officers in Kansas Territory, men of Abolition, Free Soil principles.

"We believe it to be due to the citizens of Missouri, that President Pierce remove this Free Soil Governor, and put in his stead some man entertaining different notions and principles upon the great question of slavery; who is in favor of incorporating Kansas Territory with such institutions as those of our own great State."

* * * * * *

"We are gratified to see that the citizens of the 15th District, in Kansas Territory, have determined not to submit to the dictation of the Governor, and have held a meeting, where they resolved that the people should make *their own* officers. We hope the same resolve will be made in every District throughout the Territory."

This hint for a new Governor was not entirely lost; for in a few weeks, handbills were issued, calling an election for Governor, who should take the place of Gov. Reeder. And at the March election, votes were polled for the Rev. Thos. Johnson, of the Shawnee Mission, for Governor.—Had not the pro-slavery leaders received assurances that they should have a Governor to suit them, they would have carried out the plan, and voted for a Governor of their own, in every voting precinct in the Territory. As the idea had started, it became somewhat difficult for the leaders to stop it. Many attended the convention called for that purpose, and it required some effort to turn it from its original design. But the leaders succeeded in getting up an excitement, which finally ended in a fight, and the killing of Malcolm Clark by Col. McCrea.

The public of Missouri continued their clamoring for an early election, before the spring emigration could reach Kansas from the East. In this they were partially gratified. As soon as Gov. Reeder had matured his plans, arranged the order of voting, and fixed on a place for holding the Legislature, he issued his proclamation for an election. As he was well aware of the designs of the Missourians, he thought to protect Kansas by a rigid surveillance of the ballot box, subjecting the voters to oaths of residence and citizenship, which would entirely exclude non residents. When the news of this arrangement reached Missouri, public meetings were held, and speeches made denouncing it, and threatening to set it aside by force. This was finally done in every voting precinct except one.

Gen. B. F. Stringfellow is reported to have made the following speech at St. Joseph, on this occasion. The object of the meeting was to raise funds to defray the expenses of the invasion, and to stimulate the people to go. He said:—

"I tell you to mark every scoundrel among you, who is the least tainted with abolitionism or free-soilism, and exterminate him. Neither give nor take quarter from the d——d rascals. I propose to mark them in this house, and on the present occasion, so you may crush them out. To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or National, the time has come when such impositions must be disregarded, as your rights and property are in danger. I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas, in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons, and vote at the point of the bowie knife and revolver. Neither give nor take quarter, as the cause demands it. It is enough that the slaveholding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

Topeka Constitution.

We were invited by an itinerant politician, who visited our office during the present week, to sign a petition to Congress to admit Kansas as a State under the Topeka Constitution. As a matter of course we declined lending our name to the keeping up of any such humbuggery. We wish to see Kansas a Free State, and will do all in our power to aid in attaining that end, but we will not join in every foolish or fanatical project which some of our Free State brethren may choose to originate. Has not this thing of petitioning to Congress for admission under that Constitution been tried once? and has it not proved a failure? And why try it again? Has the complexion of Congress so changed that the chances appear more favorable? or is it merely for the purpose of keeping up agitation, and making party capital, to the detriment of the best interests of the people of Kansas?

We had hoped that the day of agitation was past, and the class of men who danced to the fiddling of political jugglers in the States, had disappeared from the stage. But, alas, how vain are human hopes. We are to have the old play acted over again, for the benefit of outsiders, at our expense. It is time the conservative Free State men were looking after affairs, and be led no more into difficulties by fanatics, ultraists and unscrupulous politicians, who would see Kansas blotted out of existence, if it would make them notorious, and operate to their personal aggrandizement.—*Geary City Era.*

The Georgian Democracy on Gov. Walker.

Georgia, which may be regarded as the distillery in which the present current article of "Rectified" Democracy was manufactured, has come out through her State Convention, in a resolution, severely censuring the course of Gov. WALKER, laid down in his Inaugural Address. It shows the true purpose and intent of the originators of the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty; and that those who sustained the Kansas Bill in the North, are making their present display of friendship to the Free State party, through fear of a complete defeat throughout the Free States, did they attempt farther to enforce their original designs.

The Resolution reads:

Resolved, That the address of Gov. Walker, in prescribing the terms on which Congress should admit Kansas into the Union, and in attempting to dictate the submission of their Constitution for ratification, and to what class of persons constitutes a presumptuous interference in matters over which he has no legitimate control, and the same address in expressing his official opinion that Kansas will become a Free State, and in presenting arguments to support that side of the question, is a gross departure from the principles of non-intervention, and of neutrality, and the Convention has full confidence that Mr. Buchanan will manifest fidelity to the principles which carried him into office, by recalling Gov. Walker. —*Exchange.*

☞ In the spring of 1855, W. H. Ross, ex-Governor of Delaware, whilst on a tour through the West for the benefit of his health, purchased some town lots in Kansas Territory. He has but lately returned from another trip, and whilst out there he sold his land, and realized over fifteen thousand dollars by the speculation.—*Ex.*

For the Herald of Freedom.

