

The Patriot and Flag.

VOLUME XX.

GREENSBOROUGH, N. C., FRIDAY, APRIL 9, 1858.

NUMBER 979.

Business Cards.

DR. A. A. HILL, LEXINGTON,
N. C.

JAMES A. LONG, ATTORNEY AT
LAW, GREENSBOROUGH, N. C.

J. C. HEDGECOCK, Attorney at
LAW, LEXINGTON, N. C.
February 17th, 1858. 972 1f.

WORTH & UTLEY COMMISSION
and Forwarding Merchants, Fayetteville, N. C.

JACOB T. BROWN, Attorney at
LAW, High Point, N. C. will attend to all business entrusted to his care.
March 20th, 1858. 977 1y

DOCTORS C. L. & R. L. PAYNE,
co-partners in the practice of Medicine, Obstetrics and Surgery, Lexington, N. C.
March 18th, 1857. 925 1f.

DR. J. T. HUNT OFFERS HIS PRO-
fessional services to the public. Office adjoining Andrew Hunt's Store, Lexington, N. C. April 6th, 1857. 928 1f.

N. JONES & CO., Importers and Job-
bers of Staple and Fancy Silk Goods, No. 153 Market Street, Philadelphia.

GEORGE N. HOPE, Plain and Orna-
mental Plasterer, Lexington, N. C.
Busts and Parlor ornaments for sale.
November 20, 1857. 960 1f.

DR. J. T. MATTHEWS HAVING
permanently settled at UNION CROSS ROADS, offers his professional services to the citizens of the surrounding country.
March, 1858. 977 3m

ALEX. P. SPERRY, WITH BELL,
BROOKS, PACER & CO., Importers and dealers in Staple and Fancy Dry Goods, No. 89 Chambers, and 71 Reade St., New York.
Dec. 21, 1855. 862-1f.

LEVIN & WILLIAM L. SCOTT,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW, GREENSBOROUGH, N. C., will regularly attend the Courts of Guilford, Alamance, Randolph and Davidson.
919 1f.

DR. JAMES K. HALL, HAVING
removed to Greensborough, N. C., offers his professional services to the public. Office on West Market Street, in the house recently occupied as a residence by Hon. John A. Gilmer. Feb., 1858. 973 1f.

DR. W. A. COBLE HAVING RE-
ceived instruction from Dr. NEAL, of Philadelphia, and Dr. HOWLETT, of Greensborough, is prepared to perform all kinds of Dental Operations in the latest and most improved style. Dec., 1857. 964 3m.

LAW PARTNERSHIP.—J. A. LONG & D. F. CALDWELL, Greensborough, N. C.; having associated themselves in the practice of the law, in the Courts of Guilford county, will promptly attend to all business entrusted to their care.
January 15th, 1858. 957 1f.

JOHN W. PAYNE, Attorney at
LAW, having permanently located in Greensborough, N. C., will attend the Courts of Randolph, Davidson and Guilford, and promptly attend to the collection of all claims placed in his hands.
Jan. 9th 1857. 915 1f.

WATSON & MEARES, GENERAL
Commission Merchants, 34 Bowling Ship, New York.—Special attention paid to the sale of Grain, Cotton and other Southern products.
Liberal advances made on consignments. 915 1f.

E. W. OGBURN, dealer in School,
Religious, Scientific, Standard, Prose and Poetical Works in General Literature; Law Books, Miscellaneous, Albums, Music and Writing Port Folio, Writing Desks, Music and Musical Instruments Stationery, &c.
Greensborough, N. C.
West Street second door from court house
J. HAMILTON ROWLAND.
WM. D. REYNOLDS.

ROWLAND & REYNOLDS, suc-
cessors to ANDERSON & REYNOLDS, Grocers and Commission Merchants, NORFOLK, Va. Give particular attention to the sale of Flour, Grain, Tobacco, &c. avoiding unnecessary charges, and rendering prompt returns.
Dec., 1857. 963 1f.

JAS. STOKELY & OLIPHANT, Grocers
AND COMMISSION MERCHANTS, WILMINGTON, N. C.
Liberal advances made on produce consigned to us, when desired.
REFERENCE.—Col. John McRea, President of the Bank of Wilmington. O. G. Parsley, Esq., President of the Commercial Bank.
Aug. 28th, 1857. 948 1y.

PETER W. HINTON, Commis-
sion Merchant, TOWN POINT, Norfolk, Va.
Special attention paid to selling Tobacco, Flour, Grain, Cotton, Naval Stores, &c. Also, to receiving and forwarding Goods.
Refer to Chas. L. Hinton, Esq., Wake, N. C.; B. Roulac, Esq., and Geo. W. Hayward, Esq., Raleigh, N. C.; Wm. Plummer, Esq., Warrenton, N. C.
Aug. 25, 1855. 864-1y.

H. C. CORRELL'S Photograph-
ic Gallery is now opened, and
Cameotypes, Melanotypes, and
Ambrotypes, which cannot be surpassed for DURABILITY and BEAUTY are taken in Lockets, Pins and cases, to suit the tastes and purses of all. Having permanently located in Greensborough, he confidently expects a liberal patronage.
Call and examine Specimens, and learn the Prices. Rooms formerly occupied by A. Starrett, second story of Garrett's brick building, West Market street, Greensborough.
March 1st, 1858. 971 1f.

COFFINS.—READY MADE COFFINS
of various sizes, kept constantly on hand, by
JOSEPH SEARIS. 952 1y.

Business Cards, &c.

MARBLEWORKS, BY GEORGE
HEINRICH, Manufacturer of Monuments, Tombs, Headstones, &c., at reduced prices, four doors North of the Court House, Greensborough, N. C.
Orders from a distance promptly filled.
February 11th, 1858. 971 1f.

PAINTING.—The undersigned is prepared to do House, Sign and Ornamental Painting at short notice and on the most reasonable terms. Persons who are desirous of engaging his services in the above business, will please call and see him at his residence at Rich Fork, Davidson county, or address him at that place or Lexington, and their orders will be promptly attended to.
ANDREW CALDELLUGH.
July 24, 1855—14f.

Ambrotypes, Cameotypes and
MELANOTYPES in Cases Lockets or Pins taken in the best style of the Art. Immediate application should be made as my stay here may not be long. Gallery in the second story of J. & F. Garrett's New Brick Store.
A. STARRETT.
Dec., 1857.

I will furnish the Best Quality
of Dress, Fancy and Water-proof Boots, cheap for cash. So many scattering accounts cannot be made. Flour, &c., to be brought in advance. None but fine work will be undertaken.
H. H. BRADY.
February 11th, 1858. 971 1f.

R. J. Mendenhall, Land Agent,
will select and enter Government Land, Locate Land Warrants, make investments for capitalists at Western rates, pay taxes, and transact a general real estate business in Minnesota, Iowa and Wisconsin. Address, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Refer to Hon. J. M. Morehead, George C. Mendenhall, Col. Walter Gwynn and John A. Gilmer. May 16th, 1856. 288 1f.

BLANKS.—A FULL SUPPLY OF
Blank Warrants, Deeds, Bonds of Trust, Attachments, Declarations in Ejectment, Adjudications, Notices, and many other forms, will always be found at the Store of Adams, Dobson & Grimes, in Lexington, who are our Agents, for the sale of the same; and who are also our Agents to receive and forward to us, all kinds of Job Work.
SHERWOOD & LONG.

ED. H. KELLY & BROTHER,
Commission Merchants, and Dealers in Family Groceries and Provisions, No. 11, North water street, Wilmington, N. C.
Will keep constantly on hand, Sugars, Coffee, Molasses, Cheese, Flour, Butter, Lard, Soap, Candles, Crackers, Starch, Oils, Sausages, &c.
REFERENCES:
O. G. Parsley, Pres. Commercial Bank, Wm. John McRea, Bank of Wilmington.
A. M. Gorman, Raleigh.
Rev. R. T. Bellin, Raleigh.
J. & F. Garrett, Greensboro.
David McKnight.

ACCOMMODATION HACKS.—J. A. Pearce is well supplied with comfortable Omnibuses, Hacks, Buggies, &c., for the accommodation of persons arriving on the CARS, and wishing conveyances to surrounding points. His horses are gentle and true, and his drivers careful and experienced. He or his agent will always be at the DEPOT, with a comfortable OMNIBUS, ready to convey passengers to any part of the town, or elsewhere, when desired. Horses and Buggies kept on hand, to hire out, on reasonable terms. As he has been in a heavy expense to prepare these accommodations, he hopes to receive liberal encouragement.
Greensboro, Sept. 1, 1857. 949 1f.

D. P. GREGG, DENTIST, (GRAD-
uate of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery) having located himself permanently in this village respectfully tenders his professional services to its citizens and those of the surrounding country. He deems it unnecessary to publish long lists of testimonials, as he hopes to have those having discolored teeth, whatever qualifications he may have to practice in the varied departments of the profession. Any call will be promptly attended to. Office on North street, first door North of Hopkins Hotel.
Greensboro, N. C., Dec. 5th, 759-1y

J. W. HOWLETT, D.D.S., J. W. HOWLETT,
D.D.S., respectfully offer their professional services to the citizens of Greensborough and all others who may desire operations performed on their teeth in the most approved, modern and scientific manner. They are amply qualified to perform all the duties of the firm, as in his possession Diplomas from the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, American Society of Dental Surgeons, and Dr. S. S. Fitch of Philadelphia, and has been in the regular practice of the profession for over twenty years. They have furnished their Operating Rooms West Street two doors above the Bland House, in a handsome and comfortable manner for the reception of Ladies, where one of the firm may always be found. Ladies will be waited on at their residences if desired.
June, 23 18 837-1y

JAS. M. HUGHES, Fashionable
Tailor, has just received the latest Paris, New York and Philadelphia Fashions for Spring, 1857, embracing among others the following beautiful patterns: Boys' Blouse, Single breasted Frock, Traveling Jacket, Gentleman's Dress Riding Coat, Dress Coat, Business Coat, Morning Coat, Summer Razlan, Youth's Jacket, Sea-side Costume, Summer Coat.
In presenting the public with his SPRING FASHIONS he would return his thanks for the very liberal patronage heretofore bestowed, and say that no effort will be spared to make a continuance of the same. He may be found at his new shop on West Market street, between Thurston's Cabinet and Ogburn's Book Store, ready to take measures and make up the various descriptions of clothing in style and durability equal to any establishment in the State.
Greensborough, March, 1857. 924 1f.

Business Cards, &c.

W. H. MERRY & CO., FAC-
TORS AND COMMISSION MERCHANTS, Agents for sale and purchase of Cotton, Flour, Grain, Salt, Groceries, &c., Corner Princess and Water Streets, Wilmington, N. C.
Usual advances on Consignments.

REFERENCES:
R. SAVAGE, Cashier Bank of Cape Fear, DEROSSET & BROWN, Wilmington, N. C.
F. H. FRILES, Salem, N. C.
C. GRAHAM & Co., Marion Court House, S. C.
HUNT, ADDERTON & Co., Lexington, N. C.

JAMES M. EDNEY, 56 John St.,
NEW YORK, buys every kind of Merchandise on the best terms and forwards for 24 per cent. commission. Dealer in Pianos, Parlor Organs, Organ Melodians, Melodians, Harps, Guitars, Stools, Covers, Music, &c., Wholesale and Retail. All instruments Warranted. Agent for "Lindsay's Patent Pump," Garden Engine, &c. Circulars of Instruments and Pumps sent free on application. Refers to John A. Gilmer, C. P. Mendenhall, D. L. Swain and others. sept. 11. 950

LEXINGTON JEWELRY STORE.
THE SUBSCRIBER HAS ON HAND THE fine Gold Lever Watches, Manufactured by Johnson of Liverpool, and Dixon of London. Also the Silver Lever and common Virge Watch, with a variety of Jewelry of all descriptions. All of which will be sold low for cash. Watches of all descriptions repaired.
GEORGE RILEY.
July 7th and 1855. 1-1f.

SPRING TRADE, 1858.—Ham-
ilton & Graham, IMPORTERS and JOBBERS, will exhibit on and after the first of March, a full and well selected stock of Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods, which will be disposed of at the lowest prices. Merchandise from the South and West are invited to call and examine, at the old stand of Paul and Melvaine, No. 60 Sycamore street, Petersburg, Va.
Strict attention given to orders.
February 26th, 1858. 973 1y

STEVENSON & WEDDELL, IM-
PORTERS AND WHOLESALE DEALERS IN FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC DRY GOODS, Nos. 74 and 80 Sycamore St., Petersburg, Va., are now receiving and will have in Store ready for inspection by the first of September, a large and commanding stock of Fancy and Staple Dry Goods to which they respectfully invite the attention of the NORTH CAROLINA MERCHANTS. Their stock will be kept full and complete during the season, by purchases at auction and from first hands. Orders promptly attended to.
JNO. STEVENSON, JAMES WEDDELL.
aug 21 947—

TAILORING—Fall and Winter
Fashions.—Geo. W. Harrell takes this method of informing the public that he has received his supply of Paris New York, and Philadelphia Fashions for the Fall and Winter of 1857-8.
From my long experience, and the many advantages I have had, having been a pupil of Mr. J. W. Albright, of Philadelphia, celebrated for his skill in tailoring, I flatter myself that I cannot be excelled in my client cutting in this country.
I hereby return my grateful acknowledgements to the very liberal patronage I have received since I have been in business here, and hope to merit and receive a liberal share of public favor.
My Shop is up stairs, over the Store of Mr. Wm. S. Gilmer, and immediately opposite the Bland House.
Oct. 1856. G. W. HARRELL.

A CARD.—R. G. LINDSAY,
NORTH-EAST CORNER OF ELM and MARKET STREETS,) would invite the attention of his customers and the community generally to his well selected and carefully purchased stock of Fall and Winter Goods, consisting of almost every variety of articles suitable for the season.
Clothes, Caps, Trunks and Jeans, N. C. Jerseys, tweiled and plain Northern Linsey, &c., Ladies Dress Goods—in variety—Merinoes, Figured and Plain De Laines, all Wolf Plaids, &c., &c., Cloaks, Shawls and Scarfs, Gingham and Prints, Fine Bed Blankets, Negro duff.
A full supply of Hard re, Cutters, Nails, Andrews, Spikes, Sticks and Forks.
But, Sir, when you come to look a little further into the investigations which have taken place in that Territory, it appears that those 6,000 votes, about 3,000 were fictitious and fraudulent. That is reported to us by the minority reports of our Committee on Territories; that is verified to us by the proclamation issued by the President of the Council and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas. These high officials, who were invited by Mr. Calhoun to witness the counting of the votes which were returned to him, certify from their personal knowledge that more than 2,000 of the 3,000 votes which were given in three precincts in the counties of Johnson and Leavenworth were fictitious votes. I only call your attention to this, in order that it may appear truthfully who it was that approved of this Constitution.

