The Independent Republican.

"FREEDOM AND RIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY AND WRONG."

CHARLES F. READ & H. H. FRAZIER EDITORS. | MONTROSE, THURSDAY, SEPT. 11, 1856. | FRAZIER & SMITH, PUBLISHERS—VOL 2. NO. 35.

Poet's Corner.

☞ A friend requests the publication of the following lines as not only containing a good deal of keen satire, but as also showing the incompatibility of the system of American slavery with the spirit of Christianity. It is called "The Pious Slaveholder's Prayer:"

Great God! who hast created all,
The black to *serve*, the white to RULE,—
Who kindly giv'st us *slaves* to use,
To hoe our cotton, brush our shoes,—
And do all kinds of *servile* labor.
While black men's hands *alone* were made for,—
I thank thee, gracious Lord of Heaven,
For *all* the blessings thou hast given,—
Nor least of all do I adore thee,
Devoutly on my knees before thee,
That thou hast made me what I am,
And for my *slave* the *colored* man;—
For thou, O Lord, art well aware
That 'tis a great "*convenience*" here,
That we have "servants so submissive,"
(Thanks that thou "*such a boon*" dost give!)
So ever ready to fulfil
The slightest token of our will,
And now, O Lord incline thine ear
Most graciously unto my prayer;—
Nor fail to notice each condition
Thy servant adds to his petition,
And here I beg *thou'lt give attention*
To one thing which I have to mention;—
It is a point I should have touched on
At first by way of introduction:
Lord, I was even now a-fearing
Thou would'st not grant my prayer a hearing,—
But doom it, as thy power is able,
To lie forever on the table;—
Oh, *spurn not* thou thy servant's prayer,
But *ere thou dost reject it*, HEAR.
Thou hast, O Lord, with lavish hand,
Bestowed thy blessings on this land,—
And as 'tis generally agreed on,
The Greatest boon we have is "FREEDOM:"
Extend, O Lord, this boon to all
Of every nation, *great and small*;—
Let Freedom's banner be unfurled
Triumphant o'er a *ransomed* world,—
Provided, always, none construe it,
That *slaves* shall be allowed to view it.
The dark benighted heathen, Lord,
Are perishing without thy word:—
Oh, may it be thy will and pleasure
To send them *soon* this heavenly treasure,
But let our slaves' *more tender eye-balls*
Be ne'er annoyed by sight of BIBLES;
And fill our land with *witch* and *fairy*,
Rather than send a MISSIONARY.
A dying world redeem and save,
But shut thy gospel from the SLAVE,—
For, in this *rice* and *cotton* region,
Slaves have not time to seek religion.—
Beside, ("there's no mistake about it,")
They're "quite content" to live without it:
And if they choose the "downward road,"
And trample on a Savior's blood,
And sink into a "dreadful hell,"
'Tis *not our fault*, WE TREAT THEM WELL.
Make knowledge in the world advance,
But keep our *slaves* in *ignorance*,—
For, nothing tends like *mental* action
To breed "revolts" and "insurrection."
Lord, give "us" rich and costly dinners,—
But let our *slaves*,—THE UNWORTHY SINNERS,—
Still in thy goodness learn to trust,—
And be content to get a crust,
And give "us" beds of "down" to rest on,
But teach our *slaves* to make their nest on
The "*ground*,"—if there they rest with ease,—
Or on a "BOARD," or where they please.
Lord, make our *slaves* content to labor.
And ne'er repine that 'tis not paid for,—
And if their legs towards "freedom" fetch 'em,
Assist our excellent "dogs to catch 'em."
A scheme has started up of late
In almost every northern State,—
By men of evil disposition,—
That takes the name of "ABOLITION."
Confound them, Lord, with *all* their schemes,—
Spoil all their "abolition" dreams;
And let them know their vile abuse on
This our "peculiar institution,"
'Till not avail to lose a fetter,—
Or make our slaves' condition better.
And if they step a single inch on
Our Southern soil *we'll catch and lynch 'em*;
Pour out upon them all our fury,
And hang them "without judge or jury."
And let them cease their *vile* petition
For "*territorial*" abolition;
For 'tis decreed, if ever that comes,
We'll blow the "UNION" all to atoms;
Then dance triumphant o'er its grave,—
Forge stronger fetters for the slave,
And bind him down with chains forever,
Which time shall not have power to sever.
These blessings grant, good Lord, and then
We'll praise thee evermore,—AMEN.

