At the request of a ic friends, we no? swerable sp

livered WOLUME 53.

SPEECH OF HON. WM. BIGLER, OF PENN'1., ON KANSAS AFFAIRS.

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE, DEC. 21, 1857.

upon sitted more than myself that the discussion on dream. Kansas policy of the administration has been that the Kansas policy of the mis not an bearing on that point has shown me that the lass become of the great Kansas-Nebraska law; not seem to have held the same views at all tion of orpitated upon the Senate and the country.

I preferred to avoid discussion until the result. The cabin-1 do not agree with President?

for admission as a State; but the Senator from will hold that those who assa denounce Illinois [Mr. Douglas] deemed a different that policy do not oppose the policy necessary and proper, and no alterna- There is surely no room for

as I proceed. This great speech of the senator, forms of State government, which there more important branch of my remarks. with all due respect, was in my humble estima- is seldom much controvers which can be In order to a proper understanding of the The senator from Illinois, in a speech deliverdeat Springfield, in his State, on the 12th of
shall extend to all right
of purpose of the people and theresentatives in
theory, in practical and useful suggestion, in
generous tolerance of differences with others, it
will not, in my judgment, command so much
of public lavor as any one of the many former
of the triplet of the organ, it is a question was settled as no other
that "legislative authority of the Territory
th passage, can be estimated in no other light, and can subserve no useful purposes for the senator or the country. True, it answered to excite momentary gratification on the other side of the momentary gratification of the momentary gratification of the gratification of the momentary gratification of the gratification of the gratification of the momentary gratification of the gratification of

reason for making the issue. The President's the third section of reads as follows: character for candor and factness forbade that he should withhold or give the slightest coloring to any fact in the case, with a view even of conclusions at which he felt re-

discover from the message

on this dangerous question. The that he indicated to the convention that the constitution Topeka convention. would seek to oppress any class o people of should be approved by the people. The words I do not understand the honorable senator from Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Missouri, Ar-Kansas, or desire to impose upon in odious "and ratified by the people at the election for Illinois to hold an enabling act to be indispen- kansas, and Wisconsin, according to the best Kansas, or desire to impose upon government, should not be, and I is not, the adoption of the constitution," had been sable in all cases. He cannot hold this in the authority I can find, came into the Union unentertained in any quarter; that will not stricken out. Who struck these words out, or face of the numerous precedents to the contraentertained in any quarter; tha will not stricken out. Who struck these words ont, or lace of the numerous precedents to the contain that in the to the popular vote. Certain States, under entering with this or any other great on the contain that in the popular vote. Certain States, under entering with this or any other great on the contain that in the popular vote. Certain States, under entering with this or any other great on the contain that in the popular vote. trifle with this, or any other greetion; and for what purpose they were omitted, is not for ty; but he certainly does maintain that in the to the popular vote. Certain States, under enthat, having recognized the valid he laws me to answer. But, sir, I cannot be persuaded case of Kansas, all that the people have done On motion of Mr. Bioler, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the motion of Mr. Dorotlas, to refer so much of the President's Message as related to the consideration affairs to the Committee on Tervitories.

M. B. M. B. M. R. M. M. R. M. Mr. Bigler. Mr. President: No one has repurpose, and clearness of percel
ted more than myself that the discussion on

But what does the senator me assuming
But what does the senator me assuming
But what does the senator from Illinois does of the election on the slavery clause had transpired, and until Kansas should present herself the administration, having laid its policy, sistration? preparatory constitution where the act of Con- ions in their own way." Is it to be abandon- quire that any part of the constitution should terstanding gress was silent on the subject. But, yielding d, and thus summarily pronounced a failure? - be submitted. He denies the authority of a conpolicy necessary and proper, and no alternative was left to the friends of the administration on this point, and it is certain the point, how is the senator to reconcile this be that as it may, he cannot convince me that President position with the understanding of the subject he people have not the right to make their sas to make a State government, even under I think I am duly sensible of the important what that policy is. The addition recogand delicate character of the subject to be dis- nizes the legality of the proc's in Kansas. For instance, if it be an allowable conclusion, he repeals so much of the organic act as says vorite law of 1854; and yet he voted to admit cussed, and I am sure I never was more anxious so far as they have progressed matter of the day shall do this precise thing.

that where the law is silent on the subject, the key shall do this precise thing.

California as a State, she having made a constitution and government without even the law is silent on the subject, the key shall do this precise thing.

