

# THE KANSAS OUTRAGE.

## The Government Organ Apologizing for the Invasion from Missouri.

### THE KANSAS QUESTION.

Much of the excitement manifested in connection with the late occurrences in Kansas may be fairly attributed to the fact that sufficient attention has not been given to the provocation under which the Missourians acted, and to the peculiar manner in which they are interested in the social and political condition of the Territory. When viewed in its true light, with all the allowances properly to be made for the course adopted by the Missourians, the question involved is full of danger to the peace of the country, and, therefore, to be noticed safely or profitably, must be correctly understood. In the first place, it should be borne in mind that Missouri is a Slaveholding State, and hence that her citizens have a deep stake in all that concerns the institution of Slavery. On two sides she is already bordered by free States, and in those, as in most of the other Free States, the spirit of Abolitionism has recently seemed to be predominant. Thus situated, it is not surprising that the people of Missouri should feel keenly sensitive as to the erection of another Free State on another one of her borders—thereby drawing around her on three sides a cordon of Free States, filled with hostility to her institutions, and controlled by men who avow their purpose to adopt every means to effect the ultimate abolition of Slavery. Bordered on two sides already with open enemies to their institutions, it was natural that Missourians should look with absorbing interest to the future political condition of Kansas, which bordered her on a third side.

In the next place, it is important to observe that Congress had adopted the principle of popular sovereignty as the rule by which the future political condition of Kansas was to be determined. The legitimate meaning of that rule was, that the inhabitants of the Territory, attracted to it as their future homes, in the voluntary and ordinary pursuit of their happiness, and for the permanent prosecution of their industrial occupations, should determine whether Slavery should or should not exist in the Territory. Next to the inhabitants of Kansas themselves, the people of Missouri had the deepest interest in the settlement of this question. To them it was only second in importance to the question whether Slavery should continue to exist in their own State. They felt that if they should be surrounded on three sides with Anti-Slavery States, it would be almost tantamount to the abolition of Slavery in their own State. Yet the principle of the Kansas bill was so fair that its adoption was cheerfully acquiesced in by her people.

In the third place, it cannot be too carefully remembered that the Abolitionists of the Free States at no time acquiesced in the principle of popular sovereignty on which Kansas was to be organized. When this principle was first adopted in the Compromise measures of 1850, the Abolitionists arrayed themselves against it, and after its adoption persistently repudiated it as a rule obligatory on them. When the bill to organize Nebraska and Kansas was first introduced it contained no clause repealing, in express terms, the Missouri restriction; but it contained the principle of popular sovereignty, as adopted in the Compromise of 1850. So soon as it was introduced, the Abolition leaders in Congress appealed to the Anti-Slavery men everywhere to resist its passage; they opposed it as fiercely and as fanatically before the clause for the repeal of the Missouri restriction was inserted as afterwards, showing indisputably, that it was the principle of popular sovereignty which provoked their hostility then, as it did when the Compromise of 1850 was passed. This settled and unconquerable hostility of the Abolitionists to the principle of the Kansas bill was known to the Missourians, and hence they had every reason to expect that they would spare no effort to defeat its practical application in the organization of the Territory. The Kansas bill had scarcely become a law before this spirit of hostility to its provisions was manifested in a manner that could not fail to inflame the popular mind of Missouri. In Massachusetts, situated more than a thousand miles from Kansas, an act of incorporation was obtained for the organization of the "Emigrant Aid Company," the avowed object of which was to operate upon and control the future political condition of Kansas. The objects of this association are no longer involved in uncertainty. One of the missionaries of the Company, writing to the New-York Tribune, on the 8th of May, throws the responsibility of the failure of the abolition scheme on the Massachusetts Aid Company, saying: "This institution, whose really grand conception fearfully menaced the very existence of slavery, soon became, through its gross mismanagement, a real godsend to the nascent conspiracy. From the moment that its first sonorous challenge rung through the nation, Atchison felt that he had gained a point whereon to rest his lever. That defiance to Slavery, so unwisely hurled, was to the South a call to arms, and Missouri must be, from her position, the first to respond. Had the challenge been boldly and ably followed up, the legions of darkness might at once have been overpowered and put to flight." This writer, who is endorsed by the Tribune, proceeds to say: "The first step taken (by the Missourians) was to circulate throughout Missouri the programme of the Emigrant Aid Company, and thus prepare the ignorant and jealous masses for what was to follow." Here, then, is the origin of the Kansas difficulty fully and authoritatively confirmed. Massachusetts Abolitionists combined, with their money and their influence, to defeat the honest purpose of the Kansas law, and "by their grand conception fearfully menaced the very existence of Slavery" in Missouri. The citizens of Missouri saw the danger, and set to work to arouse the people to a sense of their danger by circulating throughout the State the programme of the Massachusetts Aid Society. The result is before the country. This writer whines over the discomfiture of the Abolitionists, and rebukes them for the failure of their scheme, whilst he seeks to cast odium on the Missourians for resorting to measures for defence.

