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"FREEDOM AND RIGHT-AGAINST SLAVERY AND WRONG

CHARLES F. READ/& H. H. FRAZIER EDITORS.

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Admission of Kansas.

SPEECH OF HON. G. A. GROW, OF PENNSYLVANIA

In the House of Representatives, June 30 1856, On closing the debate on the Bill reported from the Committee on Territories for the admission of Kansas into the Union

Mr. Grow said: The first test vote on the bill under consideration will be on the mo- ate admission; and that yielded, what objec-Whole on the State of the Union: after having disposed of the pending instructionsone proposed by the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. Stephens,] in the nature of a substitute; the other, an amendment thereto, restoring the Missouri Compromise, offered by the gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. Dunn.]-Before speaking on the merits of this bill, I propose to say a word as to the effect of this motion, should it prevail. Every person who has served in this Hall is aware, that at this stage of the session, should this bill be referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, it could never, in all probability, be reached. If it is proposed to send it there for the purpose of amendment, that object would not be secured; for in order to reach it, it would be necessary to lay aside every bill on the Calendar preceding it, one by one, by a majority of the Committee: And the same majority which could lay aside the bills so as to reach this, could. when reached under the ruling in the Nebraska case, strike out the enacting clause, and report the bill to the House without a single amendment, or any opportunity for one. If, then, the only object in referring is to have it amended, gentlemen will see that that object would not be accomplished by the ref-

As to the instructions proposed by the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. Stephens.] I have but a word to say. His amendment, which is similar to a number of amendments that have been introduced lately in the other wing of the Capitol, professedly for the relief of Kansas, proposes the appointment by this Administration of a certain number of men, who are to go into Kansas, take a census of voters, and provide for the election, at some future day, of delegates to form a State Conredress for the people of Kansas, which is to to execute. A bill organizing the Territories

gentleman yield the the floor for two min- pealed—that the ballot-box is in the proper

Mr. Grow. For what purpose? Mr. McMullin. To explain the course of

the President. Mr. Grow. Not now. If I have time to finish the remarks which I propose to make, before the expiration of my hour, I will yield the floor with great pleasure to the gentleman from Virginia. If he proposes to ask me a question pertinent to the subject a I am speaking on, I will hear and answer it: otherwise, I am unwilling to yield at this ces of their section, have declared on the floor

The President having failed to protect the citizens of Kansas in the rights secured to them by the organic act, I ask whether we should now place in his hands any measure of proposed relief or protection for that people? When a public officer betrays his trust in one case, will you intrust the same charge to his keeping again? Do you expect any relefito the people of Kansas from this Adto men who have trampled on every right most sacred to American freemen, and who have given to the flames the houses of peaceable citizens, and driven them forth homeless

It is proposed by this substitute that five men be appointed by the Administration which has permitted all these wrongs, to they please to assist in taking it. No perborder ruffians in their crusade in behalf of

But, even if the list was a fair one, what security have you that a fresh invasion would not be effected, or that armed men would not ens] the other day referred to legislation to the polls, seize upon the ballot-boxes his own State which he believed to by force, and drive away the legal voters of stitutional and oppressive; but the Territory by violence, as has been done in every election heretofore held in the Territory? The penalty fixed in this substitute good citizen. But if a provision for illegal voting would not prevent it, for it be brought before Judge Lecompte, charged bound to abide by it? with illegal voting, who believes that, when the penalty is not to exceed five hundred dollars, it will exceed six cents? Who believes that the penalty would even be fairly enforced under such an administration of law as exists time in the history of the Government, is an ernor of Arkansas in 1835, who solicited of other equally illustrious lenders of the Dein Kansas? A Judge who orders the destruction of public buildings, printing presses. and private dwellings of respectable citizens, jury, is not to be trusted with the rights of

