In the House of Representatives, March 25th, 1858, on the Admission of Kunsus.

agree with the gentleman from Kentúcky, [Mr. Peyton,] who has just closed his remarks, that there should be no distrust between the different sections of the Union that the rights of each and all are not secure under the protection of the Constitution of the

By the third section of the fourth article of the Constitution, it is provided that " new States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union." Under that clause eighteen States have been added to the Union since its formation; thirteen with and five without an act of Congress authorizing the formation of a State government. But in every uplication, whether with or without an enabling act, the first and most important question for the determination of Congress is, whether the Constitution presented, embodies in its essential features, the will of the people to be affected by it. If it does not, then it should be rejected; no matter what the au-thority or mode of its formation. The peo-ple of a Territory have the right, like any other portion of the American people, under the first clause of the amendments to the Constitution, to petition the Government at ill times, and it is in the discretionary powerof Congress to grant their prayer or not. An nabling act, is not, therefore, absolutely necessary for the people of a Territory before they can proceed to form a constitution and State government, in order to be admitted into the Union. But as the territorial govcriment is established by Congress, it cannot superseded by any other government without the assent of Congress. But it is not material, though it may be more regular,

the action of the people of the Territory. I take this occasion, in passing, to express my obligations to my colleague, [Mr. Phillips,] for the notice and importance which he attached to my views on this point expressed by me in the last Congress. As he quoted them with approval, I am rejoiced to know that he and his political associates still adliere to one dectrine of the Jackson Democracy, and I hope that they may yet return to the principles and teachings of Jefferson

have so widely strayed.

The great question which presents itself in this case is does the constitution meet the will of the people who are to be affected by it? That has been the first and the controlling the Government. In the case of Michigan, the people, and set uside all formalities called In the case upon which we are now called o act, we have only the form of a constitution presented by one man, and the argument of the President in its favor; while the peoder it, in every form by which they can make their will known.

The entire history of the Lecompton Contitution proves that a large majority of the people of Kansas are opposed to it. The evdence of this fact in the possession of the House, is the remonstrance of its citizens, ald upon your table. Gov. Walker, in his etter to General Cass, says:
"I state it as a fact, based on long and in-

imate association with the people of Kansas. that an overwhelming majority of the people hre opposed to that instrument , and my let ters state that but one out of twenty of the press of Kansas sustains it."

" Indeed, disguise it as we may to ourselves, under the influence of the present excitement, the facts will demonstrate that any attempt by Corgress to force this Constitution upon the people of Kansas, will be the effort to substitute the will of a small minority for that of an overwhelming majority of the people of Kansas." Governor Stanton corroborates this state-

ment and adds : "It can only be maintained by the arms of the Federal Government forcing the constitution upon the people-against their declared will, and against every principle of republieanism, democracy, right, and justice." The State officers elected on the 4th of

January last, under this constitution, protest in the following language: "We, the officers elected under said Constitution, do most respectfully and earnestly pray your honorable bodies not to admit Kansas into the Union under said Constitution, and thus force upon an unwilling people

an organic law against their express will, and in violation of every principle of popular government." Signed by Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, State Treasurer and

This memorial was laid on our table with an indorsement of its truth by the Delegate

from that Territory. We also have the resolution of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory, passed unanimously on the last day of its session,

"That we do hereby, for the last time, selemnly protest against the admission of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton constitution; that we hurl back, with scorn, the libellous charge contained in the message of the President accompanying the Lecompton Constitution, to the effect that the freemen of Kansas are a lawless people; that, relying upon the justice of our cause, we do, hereby, in behalf of the people we represent, selemnly pledge ourselves to each other, to our friends in Congress and in the States, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, to resist the Lecompton Constitution and government by the force of arms, if necessary; that, in this perilous hour of our history, we appeal to the civilized world for the rectitude of our position; and call upon the friends of freedom everywhere to array themselves against the last act of oppression in the