A CARD.—W. J. McCONNELHAS
now in his Store, one of the largest and best assortment of Goods ever exhibited in Western North Carolina, which he will sell, wholesale and retail, on as favorable terms as any man can afford to do, who expects to pay his debts and support his family. The ladies are invited to call and examine the great variety of articles he has purchased for their accommodation. The gentlemen will find a commodious stock of Clothing, Casimires, Vestings, &c., embracing all grades. Boots, Shoes, Brogans, Hats and Caps, in abundance. A good supply of Groceries, Hardware, and Cutlery. Those who wish to purchase any thing in the mercantile line, will find it to their advantage to call on him and ascertain quality and price before making purchases elsewhere, as he will be satisfied with very small profits from punctual dealers; and he believes, from his long experience and knowledge of the mercantile business, that he can lay in a stock of goods for this market on as fair terms as any one.
Greensboro, Oct. 9, 1857. 956 1f.

ECONOMY IS WEALTH.—THE
undersigned has a number of Cook, Parlor, and Hall Stoves, on hand, which he offers, with his Tin and Sheet Iron Ware, low for cash, or to punctual customers on a short credit; but when due he wants the money. By the way, if some of those who have owed him for 4, 6, and 8 years do not come up and settle, they may soon have it to do with another. A word to the wise is sufficient.
C. G. YATES.
Greensboro, Feb. 24, 1858. 973 3m

BLANKS! BLANKS!—A GENERAL
Assortment for sale at this Office

The Patriot and Flag.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY
M. S. SHERWOOD & JAMES A. LONG,
EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

TERMS: \$2.00 A YEAR, IN ADVANCE;
\$2.50 after three months, and \$3.00 after twelve months from the date of subscription.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.
One dollar per square for the first week, and twenty-five cents for every week thereafter. Fifteen lines or less making a square. Deduction made in favor of standing matter as follows:
3 MONTHS. 6 MONTHS. 1 YEAR.
One square, \$3 50 \$5 50 \$8 00
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Half column, 18 00 25 00 35 00

SPEECH OF HON. J. J. CRITTENDEN,
OF KENTUCKY,
Delivered in the United States Senate on Wednesday, March 17.

MR. PRESIDENT—I feel how inadequate I am to add anything to the various arguments which have been employed on this subject during the long discussion through which we have passed; and yet I should not perform my duty, according to my views, if I omitted to express my sentiments and feelings on this subject before the Senate. I do not intend to occupy your time with exordiums, Sir. The right of the people to govern themselves is the great principle upon which our Government and our institutions all depend. It seems to me that this great principle is not inapplicable to the present subject.

The President of the United States communicated to us an instrument called the Constitution of the people of the Territory of Kansas, and he has, with unusual earnestness, advised and recommended to us to admit Kansas into this Constitution, as a State, into this Union. The question, as it has presented itself to my mind, involves an inquiry as to the matters of fact bearing upon this instrument of writing, and whether these authorize us to regard this instrument as the Constitution of the people of Kansas. Is it their Constitution? Does it embody their will? Does it come here under such sanctions that we are obliged to regard it or ought to regard it, as the permanent, fundamental law and Constitution of this new State? I do not think it comes with such a sanction, or ought to be regarded as the Constitution of the people of Kansas. Sir, I shall not occupy your time longer on this point.

What are the evidence that it is so? It is made by a Convention, to be sure, called under the authority of an act of the Legislature of Kansas. It is made by delegates regularly elected by the people, and *prima facie* it would appear that it had the sanction of the people of Kansas; but I think there are evidences of a higher character to show that it is not so, that it is but in appearance a Constitution, and not in reality.

In the first place, the fact is established beyond all controversy that an overwhelming majority of the people of Kansas are opposed to this instrument as their Constitution. The two highest officers of the Federal Government lately there under appointment from the President of the United States, Gov. Walker and Secretary Stanton, both assure us of that fact upon their personal knowledge. That is high evidence to establish the fact that it is against the will of an overwhelming majority of the people upon whom it is to be imposed as a Constitution.

The Constitution in part was submitted to the people. I shall not stop now to inquire how it was submitted, whether fairly or not. A part of it was submitted, however, to the people, and upon a vote taken by the people on the clause thus submitted, it received 6,000 votes, and a little more. These are the sanctions with which it comes to us. To this extent it would seem to have the popular approbation. But, Sir, when you come to look a little further into the investigations which have taken place in that Territory, it appears that those 6,000 votes, about 3,000 were fictitious and fraudulent. That is reported to us by the minority reports of our Committee on Territories; that is verified to us by the proclamation issued by the President of the Council and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas. These high officials, who were invited by Mr. Calhoun to witness the counting of the votes which were returned to him, certify from their personal knowledge that more than 2,000 of the 3,000 votes which were given in three precincts in the counties of Johnson and Leavenworth were fictitious votes. I only call your attention to this, in order that it may appear truthfully who it was that approved of this Constitution.

That vote was taken on the 21st of December. Before that vote was taken, however, a Legislature, which was elected in October last, and which met on the call of the Acting Governor, Mr. Stanton, in December, passed an act postponing that vote from the 21st of December to the 4th of January. On the 4th of January, under the provisions of that act, a question was taken upon the Constitution itself broadly. It provided that the question should be taken upon the Lecompton Constitution with Slavery, and generally upon the Constitution itself. Upon that occasion over 10,000 voted against the Constitution; and the Legislature of the Territory of Kansas have passed resolutions unanimously protesting against the reception by Congress of this instrument as the Constitution of the State, declaring that it was obtained by fraud, and that it has not the sanction or concurrence of any, except a

small minority of the people. This is the substance of their resolutions.

Now, I ask you, Sir, upon this evidence, as a judge, to say whether this is the Constitution of the people of Kansas or not? whether the evidence before you is that it is an instrument signifying their will and declaring that general and permanent law upon which they wish their government to be founded? Unless you shut your eyes to the vote taken on the 4th of Jan., here is direct popular evidence and protest against the constitution; and, even supposing the whole of the 9,000 voted which were given for it on the 21st of December to be true and real votes, fairly expressed, it shows that there were 10,000 other people in the Territory of Kansas who are opposed to this instrument and have legitimately declared their opposition. Here is the solemn act of the Legislature of the Territory protesting against it. These are recorded evidences, as much so as the Constitution itself, is a record, having the same legal sanctions and the same legal and entitled faith to our confidence. How are you, in law, to make any difference between these testimonies, to say that you will give effect to one and will reject the other; that you will give effect to that which testifies for the minority of the people, and will reject that which testifies for the majority of the people; that you will accept that which was first given, and reject the last expressions of the popular will.

It is these last expressions of the popular will that ought to govern on every principle, just as much as that a former law must yield to a subsequent law in any point of conflict between them. The last evidence, then, is the vote of the people on the 4th of January, of 10,000 against it; and the evidence nearly contemporaneous with that is the resolutions of the Legislature of Kansas, protesting and imploring you not to accept this instrument, that it is a fraud and an imposition upon them. I want to know why it is that this evidence is not entitled to our consideration and to have effect? The President it seems to me, has given us a most unsatisfactory reason. The President says that in recommending the adoption of this Constitution to us, as implied in the admission of the State, he has not overlooked the vote of 10,000 against the Constitution given upon the 4th of January; he has considered it; but he holds it, and holds the law of the Territorial Legislature under which that vote was taken, to be mere nullities. Why? The law was passed by the regularly elected Legislature of the Territory providing that a vote should be taken on that day; and why not? Is there anything in the organic law, is there anything anywhere that forbids it, that more forbids it than the passage of the act for calling a convention by a previous Legislature?

The President had anticipated that the Constitution itself, in whole, and not in part, was to be submitted to the people. The Governor had so contemplated, and had so assured and promised the people. The President regrets that it was only submitted in part. He regrets that the entire Constitution was not submitted. Though he accepts as an equivalent the partial submission, he regrets that it was not submitted as a whole. The Territorial Legislature, after the Constitution was published, immediately afterward passed a law to have a vote taken upon the entire Constitution, which the President had preferred, and which Mr. Walker, the Governor, had preferred. What do they do but carry out and act in perfect accordance with the wishes and opinions of the President and Governor? And yet the President, who was for a general submission, and would have preferred it, says the act of the Legislature, in accordance with his opinion, is a mere nullity. Why? Because, he says, by the previous acts of the people and of the Territorial Government the Territory was so far prepared for admission into the Union as a State. That is the reason. He gives no application of it, but announces as a reason that it was so far prepared because the Constitution had been made, ready to be offered the Congress, though that Constitution had not yet been submitted. That was her condition; that was the preparation; that had made. The only preparation was; that under the authority of a previous Territorial Legislature, a Convention had been held, and a Constitution made and published.

That was the condition of her preparations; and because of that preparation, the Territorial Legislature had no power whatever to pass a law to take a popular vote upon the adoption of that Constitution, to see what the people thought of it—to collect the evidence of the public will? What could the Territorial Legislature do, to satisfy themselves, to satisfy the country, to satisfy the just rights of the people, but to say a vote shall be taken on the 4th of January next, in which all the people shall declare their assent to, or disapprobation of, this Constitution as an entire instrument? What is there in this preparation to prevent it? What force had the Constitution? Could the Constitution unaccepted by you, unauthorized by you, paralyze, and annihilate the legislative power which your act under the authority of that act, a question was taken upon the Constitution itself broadly. It provided that the question should be taken upon the Lecompton Constitution with Slavery, and generally upon the Constitution itself. Upon that occasion over 10,000 voted against the Constitution; and the Legislature of the Territory of Kansas have passed resolutions unanimously protesting against the reception by Congress of this instrument as the Constitution of the State, declaring that it was obtained by fraud, and that it has not the sanction or concurrence of any, except a

Of what avail is this Constitution until accepted by Congress, and the State admitted upon it? Whom does it bind? Is it anything more than a proposition by the people of Kansas that, "We shall be admitted with this instrument, which we offer as our Constitution?" What more is it? Does it bind anybody? Where does it derive its authority? The organic law authorized no legislation by Convention. The Convention could exercise no legislative power which Congress had given because Congress gave its power to a Territorial Legislature, to be elected in a certain manner. The Convention could exercise no legislative power. It bound no one. It did not bind the future State; for, until you accepted it, what prevented the people from calling a Convention the next day, and altering or modifying it according to their own views? Is there anything of reason, of argument, or of law, to support such a proposition as that the people are restrained from making another Constitution because they have proposed one not yet accepted and acted upon by Congress? I think not.

In my judgment, we have a precedent on our books which shows I am right in this view, in the case of Iowa. She presented herself here with a Constitution, and asked for admission according to the boundaries which she had assumed and declared in that Constitution. Congress admitted her, but admitted her conditionally only. Congress objected to the boundary. It included a portion of territory which Congress thought properly belonged to the State of Missouri. It admitted her, however, as a State conditionally; on condition that she should hold another Convention and assent to the new boundary that Congress prescribed; and upon that assent being thus given, the President was to proclaim it, and without further proceedings, she was afterwards to be a State in the Union. What did the people of Iowa do? Did they proceed according to this act of Congress, and call a Convention simply for the purpose, as required by the act of Congress, of assenting to this altered boundary? No, Sir, we hear no more of that. They passed that act by, called another Convention, made another Constitution, applied to Congress; and were admitted at a subsequent session.

Was not their state of preparation greater than the preparation of the Territory of Kansas? Here Iowa was not only in a state of preparation, by having made a constitution, but that Constitution, with a single exception, had received the approbation of Congress, and she had authority to call another Convention for the solitary and particular purpose assenting to the boundary. She passed it by as she might well do. Her people said:

"It is a wiser and more satisfactory mode to pass by this act of Congress and to act upon our acknowledged rights as a Territory to call a Convention, make a new Constitution, and submit that to Congress, passing by the President, and the President's proclamation, and receiving our adoption and admission from the hands of Congress."

—and they did so. If they could do that, if prepared as they were, that preparation did not preclude them from making another constitution, how is this less state of preparation, on the part of Kansas, to preclude the Territorial Legislature, not from performing the high act of calling a convention, but simply of taking another vote on a constitution which was yet to be proposed to Congress? Can any reason be shown? No, Sir, none. That constitution was inoperative. How long would it have operated? Suppose circumstances had occurred which had prevented any application to Congress for years, how long would this instrument have retained its vitality and retained its vigor and authority? One year? A short-lived instrument. Two years? Three years? Four years? How long? Suppose the President, Calhoun, had put this instrument in his pocket and kept it there all the days of his life, would it all the days of his life restrained the people of Kansas from taking other steps and calling other conventions and making other constitutions?

If its authority would not have continued a life time, how long could it continue?—No man can set a limit; and the conclusion, therefore, is that it never had any binding influence—at any rate, never such binding influence (and that is all that I am required to show), as to have prevented the people, if they had changed their minds after making their first constitution, from calling another convention, and resorting to all means necessary for the establishment of another constitution, and then to offer it to you. It is theirs to offer, and ours to dispose of, and they are free up to the last moment to make what is their determination in relation to the fundamental law of the State they are about to establish.

Is not this all perfectly clear to our reason? Are there any fictions of law; are there any technicalities springing out of these instruments, governing their force and effect, to prevent such conclusion? Is this constitution to be made up into a little plea of estoppel against the people? Are the little rules which we are to gather from Westminster Hall—the little saws in actions at law that do well enough to decide little questions of *quod et tunc* among A. B. and C.—to be applied as the measure to those great and sovereign principles on which States and peoples rest for their rights and liberties? No, Sir. This is a great political question, open, free to be judged of according to God's truth and the rights of the people, unrestrained, uncumbered, unimpaired by any fiction or by any technicality which could prevent the full scope of your justice and reason over the whole subject.

Therefore, Sir, this state of preparation of the Territory of Kansas for admission into the Union has no effect. The argument is

not applied; the fact is merely stated that there is a state of preparation, and there it would be necessary to stop on any doctrine on that subject; for, in my own judgment, no argument can be made, even of any ordinary plausibility, to show that the state of preparation restrains the people of their natural and indefeasible right, and their legal right as proclaimed by you, to form with perfect freedom their own institutions before they come into the Union. There is no technicality about it.

Here, it seems to me, applies that great principle to which I adverted at first, that the people have a right to govern themselves—I mean, of course, according to the constitution and laws, such as they have. This people had no Constitution—could have no Constitution; and when the act of the Territorial Legislature was passed requiring a vote to be taken on the Constitution, they had full authority to pass that law. Their hands were not bound. Here was a great act to be done—an act to bind the State, to give it a new character, to give it new institutions, to put upon it a Constitution—that panoply of the rights of all.—This was the great act to be done; it is an act which none but the people can do, through themselves or their proper representatives. It is in all cases, directly or by reference, the act of the people. The laws which they establish are not of that transient character which can be made to-day and repealed to-morrow.—They are made for permanency. They are the great, immutable and eternal truths and principles on which all government must rest. They are expected to be permanent. The people delegate to others the power of passing your temporary and repealable laws. They reserve to themselves the great right of passing those which are permanent and irrevocable except by themselves.