the friends of Freedom in Kansas in the prop- their own rulers, that strikes down freedom "It is not in the power of the ceneral assembly submit, during this infancy of their existence of the ceneral assembly submit, during this infancy of their existence of the ceneral assembly submit, during this infancy of their existence of the ceneral assembly submit, during this infancy of their existence of the ceneral assembly submit, during this infancy of their existence of the ceneral assembly submit, during this infancy of their existence of the ceneral assembly submit, during this infancy of the present of a country with treason—treason in peaceably submit, during this infancy of the present of a country with treason—treason in peaceably submit, during this infancy of the present of a country with treason—treason in peaceably submit, during this infancy of the present of a country with treason—treason in peaceably submit, during this infancy of the present of a country with treason—treason in peaceably submit, during this infancy of the present of a country with treason—treason in peaceably submit, during this infancy of the present of a country with treason—treason in peaceably submit, during this infancy of the present of a country with treason—treason in peaceably submit, during this infancy of the present of a country with treason—treason in peaceably submit, during this infancy of the present of a country with treason—treason in peaceably submit, during this infancy of the present of a country with treason—treason in peaceably submit, during this infancy of the present of a country with treason—treason in peaceably submit, a country with t and state covernment, nor to do any other state of the session with respect to Kansas is abandoned by the men who resisted the appoint ment of any committee to investigate the transactions in that Territory alleging that their respect to the series of the transactions in that Territory alleging that their respect to the series of the transactions in that Territory alleging that their respect to the series of the transactions in that Territory alleging that their respect to the series of the transactions in that Territory alleging that their respect to the series of the transactions in that Territory alleging that their respect to the series of the seri

of that committee, and justified or apologized for the wrongs which their report exposes; and the ground taken in the opening of the session, that Kansas must have a population of ninety-three thousand four hundred and a State Constitution, is abandoned on all sides. That was really the only plausible

prohibits Slavery?

"New States may be admitted by the Congress in-The time, mode, and manner, of admission

The proposition is now to admit her as a State into the Union, after taking a census, without regard to the number of inhabitants. Why delay her admission, then, for the taking of a census, when it is proposed to admit a census, without regard to the number of her inhabitants, why not admit her at once, and put anend to all these troubles? Some gentlemen say, we ought to take no

action upon the subject until the Investigating Committee, which was sent into the Territory, have made their report. Now, that report, so far as the question of the admission of Kansas into the Union, is concerned. it seems to me is wholly immaterial, except as furnishing an additional reason for her admission, in order to relieve the people from great wrongs. But if it is considered necessary, that Commission has returned, and any member who is not satisfied as to the condition of things in Kansas, can satisfy himself by an appeal to the members of the Com-

the people of Kansas are to be relieved from their oppressions and wrongs by its immediate admission as a State into this Union? So far as that question is concerned, it makes stitution. I have no faith in any measure of no difference whether the Kansas legislation your ballots for members of a convention, to meet at was valid or invalid. Even if valid, and elecredress for the people of Kansas, which is to be placed in the hands of this Administration laws they enacted, and which were transmit
A bill arguinizing the Territories laws they enacted, and which were transmit
organizing a State Government preparatory to the ted to this House by the President of the United States, are a disgrace to any civilized After this address, which fixed the time ty to see it carried out in good faith to the people. The only question is, whether you and places of election, provided for the ap-

Mr. McMullin (interrupting.) Will the this Legislature are wrong, they can be replace to change unjust laws. As a general proposition, that is true. But this legislahundred and thirty-one votes polled at that of July election, but fourteen hundred and ten werelegal votes, as ascertained by the investiga-

of the Senate to be cruel, oppressive, and palpably unjust to one section of the Union, and an insult to honorable men, they provided against their repeal by disfranchising at the polls-by unauthorized test oaths-all who the third section of the fourth article of the mission of Kansas, on account of insufficient row? are opposed to them. They provided for their execution in the spirit in which they were enacted, by taking from the people any voice in the election of their officers.