hansas drama. Thus have they protested in every form known to the organism of your Government. ly suggested." ident, in declaring to Governor Denver that there is none? and the voters who were disthe people must be protected in voting for franchised had no opportunity to put them- be called or not, I may stay from the policy stitutions? I say they will; but I go a step | Legislature, says: A

most eleven thousand voters protested then most eleven thousand voters protested then against that constitution, as not embodying their will. On the 21st of December, the vote was six thousand five hundred and twenty ty-six, half of which has been proved fraudulent by the investigating Committee ordered by the Legislature; so that not more than three thousand legal votes were cast for the constitution at that time, leaving a majority. of from seven to eight thousand against this. constitution. Yet we are asked to enact- it: into the organic law of this people, and to institute under it a State government of officers elected by fraud. We are asked to east aside

the vote of the people on the 4th of January,

because they did not vote at the preceding That election, it is said, was illegal, though t is not denied that it expressed the popular ed its power from the people, while the one that called the convention was a usurpation. 'law: But treating them both as valid, the last one had as much power as the first, and was the legislative power of the Territory, and must continue to be till it is superseded by some Until that time it has full legislative power to enact, repeal, or modify any existing laws of the Territory; and if the Lecompton conthe territorial government would be superseded without the consent of Congress. Wny

does be not send his army to put down this constitution and its supporters, as he did to constitution and its supporters, as he did to said probate judge shall remain in ser-put down the Topeka party on the 4th of Ju-sion each day, Sundays excepted, from the hether that assent be given before or after ly, 1856? If the Territorial Legislature does time of receiving said returns, until the first not possess the Legislative power of the Ter- day of March next, at such place as shall be ritory, then the people have parted with their sovereignty, irrevocably, for four months, or until the action of Congress on this constitution. If so, they could as well part with it rect, and finally determine, according to the forever, and thus your reasoning would subvert all the maxims of our system of govern-

The time and mode of voting on the 4th of January was established by the legislative racy, and I hope that they may yet return to the principles and teachings of Jefferson and the fathers of American Democracy.

of January was established by the legislative of said returns; and any other authority of that Territory, an authority as authority of said returns; and for this purpose shall have so widely strayed.

The great question which presents itself in the property of the property of the property of said returns; and for this purpose shall have power to administrate authority of the received and the property of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity or fidelity of said returns; and for this purpose shall have power to administration of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity or fidelity of said returns; and for this purpose shall have power to administration of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity or fidelity of said returns; and for this purpose shall have power to administration of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity or fidelity of said returns; and for this purpose shall have power to administration of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity or fidelity of said returns; and for this purpose shall have power to administration of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity of said returns; and any other questions affecting the integrity of said returns; and any other questions affecting will of the people, yet they must submit to it because they did not vote before its formaday. It is one of the rights which execums it they choose; and I grant you that when all

hold their votes at a primary election, does stacles against taking a vote and making the the great question of what shall be their fun- free State party of Kansas? damental law? They did vote on the 4th of January; and why disregard the will of the people fully expressed at the ballot-box? This is not a question of whether the minorities were no way in fault for no census being to the polls and did vote. But you say they

the test onths were upon the statute-books of them.
Kansas, which would disfranchise all who The votes polled by the free-State men in the test onths were upon the statute-books of them. the age and the country." Senator, Bayard whole number of votes polled in the Territo-said they were "shocking to the moral sense;" ry for the election of delegates to the conand Senator Weller that they were infamous vention, the average of the vote on delegates may be brought to bear on the representain their character, "in violation of the Con being about eighteen hundred. These coun-

These test laws were thus denounced upon by men who could not be charged with ianaticism: No one, then, could vote for members of the convention who were not ready to submit to those test oaths; and but 2,670 repealed, it is true, before the election of delegates; but in the election of delegates half too, by no fault of theirs. Fifteen of the submission the 21st of December, there was

1857, says: \_\_\_\_\_ "In nineteen of these counties there was no census, and therefore there could be no such apportionment there of delegates, based upon such census. And in fifteen of these oldest organized counties of the Territory, were entirely disfranchised, and did not give and (by no fault of their own) could not give 4th of January, and yet gentlemen upon this a solitary vote for delegates to the conven-

In fifteen counties out of thirty-four, there was no registry, and not a solitary vote was given or could be given for delegates to the convention in any of these counties."