From Syria.

LETTER FROM REV. J. L. LYONS.

TRIPOLI, Syria, June 2, 1856.

DEAR SISTER:—I sent twenty or thirty pages of letters a few days ago, which I hope will reach you in due time. All my letters to friends in America have had, I believe, a safe passage, unless it be that two letters which I never heard from were lost on board the missing steamer, Pacific.

Since the date of my last, we have had quite an extraordinary rain. It rained ten hours not powerfully but incessantly. This would be no unwonted thing in America, but a rain-storm here in the month of May, is an almost unheard of phenomenon, a phenomenon I am told, which has not occurred before within the last thirty-five years. The rain did great damage to the silk-growers' interests. More than half the silk worms, they having already begun to feed upon the mulberry leaves, were destroyed. The river also, which runs through the eastern end of the city, rose to a great height, and carried off considerable property. A girl and a boy were washed down into the sea and drowned.

This is the month of *Ramadan*, the great Mohammedan fast. The Mohammedan months are all lunar, that is, they begin with the new moon, consequently the beginnings of their months advance eleven days each year. For instance, Ramadan began this year with the new moon, the 4th of May.—Next year the new moon will be eleven days earlier and therefore Ramadan will commence about the 23d of April. Thus in the space of thirty-three years, their months pass through the whole circle of the seasons. During the month of fasting, the Mohammedans are strictly forbidden by the Koran to eat, drink, or smoke between the hours of sunrise and sunset. This is rather severe on the laboring classes, especially when Ramadan occurs in the long hot days of summer. Those who can afford it sleep and lounge the day away and the moment the sun-set gun is heard, all fall to feasting and revelling to the full extent of their capacity. The people are all out in the evening and the shops and stores are brilliantly lighted.

A few nights ago, our friend, Howadji Yanne, the American vice consul, invited us to accompany him in a stroll through the bazaars to witness the illuminations. We assented, and on arriving at his house, found to our surprise, quite a large party assembled. About eight o'clock the procession began to form, and soon after we set forward in the following order:

1st. A man bearing a huge paper lantern, about the size of a nail keg.

2d. Kowwasses (guards) with swords and staves.

3d. Two servants with glass lanterns.

4th. The two veiled ladies (C. and Madonna Yanne.)

5th. The two Howadjis and the Consul.

6th. Friends and attendants.

The number of attendants increased as we advanced. We passed through several of the streets and witnessed some novel and interesting exhibitions of oriental magnificence and fondness for display. I could not help thinking however all the while that we were presenting to the gaze of the people, quite as great a spectacle as they were furnishing to us. The bazaars were thronged with men and boys, but the crowds gave way as we approached, some staring upon us with utter astonishment, and others betraying unmistakable evidences of awe and fear. On one side we heard the exclamation, "O holy prophet, deliver us," and presently we saw a little Arab shaver running at the top of his speed to save his life. Of course we had no wish to leave other than favorable impressions as to our peaceable intentions, and did not at all anticipate that Howadji Yanne was going to make such a formidable display on our behalf. But this is characteristic of all Arab dignitaries. They are fond of making a show of authority, and I doubt not our performance of the other evening will add somewhat to our consular friend's influence and renown.

We are gradually extending our acquaintance among the people. There are some twenty or more young men in our vicinity who favor us with frequent calls. They are sadly ignorant, but some of them have good natural powers, and are shrewd in argument. I often get into discussion with them not only on religious topics, but on points connected with Geography and natural science. The fact of the earth's revolution on its axis is to some of them an inexplicable mystery.—Said one the other day, "If the world turns over, why don't we know it when we are on the under side with our heads down and feet up?" I told him we were like flies crawling round an orange, that knew not whether their heads were down or up. This satisfied him for the time, but a day or two after he came in with an entirely new argument.

"You say the world turns round?"

"Yes, I have no doubt of it."

"But that is contrary to the Bible."

"No, I think not."

"Yes, it is, it says in the 104th Psalm, "He laid the foundations of the earth that it should not be removed forever."

"But the Psalmist does not say that the world does not turn over.

"He says it shall not be removed."

"But there is a difference between being removed and turning over." I then entered into a full explanation of the whole a rem, which I trust was intelligible and satisfactory, for I have heard no more from my young friend on the subject.

