DAILY APPEAL.

MEMPHIS.

SATURDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 20, 1858.

Largest Circulation in the City.

☞ The APPEAL is regularly discontinued at the end of the time subscribed and paid for unless renewed in advance. This rule is adhered to without respect to persons. ☜

GOV. WISE'S LETTER.

Knowing the desire of most of our patrons to read whatever emanates from Gov. WISE, of Virginia, and as a part, however small, of the political history of the times, we transfer to our columns this morning, his letter addressed to the Anti-Lecompton meeting, recently held in Philadelphia. It is needless for us to say that we have found less to approve in this letter, and more to condemn, than we have in anything proceeding from Gov. WISE for many years past. In a merely abstract view of the question, he discusses, many of his positions are sound and logical, but the time has passed when abstractions can have any force with the people on this Kansas question. It is one now of a purely practical nature, demanding action, not words nor fine spun theories.

It should not be forgotten, moreover, that Gov. WISE never was a strong supporter of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. As early as 1854, when it required the exertions of all its friends to sustain it, he declared that "the objections to it were unanswerable, but never insuperable." In this view of the case, we agree with the Washington *Union*, that "as Gov. WISE was indifferent to the enactment of the measure, at a time of great effort and struggle to its friends, it has simply followed, as a matter of course, that now, in the decisive struggle for the consummation of the measure in its application to Kansas, he is found in conflict with the Democratic organization, esteeming his individual opinions superior to those of the great body of the party on a test measure. Considering his antecedents on this subject, it has very naturally come to pass that letters are now solicited with eagerness from him by opposition meetings in the Northern cities, and that assaults by him upon the policy of the party and Administration, in regard to this measure, are received with gusto by the coalition through all the length and breadth of the Northern States.

Whatever political relations, therefore, between Gov. WISE and the friends of the Administration may be impaired by present differences of sentiment on the Lecompton Constitution, it is not probable that any great affection or solicitude for the Kansas-Nebraska act itself has had to be combatted by Gov. WISE in throwing himself full length against the consummation of the measure in its application to Kansas, according to the policy resolved upon by its original and true friends—the National Democracy of the Union."

FROM WASHINGTON.

A dispatch from Washington, under date of the 14th inst., states that "the majority of the Senate Committee on Territories are preparing their report and a bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution. They are acting without reference to the question whether the Free-State or Pro-slavery party has the Legislature and State officers

In deference to Mr. DOUGLAS, who has serious illness in his family, the report will probably not be made before Thursday, in order to give him time to prepare his dissenting views.

Messrs. WADE and COLLAMER will unite in a third report.

It is clearly understood that in the event of a persistent attempt to first pass the Minnesota bill, a proposition will be made to unite with the Kansas measure, so that the success of one may depend upon the passage of the other. Such is the present programme.

A Democratic caucus was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives last night, JOHN COCHRANE, of New York presiding, and Mr. REAGAN, Secretary. Owing to the snow storm there was but a small attendance, but all sections of the country were represented, and good feeling generally prevailed. It was a gathering preliminary to a more perfect organization, with the view of shaping the business of legislation and acting understandingly in future.

A committee of five was directed to be appointed by the Chairman, to consult and advise as to the propriety of calling meetings whenever the occasion may require a definite plan of action on important public measures. The debate incidentally involved the Kansas question but the general sentiment expressed was that the peace and harmony of the Union and States depend upon the preservation of the nationality of the Democratic party.

The Senate caucus has also agreed on a plan of action relative to business.

The House Select Committee on Kansas affairs will hold its first meeting on Monday night.

The *Union* argues to show that there is no alternative for either the conservative national men of the North or the Representatives of the South but in a cordial co-operation with each other under a thoroughly organized National Democracy, based on the broad Principles of the Cincinnati Resolves, which renders it impossible that the peace of the country can be longer jeopardized by factious sectionalists, who have been long in conspiracy against it.

PERSONAL DIFFICULTY SETTLED.

It will be seen that by the annexed Legislative report that the personal difficulty between Senators WALKER and WHITTHORNE, which was referred to in yesterday's paper, has been honorably and satisfactorily adjusted:

TUESDAY, February 16.

Senate.—The bill to increase the capital of the Bank of Tennessee was made the special order for Tuesday next and sixty copies ordered printed.

Mr. Travis made a statement in relation to the difficulty which occurred yesterday in the Senate chamber between the Senator from Shelby, and the Senator from Maury, informing the Senate that the matter had been amicably and honorably adjusted, and that those Senators were ready to apologize for a breach of the rules and decorum of the Senate.

Messrs. Whitthorne and Walker made personal explanations regretting the occurrence alluded to, and apologizing for what had transpired.

House bill to secure the collection of taxes in certain cases.

House bill to provide for the voluntary enslavement of free persons of color.

House bill in relation to the killing of stocks upon railroads, all passed the third time.

The resolutions to amend the constitution so as to elect the Governor and other State officers but once in five years and to hold quadrennial sessions of the Legislature, were passed the third time.

