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TOWANDA:

Saturdan Morning, March 29, 1836.

Affairs in Kansas.

HON. G. A. GROW In the House of Representatibes, March 4, 1856.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the President's annual message.

Mr. Speaker: Rumors of a prospect of civil war in the Territory of Kansas have reached us, and filled the public mind with gloomy apprehension. The President in his annual message informed us, that "in the Territory of Kansas there had been acts prejudicial to good order," but neglected to tell what those acts were; and at a later day he informed this House by special message that there had been acts, plainly against law, which now threaten the peace not only of the Territory of Kansas, but of the Union." It becomes the imperative duty of Congress, then, to inquire into the causes of this state of things, and devise if possi-

Congress being the supreme legislative power for the Territories, giving them their organ-ic law, executive and judicial officers, and precribing the mode and manner of the exercise of all their legislative functions, it is our first daty to see that the inhabitants thereof are secure in the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges guarantied to American Freemen verywhere under the protection of the Re-

ble some means by which to avert so dire a ca-

The acts which the President regarded as

litic, and without law, for the purpose f transforming a charter government into a tate. They formed a constitution, adopted and under it elected a Governor and other ficers, and a Representative to Congress .-The members of the Legislature met, swore to apport the new constitution, and the oath of fice was administered to the Governor, and is message transmitted to the Legislature .one of these acts were considered as illeal by the constituted authorities of Rhode sland; and no arrests were made till Dorr alled out a military force to uphold his govern-

The people of Kansas have thus far done onwhat was done in Rhode Island previous to an appeal to arms. Are accs that are harms when performed in a State illegal and treaonable when performed under like circum stances in a Territory? It was not thought by the country in the case of the admission Michigan into the Union, where a convenon of the people, called without law, accepted tain conditions of Congress which had just een rejected by a convention of delegates asembled under authority of an act of the Lesislature. But, sir, the undoubted right of the cople of a Territory to call a State convenwithout any act of the Territorial Legisture or of Congress, for the purpose of transing a Territory into a State, and to elect the officers necessary to administer such tate government, has been settled not only by practice of the Government, but by the on of one of its ablest legal officers and ditutional advisers of the President. g General Jackson's administration the Gonor of the Territory of Arkansas addressed in a letter soliciting instructions for his guidace in case the people of said Territory should t delegates to a convention without a law the Legislature, and organize and put in gration a State government without authoriof Congress. The Governor informed the ident that, unless otherwise instructed, he old feel "bound to consider and treat all proceedings as unlawful." The Presifor General Jackson, it seems, had not adopted the "great principles of popular sovgnty," established by the compromise meaof 1850-replied, through his Attorney eral, B. F. Butler, on the 21st of Septem-

is not in the power of the General Assembly of Arass any law for the purpose of electing members tion to form a constitution and State governand to form a constitution and State govern-and to do any other act, directly or indirectly, to such new government. Every such law, even the' approved by the Governor of the Territory, would

The people of a Territory have an undoubtadopt a State constitution, and elect all State, though it might be a question whe they could perform any official act as State ers until the action of Congress, though But the State must be formed before | the other.

her admission; for it is States that are admitted, under the third section of the fourth article of the Constitution, and not Territories .-Upon this point, I read from the opinion of the Attorney General in the Arkansas case :

"This provision implies that the new State shall have been constituted by the settlement of a constitution or frame of government, and by the appointment of those official agents which are indispensable to its action as a State, and especially to its action as a member of the Union, prior to its admission into the Union. In accordance with this implication, every State received into the Union since the adoption of the Federal Constitution has been actually organized prior to such admission."