Among our regular visitors are three or four who in years past have given some attention to English. A day or two ago, a young man brought in a letter which he had just written in English to an English merchant in Beirut. It commenced thus: "I begg leaf to conform you that I have recipt your favor of the 6 April." It is some consolation to know that the Arabs make as bad work with the English as we do with the Arabic. The great obstacle in the way of foreigners acquiring the English is the spelling. In the Arabic the grand difficulty is the pronunciation. The first two or three years of the missionary's life are peculiarly trying, because while the heart is burning to speak forth the great and mighty truths of God's word, he can only stammer forth his thoughts in feeble broken sentences. O how I long for fluency in this hard language, that I may be enabled to bring the truth to bear upon the hearts and consciences of men in all its power. But God is teaching me lessons of patience, and in Him is all my hope and trust.

How it has rejoiced me to hear that God has been pouring out his spirit upon the churches in Montrose. May He carry on the glorious work until many of those dear friends whom I left impenitent may become faithful disciples of Christ. Pray that the Spirit of God may descend upon us also, and upon those around us, and that the thick darkness and error which have so long enslaved the hearts of these perishing thousands, may flee away before the light of God's own blessed truth.

June 17.—Thursday last we experience a shock of an earthquake. It lasted but for a moment, but the low rumbling sound and the shaking of the walls was calculated to inspire one with awe, and with a sense of our utter weakness and dependence on God. The shock make a crack in one of the walls in Br. Jessup's room some 5 or 6 feet in length. No houses fell in Tripoli, but in the neighboring town of Batroon 7 or 8 miles off it is said several walls were thrown down.

June 24.—We have just received the sad and unexpected tidings of our dear Sister Aikin's death at Homs. She joined us only six months ago. She and her husband came with us to Tripoli, stayed a few days at our house, and then went on to their station at Homs. She has gone to her Heavenly rest. We know not who of us may follow her first. We are all well now.

Much love to you all.

Affectionately your Brother.

LORENZO.

Miscellaneous.

Bound to have Kansas.

DAVID R. ATCHISON and five other slavery propagandists, have issued an inflammatory "appeal to the South," calling for men and means to subdue Kansas *forcibly*, into Slavery. Col. BUFORD, who headed the South Carolina ruffians that recently invaded Kansas, has been appointed "General Agent" of this Association, & has published at Richmond, the following bold address to the Southern States. Let the FREEMEN of the North read and heed it, and remember that while BUCHANAN is pledged to admit Kansas as a *Slave* State if BUFORD & Co. succeed in their designs, the election of FREMONT secures Kansas to Freedom!

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH:

Herewith you will find the appeal of your friends in Kansas, together with a letter accrediting me as their agent to solicit your aid in maintaining that *indispensible breakwater to the angry tide of Abolitionism*. Want of time forbids me calling on many of you personally. Read that address thoroughly; consider that if Kansas, our natural boundary to the North-West, is lost, that then Missouri and all West of the Mississippi, nay, too, all East of it, must soon follow, while, if we maintain it, *the Territories west of Arkansas and Texas are all safe to us*—nay, the future is safe. Ask yourselves whether you are prepared to surrender white supremacy in the South, to debase your blood, to degrade your social and political status to the level of an inferior race, by submitting to Abolition's mandate to fraternize with it.

Remember, that I, and all who know the country will tell you that *Slaves thrive and do well in Kansas, and that there and in Western Missouri*, their labor pays *better than in any cotton State in the Union*. Reflect that we have everything to encourage us in the struggle—*we still control the government of the Territory*, our immigration *is daily increasing*, while that from the North has greatly diminished. In Illinois, as if in disgust, they have lately applied to electioneering purposes the funds they had raised for emigrants. Remember that, instead of endangering the Union, our winning Kansas makes it permanent, by enabling us to defend our rights in it, and by *dismembering and breaking down the agitators*. Think of the magnitude of the questions at issue; think of the imminence of our peril, and you will not need personal solicitation, but each one of his own volition will send his contribution according to his means. Those who cannot alone send their fifties, hundreds or thousands, can unite with fifty or an hundred others and do so. Where there's a will there's a way.

Remit in drafts on New York, payable or endorsed to our Chairman, the Hon. D. R. Atchison—if convenient, get duplicate drafts—enclose the original or the duplicate to the Treasurer, A. G. Boone, Esq., at Westport, Missouri, and the other to our Chairman, at Atchison, Kansas Territory. Take the postmaster's receipt and then you have three guarantees that your contribution will not miscarry. Be assured it will not be misapplied: our treasurer and chairman are both gentlemen of wealth, as well as of the highest character. And it is better to send in this way than by the hands of a collecting agent, for then both his authority and his responsibility become questions of indifference.