Several House bills passed the second time.

Adjourned till 2 o'clock.

THE ADMISSION OF KANSAS.—Many Southern papers, hitherto ranked in opposition to the Democracy, and claiming to be, *par excellence*, the defenders of the Union as the paramount good, are beginning to look at the Kansas question in its proper light. Among them is the New Orleans *Bee*, (opposition) which speaks as follows in reference to the probable admission of Kansas:

"The contest will be close, and the issue is unquestionably doubtful. We have ceased to hope for a triumph on the ground of principle, but we may indulge a faint expectation that pledges of preferment and anticipations of reward will induce a goodly portion of Northern Democrats to stand by the President, and thus enable the Kansas constitution to pass Congress. Another argument, which must have its weight, is the position deliberately taken by many Southern States. If Congress advisedly rejects the claim of Kansas, simply because her constitution recognizes slavery—knowing that the people can at any time modify their organic law to suite themselves—the act will be regarded at the South as an evidence of the fixed purpose of the Northern majority to admit no more slave States. That would be Black Republicanism in all its hideousness, and much as we love the Union, we should prove false to consenting to live under a purely anti-slavery domination."

MISSISSIPPI INTELLIGENCE.

COMPLIMENTARY BALL TO GOV. MCRAE AND LADY.—A complimentary ball was given to Gov. McRae and lady, says the Quitman *Advertiser*, at the Commercial House in Enterprise, on the evening of the 27th ult. They were welcomed back to their old home by a few felicitous remarks from Dr. W. B. Dozier, on the part of the citizens of Enterprise, to which the Governor replied in a brief but feeling manner.

JUDGESHIP.—We understand it to be a "fixed fact," that the Hon. Phineas T. Scruggs is about moving to the city of Memphis, to practice the profession of law, and has a partnership with him W. K. Poston, Esq., of Memphis. Judge Scruggs, we understand, will positively throw up his commission, to take effect from and after August next. In that case, three courts preceding the next election will have to be held by an appointee of the Governor.—*Hernando Press.*

MURDER.—On Monday night, 8th inst., a negro man belonging to Thomas B. Coleman, Esq., struck a negro woman belonging to the same gentleman, on the head with the pole of an axe, breaking in the skull considerably. Drs. Dougherty and Campbell took out several pieces of skull bone, and three or four teaspoonsfull. In this condition the woman survived night last, when she died. He is in the county jail to await his trial for the murder and his victim.—*Panola Democrat, Feb. 12.*

Hon. R. A. WARREN, of Arkansas.

A Mississippian, now on a visit to Washington City, writes us under date

FEBRUARY 9, 1858.

Among others from the Southwest, whose acquaintance I have made since I came here, I must not forget to mention the Hon. R. A. Warren, of the Southern District of Arkansas, than whom a more frank, manly, and social public man does not exist in the Union. Originally from Tippah county, Mississippi, and which he represented in our Legislature before he moved to Arkansas, Colonel Warren is a perfect type of the frank and chivalric Southerner, without a single dash of that cold and calculating disposition which chills and benumbs social intercourse among our brethren of New England and the North.

Notwithstanding his high social qualities, Colonel Warren knows too well the paramount obligation which he owes to his constituents to neglect their interest in the pursuit of the gaieties or frivolities of social life; and here it is that he gives to official business in the Halls of Congress and before the Departments, his undivided and unremitting attention, in season and out of season. Industrious as well as thoroughly informed on the questions of the day, few men of his age possess more practical qualifications, as a legislator, and none can excel him in the gift of making friends for any measure calculated to promote the interest of his district or State, or advance the cause of political truth and justice. Deeply imbued with a knowledge of the principles of Democracy, as promulgated and expounded by disciples of the Jeffersonian school, and being a fluent and ready debater, he is a proper and reliable representative of a republican people, who, in electing such a man, not only subserve their own best interests, but reflect the highest credit upon themselves.

I am glad to see that his name is mentioned in some of the papers in Arkansas in connection with the Senatorship, as it conclusively proves that his talents, patriotism, and devotion to principles, are beginning to be appreciated by the people. I do not wish to take any part between himself and his competitors, but I assure you, if Colonel Warren should be honored with a seat among the conscript fathers of the Republic in the Senate house in this city, no citizen of Arkansas will have cause to blush for such a representative of the sovereignty of his State in that august body. He possesses every element necessary to command the respect of of his colleagues, and to vindicate the dignity of his State, should it be the pleasure of the people of Arkansas to elevate him to a seat in the National Senate.

R. D.

THE DRY GOODS TRADE.