Was it not of consequence, was it not of importance to know the will of the people, whether they really did approve of this Constitution which was about to be offered to Congress—a law which, when Congress put its imprimatur on it by admitting the State, is to be permanent? Would it be any harm to take the vote over and over again? What objection could there be to it? You might have said, "it is an unnecessary care of the people's rights; you have had their decision once; therefore it is not necessary to have it again;" but out of abundant care, and abundant zeal you may choose to take it again and again and ascertain whether there may be change or variations in the public opinion. Where is the man who can say against it? Do you object because it is taking to great care of public liberty, paying too great respect to popular rights? Nobody will take that ground.

But it may be said you might delay the application to Congress by these repeated elections. Not at all. You must avoid that as far as you can. In this case it has not delayed it. In this case this vote was taken before this Constitution came before you—while it yet slumbered in the hands of President Calhoun. No objection can be made, then, that this was made the cause of or intended merely for the purpose of delay. The result shows that it was necessary and proper. The result shows that notwithstanding the vote of six thousand, though all real, here were ten thousand who were opposed to it. I say, therefore, this is not the Constitution of the people of Kansas. It may in a certain sense be a Constitution offered by the Convention of people of Kansas, but which the people of Kansas by ten thousand majority have rejected—have lawfully rejected in the last vote, as it was lawfully approved by the six thousand first voting in the preceding December.

I say, then, Mr. President, upon the record evidence, upon all the evidence, this is not the Constitution under which they desire that you shall admit them into the Union. Now, will you, against their will, force them into the Union under a Constitution which they disapprove? That is the question. You know the fact that ten thousand against six thousand are opposed to the Constitution. You know that, by the act of their Territorial Legislature, they entreat you not to admit them with this Constitution. They tell you, moreover, as one of their reasons, not only that they disapprove of the whole Constitution, but that it is particularly hateful to them because the votes given for it, or apparently given for it, were to a great extent fraudulent and fictitious. The Legislature tell you that nine-tenths of the people there are opposed to it.

Now, would it not be strange that, under these circumstances, we should, without motive for it that I know of, as the common arbiters of all Territories and States to the extent of our constitutional power, force her into the Union? What motive can we have, what right motive, with the knowledge of these facts, to force them into the Union, and to enforce upon them this Constitution? I cannot feel myself authorized to do such a thing. Of course I do not impugn the motives and views of others, who take a different view; act from different motives from mine? They act upon one view and I upon another; but it seems to me that to do this is a plain, unmistakable violation of the right of the people to govern themselves.

I have endeavored to show you, Sir, that this is not the constitution of the people of Kansas, according to the recorded evidence of their will. It seems to me, furthermore, that this Constitution is a fraud. It is not only not their Constitution according to their will, but it is got up and made in fraud, and to deprive them of their rights. I believe that, and I think it can be shown.

The President of the United States has furnished us an argument on this subject, and it has been oftentimes repeated here in

the debates—of course a plausible and ingenious argument, as all must admit; even those who deny the solidity of the reasonings. What is the argument? The President says that the sense of the people was taken, and proved to be in favor of calling a Convention. The Convention was called; delegates were elected; those delegates made a Constitution; that Constitution was submitted to the people in part, and approved by a vote of six thousand, according to law. Well, all these, you will observe, constitute a issue, a long series of little legalities, regularities, and technicalities, and the reasoning of the President is founded on technical points on each of these facts. You must admit all the facts—yes, Sir, the facts are all true; and if they alone constituted the case, the conclusion would be fair and right that this Constitution has been regularly made; that this Constitution has been sanctioned by the people as well as by the Convention; but is there no more in the case than this? There is a great deal more in the case than this.

When frauds have been alleged and charged against this Government of Kansas, gentlemen say, "Ah, but these frauds were in other elections; these frauds do not particularly and specifically touch this Constitution, or the proceedings which led to this Constitution." But suppose there were frauds in relation to it; is it not something if I show you that, in regard to that part of the Constitution which was submitted to the people to be ratified by them, and was nothing until the people had ratified it even according to the Constitution itself, there was fraud in that election, and abundance of fraud? So glaring so impudent, and so fearless had frauds in elections become there, that upon that very poll list, in one of the precincts (I forget whether it was in Oxford, or Shawnee, or that other precinct that emulates this in its character for fraud, Kickapoo), you find that the President of the United States, Col. Benton, and the gentleman from New York (Mr. Seward) were there, it seems, or fictitious votes were put in from them by somebody, and a long list of persons of that sort of figure on the poll-book at these miserable precincts as actual voters. That was the vote on the Constitution on December 21; that was on the part submitted to the people. They were the Constitution-making power there, and there I show you the fraud.

What further frauds there were I know not; but this much is apparent—and later developments show greater frauds still—that in one single precinct, where there were only thirty or forty votes to be taken legitimately, there were over twelve hundred; and under the investigation lately made by Commissioners in Kansas, that upon sworn testimony is stated to be the fact. In one precinct there were twelve hundred fraudulent and fictitious votes out of twelve hundred and sixty; seven hundred in another; making in the aggregate twenty-six hundred votes in three precincts, entirely fraudulent and fictitious or to a great extent fictitious, written out by hundreds on the poll-book after the election was over, put on without scruple upon the poll-book after the election return, put down without scruple during the election, of those who were qualified, and those who were not qualified; and that is the way this Constitution in part has received its sanction.

But, Sir, I think that we should take a very partial view of this subject, one very unsatisfactory to our judgment, if we were to isolate these facts which have direct relation only to the formation of this Constitution, and leave out all the surrounding circumstances. It seems to me that the proper and the just mode of regarding this Constitution is to consider it as one of a series of acts, and see if we can find that the whole action and operation of all those acts were to lead to one general purpose—that of maintaining by fraud and by falsehood the power and the government of the minority, and their offices to them against the will of the great majority of the voters. I say it is an act connected with all the other acts. The whole case is to be taken, and every part of it judged of, in this connection.

Now what was the first act? That is historical. We may all speak of it now, though we disputed it at the time. The first Legislature that was elected in Kansas under the organic act, was not elected by the people of Kansas. It was elected by persons who intruded themselves with arms in their hands, and seized upon the ballot-boxes put in their own hands, driving away the legitimate voters, and elected the members of the Legislature. That is the way the Government of Kansas was inaugurated. There was no opposition to it from the first. Those who had been driven from the polls, those who were opposed to the party that was installed in power by these means, conceived such indignation and such disgust that they proclaimed aloud, whether wisely or unwisely, they renounced obedience to this spurious Government, as they called it. It is not material to me whether their complaints are well-founded and true or not. I am endeavoring to depict the course of things, to show their motives and the motives of the persons who were thus installed into the Territorial Government. They came to their power by fraud. That was the complaint of the opposing party in Kansas. They renounced their rule, they renounced their laws, refused to commit themselves in any way to their support, refused to go to any election afterward. They said, "What is the use?" This corrupt minority who have got into power, who have in their hands the means of controlling the election, who are not too good to do it and who will do it, who have done it, will practice the same means; we shall be again driven from the polls, or, if not, they having the control of the election, and of all the officers who conduct and manage them, will have what returns made them please. We will subject ourselves no more to the humiliation of attempting to exercise a right which we know will be frustrated and defeated by fraud, or by violence, or by force." Under these impressions, and with these feelings, which it is not my part here either to justify or rebuke, but simply to state the fact, they withdrew from the elections least, by voting according to the laws passed by this corrupt Legislature; they should seek to acknowledge its authority and its allegiance to it.

Now, what would be the condition of the man who had been installed into power in this way?—They were very glad of this. In all the elections to be held afterward,

this power of the minority, however small, would be continued; as their enemies would not come up to vote, they would be re-elected, and would retain and perpetuate their power. So they went on—the field abandoned by the majority, and the minority ruled everything in this way. Look at the evidences that are before you from these high officers lately returned from Kansas, Stanton and Walker. They tell you of frauds regularly perpetrated there, and, although they had thought before that the people were acting factiously, that they were acting rebelliously, in attempting to withdraw themselves from this Government altogether and act for themselves, and that their complaints of fraud and imposition upon them in elections were rather affected for the purpose of giving color to their conduct than otherwise, yet when they went among the people and heard them, and learned all about the dealings that had been practiced, they could not doubt their truth and their sincerity in the resentment which they felt and in the conduct which they felt and in the conduct which they pursued. However untrue, it was sincere on their part. They had been defrauded; they had wrongs enough to sting and humiliate them. This is what these officers say; I know nothing about it; we know nothing about it, except from the testimony. That these persons were capable of committing fraud we know. They began in fraud. Has any gentleman here denied, is there any gentleman who discredits the history, which we all have, of the frauds practiced in the first election that was held in Kansas? However we might doubt this, however we might have believed or disbelieved heretofore, we have not every mist and doubt been cleared away from around this fact, and is there one here now to say that the right of election was not trodden down in the first election that was held in Kansas, and that a minority Government was not elected? That they have continued that Government by fraud since, is shown at every step of their progress.

It was in the midst of this self-suspension of the right of suffrage on the part of their opponents that they called the Convention by which this Constitution was made. Look at the Constitution itself.—On its own face, does it not contain the amplest preparation for fraud, visible and apparent? Look at the internal evidence marked on its face. They pass by all the sworn officials of the Territorial Government who had before conducted elections. They authorized, by the schedule to the Constitution, President Calhoun to take this whole matter into his hands, to appoint the officers to conduct the elections, giving him control over that official body, and the appointment of them all; and the returns were not to be made to any permanent officer of the Government, not to the Governor, but to this same Mr. Calhoun.—He was to appoint the officer to conduct the election, receive the returns; count the ballots, and declare the result. Well, Mr. Calhoun has performed all this business.

Another thing: every human being, in respect to that part of the Constitution which was submitted to the people, before he could vote for or against it, was required to swear that he would support that Constitution when it was adopted. In that Constitution, those who framed it well knew, were provisions intolerable to all Free State men in the Territory, and they would not swear to support it. They so believed, and hoped, and expected. This was under the show of a fair election. Not only have they secured all the advantages resulting from the appointment of the officers to conduct it, but, to leave their conscience more easy, these officers were not even sworn. There was no provision for that. Every man voting for the Constitution, or that part of it submitted to him to vote upon, was required to be sworn beforehand that he would support that Constitution. This, it was supposed if nothing else, would keep off the Free State men.

It is said, in this testimony, that Gov. Walker, from the time he went there, had been diligently persuading all the people of the Territory to throw aside this inaction of theirs, come into election, and participate in the Government. For this, Mr. Stanton says, Gov. Walker became the object of utter hostility to Mr. Calhoun's party.—They did not want conciliation. They demanded, as the same witness says, repression. They wanted penalty, not persuasion. They did not know what the result of this persuasion might be in the elections afterward to take place on the Constitution. It was necessary, therefore, to make provision against the possible effect of these persuasions and arguments of Gov. Walker; it was, therefore, necessary to put in, though nobody opposed them, 6,000 votes for the Constitution, they believing that that was a majority of the greatest number of votes ever given on any occasion in the Territory, and so it is stated here. They just went beyond the line; and for fear of rendering it more monstrous, and the fraud more visible, they went just so far as the necessity demanded the fraud. They did not choose to use it superfluously. They rather husbanded it, to be used as the occasion might require, and no more than was required. I cannot shut my eyes to this fact. These preparations, then, in the schedule of the Constitution, were made in anticipation of the vague dangers, that were apprehended. It was greatly important to carry through this Constitution, greatly important to preserve their authority under the Constitution. There were two Senators of the United States to be elected. All the officers of the State Government were to be constituted. These were to be the reward of those who had labored.

These seem to me to be preparations made for fraud; and when I come to compare them with the action which took place afterward, the design and the act, for the purpose and fulfillment of it, make the proof perfect. The means of doing it, the means of facilitating it, are given in the Constitution. The actual perpetration of it afterward at the polls is seen. It is seen in the election of the 4th of January, for officers under the new constitution. There is where these frauds, lately developed, were practiced to such an enormous extent. There is where these little precincts distinguished themselves.

Another fact may be noticed, that this convention to make a constitution was to meet, by last of September, and to go to their work. They met then. Did they go to work? No. Why did they not? There was an election of the Territorial

Legislature to take place in the October following. They wanted to know the result of that election; to know how the land lay; whether any point was necessary to be guarded in the constitution; whether there were any unexpected majorities rising up; whether there were any obstructions in the way of ordinary frauds. They wanted to see what was the character of the new Legislature, that they might meet the emergency and meet the exigency with any constitutional provision that might be necessary to perpetuate their power. They adjourned. The Legislature was elected; and that Legislature turned out, notwithstanding all the frauds that were practiced, to be against them. What then? The Legislature being against them, now what is the provision in the schedule?

The officers of election, and other officers of the Government, were many of them appointed by the Territorial Legislature. They said: "Now here has come in, in October, a Legislature opposed to us. What so likely, but that they who have complained of frauds from Government officials, will now change the officers and change the mode of election?" What then? They declare in the schedule that all who are in office now shall hold their office; that all the laws in existence now shall continue in existence until repealed by a Legislature which shall meet under the State organization under the Constitution. That silenced completely the Territorial Legislature. That was certainly against them; and to take the chances of a future election under that constitution, that future election was to take place, by the same schedule on the 4th of January, and then they were to make another death struggle for the supremacy, and then they died. I have seen the report of the Commissioners lately appointed by the Territorial Legislature of Kansas to investigate the frauds. There this Government party did make efforts more than worthy of all their former practices in fraud, in order to secure the Legislature, which under the Constitution, would make Senators of the United States. It was here that Oxford, that Shawnee, that Kickapoo, distinguished themselves, in the multiplicity of votes, feigned and fraudulent.

And when you see such things as these in the Constitution, when you see such things all around the Constitution, when you see the same men who made the Constitution, rulers in the land during the whole time, do you not see that frauds have been everywhere, that the imposition upon the people has been everywhere? And how can you exempt from the contagion, (if there was nothing more than this general association from which to infer it) this Constitution and those who made it? Judging from the positive internal evidence that exists in it, and the facts that surround it, I cannot. I believe it violates the right of the people to govern themselves, to impose it upon them. I believe this Constitution is the work of fraud—fraud upon the right of the people.

