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"FREEDOM AND RIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY AND WRONG."

CHARLES F. READ & H. H. FRAZIER, EDITÓRS.

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From Syria.

LETTER FROM REV. J. L. LYONS.

Выкит, Jan 18, 1856. On the 24th of Dec. we had the pleasure of welcoming Mr. and Mrs. Aiken to our missionary field. They sailed in the latter visited Sidon, ancient Sidon. It lies 25 miles south of Beirut, and for the greater coast. The shore is very level, and many times as we rode along we were so near the performed the journey in seven hours, and Most received a soaking in consequence of my But when we came to stop for the night, I we landed is called Mena, the name signifying got the laugh on him, for on opening his sad- a port. It is the port of Tripoli, and contains dle bars to put on a change of raiment, he some six thousand inhabitants. Having profound everything completely saturated with cured a lantern at the office of the French water, while on the other hand my baggage steamers, we groped our way through the

On our way to Sidon we passed over a sharp point of land jutting into the sea, on poli. It was near midnight when we reachwhich stands the tomb of the prophet Jonah. ed the city walls. We passed through the The tomb is a plain, stone structure, eighteen | gate into an arched street, dark, solitary and or twenty feet square, and is surrounded by deserted, but by dint of strenuous hallooing a dome. It is not a place of much interest, and pounding we at length succeeded in rous-

We received a very warm welcome from the missionaries residing at Sidon, Mr. Thom- to take any buckencesh for this, pains. sor and Docton Van Dyck and their families. vice consul received us with great politeness Their house is in a central position, and from and cordiality. He had been informed the the terrace, we had a fair view of the whole week before of our intended visit, and was city, with the surrounding gardens and the therefore expecting us. This man is the on-

Sidon is a city of great antiquity, reaching back almost to the time of the flood. We ifirst find mention of it in Genesis X, 19, and again in Gen. XLIX. 13. It once was an important sea port, having a good harbor and an extensive trade. The prophet Isaiah speaks of the merchants of Sidon that pass over the sea" (Isa, XXII) 2.) - But the ancient grandeur of this once famous city has long since passed away. She filled up the measure of her iniquities and in fulfilment of the terrible maladictions of the prophet (Ezk. XXVIII, 22, 23) she received her merited retribution. Sidon has now but little trade or enterprise and contains but 8 or 10.000 iphabitants. Our Savior once came into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon and there performed the miracle of healing the daughter of the Syrophenician woman. Matt. XV, 21, and

Mr. Aiken and I spent but one night with our friends at Sidon, and on the next day we rede twenty-five or thirty miles in a northeasterly direction over the mountains to Deir El Hamer. I believe I have mentioned this place in my former letters, as I had occasion to go there last summer to look after the schools. It is an important town of several thousand inhabitants. Mr. Bird has just been stationed there. We spent a night with him and half of the next day, and then rode through the rain ten miles to Abeih. The road be tween Deir El Hamar and Abenh is the most horrible conceivable. It leads through an immense valley with rocky precipitous sides and is so deep that it requires a tedious hour and a half to get down into it, and another toilsome hour and a half to get out of it. In some places the stone steps over which parts of the road are constructed, have become so worn and out of repair, that I should suppose no animals except donkeys, goats and Syrian horses, would dare attempt to descend tuem. These Syrian horses are wonderfully sagacious and sure-footed. They first carefully select a spot for their forefeet and have ing planted them firmly, their hindfeet seem to come in right as a matter of course.

We spent but a night in Abein at Mr. Calhoun's, and the next day safely got down to Beirut. We had been abtent four days and

traveled about one hundred miles. On New Year's day I made several calls upon my English, American and Arab friends. tains, Greeks and Maronites, and Greek Cath- are some in Beirut still standing. olics, observe New Year's day, ('Ross issenne.' they call it, i. e. 'head of the year') as a hol-