Now, I desire to call particular attention to the part of this opinion which applies directly to the people of Kansas; and had it been written expressly for their case, it could not have been more applicable. In defining the rights of the citizens of Arkansas, he says :-

"They undoubtedly possess the ordinary privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States. Among these is the right of the people. "peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for the redress of grievances."—In the exercise of this right, the inhabitants of Arkansas may peaceably meet together in primary assembly, or in conventions chosen by such assemblies, for the purpose of petitioning Congress to abrogate the territorial government, and to admit them into the Union as an independent State. The particular form which they may give to their petition cannot be material so long as they confine themselves to the mere right of petitioning and conduct all their proceedings in a peaceable mannet. And as the power of Congress over the whole subject is plenary and unlimited, they may accept any constitution, however framed, which in their judgment meets the sense of the people to be affected by it. If, therefore, the citizens of Arkansas think proper to accompany their petition by a written think proper to accompany their petition by a written constitution, framed and agreed on by their primary as-semblies, or by a convention of delegates chosen by such assemblies, I perceive no legal objection to their power to

But, it may be said that this doctrine will not apply to Kansas, for there it is "merely a part of the inhabitants" who called the convention. In all cases the call, in the first instance, must be by a part of the people; for it would be almost an impossibility to get the signatures of all the inhabitants of a Teritory. The call issued for a State convention in Kansas was in this form :-

The acts which the President regarded as threatening the peace not only of the Territory of Kansas, but of the Union, are summed up in a paragragh of the message:

— Persons confessedly not constituting the body politic after all the inhabitants, but merely a party of the inhabitants, and where of the propose of transforning the Territory inha a state, and have formed a constitutional right; for the people, or any part of them, of a State of Territory have a perfect right penceably to assemble, at any time, and deposit their votes for any person they may please, with such designation of office as they choose to affix; and miles they, or the person so chosen, commit some overt act against the Government under which they live, they have violated no law and are amenable for no offense, any more than they would be to assemble and discuss their grievances, and petition for their redress. In Rhode Island, where there was no question as to the regularity of the existing government—for had a convention to form a new constitution was issued by persons confessedly not constitution was issued by persons confessedly not constitution was issued by persons confessedly not constitutio " To the legal voters of Kansas :

ry could participate; and who shall say that a majority of them did not? The fact that it was necessary for the pro-slavery party at a later day to summon armed men from Missonri, is almost conclusive evidence that a majority of the people of the Territory are in favor of the free State movement. But to give validity to the action of the people of a Territory in any act which they have a right to do, it is not necessary that they should be unanimous, any more than it is necessary, in order to give validity to a law of a State, that every voter shauld be in favor of it. Majorities under our system of government, constitute the people, and their action is the action of the

people.

The members of the convention were elected at the same time and by about the same vote as the free State Delegate to Congress, and he received almost three thousand votes at a time when there was no occasion for illegal votes Judging by the census, and the other elections held in the Territory, that would be a majority of the legal voters. If the proceedings for a State convention were participated in by a party only, how did it happen that the delegates did not all hold one sentiment on the allabsorbing question before them-that of slave ry? Many of the delegates in that conven tion were never suspected of being Abolition ists or Free-Soilers before they went to the Territory, and some of them were well-known to the country as carnest advocates of the Kan

sas-Nebraska bill and of all the measures of this Administration. But why was it necessary for the people of Kansas at this early day after their organization as a Territory to call a convention to frame a State constitution? What are the grievances that they seek in this way to redress? They claim that under the act of Congress organiz ing the Territory they were to have the right to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way; but, instead of that, a Le gislature was elected by non-residents, the balot-box seized by armed bands of men from Missouri, and peaceable citizens of the Territo-

ry were driven by violence from the polls or

hot down in cold blood. The President has failed, though devoting an entire message to Kansas, to give us an information as to the mode or manner in which that election was conducted, but seemed more anxious to discuss questions involved in the contested seat of a delegate on this floor, and to show, if possible, inconsistencies of conduct n one of the officials whom he had appointed to office in that Territory. We are, therefore, light at any time to call a convention, frame left to rely on the history of those transactions as they have reached us through the press and is necessary to its action as an indepen- by private correspondence. But that the election was a fraud, and the Legislature a usur pation imposed upon the actual settlers of Is until the action of Congress, though Kansas, is as well established as that there was in this world's pilgrimage, till it passes the gan enacted laws and voted for President an election held; for we have no different or dark valley? Mr. Chairman, I have contras-

