Squatter Sovereign.

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEVOTED TO POLITICS, LITERATURE, AGRICULTURE MERCANTILE AFFAIRS AND USEFUL READING.

STRINGFELLOW & KELLEY, "The Squatter claims the same Sovereignty in the Territories that he possessed in the States." EDITORS & PROPRIETORS.

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The Poet's Column.

CAN'T DO WITHOUT A PAPER.

What, do without a paper? no,
I've tried it to my sorrow,
So, to subscribe for one I'll go,
Nor wait until to-morrow.
Should lovers drown or hang themselves,
Or other foolish capers,
I never get to hear of it—
I do not take the paper.

Why, there's my neighbor, Jotham Stout,
He always hears the news,
And having no fork to talk about
He never gets the blues.
While others groan in soul,
His mind is light as vapor;
The cause is plain to half an eye—
He always takes the paper.

While neighbor Stout learns all the news,
And knows each current price,
And always minds his P's and Q's,
By taking advice,
I cannot tell the price of calves,
Or poultry, coffee, tape, or
Any kind of merchandise—
Because I take no paper.

Though I have studies which require
Much time and mental labor,
Yet I can spare a little time,
As well as Stout, my neighbor,
Though time be precious, I can use
A long midnight taper,
And thus take time to read the news—
Therefore I'll take a paper.

THE AGED MATRON.

Gray-haired and very old was she,
With many a wrinkle where
The rose and lilly once had bloomed,
When life's young current was there.
And often from her dim old eyes
Methought there fell a tear
Upon her knitting work, that told
Of memories fond and dear.

And oft her bosom heaved a sigh
As from the open door
She watched the little ones at play,
As she had played of yore.
She knew that cankering cares would come
To spoil the castles fair,
Their little hearts were building high,
For they were built in air.

She had been young, and children dear,
She called her own, had crept
Behind her chair to "hide and seek,"
No wonder that she wept;
For they were dead, and there brought back
The memory of their tone,
And drew those tears to bathe the flowers,
In memory's garden sown.

OUT OF THE TAVERN.

Out of the tavern I've just stepped to-night;
Street! you are caught in a very bad plight;
Right hand and left hand are both out of place;
Street! you are drunk, 'tis a very clear case.

Moon! 'tis a very queer figure you cut,
One eye is staring while t'other is shut.
Tipsy, I see, and you're greatly to blame;
Old as you are, for a horrible shame!

Then the street lamps, which scandalous sight!
None of them soberly standing upright;
Rocking and staggering—why, on my word,
Each of the lamps is as drunk as a lord.

All in confusion I now, isn't it odd,
I am the only thing sober around?
Sure it were rash with this crew to remain—
Better go into the tavern again.

THE POOR MAN TO HIS SON.

BY MRS. ELIZA COOK.

Work, work, my boy! be not afraid;
Look labor boldly in the face;
Take up the hammer or the spade,
And blush not for your humble place.

Hold up your brow in honest pride,
Tho' rough and hard-your hands may be;
Such hands are sap-veins that provide
The life-blood of the nation's tree!

Miscellaneous.

Negro-Slavery, No Evil,

—OR—

THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

THE EFFECTS OF NEGRO-SLAVERY, AS EXHIBITED IN THE CENSUS, BY A COMPARISON OF THE CONDITION OF THE SLAVEHOLDING AND NON-SLAVEHOLDING STATES.

CONSIDERED IN A REPORT,

MADE TO THE

Platte County Self-Defensive Association,

By a Committee Through

B. F. STRINGFELLOW, Chairman.

In obedience to a resolution adopted by the Platte County Self-Defensive Association, we proceed to lay before the public the immediate causes which led to the formation of the Association; to explain its purposes, and to suggest the means, which seems to us proper to be adopted by the citizens of the Slaveholding States, to defeat the designs of the abolitionists.