Gov. Stanton, in corroboration of this stateted States, says:

"The registration required by law had been

of January last, a vote was ordered to be taken of fairly consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas, the fact has it is aboring for free every consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justice, whole people of Kansas next fall, by a Jerry consideration of fairness and justi

each county, in order to give the people the right and power before the proper authorities, dition to that, did not, in four of those counties, your party interpose every obstacle against taking the census, and interfere with the officers whose duty it was to take the cen-

Mr. Grow.—Cap you correct a list until it Charles the Second as its constitution, and it is made? The law requires a copy of the never was voted on by the public, and for lists to be posted, and then they could be over three quarters of a construy. After the corrected. I will read the law which required the census and registration, passed 19th February, 1857, which provides that a cenit is not denied that it expressed the popular rebriary, 1857, which provides that a century that the people could not vote on sus shall be taken by the Sheriff of the severtheir constitution at any other election than all counties; and in case there shall be no constitution. New Jersey never voted in ple, abandoning revolutionary violence, were their constitution at any other election than alcounties; and in case there shall be no the one fixed by the delegates to the convention. It was the same legislative power that courts, and in case of vacancy in the office dent-finders, why those precedent. fixed the election of the 4th of January that of both sheriff and probate judges, the Gov. sas be allowed to vote on theirs? If each of called the convention, with the exception that ernor to appoint some competent resident of the Legislature that fixed the election deriv-

"It shall be the fluty of the sheriff, probate why, when there are two great parties in a that they should have a fair chance to vote, the people of Kausas have all been trampled judge, or person appointed by the Governor State, differing on fundamental principles and that they would not be cheated out of in the dust, the ballot-box violated, their as herein provided in each county or election and as to their proposed organic law, one their rights by fraud and violence, as they houses burned, their presses destroyed, their district, on or before the 10 day of April next, government, with the consent of Congress. - to file in the office of the probate judge for such county or election district, a full and complete list of all the qualified voters resident in his said county or election district on vention prevents that, then, in the language of the President, it would be rebellion; for exhibit, in a fair and legible hand, the names of all such legal voters." And in the fifth section, it is provided,

> most convenient to the inhabitants of the county or election district, and proceed to the inspection of said returns, and hear, corfacts, without unreasonable delay, all questions concerning the omission of any person from said returns, or the improper insertion of any name on said returns; and any other

Now, unless a return was made by the because they did not vote before its forma-tion, though they did afterwards. It is a new would be no list to correct, and of course question in the action of Congress on every and a strange doctrine that the people of this there was no way for the voter to be register-application for a new State in the history of the Garagnetic of the Soverage and if not registered, he could not vote. ereignty of the Government, have not the Nine of those fifteen counties which were dishe came here against the forms prescribed right to vote upon the same subject to-mor- franchised, gave a vote on the 4th of Janua-

against this constitution. Mr. Clemens. As the gentleman from have the privilege of voting, those who do Pennsylvania in making a fair argument, I not vote must submit to the action of those desire to ask another question. Leput it to who do. But when the majority do vote, I the gentleman from Pennsylvania whether, vention would be submitted for approval or the year of and administration of the gentleman from Pennsylvania whether, vention would be submitted for approval or it. ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a in every county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a line very county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a line very county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a line very county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a line very county in which the vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a line very county in which the vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a line very county in which a vote was taken, ask you where is the reason for turning a line very county in which the vote was taken. that deprive them of the right to vote upon registry did not come exclusively from the