Having failed to defeat the Kansas bill in Congress, the Abolitionists resolved to defeat its principle, and, by the aid of incorporated wealth, to locate on the western border of Missouri a community of Abolitionists who would forever sympathize in their fanatical sentiments with the Abolitionists of Massachusetts. It was a bold and daring scheme, by the legislation, the money, and the men of Massachusetts, to defeat an act of Congress which secured to the bona fide and voluntary settlers in Kansas the right to choose and establish their own institutions. If the Abolitionists of Massachusetts had organized an armed expedition to move into Kansas for the avowed purpose of making it a Free Soil State, they would not have been guilty of a more palpable violation of the true intent and spirit of the law than they actually were in their effort, by the use of incorporated wealth, to import into the Territory such abolitionists as would dedicate Kansas to perpetual Free-soilism. It was this open attempt to plant a colony of Massachusetts Abolitionists on the western border of Missouri that aroused the indignation of the Missourians, and impelled them to adopt the measures for countering the schemes which have given rise to the prevailing excitement. But for the movement of the Abolitionists, there is no good reason to believe that the Missourians would have interfered with the legitimate execution of the Kansas law. They were provoked to measures of counteraction by a movement which threatened their interests as well as the organic law of the Territory. We do not maintain that the measures resorted to by the Missourians were legal or justifiable—we deprecate them deeply—but at the same time we are prepared to make much allowance for their excesses, in view of the provocation of the Abolitionists, and in view of the deep interest which they had in the result. Whilst the Abolitionists are seeking to revive sectional agitation by inflammatory denunciations of the Missourians, it becomes the true national men of all parties who love the Union and desire its preservation, to bear in mind that the Abolitionists themselves are responsible for committing the first offence, and this fact should be considered in judging of the conduct of the Missourians, who are charged with obstructing the right of suffrage in the late election.

## Another Administration Paper taking a Different View.

From the Daily Pennsylvanian.

No one could have felt more regret than ourselves at the course pursued by the armed bands of men who left Missouri, not with a view to settle in the Territory of Kansas, but to overawe the actual residents, and control the elections there held. We saw clearly that public opinion, even among those who are willing to go all lengths to protect the South in her just rights, would not extenuate, much less sanction, so gross a violation of every principle of Republican Government. We have heard Southern men denounce the act as one of madness, which would, in the end, produce its bitter fruits, by alienating the patriotic men of the Middle States from the South, or render them lukewarm. Already the effect of Missourian violence begins to manifest itself, and Senator ATCHISON is denounced in a manner which will very much damage his reputation as a public man and a good citizen. Some of the papers not wedded to Abolitionism, describe him as a roving bandit, armed with a bowie-knife, revolver and rifle, and marching at the head of an infuriated mob of misguided men.

