## Independent Republican.

66 FREEDOM AND RIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY AND WRONG."

C. F. READ & H. H. FRAZIER, EDITORS.

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THE APRIL SHOWER.

BY EDWARD C. GODWIN. Eux earliest day I heard a tread, Like fairies trooping overhead:
Drop after drop the spring shower fell:
Drop after drop, like chiming bell,
Or ellin's horn,
Who called his bannered hosts around,
And old earth bound
Till coming dawn.

Loud exied the Fay: "While chill winds sigh,
Through every wood and valley fly,
That blossoming, the light shall see
The violet and anemone!
Forth from my bowers
Call out the skylarks, gem the grass, The mountain pass Refresh with showers!

Their snow white palfreys, prancing free, With tinkling hoofs swept quick by me. And then my dreams grought ships at sea; And one that from some eastern land Bore balm and spices, and a band
Of captive girls;
Her white sails glistened 'neath the clouds,'
And all her shrouds Seemed hung with pearls.

Who could not dream while spice winds blow. And rock his vessel to and fro? Prop after drop the spring rain fell— Drop after drop: I slumbered well; And when I woke, the garden bowers And tufted flowers Remained to tell

That what our disappointments know From life's cold rain and drifting snow, Is canceled by a love that swells Which with a trusting faith inc.
To the sunshine
Their quivering bells.

APRIL. BY LONGFELLOW.

When the warm sun, that brings Seed time and harvest, has returned again,
Tis sweet to visit the still wood, where springs
The first flower of the plain.

When forest glades are teeming with bright forms, Nor dark and many-folded clouds foretell

From the earth's loosened mould The sapling draws its sustemance, and thrives: Though stricken to the heart with winter's cold,

The softly warbled song
Comes thro' the pleasant woods, and colo
are sisneing in the golden sun, along
The forest openings.

And when bright sunset fills The silver woods with light, the green slope throws Its shadows in the hollows of the hills, And wide the upland glows.

and when the day is gone, Is hollowed out, and the moon dips her horn; And twinkles many a star.

Stand the gray rocks, and trembling shadows throw, And the fair trees look over, side by side,

Sweet April, many a thought Life's golden fruit is shed.

## THE SMITHS OF SMITHVILLE AND THEIR ADVENTURES WITH A ROBBER.

BK PAUL CRETTON,

The Smiths of Smithville had for a long time been very much annoyed by the depredations of some unknown individual, whose confused ideas concerning the rights of property, led to the frequent abstraction of divers goods and chattels from the premises of the said Smiths, in a furtive and mysterious manner. Bags of wheat and of cats vanished from the granary, pork from the cellar, and corn from the crib, in one night. A sheep that had just been slaughtered, coolly trotted away; and on another occasion, several gallons of syrup evaporated in a nighttime. Milking stools went off on their three legs, and one morning Mr. Smith's best axe was found to have "cut stick." Log chains became ratile-nakes, and crept off; iron wedges made splits in the Smith, property; boots walked away; and the jack rode off on

the saw-horse. Vain were all the efforts of the elder and younger Smith to discover the mystery of these disappearances, and to entrap the offender. Despairing to bring him to justice, the Smiths found they could do nothing more than to take measures to insure the safety of their property. Accordingly they built a new granney, with strong walls, a narrow grated window, and a heavy oaken door, to which was attached a formidable padlock .-This prison-like portion of the barn was built sufficiently large to allow the Smiths to lock up with the grain a great deal of portable property, such as was most likely to tempt e cupidity of thieves.

After the granary was finished, a month passed, during which time the depredations of the robber or robbers were confined to be orchard and hen-roost; when, late one Sunday evening, the elder Smith, as be was sitting tipped back against the kitchen wall, moking his pipe preparatory to retiring, bethought him that he had neglected to lock the granary before leaving the barn. This was by no means a singular circumstance-considering that the granary was usually locked by the younger Smith-who had that night

gone a courting." It was a moonlight evening and Mr. Smith on approaching the barn, was considerably startled at seeing the door sign. Certain of having shut the door an hour previously, Mr. Smith thought of robbers. His suspicion was confirmed, when, on a nearer approach, he plainly heard a movement in the barn,-Too cautious to endanger his life by boldly attacking the robber, Mr. Smith, with considerable trepidation, resolved to watch his movements, and discover who he was. Looking through a crack in the east side of the barn, he saw a dim, ghost-like figure granary." glide across the floor toward the granary.happy thought entered Mr. Smith's brain! Stealing into the barn, he crept silently along by the mow, until near the granary, whenslap! he shut the door, adjusted the padlock, furned the key, and was off for his life! It is impossible to say what made Mr. Smith tremble so. It might have been the miothered cry of alarm that issued from the granary walls and rang fully on his ears -s cry well calculated to awaken superstitious fear. But Mr. Smith never owned that he was frightened; although, on reaching the kitchen he was as white as a ghost, or as ghosts are supposed to be.