Mr. Grow. No Sir, not to my knowledge; ty shall control the State because the major- taken by the officers required by law to do ity have not voted; for in this case they went it; and if there was one taken, then they could not vote, as I have shown. The peoshall not vote to-day, because they refused to pie of some of them, Anderson county in vote yesterday. That is a matter which does particular, petitioned the Governor, stating not concern you. The people themselves that no census had been taken, and asking are the ones to decide under what circumstan- what they should do. He told them he had ces they will vote; or withhold their votes. no power to remedy the omission, but advis-They voted at the first election held in that ed them to go on and elect delegates, and Territory at which a fair expression of the that the convention would undoubtedly republic will could be given. At the election for the call of a convention, egates, but the convention did not receive

would not submit to degradation; all the nine of these distranchised counties on the tests and laws which were declared by Gen- 4th of January, one thousand six hundred eral Cass, in the Senate, to be a "disgrace to and twenty-tour, is almost as great as the whole number of votes polled in the Territostitution," and "revolting to every feeling of ties were never attached to any other counhumanity." Mr. Clayton denounced them as ties for the purpose of electing delegates to unjust, iniquitous, oppressive, and infamous the convention, though they were attached to other counties for the purpose of electing priety of the constitution of a people being members to the Legislature. One half of the floor of the Senate of the United, States, the counties of Kansus, then, had no right to vote at all for delegates to the convention that no such thing as ascertaining clearly and framed this constitution, and that, too, by no without doubt, the will of the people, in any fault of theirs; while the census was very way except by their own direct expression imperfectly taken in the other counties, by of it at the polls. A constitution not subjectvotes were polled for the constitution, though the intentional prinssion of free-State - men. ed to that test, no matter what it contains, the Delegate to Congress, at the same elec- The Delegates from Kansas upon this floor, will never be acknowledged by its opponents tion, received 4,276. These test oaths were the Mayor of the city of Leavenworth, and to be anything but a fraud." many other of the most prominent free-State men were omitted, in addition to whole freeof the counties were disfranchised, and that State settlements. Under the pretended to a direct vote of the people, the unhappy others partially. Governor Walker, in his letter to General Cass of the 15th December, 1857, says: the constitution itself, if adopted.

But I pass on, having shown conclusively inet, that the constitution should be submit-from the record that the people of Kansas ted. Without stopping to refer to his inaugcounties there was no registry of voters.— fair opportunity to be heard upon the forma-These fifteen counties, including many of the fair opportunity to be heard upon the formaconvention, or in the election of delegates. The only time they could vote was on the 9th: floor insist that because they did not vote be-

fore, their votes then are of no consequence. account of the test oaths at the time the ques-tion of the convention was voted on. Next, ation next fall. Carryou not peaceably dewhen the delegates to that convention were cide this question in the mode pointed out elected, more than half the counties were en- by the set of Congress, if you, as you can ment, in his address to the people of the Unitirely disfranchised; and there were a large and will, have a full opportunity of recordnumber of the free-State party in the other ing. your vote? [A voice, How are we to highways." While, suc counties who bould not vote. Yet it is askimperfect in all the counties, and had been ed why, under this state of things, they did submitting the constitution to the vote of the would be a summer reason of themselves the convention? That is the grand question. I ministration, its supporters in Pennsylvania wrong, to a point beyond which endurance or a of good feeling and brotherhood had at called upon the voters in the following land brotherhood had at disconnection of the American people of the American people of the American people of the following summer treason of the American people of the foundation of the American people of the foundation of the following summer treason of the American people of the foundation of the foundation of the foundation of foundation wholly omitted in one half of them; nor could not go to the polls and vote? These facts whole people. [A voice, 'Who is to elect the people of these distranchised counties would be a sufficient reason of themselves the convention? That is the grand question.] vote in any adjacent county, as has been false- for their abstaining from voting; but in ad- Gentleman, it is a comparatively small point But it has been urged by the advocates of have an opportunity to vote on the constituwith over ten housand voices &On the 4th Lecompton, that the disfranchisement of tion itself. They had a right to expect it by great substantial point is this: Will the

and no correction could be made while there the constitution is framed, and I desire to If I have not the power to bring it about, if precedents to show that it is not necessary to have a vote on the constitution. We have been told that the constitution of New Jersey to have their names inserted? And in ad- and other States were never submitted; and that therefore there is no need of submitting

a constitution to the vote of any people.