The New York *Herald*, of the 18th inst., remarks as follows respecting the dry goods and cotton trade:

The dry goods trade the present week has exhibited but little if any more animation than that witnessed last week. There are some purchasers from the distant South and Southwest looking round and making selections to a moderate extent. The spring trade, it is now believed, will be inaugurated later than usual, and that it will not display much activity until about the first week in March. The business transacting at the present time is not over one-half of what it was at that period last year. The stock of foreign goods, including domestic prints, delaines and other goods, for fancy wear, have been more or less interfered with by the introduction of new styles and later fashions. Hence they move very slowly, and are likely with foreign fancy goods, to supply a considerable portion of the auction sales. Heavy domestic cotton goods continue to be held with more firmness. Since our last report raw cotton has advanced nearly one cent or $5, or about $4 75 bale. Should the anticipated shortness in the crop be realized we can see no reason to apprehend any serious falling off in prices. The receipts at the ports have somewhat increased, yet at last accounts the decrease was over 500,000 bales compared with the same period last year, while exports to Europe are still below what they were at this time last year. With cotton at such prices new productions from it must be sold at a figure above recent quotations to pay, which will lead to bring up the prices of similar goods left over from last year's supplies.

Within about five or six weeks raw cotton has advanced from 8@8½c. for Middling Uplands to 12½c.—a rise, considering the limited period of time in which it has occurred, probably without a precedent in the annals of the trade. It must be considered, however, that the decline last fall, during the panic, was almost as sudden, but at that time the supplies of the staff were nearly exhausted and very little of the new had been received, so that there was very little in the market for the decline to act upon. The planters having made money last year, were enabled to meet the decline by withholding their cotton from market until prices had rallied and a permanent advance been established. Though in the main a very unwise policy, in this instance it has worked remarkably well, and saved millions to the country which might otherwise have been lost. There was some more demand from the export trade for cotton piece goods, with the heaviest purchases for China. Brown sheetings and shirtings were more firmly held, and the inside figures of both were generally refused. We quote at 6@7½@8c. asked by some jobbers, at 6 and 8 months, or with a discount at 4 months. Light sheetings were at 7@7½c, and light shirtings at 5@5½c., and heavy at 7@7½c. Bleached goods were quiet, but previous rates fully maintained. Sales continued in good export demand at prices ranging from 8@8½c., and 9c. asked for bleached, 8½@8½c for brown, and 10½c. for blue. The stock was light. Osnaburgs were dull and prices unchanged. Ticnims were in fair demand, according to makes, at 9@11@13c., and York at 14c. Cotton duck was more firmly held. Printing cloths were in good supply and prices without change of moment.

Jobbers were offering fine assortments of prints, many showing new styles and patterns of much beauty. This display, however, has been rather preparatory for the spring trade and did not attract much of a call. We have no great activity in this line of goods to report. New styles of muslin de laines were selling at about 17@18c.; cloths with cotton warps were selling at about 85@$1 25,—for common to good qualities. Satinets were in limited demand, and prices unchanged. Kentucky jeans were selling at 10 to 15 per cent. below the current rates of last season. Good styles of tweeds have exhibited no change in prices. The importations of foreign goods continued light, and stocks being moderate the importers were doing an increased business, and generally at steadier prices. New styles of fashionable goods brought out by recent arrivals are sought with avidity, and sell at good prices. Fashion exercises great influence over the value of ladies' dress goods. A new style of plain dress goods, with or without broad perpendicular fancy colored stripes, have come much into use, and are rapidly superseding robes and flounce dresses. It is said that robes which sold at this period last year at $50, can now be had at about $25, and those sold for $25, can now be had for about half the money. Those with the largest stock of this sort of goods have no alternative left but to force them off at low prices or forward them to our counter settlements to be sold in advance of and before the new fashions overtake them. Staple foreign goods are in fair demand, and prices rather firmer. The lower rates of duty, with remodeled and improved tariffs, and more stocks, with an easier money market, are tending to give more strength and stability to foreign goods generally, and especially to those of seasonable styles and desirable qualities, and the margin of anticipated loss in prices has become much reduced.

New York Money Market.

The *Evening Post*, of Saturday, says:

"The march of improvement continues steadily on; the merchant and banker tread the evening floor with a more buoyant step, and trade feels the impelling power of returning confidence. This elasticity has been particularly exhibited in the produce markets; cotton, hides, provisions, and groceries, have attracted more or less attention from the consumer. Cotton has met with a change which was scarcely expected by the most sanguine, and has the appearance of being maintained. In short, there is evidently a stronger inclination among jobbers to stock themselves, prompted by a more general demand from parties who satisfy the wants of the country.

"The dry goods market has, during the week, been characterized by a more lively feeling, quite a number of Southern merchants having made their appearance. A few weeks since the rooms of the importer and jobber were as quiet as Sunday; now they present an encouraging contrast, although it is obvious that the business is concentrated in fewer hands, and more competition to sell to everybody who comes along.

"Outside of New York, however, the condition of things is far less cheering, the manufacturing districts being still the scene of inactivity. This bears heavily upon the class who depend upon the manufacturer for the means of subsistence. This, however, is less felt than a few weeks ago; in fact, every week brings with it fresh evidences that manufacturing will have to take place at 5 per cent. to call in where the gulf is the greatest.