In adopting this resolution, the Association was not influenced by any desire to defend itself *at home*, against the absurd and false reports of its action and purposes, which have been so widely circulated by abolitionists and freesoilers; for at home no defence is necessary; the members of the Association are too well known, to need defence against any charges which Abolitionists might bring against them. We do but justice to the Association, when we say, that it is composed of men, who for integrity, moral worth, orderly conduct, intelligence and patriotism will favorably compare with the members of any association of the kind in the country. Of those who originally composed the Association, there were a few unworthy exceptions.—Such must be the case of all associations of the more :: inevitable, where, as in ours, all were invited to join. The wonder is, there were so few, as in this instance, the hope, thus to ward off suspicion, was to the unworthy the strongest inducement to join.

The purpose of the Association in adopting this resolution, was to expose fully the dangers to which slave-property in Missouri, and especially on the borders of Kansas, is subjected; to arouse the attention of all good citizens, not of Slaveholding States alone, but of the whole Union, to the results which must follow, if the abolitionists succeed in their purposes; and, if possible, to suggest means by which those results may be prevented.

It is known, that on the passage of the bills for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska, the leading abolitionists of the Eastern cities, organized associations under the name of "Emigration Aid Societies," the avowed purpose of which is to throw into Kansas a horde who shall not only exclude slaveholders from that Territory, but in the end abolish slavery in Missouri.

Were these miscalled "emigrants" poor and honest farmers, seeking a home and the advantages of a new country for themselves and families, we might applaud the charity of those who originated the scheme: were these associations fair means of deciding the contest between the friends and opponents of negro-slavery, we might admire the energy of the abolitionists: but we find these miscalled emigrants really negro-thieves, their purpose not to procure a home in Kansas, but to drive slaveholders therefrom, that they are not freemen, but paupers, who have sold themselves to Eli Thayer & Co., to do their master's bidding; who hesitate not to proclaim that they are expert in stealing slaves; that they intend to follow their calling, self-defense requires that means equally efficient, should be adopted by those who are threatened.

Situated on the border of Kansas, we were the first to receive the attack. Those among us, who had hitherto been restrained by fear, emboldened by the prospects of such efficient aid, begun openly to avow their sentiments; the timid became freesoilers; the bold, abolitionists. The emissaries of the "Emigration Aid Societies" were arriving; they were boasting that "they would shortly be the strongest, and then they would drive Slaveholders from Kansas!" They declared that *"they had run off slaves, and would run off more, and would, finally, drive Slaveholders from Missouri!"*

In our streets, one of the least prudent proclaimed, that he would *"willingly help to burn the last slaveholding town."*

It seemed as if Weston were about to become the head-quarters of their operations. It was feared, and subsequent events have vindicated, that our fears were not without foundation, that among our traders and merchants there were those who at heart were against us; others who loved money so much more than their country, they would, for the gain from the abolition trade, encourage them to come among us.

There were among us, too, a large number of free negroes, most of them, as usual, of bad character; their houses, the natural places of resort for abolitionists, at which to meet, and tamper with slaves, corrupt them, entice them to runaway, and furnish them facilities for escape.

About this time a large number of slaves made their escape: three, from the neighborhood of Weston, were taken in Iowa, and free papers, with full instructions as to their route, were found upon them.

Abolitionists were not content to confine their efforts to the expulsion of slaveholders from Kansas, but were evidently already at work in "abolishing slavery" in Missouri. The law, seldom sufficient to punish, was wholly inefficient to prevent their crimes. It was evident, that the active, individual efforts of all good citizens would be needed to aid the law in the protection of our rights, in the preservation of our property.

The security of our slave-property was not alone involved; our very lives were endangered. The negro-thief, the abolitionist, who induces a slave to run away, is a criminal of far more dangerous character than the horse-breaker, or the highway-robber,—his crime of a far higher grade than that of the incendiary—it ranks, at least, with that of the midnight assassin. To induce a slave to escape, involves not merely to the master the loss of that slave, of that amount of property; but it brings in its train far more serious consequences. Other slaves are thereby induced to make like attempts; a hatred for their masters, whom they begin to regard as their oppressors, is thus begotten; and this, too, often is followed by arson and murder.

To guard as far as possible against such fearful evils, was the immediate cause of our organization.

