Business Notices.

KNOX.—The highly-fashioned and popular HATS recently sent forth by KNOX, the inimitable hatter, of No. 212 Broadway, corner of Fulton-st., have attracted the approbation and attention of the lions of the town, whose crowned heads are rendered illustrious by one of these perfect specimens of artizanship.

D. DEVLIN & CO. beg to state that their Wholesale and Retail departments are now completely stocked with their late and elegant styles of SPRING and SUMMER CLOTHING, and their CUSTOM department (second floor) with the newest importations of CASSIMERES, VESTINGS, COATINGS, &c., at Nos. 258, 259 and 260 Broadway.

ELEGANT CARPETING.
SMITH & LOUNSBERY, No. 456 Broadway, are now prepared to exhibit their NEW SPRING STYLES of RICH VELVET, TAPESTRY, BRUSSELS, THREE-PLY and INGRAIN CARPETING. Among the assortment will be found a large number of New Designs and Styles never before offered; also a large stock of OIL CLOTHS of every width, and all other goods connected with the trade.

RICH CARPETINGS.
PETERSON & HUMPHREY,
No. 524 Broadway, opposite the St. Nicholas,
Are selling rich Velvet Carpeting from 11/ to 14/ per yard.
Rich Tapestry Carpeting, from 8/ to 10/ per yard.
Rich Brussels Carpeting, from 7/ to 9/ per yard.
Rich 3-ply, elegant colors, from 3/ to 3/ per yard.
Rich Heavy Superfine, from 6/ to 8/ per yard.
Oil Cloths, Curtain Materials, Mattresses, &c., equally low for cash.
PETERSON & HUMPHREY, No. 524 Broadway.

CLARK'S SPOOL COTTON.
The genuine article
has the name of
WILLIAM WHITEWRIGHT
On every spool.

TO HOUSEKEEPERS.—A rare opportunity is now offered you. We have the largest assortment of GAS FIXTURES ever exhibited in New York. We are determined to clear them out during the coming thirty days.
W. J. F. DAILEY & Co.
Marble Stores, Nos. 631 and 633 Broadway.

500 WHITE CHINA DINNER SETS; 300 Tea do.; also, an immense assortment of richly cut Table Glass, all of our own importation and manufacture, now offering at prices less than ever known.
W. J. F. DAILEY & Co.,
Nos. 631 and 633 Broadway.

ELEGANT AND SUPERIOR CLOTHING.—
ALFRED MUNROE & Co., No. 411 Broadway,
Invite the attention of gentlemen of refined taste to their assortment of
SPRING SURTOUTS, RAGLANS, BUSINESS COATS, PANTS, VESTS,
Made up in the most stylish manner, from the finest and best materials.
ALFRED MUNROE & Co. would also solicit the attention of the public to their stock of
BOYS' CLOTHING,
where Parents and Guardians will find every article for Children's wear. They have every variety of thin Woolen and Linen Goods for Summer use.

CANTRELL'S ELEGANT GAITERS, ONLY TWELVE SHILLINGS PER PAIR.—Ladies preparing for the country visit should make their election of GAITER BOOTS at CANTRELL'S, No. 336 Bowery, between Bond and Great Jones-sts., for his assortment is both in quality and extent of these articles, as well as of descriptions of foot-covering for Masters and Misses, is unrivaled, while his prices are lower than any other vender in the country. At least 33 per cent can be saved by dealing with him.

Splendid Cassimere Business Coats, various shades, $5; rich Moire Antique Silk Vests, $3; fashionable black Cloth Coats, $7; super blue Dress Coats, $10; Cassimere Pants, $1 50 and upward, &c., at EVANS's Clothing Warehouse, Nos. 66 and 168 Fulton-st.

Thousands of children going to school this Spring require to be furnished with HATS and CAPS for the present and the approaching season. At BANTA's will be found an immense variety of those fabrics suited to their different ages, including many entirely new designs of Hats and Caps in Felt, Braid, Leghorn and Straw, altogether unrivaled in point of cheapness by any in this market.
WM. BANTA, 166 Canal cor. of Wooster-st.

RANKIN'S OLD STAND
Is now fully supplied with
SEASONABLE UNDER GARMENTS
and Hosiery. The best goods at the lowest prices.
A. RANKIN & Co.,
No. 104 Bowery.