"In the dearth of good mercantile bills great willingness has been evinced to make extensive loans upon stocks, hence the excitement that has risen at the Stock Exchange. The natural consequence of a resumption by banks or firms now and then, tend to strengthen the favorable impressions of the public mind. The fresh cases of embarrassment are lessening, the borrower meeting with new methods of obtaining money."

THE GUIST OF THE CONTROVERSY.—We have to say to our many thousands of readers in the South and Southwest, that it is perfectly well understood by their Representatives in both Houses of Congress, that the real question in issue on the Lecompton Constitution is, whether or not neither slave-holding State shall or shall not be admitted under any circumstances whatever, into the Union. Such is the cause of quarrel—if we may be allowed to call things by their proper names—between the Administration and the main body of the Democracy on the one side, and the Republicans and their nominal Democratic allies who are seeking to outbid them for the favor of the anti-slavery vote in 1860.—*Washington Star.*

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

WASHINGTON, February 9.—*Senate*—Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, moved to postpone the Army bill, in order to take up his Kansas resolution, calling for the returns of the elections, &c.

Messrs. Mason and Green opposed it, and the motion was lost, by yeas 23, nays 31, as follows:

Yeas—Bell, Tennessee; Broderic, California; Cameron, Pennsylvania; Chandler, Michigan; Collamer, Vermont; Dixon, Connecticut; Doolittle, Wisconsin; Douglas, Illinois; Durkee, Wisconsin; Fessenden, Maine; Foot, Vermont; Foster, Connecticut; Hale, New Hampshire; Hamlin, Maine; Harlan, Iowa; King, New York; Seward, New York; Simmons, Rhode Island; Stuart, Michigan; Sumner, Massachusetts; Trumbull, Illinois; Wade, Ohio; Wilson, Massachusetts—23.

Nays—Allen, Rhode Island; Benjamin, Louisiana; Biggs, North Carolina; Bigler, Pennsylvania; Bright, Indiana; Brown, Mississippi; Clay, Alabama; Crittenden, Kentucky; Davis, Mississippi; Evans, South Carolina; Fitzpatrick, Alabama; Fitch, Indiana; Green, Missouri; Gwin, California; Hammond, South Carolina; Henderson, Texas; Houston, Texas; Hunter, Virginia; Jones, Iowa; Johnson, Tennessee; Kennedy, Maryland; Mallory, Florida; Mason, Virginia; Pearce, Maryland; Polk, Missouri; Pugh, Ohio; Sebastian, Arkansas; Slidell, Louisiana; Toombs, Georgia; Yulee, Florida. Total—31.

ABSENT—Bates, Delaware; Bayard, Delaware; Clark, New Hampshire; Johnson, Arkansas; Reid, North Carolina; Thompson, New Jersey; Wright, New Jersey.

Mr. Pugh, (Adm.) of Ohio, advocated Mr. Douglas's motion to postpone the Army bill, but voted against the postponement after making an explanation.

Mr. Mason, (Adm.) of Virginia, said that when Mr. Douglas' resolution was called up, if it was not previously tabled, it would lead to a very long debate, and, if adopted, its effect would be to transfer to the halls of Congress the excitement now existing in Kansas. He would, therefore, when it comes up, move to lay it on the table as a test question, on the ground that it is not a proper subject for the consideration of the Senate.

Mr. Pugh stated, in explanation of his vote on Mr. Douglas' motion, that although he was in favor of the Kansas resolution, he should vote against the postponement of the Army bill by any new discoveries.

Further by the Niagara.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

HALIFAX, February 14.—Liverpool letters per the *Niagara* state that the cotton market was firm and buoyant at full a farthing advance since the sailing of the *Arabia*, but unchanged since the *Indian*. Speculators and spinners were purchasing freely; fair Orleans 7¼; middling 7. Stock of American reduced below 200,000 bales. Manchester letters report more inquiry for goods and yarns, in part for India, but the advance obtained was considerably below the enhanced value of the raw material. Havre letters announce more activity in cotton and trade generally, with a slight improvement in nearly all staple articles.

London letters report that money was offering in the discount market at two and a half to three per cent., but general stagnation in financial matters was everywhere prevalent. The reduction by the bank to four per cent. had no special effect on the funds, as the movement had been anticipated, nor had it led to any very perceptible increase in the demand for accommodation. The total stock of bullion in the bank exceeded fifteen millions sterling. Consols improved ¼ per cent. from the lowest rates of Tuesday, closing at 95¼. American stocks firm; some descriptions have advanced.

DEATH OF AN INDIAN CHIEF IN KANSAS. From the *Quindaro Chindowes* we learn that the erysipelas, in an epidemic form, is prevailing among the Wyandott Indians. Quite a number of cases have proved fatal. George I. Clark, chief of the Wyandotts, died last week.

MARRIED, &c.—A man named Griffin, confined in jail at Salem, Mass., for store-breaking, was on Tuesday married at the jail. On Wednesday he was tried, convicted and sentenced to the house of correction for three years.