There is not an officer in the Territory of ministration, or from the minions whom it | Kansas to-day, civil, military, or judicial, save a member of the Union, prior to its admission into has sent to that territory? To expect it the thirteen members of the Council of the Union. In accordance with this implication, evwould be as great folly as to hope to protect | spurious Legislature, (who hold over anothyour lamb from a second attack of the wolf. er year,) in the selection of which the people of the Federal Constitution has been organized prior by hatting two bells on its neck instead of have had any voice. The executive and juone, I am opposed to any measure of re- dicial officers were sent by the Federal Govlief, the execution of which is to be intrusted ernment, and the Legislature appointed, or provided for the appointment, by their own and that they may employ such persons as Slave Law; and they postponed the next sion into the Union. The right of a people of objectors were opposed to receiving her to be averted, by Congress authorizing the son is to vote at the election for delegates to uary, 1857. But, as the Council hold over form a Constitution, unless his name is on that census list. They might employ, under this power, Stringfellow, Jones and Donald-were not disfranchised at the polls, till after son, to go out and take the census of the the 1st of January, 1858; so that, from the in organized States properly belongs to the ing treason. Congress, however, admitted people—making such a list as would suit time of passing the Territorial law by Conforms of law, to be prescribed by the State her, on condition that her people should as their purposes, and secure the success of the gress, which provided for annual sessions of Government; but in the Territories, Congress sent to a change of boundary. The legallyislature, so as to repeal these laws.

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Stephdecided that it was constitutional, mitted to the decision, as was the appended to that law, prohibiting any man

in this Union, in respect to any laws of which the Government for a redress of grievances. complaint was ever made. For the first oath required of a voter to support particu- him instructions for his guidance, in case the mocracy, were then in the Senate Chamber, lar laws, as a qualification to vote at any elec- people of that Territory, without a law of the and espoused her cause. No threats or eftion. Well might the Senator from Dela- Legislature, proceeded to elect delegates to a forts were then made to subdue liberty. as nuisances, on the mere finding of a grand ware [Mr. Clayton] declare it an "injustice unexampled." A Legislature, that denies ation a State Government, without the auththe right of private judgment, that has strip- ority of Congress, says, through his Attorney But, sir, there is some encouragement for ped the people of all voice in the selection of General, in the opinion just cited, that—

as a State. Their memorial is before you, twenty before she could be authorized to form and is to be answered by your action on this to his Governor in Kansas the opinion sent that point, for it belongs to the theologian as objection that could be made to her immedia regular and orderly as the disturbed condi- something besides propagating and national rest on the Old Testament for their support, tion of the Territory would allow; and intion to commit it to the Committee of the tion can there be, save that her Constitution stead of being confined to any class or party, it was of a general character, and extended The power of Congress to admit new States an invitation to all citizens to participate. The power of Congress to admit new States an invitation to all citizens to participate.—
is conferred in section three, article four, of The first public meeting for that purpose was the Constitution in these words:

The power of Congress to admit new States an invitation to all citizens to participate.—
They undoubtedly possess ordinary privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States.—
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They undoubtedly possess ordinary privileges are undoubtedly privi

"Resolved, That we, the people of Kansas Territois therefore left entirely to the discretion of ry, in mass meeting assembled, irrespective of party listinctions, influenced by common necessity, and greatly desirous of promoting the common good, do tion districts, and, in mass convention, or otherwise, tion at the town of Topeka, on the 19th day of September, 1855, then and there to consider and determine upon all subjects of public interest, and particularly upon that having reference 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, elegates were elected in the different election districts, who met at Topeka, on the Slavery was the only question upon which he should be quoted as authority by Republish of September, A. D. 1855, to take into the people were divided, and the vote for dellicans. Sir, if the spirits of the departed 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 Siavery which now involves us impels to action, and leaves us, as the only legal and peaceful alternative, the immediate establishment of a State Government The question now before us is, whether and whereas the organic 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 hereinafter mentioned, on the second Tuesday of October next, it being the ninth day of said month, and then and there cast Topeka on the fourth Tuesday in October next, to form a Constitution, adopt a Bill of Rights for the organizing a State Government preparatory to the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State.

fication on the 15th of December following. The 15th of January, 1856, a Governor, Legislature, and State officers were elected: and the Legislature met on the 4th of March, tion was forced upon the people of Kansas, 1856, and after receiving the Governor's through fraud and violence, by an invasion message, appointing committees, and electing of non-residents. Of the six thousand three United States Senators, adjourned to the 4th

All these proceedings were necessary before their application to Congress for admission: tions of the committee sent by this House to for the power given to Congress by the Conbefore its application; and such was the deby General Jackson to the Governor of Ar- their prayer be granted? kansas, September 21, 1835. Referring to Constution, he says:

> have been constituted by the settlement of a Constitution or frame of Government, and by the appointment of these official agents which are indispensable to its action as a State, and especially to its action as

State movement in Kansas being against law, the action of Congress.

it is clearly in accordance with law and conMichigan applied for admission with a Conit is clearly in accordance with law and con-stitutional right. The Free State men in to the iname of man.