"I've caught the robber!" ejaculated Mr Smith in a breath. "He's locked up in the granary—give me

"Why—why—what are you going to do!"

"Let me out," and the voice within.

"Let me out," and the voice within.

Without any further delay, Mrs. Ferris, will be dangerous to meddle with him all having thrown the barn door wide open, so

It is impossible to describe the excitement of Mr. and Mrs. Smith, on that memorable destructive manner. occasion. The latter took it upon herself to load the old musket, while her husband went

Mr. Smith exchanged his slippers for his where he expected to find the younger Smith, truth, however, flashed upon his mind, when out the candle. He knocked, however, furi. With great anxiety of mind he waited for ously as the occasion required. After some the door to open.

delay, Peacon Naffles came down in night. At length the lock was torn away, and clothes, stared at Smith in astonishment, and demanded his business at that time of night.
"Caught the thief—locked up—in the gra-

nary-where's Increase?"
"Ha! caught a thief!" cried Deacon Naffles, who, having lost some property as well as his neighbor, was interested in the intelligence-good enough-keep him till morn-

""Twent do !" replied Mr. Smith in an excited manner. "He's a desperate fellow break out-I must rouse the neighborswhere's my son Increase?" "Oh, Sally is sick, to-night-so Increase

courted her only about an hour, and went "" Went home!" "Yes," said the Deacon, "half an hour

The elder Smith clapped his hand to his forehead, as if he had been struck, either by an idea, or some weighty substance. "Gracious!" he exclaimed.

"What?" asked the Deacon, "I believe," said the elder Smith, "I have

locked up— " Who?": " Increase !"

"I bet you have!" cried the Deacon. cushions into the granary before he went to

Deacon, trying to preserve a becoming gravity. "The joke is safe, and I'd advise you to harry home and let increase out." It is impossible to describe his rage on find of your headache? ing himself thus entrapped. After shouting until he was hoarse and nearly deaf,he closed

meal, to await the result. Supposing it was the old man who, having iscovered his error, was coming to liberate him, his anger evaporated, and he could not help but laugh at the ludicrous mistake.

But there was a mystery about the sounds doubt whether they were made by his father after all. He listened. The key turned cautiously in the lock. Slowly and stealthily the door opened, while Increase scarcely breathed. Somebody entered noiselessly, ouched young Smith's shoulder as he passed, and began to explore the further part of the lungeon. Increase dropped on his hands and knees and, taking advantage of the noise made by the robber, crept out. Then to shut the door and lock it, was the work of a mo-

ment. Somebody was locked up. Listening a moment and hearing no sound ncrease became firmly convinced that he had committed no error, but caught a real thief, and he went immediately for assistance.

Shortly after, and very much ashamed of his mistake, the elder Smith sneaked into the barn and approached the granary. It is necessary in this place to observe that the elder Smith locked up his son with the key that belonged to the granary and which he had carried with him, and that Increase locked up the thief with a false key, which the latter had brought with him, and carelessly left in the lock, on entering the granary, and which the younger Smith had carried away.

And now the elder Smith made haste to open the door. "Increase!" he called, putting his head in-

to the granary.

"Are you asleep?" Come-don't go to playing any tricks on me-it was all a mistake, for I really took you to be a rob-" Mr. Smith's voice was stopped by a vioent blow on the mouth. Mr. Smith, in an instant, was tumbled down smidst a wilderness of barrels, bags, rakes, and shovels .-Mr. Smith was considerably stunned by the blow and the fall; and when Mr. Smith got upon his feet again, the door was closed and locked. Mr. Smith was a prisoner. I leave

the reader to imagine his feelings.

Meanwhile Increase was raising forces to assist in taking the thief out of the granary in safety. Having first told his story to Mrs. Smith, who was exceedingly astonished he hastened to inform Joe Ferris, a stout fellow, who lived in the woods near by, and who had complained of losing quite as much property as the Smiths. Mrs. Ferris put er head out of the window, and wished to know what Increase wanted. The young man asked for Joe. After some hesitation, the woman replied that her husband had the

headache, aud could not get up. "It's very important," said Increase. "I've caught the thief, and locked him up in the

"Oh-have you?" said Mrs. Ferris, in a feeble voice. "How fortunate! But as my husband has the headache, I think you had better keep the man till morning.