A POPE'S BULL.—The Archbishop of Baltimore has received bulls, naming Dr. Lynch, Bishop of Charleston; and Dr. Verot, Bishop *in partibus*, and Vicar Apostolic of Florida. Dr. M'Farland, previously named Vicar Apostolic of Florida, has been named Bishop of Hartford, Connecticut.

NEBRASKA.—It appears, according to the latest accounts, that both branches of the Legislature of Nebraska adjourned on the 16th. The majority of Florence passed a number of laws, but none of their acts were recognized by the Governor, and will not be by the judiciary. Among others they passed a law authorizing the Nebraska Legislature to suspend payment for six months in three years.

FISH BREEDING.—A German gentleman, named Muller, has put down about five millions of eggs of the lake trout obtained from Lakes Ontario and Michigan, in streams leading into Lake Saltonstall, Conn. He has also put down about a million of the eggs of the white fish in the same lake. It is expected that in two or three years the fish will be of marketable size.

THE MORMONS.—MRS. Margaret Mogo, who left Salt Lake City October 28, and reached Col. Alexander's camp, November 1, says: "In my opinion, the proportion of Mormons who would be glad of an opportunity to escape from the authority of the church, and who are privately talking of it, is much greater than Brigham Young has adopted towards the United States Government, is about one-quarter of the men, and certainly one-half of the women."

CARROT PANTALOONS.—This is the name of a new style now in vogue at Washington and elsewhere, we suppose. The *States* says:

Each side of these new-fashioned nether garments is modeled after a carrot, fitting tightly at the ankles, and becoming bulbous as it expands towards the waist. They are very seen in perfection when displayed by ladies who have adopted a pair of them, followed by a few of the "dem-med foine, ah!" exquisites who promenade the sunny side of the avenue.

THE DEEPEST WELL IN THE WORLD.—We published a statement made by the Louisville *Courier*, a few days ago that the deepest well in the world was the Artesian well of Messrs. Dupont in that city—1900 feet in depth. We beg leave to inform the *Courier* that the Artesian well of Belcher & Bros., in this city, is 2200 feet deep, being 300 feet deeper than that of Messrs. Dupont. It will be carried to a still greater depth, until such water as can be used for refining purposes in the Messrs. Belcher & Bros.' sugar refinery, shall have been reached.—*St. Louis Democrat.*

"DON'T STRIKE SENATOR WILSON."—A Boston paper, noticing some irritating remarks of Senator Wilson, of Mass., in the United States Senate, in regard to the slavery question, implores Southern Congressmen not for all the world to strike that gentleman, as it will certainly insure his re-election. Should they not strike him, or inflict any other indignity, the same journal looks upon his re-election as hopeless. Sectorial qualifications in Massachusetts must be at a very low ebb.

HARD ON THE FRATERNITY.—During the discussion in the Virginia Senate of the proposition to purchase Mr. Barbee's statue of the "Young Republican," Mr Stuart is pronouncing a eulogy on the artist, remarked that he quitted the profession of law to pursue that of art. Another Senator, Dr. McKenney, of Norfolk, intimated that that change was natural enough, since a law as well as sculpture is an *art-ful* profession, and both are prosecuted by chisseling.

PUTNAM'S SWORD.—Mr. Lemuel Putnam Grosvenor, who died at his residence in Pomfret on the 19th ult., has bequeathed to the Connecticut Historical Society the sword that was owned and used by General Israel Putnam in the Revolution. This interesting relic had been retained by Mr. Grosvenor as an heirloom in his family, and now, at his decease, finds appropriate deposit among the other mementoes of the old hero. Mr. Grosvenor (says the Hartford *Press*) was the eldest son of General Lemuel Grosvenor, of Pomfret, and grandson of General Putnam. He was for many years a resident of Boston, and engaged in mercantile pursuits. The latter years of his life have been spent in the home of his nativity in the pleasant avocations of his farm and garden.

CAMEL TRANSPORTATION.—Parties who are preparing to import a large number of camels, declare themselves ready to submit proposals for transporting the army supplies to Utah via Texas by camel trains, twenty-five per cent. less than the cost of transportation in any other way. A gentleman of some distinction in Texas is making arrangements to establish an extensive camel park on the line between Corpus Christi and El Paso, to which point—and to Arizona when it shall be organized—it is also proposed to open weekly lines for mail, army, and general transportation. General Davis and the War department have made the country a valuable present in the introduction of this usefull and hardy "ship of the prairies."

The general domicilication of this animal on the great dry plains of the West, will give a new and unthought of value to that extensive region; for it is peculiarly adapted to camel-raising, and this business, as we have before predicted, will soon become a marked feature in Western enterprise.