I do not undertake to defend this people for their conduct. It is not my part nor my province. I should agree, perhaps, with the President, that much of their conduct had been of a disreputable, disorderly and seditious character. It may be that it deserves the epithet of "rebellion" which the President applies to it. I have nothing to do with that—I am not their advocate. I have disapproved of their conduct in many instances. There were many bad men among them, as I believe; but for that the law assigns its proper punishment. The majority of the people have their political rights, that remain, notwithstanding their legal offences. It is in that point of view, it is in their political character as the people of a Territory, that I look at them in respect to this subject. Whether they be more or less vile on one side or the other, is not the question. I fear that neither party could take the chair of impartiality and justice, and be shameless enough to attempt to administer justice to the other.

One great objection to their admission at all is, that they have not shown by their conduct on any side, that they are altogether fit for association with the States of this Union. A little more apprenticeship, a little more practice of honest and fair dealing, a little more spirit of submission and subordination to law and authority, would be well learned by them, and qualify them much better for citizens of the United States. That is my opinion. I have, however, spoken of their political rights as men, and it is not for me to sit in judgment to condemn and deprive them of the right of suffrage on one side or the other, because of frauds committed by one, or violence practiced by another. This is a political question.

It is said, that the series of legalities and technicalities, to which I have alluded, of a regular election of a regular convention, of a submission to the people, and votes of the people upon all these questions, have been regular; and what then? All the people had a right to vote, and those who did not vote, forfeited their right to complain—and we are not to inquire whether there any people who did not vote, or whether those who did vote voted fairly, and were entitled to vote or not. It is said we are precluded from the forms in which this transaction is enveloped; that the formal election, the formal certificates of election, of the formal constitution certified—these formalities are enough for us, and that we are not permitted to look further, that we ought not to look further. I do not think so. We are applied to now to admit a new State into the Union. The instrument which she presents as her Constitution is opposed to people from the same Territory. They say—This is not our constitution; it is against our will; it is not only against our will, but it has been imposed upon us by devices and fraud. It is void for fraud. If it is not void for fraud, for that is rather a legal than a political term, we present these frauds and this imposition as a reason why you should not admit our Territory in the Union under this constitution.

This is the state of the question before you. The complainants admit all the regularities just as the President states them. Therefore they admit the effect these forms would ordinarily have, but they urge other facts in opposition to the apparent evidence of the constitution itself, as I have before adverted to. A majority of the people have protested against it. The present Legislature, by its inquiries, have developed the vast frauds which were practiced in the convention concerning and relating to all around this constitution. They say "do not accept that; do not admit us under it;"

send it back; let it be submitted to a fair vote of the people." Sir, upon such a complaint as this, are we not bound, in justice to that people, to examine the whole case? Can any Senator turn away and refuse to look at the testimony that is offered? Can he be justified in so doing by naked legal presumptions from naked irregularities.

Do not suppose that I would disparage all these conclusions and presumptions, from a formal regular manner of doing business. In many cases, and to many of the transactions of society, especially to your courts of justice, they are necessary, and subserve the purposes of justice. They were not made to sacrifice justice, but to uphold it and maintain it and protect it as an armor. That is the proper business of forms—not to crush down justice but to promote it. We are not now sitting here governed by any technicalities. This is a grand national political tribunal, to judge according to our sense of policy and our sense of justice.—That is our high province—not to be controlled by presumptions of law when we can have the naked truth. It is the truth that ought to guide it; and for that we ought to look wherever we can find it; and where you find the truth on one side, and the fiction on the other side; which is to be followed, the truth or the fiction? I take the fact; I take the truth, let the fiction return to those tribunals who are by law made subject to it. This is a question about that sort of argument. It is iniquitous.—Else how can we judge that it is their constitution? It is the first time, I believe, that such a question has ever come up in the Senate of the United States. In all former applications for admission, there has been one thing about which there has been no question; and that was, the willingness to be admitted; and the constitution under which they desired to be admitted. There has been no question about the authenticity of a constitution, or about its expressing the true will of the people before this, that I know of. I am satisfied there has been none; but now that there is, we must inquire into the authenticity of the instrument offered to us; we must inquire whether it is better, on full consideration, to admit this instrument and the State with it or not; and, in the exercise of that judgment, we are bound to look abroad for the truth wherever we can find it. I think, therefore, these matters are all fairly subject to our consideration.

Now, Mr. President, convinced as I am from these imperfect views of the evidence in the case, that this instrument is not really the constitution of the people of Kansas, or desired by them to be accepted by you in their admission into the Union; believing that it is not their constitution; and believing, moreover, as I verily do, that it is made in fraud and for fraud; believing that these matters are iniquitous in my eyes, and that the inquiry has led us to abundant light on this subject, I cannot, I will not vote for it. Viewing it as I do, I should think that, with the opinions I entertain, I could not put my hand to her admission without violating my sense of right and justice; and I would submit to any consequence before I would do that.

Now, sir, what considerations are there, apart from these which I have stated, that could lead me to give, or could compensate me for giving, a vote against my sense of what was right and just? What is the advantage to our whole country, or to any portion of it, to result from taking Kansas into the Union now with the constitution? Is anything to be gained? Is the South or the North to gain anything by it? I see nothing to be gained by it. I think there is not a gentleman here who believes that Kansas will be a slave State. Before this territorial government was made, many of the leading men of the South here argued that Kansas and Nebraska never could be slave States. By the law of climate and geography, it was said they could not. So said my friend from Georgia, (Mr. Toombs) and so said Mr. Stephens.

Mr. Toombs. Never.
Mr. Hale. Mr. Badger said so.
Mr. Crittenden. Mr. Keitt and Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, said so. The opinion was expressed by numerous southern gentlemen that Kansas could never be a slave State. It was for the principle that they contended; and the principle, the abstract principle, was a just one.

Mr. Hammond. With the permission of the Senator, I will ask him, "Did I understand him to say that Mr. Keitt had declared Kansas never would be a slave State?"
Mr. Crittenden. Yes, sir; so it is reported.
Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, said:
"Does any man believe that they will have a slaveholding State in Kansas or Nebraska?"
Governor Brown, of Mississippi, said:
"That slavery would never find a resting place in those Territories."

Mr. Douglas, said:
"I do not believe there is a man in Congress who thinks it could be permanently a slaveholding country."

Mr. Badger, of North Carolina, said:
"I have no more idea of seeing a slave population in either of them than I have of seeing it in Massachusetts."

Mr. Milson, of Virginia said:
"No one expects it. No one dreams that slavery will be established there."

Mr. Frederick P. Stanton of Tennessee, said:
"The fears of northern gentlemen are wholly unfounded. Slavery will not be established in Kansas and Nebraska."

The late Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, said in his speech of the 15th March, 1854:
"If the natural laws of climate and of soil exclude us from a territory of which we are the joint owners, we shall not and we will not complain."

Mr. Butler, of South Carolina said, on the 2nd of March, 1854:

"If two States should ever come into the Union from them, (the Territories) it is very certain that not more than one of them could, in any possible event, be a slaveholding State; and I have not the least idea that even one would be."

Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, in his speech of the 30th March, 1854, quoted Mr. Pinckney, of his own State that—

"Practically, he thought slavery would not go above the line of thirty six degrees and thirty minutes by the laws of physical geography, and therefore, that the South lost no territory fit for slavery."

This is all the authority I have; it is a compilation.

Mr. Green. I wish to inquire what book the Senator reads from. What is the title of it?

Mr. Crittenden. It seems to be a book written with the most downright Democratic propensities and purposes. [Laughter.] It is "An Appeal to the Democracy

of the South, by a southern State-Rights Democrat." [Laughter.]

Mr. Mason. I suppose the pamphlet is anonymous. No name is given.

Mr. Crittenden. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mason. The name of the writer of the pamphlet is not given.

Mr. Crittenden. Will the gentleman take it? It contains a great deal of good Democratic reading. [Laughter.] The writer of it thought he was doing great service to the Democratic party.

Mr. Hammond. I wish to say that Mr. Keitt quoted that passage from Mr. Pinckney's speech on the Missouri question, which had been quoted on the opposite side of the case previously. His object in quoting it was to show that Mr. Pinckney did not support the Missouri Compromise upon principle, but he did not endorse the sentiments expressed by Mr. Pinckney in that extract.

Mr. Crittenden. I accept the explanation. Certainly I had no intention to misrepresent any gentleman by reading the sentiments expressed in this pamphlet.—I say it was not anticipated at first that Kansas would be a slaveholding State.—What is the South to gain now by having it admitted? It will gain a triumph in the admission of this constitution—admitted against the will of the majority of the people. It is a triumph, but is it not a barren one? Is it a triumph worthy of the South? It is not entirely barren. It will produce increased bitterness and exasperation, perhaps, on the part of those against whose will it is forced, not only in the Territory, but elsewhere. It may give new exasperation to the slavery question; new agitation, which God forbid. It would be a victory without results, without profit, barren, sterile, as to all the ordinary and beneficial fruits. There is none of them; but it will give exasperation, perhaps, to the slavery question. It will not allay agitation. Is that policy? I do not know how anything is to be gained to the South, supposing, as I verily believe, and as every gentleman here believes, that it cannot be a slave State; that there is a majority there opposed to it, and who will put it down. Pass this and we may have a few years longer of exasperated struggle and exasperated agitation in the country. That is all the consequence of the barren victory which would be obtained by admitting Kansas with this constitution. That is not a fruit, I think, which any one would wish to gather. Now, if you attempt to enforce it, we are told by Mr. Walker—I know nothing about it, but from all that he and Mr. Stanton tell us, and they are Democratic witnesses—there is danger of resistance and danger of rebellion.

Where is the necessity then, for our doing it now? Can we not resort to some other means by which we may avoid all these consequences of exasperation, of danger, of resistance, of tumult or of agitation, upon this subject; and end this contest in a short time by authorizing the people of Kansas now, under the high mandate of this Government, to form for themselves a Constitution, if they want to come into this Union—a constitution fairly to be made, fairly to express the will of the people, and to bring it here, when they shall be admitted? It defers the subject but a little while. Is it not better to do that. Is it not better to stand by the evils we have, than to fly to others we know not of, either North or South, to result from the rejection or admission of this constitution? I think every prudent consideration is in favor of our forbearing to enforce this constitution on the people of Kansas, and leave them at opportunity of making their views fully and perfectly understood. This will be in accordance with the generous principles and policy that the South has pursued here.

What recommended the Kansas Nebraska bill to the South? For one, I think it was a great blunder to pass it; but what was the recommendation that it contains? It adopts, I think, a right principle in respect to a Territory belonging to the people of the United States, and in regard to which Congress has made no law of admission or exclusion, that any citizen of the United States, with any property of his, has a full right to go there. When people go upon that Territory to make a law, to become a community, when they have the power of legislation, they may admit it or exclude it; it is all within the compass of their power. But while it is a Territory of the United States, there is no law there, I think, to divest the title which a man has to his property, whether it be a slave or a horse. If he has title by the laws of his own State to that property, he has, in a Territory, as much right to be there with his property, as any other citizen, until there is some law, which shall prevent it and shall divest it, leaving to the people afterwards the right to form their own final constitution as they please, for or against slavery. That is the principle upon which that bill rested; that is the principle upon which the South has always contended for the right. They contended for it in that bill; and, so far, I think were in the right.

Now, I say, I want the full practice of that principle here. Let the majority make such a constitution as they please.—That is the great American principle; that rises above all others. Let them govern themselves, and as the majority declare, so let the constitution and so let the laws be. I think we are infracting that great principle—the principle of the South itself, on this very identical subject, by forcing this constitution, at least of doubtful authenticity, upon the people. If there is a majority in favor of it, it is not much trouble for them to ratify it. If there is a majority opposed to it, they are entitled to have their will and their way. They are entitled to it upon principle; they are entitled to it by the express pledges of the Kansas Nebraska law.

Sir, I feel that I have already occupied a great deal of your time—more than I expected to do; and yet there are some general topics upon which I wish to say something though not so immediately connected with the direct question before us.

Mr. President I am, according to the denominations now usually employed by parties in this country, a Southern man. I have lived all my life in a Southern State. I have been accustomed from my childhood to that frame of society of which Slavery forms a part. I am so far as regards the necessary defence of the right of the South as prompt and as ready to defend them as any man the wide South can hold; but in the same resolute and determined spirit in which I could put my foot as far as he who went furthest, I will concede to others their rights, and I will maintain and defend them. With the same feeling with which I know I would defend my own right, I will respect theirs. I never expected Kansas to be a free State. I believed that those at the South who expected it would be deluded. There was some vague hope that when the Missouri compromise line was taken away and abolished, slavery might be extended in that direction, but I did not believe it.

I believed that the Missouri compromise line fixed in 1820, was about that territorial line north of which slavery, if it could exist, would not be profitably employed; and our experience since has shown that the wise men who made that compromise judged rightly. We have found no instance in which it has been found profitable anywhere there. I believed that the idea of making Kansas a slave State was a delusion to the South; that her hopes would never be realized, if she entertained such a hope as that. I thought, therefore, it would have been better, without examining scrupulously into its constitutionality, to let the Missouri compromise stand. I regretted its repeal. I did not believe the South would gain anything by it, or that the North would gain by it.

That compromise was a bond and assurance of peace. I would not have disturbed it. It was hallowed in my estimation by the men who had made it. It was hallowed in my apprehensions by the beneficial consequences that resulted from it. It was hailed, at the time it was made, by the South. It produced good, and nothing but good, from that time. Often have you, sir, [addressing Mr. Toombs,] and I, and all of the old Whig party, triumphed in that act, one of the great achievements of our leader, Harry Clay. It was from that, among other things, that he derived the proudest of all his titles—that of the pacificator and peace-maker of his country. We ascribed to him a great instrumentality in the passage of that law, and over and over again have I claimed credit and honor for him for this act. This, for thirty years, had been my steadfast opinion. I have been growing, perhaps, during that time, a little older, and am a little less susceptible of new impressions and novel opinions. I cannot lay aside the idea that the law which laid that line of division was a constitutional one. I believed so then. All the people believed it. I must be permitted to retain that opinion still; to go on, at any rate, to my end, with the hope that I have not been prejudiced, and have not been claiming credit for others for violating the Constitution of their country.

Sir, the men who passed that measure were great men; they were far-seeing men. Without argument now, I am content to rest my faith upon the authority of those great men—Pinckney, Clay, Lowndes, old President Monroe, the last of the patriarchs of the Revolution, with his learned and able Cabinet, and then, what is more than all, thirty-five years of acquiescence in it, and peace under it in these States. Whatever quarrels you may have had about it in Congress, there was always enough to uphold and sustain that law; and never, until 1854, was it repealed, or its constitutionality questioned, that I know of. I regretted its repeal, because I feared that it would lead to new agitations and new dangers. Has it not? What has been our experience?