California as a State, she having made a constitution must be submitted to a vote of the law is silent on the people not only all ton and State government without even the pride of opinion, or to restrain passion and prejudice, in order to see clearly the public good. State. They hold that the ture of the

pretension; but, as to our rights, privileges, and responsibilities, on this floor we are equals.

Fortunately, in our present difference, I think my cause the stronger of the two, and on it I can rely with safety.

For myself, I make no such versy about slavery, which it the two country, the convention wally bound to country, the convention wally bound to some and the constitution. Possibly my impressions are not warranted, but be that as it may, I cannot be persuaded that the Senator intended to secure to the people the right to vote on the constitution, by striking from the bill the words Now, sir, it would be idle to attempt to an- cerned. They hold, forthat when the making that policy necessary, or that the con-

tion after all, only a huge structure resting on changed at any time, had it received the subject under discussion, it is necessary to start has applied the facts and circumstances with is safest as a general princut that, under isting between the Territory of Kansas and the great skill in maintaining his case; but he will the clear terms of the organ, it is a ques- federal government. The organic law declares bection.

the precipitate the slavery agitation in this lody and in the country; nor can I understand why he should have shown so much willingnes: 10 weaken public confidence in the policy of the void from the beginning goes further, ful subject of legislation; and that the legislam-n of his own party, whom he assisted to place in power, and who, at this critical moment wield the positions of the admition, the State to respond to the admition, the State to respond to the admition, the State to respond to the admition and state of the positions of the admition, the State to respond to the admition and state of the state of the positions of the admition, and that the right to make institutions in such a way government. But those who said the laws should not be obeyed refused to participate in the only functions of government capable of must not be admitted unquestion of court, the people for a change from their territorial to act says that they shall do this thing "in their gress in the shape of a petition for redress of this work, and from this spirit of insubordinamaintaining the public peace in Kansas; nor why he should have indulged in sarcastic ridicular with the moral and legal of the people is the subsequent mission, as to the pople is the people is the people in the subsequent mission, in my judgment, all the moral and legal of the people is the issue.

They would not attend at the pople in this work, and from this spirit of insubordination of the subsequent mission, in my judgment, all the subsequent mission, in my judgment, all the moral and legal of the people is the subsequent mission. They would not attend at the pople in the subsequent mission in the subsequent m cule when dealing with the views of the Presi- As to the power of the lire to call a con-

momentary gratification on the other side of the the people of a Territo their own local people themselves; and that when Congress, as chamber, and chagrin on this; but on neither representatives. This could have been a is the case of Kansas, has conferred upon the both these instruments, and the purposes in ble senator and mysebther day, touching may deem proper to change their form of govall events, it has certainly required more expla- but however disagreene task, justice to affive to any extent they please-to the extent nation at the hands of its author; and it might myself requires that It do so, especially only of preparing forms of government for their seem that, so long as he finds it necessary to since the character obonference has been supervision, acceptance, and ratification, or to explain what he meant every month in the year misunderstood in cequarters. Nothing the extent of making and adopting a constitucommission of even "Jundamental error." But any social or confi interview. The the Union; that where there is no limitation in But what will the honorable senator say as bad been deemed be spt measures to adout of the country when the law passed, but one popular election at for delegates to the country when the law passed, but one popular election at for delegates to the convention. The silon was the strongles that gave it existence. He certainly understands ger, because I thought print to the make a revert to them are raining performed the functions for which it was delegated, and that there obligations of the federal government, to be found in the "Pederalist," but which is too voluminous for use on the present occasion, is, to my mind, clear on this point.

The silon was the strongles that gave it existence. He certainly understands ger, because I thought print of the tions for which it was delegated, and that there obligations of the federal government, to be found in the "Pederalist," but which is too voluminous for use on the present occasion, is, to my mind, clear on this point.

The honorable senator say as the strongles and the first term are raining performed the functions for which it was delegated, and that there obligations of the federal government, to be found in the "Pederalist," but which is too voluminous for use on the present occasion, is, to my mind, clear on this point.