The mode the Legislature, it will be almost four years is the only power that can prescribe the forms; constituted authorities called a convention, before a change can be effected in the Legis- for a Territorial Government emanating from fixed the time and place of holding the elec- to govern themselves in the Territories ob-Congress can be changed, modified, or abro- tion for delegates, and prescribed the qualifi- ject? gated, only by its consent. That consent, cations of voters. This convention so conhowever, can be expressed as well after as stituted, rejected the terms of admission .before the action of the people. If Congress, But the people, by a spontaneous movement, the people think proper to adopt, in order to another convention, and accepted the condibe conducted in a peaceable manner, is law- these circumstances, Michigan was admitted ful and constitutional-lawful, because it vio- into the Union. is simply a fine not to exceed a certain sum from voting for its repeal until he had sworn lates no valid law—constitutional, because of money. Should a Slavery propagandist to support it, would he have felt himself article first of the amendments to the Constitutional to support it, would he have felt himself article first of the amendments to the Constitutional in the constitution in the tution secures to the people everywhere, un- usual forms of proceeding, asks at your hands Sir, the people of Kansas are in a different der its jurisdiction, the right, paramount to the same boon. In the case of Michigan, the position from that of any people in any State all law, peaceably to assemble, and to petition times were more fortunate than those of Kan-

convention, and to-organize and put in oper-

"It is not in the power of the General Assembly

They proceeded, peaceably, as they had a treat all such proceedings as unlawful. That dress of grievances. right to do, under the Constitution of their is precisely what the Administration and its country, to form a State Government, and abettors, under similar circumstances, are now phens, in his remarks on Saturday, appealed ask of Congress to admit them into the Union doing in reference to Kansas. And it is to to the higher law to sustain Slavery. Withbe regretted that the President did not send, out stopping to discuss scripture authority on bill. All the proceedings preliminary to the by General Jackson to his Governor in Ar- one of his controverted questions, I wish here formation of this Constitution have been as kansas, in days when Democracy meant only to say, that if Slavery and its existence instructing his Governor as to the rights of

which time the following resolution was pas-sed:

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 aumit them into the Union as an independent State. The particular form which they may give to Kansas Territory, of whatever political views or pre-dilections, to consult together in their respective elec-fine themselves to the mere right of petitioning, and elect three delegates for each Representative to And as the power of Congress over the whole sub-which said election district is entitled in the House ject is plenary and unlimited, they may accept any her, whatever her population may be? I which said election district is cutilled in the House ject is plenary and unlimited, they may accept any appeal to every gentleman who proposes to admit the State of Kansas, after the taking of district is cutilled in the House ject is plenary and unlimited, they may accept any of Representatives of the Legislative Assembly, by Constitution, however framed, which in their judg-proclamation of Governor Reeder, of that 19th of ment 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 Constitution, framed and agreed on by their prima-

> Does the Constitution meet the sense of the majority of legal voters.