The census of the Territory was taken in February, and the election was in the following ven to a particular species of property. By the census there were but about three thousand legal voters. Yet, at the elec tion about six thousand votes were polled, while a large number of residents did not vote, owing to the threatened violence of the election; and every member elected to the Legis lature at that time, save one, belonged to the pro-slavery party. Is it to be supposed that, at a fair election in that Territory, but one free State man would be elected to the Legislature out of thirty-nine members, and that he should be in the district furthest removed from Missouri? But passing by the election for members of the Legislature, I desire to call attention to their official acts, for these are the first fruits of popular sovereignty, as established by the repeal of the Missouri compromise. Without inquiring into the validity of that Legislature on account of the mode of its election, or by reason of its changing the seat of govern-ment to Shawnee Mission, the legislation itself is a sufficient justification for the free State men

rights and privileges. This Legislature, imposed upon Kansas by non-residents, has disfranchised a large class of its citizens, and deprived them of the right of holding office, or of practicing as attorney atlaw in the courts, by imposing as a condition, unwarranted oaths to support particular laws of Congress or of the Legislature, thereby destroying freedom of opinion and the right of private judgment as to the constitutionality of the laws of the country, which is the birthright of an American citizen.

of Kansas to appeal, in the mode they have adopted, to Congress, to secure to them their

Mr. SMITH, of Virgina. Quote the acts. Mr. GROW. That is what I propose to The voter if required must swear, in addition to other things, to sustain the fugitive slave law before he can vote-an unheard-of requisition to require a voter anywhere under our form of government to swear to support any particular law as a condition to vote; for in most cases the very object of his going to the polls is to secure the repeal or modification of such laws as he considers unconstitutional or unjust. And every person elected or appointed to office in the Territory must take the same oath. To be admitted to practice as attorney in the courts the applicant must swear to "support the Constitution of the United States, and to support and sustain the provisions of an act entitled an act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and the provisions of an act commonly known as the fugitive slave law," and to which I understand the court has added all the laws of the Territorial Legis-

The Legislature has appointed or provided for the appointment of all officers not already appointed by the General Government, for terms of from two to five years, including sher-iffs, constables, justices of the peace, county commissioners, and election boards. So that there is not an officer in the Territory of Kansas to-day, of any kind or description, civil, military, or judicial, except the thirteen members of the council, who hold their offices for two years, in the selection of which the people of the Territory have had any voice, nor Under it all the legal voters of the Territofall of 1857. The Legislature has prolonged its own existence by legislative act till the 1st of January, 1858, so there can be no change in the laws till after that time. This is the popular sovereignty that leaves the people "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way." And under these circumstances the people of Kansas are are assured by the President that "the constitutional means of relieving the people of unjust administration and laws by a change of public agents and by repeal are ample."

But, in addition to invading the right of private judgment, and of depriving the people of all voice in the selection of their rulers, the Legislature has struck down freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the inalienable rights of men, and enacted into law a despotism as galling, if not as odious, as that of the House of Hapsburg. The rights of freemen are trampled under foot, while the right to slave property is shielded and protected by the highest sanctions of law. The penalty for advising or assisting an apprentice to run away from his master is a fine of not less than \$20, nor more than \$500; but for enticing or carrying away a slave, death, or ten years' imprison-

For harboring or concealing an apprentice, one dollar for each day's concealment; but for harboring or concealing a slave, not less than five years' imprisonment at hard labor.

For advising or persuading an apprentice to rebel against or assault his master, not less than \$20, nor more than \$500 : but for adri-

sing or persuading a slave to rebel, DEATH. Kidnapping a free man and selling him into slavery, an offense that should receive the severest punishment known to the criminal calendar, unless it be for taking life-and I know not as that should be excepted; for what graver offense against the laws of a civilized community could be committed, than to seize a peaceable citizen reposing upon its protection, and place upon him the chain and the manacle and then consign him to hopeless bondagevet the penalty for such an offense under the laws of Kansas is not to erceed ten years' imprisonment; while death is the penalty for aiding or assisting in persuading a slave to obtain his freedom.

