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AVE DOLLAR PER ANNUM, INVARIABLY IN ADVANCE.

"REGARDLESS OF DENUNCIATION FROM ANY QUARTER."

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TOWANDA: Thursday Alerning, July 24, 1856. The Hansas Question.

SPEECH OF HON. G. A. GROW, In the House of Representatives, June 30, 1856, violence had been committed, and even if there On closing the debate on the Bill reported from the Com-mittee on Territories for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State.

under consideration will be on the motion to commit it to the Committee of the Whole on upon her people, come from those who strenuthe state of the Union ; after having disposed ously opposed the appointment of that comf the Wole on the state of the Union, it could or, in order to reach it, it would be necessary mittee. And the same majority which could mit the State of Kansas, after the taking of a lav aside the bills so as to reach this, could, census, without regard to the number of her when reached under the ruling in the Nebraska case, strike out the enacting clause, and re- put an end to all these troubles? the bill to the House without a single

of a certain number of men, who are to the commission.

r thus failed-

eman yield me the floor for two mi- But it is said that if the laws enacted by ritory, and delegates elected to meet at Tope-

But, sir, there is some encouragement for the friends of freedom in Kansas in the propositions which have been submitted within a few days in this Hall and in the Senate. It is, that the ground taken in the early part of the session with respect to Kansas is abandoned by the men who resisted the appointment of any committee to investigate the transactions in that Territory, alleging that no frauds or

Now, propositions for settling the troubles in the state of the pending instructions—one proposed by mittee, and justified or apologized for the the citizens of Kansas proceeded, peaceably, the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. STEPHENS,] wrongs which their report exposes ; and the as they had a right to do, under the Constituin the nature of a substitute; the other, an ground taken in the opening of the session, that tion of their country, to form a State governendment thereto, restoring the Missouri Kansas must have a population of ninety-three ment, and ask of Congress to admit them into promise, offered by the gentleman from thousand four hundred and twenty before she the Union as a State. Their memorial is beana, [Mr. DUNN] Before speaking on could be authorized to form a State constitu- fore you, and is to be answered by your action the merits of this bill, I propose to say a word tion, is professedly abandoned on all sides. on this bill. All the proceedings preliminary to the effect of this motion, should it pre- That was really the only plausible objection to the formation of this constitution have been Every person who has served in this that could be made to her immediate admission, as regular and orderly as the disturbed condithat at this stage of the session, and that yielded, what objection can there be tion of the Territory would allow; and instead d this bill be referred to the Committee save that her constitution prohibits slavery? of being confined to any class or party, it was The proposition is now to admit her as a of a general character, and extended an invitanever, in all probability, be reached. If it is State into the Union, without regard to the tion to all citizens to participate. The first to send it there for the purpose of number of inhabitants, after taking a census. public meeting for that purpose was held at ment, that object would not be secured; Why delay her admission, then, for the taking Why delay her admission, then, for the taking data the following resolution was passed :-b la vaside every bill on the Calendar preced- whatever her population may be? I appeal Resolved, That we, the people of Kansas Territory, in ng it, one by one, by a majority of the Com- to every gentleman here who proposes to adinhabitants, why not admit her at once, and

Some gentlemen say, we ought to take no it or any opportunity for one. If, action upon the subject until the investigating only object in in referring is to have committee which was sent into Territory have mended, gentlemen will see that that ob-would not be accomplished by the re-as the question of the admission of Kansas into the Union is concerned, it seems to me is

to the instructions proposed by the gen- wholly immaterial, except as furnishing an adfrom Georgia, [Mr. STEPHENS,] I have ditional reason for her admission, in order to His amendment, which is relieve the people from great wrongs. But if er of amendments that have it is considered necessary, that commission has atroduced lately in the other wing of the returned, and any member who is not satisfied ol, professedly for the relief of Kansas, as to the condition of things in Kansas can the appointment by this Administra- satisfy himself by an appeal to the members of Kansas, take a census of voters, and The question now before us is, whether the