If this description be a truthful one, he is just the man that the Government should arrest, if it has the authority, or sustain Gov. REEDER in doing the same thing, if the power is vested in him. Authority to punish such an offence lies somewhere; and in the absence of any statutory provision, the common law is adapted to just such an emergency.

The story is current in Philadelphia, that Senator ATCHISON remarked to a number of gentlemen in Washington city, "that the duty of establishing Slavery in Kansas had devolved on him. He had pledged his word it should be done, and by all that was holy he would do it at every hazard. His own salvation depended upon the successful execution of his pledge." No fair-minded man can doubt the right of Senator ATCHISON to legally execute his purpose. We hold the Territory to be as much the property of the South as the North, and equally susceptible of receiving their peculiar institutions—but their institutions can no more be established by violence than those of the most ultra Abolitionists.

From the public manner in which the Abolitionists of the North rallied their friends to the peopling of Kansas difficulty was anticipated, but it was generally supposed that it would be confined to the Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery men inhabiting the Territory, without the intervention of foreign aid. With this view of the case the Pro-Slavery men had the sympathies of a large portion of the Northern and Western population, who have no great love for Slavery, but who vastly prefer its institution to the mad rule of Abolitionism. We greatly

fear that the recent conduct of the Missourians in Kansas, who merely marched in to overawe the actual settlers, and then returned to their real homes in Missouri in military array, will operate most disastrously to the future peace and harmony of our Union. It is scarcely to be supposed that a Territory conquered from our own people can readily be admitted into the Union as a State, with the agents of the violence at the head of affairs. If Slavery were established in Kansas by fair means there would be no doubt of her reception into the Union as a State; but if at the cannon's mouth, no Northern or Western man would dare cast his vote in its favor.

We give below an extract from a letter to a gentleman in this City, from one who has battled long and well for the rights of the South, and who will still aid it in all that justly belongs to it; but it is very evident that his feelings have been soured at the conduct of the Missourians. This is only one of many similar cases which have come to our knowledge:

WASHINGTON CITY, Sunday, May 13, 1855.

"Governor REEDER has a proud yet most critical position. The murderers in Missouri pursue him alone because he will not yield to their demand for Slavery, by illegal votes, in Kansas. Had he done so, there would not be the skeleton of a Democratic party left in the Free States. He might have purchased ease and place by letting the slave owners of Missouri take charge of Kansas. He might have been Governor or Senator; but he thought of Pennsylvania and the North, and of his own honor, and he acted as an honest and patriotic Democrat. He goes back, and will sell his life dearly, if any effort is made to do him personal injury. The fact is, the South ask too much of us. I am sick of their arrogance—sick of their violence—and resolved that however ready I am to stand by their rights, I will not sustain their wrongs. Slavery is not God-descended—it is not a divinity. It is a load to carry, and we must not have it made heavier by arrogant exaction."

Would it not be better to let the actual settlers determine upon the form of their Government in an uninterfered manner. The violence threatened to Governor REEDER and his friends, if carried into execution, will meet with a condemnation that will shake society to its centre, and injure the South to a degree unparalleled in our history. There are too many cool-headed and reflecting men, both North and South, to justify that conduct which aims a vital blow at the peace, prosperity and union of these States. Let the settlement of the Kansas question be done in a legal and quiet manner, and which ever way it may turn, every good citizen will be satisfied.

## Another Letter from Mr. Park, of the "Parkville Luminary"—Exposition of Affairs on the Frontier—Atchison's Conspiracy—Secret Disunion Society, &c.

From the St. Louis Democrat, May 16.

Believing D. R. ATCHISON a dangerous man, the Luminary steadily opposed his reelection to the United States Senate, and supported Col. BENTON.