For decoying and carrying away a child under twelve years of age, in order to detain or conceal it from its parents, imprisonment not to exceed five years, or six months in county jail, or fine of \$500, at the discretion of the Even the innocence and helplessness of childhood finds less protection under the sanction of these laws than is given to the right of property claimed in the souls and bodies of men.

A. MEMBER. They do not sell the souls. Mr. GROW. Can it be separated at the action block? Does it not go with the body The she was admitted as a State into the better means of information of the one than of ing what kind of protection is thrown around

ven to a particular species of property.

General Stringfellow, in a letter to the Mont-

General Stringfellow, in a letter to the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, uses this language as to the character of the laws of the territory in reference to slavery:

"They have now laws more efficient to protect slave property than any State in the Union. These laws have just taken effect, and have already silenced Abolitionists; for, in spite of their heretofore boasting, they know they will be enforced to the very letter and with the utmost rigor. Not only is it profitable for slaveholders to go to Kansas, but politically it is all-important." Not content with enacting laws more effi-

cient to protect slave property than any State in the Union, they attempt to stifle freedom of speech and of the press by enacting that-

"If any free person, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulste, or cause to be introduced into this Territory, written, printed, published, or circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than two years.

"No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecution for any violation of any of the sections of this act."

Such are some of the laws of the Territory of Kansas which the President has announced must be enforced at the point of the bayonet. if necessary. The first gun fired by the armies of the Republic in such a cause would be but the echo of the British musketry in the streets of Boston on the 19th of April, 1775, and its flash would light a flame that the floods of the father of waters could not extinguish.

Should a despot of the Old World issue an edict that any of his subjects who should de- If so, the President has not transmitted them clare that he had not a divine right to rule, to to the Senate, to answer to their call for them. imprison and to kill, should be incarcerated in and has not answered a call made by this House the dungeons, and that any one should be in- more than three weeks since. So I take it competent to try the accused unless he believ- for granted that they have not been furnished in the divine rights of kings, would not an ed by the secretary of the Territory, as requir execration go up from the heart of civilization ed by law. So, no information of the deings deep and bitter as the wailings of the damned ; and his name would head the infamous roll of day, and then we are furnished only such part the world's Neros, Gesslers, and Haynaus ; yet as the officials choose to give. But his negin the heart of the Republic American citizens are to-day required to submit to an enactment in the form of law not less odious.

It is to free themselves from such wrongs, and that they may enjoy the common rights of American freemen, that the people of Kansas have peaceably assembled and formed a constitution, in order to petition Congress for a redress of grievances.

The President informed us, in his special message, that associations were formed in some of the States to promote emigration to Kansas, which "awakened emotions of intense indignation in States near to the Territory of Kansas, and especially in the adjoining State of Missouri." Why this indignation at any effort to furnish settlers to the Territory, and thus to people the wilderness? For the first time in the history of the country has any effort to facilitate the settlement of new States excited indignation anywhere. But the prayer of the patriot and the philanthropist has ever followed the hardy pioneer, as he went forth to subdue the forest and convert the lair of the wild beast into a home for civilized man.

But the reason assigned for the special inlignation of the people of Missouri, is, that their "domestic peace was the most directly endangered." Sir, how could the domestic peace of any section of this Union be endangered by building up new States in the wilderness. and covering its desert waste with the homes of civilized men? Though the President failed to give us that information, General Atchison has, in a letter to the Atlanta (Georgia) Examiner, dated Platte City, December 15,

"Kansas and Missouri have the same latitude, climate. and soil, and should have the same institutions. The peace and prosperity of both depend upon it. Kansas must have slare institutions, or Missouri must have free institutions— hence the interest the "border ruffians" take in Kansas

If the settlement of Kansas had been left to the laws which govern emigration, it would have been a slave Ter-ritory as certainly as Missouri is a slave State; but inas-much as those laws have been violated and perverted by the force of money, and a powerful organization in the North and East, it becomes the South "to be up and do North and East, it becomes the South "to be up and doing," and to send in a population to counteract the North.