EXTRAORDINARY.
Low Prices for English Carpets.
Crossley's Velvets, 11/; Tapestries, 7/6.
Handsome Ingrains, 3/6; Super do., 5/.
HIRAM ANDERSON, No. 99 Bowery.

GREAT FIRE AT NORFOLK, VA.
BURNING OF ADAMS & CO'S EXPRESS OFFICE.
THE WILDER PATENT SALAMANDER SAFE that stood the Unprecedented Test of 40 days exposed to a Red Heat at the burning of Adams & Co.'s Express Office has arrived (having been shipped to us and a new one ordered), and can be seen in front of our Warehouse, No. 122 Water-st., near Wall, where the public are invited to examine it. This same Safe (like many others of Wilder's Patent) was claimed by Silas C. Herring as one of Herring's Patent Champion Safes, and was exhibited by his Agents at Norfolk, Va., as such, but upon investigation it proved to be the celebrated WILDER PATENT SALAMANDER.
A few more attempts like this by Silas C. Herring to apply the credit due the WILDER PATENT SALAMANDER SAFE to a new safe now made by him, will soon satisfy the public that there is something "rotten in Denmark." All safes manufactured by us WARRANTED FREE FROM DAMPNESS. A full assortment constantly on hand and made to order and for sale at the Warehouse, No. 122 Water-st., near Wall, New-York, and Nos. 22 Walnut and 9 Granite-st., Philadelphia. Secured with WILDER'S PATENT POWDER AND BURGLAR PROOF LOCK.
B. G. WILDER & Co., Patentees and Manufacturers.

Hope for a season bade the world farewell,
And beauty faded before the awful spell,
Till HOSTETTER'S BITTERS, the friend of man,
Dyspepsia cured, and taught sighs to smile again.
We are sometimes almost unable to describe our symptoms. We find ourselves nervous, weak and physically prostrated. We have a terrible sinking at the pit of our stomach, a feverish brow, a fetid breath, and a gloomy, foreboding mind. Such symptoms arise from a disorganized stomach and diseased liver. HOSTETTER'S VEGETABLE STOMACH BITTERS are so peculiarly adapted to these symptoms that they give us an appetite, impart tone and vigor to the system, and in every respect build up the broken down and emaciated invalid. They are particularly adapted to weak and delicate females.
HOSTETTER, SMITH & Co., Proprietors, Cincinnati. BARNES & PARK, Broadway and Duane-st., are our wholesale agents in New-York, and sold by MRS. HAYES, Brooklyn, and all Druggists, Grocers and at hotels.

PIANOS and MELODEONS from eight different manufactories, making the largest assortment in the city, beside fifteen second-hand PIANOS, with and without the Æolian; all of which will be sold at prices that defy competition. Pianos for RENT, and rent allowed on purchase, at No. 333 Broadway.
HORACE WATERS, Agent.

PARIS UMBRELLAS.—Just received and will be opened THIS DAY two cases Paris SILK UMBRELLAS, made expressly for our Retail Sales, and adapted to both Ladies' and Gentlemen's use. In the cases are a few choice SUN UMBRELLAS for Misses and Boys. LEARY & Co., Hatters,
Astor House, Broadway.

TO WHOLESALE AND COUNTRY DRUGGISTS.—BARNES & PARK, No. 364 Broadway, corner of Duane-st., N. Y., invite the attention of Jobbers and close buyers to their immense Stock of American and European
PATENT MEDICINES,
by far the largest assortment in either hemisphere, at and below proprietors' prices, by the package, dozen, or 100 gross. Particular attention paid to this branch of the Drug business. Orders solicited and Goods shipped with care to any part of the world.
BARNES & PARK, New-York, Cincinnati and San Francisco.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ENVELOPE FACTORY, Nos. 167 and 169 Pearl-st., corner of Pine.—The subscribers having duplicated their machinery for supplying ENVELOPES under the contract made with the Government, are now prepared to supply the public with every variety of ENVELOPE, including all the different patterns, styles, size and colors. Having now at least double the facilities of any other manufacturer, one moment's consideration will satisfy the most skeptical that they can sell at materially reduced prices.
GEORGE F. NESBITT & Co., Stationers and Printers,
Nos. 167 and 169 Pearl-st., corner of Pine.