for the election, at some future day, people of Kansas are to be relieved from their tes to form a State Constitution. I oppressions and wrongs by its immediate ade no faith in any measure of redress for the mission as a State into this Union? So far le of Kansas, which is to be placed in the as that question is concerned, it makes no difads of this Administration to execute. A ference whether the Kansas legislation was organizing the Territories of Nebraska and valid or invalid. Even if valid, and elected sas was passed by Congress, and it was without fraud or violence, the pretended laws President's bounden duty to see it carried they enacted, and which were transmitted to in good faith to the citizens who relied on this House by the President of the United protection. He signed that bill, was there- States, are a disgrace to any civilized people. a part of it, and it was his duty to see that The only question is, whether you will relieve etter and spirit were in no way violated, but | these people from that despotism and wrong the rights secured to citizens under it were by admitting them now as a State into the

voice in the selection of their own rulers, that strikes down freedom of speech and of the press, under the penalties of not less than two years' imprisonment at hard labor, and that tramples upon every right dear to a freeman, has been imposed upon the people of Kansas by fraud and violence—their houses have been burned, and their property destroyed under the sanction of this Administration and its ap-

pointees. There being no peaceable mode for the people of the Territory to change these ' cruel and oppressive " laws for more than two years, they resorted to the only peaceable mode Mr. GROW said : The first vote on the bill Kansas, and professedly to prevent the repeti-meter consideration will be on the motion to tion of the wrongs and injustice perpetrated was to form a State government, and ask admission into the Union.

To relieve themselves of these grievances

Resolved. That we, the people of Kansas Territory, in mass meeting assembled, irrespective of party distinctions, influenced by common necessity, and greatly desirous of promoting the common good, do hereby call upon and re-quest all *homa fide* citizens of Kansas Territory, of what-ever political views or predilections, to consult together in their respective election districts, and in mass conven-tion or otherwise elect three delegates for each represen-tative to which said election district is entitled in the House of Representatives of the Legislative Assembly, by proclamation of Governor Reeder, of date 19th of March, 1855; said delegates to assemble in convention at the town of Topeka, on the 19th day of September, 1855, the and there to consider and determine upon all subjects of public interest, and particularly upon that having refer-ence to the speedy formation of a State constitution, with an intention of an immediate application to be admitted as a State into the Union of the United States of America. In accordance with this recommendation

In accordance with this recommendation, delegates were elected in the different election districts, who met at Topeka, on the 19th of September, A. D. 1855, to take into consideration the expediency of calling a convention to form a State constitution. The address issued by this convention was to the legal voters

of Kansas, and closed in these words :-"And whereas the debasing character of the slavery

And whereas the usangle to action, and leaves us, as which now involves us impels to action, and leaves us, as the only legal and peaceful alternative, the immediate es-tablishment of a State government : and whereas the or-tablishment of a state government : and whereas the ortablishment of a State government : and whereas the or-gonic act fails in pointing out the course to be adopted in an emergency like ours : Therefore, you are requested to meet at your several precincts in said Territory hereinaf-ter mentioned, on the second Tuesday of October next, it being the 9th day of said month, and then and there east your ballots for members of a convention, to meet at To-peka on the 4th Tuesday in October next, to form a con-stitution, adopt a bill of rights for the people of Kansas, and take all needful measures for organizing a State go-vernment preparatory to the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State."

After this address, which fixed the time and reference to entry and the entry and the entry of the ent can effectually relieve them, and prevent con- ment of judges, and the qualification of voters, Mr. McMULLIN, (interrupting.) Will stant invasion of their rights by non-residents. elections were held in every district in the Ter-

the mere finding of a grand jury, is not to be trusted with the rights of American free-men. Det circular that denies the right of private judgment, that has stripped the people of all Legislature, proceeded to elect delegates to a convention, and to organize and put in operation a State Government, without the authority of Congress, says through his Attorney General, in the opinion just cited, that :---

"It is not in the power of the General Assembly of Ar-cansas to pass any law for the purpose of electing mem-ners to a convention to form a Constitution and State Government, nor to do any other act, directly or indirect-y, to create such new Government. Every such law, ev-though it was approach to the Covernment of the Covernment en though it were approved by the Governor of the Ter ritory, would be null and void."