(our 7) and their sunset is always at 12. On Jan. 2nd accompanied by Mr. Hunter our mission printer, I made a visit to Tripoli, go some weeks since, but we were prevented. We started in the French steamer soon after dinner and anchored off Tripoli about sunset. Meantime a strong wind had sprung up El Kelb, the Dog river. This river rushes

and spirits. Two days after Mr. Aiken art to think we should be compelled to remain up precipitously on either side, and yet over ment. rived, we started off together to visit some on board the steamer all night at the risk of these apparently impassable barriers winds of the nearest missionary stations. We first being carried off to Latikea, the next landing one of the most famous military roads of anhowever, the tempest had so far subsided, part of the way the road winds along the sca that we were able to procure a boat. We proceeded in the darkness as near to the shore as the rocks and shoals would allow, water that the great swelling waves from the and then the boatmen taking us on their backs sea dashed up around our horses' feet. We transported us safely over the few rods of shallow water that remained and landed us during the last four hours rode in the rain, safely on the beach. Mr. Hunter being a but thank's to our water proof overhauls, we considerably longer individual than myself, went through dry shod' except that my left dragged one of his feet in the sea and thus brought out a boot full of salt water. This, rubber pantaloons not having been properly however, we considered a slight misfortune secured at the bottom. Mr. Aiken was rath- and congratulated ourselves that we had not er disposed to laugh at my slight misfortune, got to go, molens volens, to Latikea. We had saying that he was perfectly dry from the not however as yet reached Tripoli, as the crown of his head to the soles of his feet. - city lies a mile inland. The place at which

escaped unharmed, as I had taken the pre- dark narrow streets to the outer gate and then caution to throw a piece of oil cloth over it entered a broad smooth highway walled in on both sides and with hedges growing upon the walls. This road led us directly to Tri-

since there are two or three other tombs of ing a man from a neighboring dormitory, and Jonah in the East, and it has not yet been de- inquired of him the way to the residence of termined, and probably never will be which Howadji Yanne, the American vice consul. house, and wonderful to relate, utterly refused

long range of Lebanon in the back ground. Ity openly professed Protestant in Tripoli, and is a unquiter of the church in Beirut. He is wealthy and, though an Arab, lives in European style. The apartments allotted to me and Mr. Hunter were amply furnishwith beds, tables, chairs, marble-top wash-stands, mirrors &c. Yanne has been compelled to undergo severe persecution from his relatives on account of his leaving

the Greek church and embracing the Protes-

tant faith. He however still adheres firmly

to the truth, but needs sympathy and encouragement. In Oct. last, Mr. Wilson, the former missionary at Tripoli, removed to Hurns, far off in the mountains, and since that time Yanne has been left to contend with his persecutors single-handed. On the day after our arrival we received several calls and also looked at some houses with a view of obtaining one for my future residence. I concluded to take the one formerly occupied by Mr. Wilson, but it is sadly out of repair, and it will require some weeks to put it in order. The owner promises to commence work upon it at once. There are some fine houses in Tripoli, but they are mostly owned by Mo-

hammedans who refuse to rent them to infidels,' as they term the Christians. Tripolicontains some 20,000 or 25,000 inhabitants. and is noted for its fruitful and extensive gardens of orange, lemon and other fruit trees .-But I will reserve my description of the city and people and gardens &c. until I come to take up my residence there, and become

better acquainted with the place. Mr. Hunter and I spent but one day and two nights in Tripoli, and on Friday morning, having the preceding evening hired horses for ourselves, and a muleteer to take charge of our heds, and baggage, we started over land for Beirut. We rode nearly all day along the sea coast—passed numerous convents and at night stopped at Jebral, a town of perhaps habitants were called Giblites (Josh. XIII, 5) and though never subdued by the children of Israel, they were employed by Solomon as the Republic. masons and stone cufters, in the building of the temple. The modern Jebail is walled on three sides and open towards the sea. It contains a mosque, a Maronite church, and an old castle probably built in the time of the crusades. Most of the buildings are small

and uncomfortable. I observed, lying aboutin various places, many fragments of beauti-We also received about twenty calls at our fully wrought columns of granite and Egypown house. Most of them were natives and tian porphyry, mournful mementos of a granwe entertained them with music, cake, Arab | deur long since passed away. These columns sweetments and coffee. All the native Chris- were the work of the ancient Romans. There