H. L. LOVET would invite those that are bald and gray to call at No. 762 Broadway, and he will refer to ladies and gentlemen who have been both gray and bald, now having perfect heads of hair as when young, by the use of his WAMPENE.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—The family medicine chest that is furnished with these two powerful remedies needs nothing more. Eruptions, sores, wounds, ulcers, tumors, and stiff joints, are infallibly cured by the OINTMENT, and all affections of the bowels, stomach, and liver, by the PILLS. Sold at the manufactories, No. 80 Maiden-lane, New-York, and No. 244 Strand, London; and by all druggists, at 25 cents, 62 cents, and $1 per pot or box.

SPRING-STYLE BOOTS AND GAITERS.—WATKINS, No. 114 Fulton-st., has on hand a magnificent assortment of BOOTS and SHOES for Spring wear. They are all manufactured by himself of the best materials, and will wear well. Strangers would do well to purchase at this old and well-known establishment.

DELIGHT'S SPANISH LUSTRAL will make Hair grow on Bald Heads. It is the greatest discovery of the 19th century. For a toilet article it is superior. 40,000 bottles sold the last six months in New-England. Prepared from a recipe brought from Andalusia, Spain, by J. H. WADLEIGH, Lawrence, Mass. Sold in New-York by BARNES & PARK.

WIGS — HAIR-DYE — WIGS. — BATCHELOR'S WIGS and TOUPEES have improvements peculiar to their house. They are celebrated all over the world for their graceful beauty, ease and durability—fitting to a charm. The largest and best stock in the world. 12 private rooms for applying his famous DYE. Sold at BATCHELOR'S, No. 233 Broadway.

One Dollar a Line.

TO ADVERTISERS.—The circulation of THE WEEKLY TRIBUNE is now so enormous, and the number of Advertisements pressing for insertion in it so exceeds the space we choose to devote to them, that we have raised the price of Advertising herein to

ONE DOLLAR PER LINE,

or a little more than half a cent per line for each thousand copies printed and dispatched to our readers. Even at this rate, it is the cheapest medium extant for Advertisements requiring the widest and fullest publicity. It is about the same rate charged by The Illustrated London News, which has not so large a circulation as THE WEEKLY TRIBUNE by many thousands. We prefer short cards to long ones, and shall be glad if the enhancement impels our patrons to study brevity in their announcements. Remember that we can only insert in any week such as are handed in on or before Wednesday evening, as we are obliged to go to press early on Thursday morning.

New-York Daily Tribune.

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1856.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

No notice can be taken of anonymous Communications. Whatever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer—not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith.
We cannot undertake to return rejected Communications.

ADVERTISEMENTS intended for THE WEEKLY TRIBUNE of this week should be handed in by noon to-day. The immense edition now issued of this paper, makes it necessary, in order to secure their insertion, that our friends should thus early hand in their favors.

Governor Seward's Speech.

The Great Speech of Governor SEWARD on the Immediate Admission of Kansas, is now ready, in pamphlet form.

Price per dozen ..... 20 cents.
Price per 100 ..... $1 25
Price per 1,000 ..... 10 00

Orders inclosing the cash will be promptly attended to by addressing GREELEY & McELRATH, New-York.

DOINGS IN CONGRESS.

SENATE, April 28.—The Senate refused to take up the River and Harbor bills, and spent the day in a little desultory talk about the power of Congress over Territories and in listening to a speech from Mr. Bell of Tenn. in defense of Lieut. Maury.

HOUSE, April 28.—Mr. Campbell of Ohio was asked by Mr. Ready of Tenn. to explain his recent statement in a speech at Hamilton, Ohio, that he might have had the South American vote for Speaker on certain conditions. Mr. C. thereupon explained that statement all away. The House proceeded to act on the bill remitting duties on Imports destroyed by Fire, and sustained by five majority Speaker Banks' decision that it was within the competency of the House to act on that bill without referring it to a Committee of the Whole. (This decision was last Thursday overruled by 11 majority.) The bill was then committed.

The Cunard steamship Persia, from Liverpool, is now in her tenth day out, and is therefore about due at this port. Her news will be to the 19th inst., one week later than previous advices.

The steamship Illinois, from Aspinwall, with two weeks later intelligence from California, is now fully due.