If the contributions justify it, I propose to take out one hundred emigrants to form the *central colony alluded to in the address*. I want only men who, AS LONG AS REQUIRED, will abstain from liquor, and WILL IMPLICITLY OBEY ORDERS. To such a company, if the funds are raised, I will *give one town site of three hundred acres with the privilege of their getting pre-emptions, and I will transport them to Kansas and find them provisions to the middle of April next*. The town site is central to one of the best counties in the Territory, *and will most probably become its county seat*.

J. BUFORD.

From the Philadelphia North American.

Letter from Kansas.

Subjoined is a letter from a settler in Kansas. Names, of course, we suppress, but for the authenticity of the letter, and the respectability of the family of the writer, we can vouch. It was not written for publication, but is the simple statement of a son to his mother. He has no motive for exaggeration, but a strong desire to calm her fears, while at the same time he presents the causes which compel him to abandon the enterprise he had undertaken. It will be remembered that an account of the savage outrage which he relates as perpetrated by one of the border ruffians, had already reached us through the newspaper correspondence. It seemed almost incredible; but this letter confirms the statement.

It is no wonder that the writer is "maddened" by what he sees and hears and suffers. It is with no other sensation that we, at this distance, and living in a quiet and orderly city, can read the relation of these outrages. It is not merely for the sufferings of the settlers in Kansas, dreadful as they are, but for the infamy of our common country that we feel. It is indeed "maddening" that a majority of the Senate of the United States could be so tied by the servile and selfish bonds of party as formally to approve these villainous proceedings. That body has done no less than explicitly sanction all the Kansas outrages. As to the senile cant which has dribbled out of some of the speeches of the affirmers of the doctrine of mob law and squatter sovereignty, that is all rendered nugatory by the last acts of the Senate. Party is triumphant, and nothing but the resolute and determined action of the North at the pending elections can save the Republic. If the sectional rule of the South is to be established, all new territories, as they are successively organized, will be the scenes of bloodshed and violence, similar to the proceedings in Kansas. The evil must be met, and met now; and political partisans must be taught that their constituencies are not mere cattle or slaves, to be driven as the ambition or the interest of their masters dictates. We are perfectly aware that many of the Northern men, whose votes are found in the support of the measures of Southern aggression, will venture to say, if no Southern man is in hearing, that slavery, "in the abstract," is wrong. But we are tired of such looking one way and rowing another.

"Slavery in the abstract," if wrong, does no harm. We do not contend with abstractions. We do not even go beyond Mason and Dixon's line to choke the viper in the bosom of those who hug it there. But we protest, in the name of humanity, in the name of patriotism, against such a spread of the evil as shall make this great nation, in all its public acts, but the defender of human chattels. We protest against a slavery preponderance in our national councils. We will not have our character as a nation tainted with slavery as a national sin, and our treaties, our policy, our governmental relations, domestic and foreign, forever impeded and disturbed with it. The Kansas struggle has opened the eyes of the slowly awaking North, and the determination is fixed that, while the present slave States may keep their own, slavery shall not be fastened upon us as a national institution.

There is no better test of the character of a thing than the measures which are taken to support it, and the reputation and conduct of its abettors. Look then at the Kansas iniquity. It began in Congress with a fraud and a lie, and has been maintained there by brow-beating and outrage. It was fastened on Kansas by violence and usurpation, as gross and as abominable as if Pennsylvania should to-day colonize Jersey, and not only drive her voters from the polls, but prevent any assistance from reaching the State, by waylaying and plundering travellers whose faces might be turned thitherward. The simple sketch which we subjoin below, written in evident haste, and with the sentiment of humiliation and danger, in its very style carries the evidence of truth. Men do not stop to cull words under such circumstances.

That a drunken villain should parade a scalp, though it were even, like Falstaff's trophy, taken from a man already dead, is an atrocity at which humanity revolts. But that a premeditated murder of the kind alleged, could be committed, and the murderer still go unhung and unquestioned, is an illustration of the humanizing effects of slavery propagandism. It may be answered that these ruffians are not the gentlemen of the South. Neither are bloodhounds slavery extensionists; but the cause which employs such agents need not complain if the principals are judged by their subordinates. Qui facit per alium facit per se. If to the originators of the Kansas iniquity, as to the nightvision of the tyrant, come "the souls of all that they have murdered," we envy not their dreams.