Not only was the immediate pressing necessity such as to compel our organization, but the future consequences which must follow the success of the schemes of the abolitionists, are such as to awaken the fears, and to call for the active and continued efforts of all good citizens.

Even in the future, we are more immediately interested than those who are more remote from the field of their operations. Already the effect of the coming of such a band of abolitionists *to our border*, has been not only to reduce the value of our slaves, but of our land. Slaveholders fear to come among us; good men who are opposed to slavery, will not come; and should Kansas be made a harbor for *negro-thieves*, ours, now the most prosperous portion of our State, will in a short time become a desert waste. We must at once sell our slaves, abandon the culture of hemp, our great staple; suffer our fields *to be* idle, until slaveholders driven from our State, Missouri shall fall into the hand of freesoilers, and a new people be brought to take our places.

Not less is the interest which other slaveholding States have in the end, though seemingly it be less in the beginging of this struggle. The abolitionists are fully awake to the true nature, the future consequence of this struggle. They proclaim the purpose of their efforts to be, to surround Missouri with non-slaveholding States; force her to abolish slavery; then wheel her *into their ranks for an* attack upon the States south of her.

Missouri vanquished, Arkansas and Texas are looked upon as easy victims.—Slavery then restricted to a small space, they rejoice in the contemplation of an early exhibition of another Haytian liberation.

Let not our friends in the other slaveholding States fold their arms, and by their supineness suffer us to fall victims to abolition energy. If they do, the day will come and that not far distant, when they, too, will have a battle to fight at home, at their very doors.

The plan of our Association is not aggressive, but as our name imports, truly self-defensive. We are pledged diligently to investigate and promptly bring to punishment every violator of the laws which have been enacted for the protection of our slave-property.

We have determined to adopt all proper means to rid ourselves of the free negroes, who are unfit and have no right by law to remain among us; and to prevent all such as are not members of some white family, and subject to their control, from residing in our county.

We have also pledged ourselves to expel from our county all who shall be found proclaiming principles which tend to induce our slaves to escape, to lead them to insurrection and rebellion.

Though we fully recognize the duty of all good citizens to obey the law, to rely upon the law; where there *is no law*, the right of self-defence requires that we should resort to the strong hand of self-protection. We have no law by which the expression of abolition sentiments is made a penal offence, and yet it is a crime of the highest grade. It is not within even the much abused liberty of speech; but in a slaveholding community, the expression of such sentiments is a positive act, more criminal, more dangerous, than kindling the torch of the incendiary, mixing the poison of the assassin. The necessity for a law punishing such a crime, has not, until now, been felt in Missouri. Until such a law is enacted, self-protection demands that we should guard against such crimes.

Such are the means we propose to adopt for the immediate protection of our property. We have thus fully stated them, not to excuse our action, but to awaken our friends in other portions of our slaveholding territory, to the dangers which will ere long surround them, if we are overcome: to arouse them to the necessity of coming to our aid, and thus keep the enemy from their borders.

There is another measure which we have proposed, which may be deemed local and personal, and which has been grossly misrepresented by the abolitionists and their sympathisers. We have been charged with pledging ourselves to assist in the expulsion of all settlers who go to Kansas from the non-slaveholding States. This, like most other abolition statements, is purely false. On the contrary, the only pledge we have given touching the expulsion of any person from Kansas, is one which we expect ere long to be called upon to redeem by the good men who have gone to Kansas from the non-slaveholding States. That pledge is, that we will, when called on by the citizens of Kansas, aid them in expelling those who are exported to that Territory by the Abolition Aid Societies. With these, *the honest men*, who go to Kansas from the non-slaveholding States, are not to be confounded. The latter go with the spirit of freemen to secure a home for their children, they go respecting the rights of others; the former go, the slaves of Thayer & Co., and his associates, to do their master's bidding, to drive others from the Territory, to steal negroes from Missouri.

For the one class, *however*, much we may regret that they should differ from us in opinion, even though that difference may in the end result in our ruin, we feel respect, such as one freeman should feel for another. To them we shall appeal, as to good men, equally interested in the prosperity and happiness of our common country; to them we shall present such arguments, as should influence true hearted patriots.