The consequences were, he let loose his hireling presses upon that paper, but they got battle to their hearts content and retired discomfited from the field. About this time the self-defensive association was formed at Weston, but the masses put it down. D. R. ATCHISON, B. F. STRINGFELLOW, J. T. V. THOMPSON and others, then organized a secret association. I am informed its members are sworn to secrecy—to turn out and fight when called on from head-quarters—to contribute money to carry out the objects of the association—to share equally the damages that may accrue from the overt acts of any of its members, and to carry these points even at the price of disunion. They are bound never to divulge the names of members. Thus their clan can act in concert everywhere at once, and had the uninitiated to suppose, that it is the spontaneous uprising of the whole people, when they number only a corporal's guard. When a man is proscribed they act in concert to destroy his business and character; and the poor man is ruined without knowing the cause. All Northern men are proscribed and ruined in their business and character, or driven out of the country, who do not subscribe to their most ultra doctrines. In this manner whole communities are overawed. One man said to me in Parkville, "Times are worse here now than they were in France in the days of ROBESPIERRE;" others said that this was the first time they were afraid to avow their real sentiments. No one knew when his business would be destroyed, or he be ordered out of the country. In this way citizens are paralyzed and subdued. They call upon other counties and St. Louis to cooperate and carry on the work. Unscrupulous—they use any means to accomplish their purposes. Thus this secret engine of hell is at work undermining the foundations of all social order, of confidence and public honor.

Emissaries have been sent through the South to organize these associations. One HARVEY was sent into Texas last Winter, endorsed and recommended by twenty-three members of the Missouri Legislature. From what I could learn his mission proved a failure. I heard of but nine members in the State. He was anxious to return to Jefferson City when last heard from. MCGEE, of Jackson County, was traveling in Arkansas on the same mission. LYCURGUS SUMNER, of Platte County, said to me a few days since, "That the whole South was organized, that they had decreed the destruction of every Benton press in the State, and a portion of the Whig presses; that they could command any amount of men at a moment's warning, and millions of money—that five hundred thousand dollars were subscribed in Missouri—that the destruction of the hotel at Kansas and presses at Lawrence had been decreed—that they had taken cannon along to demolish them from a distance, so as not to be blown up by the kegs of powder said to be under the building—they would not stop until every Free Soiler and Abolitionist were driven out of Missouri and Kansas—they were prepared for disunion or anything." He was then just out of a secret meeting. These secret meetings are generally held once a week, or at the call of their leaders. There is no doubt but some good men are induced to join this association, and get involved in its meshes before they understand its objects. So by some overt act, or by bloodshed and murder, they hope gradually to get the North and South to take sides, and bring on civil war and disunion. The nomination of D. R. ATCHISON for the Presidency is ominous. Public meetings are called at all the prominent points where B. F. STRINGFELLOW, J. T. V. THOMPSON or other speakers, are generally present to make exciting speeches, and lash to fury the passions of the multitude. Even Rev. Mr. KERE, chaplain to the army at Fort Leavenworth, left his post and came over into Platte County, and in a public speech urged the citizens to extreme measures. Bible in hand, "he scouted the idea of using honorable means in this war." II. RICH, sutler at Fort Leavenworth, was ready to mob the man if he did not sanction extreme measures. He that is not for us, is against us, is their motto, there can be no middle ground, and they are now busy dragging the whole community into duty. Envy, prejudice, and interest, seemed mixed up and foremost in everything. The spirit of honor, so highly lauded in the days of chivalry, is discarded by these leaders; selfishness, a desire to enjoy and appropriate the labor of others without an equivalent, falsehood and detraction, blindness of intellect, and an infuriated passion that thirsts for bloodshed and all the horrors of civil war, now governs in that devoted region. May the Almighty God make bare his arm to save our country from ruin. The day I left Parkville, Capt. WALLACE was busy notifying citizens to leave. I understand one lady who was teaching school was ordered to close doors and be off. Some were going, some talked of defending their homes; but they were threatened with thousands of armed men, which this secret association could collect at the shortest notice.