The authors of the measure which repealed that compromise—honorable and patriotic I know them to be—many of them my personal friends—promised themselves that if greater peace and greater repose by localizing the slavery question, as it was said. Then this act was to localize the question of slavery, and all agitation was to be at an end. It was to give peace to the country. So the President said. The President in his Message at the commencement of the session, or in his special Message, I do not know which, imagines the country to have been in great agitation on the subject of slavery, when the Kansas-Nebraska Act came and put a stop to it until, some time afterwards, it was revived. Why, sir, exactly the contrary seems to me to be the true history of the transaction.—We were becoming tranquilized under the compromise of 1850 in addition to the Missouri compromise; all was subsiding into submission and acquiescence, when, to obtain a greater degree of peace and secure us for the future against all agitation, the bill of 1854 repealing the Missouri compromise was passed. What has it produced? Has it localized the question of slavery? Has it given us peace? All an answer that question. It has given us everything but peace. It has given us everything but a cessation of agitation. It has given us trouble, nothing but trouble. That has been the consequence of it so far.

I am as anxious now as any man here to close up this scene. I would vote for the admission of Kansas upon almost any terms that would give peace and quiet. If I thought this bill would do so, I would suppress all scruples for the sake of that peace. If I was sure such would be its result, I would vote for it, thinking myself justified by the price that was to be paid—the peace of my country and the restoration of good will among my fellow citizens. I do not hope for it. I fear further trouble. We are again told that this will have the effect, at any rate, of localizing the question of slavery, and that we shall be no more troubled with it, that the mischief and clamor and agitation will all be confined to the limits of Kansas. This is the same hope that was disappointed when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed. The same hope was indulged in then, and since then there has been nothing here but agitation on the subject increasing with every day.

Again, we have the idea of localizing it presented. Now, sir, if it is to be debated anywhere, it will be debated here, and perhaps, if it is to be debated anywhere, it is best that it should be debated here; because we might hope, Mr. President, that in this body it would be debated with a spirit of moderation and conciliation that would deprive it of many mischievous consequences if it were agitated and debated among men, without our years, without our responsibilities, and without the restraints which our condition and our knowledge impose upon us. We do not debate it in the right way here. We allow ourselves to become too much excited about it. To this great country, now, what is Kansas and this Kansas question, and the two or three hundred slaves who are there, that you and I and all the American Senate should here day and night, and using such language of vituperation and invective on this subject as we often do? Look at our

great country, and the great subjects which claim our attention as her legislators; look at them all in their majesty and their magnitude, and then say, how little, pitiful, in comparison, is the question about which we are making so much strife and contention. On this subject, and on many others, it seems to me that it becomes us, of all the citizens of this great Republic, to set to our fellow-citizens examples of moderation and conciliation. What good does the mutual charge of aggression, often fiercely asserted? What good do these invectives of one against another? Especially let me say to my friends of the North—why indulge in invectives of the most reproachful character, upon those who—in fourteen or fifteen States of this great country—are slaveholders? Does that give you any cause to traduce them? Cannot you live content with the institutions which please you better, and leave these fellow-citizens, who have just the same right to adopt slavery that you have your institutions, to enjoy their liberty in peace also? Is there anything in the difference of our institutions which should make us inimical to one another? How was it with our fathers? Did not they live together in peace and harmony? Did not they fight together?—Did not they legislate together? Did they ever abuse and reproach each other about the question of slavery? Never, that I have read of. Why is it that we cannot do as they did?

Have we degenerated from those fathers, or have we grown so much better and purer than they were? I doubt whether we are any better; and I do not believe, notwithstanding all that is said about progress, that we are at all more sensible than those fathers whom the Constitution of the United States, and the foundation of this great Government of ours. They gave us an example of brotherhood; and when we look at all that connects us, all that unites and makes us one people, how much more power would its influence seem to be to connect us together, than the power of slavery and anti-slavery to divide us? We united by circumstances of which we cannot divest ourselves. We are united in language, in blood, in country, in all the memories of the past, in all the hopes of the future. This is our connection, leading and pointing to the brightest destiny that ever awaited any people. All the unnumbered blessings of the future are in full prospect; but there is this little, this comparatively small matter of contention, that we seem disposed to nurse up into continual occasion for philippics and for reproaches. This is not the right temper with which to regard the subject. Crimination and re-crimination is not the way to strengthen our Union—that Union of brotherhood, of good will, of co-operation for all great national purposes, which our fathers formed.

I was gratified to hear comparisons made of the mighty resources of the different sections of this country. It was a proud exhibition. The honorable Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hammond] gave us, in a very interesting and eloquent manner, the mighty resources of the South. They are beyond estimate—beyond calculation. This is replied to by a gentleman from the North, who gives us the mighty resources and the mighty power of New England and the non-slaveholding States. Well, sir, if the conclusion which might be drawn from it was true, that each of those sections would by itself make a mighty country and a country that any one of us might be proud of, what a magnificent country is made when we put it all together! What a magnificent abode for man, such as the Almighty never gave to any other people, and never placed on the surface of this earth!

It seems to me the most natural union in the world—the South, with her great and her rich productions, while the North abounds with ingenuity, labor, mechanical skill, navigation, and commerce. The very diversity of our resources is the natural cause of union between them. It would not do for us all to make cotton, nor would it do for us all to work in your manufactures. Nature has seemed to have organized here this country, adapted to a union of people North and South. Nature has given her sanction so the Union. Nature has traced that Union, and you alone disturb it. Gentlemen, you alone disturb it by making this subject of slavery the cause of dissension. Of the dissension itself it is not so much the cause, for we seldom come to a question that calls upon us to act on the subject. Now, if we were through with this petty Kansas affair, what a summer sea of boundless expanse lies before us, where there is nothing but repose. There is no other territory that you can dispute about in my lifetime, or the lifetime of any man here.

This is the last point on which a controversy can probably be made. We went through many difficulties on this subject before the Missouri compromise, but on other occasion, the question has presented itself with practical consequences. Now we have reached the last of it, the least of it. Let us settle this matter in peace; let us settle it in good temper; and I see nothing before us but a long period of repose, and, I hope, of mutual conciliation. Of one thing I am certain, that ermination and re-crimination between the North and the South, the getting up and maintaining of sectional feeling, sectional passion, sectional prejudices, can do no good to any section; and there is not one Senator here who does not recognize and feel this as much as I do. I am certain of it.

My vote on this subject, sir, has nothing sectional in it. The difficulty I have really in voting is, that this is regarded by some as a sectional question; and I am on one side of that section, and I am voting for the other side, if we divide on it as a sectional question. Now, I do not regard it as a sectional question. My allegiance is not to any particular section. I do not want to know any such thing as a section in my conduct here, I want to be governed by a constitutional spirit, and a constitutional and just principle in all I do, no matter whether it relates to the North or to the South. I do not want to increase the sectionalities which exist in the country by placing myself or my vote upon it so far as regards this question. I want to wipe out that sectionalism. I wish that no one here would vote upon it as a sectional question. I do not. I vote upon it as a Senator of the United States of America. That is my country, and my great country. The Constitution of the United States intended to wipe out all these lines of division and sectionalism. It is we, that disturb our own Union. It is we, that make sections; it is we that make sectional line to divide

and distract the country whose Constitu-
tion, whose present interest, whose future
hopes, all tend to unite us.

There are some doctrines which have
been advanced here with which I disagree,
and upon which I will briefly express my
views. Some gentlemen have argued, and
they have the high authority of the Presi-
dent to sustain them, that the Kansas-
Nebraska act gave all the authority that is
usually conferred by what is called an en-
abling act on the people of a Territory. I
never considered it so. I do not believe
it is to be considered so. Some gentle-
man, on the other hand, maintain, under
the Kansas-Nebraska act, the convention
were bound to submit the constitution to
the people for the popular suffrage; indeed,
that it is the right of the people to leave
every constitution to them. I do not agree
to that doctrine. The people are too
sovereign to be required to do that. —
They can confer upon a convention the
power to make a constitution that shall be
good without reference to any other power.
The sovereignty over the Territory is in
this Government. It belongs to the people
of the United States, one and all. They
are the real sovereigns of the Territory, and
they are their representatives. They have no
government but what we give. It is not in
the nature of things that they should have.
All squatter sovereignties, and sovereignties
of all sorts, vanish before the sovereignty
of the people of the United States.

But the President says, in reference
to this Kansas constitution, that although it
contains a provision that after 1861 a con-
vention may be called to change it, the
people, nevertheless, may change it before
that time. That is to say, the people, by
their irresistible power can at any time,
notwithstanding the provisions of their con-
stitution to the contrary, change it as they
please. Sir, this is a very high authority,
the President of the United States; but it is,
in my humble judgment, a very dangerous
doctrine and a very untrue one. The peo-
ple cannot bind themselves by a constitu-
tion! I thought that was one of the great
virtues and purposes of a constitution. We
admit them to be sovereign. Why cannot
they make what sort of a constitution they
please? The constitution which sovereignty
makes, in all its parts and in all its pur-
poses, must be the rule of conduct for all.
It cannot be abolished, except in the man-
ner prescribed and pointed out in the con-
stitution itself, in any manner is prescribed.

If the President's doctrine on this sub-
ject be true, what becomes of the Constitu-
tion of the United States? Instead of fol-
lowing the mode of amendment prescribed
in the Constitution, the people, by their
irresistible power, may in any other man-
ner at any time change the whole frame of
our Government. There is not a State
constitution in the Union that does not im-
pose some restraint as to the manner of
change. What would a constitution be
were it just as liable to change as any ordi-
nary act of the Legislature? It would lose
its character. Those who talk to the peo-
ple about the unlimited and illimitable power
they possess are teaching a dangerous doc-
trine. That is a sort of sovereignty which
the people cannot exercise. It may be
made very flattering to their ears, but it is
impracticable in the nature of things. It can-
not be exercised at all. The people must
exercise their sovereignty through agencies.
They must exercise it through representa-
tives and governments; they must exercise it
safely through constitutions. If they must
not make constitutions bind themselves their
sovereignty never would be safe. If it
were not invested in the constitution, it
would be constantly escaping into the hands
of some of those gentlemen who could talk
most eloquently to the people about their ir-
resistible sovereignty. That would be the
end of that sort of sovereignty in the peo-
ple.

The people must understand that their
sovereignty, their political sovereignty, is to
be exercised through representatives and
delegates, over whom they are to hold
the proper control; and to hold that control,
and to fix and make permanent and opera-
tive their sovereignty, they must put it in
the form of a constitution. That is the only
security for popular sovereignty. Therein
it exists, and therein alone can it exist. It
is not true that the people cannot bind
themselves, and are not bound by restric-
tions of their constitution. They may re-
bel against their own constitution; they may
violate their own constitution, just as they
could violate the law or constitution of any
other people; but it does not follow that,
because they could do that, they have not
created a political obligation on themselves
by a constitution, only to amend that con-
stitution in the guarded temperate, gradual
method which the constitution may have
provided for and prescribed.

Sir, I am sorry to have occupied the
time of the Senate so long. I can say, with
the President of the United States, that on
this important occasion I have endeavored
to do my duty, with a fullness of my re-
sponsibility to my God and to my country.
Under the conviction that the best results
to be obtained under the present circum-
stances, unless some material amendment
can be made to the bill, will be attained by
rejecting this constitution, I shall give my
vote against it; but so anxious am I to con-
clude this subject, that I intend, before it
is finally acted upon by the Senate, to
propose an amendment. This would not
be the proper time to offer it; but the effect
of it will be to admit Kansas into the
Union upon condition that this constitution of
hers be submitted to a fair vote of the qual-
ified electors of Kansas, to be ratified by
them; and if so ratified, the President, on
information of the fact, shall proclaim it a
State of the Union without further pro-
ceedings; and, if it be not ratified, to have
a new constitutional convention convened.
My amendment will be an enabling act in ef-
fect, but admitting Kansas for the present.

NOTICE.—We again notify the
public and our customers, that the co-
partnership formerly existing between Chas.
Hamlin & Wm. H. Robertson, under the firm
and style of Wm. H. Robertson & Co., was
dissolved in the Fall of 1856. All persons
indebted to said firm, will please call and settle
their dues by cash or bond, as we are anx-
ious to wind up the business.

WM. H. ROBERTSON & CO.
Leaksville, N. C., March 31, '58. 979 6w.

100 Kegs Nails Assorted Sizes
for sale cheap for cash, by
COLE & AMIS.
April 7th, 1858. 979 4t.

Just at hand, 50 boxes Adams-
tine Candles at 25cts per lb. by the box.
COLE & AMIS.
April 7th, 1858. 979 4t.

Patriot and Flag.

GREENSBOROGE:

FRIDAY, APRIL 9, 1858.

After the 1st of July the PATRIOT and FLAG
will be conducted strictly on the CASH system;
and after the 1st of June, every subscriber finding
a RED MARK upon his paper, may know that he is
in arrears, or that the time paid for will expire
just one month from that time. All accounts
will be made out up to the 1st of July, and all who
are in arrears, and shall fail to pay the same by
that time, and also to pay in advance, will be
stricken from our list. This rule will be strictly
adhered to. After four weeks from the first ap-
pearance of the RED MARK, the money must come,
or the paper will stop.

MR. GILMER.

Mr. Gilmer's speech in the House on
Wednesday, on the Kansas question, is spoken
of as a very able and successful effort, and
has placed him by common consent, among
the ablest debaters of the House of
Representatives. As soon as his speech
shall come to hand, we will publish it; as
we know that we could publish nothing
which would be more acceptable to our
readers. The democracy will no doubt
raise a great howl over Mr. Gilmer's posi-
tion, notwithstanding 22 of their own party
voted with him. Let the people wait, read
and hear for themselves, and we have no
doubt but that they will sustain Mr. Gil-
mer.

MR. CRITTENDEN'S SPEECH.

We give this week to the very able
speech delivered by Mr. Crittenden, in the
Senate, on the Kansas question. We hope
our readers will give this speech a careful
perusal, and that they will lay it aside for
future reference. We feel satisfied that no
candid and unbiased mind can follow Mr.
Crittenden in his arguments, and the facts
detailed by him, without coming to the con-
clusion, that this whole Kansas matter is car-
ried up with fraud, and that the only true
and proper course is to refer the whole ques-
tion back to the people of Kansas—or simply
to admit Kansas as a State, and let the people
have a Constitution in conformity with the
will of the people. The great length of
Mr. Crittenden's speech, precludes us
from giving this week, our own ideas
about matters and things in general—and it
also crowds out many interesting matters
of news.

KANSAS.

The administration has again been de-
feated on the bill for the admission of Kan-
sas with the Lecompton Constitution. The
Crittenden substitute for the Lecompton bill
has passed the House by a majority of
eight—the vote stood 120 to 112. The
Democratic party having a majority of 24
in the House, had the power to pass the
bill with Lecompton, but 22 of the National
Democracy voted for the Crittenden sub-
stitute—of the Americans 6 voted for the
substitute. So it seems that the great Na-
tional Democracy have been defeated on
both of their important measures, the Army
bill, and the Lecompton bill. Rather a
weak party to save the country.