The Governor of Arkansas, in this same communication to the President, expressed the opinion that, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, no measures can lawfully be taken by the citizens of Arkansas, to

authority so to do ; and that he will therefore feel himself bound to CONSIDER AND TREAT ALL SUCH PROCEEDINGS AS UNLAWFUL. That is precisely what the Administration and its abettors, under similar circumstances, are now doing in reference to Kansas. And it is to be regretted that the President did not send to his Governor in Kansas the opinion sent by General Jackson to his Governor in Arkansas in days when Democracy meant something besides propagating and nationalizing the in-stitutions of human bondage. In instructing his Governor as to the rights of the people, he says :

he says : "They undoubtedly possess the ordinary privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States. Among these is the right of the people "peacably to assemble, and to petition the Government for the redress of grie-vances." In the exercise of this right, the inhabitants of Arkansas may peacably meet together in primary assem-bly, or in conventions chosen by such assemblies, for the purpose of petitioning Congress to abrogate the Territo-rial 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 peacable manner. And as the power of Congress over the whole subject is ple-nary 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, therejore, the citi-zens of Arkansas think proper to accompany their peti-tion by a written Constitution, framed and agreed on by their primary assemblies, or by a convention of delegates chosen by such assemblies, in the any measures they they primary assemblies. If you have the provention of the people to be affected by it. If, therejore, the citi-zens of Arkansas think proper to accompany their peti-tion by a written Constitution, framed and agreed on by their primary assemblies, or by a convention of delegates chosen by such assemblies, or to any measures they near to their ower to a do so to not to any measures they near the to be a so the to any measures they near to be the ower to a do so to not to any measures they near their primary assembles, or by a contention of decigates chosen by such assemblies, I perceive no legal objection to their power to do so; nor to any measures that may be taken to collect the sense of the people in respect to

Does the Constitution meet the sense of the people to be affected by it? The existence of Slavery was the only question upon which the people were divided, and the vote for delegates to the Convention settled that by a majority of legal voters.

All the proceedings preliminary to the formation of a Constitution in Kansas have been conducted in a' peacable manner. The Legislature that convened on the 4th of March passed a resolution that no act of theirs was to have the force of law, and no officer elected under that Constitution was authorized to act, until confirmed by some subsequent act of the Legislature, and thus they await the action of Congress. Governor Robinson, in his message to the Legislature, speaking as the agent

of the State thus organized, shows its peacable character and subordination to the action

" It is undersood that the deputy marshal has private uctions to arrest the members of the Legislat the State officers, for treason, as soon as this address is received by you. In such an event, of course, no resis-tance will be officered to the officer. Men who are ready to defend their own and their country's honor with their lives can never object to a legal investigation into their action, nor to suffer any punishment their conduct may merit. We should be unworthy the constituency we rep-resent, did we shrink from martydom on the scaffold, or at the stake, should duty require it. Should the blood of Collins and Dow, of Barber and Brown, be insufficient to quench the thirst of the President and his accomplices in the hollow mockery of "squatter sovereignty" they are practicing apon the people of Kansas, then more victims must be furnished. Let what will come, not a finger should be naised against the Federal authority un-til there shall be no hope of relief but in revolution." State offi The people of Kansas, relying on their constitutional rights and the official decisions of the Government, and following the precedent of Tennessee, Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, tions without any act of Congress authorizing General Jackson to the Governor of Arkansas, into the Union. Why should not their pray-September 21, 1835. Referring to the third er be granted? Since the objection to the immediate admission of Kansas, on account of insufficient population, is abandoned, there can be no other, unless a sectional one, except the allegation of informality in her proceeding, in not having a previous act of Congress authorizing them. I have shown that such an act is not necessary on any principle of constitutional right. Five States have been admitted without any such act. And, so far as the forms of law were concerned, Michigan came into Territory. And then, to guard against the tional right. The free State men in this move- planted the Territorial Legislature before the Michigan applied for admission with a Constitution formed by her people without any previous act of Congress. Under it she had elected a Governor, Legislature, United States Senators, and member of Congress. Her ap-Congress for admission into the Union. The plication was met with the same objection as Kansas to give her a Government of her own right of a people "to alter or abolish" their is now urged against Kansas—that her proceedings were not only without law, but against to go out and take the census of the they were not disfranchised at the polls, till af- classed in the Declaration of Independence as law and good order; and that class of objectors were opposed to receiving her memorial, The mode and manner of accomplishing it in on the same grounds urged by a class of Senaorganized States properly belongs to the forms tors against the memorial of Kansas, for it would be recognizing the State of Michigan of Slavery, struggling for supremacy, rally to when there was no such State ; and to recognize her as such would be sanctioning treason. Cougress, however, admitted her, on condition that her people should assent to a change of boundary. The legally constituted authorities called a convention, fixed the time and place of holding the election for delegates, and pre- ready have the right to do, without any such is the man who has been arrested by your scribed the qualifications of voters. This convention, so constituted, rejected the terms of them to form a State Constitution, confers no outrages and wrongs? Under the sanction of admission. But the people, by a spontaneous a slavery propagandist be brought be-repeal until he had sworn to support it, would as get Lecompte charged with illegal vo-he have felt himself bound to abide by it? to believes that, when the penalty is Sir, the people of Kansas are in a different valid law-constitutional, because article first the condition of admission fixed by Congress. Under these circumstances, Michigan was ad-Kansas, with far greater reasons than ever existed heretofore for a departure from the usual form of proceeding, asks at your hands the same boon. In the case of Michigan, the times were more fortunate than those of Kansas. I they may be placed necessarily impose restraints. I condition of a southern slave, who must have