The effort to plant slavery in Kansas stands before the world self-condemned. The Kansas code itself, were there no wrong and no violence in the mode in which the pretended Legislature which enacted it was elected, would stamp the authors of it as unfit to live in a free country, much less to govern it.—And if, as in defence of the code it has been alleged, the Kansas laws are only a transcript of the laws of old slave States, that only shows us that in those States the Constitution of the Union is violated, and the organic laws of the Republic set at nought. The defenders of the Kansas outrages may learn, before they have done, that there is such a mistake made, sometimes, as proving too much.—The Constitution of the United States declares that "excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments be inflicted." If strict constructionists make this to apply only to Congressional enactments and the proceedings of the Federal courts, there is another provision that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government." If the slave-holding minority in the slave States push matters to extremities, there may be agitated an unexpected test of the powers of the Constitution. It may be inquired whether the guarantee above mentioned is preserved, while free men are subject to the penalties copied into the Kansas code from the laws of certain States in the Union. In all kindness we warn the aggressors to forbear, lest, in grasping at the shadowy visions of the Calhoun school of politicians, they lose the substantial protection which is now their safety. The North can endure much, for the sake of peace and brotherhood, but it will not endure complicity in the evils of slavery extension.

The letter we give below bears date August 23d. For obvious reasons we omit the name of the place from which it was written:

MY DEAR MOTHER:—Hearing of a private opportunity of sending a letter part way to you, I embraced it to send you a few lines, to ease your mind with regard to me. I fear that you may not have received any of my letters through the post-office, as I am pretty well convinced that all letters for the East are burned, or disposed of in some unlawful manner. It is too outrageous conduct to be perpetrated in a republican government. I have always been very guarded in expressing my views upon the agitating questions amongst us, for fear of my letters being intercepted and read, and, consequently, compromising me with the pro-slavery men here, who have so far treated me passably well; but as I have now an opportunity of sending by private hand, I will state some truths that should be known to the North.

This Territory is now in a perfect state of rebellion against all law and order. Companies of pro-slavery men are forming every day, to invade the territory, and are now camped about four miles from the city; and every night they come into town, and steal (or *press*) all the horses belonging to free State men. They pretend that their object is to go to Lawrence, to fight Lane's men, who they say are there 2000 strong. If this is true, they will get the best whipping they ever had, and I think they are afraid of it, for they have been a week or more getting four miles from the city. If things do not take a turn next week, I will leave my claim and the territory; for I am not going to risk my life for the best claim in the country. The men of the North are a perfect set of dough-faces, and I believe will let all their brethren in Kansas be murdered. On Monday evening last one of the soldiers was in town, and got drunk, and before leaving town, bet some fellow a pair of boots he would bring in a free soil scalp, when he came back from camp.—Whilst going out, about two miles from town, he met a man, a perfect stranger, from Illinois, in a buggy, unarmed. He stopped him and shot him through the head, killing him instantly, and, Indian, like, scalped him and left him. The fellow that perpetrated this deed is still in the camp, and nothing will be done with him for it. Now this is a true, unvarnished tale.

They say now that they are going to Lawrence, and when they come back they are going to clear all the territory of all free State men. Their object is to get all free State men out of the territory before the election, so they can carry everything their own way. It is outrageous, but the North deserves it for its supineness. I think if Northern men could see Kansas as it is, they would arouse from their lethargy, and make a bold stroke, and one would be enough to finish the work. But the difficulty is, that the people will not believe what they hear from Kansas; they will know the truth when it is perhaps too late.

If I leave, I will go to St. Louis, where I will write you. I can make nothing here now, and I see no use of staying. I have a share in seventy tons of hay, which I will try and dispose of at any price, if I can; but it is doubtful if I can get anything for it. Claims can be bought here for a mere song—in fact there are plenty deserted, and nobody to take them. Such is the state of affairs here.

Please give my love to all. I am pretty well maddened, and you will please excuse bad writing, for I cannot hold my pen steady. I have not had a letter from any of you, except the one from ———, for two months; but no free State men get any letters now, so I am not an exception. Don't feel uneasy about me.

From your affectionate son, &c.

Lying Documents.