But to that other class, hired slaves of corrupt masters, who are sent for the purpose of driving our brothers from Kansas, of stealing our property, driving us from our homes, we offer no argument, but that of the strong hand. We have not, it is true, done that, which natural right would have justified in doing. There *is no* law to bind them to keep the peace—there can be none, until it is enacted by the Legislature of that Territory; they are to us as would be a band of Blackfeet or Camanches, who should encamp upon our borders, for the avowed purpose of stealing our cattle and horses; of plundering our farms and villages. We would be justified in marching to their camp, and driving them back to their dens, without waiting for their attack. We are not bound to wait, until they have "stolen our negroes," "burned our slaveholding towns." But we have been so "law abiding and orderly," that we have not done this: we have simply said, "we will when called upon," go to the aid of our friends, and assist in expelling those who proclaim their purpose to be the expulsion of our friends. Robbers and murderers have no right to call on the law for *protection*.

In connection with these immediate and local features of the contest, it is proper we should say a word of the character of the Territory, and its adaptness to a slaveholding population. Politicians may prate, and letter-writers may scribble, about the *homes for the poor*, to be found in Kansas, but it is not the less true, that it is *the least desirable country to the poor man ever open for settlement.*

The absence of timber, there not being enough for fuel and fencing, much less a foot for cultivation, renders it utterly unfit for him who has to rely on his own unaided arm. Dwellings must be of brick, of stone, or if of timber, framed at a heavy expense; fencing of plank, or hauled to a great distance.

In the timber, the poor man with his own strong hand can build his cabin; with his axe, can fell his trees and with the one horse plough, can put his little field in cultivation. There is no such land in Kansas! It will require money to build his house; to break prarie, six yoke of cattle are necessary; fencing will be too costly for small fields. To the man of capital, to him who can command labor alone, is Kansas desirable. To such, it is easiest and cheapest to make a farm in the prarie. The soil is adapted to the culture of hemp, the raising of stock. Its climate peculiarly healthy to the negro. Nature intended it for a slaveholding State; necessity will force it to be such, unless our friends foolishly abandon it to those who cannot occupy it.

Our friends can thus see that to them the land is worth a struggle. Were there no other interests at stake, they will be paid for doing their duty.

We have now shown the immediate evils to which we are exposed; the means by which we propose as far as practicable to meet those evils; we have shown, that we are now in that condition to which, if the abolitionists succeed, other slaveholding States will ere long be driven. We propose now to consider that which lies at the foundation of all these troubles—*opposition to negro slavery.*

To slaveholders, we will first address ourselves.

With all due deference to the wisdom of the great and good men who have so long governed the councils of the slaveholding States, though it may seem presumptuous, we yet feel that we are justified in saying, that experience has shown the error of their course. In decrying discussion, in seeming to admit negro-slavery an evil to be borne, not an institution to be defended, we have not only strengthened the arm of our enemies, but tied the hands of our friends. By such seeming admissions we have deprived ourselves of the sympathies of too many good men. Our silence has been construed into a confession that the institution could not be defended. We should have learned long ere this, that the more we protest against agitation, the more abolitionists agitate; we should remember, that victory is rarely won by retreat; that courage wins half the battle. We have been so much accustomed to hear slavery *denounced as an* evil, that we have ourselves, with the evidence of its effect before our eyes, feared to look and examine them. With this daily cry resounding in their ears, with all the monstrous exaggerations of the poet's fancy, the knave's cunning, to mislead them still further, it is not strange that good men who could not see and judge for themselves, should have been taught to look with horror upon the master, with pity upon the slave. With *so many to denounce*, so few to defend, it is not strange, that even those who were willing to sustain our strict legal rights, the honest good men of the north, should yet feel reluctant to do any act by which so great an evil should be extended. It has been *well said*, that in our country truth looses nothing by discussion. We, who have lived in slaveholding States, have had an opportunity to see and feel the effects of negro-slavery, have felt that it was no evil. Until now, we have had no simple striking rule, the correctness of which all would admit, by which to test its effects. We have now the test, and it is our duty to apply it. It is due to ourselves, it is due to our friends in the non-slaveholding States, that we should have more than bare assertion for proof. If it be true that negro-slavery is, as represented by the abolitionists, not only a crime, but a political and moral evil, degrading the character of the master as well as the slave, retarding the advancement of our country in prosperity and happiness, we should at once as men, teach *ourselves* to look the evil in the face—we should set about ridding ourselves of such a curse.