The honorable senator has resorted to musty ger, because I thought print of the tions for which it was delegated, and that there obligations of the federal government, to be found in the "Pederalist," but which it was delegated, and that the revert to them are raining to the first of the

of the question, in or out of Kansas, but he has preferred to consider the present and the future and to determine what is best for the country. I do not claim for him infallibility of judgment, for that does not belong to humanity; but I do claim for him the highest degree of patriotism and disinterestedness is all he has said and done to the property of the property of the congress of the congress of the property of the convention is not legally authority for any of the property of the property of the property of the convention is not legally authority for any of the points involved. I discover that the States of Maine, Michigan and that the convention is not legally authority for any of the points involved. I discover that the States of Maine, Michigan and that the convention is not legally authority for any of the points involved. I discover that the States of Maine, Michigan and that the convention is not legally authority for any of the points involved. I discover that the States of Maine, Michigan and that the convention is not legally authority for any of the points involved. I discover that the States of Maine, Michigan and that the convention is not legally authority for any of the points involved. I discover that the States of Maine, Michigan and that the convention is not legally authority for any of the points involved. I discover that the States of Maine, Michigan and that the convention is not legally authority for any of the points involved. I discover that the States of Maine, Michigan and that the convention is not legally authority for any of the points involved. I discover that the States of Maine, Michigan and involved. I discover that the States of Maine, Michigan and that the Committee of t

instance in which the people have voted on the perfectly free to make their domestic institu- an enabling act for Kansas, which did not re-

That other senators are actuated by motives equally proper, I have no doubt.

The senator from Illinois has delivered what may be termed a great speech against the Kansan policy of the administration. You may be termed a great speech against the Kansan policy of the administration. You may be the first to call vention of the source of t sas policy of the administration. No man tion and submit their toings le test of a import was in nowise affected, why were they rew grants of power; and yet, if there is any subject; but I do say that when the senator pickwho knows him will dount his ability to make the most out of any state of facts and circumstances before him. Few men can equal him or and special region a control to this particular. For myself, I make no such the make about slavery, which led me to believe that the Toombs bill was to bring Kansas into the Union without a stricken out?

Such, sir, were the facts and circumstances the first and circumstances to the whole of the whole was to bring Kansas into the Union without a stricken out?

Such, sir, were the facts and circumstances the first and this Kansas question it is that the constitution and sobmit their doings to make a control to the Wishing of the validity of the law calling the such that the constitution and sobmit their doings to make a continuous popular vote, or send them to facts and circumstances the fore him. Few men can equal him or and sobmit their doings to make a control the waste of facts and circumstances the fore him. Few men can equal him or and sobmit their doings to make a control the waste of facts and circumstances the fore him. Few men can equal him or and sobmit their doings to make a control the waste of facts and circumstances the fore him. Few men can equal him or and sobmit their doings to make a control the waste of facts and circumstances the fore him. Few men can equal him or and sobmit their doings to make a control the waste of facts and circumstances the fore him admission for the Validity of the law called the wind of the whole the facts and circumstances the fore him admission for the validity of the law called the wind of the win It is true that Congress still has the power to gainst himself, he said: "I am not one of those not; and this is one of the reasons of the goverav that Kansas shall not come into the Union; who boast that they have never changed their nor for urging the people to attend the polls out I cannot see how that body can confer any additional anthority as to the way in which she shall be prepared to come in. I will not be modified some opinion to some degree," he who do vote to act for them." He says "the contradicted when I say that the question be- ought to have extended the same charitable convention is legally called," "because the swer the senator's arguments, and controvert his conclusions, were I to concede the correct
State shall ask admission, thitution being vention would have been bound to extend that tween the friends and enemies of the Kansas rule to the President.

State shall ask admission, thitution being vention would have been bound to extend that the concede the correct
This conclusions, were I to concede the correct
But when the people of the whole U
But he holds that when the people of the whole U
This purpose."

But what is most remarkable, ness of all his premises. This I cannot do, and I shall show why I cannot at different points on to deny her admission, ereby perpet- act of Congress said no such thing. But enious that where the people of the whole of this purpose. But what is most remarkable, and most to deny her admission, ereby perpet- act of Congress said no such thing. But enious that where the people of the whole of the most remarkable, and most to deny her admission, ereby perpet- act of Congress said no such thing. But enious that whether representatives in samply because the most remarkable, and most to deny her admission, ereby perpet- act of Congress said no such thing. But enious that whether representatives in nous, acting through their representatives in nous acting through their representatives in the most remarkable, and most to deny her admission, ereby perpet- act of Congress, should legislate on slavery in the erment, that movement, though it may not be Territory - no one ever claiming the right to illegal, is irregular, and does not rise above the of "the great distracting question" (slavery) was legislate on any other domestic institution -or importance of a petition for redress of grievan- all that would be necessary to give Kansas peace whether the question should be dealt with by ces. How will this sentiment be relished by and the dignity of a State. He even then ina very unsound and insufficient foundation. He sanction of the popular voit this process with a clear view of the popular voit this process with a clear view of the popular voit this process with a clear view of the popular voit the process with a clear view of the process with a clear view of the popular voit the process with a clear view of the popular voit the process with a clear view of the popular voit the process with a clear view of the popular voit the process with a clear view of the pr through local representatives of their own se-lection. The question was settled as no other vested with the "great principle of self-govern- The senator from Illinois, in a speech deliver-