"Let your young men come forth to Missouri and Kansas! Let them come well armed, with money enough to support them for twelve months, and determined to see this thing out! One hundred true men will be an acquisition. The more the better. I do not see how we are to avoid civil war; come it will. Twelve months will not elapse before war—civil war of the fiercest kind—will be upon us. We are arming and preparing for it. Indeed elapse before war—civil war of the hercest kind—will be upon us. We are arming and preparing for it. Indeed, we of the border counties are prepared. We must have the support of the South. We are fighting the battles of the South. Our institutions are at stake. You far southern men are now out of the naive of the war, but, if we fail, it will reach your own doors, perhaps your hearths. We want men, armed men. We want money—not for ourselves, but to support our friends who may come from a distance." a distance.

Is the domestic peace of Missouri endangered, then, by an effort to make Kansas a free State? Are the institutions of Missouri and the South staked on the issue whether a free State shall join a slave State on the west ?-Then the only vital question in the politics of the day is freedom or slavery to Kansas; for its destiny is to shape and control that of all the territory west of it to the Pacific. For, with slavery established in Kansas, its institutions, as well as those of the South, will be just as insecure with a free State on its western border as would be Missouri with Kausas free. The moving cause, it seems, then, for abrogating the restriction on slavery in this vast territory, once consecrated to freedom, was to plant upon its virgin soil the institutions of human bondage, so that the domestic peace of the southern States might not in the issue of slavery or freedom in Kansas? please, when by force you trample down their be endangered.

The repeal of the Missouri compromise was, from its inception, a conspiracy against freea slave State on the west. For but one Ter- so that the moneyed interest of the South ritory was needed for all purposes of fair set- acts together by a common sympathy prob its conquest

Why was Kansas intrenched and hemmed brasks, with an imaginary line for its north- slavery where it had not an actual existence.

ern boundary, when the Platte river, a few dary that should have divided the two, if a division was to be made? Was it because that would bring a part of Kansas opposite Iowa, so that freemen could reach the Territory without the necessity of passing through a slave State? Why was the clause always before inserted in every territorial bill since the formation of the Government, requiring the laws of the Territory to be the supervision of Congress, omitted in this? Then, when, the time comes for electing the Legislature, which is, of course, to give shape, by its action, to the institutions of the infant State, it is secured to slavery by an invasion, of non-residents, and then follows the legislation to which I have referred : a series of acts, all pointing, from the first, to the consumma-tion of one object—the tulfillment of the pro-phecy of General Atchison, made in the Sen-ate of the United States, that if the Missouri compromise was repealed Kansas would be a slave State. And he has insisted upon that

opinion from that day to this. In addition to all this, the secretary of the

Territory, who is required by act of Congress to transmit "one copy of the laws and jour-nals or the Legislative Assembly within thir-ty days after the end of each session, and one copy of the executive proceedings and official correspondence semi-annually," to the President, and copies of the laws to the Senate and House of Representatives, to be deposited in the libraries of Congress, has neglected entirely to send the laws to Congress, or to furnish the President with the executive proceedings. of the Territory reaches us officially till a late lect on the part of one of the officials of the Territory is passed by unnoticed by the President, while he removes other officers for alleg-ed dereliction of duty. Now, if the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH] wishes it, I will

yield to him.
Mr. SMITH, of Virginia. I do not desire to interrupt the gentleman at this point; I merely made the remark-rather sub rosa than otherwise-that I did not undersand why the gentleman should complain of the secretary of the Territory for failing to put the House and the country in possession of the territorial laws when I found him using those laws and arguing upon them. I thought it was rather unnecessary fault-finding.