We spent the night in a Kahn, or Arab inn, a rude stone shelter, with rough walls. mence their year in October. With them Here men, horses and donkeys congregate, designation of office as they choose to affix;

es and soon fell asleep. We were up and charter government into a State. They off at the first dawning of day, and three or formed a constitution, adopted it, and under four hours' riding brought us to the banks of my future station. It had been our plan to the Adonis, classical name, familiar to all stu- bers of the Legislature met, swore to support. dents of ancient Greek and Latin poetry; the new constitution, and the oath of office

and before noon we arrived at the Nakier

part of Oct, had a rough, though not a long and lashed the sea into such fury that no boats into the sea, through a remarkable gorge in land; and no arrest were made till Dorr callpassage, and have reach us in excellent health dared to dome out to meet us. We began the mountains. The massive rocks tower ed out a military force to uphold his governplace, a hundred miles distant. At 10 o'clock cient times. Here we see the prints of hor- harmless when performed in a State illegal ses' feet, and traces of heavy carriages and and treasenable when performed under like

chariot wheels worn deep in the solid rock. Here are the inscriptions in Phenecian, Egyptian, Greek and Latin, which were left by successive conquering heroes in long ages law, accepted certain conditions of Congress past. Over this old highway of nations, Senncherib led his Assyrian host, hundreds of. years before the time of our Savior. Over this road, too, Alexander the Great led his State convention, without any act of the Ter-Grecian warriors, and afterwards followed the Antoninus Pins. ! As I stood gazing upon these venerable inscriptions and heard the waves of the sea dash against the rocks below. could almost imagine that I was listening to the solemn tramp of armies, and that soon 1 should behold the long lines of glistening shields and spears, winding along down the nountain side, Many scenes of war and conquest have these gray old mountains looked down upon. But the actors in these scenes have passed away to be no more remember.

len, and the weapons of war perished. We arrived at Beirut safely at half past wo r. M. and found all well.

ed forever. Truly, 'how are the mighty fal-

Jan. 31. We received the Missionary Herald of Jan: a few days since, by which we learned that Br. Jessup and Mr. and Mrs. Bliss sailed on Dec. 12th. We shall therefore look for them in about a week, though as the sea has been very rough and storing of late, they may be detained sometime lon-I have been greatly interested in reading the reports which have appeared in the papers of ago, when I passed through similar scenes.-How changed have my circumstances become Ocean rolls between us, and I am surrounded by people of a strange language, strange customs, and strange religion. But here is my nome now, here is my work, and here I am

The Choldra of which I spoke in my last, disappeared from Beirut six weeks since, having caused 245 deaths.

SPEECH OF HON. GALUSHA A. GROW

Affairs in Kansas.

OF PENNSYLVANIA. In the House of Representatives.

Макен 5, 1856. The House being in Committee of the

Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the President's annual

Mr. Speaken: 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 nnual message informed us that "in the Territory of Kansas there had been acts prejudicial to good order," but neglected to tell what these acts were; and at a later day he informed this House by special message that there had been acts, plainly against the luw,' 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 possible some means

by which to avert so dire a calamity. Congress being the supreme legislative power for the Territories, giving them their organic law, executive and judicial officers. and prescribing the mode and manner of the 2 or 3.000 inhabitants. This is the ancient exercise of all their legislative functions, it is Gebal alluded to in Ezk. XXVII, 9. The in- our first duty to see that the inhabitants thereof are secure in the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges guarantied to American freeman everywhere under the protection of

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 paragraph of the message:

"Persons confessedly not constituting the body politic or all the inhabitants, but merely a party of the inhabitants, and without law, have undertaken to the Territory into a State, and have formed a constitution, adopted it, and under it elected a Governor and other officers, and a Representative to Con-

all of which he pronounces illegal and of revolutionary character. Sir, the doing of any or all the acts in this enumeration would be no violation of just law or constitutional right; for the people, or any part of them, of a State or Territory have a perfect right peaceably to assemble, at any time, and deposit their

it elected a Governor and other officers, and a Representative to Congress. The mem-We found no difficulty in fording the stream was administered to the Governor, and his message transmitted to the Legislature.-None of these acts were considered as illegal by the constituted authorities of Rhode Is-

The people of Kansas have thus far done only what was done in Rhade Island previous to an appeal of arms. Are acts that are circumstances in a Territory? It was not thought so by the country in the case of the admission of Michigan into the Union, where a convention of the people, called without which had just been rejected by a convention of delegates assembled under authority of an act of the Legislature. But, sir, the undoubted right of the people of a Territory to call a ritorial Legislature or of Congress, for the legions of the Roman Emperor, Titus and purpose of transforming a Territory into a State, and to elect all the officers necessary to administer such a State government, has been settled not only by the practice of the Government, but by the opinion of one of its ablest legal officers and constitutional advisers of the President. During General Jack son's administration the Governor of the Territory of Arkansas addressed him a letter soliciting instructions for his guidance in case the people of said Territory should elect delegates to a convention without a law of the