Andrew Jackson was then President ; Benton, | Such is the case with the Territories. The Niles, W. R. King, and a host of other equal- population, in the first instance, being too ly illustrious leaders of the Democracy, were then in the Senate Chamber, and espoused her tablishes one, and pays its expenses. Consecause. No threats or efforts were then made to subdue liberty.

revise, he might be involved in any amount of feet. For doing this, some of her citizens are exiled from their homes, and others pine in chains, charged by the Government of their country with treason-treason in peacably bers to support a State Government, Congress forming a State Constitution under the right should have nothing to with them any more guarantied by the paramount law of the land than with a State. in order to ask of Congress admission into the Union-treason for doing precisely what the number to support a State government, from people of Arkansas and Michigan did almost the necessity of the case Congress must form a a quarter of a century ago, and which was en- government for them, and they must submit. orm a Constitution and State Government, dorsed by Congress and the then President during this infancy of ther existence, and during

> and men with them. The Democracy in the days of Jackson stood upon the principles of the fathers of the Re- liest practicable period. When the people are of public in reference to the Territories, and justified the right of the people peaceably to as-semble at all times, and petition for a redress hold it? Why not free your Treasury from the of grievances.

> The gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. STE-PHENS,] in his remarks on Saturday, appealed to the higher law to sustain Slavery. With-out stopping to discuss Scripture authority on their own lives, and their own property? The that point, for it belongs to the theologian objection made to the admission of Kansas, as one of his controverted questions, I wish under present circumstances, by most of the op-

> here only to say, that if Slavery and its existence rest on the Old Testament for their support, then the same authority will support white Slavery as well as black, and the amal-gamation of master and slave. In the Sla-have not been violated in that Territory save very of the patriarchs there was intermarriage by the officials of your Government. Such is between the master and slave-the sons and daughters of the one with the sons and daughters of the other. It is not questioned that the slaves of that day were white. If that was the case, then the gentleman's argument proves too much, and there is a rule of the logicians, that an argument is as faulty that proves too much, as one that proves too little. If the Bible argument be good, whites can be seized and carried into bondage, and masters and slaves may amalgamate. But I will pass by for the present the defence of Slavery, as authorized by the practice of the patriarchs ; for how far their example should be followed. or can be, consistently with the new dispensa-tion that declares "that whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," will come up properly on a bill now pending in reference to another patriarchal in-

stitution existing in one of the Territories. The gentleman seemed to think that the spirit of Jefferson would feel indignant that he should be quoted as authority by Republicans. Sir, if the spirits the departed hover over the scenes of earth, and watch with solicitude its affairs, with what anguish must that spirit contemplate the wrongs in Kansas, who exclaimed, when on earth-

"With what execration should the statesman be load ed, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patria* of the other !"

