

CHAPTER IX.

Emigration to Kansas — The Emigrant Aid Companies.

THE "Missouri Compromise" had settled the question of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, "*forever.*" At the end of a generation this settlement was set aside by the act establishing their territorial governments.

So far as there is any especial principle regulating the provisions of that act, it is its intention of leaving the institutions of the territories to those who may inhabit them. This principle is familiarly called "the principle of squatter sovereignty," in language attributed to General Cass.

To carry out this principle fairly, it would be, of course, necessary that no restriction of any kind should be placed upon the emigration into these territories.

It has appeared, however, from the whole experience of the United States, that there is scarcely any disposition on the part of emigrants from Europe, or from the Northern States, to move into regions where the institution of slavery is permitted. Free labor will not place itself side by side

with slave labor, and the great preponderance of northern and foreign emigration has always been to the free states and territories of the North-west.

As the discussion upon the Nebraska and Kansas bill proceeded, it became evident, from the very nature of the case, that there was a desire of extending slavery into Kansas, the southern territory of the two. There was no need of repealing the Missouri Compromise, except to gratify this desire.

It was just as evident, that the great mass of the emigration would turn away from Kansas, in proportion as there was a probability of the establishment of slavery there. No single man or single family, unwilling to enter a slave state, would trust themselves, unsupported, in a territory which would probably become one.

To secure to Kansas, therefore, a fair proportion of the western emigration; to secure for the principle of "squatter sovereignty" a fair trial; and to make sure that the institutions, both of Kansas and Nebraska, should be digested by settlers of every class; it became necessary that some organization of the great current of western emigration should encourage each emigrant from the North, by showing him how strong a force was behind him and around him.

Some organization of western emigration was also necessary on pure grounds of humanity. The immense pilgrimage of four hundred thousand persons, arriving annually in

America from Europe, has thus far scarcely attracted the attention of the general government. It has cared for their health on shipboard, but it makes no provision for them after their arrival. The decisions of its courts have even harassed, very considerably, the police and hospital provisions made for them by the maritime states. These states succeed, however, in taxing the emigrant on his arrival, that they may provide a fund for the care of the emigrant body. With this, the supervision of government ceases entirely; and those foreign emigrants who wish to go to the West — perhaps one half of the whole number — are left, scarcely protected by the public, to the rapacity of all unprincipled persons, frequently that of their own countrymen, who choose to prey on their ignorance of our geography, our customs, our language, and of their own rights and necessities. In the State of New York there is even a system of slang language in use by the various harpies who feed this emigration. So various are the forms of fraud that they require a dialect of their own. Even the humane legislation of New York has in vain attempted to break up this system. Through the summer of 1854 foreign emigrants have been hurried to the West, so closely and inhumanly packed away in trains of cars that they were the first victims of cholera, in the western cities to which they came, and have furnished to that disease a constant supply of victims.

This condition of the foreign emigration westward also pointed to the necessity of an organization of emigration.

The activity of the Northern States, at the present time, in the institution of "Emigrant Aid Companies," and "leagues" and "associations" auxiliary to such companies, springs from one or both of these considerations. The number of persons in the Northern and North-western States who move to some home westward of that they occupy, is probably three hundred thousand a year, including the immense foreign contingent. Evidently, this movement is so large as to demand the most careful oversight of the travelling arrangements made for it; and as evidently, also, a small proportion of it only will be enough to give Kansas the population requisite for her admission as a state into the Union.

Influenced by both the considerations spoken of, Mr. Eli Thayer, a member of the Massachusetts house of representatives, circulated a petition, in the month of March, 1854, for the incorporation, by the General Court of Massachusetts, of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company. The petition was at once granted by the Legislature, and a charter given, of which the first section follows:

"SEC. 1. Benjamin C. Clark, Isaac Livermore, Charles Allen, Isaac Davis, William G. Bates, Stephen C. Phillips, Charles C. Hazowell, Alexander H. Bullock, Henry Wilson, James S. Whitney, Samuel E. Sewall, Samuel G. Howe, James Holland, Moses Kimball, James D. Green,

Francis W. Bird, Otis Clapp, Anson Burlingame, Eli Thayer, and Otis Rich, their associates, successors and assigns, are hereby made a corporation, by the name of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, for the purpose of assisting emigrants to settle in the West; and, for this purpose, they have all the powers and privileges, and be subject to all the duties, restrictions, and liabilities, set forth in the thirty-eighth and forty-fourth chapters of the Revised Statutes."