ry assemblies, or by a convention of delegates cho-

sen by such assemblies, I perceive no legal objec-

All the proceedings preliminary to the forconducted in a peaceable manner. The Leg- earth, islature that convened on the 4th of March passed a resolution that no act of theirs loaded, who, permitting one-half the citizens thus to was to have the force of law, and no officer trample on the rights of the other, transforms those was to have the force of law, and no officer elected under that Constitution was authorized to act, until confirmed by some subsequent action of the Legislature, and thus they wait the action of Congress. Governor Robinson, in his message to the Legislature, anything of their earthly solicitude for its speaking as the agent of the State thus organized, shows its peaceable character and of his noble co-patriot, who, in the Senate subordination to the action of Congress, in Chamber, in 1819, declared that the following extract:

ty to see it carried out in good faith to the citizens who relied on its protection. He signed that bill, was therefore, a part of it, and wrong, by admitting them now as a State into the Union? There is no other way in which you can effectually relieve them, and spirit were in no way violated, but to see that its letter and spirit were in no way violated, but to see that its letter and spirit were in no way violated, but to see that its letter and spirit were in no way violated, but to see that its letter and spirit were in no way violated, but to see that its letter and spirit were in no way violated, but to see that its letter and spirit were in no way violated, but to see that its letter and spirit were in no way violated, but to constant invasion of their rights by the appeal of the living to their authority to vindicate the rights of the freemen of their any punishment their conduct may merit. We should be unworthy the constitution, and the very territory that one so gladdened the pathonal but we shrink from martyrdom ones to suffer any punishment their conduct may merit. We should duty require to the stake, should duty require to the stake there. accomplices in the hollow mockery of squatter sorereignty' they are practicing upon the people of Kansas, then more victims must be furnished. Let what

Kansas. After enacting laws which even stitution is to admit States, not Territories, and lowa, all of which formed State Constitution to the future of his country, when Southern Senators, rising above the prejudi- The new State must therefore have all the tutions without any act of Congress authoriz- he looks upon this picture, and then upon "agents indispensable to its action as a State." ing the same, present themselves, through the that! memorial of their Legislature, and ask adcision of the Attorney General, transmitted inission into the Union. Why should not

Since the objection to the immediate adpopulation, is abandoned, there can be no "This provision implies that the new State shall other unless a section one, except the allegation of informality in her proceeding, in not having a previous act of Congress authorizery State received into the Union since the adoption ted without any such act. And, so far as the forms of law were concerned, Michigan came into the Union against them, having entirely Instead of the proceedings of the Free supplanted the Territorial Legislature before

provided for the appointment, by their own appointment, by their own appointees, of the election boards, sheriffs, constables, justices of the peace, and all other officers in the Territory. And then, to guard against the change of any of their "eru-guard against the change of any of their "eru-gu el and unjust laws," they require, as a quali- tion, to call a convention at any time, with plication was met with the same objection for supremacy, rally to the plains of Kansas fication to vote and to hold office in said Ter- or without an act of Congress or of the Ter- as is now urged against Kansas—that her pro- with the implements of war and violence. ritory, in addition to other obnoxious quali- ritorial Legislature, and to form a State Gov- ceedings were not only without law, but Is the bitterness engendered in these conflicts fications, an oath to support the Fugitive ernment, and apply to Congress for admisagainst law and good order; and that class to be allayed, and the dangers of bloodshed meeting of the Legislature till the 1st of Jan- "to alter or abolish" their form of Govern- memorial, on the same grounds urged by a people of the Territory, at some future time,

mer of accomplishing it to recognize her as such would be sauctionthen, has prescribed no form, whatever action | without any legislative act whatever, called secure a change of Government, provided it tion of admission fixed by Congress. Under

Kansas, with far greater reasons than ever existed heretofore for a departure from the sas. Audrew Jackson was then President: General Jackson, in replying to the Gov- Benton, Niles, W. R. King, and a host of Kansas, having violated no law, lays her petition for a redress of grievances at your

feer. For doing this, some of her citizens are exiled from their homes, and others pine in chains, charged by the Government of their

izing the institutions of human bondage. In then the same authority will support white Slavery as well as black, and the amalgamation of master and slave. In the Slavery of shows that the influence of the Executive of. For the same reason some of the noblest sons the patriarchs there was intermarriage between the master and slave-the sons and daughters of the one with the sons and daugh as synonymous with law and order. In writ- contained by their native land. ters of the other. It is not questioned that any the President, in reference to the arming the slaves of that day were white. If that sof the Free State men, he says: was the case, then the gentleman's argument proves too much, and there is a rule of the ogicians, that argument is as faulty that proves too much as 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 dispensation 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 patriarchtion to their power to do so; nor to any measures that may be taken to collect the sense of the people. al institution existing in one of the Territo-