defective? I deny in toto the senator's right side, nor in the country, will the sentiment meet sound or safe practice by State or Territo- people all the legislative authority with which to go behind the legal and authorized aspect of this body, that the surest, if not the only, way refuse to exercise. Governor Walker labored even a respectful response, when the impulse of the hour shall have yielded to sober reflection.

The case is not hereafter to deal of the people are entirely under the hour shall have yielded to sober reflection.

The case is not hereafter to deal of the case in the case of their duty, as is shown in the extract I have the four shall have yielded to sober reflection. The honorable senator from Illinois was not in ted all domestic and it affairs to the peo- ernment, except by the Constitution of the U. sas, either as to their character or mode of formation. The rights of the people as to this mat- circumscribing all concern about her affairs to their idol-the Topeka farce. The consethe country when the Declaration of independence was councided, nor when the Constitution only; when the Constitution only; when the Constitution only; when the Constitution only; within her own limits, where the differences, within her own limits, where the differences are considered as a second of the construction of the con dence was enunciated, nor when the Constitution was made; and yet he claims to understand

It is no reatter of pl to me to recur to that the people of Kansas had a right, under the unpleasant difference were the honoration and that the people of Kansas had a right, under the unpleasant difference were the honoration and that the people of Kansas had a right, under the unpleasant difference were the honoration and that the people of Kansas had a right, under the unpleasant difference were polled. But still the constitution and that the people of Kansas had a right, under the unpleasant difference were the unpleasant difference were the unpleasant difference were polled. But still the constitution and that the people of Kansas had a right, under the unpleasant difference were the unpleasant difference were the unpleasant difference were polled. But still the constitution and that the people of Kansas had a right, under the unpleasant difference were the unpleasant difference were the unpleasant difference were polled. But still the constitution and that the people of Kansas had a right, under the unpleasant difference were the un instrument shall arise, it must be a question for prompt legitimate adjustment. Entertaining hundred votes were polled. view by their authors. Is this Kansas law more the consultation of seat his residence, in ernment; that in doing this they have a right to the judiciary, and not for Congress: and so the difficult of comprehension? Perhaps it is. At July, 1856, on the pc the Toombs bill; delegate their sovereign authority to representon the question of squatter sovereignty. When, mined to call a convention to form a constitu- the whole population to make a constitution and therefore, the people apply to Congress for admission as a State, through the agency of a conmission into the Union as a State. The proprivention of delegates selected by themselves in ety and validity of this movement for a conven- to vote for delegates became clamorous against he could afford to pardon the President for the was further from my than to allude to tion and State government for admission into terms of the organic act, and, in these days of been promptly recognized by the President in for the avowed purpose of putting their own non-intervention, having decided the slavery his instructions to Governor Walker, and then bogus government into operation. I was in the enough on this point. When the senator shall have persoaded the people of the United States was semi-official, and to promote the pubthat the President does not understand the subject, I shall recur to it again.

The property of the people is inalienable, and must republican? Mr. Madison's discussion of the ged the people to the performance of their duty to the spirit of insubordination manifested by revert to them after having performed the function. obligations of the federal government, to be under the law, in the following emphatic terms:

the question; and I have sufficient authority for fringed upon the doof non-intervention, for their own use and enjoyment, is to discard authorities to sustain his new position; but I am saying that he grees with his successor on his Kansas policy, and consequently differs with the senator from 11,701s.

The first own use and enjoyment, is to discard authorities to sustain his new position, discounter to means of that kind to our whole representative system, and the practice under it since the government began.—

the senator from 11,701s.