THE MEETING TO-NIGHT.

The first General Meeting for the year 1856 of our citizens who condemn the policy of Pierce and Douglas embodied in the Nebraska bill, and the repudiation of the Missouri Compact therein involved, and who earnestly desire the speedy Admission of Kansas under her Free-State Constitution, will take place at the Broadway Tabernacle *This Evening*. We need say no more to insure a crowded auditory, even though the weather should be unpropitious. The list of speakers includes the names of Messrs. FESSENDEN of Maine and HARLAN of Iowa, two of our most fearless and faithful U. S. Senators, with Mr. GALLOWAY of Ohio from the present House, Messrs. DAVID WILMOT (mover of the "Wilmot Proviso" in 1846-7,) and ABIJAH MANN, ex-Members; Lt. Gov. RAYMOND, Gen. NYE, Messrs. W. M. EVARTS and W. CURTIS NOYES of our own city. Beside these many eminent Republicans will be heard by letter; and it is not probable that another meeting so interesting and important in its character will be held in our city for months. Those who go early enough to secure seats will comfortably enjoy a feast of eloquence and patriotism rarely excelled.

PRESIDENTIAL.

It has seemed to us inexpedient and unwise to engage in a public discussion of what are termed the claims of this or that person to the Anti-Nebraska nomination for the Presidency, and we intend to maintain this position. When friends write to us to deprecate the nomination of A and commend that of B, we omit the reprehension but print the commendation. We are determined to hold a position from which we can enter upon the support of Gov. Seward, Judge McLean, Gov. Chase, Col. Fremont, or whoever else, being heartily in favor of and openly committed to the cause of Free Kansas, may be nominated by the Philadelphia Convention. Still, since others insist on discussing the principles on which a selection should be made, as well as the fitness of this or that nomination, we will also show forth our opinions on the main point.

I. According to our understanding of the matter, one main purpose in nominating a candidate is to elect him. There are many who will receive this declaration with amazement, as it conflicts with their prepossessions and calculations, as well as with what may be fairly termed "the usages of the party." This class regard the rule of the Sham Democracy as the natural and normal condition of this country, to be interrupted at long intervals by the triumph of their adversaries. They would have us nominate candidates for the excitement of a contest, and as a means of showing our confidence and pride in those candidates and our willingness to be cut to pieces under their lead. These men, if you are at all intimate with them, will tell you that they don't expect to succeed this Fall—that the Slave Democracy are bound to win—and that we have only to present our best men as candidates, give them the fullest support in our power, and go down with colors flying. This is what they consider fidelity to our principles and our leaders.

We take a somewhat different view of the matter. We believe it is a good deal more than possible to succeed, if wisdom guide the selection of our candidates and a spirit of conciliation and concession rule our councils. We know the contest before us must be an arduous one, and that its result is not now palpable. We know that there are voters enough in the country who condemn the policy which culminated in the passage of the Nebraska bill to elect a President if they can be made to see alike and act together. But these voters have hitherto belonged to diverse and hostile party organizations, and have acted and voted against each other. Some of them are Democrats who have a repugnance to voting for Whigs; others Whigs who have like repugnance to voting for a Democrat. Some have been "Americans;" others have been and are hostile to any party or movement which discriminates between Native and Adopted Citizens. Agreeing in their hostility to the repeal of the Missouri Restriction and to the attempts now making to enslave Kansas, they differ widely on other topics. In order to induce them to act and vote together, it seems to us desirable that the National candidates to be supported this Fall shall be, so far as they may, equally acceptable to all classes hostile to the policy of Pierce and Douglas, and their nomination a triumph of no one of them over another, or all others.

II. But some say, "If the People are for Free "Kansas, they will vote for the candidates nominated on that platform." This would be true if every one were intent on the Kansas issue, and were thinking of nothing else. But all know that the fact is otherwise. There are pretty good Anti-Nebraska men who would not vote for our ticket this Fall if it were made up of Know-Nothings; there are others who would not vote for it if the nominee for President were a Roman Catholic. We may regret this, censure it, try to amend it; but the fact is none the less a fact. If the Democratic party, which has received the votes of nineteen-twentieths of our Catholic citizens for half a century, were now to nominate a Romanist for President—say Chief Justice Taney or P. M. General Campbell—it would be badly beaten because of such nomination. All men do know that a Methodist running for President would receive votes that none but a Methodist running on the same issue could obtain. We knew at least one intelligent man, far enough from being a bigot or fanatic generally, who opposed John Quincy Adams because he was a Unitarian. A man's choice is often governed by a medley of incoherent considerations, not very clearly comprehended even by himself. Whoever has stood at the poll through two or three elections must be aware that no one issue absorbs the thoughts and controls the votes of the whole body of electors.