The gentleman from Rhode Island on my left, [Mr. Brayton,] represents a State which for nearly-two centuries, and a charter from Declaration of Independence it continued ! to be the organic law of Rhode ishind; and the ing, I fear, suroughout the country, were the States of the Union had to-day a constithus prescribed by the third section of this the people, but was acquiesced in, as framed by the delegates, would that be any reason

half of the people ought to be deprived of had been before in the whole history of Kanthe chance of voting upon it? We often pass laws here by one vote, or no vote at all, because there is no difference of sentiment on it, but is that any reason why we should not have a chance to vote when we do differ? keep, there would have been now no disturb-When there is a general acquiescence by a people in a constitution, then it is of no consequence whether it be submitted or not; but when a portion of the people demand that it shall be submitted, are they to be told that they are not to exercise the right of yet that right was denied them : and you invoting on it, because some other people did

not wish to vote on theirs? There is no precedent for a constitution being put in force, in this country, without a submission to a vote of the people, if any considerable portion of them desired it, or if there was any great diversity of sentiment as to its essential provisions. That in such by Governor Walker to pacify Kansas. Sir, a case it is not necessary to submit the constitution to a vote, is a doctrine asserted for the first time in our history on this constitu-

What is the difference in a law being passed for a people by a despot, or by nor representatives, whose acts are beyond the supervision of the constituency? If such a doctrine is to be established in

the policies of this country, we may well ask, are we upon the banks of the Danube and Bosporus, or on soil drenched by martyr blood in its consecration to freedom? The disregard of the will of the peopline, it was cal rights. They believe in the motto of approvements of on the record an for her action; yet Congress took, the will of row because they refused to go to the colls toor any other tyranny.

that the constitution of the Lecompton conjustice and the universally recognized maxims please; we pay no attention to it, but offer of free government, but by the pledges of all no forcible resistance." who were supposed to have any control over the matter.

How could the popular will be so well as-

certained as by an election? In no other way are you sure of embodying it, for the reason which the President, in his annual message, states why a constitution should be submit-

"The election of delegates to a convention must necessarily take place in separate districts. From this cause it may readily happen, as has often been the case, that a majority of the people of a State or Territory are on one side of a question, whilst a majority of the representatives from the several districts into which it is divided may be upon the other side. This arises from the fact that in some districts delegates may be elected by small majorities, whilst in others those of different sentiments may receive majorities sufficiently great not only to overcome the votes given for the former, but to leave a large majority of the whole people in direct opposition to a majority of the delegates. Besides, our history proves that influences tive sufficiently powerful to induce him to disregard the will of his constituents."

The Washington Union of 7th July, 1857 held the same views as to the duty and prosubmitted to a vote if desired:

"Under these circumstances, there can be

"We do most devoutly believe that, unless the constitution of Kansas be submitted controversy which has heretofore raged in

pledged his honor, by the approval, as he told the people, of the President and his Cabinet, that the constitution should be submitnever had, until the 4th day of January last, ural in which he is most emphatic on this point, I read from a speech of his delivered at Topeka, on the 8th of June, 1857, and published in the Topeka Statesman of the

"At the next election in October, when you elect the Territoriel Legislature, you can repeal these hws; and you can, also, by a Why did they not vote before? First, on majority of your own votes, adopt or reject

or against the constitution on that day. Al. | selves upon the list, for no registry was made, | when that quastion is submitted; but when farther. [A voice, Have you the power?] than that.']" These promises were given in the most au-

thoritative forms; first, on the genera! doc-trine of free governments, that the people shall have an opportunity to pass on their or-In his letter to General Cass of December

157-1857, he says : But insurrection and civil war, extend ple, abandoning revolutionary violence, were izens are conservative, law abiding and peace-induced by me to go for the first time, into a loving men, disposed rather to make sacrific-

general and peaceful election." Here, Mr. Chairman, were these rebelsthese men whom the President arraigns besaid county. The duty of the census-taker is tution that was never submitted to a vote of fore the country as opposed to all law and order, and all forms of civil government; who, when your civil officer proclaimed to then, that they should have a fair chance to vote, sas, said that they asked nothing fairer than that; and they went to the polls holding your exceptive officer to his word; which, had he been permitted by the President to nce in Kansas.