Mr. GROW. I suppose, then, Mr. Chair man, that it would not be necessary for the officials of the Government to do their official duty because the information they might communicate could obtained in some other way. I take it for granted that, when the organic law requires an officer of the Territory to do a certain duty, you have a right to complain if may obtain the information by some other means

But to return from the digression into which have been drawn by the gentleman's remark. It seems, that but one object has actuated this whole movement, from the inception of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and that has been to supplant free labor and free institutions, in order to establish slavery on the soil of Kansas.

Why are men brought there face to face with the bayonet in their hands and deadly hostility in their hearts? Governor Shannon, in his dispatch to the President, giving an account of the troubles at Lawrence, says

"The excitement increased and spread, not only through "The extitement increased and spread, not only through-out this whole Territory, but was worked up to the ut-most point of intensity in the whole of the upper portion of Missouri. Armed men were seen rushing from all quarters towards Lawrence, some to defend the place and others to demolish it."

"Men rush with arms to demolish it From where? The State of Missouri. What interest has Missouri in enforcing the laws of Kansas more than the State of Ohio, or Vir ginia? General Atchison tells us : Slave institutions for Kansas or free institutions for Missouri. Slavery in Kansas secures slavery forever in Missouri. This is the motive which brings from Missouri men to preserve law and order in Kansas. From the description in aupart of this letter, the "law and order" that has taxed in vain the wisdom and ingenuity such men would preserve is like the protect o the wolf would give the lamb. In another part of the despatch he says :

"I found in the camp at Wakarusa a deep and settled feeling of hostility against the opposing forces in Lawrence, and apparently a fixed determination to attack this place and demolish it and the presses, and take possession of their arms.

"To issue an order to the Sheriff to disband his possion of Generals Richardson and Strickler to disband their forces, would have been to let loose this large body of men, who would have been left without control to follow the impulse of their feelings, which evidently was to attack and disarm the people of Lawrence." Those are the men who go forth to enforce

law and order, and to preserve peace and qui

et in one of the Territories of the Union .-They come for what? To demolish a town, to burn its houses, and drive out its citizens from their homes at the point of the bayonet. perty has always a common interest, and is ercise of the elective franchise! You have immoved by a common motive. The three mil- posed on them a Legislature which has enactdom. The moving cause that abrogated this lion slaves in the South, at an average price ed laws striking down the dearest rights of time-honored restriction was to secure the in- of \$500 each, makes a capital of \$1,500,000, freemen; and you call it law and order to sustroduction and establishment of slavery, so as | 000. But, in addition, it is the same interest | tain the invasion, and enforce the enactments. to prevent, if possible, a free State bordering that owns the landed and personal property: And after the people of Kansas have been dis-

tlement; and such was the form of the bill bly exceeds \$4,000,000,000. Whatever, then, dertake to demand a redress of their grievanfirst introduced. Yet it was afterwards di- tends to enhance the market value of the slave ces at the hands of the only body that can vided without any apparent reason, unless it moves this mighty interest with a common im- give it—the Congress of the United States was to enable slavery the more easily to make pulse. A moneyed interest in any country always struggles to seize upon its Government, and to wield it for its own advantages. Hence in entirely by the State of Missouri, and rethe innovations on the early and well-estab-stricted to a small area compared with Nelished policy of the Government in restricting

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Hence the efforts now making to overturn the miles further north, was the great natural boun- settled decisions of the courts, and to nationalize the institution of slavery under the new doctrine, that the Constitution carries it wherever its jurisdiction extends unless there be local law to prevent it.

The Democracy of the country, in the days

of its glory and triumph, resisted the attempt of the moneyed interest of the country, invested in banking, to seize upon this Government to use it for its own purposes. They also resisted the attempt of the moneyed interest engaged in manufacturing to use this Government for its purposes. And yet here is a united, concentrated moneyed interest—compared to which either of those was but as a drop in the bucket to the ocean—endeavoring to use this Government for the promotion of its interests and the advancement of its ends. Now, sir, it is to resist any such attempt, on the part of the moneyed interest invested in slaves, that the people whom I represent resist all at-tempts to plant slavery in Kansas.