We have, then, to consider, in selecting our candidates, who can secure the entire Anti-Nebraska vote. Around what names can all the voters who earnestly desire that Kansas shall be Free be rallied? We want the votes of men who have been ranked as Americans, likewise of others who were born in Europe because they couldn't help it. We want a candidate around whom Whigs, Democrats, Abolitionists, and those who have taken no decided part in politics hitherto, may rally without embarrassment or mutual repugnance. Where is he?

III. In our view, the selection of candidates is an eminently practical business. We must not begin by imagining that the battle is won, and that we have only now to distribute and rightly apportion "the spoils of victory." We must choose men who will attract to our ranks voters who are not already with us, and not repel any who are. We have to consider that, of the 296 Electoral Votes, a full third will go against us any how, and that of all that remains we must carry three-fourths or be beaten. Let us take a look at the figures:

Anti-Nebraska. States.	Elec. Votes.	*Nebraska.* States.	Elec. Votes.
Maine	8	Maryland	8
New-Hampshire	5	Virginia	15
Massachusetts	13	North Carolina	10
Rhode Island	4	South Carolina	8
Connecticut	6	Georgia	10
Vermont	5	Alabama	9
New-York	35	Mississippi	7
Ohio	23	Florida	3
Michigan	6	Kentucky	12
Wisconsin	5	Tennessee	12
Iowa	4	Louisiana	6
		Arkansas	4
		Texas	4
Total	114	Total	108

Dubious.			
New-Jersey	7	Indiana	13
Pennsylvania	27	Illinois	11
Delaware	3	California	4
Missouri	9		
Total			74

—This seems to us as favorable an estimate as existing facts will warrant—far more so than an opponent could be expected to concede. We believe there is this day an anti-Douglas majority in each of the States we have placed in the Anti-Nebraska column, provided it can be concentrated and called out; but it will not bear division. We shall then need 35 electoral votes from the doubtful list—that is to say, we need the votes of Pennsylvania and Indiana (40), or Pennsylvania and Illinois (38), or those of New-Jersey, Indiana, Illinois and California (35), or those of Delaware, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri (36), to elect. If we cannot carry, with hardly an exception, the States set down in our first column, we are beaten of course. If we can carry them, we must select candidates who can carry 35 votes out of the doubtful list. We must nominate with reference to success in those States, and with a determination that, if possible, at least half their Electoral Votes shall be carried. No blind, vague confidence in the justice and strength of our cause, no guess that ends will shape themselves without the interposition of means, will answer the purpose. To be beaten now is probably to lose Kansas, dragging in its train New-Mexico, Utah, and the new State or States which will be formed west of the former and south of the latter. It is to throw the residue of decaying, dissolving Mexico into the folds of the slaveholding anaconda, to be absorbed and digested at leisure. It is to commit treason to our cause through a blind, irrational, idolatrous devotion to its leading champions. To such treason we refuse to be a party. Show us the two fit, deserving men who are heartily for Free Kansas who can probably secure one more Electoral Vote than any others, and those men are our candidates, though their names were never known to us till this hour.

THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT.

It has been said time and again, in ten thousand political speeches, and twice or three times as many newspaper articles, that we, the people of the United States, are trying a great political experiment, upon which the eyes of all the civilized world are fixed with the intensest interest, and in the success of which the welfare and even the hopes of the human race are bound up. The thing we have undertaken to show is, that the great mass of the community—those who labor with their muscles as well as those who labor with their brains—are able to comprehend their own welfare, and are, on the whole, the safest and best custodians of it. This is the modern democratic idea as opposed to the old notion and almost universal practice of regarding matters of politics and law-making, and especially the external relations of States, as altogether above the comprehension of men who have the daily livelihood of themselves and others to earn by daily labor, and who, therefore, even if we suppose them to possess the capacity to comprehend, have at all events no time to bestow upon the study of abstruse questions of legislation, political economy and national interest.