We clip the following extract from the Lebanon 'Courier.' What is said in regard to Lebanon county is equally true as regards Susquehanna, as we find a large number of documents franked by Senator Bigler throughout the county:

"William Bigler, the man who pardoned a kidnapper from the peitentiary, who had a Jesuit appointed to President Pierce's Cabinet, who was rejected by the people of Pennsylvania by the unprecedented majority of thirty-eight thousand honest citizens of the Keystone State, who crept into his present position of U. S. Senator through a venal Legislature, as a slimy adjunct of James Buchanan, and who belongs to the same class of corrupt politicians with which his brother was so intimately and disgracefully connected in California, seems to have taken the political instruction of the people of Lebanon county under his especial charge. He is flooding our county with a series of vile electioneering stuff, wanting even the semblance of truth to recommend it, that any decent man who would cancel his friends and associates men above the grade of a hangman, would be ashamed to have his name connected with.—These tissues of falsehoods and forgeries come through the United States mails, at the expense of the people, with the frank of Wm. Bigler for their vileness. If Bigler had a grain of the decent regard for propriety which every gentleman feels, he would be loath to force himself and his stuff upon the attention of an honest people who have spurned him by their overwhelming votes, and who look upon his character as anything but a fit one to hold up for the emulation of their children. Could this man see the bitter scorn pictured in the faces of honest men who have received his documents reeking in foul calumnies and falsehoods, he would shrink from putting further inflictions upon them.—Lebanon county wants no such political teacher as Mr. Senator Bigler, the man who, when Governor of our State, permitted her sovereignty to be insulted by, and her Executive to be a mere nose of wax in the hands of a Maryland slave-driver. If he can cast his efforts on no waters that will bring back to him a better return than Lebanon county, he might as well save his trouble."

☞ The following is a copy of a handbill, in circulation in our streets, got up under the supervision of a couple of prominent Buchanan men of the city, and printed at the *Democrat Office*:

PARTICULAR NOTICE!

The work of *saving souls* will be suspended in the Methodist and Baptist Churches, until after election, as our worthy Pastors will during that time be engaged in POLITICAL SERMONS, and therefore will be unable to attend to the *minor* duties, such as preparing for death &c, until that time. The Trustees take pleasure in announcing that they have made arrangements with our neighboring Churches, who never preach Political Sermons, to receive all those who seek Salvation.

By order of Trustees Methodist and Baptist Churches.

It speaks for itself, and needs little comment. No man or party engaged in what he or they conscientiously believe to be a *good* cause, ever object to have that cause spoken of in the pulpit or elsewhere. It is a conviction of a *bad* cause, a *moral* delinquency, on their part, which makes them so sensitive, and leads them to these attacks upon free speech in the pulpit.

These things are the faint shadows of coming events if these men should prove successful. They feel that they occupy a position of natural antagonism to the pulpit, the schools, and the press, and as it is now at the South, in these respects, so it must be at the North, when the southern principles become successful. The men who issued this handbill, only need the power, to take these ministers out of the pulpit and tar and feather them, and this power they will have, after the South has again triumphed, and thus vindicated its *permanent* ascendency. We have just read of an instance of shocking abuse of a Methodist minister in Missouri, for the same offence, which the Buchanan men recite in this handbill, and we can imagine nothing except the mere want of the necessary brute strength, which should prevent the pro-slaveryites here, from doing precisely what their brethren do in Missouri. No doubt they live in happy anticipation of the time, when, under repeated and undisputed Democratic ascendancy, the tar-pot shall be kept simmering before every church door on the Sabbath.—a sort of baptismal font for the heretics in the pulpit, who doubt the divinity and sanctity of the "Peculiar Institution."

Kenosha (Wis.) Tribune.

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

ON THE SENATE KANSAS BILL.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AUGUST 7, 1856.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the Senate bill for the admission of Kansas, Mr. GROW said—

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I do not propose to trespass long upon the patience of the committee. Having been unwell for some weeks, my strength is not sufficient to allow me to consume the hour to which I am entitled under the rules, even if I were inclined to do so. But it will not be necessary upon this subject.

Not long since this bill was sent to the House from the Senate, and has been heralded over the country as a bill for the pacification of the troubles in Kansas. It should have been announced as a bill to make Kansas a slave State, and thus to consummate the original design of the repeal of the Missouri compromise. The repeal was, from its inception, a conspiracy against freedom. And this bill, known as the Douglas-Toombs bill, secures effectually, by its provisions, the original design.