If the spirits of the sainted dead hover over their country, watching its destiny with any-

small to support a Government, Congress esquently, it must have a supervision over its acts, for the same reason that a principal must Kansas, having violated no law, lays her have control over the acts of his agent ; oth-

But being for a time too weak and feeble in until Congress shall first have granted them of the Republic. But times have changed, this inability to support a government, to such conditions as may be imposed by Congress. But those conditions should be removed at the earsufficient numbers to support a government of burden of supporting their government, and allow them that right which belongs to themponents of her admission, is that law and order must be maintained in this Territory ; and that was a point urged by the gentleman from have not been violated in that Territory save the testimony of Governor Shannon as to the peaceable character of the citizens of Lawrence, who, by his own letter to the President. of November 28, 1855, shows that the influence of the executive office of the Territory was to be wielded in behalf of slavery, whose interests he regards as synonymous with law and order. In writing the President in reference to the arming of the free-State men he says :

"This military organization is looked upon as hostile to all southern men, or rather to the law and order party of the Territory, many of whom have relatives and friends, and all have sympathisers, in Missouri."

The first invasion of Lawrence was made before any legal process of any kind or description was ever issued against any citizen of that place. In the letter of Governor Shannon to the President, December 11, 1855, which gives an account of the invasion of Lawrence, he bears testimony to the law-abiding character of the people of that place. He says :--

" It was at once agreed that the laws of the Territory "If was at once agreed that the laws of the Territory should have the regular course, and that those who dispu-ted their validity should, if they desired to do so, test that question in the judicial tribunals of the country; that in the mean time no resistance should be made to their due execution, and the citizens of Lawrence and vicinity were, when properly called on, to aid in the arrest of any one charged with their violation, and to aid and assist in the preservation of the peace and good order of society." * * * " It is proper I should say that they claimed that a large majority of them had always held and inculcated the same view."

The people of Lawrence reiterated this declaration in the following communication adopted in a public meeting of her citizens :---

LAWRENCE, May 14, 1856.

Mr. GROW. For what purpose ? Mr. McMULLIN. To explain the course he President

stion pertinent to the subject I am speaking ascertained by the investigations of the com-I will hear and answer it; otherwise I am mittee sent by this House to Kansas. After willing to yield at this time

The President having failed to protect the rising above the prejudice of their section, have as of Kansas in the rights secured to them declared on the floor of the Senate to be cruel, for the power given to Congress by the Concorganic act, I ask whether we should oppressive, and palpably unjust to one section of stitution is to admit States, not Territories.ace in his hands any measure of propos- the Union, and an insult to honorable men, they The new State must, therefore, have all the and Iowa, all of which formed State Constituief or protection for that people ? When provided against their repeal by disfranchising before its application ; and such was the de-the same, present themselves, through the me-tou intrust the same charge to his keeping who were opposed to them. They provided cision of the Attorney General, transmitted by morial of their Legislature, and ask admission Do you expect any relief to the peo- for their execution in the spirit in which they Kansas from this Administration, or were enacted, by taking from the people any he minions whom it has sent to that voice in the election of their officers.

To expect it would be as great There is not an officer in the Territory of as to hope to protect your lamb from a Kansas to-day, civil, military, or judicial, save d attack of the wolf by putting two bells the thirteen members of the Council of the sneck instead of one. For myself, I am spurious Legislature, (who hold over another d to any measure of relief which is to be year,) in the selection of which the people have ed in its execution to men who have had any voice. The executive and judicial ofon every right secured to the citizens ficers were sent by the Federal Government, e Constitution of the country, and who and the Legislature appointed, or provided for iolated the most sacred rights of Ameri- the appointment, by their own appointees, of emen-who have given to the flames the election boards, sheriffs, constables, justi- movement in Kansas being against law, it is ses of peaceable citizens, and driven ces of the peace, and all other officers in the clearly in accordance with law and constitu- the Union against them, having entirely suporth homeless into the wilderness.

of Kansas ; and that they may employ | er obnoxious qualifications, an oath to support | is to form a constitution unless his name 1st of January, 1857. But as the Council hat ceusus list. They might employ, hold over another year, no change can be made -making such a list as would suit their ter the 1st of January, 1858; so that, from ses, and secure the success of the bor- the time of passing the territorial law by Conmans in their crusade in behalf of sla- gress, which provided for annual sessions of

even if the list was a fair one, what se- before a change can be effected in the Legishave you that a fresh invasion would not lature, so as to repeal these laws.