The first own use and enjoyment, is to discard authorities to sustain his new position, discounter to means of that kind to our whole representative system, and the practice under it since the government began.—

the senator from 11,701s.

The first own use and enjoyment, is to discard authorities to sustain his new position, discounter to means of that kind to you whole representative system, and the practice of the people that duty, but it cannot compel the performance of that duty, but it roughout our whole Union, however, and wherever the people the people the right of sufface authorities to sustain his new position, discountered authorities to sustain his new position, discountered authorities to sustain his new position, and the people the right of sufface authorities to sustain his new position, discountered authorities to sustain his new position, and the practice of the people authorities to sustain his new position, discountered authorities to sustain his new position, and the practice of the people authorities to sustain his new position, and the practice of the people authorities to sustain his new position, and the practice of the people authorities to sustain his new position, and the practice of the people authorities to sustain his new p re senator from 111, nois.

The most carmless part of the senator's speech that in which, whilst making a broad issue cluded to support them. Indeed it would be narrily as to law down a state of non-intervention. I had to say that laws so made, unless the popular in these days of non-intervention. I had the exercise of the right of suffrage, authorize those who do vote to act for them in that contingency, and that in which, whilst making a broad issue cluded to support them. Indeed it would be narrily and to say that laws so made, unless the popular in these days of non-intervention. I had to say that laws so made, unless the popular in these days of non-intervention. I had the exercise of the right of suffrage, authorize those who do vote to act for them in that contingency, and that in which, whilst making a broad issue cluded to support them. is that in which, whilst making a broad issue cluded to support thure. I have a few wanting in authority, is to lay down a rule old relics would be forgotten, and that we were the absentees are as much bound under the law and with the administration, he has attempted to show that the Perident's views sustain those expressed by browelf. He is certainly entitled to all he can make for his cause in this way; but if there was no great difference between the President and himself, there was then the less providing for the an of Kansas as a State. show that the President's views sustain those impressions, and wir submission I shall statutes to the popular vote. Indeed, on this ries, to wit: that the people from all the States President and himself, there was then the less providing for the an of Kansas as a State, neither received the sanction of a popular vote. Constitution of the U. States, without revision the right to make a constitution and a State government; that Congress cannot participate in that work, either as to its substance or form; that whilst Congress might attempt to receive the results of the substance or form; that whilst Congress might attempt to receive the results of the substance or form; that whilst Congress might attempt to receive the results of the reflection that you may, by a subsequent vote, defeat the ratification of the constitution. Although most anxious to secure to you the exercise of that great constitutional right, and believing that the convention is the servant and not the master of that whilst Congress might attempt to receive the results of the reflection that you may, by a subsequent vote, defeat the ratification of the constitution. Although most anxious to secure to you the exercise of that great constitutional right, and believing that sustaining the conclusions at which he felt resulted to arrive. Nor could be approach the subject in a partisan spirit. He has not cared to deal with the follies, wrongs, and bitter feelings which have been manifested on either side of the question, in or out of Kansas; but he has to the committee of the constitution of the proper to the subject in a partisan spirit. The bill read in by the senator from the convention is the servant and not the master of the convention is the servant and not the master of the people, yet I have to tell that work, either as to its substance or form; States. Besides, it is extremely difficult to tell the convention is the servant and not the master of the people, yet I have to tell the convention is the servant and not the master of the people, yet I have to tell the convention is the servant and not the master of the people, yet I have to tell the people, yet I have to tell the people, yet I have the people to vote and Statesmen, would teach on this subject.—

The bill read in by the senator from this complicated contest, and statesmen, would teach on this subject.—

The bill read in by the senator from the convention to the utmost to make a like the people should do this, it would be option and Statesmen, would teach on this subject.—

The bill read in by the senator from the convention to the convention to the utmost to make a like the people what whilst Congress might attempt to prescribe and Statesmen, would teach on this subject.—

The bill read in by the senator from the convention to the utmost to make a like the people what was that whilst Congress, States, and Statesmen, would teach on this subject.—

The bill read in by the senator from the convention to the utmost to make a like the people what whilst Congress might attempt to prescribe and Statesmen, would teach on this subject.—

The bill read in the convention to the convention to the people what whilst Congress might attempt to prescribe and Statesmen, would teach on this subject.—