The Government told them that this opportunity would be given to them; that they would have the privilege of going to the polls and voting for or against the constitution;

sist now on consummating the wrong.

These men whom the President has arraigned as traitors and rebels, and therefore not to have the rights of freemen, were quieted by the simple declaration that they should have justice. All opposition ceases utes, at any time within the last four years, by securing to her people a ballot-box free from fraud and violence. It was all they asked. I will read you from the dispatches that came to the President, to show that he falsifies the truth of history when he charges these men with rebellion and treason. They have done what American freemen, true to the blood that runs in their veins, and true to the great heritage which they received from their ancestors, should do. They would never submit to a usurpation of their politi-

nstance of the people of Kansas ever resisting The people of Kansas had a right to expect the laws of the United States. They simply refused to obey the territorial organization.

What was this government that the Presiident says would have been long since over-turned if he had not maintained it with the Army of the United States? Governor Geary, in his dispatch to Mr. Marcy, September 9, 1856, (Executive Documents, Third sespage 88,) says:
"I find that I have not simply to contend

against bands of armed ruffians and brigands, whose sole aim and end is assassination and robbery, infatuated adherents and advocates of conflicting political sentiments and local institutions, and evil-disposed persons actuated by a desire to obtain elevated positions, but worst of all, against the influence of men who have been placed in authority, and have employed all the destructive agents around them to promote their own personal interests at the sacrifice of every just, honorable, and lawful consideration. I have barely time to give you a brief statement of facts as now in the hands of armed bodies of men, ing the corruptions of the church and the who, having been enrolled as militia, perpetrate outrages of the most atrocious character, under shadow of authority from the territorial government. Within a few days these men have robbed and driven from their houses unoffending citizens; have fired upon and killed others in their own dwellings, and stolen horses and property under the pretense of employing them in the public service.-They have seized persons who had committed no offense, and after stripping them of all their valuables, placed them on steamers, and sent them out of the Territory."

Same document, page 72, Lieutenant Mcacting Governor at the time, that-

"It is a notorious fact that some of the band who originally came into this Territory with Colonel Buford have committed gross outrages, and I can say with certainty that copted the tone, temper, and language of Guo. there are still small parties of his men now in the Territory acting in the most lawless

beries have been committed."

grants that went from the South, each with a Bible instead of Sharpe's rifle.

16, 1856, says: The whole country was evidently infested with armed bands of marauders, who set all law at defiance, and traveled from place to place, assailing villages, sacking and burning bouses, destroying crops, maltreating, independence, that all governments derive foot of territory then owned by the Federal women and children, driving off and stealing their just power from the consent of the gov. Government was fixed in its character of cattle and horses, and murdering harmless men in their own dwellings and on the public

ways."
While such was the condition of Kansas, and these wrongs were perpetrated by the acquiescence, if not instigation, of the Ad ministration, its supporters in Pennsylvania wrong, to a point beyond which endurance patriot was congratulating himself that the cratic party that is laboring for freedom for Kansa, the assertions of opposition orators

strongly condemned."

Governor Geary, in his farewell to the people of Kansas, gives the following picture of its condition:

"I reached Kausas and entered upon the gapic law; and next, they had the positive pledges of the men who had authority to give those pledges. And yet, Judas-like, they were betrayed by a kies. ing dwellings darkened the atmosphere.

Women and children dath and their nabtangons, wandered over the prairies and thro'
the woodlands, or sought refuge and protection among the Indian tribes."