THE WORLD CARRIED BY A COUP DE MAIN—A GIGANTIC BUSINESS PLAN—In all our newspaper experience we have never known any invention or discovery to completely enchain public attention, and enlist universal confidence, as HOLLOWAY'S world-sanctioned remedies. All nations seem to have received and adapted them. The journals of the world, even the leading medical publications there, lent from the first their powerful aid to the inventor. Brother Jonathan followed in the wake of John Bull, and made such enormous drafts upon Professor Holloway's Central Establishment in London, that he found it necessary to come over, and set up a new manufactory in the commercial capital of America. With this main depot for the new world, he has connected more than thrity thousand dependent agencies, in the various States and Territories of the Union. And this is but a fraction of his gigantic distributive system. He counts his agents by hundreds of thousands, and the mails groan under the weight of his correspondence. He pays the revenue of a petty prince in postages and freight, and we have yet to see the man who can point out a paper, in which Hollo way's name has not been mentioned. All this vast system of production, disbursement, dissemination, and publicity is under his own immediate management, and he governs it as easily as a telegraphic operator controls the fairy tongue of the lightning. Truly he is a man in whose mental organization the highest and rarest qualities seem to have commingled. He has done more for suffering humanity in twenty years, than medical science had previously accomplished in twenty centuries.—*Boston Journal.*

LETTER FROM GOV. WISE.

RICHMOND, VA., February 6, 1858.

GENTLEMEN: In reply to your telegraph, received this morning, I have said that I cannot attend the mass meeting of the Democracy of Philadelphia, proposed to be held on Monday evening next. And I have hardly time to respond to your letter, since received, and the request to present my views on the question of the admission of Kansas, as a State of this Union, under the Lecompton constitution, as presented to Congress by the President of the United States. For the last seventeen years I have been advocating the nomination of James Buchanan for the Presidency; for more than twenty years I have been his warm, personal friend; and I am as responsible, perhaps, as any other man in the United States for his election, and as deeply anxious as any other person that his administration shall be successful, and, above all, be worthy of confidence and respect. Our personal relations are as nothing compared to the importance of supporting his administration on questions of mere expediency, and where it is based in its action on moral and legal right. But personal and administrative relations combined are as nothing, on the other hand, compared with great fundamental, moral, and political principles involved in the issues now presented to the country in the question of admitting Kansas under the constitution now presented as *the act and deed of her people*, and as an instrument *republican in form*.

These are the two issues now pending before Congress:

1. Is the Lecompton constitution the act and deed of the people of Kansas?

2. Is it republican in form?

These are the only two essential issues to be tried. And with a view to a full, fair and impartial verdict of the country upon these issues to the law of the case, I have carefully, patiently and repeatedly read the President's message of the 2d inst., in which he recommends the speedy approval by Congress of the Lecompton constitution, and the reception of Kansas under it, as a State into the Union. I regret to say that the earnest, honest, convictions of my mind constrain me to differ from the President of my choice, and to declare I cannot endorse the Lecompton constitution as the act and deed of the sovereign people whose act and deed it professes to be, and that I protest against the mode in which it was pretended to be submitted to the people, as anti-republican and oppressive, and offensive to the self-respect and moral sense of a free people.

These convictions of mine have been deliberately formed, and I mean calmly to maintain them, reasoning with friends, and not backing from foes, though I stand alone against a host. I propose a rapid review of the message of the President; but before doing so, it is proper to recur to antecedent facts which settled certain points of principle which are now the test of truth and argument in the case.

Prior to the act to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, the course of government had been to regulate by Congress the mode and manner of application by new States for admission into the Union. And the Missouri Compromise had existed from 1819-'20, recognizing intervention by Congress in a way deemed unconstitutional and highly obnoxious to the slaveholding States. That act made a revolution in territorial policy which is striking in three particulars:

1. It repealed the Missouri Compromise, and established the principle of non-*intervention* by Congress with *slavery* in the States and Territories.

2. It declared for the people of Territories popular sovereignty and self-government, by "leaving them perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

3. It repealed the territorial laws of Louisiana, previously existing to 1820, protecting and establishing slavery.

Thus, if anything new, if anything valuable, was established by this act, it was nonintervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories; and, above all, the "perfect" freedom of the people of those Territories to *form* and *regulate*, not one, but all *their domestic institutions* in their own way, subject only to the supreme law of the Union. They were to be trammelled by no views of expediency of the Federal Government or any of its departments; but the people for themselves were to form and regulate their own affairs in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. Popular sovereignty and the right of self-government in the people of Kansas, then, is not an open question now. It was closed by the positive enactment of this act, declaratory of their rights. True, the people were, of course, to exercise this sovereignty of self-government in a practical and usual mode. They were not left to primary assemblies, to mobs, to aggregate meetings. The American mode of self-government is by conventional, representative, or municipal bodies. But all these bodies are but agents, servants, and representative. When they "form and regulate," they still form and regulate for the people, and not for themselves. Their acts, at last, are but the acts of the people, and their deeds but the deeds of the people. When, therefore, a convention send a constitution to Congress to be approved, and it goes up not as *their* act and deed, but as the act and deed of the people done and performed by them as their agents; the question, then, is always—not whether the act and deed is the act and deed of a convention, but is it the act and deed of the people? and this, no matter whether the agent proposing it proceeds from the convention proclaiming, or from the ballot-box of the people voting it. By the very Kansas act itself, it is obliged to be the act and deed of the people—theirs, freely and unmodified by any intermediate agency or obstruction from them directly, or through their representatives.