The bill read in the convention

der acts of Congress; and that Vermont, Ohio,

I hold that the extension to the people of the sume, the other day, that the people of Kansas, God's name, who ever denied that right? Is and of public tayor as any one of the many former deforts of that gifted senator. It was his right—and no one will call in question his motives—but I do not believe it was wise in the senator. It was wise in the senator. It was his right—with all the people of the opportunity of so forming and regulating their dom," could not, in the matter of making a vention? Is that the full fruits of perfect free-but I do not believe it was wise in the senator. It was his right—with all the people of the opportunity of so forming and regulating their dom," could not, in the matter of making a vention? Is that the full fruits of perfect free-but I do not believe it was wise in the senator. It was his right—with all the people of the opportunity of so forming and regulating their dom," could not, in the matter of making a vention. It was his right—with all the people of the opportunity of so forming and regulating their dom," could not, in the matter of making a vention? Is that the full fruits of perfect free-but I do not believe it was wise in the senator. It was his right—with all the people of the opportunity of so forming and regulating their dom, and regula

again in his Connecticut letter. Gov. Walker Territory for some time prior to and after the

"The people of Kansas, then, are invited by the highest authority known to the Constitution to par-ticipate freely and fairly in the election of delegates to frame a constitution and State government. The law has performed its entire appropriate function, when it extends to the people the right of snillage,

"You should not console yourselves fellow-citizens, with the reflection that you may, by a subse-

legislation. It is recognized by the present Chief Magistrate of the Union, just chosen by the American people, and many of its acts are now in operation here by universal assent. As the governor of the Territory of Kansas, I must support the laws and constitution; and I have no other alternative under my oath but to see that al! constitutional laws are fully and fairly executed."

Mr. Secretary Stanton, under the instructions of the President and governor, addressed the people as follows:

"The government especially recognizes the territorial act which provides for assembling a convention to form a constitution, with a view of making application to Congress for admission as a State int Union. That act is regarded as presenting the only test of the qualification of voters for delegates to the convention, and all preceding repugnant restric-tions are thereby repealed. In this light, the act must be allowed to have provided for a full and fair expression of the will of the people through the delegates who may be chosen to represent them in the consti-tutional convention. I do not doubt, however, that, in order to avoid all pretext for resistance to the peaceful operation of this law, the convention itself will, in some form, provide for submitting the great distracting question regarding their special institu-tions, which has so long agitated the people of Kansas, to a fair vote of all the actual bona fide residents of the Territory, with every possible security against fraud and violence. If the constitution be thus framed, and the question of difference thus submitted to the decision of the people, I believe that Kansas will be admitted by Congress without delay as one

cule when dealing with the views of the President. The allegation that that able and accomplished statesman had fallen into efundamental error," as to the meaning of the Kansas-Nebras-ka law, and the purposes of its authors, because he was not in the country at the time of its had also a part of the live to call a control of the meaning of the Kansas-Nebras-ka law, and the purposes of its authors, because he was not in the country at the time of its had also a policy and the purpose."

As to the power of the live to call a control of the most irregular and alteration, though the constitution be republicant and even unlawful manner; as they had also a policy in the contend, in the face of his Springheid vention, it will be seen e senator comes and even unlawful manner; as they had also a policy in the contend, in the face of his Springheid vention, it will be seen e senator comes and even unlawful manner; as they had also a policy in the constitution be republicant and even unlawful manner; as they had also a policy in the constitution because they will in the contend, in the face of his Springheid vention, it will be seen e senator comes and even unlawful manner; as they had also a policy in the constitution because they will in the contend, in the face of his Springheid vention, it will be seen e senator comes and even unlawful manner; as they had also a policy in the constitution because they will in the contend, in the face of his Springheid vention, it will be seen e senator comes and even unlawful manner; as they had also a policy in the constitution because they will in the constitution because they did in fight in Congress to send that the constitution because they will in the constitution because they will in the constitution because they did my mind, even before I became a member of about sacred rights, which they indignantly

of the President and Governor Walker for attempting to administer what, in the chaste phrase of the malcontents , were the "bogus laws f'a bogus legislature," averring that they would have no form of government from the convention gotten up under these laws, no matter how perfect it might be; that though that "bogus convention" should submit for their approval their own Topeka constitution, they would spurn it with contempt. This spirit was pervested with any authority over the subject of making a State government. His functions were to administer the laws, and perform the executive duties generally, which he did discharge with great ability. But beyond this, he could not go. He had no connexion with, agency in, or responsibility for, the work of making a constitution. In the exercise of his discre-