\*. "The great body of the actual cities for conciliation and consequent peace, than to insist for their entire rights, should the general good thereby be caused to suffer." Territory, all telling the same story to the pation of the powers of their government. American people; that is, that the tights of then they will be fit for slaves. If ever that the people of Kansas have all been trampled time comes, the Genius of Liberty may public buildings battered down by the United States cannon under the direction of United States officers; yet in the face of the unanimous voice of those men who have been upon the ground, seen with their own eyes, and heard with their own cars, the President and his adherents insist that they know best what is the condition of Kansas and the will of its people. The President says that the free State party has been rebellious because they have refused to rote. Sir, the free two thousand three hundred a large majori-State party in Kansas have never refused to ty of all the legal voters of the Territory at

vote, when they had a fair opportunity.
Why should this great fraud upon the rights of a people be consummated? What me? reason can there be for so great a violation of the principles of free government. The only reason urged by the advocates for sustaining so glaring frauds upon popular rights is, that it will give peace to Kansas, and end the political agitations of the country.

brute force; in the North by dispersing assemblages of peaceable citizens, pelting their lecturers, burning their halls and destroying their presses. In this forum of the people. by finality resolves on all will continue to the people at all times to petition their Government. Yet, despite threats, mob-law and finality resolves, the discussion goes on, and will continue to. the discussion goes on, and will continue to, so long as right and wrong, justice and injustice, humanity and inhumanity, shall struggle Kansas. Its soil red with the blood of

for supremacy in the affairs of men. that smites them, are rebels, and traitors;and the wrong doer, while perverting the truth and suppressing the facts of history, sion thirty-fourth Congress, volume 1, part 1, strives, with hard words, to heap obliquy and reproach upon the character and motives of men in every way the equal, if not the su-

perior of the traducer.

All the wrongs of Kansas are sustained by the Administration, because they were perpetrated under the forms of law. Justice

forms and precedents. and liberty. The Jews crucified our Savior sensions among the people. The law-and-order conservatism of the middle ages ostracisreigning dynasties, he proclaimed to the people the great truths first taught on the seashore, and along the hillsides of Judea. The Grutli of the forest cantons of Switzerland, planning at the midnight hour on the banks of Lake Lozerne, the liberties of their country, were, in the eyes of all Europe, rebels against society and traitors to law-and-order. The world's reformers have ever been, in the days in which they lived, heretics, fanatics, and vices which they combated. Yet such are the retributious of Heaven on earth, that Intosh, of the first cavalry, writes Woodsen, the crucifiers of the world's redeemers have when dead.

when dead.

The President, in his special message on Kansas, seems to have imbited the spirit, ad-III., in his proclamations and manifestoes me of the stoppage of wagons and men on the road, and in a great many instances robrights, unless he is ambitious of being the

These men are some of the peaceful emi-rants that went from the South, each with a In my judgment, the first gun fired by a Same document, page 106, Governor Geathis Lecompton fraud upon the people of Kansas, will light a flame that seas of blood country that "the agitation of the slavery. may not be able to extinguish. It will be streets of Boston, on the 19th of April, 1775. not a ripple disturbed the surface. The ark but the echo of the British musketry, in the

From my personal acquaintance with the erned, Free State men of Kansas, and what I know of their character—these descendants of decisions and constitutional constructions it Warren, Putnam, Greene and Wayne was all fixed for freedom. No note of diswhen forced, in submitting to injustice and cord jarred on the universal harmony. The

"There is not a single officer in the Terris consequence of firing a gun after the adoption tory amenable to the people or to the Gov- of the Lecompton constitution. I ask him ernor; all having been appointed by the Leg- whether, if the Lecompton constitution be voted down, Ramas would not be returned to her territorial condition 1-

ritorial Legislature recognized now by all sides as a valid one. Mr. Millson.-Is not slavery now one of

the institutions of the Territory ? Mr. Grow, wit is under the Lecompton

constitution. Mr. Millson,-Outside of the Lecompton constitution, is it not recognized by the territorial laws?