The charter was signed by the Governor on the 26th day of April, and took effect immediately. The persons named in it, and others interested, met at the State House, in Boston, on the 4th of May, accepted the charter, and appointed a committee to report a plan of organization and system of operations. The committee consisted of Eli Thayer, Alexander H. Bullock, and E. E. Hale of Worcester, Richard Hildreth and Otis Clapp of Boston, who submitted the following report at an adjourned meeting:

"R E P O R T.

"The objects of this corporation are apparent in its name. The immense emigration to America from Europe introduces into our ports a very large number of persons eager to pass westward. The fertility of our western regions, and the cheapness of the public lands, induce many of the native-born citizens of the old states also to emigrate thither.

At the present time, public and social considerations of the gravest character render it desirable to settle the territories west of Missouri and Iowa; and these considerations are largely increasing the amount of westward emigration.

"The foreign arrivals in America last year were four hundred thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven. In the same year, the emigration to western states, of Americans and foreigners, must have amounted to much more than two hundred thousand persons. The emigration thither this year will be larger still. And from the older western states large numbers are removing into new territory.

"Persons who are familiar with the course of movement of this large annual throng of emigrants know that under the arrangements now existing they suffer at every turn. The frauds practised upon them by 'runners,' and other agents of transporting lines in the state of New York, amount to a stupendous system of knavery, which has not been broken up even by the patient endeavors of the state officers, and by very stringent state legislation. The complete ignorance as to our customs in which the foreign emigrant finds himself, and, in more than half the foreign emigration, his complete ignorance of our language, subject him to every fraud, and to constant accident. It is in the face of every conceivable inconvenience that the country receives every year four hundred thousand foreigners into its seaports, and sends the larger portion of them to its western country.

"The inconveniences and dangers to health to which the pioneer is subject who goes out alone or with his family, only in making a new settlement, are familiar to every American.

"The Emigrant Aid Company has been incorporated to protect emigrants, as far as may be, from such inconveniences. Its duty is to *organize emigration to the west and bring it into a system.* This duty, which should have been attempted long ago, is particularly essential now, in the critical position of the western territories.

"The legislature has granted a charter, with a capital sufficient for these purposes. This capital is not to exceed \$5,000,000. In no single year are assessments to a larger amount than ten per cent. to be called for. The incorporators believe that if the company be organized at once, as soon as the subscription to the stock amounts to \$1,000,000, the annual income to be derived from that amount, and the subsequent subscriptions, may be so appropriated as to render most essential service to the emigrant, to plant a free state in Kansas, to the lasting advantage of the country, and to return a very handsome profit to the stockholders upon their investment.

"1. The emigrant suffers whenever he goes alone into his new home. He suffers from the frauds of others; from his own ignorance of the system of travel, and of the country where he settles; and, again, from his want of

support from neighbors, which results in the impossibility of any combined assistance, or of any division of labor.

"The Emigrant Aid Company will relieve him from all these embarrassments by sending out emigrants in companies, and establishing them in considerable numbers. They will locate these where they please on arrival in their new home, and receive from government their titles. The company propose to carry them to their homes more cheaply than they could otherwise go, to enable them to establish themselves with the least inconvenience, and to provide the most important prime necessities of a new colony. It will provide shelter and food at the lowest prices after the arrival of emigrants, while they make the arrangements necessary for their new homes. It will render all the assistance which the information of its agents can give. And, by establishing emigrants in large numbers in the territories, it will give them the power of using at once those social influences which radiate from the church, the school, and the press, in the organization and development of a community.

"For these purposes it is recommended, first, that the directors contract immediately, with some one of the competing lines of travel, for the conveyance of twenty thousand persons from Massachusetts to that place in the west which the directors shall select for their first settlement.

"It is believed that passage may be obtained, in so large a contract, at half the price paid by individuals. We recom-

mend that emigrants receive the full advantage of this diminution of price, and that they be forwarded in companies of two hundred, as they apply, at these reduced rates of travel.

"2. It is recommended that, at such points as the directors select for places of settlement, they shall at once construct a boarding-house or receiving-house, in which three hundred persons may receive temporary accommodation on their arrival; and that the number of such houses be enlarged as necessity may dictate. The new comers or their families may thus be provided for in the necessary interval which elapses while they are making their selection of a location.