d, or that armed men would not go bolls, seize upon the ballot-boxes by the other day referred to legislation in his own gress can be changed, modified, or abrogated, d drive away the legal voters of the State which he believed to be unconstitutional only by its consent. That consent, however, y by violence, as has been done in and oppressive; but the courts decided that can be expressed as well after as before the enalty fixed in this substitute for illegal decision, as was the duty of a good citizen.- prescribed no form, whatever action the peowould not prevent it, for it is simply a But if a provision had been appended to that ple think proper to adopt, in order to secure to exceed a certain sum of money. law prohibiting any man from voting for its a change of Government, provided it be conge Lecompte charged with illegal vo- he have felt himself bound to abide by it ?

exceed five hundred dollars, it will ex- position from that of any people in any State of the amendments to the Constitution secures Who believes that the pen- in this Union, in respect to any laws of which to the people everywhere, under its jurisdic- mitted into the Union. cents ? ald ever be fairly enforced under such complaint was ever made. For the first time tion, the right, paramount to all law, peacably stration of law as exists in Kansas ? who orders the destruction of public sprinting presses, and private dwell-pretable citizens, as nuisances, on might the Senator from Delaware, [Mr. Ctay-

this Legislature are wrong, they can be re- ka the 23d October, 1855, to form a State pealed-that the ballot-box is the proper place constitution. They met at that time and place, to change unjust laws. As a general proposi- formed a constitution, and submitted it to a tion, that is true. But this legislation was vote of the people for ratification on the 15th

Mr. GROW. Not now. If I have time to forced upon the people of Kansas, through of December following. The 15th of January, sh the remarks which I propose to make, fraud and violence, by an invasion of non-resi-1856, a Governor, Legislature, and State offore the expiration of my hour, I will yield dents. Of the six thousand three hundred and cers were elected; and the Legislature met on floor with great pleasure to the gentleman thirty-one votes polled at that election, but the 4th of March, 1856, and after receiving "Virginia. If he proposes to ask me a fourteen hundred and ten were legal votes, as the Governor's message, appointing committees, and electing United States Senators, adjourned to the 4th of July. enacting laws which even Southern Senators,

All these proceedings were necessary before their application to Congress for admission ; 'agents indispensable to its action as a State"

section of the fourth article of the Constitution,

he says :

"This provision implies that the new State shall have "This provision implies that the new state share been constituted by the settlement of a constitution frame of government, and by the appointment of tho ficial agents which are indispensable to its action netal agents which are indispensable to its action as a State, and especially to its action as a member 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."

Instead of the proceedings of the free-State now proposed that five men be appoin- change of any of their "cruel and unjust laws," ment have done nothing but what they had a action of Congress. If the Administration which has permitted they require, as a qualification to vote and to right to do. The people of any Territory have e wrongs, to take a census of the popu- hold office in said Territory, in addition to oth- a right, under the Constitution, to call a convention at at any time, with or without an act ersons as they please to assist in taking the fugitive slave law; and they postponed of Congress, or of the Territorial Legislature, o person is to vote at the election for the next meeting of the Legislature till the and to form a State government, and apply to this power, Stringfellow, Jones and Don- in these laws by the people themselves, even if form of government is an inherent one, and is

indispensable to the inalienable rights of man. the Legislature, it will be almost four years of law, to be prescribed by the State Government ; but in the Territories, Congress is the

only power that can prescribe the forms ; for The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. STEPHENS] a Territorial Government emanating from Conon heretofore held in the Territory? it was constitutional, and he submitted to the action of the people. If Congress, then, has

in the history of the Government is an oath to assemble, and to petition the Government for

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"Nothing can more gladden the heart, than the templation of a portion of territory consecrated to Free-dom, whose soil should never be moistened by the tear of the slave, or degraded by the step of the oppressor or the oppressed."

Can the spirits of such men be wounded by the appeal of the livivg to their authority to vindicate the rights of the freemen of their native land, and save from degradation the very territory that once so gladdened the patriotic heart !

Tyranny and wrong rule with brute force one of the Territories of the Union, and violence reigns in the capitol of the Republic,---In the one, mob law silences with the revolver the voice of justice, pleading for the inalienable rights of man : in the other, the sacred guaranteess of the Constitution are violated. and reason and free speech are supplanted by the bludgeon ; and, in the Council Chamber of the nation, men stand up to vindicate and instify both ! Well may the patriot tremble for the future of his country, when he looks upon this picture, and then upon that !