In all other countries except these United States, even those which have been distinguished as free communities, there has existed a class more or less numerous—but as compared to the great mass of the community always a small one—which has assumed to itself the sole management and control of political affairs. This form of government is called an aristocracy—a word that to our democratic ears has rather a bad sound, but a name originally given to itself by this select ruling class, and implying that it is made up of the best men in the community. Here in the United States, on the other hand, we have undertaken to establish a democratical system, and to place the control of our public interests in the hands of the great body of the people. This idea, however, has been derided in Europe, and indeed by a good many persons among ourselves, as utterly impracticable; and whenever, from time to time, we have been tempted to break out into exultations over the success of our experiment, we have been coolly told by these skeptics to wait a little while and see what we shall come to. And it must be confessed that at this moment the posture of our national affairs, by which alone Europe can judge us, is such as to give to those scoffers at democracy great grounds of exultation and triumph. Can it be possible that the masses of the United States are on the point of making a total and final surrender of the administration of their national government into the hands of a little select aristocracy, with views and interests, or supposed interests, totally opposed to their own? Should such an event happen, it may well be set down as the most disgraceful occurrence in all history, enough to make one despair of human nature and to disgust one with the very name of democracy.

Here in these United States we unfortunately have a little class of slaveholding farmers and planters who live not by their own labor or the exercise of their own wits applied to any productive process, but upon the involuntary labor of slaves under the guidance of some hireling overseer. That overseer, though white, is regarded by his insolent employer with almost as much contempt as the slaves themselves—a sentiment liberally dealt out by this entire class to all men, of whatever color, who earn their living by personal industry. Yet these are the men who are at this moment in full possession and complete cotrol of the entire Executive Administration of our National Government, and who are now boldly appealing to the working classes of the country, and especially to the working-men of the Northern States, to allow them to select a new President, and so to give continuance and permanence to this slaveholding control of our national affairs.

By way of excuse, and in explanation of the strange phenomena presented just now, in the strenuous exertion of the whole energy of our national Executive Government for the extension of Slavery and the increase of the political power of the slaveholders, it may be said that the Democracy of the country never consented to any such arrangement. It may be said that Pierce, Douglas, Cass, Cushing, and the rest actively concerned in this operation, have betrayed the trust reposed in them, and that in throwing into the hands of a little knot of slaveholders themselves as tools, and all the patronage and influence of the National Government as means with which to operate, they have acted for themselves alone, and not for any considerable party of the Democratic citizens of the country. But suppose the next Presidential election should re-elect Pierce, or should substitute for him some other member of the same clique, what is to be said then? After such a result can it be any longer denied that the Democracy of the country has made a formal recantation and abandonment of every Democratic principle? Let the laboring men of the North once consent, whether from a good-natured inclination to help a paralytic old gentleman in distress, or from any other motive, to take the slaveholding interest on their shoulders, and they will presently find themselves saddled with a master whom it is no longer possible for them to shake off.

Will the laboring men of the North—can the laboring men of the North be guilty of such a suicidal folly? With the organs of the slaveholding interest loudly proclaiming that manual labor is and ought to be a disqualification for political rights, and that personal servitude is the rightful and most beneficial condition of those who cultivate the soil, will the laboring men of the country assist to place the control of our national affairs in the hands of men who profess such principles? We cannot believe it. We trust the next six months will show that Democratic ideas are by no means yet extinct in America, and that, however it may be at the South, the laboring men of the North are altogether unwilling to assist in deciding the great American experiment in favor of despotism.

QUESTIONS UNANSWERED.

I. There are many who seem to regard it as very queer, funny, absurd, ridiculous, and hypocritical that the Republicans of the Free States should evince a deep interest in the Free-State party of Kansas—should repel and refute the calumnies to which they are constantly subjected by the Border Ruffians and their allies—and should endeavor to reënforce and sustain them by every means in our power. Our adversaries ridicule our efforts in behalf of Free Kansas as "*shrieking* for Freedom." We do not care to answer this slang. Let it pass for whatever it may be worth. Let those who can imagine us insincere do so, and treat us accordingly. When they have run to the end of this rope, we would just bring them up with the question: "Suppose we (as they say) are not earnestly striving to make Kansas a Free State, *who are?* From what quarter have you witnessed one earnest, hearty, frank, determined effort to make or keep Kansas Free except from those who are ridiculed as "shrieking" aforesaid?