"3. It is recommended that the directors procure and send forward steam saw-mills, grist-mills, and such other machines as shall be of constant service in a new settlement, which cannot, however, be purchased or carried out conveniently by individual settlers. These machines may be leased or run by the company's agents. At the same time, it is desirable that a printing press be sent out, and a weekly newspaper established. This would be the organ of the company's agents; would extend information regarding its settlement, and be, from the very first, an index of that love of freedom and of good morals which it is to be hoped may characterize the state now to be formed.

"4. It is recommended that the company's agents locate, and take up for the company's benefit the sections of land

in which the boarding-houses and mills are located, and no others. And, further, that whenever the territory shall be organized as a free state, the directors shall dispose of all its interests there, replace by the sales the money laid out, declare a dividend to the stockholders, and —

"5. That they then select a new field, and make similar arrangements for the settlement and organization of another free state of this Union.

"II. With the advantages attained by such a system of effort, the territory selected as the scene of operations would, it is believed, at once fill up with free inhabitants. There is reason to suppose that several thousand men of New England origin propose to emigrate under the auspices of some such arrangement this very summer. Of the whole emigration from Europe, amounting to some four hundred thousand persons, there can be no difficulty in inducing thirty or forty thousand to take the same direction. Applications from German agents have already been made to members of the company. We have also intimations, in correspondence from the free states of the west, of a wide-spread desire there, among those who know what it is to settle a new country, to pass on, if such an organization can be made, into that now thrown open. An emigrant company of those intending to go has been formed in Worcester county, and others in other states.

"In view of the establishment by such agencies of a new free state in that magnificent region, it is unnecessary to

dwell in detail on the advantages which this enterprise holds out to the country at large.

"It determines in the right way the institutions of the unsettled territories, in less time than the discussion of them has required in Congress. It opens to those who are in want in the eastern states a home and a competence, without the suffering hitherto incident to emigration. For the company is the pioneer, and provides, before the settler arrives, the conveniences which he first requires. Such a removal of an over-crowded population is one of the greatest advantages to eastern cities. Again, the enterprise opens commercial advantages to the commercial states, just in proportion to the population which it creates, of free men who furnish a market to our manufactures and imports. Whether the new line of states shall be free states or slave states, is a question deeply interesting to those who are to provide the manufactures for their consumption. Especially will it prove an advantage to Massachusetts if she create the new state by her foresight, — supply the first necessities to its inhabitants, and open in the outset communications between their homes and her ports and factories.

"In return for these advantages, which the company's rapid and simple effort affords to the emigrant and to the country, its stockholders receive that satisfaction, ranked by Lord Bacon among the very highest, of becoming founders of states,* and, more than this, states which are prosperous

* See Mr. Everett's speech on the Nebraska Bill.

and free. They secure satisfaction by an investment which promises large returns at no distant day.

"Under the plan proposed, it will be but two or three years before the company can dispose of its property in the territory first occupied, and reimburse itself for its first expenses. At that time, in a state of seventy thousand inhabitants, it will possess several reservations of six hundred and forty acres each, on which its boarding-houses and mills stand, and the churches and school-houses which it has rendered necessary. From these centres will the settlements of the state have radiated. In other words, these points will then be the large commercial positions of the new state. If there were only one such, its value, after the region should be so far peopled, would make a very large dividend to the company which sold it, besides restoring its original capital, with which to enable it to attempt the same adventure elsewhere.

"It is to be remembered that all accounts agree that the region of Kansas is the most desirable part of America now open to the emigrant. It is accessible in five days continuous travel from Boston. Its crops are very bountiful, its soil being well adapted to the staples of Virginia and Kentucky, and especially to the growth of hemp. In its eastern section the woodland and prairie-land intermix, in proportions very well adapted for the purposes of the settler. Its mineral resources, especially its coal, in the central and western parts, are inexhaustible. A steamboat is already plying on the Kansas river, and the territory has uninterrupted steam-

boat communication with New Orleans, and all the tributaries of the Mississippi river. All the overland emigration to California and Oregon, by any of the easier routes, passes of necessity through its limits. Whatever roads are built westward must begin in this territory. For it is here that the emigrant leaves the Missouri river. Of late years the demand for provisions and breadstuffs, made by emigrants proceeding to California, has given to the inhabitants of the neighboring parts of Missouri a market at as good rates as they could have found in the Union.