And, for these reasons, I had no difficulty in determining that the act of 1854, the Kansas and Nebraska act, of Congress, was a fraud, if it created no right not pre-existing—for popular sovereignty is self-existing—but declared and admitted and recognized in the people the right of self-government, to form and regulate all their domestic institutions in their own way, consistent with paramount law.

Under this law they were formed into an organized Territory; and under territorial law they formed a convention to make a constitution of State Government, with a view to admission into the Union. All this was legitimate; and, as to how the election of members to the convention should be held, and how contested elections were to be determined—all matters of this sort were left to themselves, without the right of interference from any quarter. I avoid inquiring into the fraudulent which may have been perpetrated, on both sides, in this election to constitute a convention.

But that body, however legitimate, or however fairly or unfairly constituted, was not empowered to make a constitution and to proclaim it, without submitting it to the people before it was submitted to Congress as the act and deed of the people of Kansas. And herein is the first point of difference with the President. He says that if the convention was not prohibited from proclaiming it without submission to the people, they had authority to proclaim it. I say that it is a settled Democratic principle in American institutions "*that the powers not delegated to the people are reserved to them.*" But that point of difference does not arise in this case; for, as I will show presently, whatever may be the conventional power to proclaim, it did not pretend to exercise it or to claim it, but, as a representative body and not a primary, submitted the work of their agency, the constitution, to their principals, the people.

In my letter dated the 19th of November, addressed to the editors of the *Richmond Enquirer*, I took the ground that there was no authority delegated by the people to the convention to proclaim a constitution without submitting it to the people for their ratification or rejection by them; "yet," said that, "if upon precedent, the convention of Kansas adopted a republican form of State government, and reported it to Congress, *without submitting it to the people*," I agreed in accepting it, and in receiving Kansas as a State, "slave or free, into the Union." This letter was written on the 19th of November, 1857, and on the 21th of the same month, five days afterwards, I saw for the first time, published in the *Richmond Enquirer*, the schedule of the Lecompton constitution.

The publication of this document presented the subject under a new phase, adverted to by the President in his message of December, 1857. Hitherto, the question was thought to be still to be ascertained, and certainly it could not be clearly said what were the President's conclusions on the affairs of that Territory. His argument fairly admitted and claimed for the people of that Territory the work of the convention, and his conclusion seemed to be reserved. His counsel was not "dark," or "double," or dubious; but he was uncommitted to any practical conclusion by his December message, and I supposed that the friends of the administration would be left free to take ground according to their conscientious convictions, on a full development of the whole subject.

More than a month had elapsed since the publication of the schedule. I had full time to understand the provisions of this submission to the people, and was prepared to take the grounds occupied in my letter to the Tammany Society, dated the 30th December last.

That letter was deliberately written, was kept in my possession for days, was rewritten, and put forth with a firm purpose to serve the administration and the country. I saw a formidable opposition, thoroughly organized, in the Democratic ranks, of those opposed to Mr. Buchanan's nomination, bent on driving from his support every Northern Democrat on the Kansas question, and every Southern Democrat on the filibustering Punta Arenas question. I saw a coalition of sectionalists are bent on rushing the South, slavery, Democracy, and the Union, on the very bosses of the buckler of popular sovereignty and upon the moral sense of the whole country, and losing the moral prestige of a minority of the Union who are demanding justice and equality, by denying justice and equality to a majority against a minority of people in Kansas. I felt that I might in expose a timely plow to save the administration from the dilemma of holding its Northern friends to the hard necessity of denying popular sovereignty and of withholding justice and equality from the people at the polls, in a Territory where self-government and perfect freedom of election were guaranteed by the very act organizing it. No Northern man could strike that blow with effect, and I felt the moral obligation to strike it for "justice, even to my own hurt." I saw what would be the effect upon me, personally, of my conscientious zeal and abuse would follow, and many of my best friends would condemn the apparent rashness of the act. In all this I have not been disappointed. But now that the thunders have rolled and lightnings have flashed, and I see the full effect, even beyond my anticipations—the effect of the special message of the President—his authority wielded against the position which I devotedly assumed for his defense—I calmly survey the ruin of my hopes, and, instead of retreating, advance on the position I have assumed. In November I said that if the convention had proclaimed the Lecompton constitution without submitting it at all to the people, I would accept it as a legitimate and *de facto* instrument. But now that it has been submitted in the manner and form of the eleventh and fourteenth sections of its schedule, I repeat the position of my Tammany letter, and would adopt it only subject to a fair and legal vote of the people of Kansas, to be prescribed by their Territorial Legislature—not by Congress.