Regarding it, as did the fathers of the Republic, as a social and political evil, that retards the growth and developement of a country by degrading its labor, they believe it to be the duty of Congress to do in reference to the Territories what Madison desired it to do more than a half century ago in reference to the foreign slave trade. In urging its abolition he says tion he says:

"The dictates of humanity, the principles of the people the national safety and happiness, and prudent policy re

quire it of us.

"It is to be hoped that, by expressing a national disapprobation of this trade, we may destroy it, and save our selves from reproaches, and our posterity the imbecility ever attending on a country filled with slaves."

And here, sir, I desire to read an extract from a speech of mine in the last Congress on

the Nebraska bill:

"But it is said that these Territories are common property and that all the citizens of the United States have common rights in them; and that, therefore, no citizen can be excluded from emigrating to them without injustice and degradation. No one proposes to exclude any person from emigrating and settling on the public domain. The Territory, it is true, is the common property of the whole people, but by the Federal Constitution they agreed to put it under a supervisory power. That power is Congress; Congress is made a board of direction over this trust fand, to use it in such way as, in their sound discretion, will be most advantageous to the trust, and will best accomplish the object of its creation, the promotion of the real and permanent interests of the country. Whoever goes into the Territory, therefore, as a settler, must conform to the "rules and regulations" established by this supervisory board, created by the common consent and agreement of the whole country, and made one of the articles of compact. No person has any separate, distinct individual right that he can have set apart as his share to use as he pleases, any more than can take his share of the President's House or of this Capitol, and appropriate it to his own use. It can be used only in such way as, in the judgement of Congress, will conduce to the advan age of the whole."

If, then, this Government should see that the Territories are used such way as best to promote the paramount interest of the country, to develop its physical strength and the mental resources of its people, free labor can accomplish it better than slave. For slavery, wherever it goes, bears a sirocco in front, and leaves a desert in the rear. Under slave labor, the soil, which is the means for supporting the human race, and was given by the Creator for that purpose, is impoverished and he fails to perform that duty, even though you made wortbless. It is, then, abandoned, and virgin soil taken up again to be in the same And thus is the basis of national greatness and glory destroyed, and the energies of a people are palsied by degra-ding its labor. Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, has given to the world its influence on society:

"With the morals of the people their industry also is destroyed; for in a warm climate no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the prorpietors of slaves a very small pr portion indeed are ever seen to labor. portion indeed are ever seen to labor.

"With what execution should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor parita the other."

I trust, sir, that Jefferson, born and reared amid the influences of slavery, will not be regarded as a fanatic for his views of the institution. As for myself, I have no sentimentalities, other than those which man should ever feel for the miseries and woes of his race, on the subject of slavery as it exists in the States. If it be a good, those who have it are entitled to all its blessings; if an evil, they alone have to answer for it to their own consciences, to the public opinion of the world, and to their God. I would leave it, then, to the people among whom it exists to devise, in their time and in their own way, the mode and man ner of its removal. That is a problem with the solution of which I tax not my brain. It of some of the wisest and ablest statesmen of the Republic.

When, therefore, we find an institution that once planted among a people they are unable to devise any means to get rid of, even though they desire to do so, should we not hesitate in doing any act by which it would be fastened upon a people who have it not, and who would be much better without it? Would the people of Kansas, if left to their own free choice, to-day choose the institution of slavery instead of the free institutions?

It is said that the object of the bill organizing the Territory was to leave the people to do as they please. The people of Kansas to do as they please, when there is not an officer of the Territory in whose election they have Why is Missouri fighting the battles of the had a voice, and cannot have for two years to The capital invested in any one kind of pro- ballot-boxes, and deprive them of the full exfranchised at the ballot-box, and they have een deprived of their rights because they unarmed men are to be called in to shoot them down. Are the citizens of Kansas competent to take care of themselves? If so, why port men from other States to enforce their laws? The fact that men are imported to execute the laws of the Legislature is conclu