"It is impossible that such a region should not fill up rapidly. The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company proposes to give confidence to settlers, by giving system to emigration. By dispelling the fears that Kansas will be a slave state, the company will remove the only bar which now hinders its occupation by free settlers. It is to be hoped that similar companies will be formed in other free states. The enterprise is of that character, that, for those who first enter it, the more competition the better.

"It is recommended that the first settlement made by the directors shall receive the name of that city in this Commonwealth which shall have subscribed most liberally to the capital stock of the company, in proportion to its last decennial valuation; and that the second settlement be named from the city next in order so subscribing.

"It is recommended that a meeting of the stockholders be called on the first Wednesday in June, to organize the com-

pany for one year; and that the corporators, at this time, make a temporary organization, with power to obtain subscriptions to the stock, and make any necessary preliminary arrangements.

"ELI THAYER,
"For the Committee."

The capital stock of the Massachusetts company was originally fixed at \$5,000,000, from which it was proposed to collect an assessment of four per cent. for the operations of 1854, so soon as \$1,000,000 were subscribed. It subsequently proved that the provisions of the charter were not such as to satisfy all the parties interested, and the company finally organized on the 13th of June, under private articles of association, the management of its affairs being entrusted to three trustees: Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, Mr. Eli Thayer, and Mr. J. M. S. Williams, of Cambridge. These trustees have proceeded to collect subscriptions to the stock, to collect and circulate information regarding the territories, and to make negotiations for the passage of emigrants to the territory of Kansas, and for such provision as can be made for them there, under the general plan of the association.

It must be understood that this plan does not contemplate the purchase of land in large quantities. The company does not stand between the emigrant and the United States government. He may get his land as he can, as a squatter

or by purchase. The company only takes up such land as it needs for its central establishments. By providing cheap passage, — passage in companies, — and information to settlers; by establishing mills and other conveniences which need capital, the company gives such facilities to emigrants as capital can give, but does not interfere at all with their selection of land, except by the advice of the agents whom it has upon the ground.

A small party of about thirty men went forward, as a pioneer party of this company, on the 17th of July.

The Emigrant Aid Company of New York and Connecticut organized on the 18th of July, under a charter granted by the legislature of Connecticut at the session of the same summer. Its objects are of the same general character as those of the Boston company. Its affairs are in the hands of a board of twenty-seven trustees, who choose an executive committee of three for their immediate direction. The capital stock of this company is not to exceed five million dollars, to be raised in shares of five dollars each. Mr. Eli Thayer is president, Mr. R. N. Havens vice-president, and Mr. M. H. Grinnell treasurer of this company.

These two parent companies propose to send forward trains of emigrants to Kansas as rapidly as possible after the general arrangements for their cheap and safe conveyance have been made. They carry all who apply for tickets for the journey. It is not within the immediate power of two such companies to conduct a correspondence with every indi-

vidual who wishes to emigrate, nor to arrange that companies of neighbors shall go together, without the intervention of local societies, which shall take in hand the details of such arrangements. Local "leagues" or emigrant societies, for the detailed care of the arrangements of parties of emigrants, have been formed, therefore, in several of the large towns. There are such societies, auxiliary to the "Aid Companies," in New York, in Albany, in Rochester, and probably in other towns. It is greatly to be desired that the number of such auxiliaries may be enlarged. Each of them should appoint and pay a master of emigration, who may find out all those who wish to move westward in his neighborhood; make such arrangements with the Emigrant Aid Company that, if they wish, they can go together; and, in general, conduct their negotiations with the parent company, without subjecting each man to the necessity of writing himself, and for himself receiving a reply.

Side by side with the associations now described, the Union Emigration Society was organized in the city of Washington, "by such members of Congress and citizens generally as were opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and to the opening of Nebraska and Kansas to the introduction of slavery." This society is understood to have appointed agents in several states, for the purpose of calling public attention to its movements, and organizing auxiliary societies.