"No-we'll have him to-night!" cried In-

sick with the headache in the house.

"What's the matter now " cried Mrs. She was soon in Ma Smith's barn, with her hand on the granary door, "Joseph!" she whispered.

No reply. "Joseph—it is me—are you here?" she

added, knocking on the door.

"Let me out," said the voice within,
Without any further delay, Mrs. Ferris, that she could see to perform her operations, commenced hammering the padlock in a most

Mrs. Ferris whispered— . "Come quick, Joseph! There's no time to lose, They'll be here in a minute!"

She caught samebody by the arm, and both stopped, looking each other in the face.

Mrs. Ferris screamed, and turned paler than the moonlight and dropped her hammer.

Mr. Smith was samely less ast nished; but, recovering hypself, he said, rather coolly, considering the search of the said. considering the occasion-'You are out late, to-night, Mrs. Ferris.

Allow me to see you home."
She could not refuse his arm; and when she saw that he was conducting her to his house, instead of her own, she had not the power to say a word, or make the least reistance.

The good lady's feelings, on being brought before Mrs. Smith can be more easily imagined than described. In her fear and corfusion, the confessed some startling truths, and with tears, and on her knees, begged her "kind, dear friends to be merciful, and not to amazement, and exclaimed, "I never! I never! I never!" and Mr. Smith, who was not the least excited of the three, indulged in some equally sensible remarks.

Meanwhile, Mr. Joe Ferris, who was the

heard him say he had got to carry the buggy man who had taken the younger Smith's place in the granacy, and given it up in turn to the elder Smith went home by a circuit-Look here, whispered the elder Smith, ous route, wondering by what strange accident he should get out. It is should get out. It had "Oh, I'll keep the secret," interrupted the called by somebody in the road, he turned,

effect of the excitement he had undergone. Blake, and I think we'll be enough for one the right of the people to decide for them-Let us now look in upon the younger thief; but the more the merrier, so come on. Smith, who was actually shut in the granary. I knew you would go in for the fun, in spite Joe was quite as much in the dark now,

as when he was locked up in the granary ;-his teeth angrily, and sat down on a bag of but, concluding, it would be best to put a bold face on the matter, and accompany, Inleal, to await the result.

Increase had not been long in the dark crease, he declared himself ready, and jumped dungeon before he heard a noise in the barn. over the fence. At first he was afraid of committing himself, but the conversation by the way showing him, as he thought, how the ground lay, he laughed heartily at the queer manner in which the thief was caught, and volunteered to be the first to enter the he heard, which caused the younger Smith to granary where he was confined, at the same time chuckling joyously at the anticipation of the younger Smith's dismay, on finding, instead of a thief, his own father under lock

and key! With great glee, the men proceeded at once to the granary, where increase proposed leaving his companions, to go into the house for a lantern, and to see if his father had returned upon which Joe Ferris laughed all to himself and advised the younger Smith to be sure and oring the old man, if he was to be found.

"Hallo!" cried Bill Hodges; " the grana ry door is open! the thief has broke out!" Increase came back, filled with consternation. Joe Ferris was not less surprised.-The strange events of the night were involved in a deeper mystery than ever, when the

elder Smith, having heard the approach of Increase and his companions, made his apmerease and his companions, made his appearance with a light.

"Hallo, neighbor!" cried Joe Ferris,

"what is all this bout? Increase has been telling us about theyes."

"Leclarc; father," said the younger

Smith, "after you shut me up I shut up : real thief, and left him in my place." "I know; your mother has told me;" plied the elder Smith. "And when I came

o let you out-" "Oh! I see it all! groaned Increase,-

'He got away !"
"Yes, and shut me up."

"And how did you get out?"
"Why, the thief's wife had the kindness to come and break the lock."
So saying, the elder Smith held the lantern up to the face of Ferris, who turned ghastly white, and trembled as if he had

been in an ague fit. The whole affair was now explained, to the astonishment of everybody in general, and Joe in particular, who was too much astonished to make any resistance, while Increase and his companions were tying his hands behind him.
Ferris was accommodated with lodgings

in Mr. Smith's blouse that night; and, on the following day, a search having been instituted, and all kinds of goods found on Joe's premises, he and is wife were both commited to juil to await their trial.

What their sentence was, when convicted of the crime charged against them, I have quite forgotten; but it is certain that the good people of Smithville were troubled no more with the mysterious disappearance of their goods and chattels, and that the Smiths remember, with peculiar satisfaction, the manifold mistakes committed on the night of their adventures with the robbers.

It is a good thing to rear a crop which shall neg you \$500 or a \$1,000 a year; but it is a better thing to rear a crop And away he ran.