The gentleman seemed to think that the people to be affected by it? The existence of spirit of Jefferson would feel indigment that egates to the Convention settled that by a hover over the scenes of earth, and watch with solicitude its affairs, with what auguish must that spirit contemplate the mation of a Constitution in Kansas have been wrongs in Kansas, who exclaimed, when on

With what execration should the statesman be into despots, and these into enemies destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patric, of the

It the spirits of the sainted dead hover over their country, watching its destiny with welfare, what anguish must wring the heart

"Nothing can more gladden the heart, than vate instructions to arrest the members of the Legis- Freedom, whose soil should never be moistened by cess. We declare ourselves to be order-loving and lature, and the State officers, for treason, as soon as the tear of the slave, or degraded by the step of the law-abiding citizens, and only wait an opportunity to

one of the Territories of the Union, and violence reigns in the Capitol of the Republic. In the one, mob law silences with the revolwill come, not a finger should be raised against the ver the voice of justice, pleading for the in-Federal authority until there shall be no hope of re-alienable rights of man; in the other, the sacred guarantees of the Constitution are violat-The people of Kansas, relying on their con- ed, and reason and free speech are supplanted stitutional rights and the official decisions of by the bludgeon; and, in the Council Chamthe Government, and following the precedent | ber of the nation, men stand up to vindicate of Tennessee, Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, and justify both! Well may the patriot

Can the spirits of the departed, unless they partake more of earth than when surrounded by their clay tenements, look down on these scenes without anguish and bitter sor-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 raing them. I have shown that such an act is to of population necessary for a Representanot necessary on any principle of constitu- tive in a State? That idea seems to have tional right. Five States have been admit- been entirely abandoned. Then why delay this application, when every man must be satisfied, in his own judgment, that it would restore peace to Kansas to give her a Government of her own formation, with officers and courts of her own selection? Immediate town a body of United States troops sufficient action is necessary, in order to put an end to for their protection, to be retained by him as the strile in the Territory, which the Presi- long as such force shall remain, Lawrence ment is an inherent one, and is classed in the class of Senators against the memorial of Kanto do what they already have the right to do, Michigan when there was no such State; and gress authorizing them to form a State Constitution confers no right that they do not al. ready possess, and is no redress of present grievances; or relief against unjust and oppressive laws. How can gentlemen who claim to be the special advocates of the right of men It is an inherent right of a people, the world over, to govern themselves; and that

fight can not be interfered with without injustice, unless the condition and circumstances impose restraints. Such is the case with the Territories. The population, in the first in-Territories. The population, in the first in- master's written pass in order to leave the stance being too small to support a Govern- plantation. ment, Congress establishes one and pays all its expenses. Consequently it must have a supervision over its acts, for the same reason that a principal must have control over the acts of his agent; otherwise he might be insected on the same reason acts of his agent; otherwise he might be insected on the same reason batter down their public buildings. With how does it happen that in every State election, save one, held in the North since that its expenses. Consequently it must have a in shes the houses of peaceable citizens, deposes which he entirely disapproves. If the declares that the right "to keep and bear people could go into the Territories, in the arms shall not be infringed." With the shout first place, in sufficient numbers to support a of law and order you search and take from State Government, Congress should have the houses and persons of the citizen, withnothing to do with them any more than with out legal process, his papers and effects, when

But being for a time too weak and feeble in numbers to support a State Government. from the necessity of the case Congress must unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not button. I desire to quote a reason be which I urged against the repeal of the Missibility during this infancy of their existence be made without a warrant issued on oath, submit, during this infancy of their existence ment of any committee to investigate the transactions in that Territory, alleging that in property destroyed, under the sanction and its appointees.—
The Governor of Arkansas, in this same most a quarter of a century ago, and which is property destroyed, under the sanction of this Administration and its appointees.—
The Governor of Arkansas, in this same most a quarter of a century ago, and which is property destroyed, under the sanction of this Administration and its appointees.—
The Governor of Arkansas, in this same most a quarter of a century ago, and which is property destroyed, under the sanction of the people of Arkansas, in this same most a quarter of a century ago, and which is property destroyed, under the sanction of the people of Arkansas, in this same most a quarter of a century ago, and which is property destroyed, under the sanction of the people of Arkansas, in this same most a quarter of a century ago, and which is property destroyed, under the sanction of the people of Arkansas, in this same most a quarter of a century ago, and which the property destroyed, under the sanction of the property destroyed, under the sanction and of the people of Arkansas, in this same most a quarter of a century ago, and which the property destroyed, under the sanction of the property destroy

present excumstances, by most of the oppo-try.