The Market Value of Articles of Commerce, Is a High Price Desirable?

In a previous number of the *Herald of Freedom*, we said we would undertake to show that an unusual demand for any article was not desirable. We spoke particularly of grains, and said, "grain raisers would be benefitted by prohibiting the distillation of grain." But it is equally true of any branch of business, whereby an unusual or unnatural demand is created, either by waste, extravigant consumption, or inadequate supply. But to avoid being misunderstood we will restate our position; which is, that each particular class of producers would be benefitted by every other class studying economy in their consumption. That, instead of seeking to increase the demand and raise the price, all should study to make the demand as light as possible and the price as low.

For convenience' sake, we will divide the whole number of producers into four classes, viz., Agricultural, Mechanical, Manufacturing and Commercial. Now none of these classes produce directly all the articles used by them; but each obtains by means of exchanges all he desires. Now it is very manifest that each of these several classes will desire to study that the rates of exchange be as favorable as possible. For it will be borne in mind that it is of comparatively little importance what the absolute price of an article is, but how much of the desired article can be obtained for a given amount of the article parted with. Now it is so clear that this will be the case when nothing has been wasted or put to a bad use, that no argument would seem necessary to convince all of the correctness of the position.

But let us illustrate the subject, and see if the evidence does not become irresistible. For convenience' sake we will suppose that there are but ten persons engaged in each of the several branches of business, making an aggregate of forty persons. Let us begin with the agricultural class. The ten persons engaged in this branch of business not only produce all the agricultural products consumed by themselves, but all that is needed by the remaining thirty.

By this means, and this means alone, they supply all their wants. Now is it not so manifest that the smaller the amount necessary to satisfy the wants of all, the better for those on whom the labor of supplying the demand fall? or to be made no clearer by any number of arguments or illustrations however ingenious? We have proceeded thus far on the supposition that there was no waste of anything produced. Now let us suppose that by means of distillation or otherwise, one-half of all this class has produced, is wasted. If the ten persons engaged in this branch of business are adequate to the task of supplying this double demand, no more than one-half of their time is necessary to supply the real wants of the whole. We have proceeded on the supposition thus far, that no injury is done by the amount of grain thus wasted, but simply that an unnecessary tax or burden has been imposed upon this class by the waste. Suppose this to be the whole of the matter. Does any one suppose the wants of this class have been better supplied by the double effort they have made? If so, we should be glad to be shown in what way. Certainly this extra effort of agriculturists did not in any way increase the capabilities of either of the other classes. But suppose the use made of this large amount of grain is hurtful! How then stands the case? All who consume the manufactured article are rendered inefficient by its use. Not only then have those who produced this extra amount of grain derived no benefit from it, but they have themselves been crippled by its use, and each of the other classes have also suffered, in common with them. But this is not all of it. After the grain was raised, a portion of the manufacturing class must be withdrawn from useful employment, for the purpose of converting the surplus grain into a state in which it will be most hurtful. For we venture the assertion that in no other way could it do so much harm as to convert it into alcohol. Now, whatever the ratio withdrawn from this class to carry on the process of distillation, whether it be one-tenth, one-fourth or one-half, in just this ratio must the price of all articles produced by this class be enhanced, or what is the same thing, they have done this amount of extra labor to secure a given end, viz., the satisfying of their wants. So also must the mechanical and commercial classes suffer, for the one must produce the implements, and the other do the transportation without pay.

So of every other branch of business. For when any one of those classes has whatever is necessary in his department, he has done all he should to supply his wants. But it is insisted by a certain class of reasoners, that, no matter what is done with the article produced, provided the purchaser pay for it, the grower, manufacturer, mechanic or carrier is benefitted.

But the danger here lies in using the word *pay* ambiguously. We have heretofore considered that all purchasses were made by means of an exchange of articles of consumption, instead of purchasing by means of money. But let us suppose it don't in either way. First, by means of exchange of articles of consumption. Now if the business be one which is admitted on *all* hands to be injurious, it follows that the worthless article will not be taken in exchange. As for instance, alcohol is the article produced, and all are strictly temperate in their habits, the persons engaged in the business must of necessity abandon it. But suppose the exchange is made by means of money; the same thing will come to pass, as in the first instance, provided the parties regard the article as before. How then *can* the business be carried on? It can only be done where the whole or a portion of the community will purchase and use the worthless article. But in what way does this help the matter? Is it better when the community will purchase and use the worthless articles than it would be were they to simply pay for it and throw it away? Clearly the latter mode would be the better of the two. It comes to this then most clearly, that he who produces the worthless article, has done nothing towards sustaining himself. He is simply a burthen to be sustained by others. He who produces the hurtful article, does nothing to sustain himself, and besides destroys the ability of others to take care of him. This is precisely the position of all persons engaged in the liquor business, so far as relates to manufacturing and vending it as a beverage. Still we are aware certain persons will say they care not what is done with grain provided they are paid for it. But have we not already shown they never can be paid by a class of persons who do nothing towards sustaining themselves; much less can they be paid by a class of persons whose business is fraught only with ruin to those who patronize them. Now we cannot, for one moment, believe, did the grain raisers and the country understand, not only that all the grain distilled throughout the country was a burden imposed on the community, for which no compensation was paid, they could be induced longer to submit to it. We shall labor from time to time to convince them of this fact. Let those who expect to legislate for Kansas bear this in mind.