If, however, it be found that negro-slavery is no crime: if it be found neither a political nor a moral evil, but that it *elevates* the character of the master, promotes his happiness, contributes to the advancement of the country in wealth and prosperity, is the best possible condition for the slave race, all good men, all real philanthropists, all practical statesmen, all true patriots, will say, let us preserve such an institution, let us extend its blessings.

Let us not be understood as suggesting that the number of slaves should be increased by violence, by opening again our ports to the importation of those whom the abolitionists would then capture in the wilds of Africa. Though it has been wisely suggested, if this were done, abolitionists would give us no further troubles, they would as did their fathers, become slave-catchers, and thus being able to make a profit of slavery, would cease to hate slave-owners; would forget their mock love of the negro in their real love of money; though it may easily be shown that slavery has done more *to civilize* and christianize the African, than all the schemes of all the pious missionaries; yet our sympathies for the African are not such as for his good to induce us to bring among us a horde of savages, by bringing them into our families. We are now reaping the benefit of our fathers' good works; we have the civilized Christian man, in place of the rude, vicious, and degraded heathen.

We propose to consider slavery as it exists in our country; to test its effects on the white race and on the negro; to try it not by bold assertion, but by facts and figures, about which there can be no dispute.

We assert that negro-slavery, as it exists in the United States, is neither a moral nor a political evil, but on the contrary, is a blessing to the white race and to the negro.

This broad proposition will doubtless cause the abolitionists to sneer—it will strike as bold, the good men of the north who have been so long deceived; it may even seem hard of proof to those in the slaveholding States who have feared to investigate the subject; but we have the evidence at hand. A good lesson has been taught us, and we have profited by it. So long and so oft had it been proclaimed from the pulpit that slavery was a violation of God's law, men begun to doubt whether a slaveholder could be a christian. Men of the world, too little versed in the terchangs of the Bible, feared to investigate the question. Our Divines, misled by their text-books, took for granted the dogmas of their Doctors, Yet so soon as one man dared approach the Holy Book, dared to "search the scriptures," it was found, that instead of being a violation of God's holy law, slavery was actually established by that law!! The truth was proclaimed; discussion followed; the result was, that investigation fixed beyond controversy the fact, that by the first law given to man by his Maker, the law proclaimed from Sinia, slavery was established! Moses, the divine law-giver, was a slave-holder! A "fugitive slave," instead of being aided in his escape, was returned to his master by Paul, *the great Apostle, to the Gentiles!*

So triumphantly and conclusively was the consistency of slavery with the Christian religion established, that abolitionists were driven to infidelity, to blasphemy: they trampled under foot the Bible, spurned the God and Saviour of Slave-holders.

With such a lesson, it is strange our politicians have had less boldness than our parsons, have not dared to discuss the political, social and moral effects of negro-slavery. The victory was as certain and complete in the one case as in the other.

Though we, but private citizens of a border county, with neither the leisure nor the means, had we the ability fully to present all the evidences which can be brought to sustain our position, so abundant is the evidence, so accessible the proof, we feel no hesitancy in saying, we will furnish so much that none but those who are willfully blind, shall fail to see the truth of our assertion.

Slavery is no evil to the negro. If we look at the condition of the negro in Africa, the land of his nativity, we find the most pitiable victim of a cruel master, the most wretched slave in America, when contrasted with a prince of his tribe in the deserts of Africa, is as a man contrasted with a beast! The mightiest of the negro race, in his native land, not only sacrifices his human victims to his Gods of stone, but is so loathsome in his filth and nakedness, that Giddings, or Gerrit Smith, would fly from his presence; Mrs. Stowe could not in fancy picture him a kinsman of poor Topsy; Fred. Douglas would disown him as a country-man. It is not for us to question God's purposes, but it is certain that from our first knowledge of the negro-race, those only have been rescued from the lowest stage of heathen barbarity, who have been made slaves to the white man—those only have learned to know the God of the Christian, who have been instructed by their masters. Ages have rolled on, and still the labor of the pious missionary has been in vain; the African in his native land is still an idolator! Even now the only hope of his elevation in the scale of humanity, is by means of the liberated slave.