THE LAST APPEAL.

We make this our last appeal, for the
Holden clan to rally in full force at Char-
lotte on the 14th inst. The Aristocracy
are fully aroused against the poor printer,
who in his boyhood was accustomed to rob
orchards with Sidney Smith. If Holden
gets the nomination, we intend to send our
devil all the way to Raleigh to tender him
our congratulations—then a long pull,
a strong pull and a pull altogether, against the
Locofoco Aristocracy.

THE REVIVAL.

The most remarkable phenomenon of the
day, is the great and intense religious ex-
citement prevailing throughout the whole
extent of our country. In New York, Phil-
adelphia, Richmond, Charleston, Mobile and
other large cities, meetings are held daily
which are attended by thousands, who man-
ifest the deepest interest and greatest con-
cern, on the subject of religion. The Al-
mighty is certainly manifesting himself and
blessing the people in various sections of
the country, in a most remarkable manner
and that his presence may be felt, and his
statey steps be heard in our midst, the
Methodist and Presbyterian congrega-
tions of this place, have been holding united
prayer meetings, and every day the doors
of our Churches are thrown open and hun-
dreds meet together, seeking up their united
petitions to God for a blessing upon the
Churches and people of the town of Greens-
borough.

Municipal Election.

The election held in this place, on Mon-
day last, for Town Officers for the ensuing
year, resulted as follows:
Intendant—A. P. Eckel.
Commissioners—George Albright, M. S.
Sherwood, Lyndon Swain, and Dr. John L.
Cole.

Stupendous Frauds are charged up-
on the War Department, in the purchase
of horses and provisions for the army. The
contractors, it is said, will realize more than
a million of dollars profit. It is by such
corrupt means that the President rules
Congress and the country, and the people
are set aside as if of no account.

The last official act of Lord Palmer-
ston was to send a donation of £100 to
Mrs. Mogridge, the widow of the admi-
ral writer so long known as "Old Humph-
rey."

For the Patriot and Flag.

Who should be a Candidate for Governor?

Messrs. Editors:—The pressing wants
and necessities of the people of the State
peremptorily demand bold, decisive and ju-
dicious legislation touching those matters
of public policy calculated to build up the
industrial, commercial, and educational in-
terests of the State. The observation and
reading of every intelligent man teach him,
that the present is an age of rapid progress
and improvement in every department of
business life. Especially, in most of the
States of our federal Union, do we behold
a state of systematic development of resour-
ces of every conceivable character, that
challenges our administration and excites
our wonder and astonishment. Indeed, in
an industrial and commercial point of view,
some of the States of the Union are with-
out a parallel in the history of the world.—
But while this is flattering to our pride as
American citizens and highly honorable to
our common country, it must be a source of
humiliating regret to any true hearted
North Carolinian, that the "Old North
State," with all her untold advantages and
undeveloped resources, is in the rear of
many of her sister States in point of Agri-
culture, Manufactures, Commerce, Educa-
tion and every leading branch of business
flowing therefrom. And this regret is the
more grievous, for the reason that our own
State is possessed of natural capabilities not
common to many of those States far in ad-
vance of us. In fact, the assertion may be
ventured, that nature has done as much for
North Carolina as any State in the confed-
eracy. Our soil, for the most part, is fer-
tile and never fails to reward the industry
of the husbandman. We have every facility
for manufacturing purposes, and might have
the raw material in superabundance.

The surface of our country is such, that we
may construct Rail-Roads at a very mode-
rate outlay of means, and we have harbors
on our sea-board that will compare favor-
ably with the best on the Atlantic coast.—
The mountain section of the State can be
easily penetrated by roads of every descrip-
tion, in view of difficulties constantly over-
come elsewhere. In this section of the
State, the soil is astonishingly rich and pro-
ductive; the mineral resources are valu-
able and inexhaustible, and the "water power"
adapted to the turning of machinery is
without a parallel in the world. Indeed,
there is no section of country better adapted
to manufactures than the mountain por-
tion of the State. In short, it may be said
that we lack nothing to make us a great and
powerful State, but united, energetic, and
judicious action. Will it be contended that
we are not behind our sister States in point
of improvement? Surely not. If so, look
at Virginia with her system of Rail-Roads
reaching back to the great Mississippi val-
ley, and penetrating almost every section of
her borders. Look at her river improve-
ments, her harbors, her improved system of
agriculture, her manufactures, her growing
cities and towns. South of us, look at
South Carolina with her Rail-Roads reach-
ing far back towards the great valley of tra-
ffic and the seat of wealth. Look at the
forward state of Cotton and Rice culture,
and the thriving condition of her cities and
towns. Go also to Georgia, that, but a few
years ago, was denounced as bankrupt on
account of her expenditures in building up
her present enviable system of Internal Im-
provement. She is now, not very im-
pudently called the "Banner State" of the South
in point of improvement. Then look at Ten-
nessee, the daughter of North Carolina.—
She is now going on rapidly to a state of
real development of her resources, that
will, at no distant day make her one of the
first States in the Union.

Then where is North Carolina? Where
is her system of Internal Improvement?—
When does it begin? Where does it go to?
What great leading points of trade are con-
nected by it? At what point does it tap
the Mississippi Valley, so as to give to our
sea-board something of the life and energy
of commerce? Where are our river im-
provements, our harbor improvements, our
ocean navigation companies, our manufac-
turies filled with thousands of operatives,
where are our flourishing and growing towns
and cities? Where are all these? Echo
only answers. Our Rail-Roads are extend-
ing on such at a time, and what is worse,
the beginning of these roads are not at
points that can naturally benefit the State
at large. None but the immediate local-
ities of the roads realize any real benefit
from them. This is not the fault of the
roads, but the fault of them who constructed
them. Let private enterprise build up
roads for particular sections, but let the
State build up those roads that are calcu-
lated to benefit every section of the State.—
This was the highest duty which North
Carolina ever owed her citizens, to construct a
great trunk Rail-Road, leading from the
sea-board to the Valley of the Mississippi,
traversing the whole length of the State,
and connecting two points that would give
life and energy to enterprise. It this had
been done at the proper time, the uniform
appreciation of property of every kind
would have enabled the people to pay the
taxes which they now have to pay without
reward, and these would have been paid
without a murmur, for every citizen would
have felt and known that he was getting
something for something. If such a road
had been built, then every section North
and South of it, could have built "branch
roads" by means of private enterprise, in-
tersecting the great trunk at suitable and
convenient points, all the time leading in

the direction of the grand out-let, the Sea-
board. This may yet be done. It must
be done, if North Carolina is to be placed
on an equal footing with the other States of
the Union.

In view of what has been said, it is not
surprising that the people of the whole State
are looking with the most anxious solicitude
to the result of the elections for Governor
and members of the Legislature in August
next. And it is no matter of wonder, that
there is so much anxiety manifested about
the nomination of candidates for the Office
of Governor. It is now a settled fact that
the Democratic Party will nominate a
Democratic candidate. This candidate
will be the mere political leader of a party
that proposes to submit to the people of the
State questions of federal policy and poli-
tics. As has been the case heretofore, the
discussions to be had will be taken up main-
ly in talking of questions with which the
Legislature and the Governor of the State
have nothing to do. The various primary
meetings held over the State, and called
Democratic meetings, foreshadow the can-
vass that we may expect next summer.—
Who got up those meetings, and who wrote
such high sounding resolutions about federal
politics and the Democratic Party, and
made puffing speakers with a view to make
small men great ones? Who? Did the
people do this? Did they lose sight of the
interests of the State and run wild after
travelling politicians? Never! never!—
It is a base slander upon the people to say
that they did these things. In the great
majority of cases, very few people attended
such meetings, and all the "noise and confu-
sion" was made by hopeful democratic as-
pirants—men who served for pay and look-
ed to the fees and emoluments of office.—
This is true and cannot be successfully con-
tradicted. What can we reasonably expect
from a Democratic political leader as Gov-
ernor? nothing, but deceit, hypocrisy
and treachery? Have we not all seen the
evil effects of federal politics upon our
State Legislature, time after time? No
one can deny this. The whole object of
politicians is to preserve party power with
a view to self aggrandisement, to the neg-
lect of the great interests of the State and
the whole people.

Would it not be well therefore, for the
people of the State to have submitted to
them questions of purely State policy, ex-
clusive of federal politics, and for them to
vote for some good and well tried citizen
of the State, for Governor, who would dis-
cuss before them none but questions of
State policy? Let it be distinctly under-
stood that the co-operation of citizens to
elect such good citizen should not deter-
mine their views upon federal politics. Such
a plan as this would be in accordance
with the theory of our Government and
our organic laws, both State and federal,
contemplate this policy. In the elections
for State officers, questions of State policy
should be submitted. In the elections for
Congressmen and for President and Vice
President of the United States, questions
of national policy should be submitted to
the people. Can this be done? The peo-
ple have it in their power to do so. Let
some suitable man run without being no-
minated by a political Convention,—let him
run as a candidate for Governor, at the in-
stance of the people, advocating the prin-
ciples of truth and conservatism and which
would, if carried into practice, benefit ev-
ery section of the State, and no political
party candidate can defeat him. Such a
candidate would break up the strong hold
of politicians and set the people at liberty.
Such a candidate would bring about such
a revolution in public sentiment and the
action of the Legislature, as would at once
set on foot a line of policy that would
make North Carolina one of the leading
and most powerful States in the Union.

If however, Messrs. Editors, such a
candidate as that indicated cannot be had,
then let us have a Whig and American
candidate. If such a candidate could suc-
ceed, (and his prospects would be flatter-
ing,) and if he were true to the faith of
his Party, then the State might hope for
much. No man can be a true Whig and
fail to advocate a line of liberal and con-
servative policy. A Whig and American
candidate would stand a fair chance to be
elected, and if federal politics must con-
trol the State elections, then in the name
of all that is good and great and conserva-
tive, let us have a conservative party man.
You cannot get such a man from the Dem-
ocratic ranks. The Democracy have but
few conservative men, and they are always
left at home. A struggle will be the next
summer, to get before the people, ques-
tions of State policy, and if some tried
Whig can be induced to run for Governor,
he will succeed and his success will con-
duce to the best and lasting interests of the
whole State. Let action be lead at once,
action, energetic action! HAMILTON.

LOOK AT THIS!—COLE & AMIS
have in Store and are daily receiving a
large and well selected stock of new GOODS.
Letter B C Coffee, C. Yellow, Yellow Ports,
Rice and New Orleans Sugars. Crushed and
Pulverised, English and Molasses, Java,
Laguira and Rio Coffee. Besides a prime
article of Lard (in kegs) Bacon, Sides and
Shoulders, Fish, Rice, Spices of all kinds, Ad-
dams and Sperm Candles, Linseed and
Tanners Oil, Camphene and burning Fluid,
Sole and Upper Leather, Shoe Thread and
other things connected with the Grocery busi-
ness.

Port Maderia, Sherry and Malaga Wine of
a superior quality, Peach, French, Black-Berry
and Cherry Brandy, and a fine assortment
of Confectionaries, Hardware, Crockery
and English and Foreign Goods, Drilling,
and other Domestic of every grade, Philip
Allen, Bay State, Richmond, and Cocheo
Prints, Lawns and Gingham of every descrip-
tion, and a variety from 12 1/2 to 25 cents per
yard. Our facilities for obtaining Goods direct
from first hands at the lowest cash prices,
warrant us in saying, CHEAPER FOR CASH,
CASH, can be sold on time, and we pledge our-
selves to sell as cheap as any similar house
in the State. All orders will receive our
prompt and faithful attention. Country pro-
duce taken in exchange for Goods. House
on West Market Street, formerly occupied by
Graham & Dunn. COLE & AMIS.
April 7th, 1858. 979 4t.

5 CENTS REWARD.—Runaway
from the subscriber on the 4th inst., with-
out any cause or provocation, an indentured
apprentice by the name of Wm. M. Smith.
Said boy is about twenty years of age, heavy
built, light hair. I will give the above re-
ward of five cents and no thanks to any one
who will deliver him to me. All persons are
forwarned against harboring or trading with
him in any way under the penalty of the law.
MILES CHAMNESS.
April 5th, 1858. 979 3w.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,
DAVIDSON COUNTY, Court of Pleas
and Quarter Sessions, February Term, 1858.
Phebe Burrow,
vs.
Yachel Burrow and others.

It appearing to the satisfaction of the Court,
that the Defendants, Alexander Burrow and
Samuel Stout and Mary Stout his wife, are not
inhabitants of this State: It is therefore or-
dered by the Court, that publication be made
for six weeks in the Patriot and Flag, pub-
lished in the town of Greensborough, notifi-
ng the said Alexander Burrow and Samuel
Stout and Mary his wife, to be and appear at
the next Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions,
to be held for the county of Davidson, at the
Court House in Lexington, on the second Mon-
day of May next, and be made parties Defen-
dants to said petition, otherwise judgment
pro-confesso will be rendered against them,
and the case heard ex-parte as to them.
Witness, C. F. Lowe, Clerk of said Court,
at Office, in Lexington, the second Monday of
February, A. D., 1858. 979 6w.

C. F. LOWE, Clerk.

LEXINGTON AHEAD.
Earnhardt & Adderton
are now receiving and opening at Andrew
Harris and co., a new and complete stock of
Spring and Summer Goods, embracing
a general assortment of Dry Goods, Grece-
ries, Hardware, Queensware, Boots, Shoes, Hats,
Caps, Bonnets, Gentlemen's Clothing, a well
selected stock of Ladies' Dress Goods,
Hosiery, Collars, Skirts, Skirting, Lingerie,
kerchiefs, and almost any article in the Mercan-
tile line. All of which will be sold at the low-
est possible rate. We ask those wishing to buy
any article in our line, to come and examine and
judge for themselves. Our goods have been
brought from the Northern Cities very low for cash,
and will be sold to cash buyers at less profits
than has been usually done in this section of
country.

We go for short profits and quick sales, as we
believe 20 per cent. cash, is better than 33 per
cent. on long time.
We say to one and all, come and see us—we
will take great pleasure in showing our goods,
if we do not sell. In conclusion, we return our
sincere thanks to our old friends and customers
for past favors, and still hope by fair dealing
and strict attention to business, to merit their
confidence and esteem.