Legislature, and organize and put in operation a State government without authority of Congress. The Governor informed the President that, unless otherwise instructed, he should feel "bound to consider and treat all such proceedings as unlawful." The President-for General Jackson, it seems, had not adopted the "great principles of popular sovereignty," established by the compromise measures of 1850-replied through his Attorney General, B. F. Butler, on the 21st of September, 1835, that

"It is not in the power of the General Assembly of Arkansas to pass any law for the purpose of ger. We are all ready for them, and are Every such law, even though it were approved by in the contested seat of a Delegate on this awaiting their arrival with great interest .- the Governor of the Territory, would be null and

The people of a Territory have an undoubted right at any time to call a convention, the Missionary Convention in Montrose and frame and adopt a State constitution, and Br. Jessun's ordination. They have carried elect all officers necessary to its action as an my mind back to the time not many months | independent State, though it might be a question whether they could perform any official act as State officers unt! the action of Congress, though Michigan enacted laws and voin these few months. Then I was amid the ted for President before she was admitted as scenes and rigids of home; now a vast a State into the Union. But the State must be formed before her admission; for it is States that are admitted, under the the third section of the fourth article of the Constition, 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 member of the Union, prior to its admission into the Union. In accordance with this implication, every State received into the Union kince the adoption of the Federal Constitution has been actually organ

Now, I desire to call particular attention o the part of this opinion which applies directly to the people of Kansas; and had it been written expressly for their case, it could ficial acts, for these are the first fruits of popnot have been more applicable. In defining the rights of the citizens of Arkansas, he says: "They undoubtedly possess the ordinary privi-

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 people of Arkaness may peaceably meet together in printary assembly, or 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 peition cannot be material so long as they confin themselves to the mere right of petitioning and conduct all their proceedings in a peaceable manner.—
And as the power of Congress over the whole subject is plenary and unlimited, they may accept any constitution, however framed, which in their judge ment meets the sense of the people to be affected by it. If, therefore, the citizens of Arkansas think proption, framed and agreed on by their primary assemblies, or by a convention of delegates chosen by such assemblies, I perceive no legal objection to their

ower to do so."

But, it may be said that this doctrine will not apply to Kansas, for there is "mere ly a part of the inhabitants" who called the onvention. 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 Territory. The call issued for a State convention in Kansas was in this form:

To the Legal Voters of Kansas: Whereas the territorial government as now con n proof of which it is only necessary to refer to our past history and our present deplorable condition: our ballot-boxes have been taken possession of by a and of armed men from foreign States; our ped forcibly driven therefrom; persons attempted to be best interests some of them never residents of our States, of the most oppressive, tyrannical, and insulting character; the right of suffrage taken from us;

lebarred from the privilege of a voice in the election of even the most insignificant officers; the right of free speech stifled; the muzzling of the press atoppression and tyranny has ceased to be a virtue and whereas the people of this country have hereto-fore exercised the right of changing their form of government when it became oppressive, and have, at all times, conceded this right to the people in this this is the year 1272, duting as you know the flight of Mahomet. You see therefore that we have two kinds of time in Syria.

And so, too, in reckoning the hours of the day, the Arabs like the money of the hours of the day, the Arabs like the money of the hours of the money of the hours of the money of day the Arabs, like the ancient Jews, begin at sunset. The sun now sets at 5 o'clock. An hour after, or 6, is with them one o'clock and so on till they reach 12 o'clock at 5 in the morning, and then they begin to conting out the asses brayed, the morning, and then they begin to conting out the same latitudion, of the existing government and whereas the organic act falls in conting out the course to be adopted in an emergent their gridyances, and petition for their redress. The sun now sets at 5 o'clock. An hour after, or 6, is with them one o'clock at 5 in the morning, and then they begin to conting out the course to be adopted in an emergent their gridyances, and petition for their redress. The sun now sets at 5 o'clock. At 5 in and strongthrough the wide-mouthed entrance the morning, and then they begin to conto one the morning, and then they begin to conto one two constitutions. The sun according to their gridyances, and petition for their redress. The sun one existence by legisla obtaining out the course to be adopted in an emergent the first of January, 1858, so there their gridyances, and petition for their redress. The sun one can feel the interest that after that after that after that after that after that after the sun on the course to be adopted in an emergent the grid of the sun of their gridyances, and petition for their redress. The sun of clock is the prople of sun on the sun of their grid yances, and petition for their redress. Therefore you are requested to meet at time they would be to assemble and discuss for interest the fearest that after the interest the people of sun on the course to be adopted in an emergency like ours: Therefore you are requested to meet at the interest the people of sun on the course to be adopted in an emergency like ours: Therefore you are requested to meet at the interest that after the sun of the can fell in the yould be to assemble and