The operations of the two Emigrant Aid Companies, and

of the "leagues" auxiliary to them, are so completely in their infancy, that it is impossible to make a statement of their plans much more definite than that contained in the report of their first committee. To all applicants for passage they will be able to furnish passage tickets, of the first class, from Boston to Kansas, at an expense of twenty or twenty-five dollars. Passage with a simpler class of accommodations may probably be furnished for ten dollars. These rates are much lower than the regular rates of travel, and emigrants who take these tickets have the assurance of the company's guarantee that the tickets will be serviceable for their purpose, and that no further exactions for travel will be made on the way to Kansas. They will travel in parties of persons bound to the same home with themselves. They will arrive at a station of the company, where they will meet with friends, and receive such information and general assistance as it is in the power of the company to give them.

Applications have already been received from large numbers of persons from almost every one of the free states, and from some of the slave states, who wish to join in this emigration. The officers of several of the foreign benevolent societies have interested themselves in the operations of the companies, intending to direct to Kansas large bodies of European emigrants, as they arrive.

So soon as the heat of summer abates, parties of these emigrants are to move forward. A party from Conneaut-

ville, Pennsylvania, accompanies Mr. George W. Brown, who carries out a steam press and types, with which to establish the "Herald of Freedom" newspaper, in Kansas. A general interest in the movement has extended among mechanics of every craft; and, as the companies will, doubtless, soon establish mills, with steam or water power, at central and accessible positions, we may believe that even the first settlers will have around them, not merely the luxuries of a teeming soil, but even the conveniences of manufactures, near their own homes, with the arrangements of an advanced civilization.

Meanwhile, a rapid emigration has been going on into the territories, particularly into Kansas, quite independent of the Emigrant Aid Companies. During the close of the winter of 1853-54, it is said, large numbers of persons from north-western states collected in the towns on the eastern side of the Missouri, awaiting the opening of the territories, that they might go in and stake out their locations. As the spring opened, a rapid current of emigration began. At first, the northern settlers went generally into Nebraska, but so soon as it was known that determined and combined arrangements would be made to settle Kansas from the North, the natural attractions of that territory began to exercise their influence, and the preponderance of emigration, through the summer of 1854, has been into its borders. The Indian treaties were ratified only at the close of the session of the Senate; some of them not till the begin-

ning of August. Settlement on the Indian lands was, therefore, until that time, strictly illegal. But persons intending to emigrate, in many instances, made arrangements with the Indians, or, at the least, staked off the land on which they wished to settle, and made registry of the priority of their claim on the books of some "Squatter's Association."

A large number of the residents of western Missouri have in this manner passed over the line, and made claim to such sections as pleased them, intending, at some subsequent period, to make such improvements as will give them a right of preëmption, when the lands are offered for sale, but for the present not residing on the new territory. The Indian reservations run westward not more than forty, sixty, or eighty miles. West of these the country has been open without restriction to settlers, many of whom have already begun their permanent improvements. Since the ratification of the treaties there is no obstacle to such a proceeding, except in the few small reservations, already described, left for the present by the terms of the treaties. It is, of course, impossible to estimate the number of scattered persons who have gone into Kansas already in this way; indeed, there is little use in an estimate of a number which is enlarging every day. Some newspaper statements have fixed the number of claims made before the first of August, 1854, at three or four thousand. This was, probably, at that time, an exaggeration, but our best information leads

us to suppose that that number of claims will have been made before these pages meet the reader's eye. ●

The law providing for the survey of Kansas and Nebraska passed Congress late in the session of 1854. Its title is, "An Act to establish the offices of surveyor-general of New Mexico, Kansas and Nebraska, to grant donations of land to actual settlers therein, and for other purposes." From this title the impression has gone abroad, very naturally, that actual settlers in Kansas and Nebraska will receive donations of land from the government; but it appears, from the act itself, that this is a mistake. The second section of the act grants a quarter-section of land to every white male person, above the age of twenty-one years, who shall live in the territory of *New Mexico* before the year 1858, with certain conditions. Subsequent sections provide for the land offices in Kansas and Nebraska, but make no provision for donations of land to settlers. The title of the bill is therefore false, and the position of a settler in Kansas is precisely what it is in any other of the western states or territories.

Whether the land has been surveyed or not, he may enter where he likes, and build his house, and cultivate his farm, unless he trespass upon some previous settler. It is the universal custom, at the West, for settlers in the same neighborhoods to enter into associations for mutual protection; and such associations give a guarantee, always binding, which secures to each settler the proprietorship of his

land. The "squatter right" thus becomes a title to the land occupied, which is distinctly recognized in mercantile transactions, and may be bought or sold. When the government has completed its surveys, and considers the land to be marketable, it advertises a public sale of the lands. The minimum price is one dollar and twenty-five cents; and the mutual support given by settlers is such, that no person bids over the claimant who has entered upon his land. Practically, therefore, the settler has the use of his land for nothing until the government sale is ordered, and then obtains his own quarter-section at one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre. A "section" of land is six hundred and forty acres. A quarter-section is the smallest section which the government officers sell at a time.