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

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

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

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

FAILURES.

For many generations, the governments of most civilized countries have tried, with more or less energy and fidelity, to limit the evil effects of Intoxicating Liquors by licensing and regulating the sale of such Liquors. That experiment, we believe all will admit, has been crowned with a very limited and dubious success. Men have drank and quit drinking; communities have become dissipated and reformed; but no one will seriously contend that the Excise Laws from time to time existing in this country or in that have mainly caused either the dissipation or the reform.

During the last four or five years, a different course has in some localities been tried—that of entire and consistent Prohibition. Instead of licensing a certain (or uncertain) number of persons of "good moral character" to sell Intoxicating Liquors at certain hours, in certain places, under certain regulations, these new laws forbid selling *at all* except for other uses than that of a beverage. Instead of requiring "good moral character" as a qualification for dealing out Intoxicating Liquors, these laws presume that common sellers are of an opposite character, and deal with them accordingly. We leave others to judge which of these conflicting assumptions coheres oftener with the fact.

The License laws had one serious defect—they were never enforced. Unless the State licensed about every one who applied, and thus transformed the excise into a mere revenue act, those to whom licenses were refused, or who did not choose to pay the fee demanded, sold without license, evading or defying the law. In practice, therefore, the Excise amounted to but very little more than a tax on grogshops and a shadow of restraint on the riot and excess to which their votaries are addicted.

We regret to say that Prohibitory Laws appear in a majority of cases to have proved scarcely more successful. Through the laxity of executive officers and the extraordinary complicity of judges, the Rum Power has in a majority of instances been enabled to trample on and defy the laws enacted for its subversion. In some places, through indisposition to arouse the ire or brave the vengeance of the votaries of liquor; in others, through inattention; in others, through secresy and stealth, Liquor has defeated Law. If we may believe the reports which reach us from every side, the legal establishment of Prohibition affords but a transient check to Liquor-selling and drinking. At first, in localities where Public Opinion is decidedly opposed to tippling, or not thoroughly debauched by it, bars are closed and selling almost entirely suspended. The vigilance of Prohibitionists being thus relaxed, the grocer, the inn-keeper, perhaps the country merchant, brings in a dem'john at first, for the delectation of a choice circle of his customers; and this proves so popular, and is dealt out so quietly, without objection or scandal, that he is tempted to try again. But each day the circle of customers enlarges, as the glad tidings of the good creature's accessibility is whispered from the devotee who has tasted to another who would like to, until, emboldened by impunity, the dealer orders by barrels and puncheons, and all but the flimsiest pretext of concealment is gradually worn away.

Such, we are told, is the usual course, even in States whose higher Judiciary has not lent itself to the uses of the rumsellers. We believe it is to be taken with very considerable deductions. The townships in which the law is obeyed and the Liquor Traffic extirpated attract no observation; while those wherein law-breaking is the rule are very naturally objects of earnest regard. Yet it is undoubtedly true that violations of Laws of Prohibition are quite general in all the States which have such laws.

What then? Prohibitory Laws, still in their infancy, have not suppressed intemperate drinking. We admit it. No more have Excise Laws, now centuries old, suppressed that vice. Neither has gambling, nor lewdness, nor vice of any kind, been suppressed by the laws leveled against it. Shall we, then, abolish those laws, and give full impunity to vice? We do not here indicate a course, we simply inquire. Let us, at all events, base our action on a firm ground of principle. If it is right to license grogshops, why not gaming-houses? And if these, why not still more questionable resorts? The principle once established of letting men do for money, acts that would be culpable without such payment, let us see whither it will carry us. If it is a sound one, we should not fear to follow wherever it may lead. But let us pause and consider well before we return to that path. At present, we have rumselling enough in our State, but on no other authority than that of the Appeal Judges. The People have not licensed it. They are not responsible for it. Shall they hasten to assume such responsibility?

KANSAS—LANE—DOUGLAS.