It provides, in the first place, for the appointment *by the President of the United States* of five commissioners, who are to take "an enumeration of the inhabitants authorized to vote," and to apportion "the members of a convention to form a constitution for Kansas."

The ninth section of the bill declares "that the said commissioners shall have power, and it shall be their duty, to make all needful rules and regulations for the conduct of the said election and the returns thereof. They shall appoint three suitable persons to be *judges of the election* at each place of voting, and prescribe the mode of supplying vacancies." In addition, they are empowered to appoint "a secretary to the board and such OTHER PERSONS as shall be necessary to aid and assist them in taking the enumeration herein provided for."

These commissioners thus appointed are to proceed to Kansas, take a census of the population of the Territory, regulate the election districts, apportion the members among the several districts, and appoint all election boards and such assistants as they deem necessary.

And no person can vote at the election so fixed and regulated, unless his name is on the census list, prepared by these commissioners and their assistants.

It is of no little consequence, then, to know who are the men into whose hands such vital interests are to be intrusted. To them are to be committed not only the rights and interests of the present inhabitants of the Territory, but the character of its institutions and the destiny of the future State. Are they to be men anxious to secure to the citizens of that Territory the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of their country? Or are they to be, like all the appointees sent by this administration into that Territory, save the first, who were removed on false pretences; men whose whole energies are to be devoted to enslaving Kansas, and laying it bound and manacled at the feet of the slave power that rules the republic.

It has been rumored in outside circles that the President has promised that the commissioners under this bill shall be men of known integrity and undoubted fairness. Is it not now the bounden duty of the President to send such men to Kansas to administer the territoritorial government in accordance with the law of Congress? Has he not failed to do so in every instance? Ought his word to be taken, then, for the future, when we have his acts for the past? It was the judgment of one of the country's noblest patriots that the experience of the past was the best guide for the future.

On the 4th of March, 1853, the rancor engendered in the public mind by past sectional conflicts had lost in its bitterness, and a spirit of [illegible] and fraternal concord prevailed throughout the Union.

From the steps of yonder portico the President, on that day, proclaimed that the existing peace and harmony of the Union should not be disturbed during his continuance in office. In his annual message, eight months after, he reiterated the same declaration.—Yet, in less than two months thereafter, he yielded himself and the political power and patronage of his administration to break down a great landmark of freedom that had guarded half of a continent for more than a third of a century against the inroads of slavery. In flagrant violation of the pledge of the democratic party, made in good faith, to resist "all attempts to agitate the slavery question in Congress or out of it," he cast upon the country one of the most bitter and intense slavery agitations known to our history, and which has covered the Union with a stormy sea of contention and strife.

Sir, is it expected that the friends of freedom will again so soon confide in the promise of a man false to the teachings of his childhood, and the convictions of his riper years; false to the plighted faith of his party; false to his own pledges publicly proclaimed to the world; false to his solemn written declarations; false to humanity and the peace and well-being of his country? Shall we longer entrust to such a man, or his minions, the interests of American citizens whose appeals for justice he has disregarded, and whose dearest rights he has permitted ruthlessly to be violated; their houses burned, their property seized, and public buildings destroyed, by those whom he rewards with place and with power, while he turns a deaf ear to the appeals of men in irons under a charge of treason for peaceably assembling to petition their government for a redress of grievances?

This bill, heralded to the country as a bill to restore to the citizens of Kansas the rights wrested from them by gross fraud, and open and notorious violence, is entrusted in its execution wholly to the executive and his appointees. After the past record of its acts and broken pledges should the friends of free Kansas trust it longer?

No bill for the redress of the wrongs of Kansas should receive the approval of any lover of justice, that places the means of redress in the hands of this administration.

Under this bill no one can vote unless his name be upon the census roll, prepared by your commissioners and their assistants.—What pledge has the country, what pledge have the *bona fide* citizens of Kansas, that the census may not be fixed and arranged by the same men who have inflicted upon Kansas all its woes?

May not Donelson, Stringfellow, Jones, and others of that chosen *posse*, be assistants of the commissioners, and place on this census roll such names as they think proper?—these men who have violated all rights guaranteed and secured to the citizens of the country by its organic law; who have trampled down in that territory the inalienable rights of man, and every principle of civil liberty; would they hesitate in the consummation of their darling project by putting upon the census roll such names as would effectually secure their object?