So far, then, as the condition of the slave can be contrasted with that of his tribe in Africa, to the negro slavery is no evil!

But we go further and say that, wherever the negro has been the slave of the white man, his condition has been better, not only than that of his race in the deserts of Africa, but better than when freed from the control of the white man, in whatever latitude the comparison be made. Whether we look to his condition in St. Domingo, the slave of the light-hearted Frenchman; in Jamaica, of the energetic Englishman; in the United States, of the indolent Creole of the South, or of the enterprising Kentuckian, as a slave, the negro has ever been better and happier than when free.

In St. Domingo and Jamaica, which once contained a population prosperous and wealthy, the masters kind and indulgent, the slaves joyous and happy, with their light labors yielding abundant harvests, robbed of the care, protection and forethought of the white man, we see them fast sinking to the starving miserable condition of wretched savages.

In our own country, with the advantage of the white man's example before them, with all the watchful care of their friends, the abolitionists *to aid* them, the condition of the free negro is far worse than that of the slave. Politically their condition is worse than that of the slave, for as to all the honors and offices of *government*, the privileges of a citizen, freedom is to the free negro worse than an empty name.—Subject to the burdens, they are even by the abolitionists deprived of the benefits of government. They who so love the slave, that they will steal him from the care and protection of his master, will excludes the unhappy free negro from *a home in their* State. Unlike the slave, they have none to protect them. To the slave, the master is the government, a ruler with limited powers, whose *interest is* identical with his subject. To the unstet alone does the slave owe allegiance, from him he receives protection. To the free negro, the government is that of a stranger—he is as an alien, with all the burdens, with none of the privileges of a citizen. Until the free negro is made politically that which nature has *not* made him, the equal of the white man, his political privileges are in fact the worst species of oppression.

We will then contrast the social, moral and physical condition of the slave and free negro.

On this the census is sufficient to leave no doubt.

Loss of speech, of hearing, of sight, as *certainly indicate* physical, as idiocy and insanity do mental suffering. By the extent to which the negro, slave and free, is subject to these afflictions, we are enabled to determine his condition. Blindness, insanity and idiocy especially result from destitution and distress. By the census of 1850, we find that the negro race is much more subject to these afflictions than the white, the ratio being

Of Deaf and Dumb,	1 to 2151	White,
" Blind,	1 to 2445	"
" Insane and Idiots	1 to 1374	"
Of Deaf and Dumb	1 to 3005	Free Negro.
" Blind	1 to 870	" "
" Insane & Idiots	1 to 980	" "

We thus see that to blindness, insanity and idiocy, the negro, when free, is far more subject than the white. Such being the natural liability of the negro to these afflictions, we yet find that as a slave the negro is almost exempt from them all—not only is he far less afflicted than the free negro, but even less than his master.

We give from the census the ratio of each, and ask thinking men to reflect on the exhibit.

Of Deaf and Dumb,	1 to 2151	White.
" " "	1 to 3005	F. Negro.
" " "	1 to 6552	Slaves.
Of Blind,	1 to 2445	White.
" "	1 to 870	Free Negro.
" "	1 to 2645	Slaves.
Of Insane & Idiots	1 to 1374	Whites.
" "	1 to 980	Free Negro
" "	1 to 3080	Slaves.

But one explanation can be made of this *extraordinary* development. It is one which must present itself to every unprejudiced mind, which at once occurs to all who are familiar with the real condition of the negro slave. It is found in the watchfulness of the master, the simple genuine happiness of the slave.

This exhibit sufficiently refutes the foolish falsehoods of abolitionists, which represent the master as a monster, the slave a victim of cruelty. Were facts needed to convey any more positive conviction, that the conditions of the slave be the reverse of that which abolitionists would paint. Were facts [illegible]