The surveys of Kansas or Nebraska will scarcely begin before late in the fall of 1854.

Such associations as these described have already been found among the settlers, in both Kansas and Nebraska. An effort has been made, particularly by one person, to induce such associations to refuse to admit "Abolitionists," under the pretext that they would wish to "run off" slaves from their neighbors' lands. Resolutions to this effect have been passed in one or two instances, but have been rejected or neglected more often. When passed they have been mildly stated, and have amounted only to a resolution to support slave-holders in their "legal rights;" disavowing any intention to interfere with persons who do

not attempt to violate those rights, as the future laws shall state them.

The actual settler, then, has simply to go into Kansas or Nebraska, to select the best spot he can find unoccupied, and to put up his cabin or his house there, secure of purchasing the best land in the world at one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre, when the government, from whom he will hold it, is ready to sell.

The accounts already given of the two territories give some idea of the opportunities opened to settlers. The passage every year of large companies of emigrants to the Pacific over the plains, gives, for the present, a good market for provisions to those who are situated in positions to avail themselves of it. The supplies for the government posts in New Mexico have thus far been carried in through Kansas, and this course must, for the present, continue.

The crop of hemp is the most valuable crop in western Missouri, and will prove equally successful in the virgin lands of Kansas and Nebraska, opposite. At present the price of this staple is very high.

There is, of course, the same demand for mechanics as in every new territory. The mill powers, now necessary in almost every department of mechanical business, will be supplied by the water powers on the tributaries of Kansas river, and by steam engines, — the supply of coal being so large as to make steam power cheap in favorable localities. There is bark sufficient for tanning; but, thus far, there is

no large manufacture of shoes in the states adjacent to Kansas and Nebraska. The iron ore of Missouri has been called the best in the world. Iron ore has been found between the Kansas and Nebraska rivers, but has not been collected in any considerable quantity.

Such natural resources as these, on a soil which yields its treasures almost spontaneously, may well tempt industrious men to seek fortune in the new territories. For men who will not work, they have no more prizes than the rest of the world. The population will grow very rapidly. The land, almost given away to-day, will command the prices of the finest farming land when this region shall be peopled, and the first comers, who know how to bear the hardships of a frontier life, are those who will bear away the prizes. It is impossible to point out to settlers favorable regions in which to locate, nearly so acceptable to them as they will themselves select after a few days' examination. The valley of the Kansas and the valley of the Missouri have thus far been the most popular districts. The lines of the great routes to Santa Fe and to Fort Kearney will have the inducements given by the constant passage of merchants and emigrants. These roads pass through some fine regions of country also. The government is opening a military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley, which will open a district of country north of the Kansas to easy settlement.

The pioneer body of the Emigrant Aid Company have

made their claims on a beautiful spot bordering on the Kansas river, about seven miles west of the mouth of Wah-karasi Creek. They have here a good landing, wood and stone in abundance for building, the neighborhood of coal, and a good commercial position.

The easiest route for emigrants from the east is through the city of Alton in Illinois, whither the steamboats on the Mississippi or the railroads from the eastward will carry passengers. This city is nearly opposite the mouth of the river Missouri. Here, or at St. Louis, passage may be taken in a steamboat almost daily to any of the landings on the Upper Missouri. At either of these cities, or at the landings above, many settlers make their outfits. The voyage up the river takes three days or more, according to the speed of the boat or the state of the water.