All kinds of country produce taken in
exchange for Goods.
Lexington, N. C., March, 1858. 978

STRAYED FROM MY PLANTA-
tion, eight miles south of Greensborough,
on Saturday the 27th instant, a small bay
MARE, about eleven years old; also, a
YEARLING COLT. The Colt is a sorrel
with some white in its face, and one eye
blind. Said horse passed through Greens-
borough on Saturday night going north. Any-
one who will take up said horses and give
me information about them, so that I can get
them, shall be liberally rewarded. Any in-
formation addressed to me at Pentress, Guil-
ford county, N. C., will be thankfully re-
ceived.
J. A. KENTUT.
March 30, 1857. 978 3w

JUST ARRIVED, January 20th,
1858, another lot of that beautiful Yellow
C Coffee Sugar, only 12 1/2 cents per pound.
Also, a fresh lot of Bonch Raisins, Figs, Can-
for State officers, questions of State policy
should be submitted. In the elections for
Congressmen and for President and Vice
President of the United States, questions
of national policy should be submitted to
the people. Can this be done? The peo-
ple have it in their power to do so. Let
some suitable man run without being no-
minated by a political Convention,—let him
run as a candidate for Governor, at the in-
stance of the people, advocating the prin-
ciples of truth and conservatism and which
would, if carried into practice, benefit ev-
ery section of the State, and no political
party candidate can defeat him. Such a
candidate would break up the strong hold
of politicians and set the people at liberty.
Such a candidate would bring about such
a revolution in public sentiment and the
action of the Legislature, as would at once
set on foot a line of policy that would
make North Carolina one of the leading
and most powerful States in the Union.

If however, Messrs. Editors, such a
candidate as that indicated cannot be had,
then let us have a Whig and American
candidate. If such a candidate could suc-
ceed, (and his prospects would be flatter-
ing,) and if he were true to the faith of
his Party, then the State might hope for
much. No man can be a true Whig and
fail to advocate a line of liberal and con-
servative policy. A Whig and American
candidate would stand a fair chance to be
elected, and if federal politics must con-
trol the State elections, then in the name
of all that is good and great and conserva-
tive, let us have a conservative party man.
You cannot get such a man from the Dem-
ocratic ranks. The Democracy have but
few conservative men, and they are always
left at home. A struggle will be the next
summer, to get before the people, ques-
tions of State policy, and if some tried
Whig can be induced to run for Governor,
he will succeed and his success will con-
duce to the best and lasting interests of the
whole State. Let action be lead at once,
action, energetic action! HAMILTON.

Leather Belting or Bands.
At Thomasville Depot, Davidson Co. N. C.
MANUFACTURED by the subscriber
either single or double, made from the
best Northern Belting, stretched, pieced
by piece, by improved machinery, cemented
and copper riveted, at New York prices.
CHAS. M. LINES.
Thomasville, Davidson county, N. C.

All orders promptly attended to, and belts
forwarded according to directions. The above
belts are for sale by J. R. & J. Sloan, Greens-
boro', N. C.

Coffee! Coffee!! Sugar!! Su-
gar!!—Just received a good supply of
Rio, Laguira and Java Coffee, Brown and
White Sugar
Adamantine Candles &c. R. G. LINDSAY
Feb. 1858. 871—

Dr. Marchal's Catholicon is un-
questionably one of the best Patent
Medicines for female complaints ever offered
to the public. For sale at the Drug Store of
sep 18 951 4t

Hogheads New Crop Molasses
of a very superior quality, also 3 casks
of very fine Sugar Syrup for cash.
W. J. McCONNEL.
apr 1 929-4t

200Z. Double and Single Barrell
Shot Guns just received. Some very fine.
Some double barrell Guns as low as \$10.00
200 Kegs pure White Lead and Zink Paint
for sale low for cash. W. J. McCONNEL.
apr 1 992-4t

PAUL & WINTER CLOTHING
AT REDUCED PRICES.
10,000 Dollars worth of COATS,
PANTS, and VESTS, will be sold at cost.
Intending to leave by the first of March I
will dispose of all my Stock of Goods on
hand, at cost for CASH ONLY. Those in-
debted to me by Note or Book Account, will
please come and pay, as I must have the
money.
East Market St. Greensboro', N. C.,
9694! January 25th, 1858.

Peruvian Guano, Rhodex Sup'r
on phosphate of Lime, Land Plaster—constantly
on hand, and for sale by
KEITH & FLANNER.
Wilmington, N. C., March 16, 1858. 978 1m

Boiling Cloths of all Nos., from
0 to 11! Warranted, Low for Cash.
W. J. McCONNEL.
apr 1 929-4t

Just received—a lot of Molasses
of the very best quality, direct from
New Orleans. COLE & AMIS.
February 23, 1858. 979 4t

A very large Assortment of Boots
and Shoes, just received, of all kinds,
and low for cash. W. J. McCONNEL.
apr 1 929-4t

GARDEN SEEDS, FROM COM-
STOCK, FERRE & CO., of Wethersfield
Seed Gardens, Wethersfield, Connecticut.
ASPARAGUS ROOTS
DWARF BEANS—Early China, Early Val-
entine, Early Cluster, Early Yellow Six Weeks,
Early Mohawk, Large White Kidney, Succo-
tut, &c.
POLE BEANS—Early Dutch Case Knife,
Horticultural Cranberry, Large Lima, Sieva, or
Carolina Lima
BETS—Fine Early Blood Turnip, Early Yel-
low Turnip, Long Blood Red, White Sugar, Man-
gold Wurzel.
BORCOLE OR KALE—Green Curled Scotch
Kale.
BROCCOLI—White Cape, or Cauliflower.
CABBAGE—Early York, Early Sugarloaf,
Early Flat Batterer, Large French Celeriac,
Large Flat Dutch, Comstock's Premium Flat
Dutch, Large Bergen, Large Late American
Drumhead, Fine Drumhead Savoy, Red Dutch,
for pickling.

CARROT—Early Horn, Long Orange.
CELERY—White Solid, New Silver Giant
Solid, Cole's Superb Red.
CUCUMBER—Early Russian—earliest known,
Early Frame, Early Cluster, Early White Spine,
Long Green—fine, Short Green Truckly,
Extra Long Green Turkey.
EGG PLANT—Long Purple, Large Purple,
Large Sweet, or Sugar.
INDIAN CORN—Early Red Cob Sweet,
Large Sweet, or Sugar.
LETTUCE—Early White Cabbage, Early
Curled Savoy, Versailles, Large Green Ice Head,
Brown Dutch, Ice Cos.
MELON—Green Citron, Skillman's Fine Net
Nutmeg, Large Musk.
WATERMELON—Long Island, Spanish, Or
any.

MUSTARD—White, or English, Brown.
OKRA—Large White, Short Green.
ONION—Seed, Wethersfield Large Red, New
Danvers Yellow, Yellow Silver Skin, White Por-
tugall.
PARSLEY—Myatt's New Garnishing.
PARNIP—Long Smooth.
PEAS—Comstock, Ferre & Co. Earliest Dwarf
Extra Early May, Early Frame, or June, Large
White Marrowfat.
POTATO—Long, Cayenne, Large Squash, or
Tomato, Large Bull-nose, or Bell.
PUMPKIN—Connecticut Field, Large Cheese.
RHUBARB—Myatt's Victoria.
RADISH—Early Short-top Long Scarlet, Early
Scarlet Turnip, White Turnip, Yellow Turnip.
SALSIFY—Salsify—Austrian planzane.
SEA KALE
SQUASH—Early Yellow Bush Scallop, Early
Bush Summer Crookneck.
STRAWBERRY—Large Red, Large Smooth, or
Round Red, Large Yellow.
TURNIP—Early Flat Dutch, or Spring, Strap-
leaved Red Top Flat, Strap-leaved White Flat,
Long White Flat.

SWEET HERBS &c.—Dill, Pot. Marigold,
Sage, Sweet Thyme, Sweet Myrrhine, Summer
Savory.
A Choice Collection of FLOWER SEEDS.
Comstock, Ferre & Co., having made choice
of the finest varieties of culinary vegetables, they
take every precaution to grow the seeds pure,
and of the best quality in every respect.
They superintend the labors of the garden them-
selves, sow the seeds with their own hands, and
attend personally to their cultivation, cleansing,
and packing, so that they can guarantee accu-
racy in the fulfillment of orders, and warrant their
stock of seeds to be Fresh and Pure.
Sold in Greensborough, N. C., by
T. J. PATRICK,
Druggist.

February 25, 1858.
GREENSBORO' MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY.
\$15,704.58 CASH ON HAND
\$502,138.33 PREMIUM NOTES.
Never made an assessment!
Pays all losses promptly!
We can with confidence say this is the
Company to insure in.
Property holders look to your interest.

DIRECTORS:
James Sloan, J. A. Mebane, C. P. Menden-
hall, W. J. McConnell, John L. Cole, Jed. H.
Lindsay, James M. Garrett, E

From the Fayetteville Observer.
KANSAS MATTERS.
Gen. Calhoun has published another Card in the Washington Union of Sunday, stating that he has yet received no reply from Gov. Denver to his letter inquiring as to frauds, but that he has received information confirming the allegation of frauds. He therefore issues the certificates of election to the free-state party, regretting, he says, that "this decision will give the control of Kansas to a party which I view as the enemy of the peace and good order, the constitution and laws of the Union." To put the matter beyond doubt he publishes the long list of members elect to the Legislature.

It is a note-worthy fact, that the vote on Kansas admission was fixed for Monday in the Senate, and was expected during the present week in the House. The Northern Democracy had no idea of being cheated as their Southern brethren had been, and Mr. Calhoun has had to issue the certificates without waiting for the official information upon which they were, according to his previous publication, to be passed. Mr. Gilmer's Bill seems to stand a chance of success. The Washington Correspondent of the Charleston Mercury says: "The bill which Mr. Gilmer, of North Carolina, has notified the House he intends offering as a substitute for the Kansas bill, is for admission of Kansas as a State, without reference to the Lecompton or any other Constitution, but that of the United States. But, however fair it may be in its terms, it would seem to be objectionable for two reasons: for, in the first place, it would not express the will of the people of that Territory, as the Lecompton Constitution does; and, second, it might have the evil effect of disturbing and disorganizing the Democratic majority in the House."

But the American party, of which Mr. Gilmer is one, hold in their hands the political balance, and being few in number and consequently rather sensitive, it may be that the measure will be approved to avoid the risk of losing their votes." There are indications of a break from Lecompton among Southern Democrats. The Washington Correspondent of the Richmond South, another free-casting paper says: "The feeling of Southern members of Congress at the prospect of the admission of Kansas is various, and by no means one of unqualified satisfaction. A distinguished South Carolina member has declared to me that, in consequence of the Freesoil contrivance of Mr. Calhoun, he should vote against the admission of Kansas. The South has nothing of sectional interest to gain by the admission of Kansas. Under Calhoun's decision, it would, in the very act of coming into the Union, be a free State; and it would be represented at the capital by free-soilists who would laugh at our delusion—that there was to be no more controversy about Kansas."

The Strength of Democracy.
Aaron Burr's most recent Biographer says that it was by Aaron Burr that the Democratic party was taught to conquer. He planned and fought the political battle which in 1800 made Jefferson President and himself Vice President. A month before the election the prospect was gloomy enough. Mr. Jefferson gave up hope. Burr would not admit of failure. His house in New York became the rendezvous of the bolder and more resolute spirits of the Democratic party. No local or personal interests were allowed to be discussed. One object alone was ever mentioned or considered, and that was political triumph. Then it was, says the writer, that the party began to submit to that discipline which gave it twenty-five years of victory. "All who numbered themselves as its members," quotes the writer from Prof. Renwick's Life of Clinton, "were required to yield implicit obedience to the will of its majority; that majority was made to move at the beck of committees, which concentrated the power in the hands of a few individuals. Denunciation as a traitor was the fate of him who ventured to act in conformity to his individual opinion, when it did not meet with the general sanction." This omnipotent organization, adds the Biographer, was not completed in a campaign, but it began in 1797, and grew out of the precepts and example of Aaron Burr. A faithful picture of the Democratic organization from that day to this, differing only in name and power from the organization which the Democratic party ascribed to the Know Nothings, and for which the latter were so much reviled by those whose example they sought to imitate. It is a mode of organization powerful for good or evil; and unfortunately it has not always or often been well directed. It was founded by a bold, bad man, and its history, taken as a whole, does not differ greatly from that of the founder.—Fayetteville Observer.

Kansas.—Politicians in Washington must have reached a state of excitement about Kansas to which, we are happy to say, the people are utter strangers. On Monday last, for instance, every avenue to the Senate chamber was thronged, so that even Reporters were unable to get in. Even the lobby, (the floor of the Senate, in rear of members' seats), was packed with ladies and others; and many ladies remained in their places from 9 in the morning till 9 at night, fearing that if they once gave up a seat they would not be able to get another. It will be seen that the Lecompton Bill passed the Senate on Tuesday. This is somewhat surprising after the exposure of the swindle by which the free State party is placed in power by Calhoun. The Southern members had, however, so fully committed themselves to the measure under the deceitful pretence that it was a Southern measure, that we suppose they could not well turn about at the instant that they discovered the crowning fraud. The South is most egregiously cheated in the whole affair. They get the shadow, whilst the North gets the substance.

Special Court.—Judge Manly has ordered a special term of the Superior Court for Stanley County, to be held on the last Monday of May.

The Proposed Bankrupt Law.
When the Whig Congress of 1841 passed the Bankrupt law for the relief of such men as would voluntarily resign every thing they had to their creditors, we all remember what a outcry was raised by Locomotive. It was a fraud, a swindle, a cheat, it was a bill of abominations, it must be repealed, and the whole batch of Whigs that voted for it must be sent to Coventry. Well, the thing was done. The Whig party was overthrown—the law was repealed. And now, it is to be restored, with all its objections, all its sins, all its abominations. It is now, however, a very different thing from what it was then. It is now a just and necessary measure. There is no fraud in it now. No swindling can be attributed to it at the present time. It is a peacemaker—a Democratic panacea for the relief of all ills, natural, commercial and political.—So goes the world.

We do not exactly understand the nature of this bill; but, as it is brought forward by Mr. Toombs, we presume it is intended to carry out Secretary Cobb's grand idea of liquidation, that is to say, it is to be compulsory in its character, and force every body and every bank to settle up at once. The effect of such an immediate liquidation, we have taken pains to point out more than once before. If carried out in the terms proposed by Mr. Cobb, it will produce every bank to call in its dues on the spot, and, as few keep money enough in their pockets to pay their debts, it will force property now valued at two thousand millions of dollars at once into the market. As the whole circulating medium in the country does not reach a third of this figure, it will occasion the most widespread ruin of which there is any account in the history of the world. It will, in fact, produce a revolution—a complete revolution in society—and there is every reason to believe that a civil war will follow. We know, not, however, whether the Secretary's plan is to be carried out.—Richmond Whig.