mode of keeping time, now rises at 2 o'clock we were too weary to notice these annoyanc- out law, for the purpose of transforming a for organizing a State government preparatory to President that the constitutional means of the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State." -Under-it all the legal voters of the Territory 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 Missouri, 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

order to give validity to a law of a state, that ities, under our system of government, con-stitute 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 for harboring or concealing a slave, not less at a time when there was no occasion for illegal votes. Judging by the census, and the other elections held in the Territory, that to rebel against or assault his master, not less would be a majority of the legal voters. If the proceedings for a State convention were vising or persuading a slave to rebel, death. participated in by a party only, how did it happen that the delegates did not all hold one sentiment on the all-alsorbing question before them—that of slavery? Many of the delegates in that convention were never suspected of being Abolitionists or Free-Soilers before they went to the Territory, and some of them were well-known to the country as earnest advocates of the Kansas-Nebraska bill and of all the measures of this adminis-

But why was it necessary for the people of Kansas at this early day after their organ ization as a Territory, to call a convention to frame a State constitution? What are the gridvances that they seek in this way to redress? They claim that under the act of Congress organizing the Territory they were to have the right to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way; but, instead of that, a Legislature was elected by non-residents, the ballot-box-seized by armed bands of men from Missouri, and peaceable citizens of the Territory were driven by violence from the polls or shot down in cold The President has failed, though devoting

an entire message to Kansas, to give us any electing members to a convention to form a constitu- information as to the mode or manner in tion and State government, nor do any other act, di- | which that election was conducted, but seemed floor, and to show, if possible, inconsistencies of conduct in one of the officials whom he had appointed to office in that Territory. We are, therefore, left to rely on the history of those transactions as they have reached us through the press and by private correspond ence. But that the election was a fraud and the Legislature a usurpation imposed upon the actual settlers of Kansas, is as well established as that there was an election held; for we have no different or better means of in-The census of the Territory was taken i

> owing March. By the census there were but about three thousand legal voters. Yet, at the election 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 Legislature 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 ofular 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 government to Shawnee Mission, the legislation itself is a sufficient justification for the free State men of Kansas to appeal, in the mode they have

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 attorneysat-law 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 hirthright of an American citizen. Mr. Smith, of Virghia. Quote the acts.

Mr. Grow. That is what I propose to do. 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 un- not less odious. der our form of government to swear to support any particular law as a condition to vote: or 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 nust 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 commouly known as the fugitive slave law,' and to which I understand the court has added all the laws of the Territorial Legislature.

The Legislature has appointed or provided for the appointment of all officers not already of the patriot and the philanthropist has ever appointed by the General Government, for terms of from two to five years, including sheriffs, constables, justices of the peace, county commissioners, and election boards. So that there is not an officer in the Territory of Kansas today, 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 gered by building up new States in the wil-

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 enjoyed into law a despotism as galling, if no as odious, as Territory in any act which they have a right that of the House of Hapsburg. The rights to do, it is not necessary that they should be of freemen are trampled under foot, while unanimous, any more than it is necessary, in the right to slave property is shielded and protected by the highest sanctions of law.every voter should be in favor of it. Majors 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' imprisonment. -

For harboring or concealing an apprentice, one dollar for each day's concealment; but than five years' imprisonment at hard labor. For advising or persuading an apprentice than \$20, nor more than \$500; but for ad-

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 civcompounty could be committed, than to seize a peaceable citizen reposing upon its protection, and place upon him the chain and he manacle, and ther coysign him to hopeless bondage-yet the penalty for such an of fense under the laws of Kansas is not to exceed 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 court. 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 soul.