Law and order is the excuse of despotism must be maintained in this Territory; and that was a point urged by the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. Stephens.] Sir, law and order have not been violoted in that Territory, save by the officials of your Government. otism in Hungary. To preserve law and or-We have the testimony of Governor Shannon der the streets of Naples are crowded with himself, as to the peaceable character of the chained gangs, and its quarries are covered citizens of Lawrence, who, by his own letter with galley slaves, guilty of no offense, save to the President, of November 28, 1855, that they hate oppression and love liberty.

fice of the Territory was to be wielded in of France are to-day pining in hopeless exile, behalf of Slavery, whose interests he regards and Siberia is full of hearts too large to be "This military organization is looked upon as hos

tile to all Southern men, or rather to the law and order party of the Territory, many of whom have rela-tives and friends, and all have sympathizers in Mis-souri." 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 Govornor Shannon to the President, December 11, 1855. which gives an account of the invasion of Lawrence, he bears testimony to the lawabiding character of the people of that place.

"It was at once agreed that the laws of the Territory should have the regular course, and that these who dispited their validity should, if they desired to do so, test that question in the indicial 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 pres ervation 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,

DEAR SIR: We have seen a proclamation issued by yourself, dated 11th May, and also have reliable information this morning that large bodies of armed men, in pursuance of your proclamation, have assembled in the vicinity of Lawrence. That there may be no misunderstanding, we beg leave to ask respectfully, (that we may be reliably informed,) what are the lemands against us? We desire to state, most truthfully and earnestly, 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

testify dur fidelity to the laws of the country, the Constitution 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 counte-

state of public mind, we ask protection of the consti-tuted authorities of the Government, declaring ourselves in readiness to co-operate with them for the maintenance of peace, order, and quiet, in the community in which we live. I 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

you as inarshal 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 execution of the laws, National or Territorial; and that we ask protection of the Government, and claim it as law-abiding American citi-

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 protec-tion, trusting that under the flag of our Union, and within the folds of the Constitution, we may obtain

SANCEL C. POMEROY, WM. Y. ROBERTS, A. H. MALLORY. John A. Perry, C W. BABCOCK. JOEL GROWN.

Yet, after all these declarations by men who had violated no law, and who had proposed in a written communication to the Governor and marshal, of 17th of May, to deliver their arms, if desired, "to Colonel Sumper, so soon as he should quarter in the was for the purpose of making Kansas a slave 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 has shot down men there for freedom of speech, or who has destroyed printing presses, burned the dwellings of peaceable and defenseless citizens, and sent their wives and children into the wilderness, to find protection with the savages, against their less mer-ciful pursuers? Where is the man who has been arrested by your guardians of law and order for any of these outrages and wrongs? Under the sanction of officers of the law, citizens have been stopped upon the highways, their persons searched and papers seized, without any legal process; their property ta ken and confiscated; and they, unless engaged in the work of making Kansas a slave State, compelled to carry a pass, signed by some official of the Territory, in order to save themselves from roobery or murder by these conservators of law. Thus are American free-With the shout of law and order you lay

the Constitution of the country declares that "the right of the people to be secure in their ersons, houses, papers, and effects, against

ctition of the wrongs and injustice perpetrated upon her people, are now made by those who strenuously opposed the appointment and ask admission into the Union.

| Manual Congress shall first have granted to protect their own ballot-boxes, their lives, and their own property? The objectrampling upon all law and the most sacred tion made to the admission of Kansas, under guarantees of the Constitution of your coun-