In reviewing the message I pass over all that is said respecting the rebellion and usurpation of the Topekaites. Their course has been violent and unlawful in the extreme. I claim on the other hand, that their opponents in Kansas have acted under lawful authority; that they have proceeded under the act of Congress and of territorial organization, and that up to the point of the schedule of submission of the Lecompton constitution to the people, their acts were *de jure* and *de facto* rightful in the legitimate sense. But what has that to do, legally or logically, with the issue. Is the Lecompton constitution the act and deed of the people? Is its schedule republican?

If insurrection and rebellion were arraying themselves against law and order in a Territory, all I can say is that they ought to have been arrested and punished long ago by the Federal Executive of the United States. When the whisky insurrection broke out in Pennsylvania, would it have authorized a lawful convention in that State to have submitted a constitution to the people in such a schedule as allowed men to vote *for* it, but not *against* it; as allowed one man to vote down one thousand men, all having equal rights as pretended to submit one question alone, and yet submitted it in such a way, that in order to vote for, or against that the people were obliged to vote *for and not against* something else which might be obnoxious or odious to them; as insulted and oppressed them with a *test oath*, the most odious instrument of tyranny, to support a constitution, if adopted, *before it was adopted*, and then, after being forced to gulp the oath in order to vote at all, to have the vote not counted, because it was against and not for what he was sworn to support, if adopted against his will? No. Gen. Washington put down the insurrection, and he would have made it no excuse for fraud, injustice, inequality, or oppression on the part of others who were acting under the color of lawful authority. So the Topekites ought to have been made to submit to lawful authority; but no one can contend that they forfeited their elective franchise or their freedom of choice to disapprove or approve, to ratify or reject, an organic law when submitted to them. But were Topekites alone opposed to the Lecompton constitution? No. Some pro-slavery men were opposed to it, and this schedule deprived them of their sovereign rights as well as the Topekites. Law-abiding citizens, as well as rebels, were compelled to vote for and not against this constitution, or not to vote at all. The wrong of the Topekites will not justify the wrong of the Lecompton convention, nor cure the defects of the Lecompton schedule. What is that schedule?

Its 11th section reads:

"Before this constitution shall be sent to Congress for admission into the Union as a State it shall be submitted to all the white male inhabitants of this Territory, for approval or disapproval, as follows: The President of this convention shall, by proclamation, declare that on the 21st day of December, 1857, at the different election precincts now established by law, or which may be established as herein provided, in the Territory of Kansas, an election shall be held, over which shall preside three judges, or a majority of three, to be appointed as follows: The President of this convention shall appoint three commissioners in each county in the Territory, whose duty it shall be to appoint three judges of election in the several precincts of their respective counties at which election the constitution framed by this convention shall be submitted to all the white male inhabitants of the Territory of Kansas in the said Territory upon that day, and over the age of twenty-one years, for ratification or rejection, in the following manner and form," &c.

Now, it must surely be admitted that is a plain submission of the whole constitution framed by the convention. The submission of the whole constitution is repeated twice in this clause, in a way not to be mistaken. And yet is it not strange that Mr. Buchanan should have made the mistake of saying in his message that the whole of the Lecompton constitution was not, and that a part, the slavery clause alone, was submitted to the people? Will it be said in reply that the whole was submitted only *sub modo*, after a specified manner and form? Well, let us look at the manner and form; the manner and form is:

"The voting shall be by ballot. The judges of said election shall cause to be kept two poll books by two clerks by them appointed. The ballots cast at said election shall be endorsed 'constitution with slavery' and 'constitution with no slavery.'" &c. There is no other form touching this point but this; and is it not plain still that the whole constitution was submitted by the form as well as by the preceding clause embodying the principle of entire submission? The whole was submitted in *form* as well as in principle. But the *form* of submission was made to contradict the principle of submission. The principle was submission of the whole for "approval or disapproval," for "ratification or rejection," but the form was for "approval" and "ratification" "alone, and there was no *form* for "disapproval" or "rejection."

Is it answered that this was in substance but a submission of a part, for there was a form approving or disapproving, ratifying or rejecting slavery? I beg pardon, and won't repeat that it was an odious discrimination to me to allow *slavery* alone to be disapproved and rejected, and nothing else. But, passing by, is it not plain, I reply, that no one was allowed to vote for or against slavery, a part, unless he would also vote *for* the constitution, the whole of it without exception? Any one might vote to reject or to adopt slavery, provided he would vote to adopt the constitution, and do one was allowed to vote for or against slavery who did not vote for the whole constitution. Is it not plain, then, that the object was not to submit a party only, but to force the adoption of the whole?

The whole was not fairly submitted. One thousand voters went to the polls; nine hundred and ninety-nine might desire to vote against the constitution, and one for it; the one would be counted, and the nine hundred and ninety-nine would not be counted.

The part as to slavery, which was submitted for alternate voting, for and against, was not fairly submitted. One thousand pro-slavery men might go to the polls, desiring to vote for slavery, but against the const