But to pass the portion of the bill that provides for an enumeration of voters, another of its provisions is that the commissioners shall apportion the members of the convention according to the number of voters in the respective districts, instead of the inhabitants.

Why is this? In order to give to those districts, where the soldiers of fortune who come from the south for the sole purpose of making Kansas a slave State have made their domicil during the summer, a majority of delegates to the convention. Districts containing only *bona fide* settlers, with their families around them, though they might have five times the population of other districts, yet their number of delegates under this arrangement might be much less. For instance, there might be two hundred voters at Leavenworth, and one hundred at Topeka, while the inhabitants of Topeka might be five times as many as at Leavenworth yet Leavenworth would have twice as many delegates in the convention.

Studiously and carefully concealed under all the provisions of this bill is the great object and design of securing Kansas to slavery, which, from the first, has brought upon the country its present troubles, and on Kansas all its wrongs. It is to be accomplished, first, by placing in the hands of the administration the moulding of that Territory into a State—an administration which has shown its devotion to the interests of slavery in every movement in Kansas, and in everything elsewhere, since it first turned its eye to a prolongation of its existence for another four years. Next, by the apportintment of the members of the convention by the number of voters, instead of inhabitants, and taking the census after many of the free State men have been exiled from their homes, and others compelled to leave, and remain out of the Territory, or drag out these long summer days in chains on a charge of treason, awaiting a trial by a jury packed by a marshal, and before a judge who convicts in advance.

But even if the census was a fair one, what security have the men of the country, who have a just appreciation of these wrongs, that the *bona fide* settlers may not be again trampled down at the ballot-box, as they have been at every election held heretofore in the Territory? What security have they that 5,000 men will not be again marched into that Territory with arms and cannon, and all the implements of war, and drive from the polls the *bona fide* citizens who have sought a home in Kansas—to drive from the polls such men as those mentioned by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] in his speech a few days since. A grey-haired veteran, who had fought the battles of his country in two wars, who had lived on the frontier for half a century, and who had gone out with his family seeking a last earthly home on the plains of Kansas, and when he came to exercise the right of an American freeman, was thrust from the ballot-box by invading strangers. What security, I ask, can you give that all rights will not be trampled down again at the ballot-box? One more invasion, one more forcible overthrow of the rights of freemen in that Territory under this bill, secures her forever to slavery; and is not that an inducement strong enough to send forth again these 5,000 invaders from Missouri?

When they went before it was with no other object in view, and no other object to be secured, save the election of a territorial legislature. Now they would go to secure the [illegible] of the future State which would make her Slave for ever, and add to the political strength of the slave power of the country. In this case the stake would be of vast magnitude. In the other it was but a trifle. If they had failed in electing the territorial legislature, another trial was open to them. But, in this case, the last grand act in the drama that has been enacting for two years would be consummated.—The original design of the repeal of the Missouri compromise would be attained in this act, should it become a law. It would only be necessary for slavery to carry one election and the work would be complete, for the constitution to be formed by the delegates elected is not to be submitted to a vote of the people for ratification. The penalties in the bill for illegal voting are of no consequence, if the invasion should be conducted as it was before. Men go over from Missouri and vote and then return, and are beyond the reach of your penalties.

But why is it not provided that this constitution should be submitted to a vote of the people for adoption? The election for delegates, by the bill, is to be on the first Monday of November, and the delegates are to meet for a formation of a constitution on the first Monday in December. It would be impossible for the convention to complete its labors and submit the constitution to a vote of the people before January. If submitted to a vote then, it would be necessary that those who voted for delegates in order to secure a provision in the constitution protecting slavery, should remain in the Territory till the ratification of the constitution. The delegate election comes just as winter is setting in, and the adventurers that have gone to the Territory with no purpose of settlement but merely to control the character of its present and future institutions, and having no houses to shelter them against the inclemency of winter, would be compelled to seek their former homes in a warmer clime, hence there is no provision for submitting this constitution to a vote of the people.—Nor is it required to be submitted to Congress, with an application for admission into the Union. Should the delegates to be elected under this bill form a constitution, the moment that is done, Kansas is a State in the Union, no matter what may be the provisions of the constitution, only so it is called republican in form. It may legalize slavery, polygamy, or any other enormity, and it is beyond the reach of Congress, for this bill declares that "until the next Congressional apportionment, *the said State shall have one*