The climate of Kansas and southern Nebraska has always been singularly healthy. In 1849, when the cholera was very fatal in the adjoining towns of Missouri, companies of emigrants, in some instances, escaped from it, by going into the prairie and encamping there. The cholera, however, has not wholly spared these regions. The Indians and emigrants exposed to the fatigues of travelling, and exposed to variable weather, have suffered from it there as elsewhere. There is in these territories comparatively little of that bottom-land which is the favorite seat of western diseases. It may be hoped that as the forests are not so dense as those of some regions, the clearing away of the woods may not be

followed by those forms of disease which sometimes accompany the decay of great masses of vegetable matter. It is understood that these regions have, thus far, been in a great measure exempt from fever and ague, and bilious fever. They are thoroughly drained; they have little or no standing water; they are high above the level of the ocean, and are swept by winds from the not distant mountains. All these are reasons for hoping that this partial exemption from the diseases of a new settled country may be lasting. Emigrants need to be cautioned not to commit themselves to the cheapest lines of travel, unless some responsible emigrant company assures them that cars and boats shall be properly arranged for their accommodation. A great deal of sickness has been caused by the unrighteous crowding together of foreign emigrants in the worst class cars. Emigrants, again, ought not to be in a hurry. Their arrival a day or two sooner or later is of little consequence, if a day or two's delay will check an attack of illness in its infancy. Again, they ought, if possible, to go in considerable companies. The presence of neighbors alone spares them many of the hardships of pioneer life. This advantage is secured to them, together with the greatest possible economy in travel, by the arrangements of the Emigrant Aid Companies.

Any class of men or of women who are of use anywhere, will be of use in the new territories. Their population increases rapidly every day, and the useful arts and sciences of civilized life will be needed at once within their borders.

As has been already said, the civil institutions of the territories will be in the hands of those who inhabit them. It is only a temporary arrangement by which the United States government now appoints their officers. The territorial legislatures will be filled by the vote of the people, and in their hands will be the establishment of the first laws of the new-born settlements.

FRANCIS BUER, of South Carolina, has been appointed the first governor of Nebraska.

ALMON H. REEDER, of Pennsylvania, has been appointed the first governor of Kansas.

The religious institutions of the territories will also be in the hands of the settlers. It is to be hoped that they will not be afraid to let the principles of religion regulate the system of law. The missionary boards of the Eastern States have thus far sent ministers to these regions to care for the Indians. The settlers now must carry the gospel with them, and the teachers of the gospel must go too. The settlers must remember that no state can stand firm whose foundations are not on the Rock of Ages. To preserve that prosperity for which they wish, they must see to it that the active efforts of active religion shall preserve the morals of their men, and train the lives of their children.

Ministers of every religious body already offer themselves as the pioneer apostles of the gospel in this new land. Some have already gone, others will soon follow. They have a noble field for their labors, and a chance, if there is one

anywhere, to see, in time, the fruits from their planting.

Missionary bodies will feel the importance of assisting in this work. A single church in Worcester, Mass., the Old South Church, has raised among its members the sum requisite to support its own missionary in Kansas for a year.

Arrangements have already been suggested for a High School in Kansas. The government gift of public land for education will provide eventually a large common school fund.

It MUST BE that the settlement of the new territories by the best population which can be given them shall command the active effort of all true lovers of their country. This effort ought not to be spoken of as a little affair, or as incidental or subsidiary to other enterprises, but as the greatest duty now before American patriots and Christians. It is a way of work more hopeful than any which has been opened for years. It gives room for the exertion of every one, in whatever position, and holds out rewards such as satisfy the most eager. In the long, painful, irritating, and perplexing discussion which has sought to check and hem in the institution of slavery, the great difficulty has been the want of a field of action, where working men should not feel that they were wasting life in mere talk or wordy protest or prophecy. That field is found in Kansas. To send men to Kansas, or to go to Kansas, resolved that free labor shall be

honored in Kansas, and shall make itself honorable, is an effort which can enlist the energies of every man. It is an effort which the whole providence of God demands, and which is made easy by the wonderful arrangements of his wisdom. From the time of Moses to this time there has never been seen so gigantic an emigration as HE has been pleased, in less than forty years, to lead from Europe into America. As part of this, and as consequence of this, every year has seen the wave of emigration passing westward from the Northern States into the north-western deserts. That wave is moving now, larger than it ever was. There needs no Peter the Hermit to enlist crusaders. The crusaders are already on their way. There need only the guides who shall show them the fairest lands in the world; the counsel and assistance which shall organize them, that they may encourage and support each other, and they will pass into the valleys of the Nebraska and the Kansas, as the waters of a mountain stream pass into the lake in the valley. Passing thither, they carry with them the principles which sent them forth. No propagandism is needed to instil them. These emigrants would not have left their old homes had they not wanted to work somewhere, and had they not meant to find a home where they could work with fit prospect of reward. That reward they can only gain in a state which shall be free. The dignity of working men will only be preserved by the institutions which give all men equal chance before the law. And without special instruction, without