Mr. Grow \_ Ph. 1 \_\_\_\_ koursery pro-Mr. Millson.-Then the edoption of the Lecompton constitution would not effect any change in the rights or personal condition of

that matter, as it is not a question involved. The question in Kansas now, is whether the people shall have a right to govern themselves I and whenever any portion of the people aban-Four Governors have returned from that don that right tamely, and submit to a usur-

wing her way back from earth to Heaven. Mr. Phillips. In this connection I will ask my colleague whether he has not, on a form. er occasion, said that the will of the people of a Territory could be as well expressed in the choice of delegates, as in their action in the convention?

Mr. Grow.-The gentleman has not understood my speech correctly. He will find that I put the admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution upon the ground that it had been submitted to the people, and that that time-voted in favor of it.

Mr. Phillips .- Will the gentleman allow

Mr. Grow.-I cannot yield any more of my time.
Mr. Chairman, injustice, once enthroned in power, ever strives, by every device of taunt and sneer, to divertation from its enormities, and to avoid, if possible, all discussion

Peace among a brave people is not the of its abuses. The weapons of a self-satisfied fruit of injustice, nor does agitation end by the perpetration of wrong. For a third of a century the advocates of slavery, while exercising unrestricted speech in its defense, have struggled to prevent all discussion against it. In the South by penal statutes, mob-law, and battle force in the North test of the North test of

ten within the last four years, by the Ac ten within the fast four years, by the Action istration and its minions, in the works. The President makes the same excuse for murdered citizens, and its atmosphere darkenhis treatment of Kansas that tyrants ever ed with the smoke of their burning dwellings, employ in justification of their cruelty and while women and children fice to the savage wrong. That is, that the injured and opwrong. That is, that the injured and op-pressed, because they will not kiss the hand that smites them are replaced traitors. and their supplication for justice and the rights of freemen still ringing in the ears of, the President, he declares that "Kansas has, for some years, occupied too much attention. It is high time this should be directed to far

more important objects." Mr. Chairman, what more important object can this Government have than to guard he hearth stone of the hardy pioneer as he and right seem to be of less consequence than goes forth into the wilderness to found new States and build up new empires? What The bloodiest pages in the drams of man's higher duty has it to perform than to secure existence have been written under the color to the citizen—the humblest and most obof law, and too often in the name of justice scure, as well as to the highest and most exalted-the rights guarantied by the Constitubecause he was a fanatic, and stirred up distion of his country? In Kansas, from the first, these have all been trainpled in the dust. Hence Kansas has, for some years, I find them. The town of Leavenworth is ed Luther as a heretic, because, while exposthat the Chief Magistrate of this Republic can find any more important object for the attention of the Government than the protection of the rights and liberties of American citizens, nuthlessly violated under the flag of their country, unless the nobier and better impulses of human nature expired in his bosom as the last drop of Democratic blood

gozed from his yeins? Kansas wants peace; not the peace of servile submission to brute force, but the peace. that justice ever brings. The country wants fallen victims to the prevailing prejudices quiet and repose; not the quiet of the graveyard or the repose of death, but the quiet and repose secured by liberty, maintained by law. But so long as the power of this Gov; been forced to pay homage at their graves ernment is wielded to fasten an odious des potism upon Kansas, and to propagate the institutions of human bondage, so long there will and can be no peace. You can give peace to Kansas, repose to the country, and forever end the agitation of this slavery quesagainst the American colonies. While thus tion, if you will bring back the Government imitating his great prototype, let him take to the policy of the fathers, and re-establish. warning by his example how he forces a in its administration their maxims of justice

upon the sentiments of the North, and the rights and interests of free labor. On the 4th of March, 1858, from the steps of yonof past political dissensions had subsided, and of our covenant reposed on dry ground, and ster, in his delusion, thought to be irrepeals. ble. And under the then existing Judicial

by fraud and violence, of all the powers of consecrated to freedom forever by solemn their government, then, indeed, will they be act of our fathers, was epened to the spread fit for slaves.

Of the institutions of human bondage. The Mr. Millson.—The gentleman refers to the passage of the bill at the dead hour of the