Col. Lane of Kansas having left Washington for Indiana on Thursday or Friday morning last, Senator Douglas and his backers very naturally published an abusive attack upon him on Saturday, which we copied into THE TRIBUNE of yesterday. In this bulletin, Douglas most calumniously accuses Lane of "causing his intentions [to challenge Douglas] "to be made known to the world and published in "the newspapers," when it is certain that the newspaper correspondent who started that story of a challenge had no personal knowledge of nor intercourse with Lane at the time this foolish and mischievous report was put in circulation. And this is of a piece with the treatment to which Col. Lane has been subjected by Douglas and his compeers throughout.

The first ground of objection to the Kansas Memorial was an allegation that it had been got up in Washington, and had never been reported to and adopted by the Kansas Legislature at all. It was on this assumption that Mason, Butler & Co. denounced it in the first discussion. But this was thoroughly exploded by Col. Lane's petition and affidavits presenting and verifying the identical first draft of the document, in the handwriting of a member of that Legislature—the very paper actually read in both Houses. Now no course remained but to carp at the alterations which had been made in the process of revision—said alterations consisting solely in the omission of some paragraphs which were deemed superfluous and of questionable policy. But Col. Lane testifies that these alterations were made by authority of the Legislature itself—that the first draft was read to the Legislature when on the point of adjourning over to July, and was by it referred to a Committee for revision, and by that Committee, or under its directions, the amendments have been made. All this is clear, straightforward and uncontradicted. It is not pretended that one material allegation or sentence has been added to the Memorial, nor that the omissions render it at all more unacceptable to Mr. Douglas and his friends. On the contrary, their complaint is that it has been rendered harmless and unobjectionable in the process of revision. Douglas wants to make the Free-State movement in Kansas a rebellion, and he thinks he could do it by the help of Mr. Hutchinson's original draft; but the revised Memorial defies his sophistry and his venom.

"And the signatures," says Douglas: "I find no "signatures attached to the original draft here pre-"sented." Of course not, because that is a rough draft, and not the perfected document. Had the Legislature desired that paper presented to Congress unaltered, they would have signed that draft; but, desiring and intending to have it modified, they gave their signatures separately, to be attached, not to the original draft, but to the revised and perfected document, which Col. Lane has twice laid before the Senate. All this is natural, consequent, consistent; and only pettifoging malice could discover anything wrong in it. If undue liberties have been taken with the text of the Memorial, let the Legislature of Kansas so declare. As the agent of that Legislature, Col. Lane submits the Memorial; to them, he is responsible for his fidelity to his trust—not to Douglas and his fellow oppressors and defamers of Free Kansas. When the Legislature shall have fully ratified and commended the Memorial as presented by Col. Lane, by what dodge will Douglas & Co. next attempt to justify its rejection?

FROM WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, April 27, 1856.

Special Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

Every day's development and every hour's reflection and observation confirm the fact that Kansas is doomed to Slavery unless she is rescued by the votes of the Free States at the coming Presidential election. Her admission as a Free State under the Topeka Constitution will be determinedly opposed and prevented by the Senate. While the Border-Ruffian Legislature rules, backed in its gigantic usurpations by the Federal power, bayonets included, no predominance of Free-State residents is competent to resist their schemes of enslaving the Territory. We have already exposed the *modus operandi* by which the Free-State majority can be overborne, and we have but intimated the extreme measures that will be adopted to defeat the wishes of the majority of the people of the Territory, and to rivet Slavery upon it. The existing calm that pervades the Pro-Slavery ranks is the calmness of confidence that Kansas is held by the throat and cannot escape the clutch that is upon her. The utmost importance was attached to getting control of the Territorial Legislature, and hence the desperate measures by which it was carried. The utmost confidence in it as an agency to secure Kansas for Slavery is now felt. It is not believed that any preponderance of the Free-State sentiments can be sufficient to overweigh and thwart the action of this potential agency. Official authority is reckoned an overmatch for mere popular desire. Official authority in Kansas and official authority at Washington, coöperating to suppress and extinguish the popular sentiment, is reckoned to be too strong a combination to be defeated. The calculation is beyond doubt sound, considering that its exercise is intended to be unscrupulous.

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

THE BRITISH ENLISTMENT QUESTION.

WASHINGTON, April 27, 1856.

From Our Own Correspondent.

If the accounts from Mr. Dallas may be accepted as authoritative, American affairs are to be made the vital issue in Parliament between the Ministry and the Opposition. Although the Enlistment cor-