We started out with the proposition, "that all classes of producers would be benefitted by making the demand as light as possible and the price as low." We shall leave it for others to judge how well we have succeeded, and hope if any think we have failed to establish our position, they will be kind enough to point out wherein. If the foregoing views be correct, it will be seen that a vast amount of unnecessary labor is performed for which no compensation is rendered. This we deem the chief source of life being so burdensome. It has long been a question with thinking persons why such an unceasing struggle was necessary on the part of the laborer to procure a respectable livelihood. It seemed unaccountable that God should impose so onerous a burthen on his creatures; the fact is, he never has; our own follies are chargeable with it. Did all but produce what they consume none would be overtaxed; he who does not and is able to, is guilty of robbing those who, while they produce much more than is necessary for their comfort, are yet but scantily supplied.

Though this subject is scarcely opened, its limits have far outrun our intentions.

VERITAS.

Desirable Claims yet to be Taken.

Hundreds of people come to Kansas in search of claims, and return to the States with the impression that all those portions of the Territory desirable for settlement, are already occupied. This is a mistake. Every one of the fifty thousand inhabitants of Kansas should not be expected to live within ten miles of some half dozen of the centers of population, and still have vacant claims of the first quality in their midst. There are yet thousands of quarter sections, equal to the best in Kansas, for soil, timber and water, though they may not be as convenient to the entrance of the Territory.

The tributaries of the Osage, the Neosho, and the Arkansas, and of the principal branches of the Kansas, will yet furnish claims as desirable, in most respects, as any now occupied.

A company of fifteen persons started from Lawrence in the spring to explore the valley of the Arkansas, where it is crossed by the Santa Fe road, at a distance of about 250 miles from Lawrence, in a south-westerly direction. After passing through a country almost literally covered with buffalo, grazing in herds of tens of thousands, they came to the Great Bend. Finding the country unsuited to their tastes, they turned in a south-easterly direction, and after a journey of about 150 miles came to Walnut Creek, one of the tributaries of the Neosho, where they made a location, and laid out a town calling it Eldorado. They send back the most flattering accounts of the country, representing it as abounding in buffalo, elk, deer, antelopes, wild turkeys, grouse, and all the varieties of game found in Kansas. Timber is abundant, consisting of walnut, oak, hickory, ash, mulberry, hackberry and elm; it is well supplied with streams of clear water, and quarries of lime and sandstone. Fine springs of the purest crystal water, are more numerous and larger than elsewhere. This company are the sole inhabitants of this region, and have not, of course, monopolized all the hundreds of desirable claims in the vicinity. They have demonstrated that one-half of even the timbered lands of Kansas are yet lying unoccupied and unexplored. Many that come here with the vain expectation of finding vacant lands within four or five miles of towns containing a population of 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants, seem to think that Leavenworth, or Lawrence, or Topeka is the Ultima Thule, beyond which a civilized man dares not go.

They will find that the land of Canaan, flowing with milk and honey, extends far westward of these—that they are only Jerichos, at the entrance of the land of promise.—*Delaware Free State.*

To Pre-Emptors.

The following circular from the General Land Office will be of interest to many persons who have settled on Government lands:—

GENERAL LAND OFFICE, December 3, 1856.

GENTLEMEN: By the fourth section of the act of the 3d of March, 1843, it is declared that "Where an individual has filed under the late pre-emption law (1841) his declaration of intention to claim the benefits of said law for one tract of land, it shall not be lawful for the same individual, at any future time, to file a second declaration for another tract.

This prohibition is held by the department to extend to both classes of lands, unoffered, and such as are subject to private entry.

When a claiment, however, of either class of land, files a declaration which may prove to be invalid in consequence of the land applied for not being open for pre-emption, or by the determination against him as a conflicting claimant; or from any other similar cause, which would have prevented him from consummating a pre-emption under such declaration; such illegal filing will be treated as a nullity and as no inhibition to his subsequently filing a legal and proper declaration for the same tract, should it become liable to pre-emption, or for any other land; it being the purpose of the law to allow a claimant a pre-emption upon one tract and nothing more, and also to prevent declaration from being filled where the intention of establishing a pre-emption is not *bona fide*. I am, very respectfully, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

THOS. A. HENDRICKS, Commissioner.

☞ Ice Cream, notwithstanding allopathic warning, is generally partaken.—We have five or six saloons in town.