State of North Carolina, Ramsey, DOLPH, Clerk of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, February Term, A. D. 1858.
Susanah H. Vickery,

John Swaim and wife Charlotte, Anderson Vickery, Jonathan V. Vickery, Lindsay Swaim and wife Mary, George Swaim and wife Reubena, Richard L. Swaim and wife Leokadia, David Vickery, James Crow and wife Martha Ann, Mary Hannah Lamb and Joseph M. Lamb.
Petition for Dower.

In this case, it appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that the defendants, James Crow and wife Martha Ann, Mary Hannah Lamb and Joseph M. Lamb, Richard L. Swaim and wife Leokadia, and David Vickery, are not inhabitants of this State.—It is therefore ordered by the Court, that publication be made for six weeks in the Greensboro Patriot and Flag, notifying said non-resident defendants to appear at the next Term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, to be held for the county of Randolph, at the Court House in the town of Asheboro, on the first Monday of May, 1858, and then and there to plead, answer or demur to plaintiff's petition, or judgment pro confesso will be entered, and a writ of dower ordered to be issued.

Witness, Benjamin F. Hoover, Clerk of said Court, at Office, the first Monday in February, 1858. Issued 19th of February, 1858.
B. F. HOOVER, C. C. C.

ATTENTION!—Negro and Land Sale.—By virtue of a decree of Court, and for the purposes therein specified, I shall expose to sale, to the highest bidder, at the Court House in the town of Greensboro, on the 15th day of April, 1858, being Monday, the 15th day of April, 1858, the following property of Joseph Mitchell, deceased, viz: A valuable Tract of Land lying five miles North-west of Greensboro, known as the MARTINVILLE TRACT, including about four hundred acres, of which about two hundred and fifty acres are under cultivation. The balance being under cultivation. The said land is well watered, and in a good state of cultivation. Persons wishing to purchase a Good Farm would do well to attend the sale.

Also, at the same time and place, I shall offer for sale a likely Negro Man. The above property will be sold upon credit, and the balance paid in cash. Persons wishing to view the above land, etc., apply to Mr. Albert Whittington, who resides upon the place, or to myself in Greensboro.

WALKER'S CORN HUSKER.
A new and useful invention for which we have just obtained a Patent, is now on exhibition in the one story brick building, third door north of Lindsay's corner. A good corn husker is a machine long sought after by our farmers, as being more efficient, more needed and most useful. With this machine one hand can husk from thirty to thirty-five barrels of corn per day, leaving the husk in a most admirable condition for feeding stock. The public are invited to call and examine this Machine. It is remarkable for its simplicity, cheapness and durability, and will require but a few minutes to satisfy the most incredulous of its practical utility. This Machine is one among the few new inventions that will stand the test, and go into general use upon its own merits.

As we are desirous of introducing it into all the States of the Union, as early as possible, we have the opportunity to make money will be offered to those who may desire to purchase State rights. Persons at a distance, desiring further particulars, will please address the subscriber at Greensboro, N. C.
F. M. WALKER.
March 4th, 1858. 974 tf

GLENN ANNA FEMALE SEMINARY.
RY, THOMASVILLE, DAVIDSON CO., North Carolina. The Spring Session of this Institution, will commence on the 8th of February, 1858.

The managers have made arrangements for a corps of Teachers, inferior to none South of Philadelphia, with Miss P. L. LATHROP, a graduate of Wyoming Seminary—a lady whose scholarship, personal appearance, experience and christian character, are all that could be desired for Principal.

Board in the Institution, exclusive of lights and washing, \$6 per month. Tuition, per session, for English branches, \$6 to \$15; Music on Piano Forte or Guitar, \$20 including use of instrument; French \$8; Painting on Oil \$15; Painting in Water-colors, \$8—\$1 per session for incidentals. As the charges are very low, one hall must be paid at the commencement, and the remainder at the middle of each session.

The Seminary is six miles from Normal College, and a Stage runs both ways, daily. Parents can send their sons and daughters to Thomasville—the sons go on to Normal College over a Turnpike Road, in forty minutes. No pupils allowed to make accounts, without the consent of parents or guardians. A public Examination will take place at the close of each session—the first, at the expiration of the present one, February 5th, 1858.

For further information address J. W. THOMAS, President, Board of Trustees, Thomasville, Jan. 1st, 1858. 966 tf

MITCHELL'S FALLS.—AGENTS
wanted in every county in the State, to canvass for the sale and delivery of an excellent Lithograph Picture, taken upon the spot, and gotten up in the finest style of the Art, representing the place where the Rev. Elisha Mitchell lost his life in his explorations of the Black Mountains, in the summer of 1857. Upon the receipt of Three Dollars, we will furnish to each person names of names, and procure subscribers to the Tinted and the other Colored, as samples, with full particulars as to the terms of the agency, &c. We will offer inducements sufficient to make it pay an energetic agent. For further particulars, address us at Asheville, N. C. LEWIS & DICKINSON.

JERSEY SETTLEMENT.—THE
subscriber offers for sale, his very valuable farm, in the late-famed Jersey Settlement, lying between the Yadkin River and Swearing Creek, the land being bounded on the East side by the latter stream, and is also within four or five miles of Holsburg Station. The tract contains about 700 acres, with about one half under good cultivation, and the other of splendid Oak, Pine, and Chestnut forest. Also, 15 or 20 acres of the best Meadow in the State. The water power is also very superior, to which is attached a GRIST AND SAW MILL, the Saw Mill is in very good repair, and the Grist Mill can, with a very small cost, be made one of the most valuable in the State. The dwelling and out-houses are all very good. Any person or persons wishing to purchase the above kind of property, would do well to call on me at home, or address me at Holsburg Station. The land will be sold together, or divided to suit purchasers.

AUSTIN BRADSHAW.
Davidson Co., N. C., Nov., 1857. 959 tf

THE LIVER INVIGORATOR!
PREPARED BY DR. SANFORD.
Compounded entirely from GUMS, IS ONE OF THE BEST PURGATIVE AND LIVER MEDICINES. It is a powerful and efficient medicine, and is adapted to all cases of Liver complaint, Biliousness, Indigestion, Headache, &c. It is a most valuable medicine, and is adapted to all cases of Liver complaint, Biliousness, Indigestion, Headache, &c. It is a most valuable medicine, and is adapted to all cases of Liver complaint, Biliousness, Indigestion, Headache, &c.

THE SECRET INFIRMITIES OF YOUTH.
The 25th Thousand.—Just Published, by Dr. J. W. Wood, a new and complete treatise on the various infirmities of youth, such as Strabismus, Squint, &c. It is a most valuable work, and is adapted to all cases of Strabismus, Squint, &c. It is a most valuable work, and is adapted to all cases of Strabismus, Squint, &c.

PRINTING AND WRAPPING PAPER.
The undersigned are prepared at all times to manufacture PRINTING PAPER of first-rate quality—and of any size used in this State, and at prices to suit the times.

FRESH GARDEN SEEDS.—W. C.
Porter having just received his fresh supply of Garden Seeds would most respectfully ask of those who would not be deprived of the luxury and enjoyment that a productive Garden offers, to call and select from his large and well assorted stock, embracing almost every variety.

VALUABLE LANDS.—I am desirous of disposing of my lands, situated in Davidson County, on Abbeys Creek. Said tract contains about 250 acres, running up to the bridge at Berrier's Mill, and lying on both sides of Abbeys Creek, on which there are some valuable bottom land. It is also valuable for timber—being well stocked with pine, oak and walnut, and is quite convenient to the N. C. Rail Road. A steam saw mill is now in operation on an adjoining tract. Terms to suit purchasers. For further particulars apply to James A. Long. 916 tf

400 Bags Liverpool Salt in large
sacks, just received and for sale low. [See 8] W. J. McCONNELL.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, GUILFORD COUNTY.—IN EQUITY.
Elizabeth Irwin, W. H. H. Irwin, James N. Irwin, Henry Hodges and wife Rachel, Washington Hodges and his wife Mary, Solomon Sullivan and his wife Betsy, against Newton Irwin, Hymelus Irwin, Lindsay Irwin, Sergeant Clark and his wife.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, GUILFORD COUNTY.—IN EQUITY.
Frederick Festens.
The North Carolina Copper Company.—The North Carolina Mining Company, and James Sloan.

THE SECRET INFIRMITIES OF YOUTH.
The 25th Thousand.—Just Published, by Dr. J. W. Wood, a new and complete treatise on the various infirmities of youth, such as Strabismus, Squint, &c. It is a most valuable work, and is adapted to all cases of Strabismus, Squint, &c. It is a most valuable work, and is adapted to all cases of Strabismus, Squint, &c.

WONDERFUL DISCOVERY.
OIL & AMLS has been discovered, that they can sell goods cheaper for cash, by at least 25 per cent., than they have formerly been sold in this section of country.

Threshing Machines.—The subscriber is agent for the sale of Wheeler, Millick, & Co's. celebrated Threshing Machines, which have given universal satisfaction whenever tried, and are warranted, when sold, to give satisfaction or no sale.

Persons in Want of a Fine or
Consign to Coat would do well to examine the stock of French Cloths, the largest stock in town. They will be sold very low. W. J. McCONNELL.

JUST RECEIVED AND FOR SALE
A splendid 6 1/2 Octave Rose Wood Piano which will be sold low for cash. W. J. McCONNELL.

QUANTITY OF TANNER'S OIL
for sale. Just received. Offered very low. W. J. McCONNELL.

\$50 Reward.—Runaway from
the subscriber on the 20th of January, 1858, a very likely negro boy named Washington, about 21 years of age, five feet 4 or 5 inches high, well built, very sharp eyes, a scar on one foot caused by running a rake through it; had on good shoes, pants and shirt; his coat, vest and hat left. It is likely he will try to get off. The above reward of \$50 will be given for his delivery to me, or his confinement in any jail so that I get him again. My Post Office is Hartshorne, Alamance county, N. C., where any letter concerning him should be addressed.

\$50 REWARD! Runaway from
the subscriber on the 15th of August last, a negro man named TOM. He is about 30 years old, 5 feet 11 inches high, weight about 170 pounds, and dark complexion. Wore on the chin a tuft of hair or goatee, which he may have taken off. His clothes not recollected. Has a very good looking face, and is very quick spoken—good teeth.

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QUANTITY OF TANNER'S OIL
for sale. Just received. Offered very low. W. J. McCONNELL.

DR. MORSE'S INDIAN ROOT PILLS.
DR. MORSE, the inventor of MORSE'S INDIAN ROOT PILLS, has spent the greater part of his life in travelling, having visited Europe, Asia, and Africa, as well as North America—has spent three years among the Indians of our Western country. It was in this way that the Indian Root Pills were first discovered. Dr. Morse was the first man to establish the fact that all diseases arise from IMPURITY OF THE BLOOD—that our strength, health and life depended upon the vital fluid.

When the various passages become clogged, and do not circulate in perfect harmony with the different functions of the body, the blood loses its action, becomes thick, corrupted and diseased; thus causing all panic sickness and distress of every name; our strength is exhausted, our health we are deprived of, and if nature is not assisted in throwing out the stagnant humors, the blood will become choked and cease to act, and thus our fight of life will forever be blown out. How important then that we should keep the various passages of the body free and open. And how pleasant to us that we have it in our power to put a medicine in your hands, namely, Morse's Indian Root Pills, manufactured from plants and roots which grow around the mountainous cliffs in Nature's garden, for the health and recovery of diseased man. One of the roots from which these Pills are made is a Scurdific, which opens the pores of the skin, and assists Nature in throwing out the various impurities of the body. The second is a plant which is an Expectoant, that opens and unclogs the passage to the lungs, and thus, in a soothing manner, performs its duty by throwing off phlegm, and other humors from the lungs by copious spitting. The third is a Diuretic, which gives ease and doubtless relieves the urinary system, as they draw large amounts of impurity from the blood, which is then thrown out by the urinary or water passage, and which could not have been discharged in any other way. The fourth is a Cathartic, and accompanies the other properties of the Pills which engaged in purifying the blood, and clearing the system of impurity, which cannot pass by the other outlets, are thus taken up and conveyed off in great quantities by the bowels.

From the above, it is shown that Dr. Morse's Indian Root Pills not only enter the stomach, but become united with the blood, for they find way to every part, and thus, they not only cleanse the system from all impurity, and the life of the body, which is thereby, becomes perfectly healthy; consequently all sickness and pain is driven from the system, for they cannot remain when the body becomes so pure and clear.

The reason why people are so distressed when such a medicine is used, is because they do not get a medicine which will pass to the afflicted parts, and which will open the natural passages for the disease to be cast out; hence a large quantity of food and other matter is lodged, and the stomach and intestines are literally overflowing with the corrupted mass; thus undergoing corruption, and the fermentation of the blood, with the blood, which throws the corrupted matter through every vein and artery, until life is taken from the body by disease. Dr. Morse's Pills have added to themselves victory upon victory, by restoring millions of the sick to blooming health and happiness. Yes, the sick, the weak, the aged, the afflicted, the feeble, the emaciated, the scorched by the burning elements of raging fever, and who have been brought, as it were, within a step of the silent grave, now stand ready to testify that they would have been numbered with the dead, had it not been for this great and wonderful medicine, Morse's Indian Root Pills. After they have been taken, they were astonished, and absolutely surprised, in witnessing their charming effects. Not only do they give immediate ease and strength, and take away all sickness, pain and anguish, but they also give to the afflicted, the life of the disease, which is the blood. Therefore, it will be shown, especially by those who use these Pills, that they will so cleanse and purify, that disease—that deadly enemy—will take its flight, and the flush of youth and beauty will again return, and the prospect of a long and happy life will cheer and brighten your days.

CAUTION.—Beware of a counterfeit sign! A. J. WHITE & CO. All genuine have the name of A. J. WHITE & CO. on each box. Also the signature of A. J. White & Co. All others are spurious.

A FORTUNE for Somebody!!
A fortune to wind up my business in this part of the country. I now offer for sale all my valuable Property, known as the Franklinville Tobacco Factory, situated in the vicinity of Germantown, N. C. Every thing is complete for carrying on, exclusively the manufacture of tobacco at this establishment. A large and commodious warehouse, with all necessary out-houses, store houses, stables &c. The factory is well stocked with new machines, shapers, screws, mills, levers, &c. In short, it is supplied with almost every article used in such an establishment.

COACH MAKING.—James E. Thom
respectfully informs the public, that he is still engaged in the Carriage business in all its branches, at the old stand on South Elm. All kinds of pleasure Vehicles kept on hand, or made to order. Now is the time for those who wish to purchase during the Spring or Summer, to send in their orders. REPAIRING promptly attended to, and produce taken in exchange for work. January, 1858. 966 tf

Just received and for Sale Low.
Spring, Axes, Paints, Leather, Dishes, Enamelled Leather, &c. W. J. McCONNELL.