pledge to any political or social party, the great pilgrimage of free emigrants from Germany, from New England, from the Middle States, or from the states of the God-protected old "North-western Territory," know that this is so. The Emigrant Aid Companies ask no questions of their emigrants. They sell their tickets at the cheapest rates to all who come for them. They take no political position. They make no political pledges or promises. But none the less is it sure that when twenty thousand men have gone into the new territories from the seaboard and the North, they will be men who will know that, to preserve the value of their virgin farms, to maintain the dignity of their own lives, to sustain the honor of their new-born states, those states must be forever free.

Thus will this emigration, with the rapidity with which it now proceeds, add almost at once two new free states to the American Union. It is not within the province of this book to look farther. It is enough to foresee so great a victory of the right as is this. Two free states planted west of the Missouri are two new securities for American freedom. By so much the more is the perpetuity of the American Union possible. By so much the more is the principle of republican government redeemed and made consistent. And so far does the American church show its power in checking the advance of one of the best organized of its enemies. They are two free states which command the gates to the Pacific, and to the colonies on the way

there. They are the lines of approach to New Mexico and Utah. They will long command the only highways of travel to California, to Oregon, and to the territory of Washington. In the centre of the United States, in what may yet be the heart of its empire, they will maintain in its purity the principle on which that empire is founded. So far as their long frontier stretches, the wave of southern slavery will break on a rock which will not let it pass. No caravans of unwilling servants shall be led over their deserts or through their valleys. And if any one of the western regions should ever seek to introduce slave labor, it must not look to the mountain passes for its supply.

Indeed, it is not too much to hope, that, as the passage of the desert becomes shorter, in the western growth of the civilization of these valleys and the eastward progress of California and of Oregon, a tide of emigration may set eastward into these regions from the Pacific. The destiny of America is to call all races of men into a freer life within her borders than they have ever enjoyed at home. In her government is the secret which gives to each religion its exercise, to each oppressed nation its refuge, to each race of man its development. She makes "one out of many." There are reasons for supposing that this comprehensiveness of welcome will still draw in increasing companies of recruits from the crowded millions of China. They have their foothold already upon California. It may be that they shall pass eastward from the Pacific, by the same law which

draws the exiles of Germany westward from the Atlantic And Asiatic labor, careful, simple, and skillful, may come in as an element, assisting in the reconciliation of the difficulties not incurable which accompany the meeting of African labor and of European labor upon the American soil.

This is only one glimpse into that immense future which opens in the prospect, if these two territories be kept free by the immediate emigration of freemen. It is no question of the politicians. It is not a temporary piece of the balance of parties. It is one of the critical questions where we can see that the nation's prosperity is in question, and that the dignity and real victory of the nation are to be lost or won.

Every indication now points to victory. The movement of freemen is ten times as fast as is possible to men who must sell plantations before they can move, and carry field hands before they can labor. The whole foreign emigration comes principled or prejudiced against slave institutions. And the whole feeling of the North, whatever its politics or its religion, turns eagerly to seek a field of action for freedom. That field is open now, inviting effort, fair, loyal, constitutional, and manly. In that effort the whole energy of the North may be enlisted, without one word of anger, without one partisan appeal,—with a simple reliance on the principle which is diffused through the whole system of northern life, thought, and industry.

It will only be by a miracle of indolence, by blindness

utterly incurable, that the men of the free states can forfeit such a prize.

Unless freedom refuse the strength she always has given to freemen, that victory is gained. It is gained unless the intelligent, high-trained industry of the North, which has surrounded the world with its commerce, and made all nature tributary to its arts, meets now its first defeat. It is gained unless the great principle of association in a great cause fails as it never failed before. It is gained unless the church of Christ, which has thrown over the world a net-work, along the cords of which run the electrical words of good tidings, is false at home to a golden opportunity of advancing His kingdom.

Unless, in one word, the providence of God be wholly neglected, and the immense power for freedom flung away which God gives when he sends an army of his children westward over sea and land, the freedom of Kansas and Nebraska is secured, and the firmest step for the future prosperity of America made sure.

That victory will be won! God gives it to the energy and wisdom of those who go, to the sympathy and prayers of those who stay.