Can the spirits of the departed, unless they partake more of earth than when surrounded by their clay tenements, look down upon these scenes without anguish and bitter sorrow?

Mr. Speaker, why should the application of Kansas for admission be delayed, when it seems to be conceded on all sides that it is proper to admit her without requiring the ratio of population necessary for a Representative in a State? That idea seems to have been entirely abandoned. Then why delay this applica-Kansas to give her a Government of her own selection? Immediate action is necessary, in order to put an end to the strife in the Terriens the peace not only of Kansas, but of the Union. The representatives of Freedom and tory, at some future day, to do what they alright that they do not already possess, and is the right of men to govern themselves in the Territories object?

thing of their earthly solicitude for its welfare what anguish must wring the heart of his no-ble co-patriot, who, in the Senate Chamber, in 1819, declared that— "Nothing can more gladden the heart, than the con-We desire to state most truthfully, and earnestly, that no We desire to state most truthfully, and carnes ity, that no opposition whatever will now, or at any future time, be offered to the execution of any legal process by yourself or any person acting for you. We also pledge ourselves to assist yon, if called upon, in the execution of any legal process. We declare ourselves to be order-loving and law-abiding clitzens, and only await an opportunity to testify our fidelity to the laws of the country, the Consti-tution, and the Union. We are informed, also, that those men collecting about Lawrence openly declare that their intention is to destroy the town, and drive off the citizens. Of course, we do not believe that you give any countenance to such threats ; but in view of the exciting state of the public mind, we ask protection of the constituted authorities of the Govern-ment, declaring ourselves in readiness to cooperate with

as proceeding ourselves in readiness to co-operate with them for the maintenance of the peace, order, and quiet of the community in which we live.

J. B. DONALDSON, United States Marshal for Kansas Territory.

And at a still later day, the committee of safety of Lawrence sent to Marshal Donaldson the following :---

We, the committee of public safety for the citizens of Lawrence, make this statement and declaration to you as marshal of Kansas Territory :---That we represent citizens of the United States, and of Kansas, who acknowledge the constituted authorities of the Government; that we make no resistance to the exe-

the Government; that we make no resistance to the exe-cution of the laws, national or territorial; and that we ask protection of the Government, and claim it as law-biding American eitizens.

abiding American eitizens. For the private property already taken by your posse, we ask indemnification ; and what remains to us and our citizens we throw upon you for protection, trusting that under the Hag of our Union, and within the folds of the Constitution, we may obtain safety.

SAMUEL C. POMEROY,	WM. Y. ROBERTS
LYMAN ALLEN, JOHN A. PERRY,	S. B. PRESTON, A. H. MALLORY,
C. W. BABCOCK,	JOEL GROWN.

Yet after all these declarations by men who had violated no law, and who had proposed, in tion, when every man must be satisfied, in his a written communication to the governor and own judgment, that it would restore peace to marshal, of 17th of May, to deliver their arms if desired, "to Colonel Sumner, so soon as he should quarter in the town a body of United States troops sufficient for their protection, to be retained by him as long as such force tory, which, the President informs us, threat- shall remain," Lawrence was sacked, and its public buildings and printing-presses destroyed.

Where is there a man under arrest in Kansas, or with any civil process against him, who the plains of Kansas with the implements of has shot down men there for freedom of speech, war and violence. Is the bitterness engen- or who has destroyed printing-presses, burned gendered in these conflicts to be allayed, and the dwellings of peaceable and defenseless citithe dangers of bloodshed to be averted, by zens, and sent their wives and children into the Congress authorizing the people of the Terri- wilderness, to find protection with the savages. against their less merciful pursuers ? Where authority? An act of Congress authorizing guardians of law and order for any of these officers of the law, citizens have been stopped men who claim to be the special advocates of property taken and confiscated ; and they, unless engaged in the work of making Kansas a slave State, compelled to carry a pass, signed

It is an inherent right of a people, the world by some official of the Territory, in order to over, to govern themselves ; and that right save themselves from robbery or murder by cannot be interfered with without injustice, un- these conservators of law. Thus are Ameriless this condition and circumstances underwhich can freemen, on American soil, reduced to the