> the world over, for all its enormities. It was to preserve law and order that Poland was blotted from the map of nations; and the dun-geon and the rack silenced the voice of patri

The law and order that reigns over the graves of crushed humanity is more to be dreaded than all else; it is the order of death. Order reigns in desolation-reigns everywhere, when you close the mouths of men. either by brute force or under the sanction of law. The scaffold sends its victim to a quiet rest, and order reigns over his grave. The

order of Kansas is the order that reigned in Warsaw on the 7th of September, 1831, when, with its streets red with the best blood of its citizens, and the shricks of liberty stifled as her last votary fell, Paskiewitch sent to the Czar his memorable dispatch, "Order reigns in Warsaw." The satrap of this Administration in Kansas exhibits a like love of law and order with his prototype, whose example, with becoming propriety, he might well imitate, if he succeeds in crushing out in Kansas the spirit of liberty, by sending a like dispatch to his superior, "Order reigns in Kansas."

Law and order enlist in the service of any naster who, for the time being, chances to hold the sceptro of power. They are just as efficient for oppression and wrong as for freedom and right. When enlisted in behalf of despotism, I pay no homage at their shrine. But liberty and law are the twin divinities who guard the rights of man, and watch over his happiness. At their altar, all good men will lay their offerings. But the law and order of despotism is to be executed the world over; and the day has passed away when outrage and wrong are to be vindicated by the cry of law and order.

In view of the wrongs and outrages perpetrated upon the people of Kansas, the patriot may well exclaim, in the language of Madame-Roland on ascending the scaffold: "Oh, Lib crty, what crimes have been committed in thy

Mr. Speaker, were there no precedent for the admission of a State under like circumstances, those surrounding this case would, of themselves, be sufficient to establish one. Truth, justice, and humanity, need no procedents; they make them. It is old abuses and time-sanctioned wrongs that entrench themselves behind formulas.

Why should an American legislator hesitate in the performance of any act that his judgment approves, for want of a precedent? The existence of the Republic, and its whole history, is in violation of all precedent. There is not one of the universally recog

nised truths of to-day, but what was the rankest heresy when first proclaimed, and the fagot and the rack dripped with the blood of its martyrs. The word's conservatism trembled when fifty-six bold nierchants, farmers, and mechanics, proclaimed the inalienable rights of man. As for myself, there is but one book of precedents that can in any way control my action as a legislator, and that is written upon my heart by the finger of Him who made

"Let the dead past bury its dead; Act, act, in the living present, Heart within and God o'er head."

One word here, in answer to the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. Stephens,] who thought these troubles the result of other causes than the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The wrongs of Kansas date from the day that the Missouri Compromise was repealed. On the heads of its repealers rest the blood shed in Kansas, and the wrongs and the outrages which have been heaped upon it. The repeal State. It was a conspiracy from the start; and it has been carried out with violence and brute force. Without that repeal, Slavery could never have gone there. There would have been no effort to force it into the Territory. Without it, Kansas would have been saved from civil war, and the repose and harmony of the Republic would have continued undisturbed. On the heads, then, of the repealers rests the responsibility for all these troubles. Strife anarchy, and bloodshed. are the first fruits of that repeal, and the second seal is not yet opened.

But the gentleman says that the country is at peace, and is prosperous and happy.-True, but the agitation in the country is not based upon dollars and cents. It is founded upon principle—a principle underlying the foundation of our government—a principle which enters into the spirit and genius of the Republic. And I ask the politician, if this agitation is not the result of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, how it happens that but nine of those from the North who voted for that repeal were returned to this House, while some forty who voted against it occuin the election of an opponent to that repeal?

Does he believe that there has been no change in the popular sentiment? Does he believe repeal, the Democratic party, which was the instrument by which it was accomplished, has been defeated, and its bauner trails in the dust on the proudest fields of its former tri-umphs? And why does it rejoice to-day in accessions from the ranks of its old enemies to save it from hopeless ruin? It trampled on the holiest and best impulses of the huthe balance of the prediction

But, sir, as an early and constant friend of this Administration, I desire the defeat of this bill; for