Mr. PATTERSON telegraphed Governor STERLING PRICE at Jefferson City "that the danger was imminent" and asked protection for our lives and property. None was given us. We then telegraphed to the President, but had received no answer when we left. Had one company of troops been ordered from Fort Leavenworth, nine-tenths of our citizens would have rallied to sustain the laws of their country. It is a libel on the fair fame of our citizens, to class them all as mobocrats and ruffians. The great masses are right. They are paralyzed by the crisis so suddenly precipitated upon them. They are not prepared to hang their neighbors and destroy their property, or for bloodshed, disunion or civil strife. But when the constituted authorities of our country call they will quickly step forth to sustain its laws and its honor.

The whole force of this secret association was brought to bear against the Luminary. They acknowledge that they could get no hold of it, and nothing was left but brute force, which they were not unwilling to use, especially when they numbered more than one hundred to one. Dr. LIEBE, of Leavenworth, informed me some time ago, that WM. W. MILLER was placed down at Parkville to drive me off. STRINGFELLOW and he were so counselling in his presence.

From certain indications, we are led to believe that the destruction of the Luminary press was determined on months before it was put in execution. Letters were received asking the price of our press. We offered to sell at a reasonable price; but no trade was consummated. J. T. V. THOMPSON was heard to declare that the press should be thrown into the Missouri River, and its editors hung. (By the way, we had opposed the appointment of that corrupt man to the office of Governor of Kansas, and thereby enkindled his wrath.) About the 1st of March last, after ATCHISON had left his seat in Congress and returned to Missouri, letters were said to have been received in Parkville, signed by D. R. ATCHISON, stating that the State no longer desired his services, but he had other duties to perform—certain individuals in Parkville needed his attention. Indeed, from that time rumors thickened that the press would be destroyed; but we did not alter its tone, nor believe it till the deed was done. We have reason to believe that the money was made up to establish the Southern Democrat on the ruins of the Luminary, and its editors spoken to before it was destroyed. R. S. KELLEY, of the Squatter Sovereign, received \$700 at one time and expected \$1,300 more. Besides, ATCHISON gets for them the publication of the laws of the United States. Government patronage appears to be at his disposal. His servile tools, the Examiner, Platte Argus, Squatter Sovereign, and Kansas Herald—are the recipients. But they are ready the moment they have obtained all the patronage at the disposal of the President to turn against him. Even now mutterings are heard. He will catch thunder the moment he disobeys them.

How so small a party exercise so much control I cannot conceive. A half a dozen members of the secret association, acting in concert all over the country, get up meetings, pass just such resolutions as the leaders want, and the impression goes abroad that all the world and the rest of mankind are moving, when not one in twenty are favorable to the movement. The meeting got up in Parkville, that sanctioned the proceedings of the mob, was of this character. All good citizens in Parkville are opposed to the mob and their action; they did not go out to the meeting. Col. SUMMERS, who was wrong in as explaining the object of the meeting, voted against the resolutions. He advocated a resolution declaring that the citizens of Parkville considered their slave property safe in my hands. F. II. McDONALD, W. II. MILLER, J. B. EWELL are more

drone—blood-suckers on the community; they own little or no property, and have done nothing to build up the country; but they and a few others, are the willing tools of their masters. Are any of the presses in St. Louis apologizing for upholding this association? Do they want to see the same state of things exist in St. Louis, as the "work goes bravely on?" Do they want to see Southern men refusing to trade with Northern men, and Northern men refusing to trade with Southern men, till confidence is destroyed, and that noble class of business men, both from the North and the South, who have given credit and character to St. Louis, driven by the force of circumstances to New-Orleans, Memphis, Cairo, Alton, Quincy and Burlington? Then farewell to St. Louis and all her greatness. Instead of becoming the great mart of commerce—the seat of American empire, she will dwindle down to the little border town she once was. More anon.

St. Louis, May 10, 1855.

GEO. S. PARK.