Mr. Gnow. Can it be separated at the nuction block? Does it not go with the body. in this world's pilgrimage, till it passes the dark valley? Mr. Chairman, I have contrastshowing what kind of protection is thrown around the rights of freemen, compared with that given to a particular species of proper-

General Stringfellow, in a letter to the Sontgomery (Alabama) 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 lave property than any State in the Union. Abolitionists; for, in spite of their heretofore boast- ted in this? Then, when the time comes for ing, they know they will be enforced to the very lets electing the Legislature, which is, of course, ter and with the utmost rigor. Not only is it profitable for slaveholders to go Kansas, but politically i ebruary, and the election was in the fol-

Not content with enacting laws more efficont 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, circulate, 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 holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to the trial of any prosecution for any violation of any

Such are some of of the laws of the Territory of Kansas which the President has another libraries of Congress, has neglected enbayonet, if necessary. The first gun fired by adopted, to Congress, to secure to them their ry in the streets of Boston on the 9th of A- call for them, and has not answered a call not extinguish.

infamous roll of the world's Neros, Gesslers. and Haynaus; yet in the heart of this Republic. American citizens are to-day required to submit to an enactment in the form of law

It is to free themselves from such wrongs. and that they may enjoy the common rights secretary of the Territory for failing to put of American freemen, that the people of Kan- the House and the country in possession of the sas 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 officials of the Government to do their official Kansas, which awakened emotions of intense duty because the information they might indignation in States near the Territory of Kansas, and especially in the adjoining State | er way. I take it for granted that, when the of Missouri.' Why this indignation at any effort to furnish settlers to the Territory, and ry to do a certain duty, you have a right to thus to people the wilderness? For the first time in the history of the country has any ef. | though you may obtain the information by fort to facilitate the settlement of new States excited indignation anywhere. But the prayer 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 in-

dignation 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 endan-

the South ' to be up and doing, and to send in a pep-

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 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.

Is the domestic peace of Missouri endaugered, then, by an effort to make Kansas a free State? Are the institutious of Missouri and the Scuth 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 in 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 Kansas 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 do-mestic peace of the southern States might not be endangered.

The repeal of the Missouri compromise was, from its inception, a conspiracy against freedom. The moving-cause that abrogated this time-honored restriction was to secure the introduction and establishment of slavery so as to prevent, if possible, a free State bor dering a slave State on the west. For but one Territory was needed for all purposes of fair settlement; and such was the form of the bill first introduced. Yet it is was after wards divided without any apparent reason, unless it was to enable slavery the more easily to make its conquest.

-Why was Kansas intrenched and hemmed in entirely by the State of Missouri, and re stricted to a small area compared with Ne braska, with an imaginary line for its northern boundary, when the Platte river, a few miles further north, was the great natural boundary that should have divided the two. if a division was to be made? Was it because that would bring a part of Kansas opposite lowa, 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 submitted to the supervision of Congress, omit-

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 consummation of one object—the full-ment of the prophecy of General Atchison, made in the Senate 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

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 journals of the Legislative Assembly within thirty 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 nounced must be enforced at the point of the entirely to send the laws to Congress, or to furnish the President with the executive prothe armies of the Republic in such a cause ceedings; or if so, the President has not transwould be but the echo of the British musket- mitted them to the Senate, in answer to their pril, 1775, and its flash would light a flame made by this House more than three weeks that the floods of the father of waters could since. So I take it for granted that they have not been furnished by the secretary of the Should a despot of the Old World issue an Territory, as required by law. So, no anedict that any of his subjects who should de- formation of the doings of the Territory reachclare that he had not a divine right to rule, es us officially till a late day, and then we to imprison and to kill, should be incarceral are furnished only such part as the officials ted in the dungeons, and that any one should choose to give. But this neglect on the nart be incompetent to try the accused unless he believed in the divine right of kings, would not an execution go up from the heart of removes other officers for alleged dereliction civilization deep and bitter as the wailings of of duty. Now, if the gentleman from Virthe damned; and his name would head the ginia [Mr. Smith] wishes it, I will yield to

Mr. Sміти, of Virginia. I do not desire to interrupt the gentleman at this point; I merely made the remark-rather sub rasa than otherwise—that I did not understand why the gentlemen should complain 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. Chairman that it would not be necessary for the communicate could be obtained in some othorganic law requires an officer of the Territocomplain if he fails to perform that duty even some other means.

But to return from the digression into which have been drawn by the gentleman's re-

It seems, then, that but one object has actuated this whole movement, from the incepfion of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and that has been to supplant free labor and tree 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.

throughout this whole Territory, but was worked up to the utmost 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