Now, if the younger Smith thought he was regaling Mrs. Ferris with glad tidings, he was considerably in error. The feader may guess the cause of her sgitation, when l inform him that there was no Joe Ferris and all your soul, that old brutal notion that a farmer must needs be uncouth, and un-But Mrs. F. was a woman of energy and kempt, and unsocial, and ignorant. There

EXTRACT From the Speech of Senator Douglas, on the

Mr. President. In the course of the debate on this bill, before I was compelled to absent myself from the Senate on account of sickness, and I presume the same has been the opposition then, as I do now, upon the ground that it was a violation; of the fundamental principles of government, a violation of popular sovereignty, a violation of the Democratic platform, a violation of all party platforms, and a fatal blow to the independence of the new states. I told you then that you had no more right to force a free-State Constitution upon a people against their will than you had to force a slave State Constitution, Will gentlemen say that, on the other side, slavery has no influence in producing that united. almost unanimous support, which we find from gentleman living in one section of the Union in favor of the Lecompton Constitution? If slavery had nothing to do with it, would there have been so much hesitation about Mr. Calboun's declaring the result of the election prior to the vote in Congress? I subjuit, then, whether we ought not to discard the slavery question altogether, and apexpose her." Mrs. Smith recovered from her proach the real question before us fairly, calmly, dispassionately, and decide whether, but for the slavery clause, this Lecompton Constitution could receive a vote in either House of Congress: Were it not for the slavery clause, would there be any objection to sending it back to the people for a vote? Were it not for the slavery clause would there be any objection to letting Kansas wait until she had ninety thousand people, instead of coming into the Union with not over fortyfive or fifty thousand ? Were it not for the slavery question, would Kansas have occupied any considerable portion of our thoughts? and saw three men going by.

"Joe Ferris, is that you?" cried the voice all parties so as to create bitter and acrimo-The elder Smith turned on his heel and of the younger Smith. "Come on, if you mous feeling? I say now to our Southern vanished, feeling very weak-probably the dre ready. I've got Bill Hodges and Mr. friends, that I will act on this question on selves, irrespective of the fact whether they

> and with honest reforms. In this connection there is another topic to which I desire to allude. I seldom refer to the course of new spapers, or notice the artieles which they publish in regard to myself; but the course of the Washington Union has been so extraordinary for the last two or three months, that I think it well enough to make some allusion to it. It has read me out of the Democratic party every other day, at least, for two on three months, and keeps reading me out, [laughter;] and, as if it had not succeeded, still continues to read me out, using such terms as "traitor," "renegade, 'deserter," and other kind and polite epithets of that nature. Sir, I have no vindication to make of my Democracy against the Washington Union, or any other newspaper, am willing to allow my history and action for the last twenty years to speak for themselves as to my political principles, and my fidelity to political obligations. The Washington Union has a personal grievance. When its editor was nominated for public orinter I declined to vote for him, and stated that at some time I might give my reasons for doing so. Since I declined to give that vote, this scurrilous abuse, these vindictive and constant attacks have been repeated almost daily on me. There is one article in an issue of that paper which I ask my friend from Michigan to read.

Mr. Stuart then read an editorial article rom the Washington Union of November

17, 1857. Mr. Douglas. Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly by the Washington Union, editorially and apparently authoritatively, and every man who questions any of them is denounced as an Abolitionist, a Free Soiler, a fanatic. The propositions are, first, that the primary object of all government at its original inst tution is the protection of person and property; second, that the Constitution of the United States declares that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and that, therefore, thirdly; all State laws, whether organic or otherwise, ed population.

School prohibit the citizens of one State from Second, That while negroes are not citiwhich prohibit the citizens of one State from settling in another with their slave property, and especially declaring it forfeited, are direct violations of the original intention of the should enjoy all the rights, privileges and im-Government and Constitution of the United munities which they are capable of exercising States; and fourth that the emancipation of consistent with the safety and welfare of the the slaves of the Northern States was a gross | community where they live. outrage on the rights of property, inasmuch

Remember that this article was published the Union on the 17th of November, and on the 18th appeared the first article giving the adhesion of the Union to the Lecompton Constitution. It was in these words:

"KANSAS AND HER CONSTITUTION .- The rexed question is settled. The problem is solved. The dread point of danger is passed All serious trouble to Kansas affairs is over and gone"

and a column nearly of the same sort. Then when you come to look into the Lecompton Constitution, you find the same doctrine incorporated in it which was put forth editorially in the Union. What is it?

"Article 7. Section 1. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave, and increase it the same, are as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever." Then in the schedule is a provision that

the Constitution may be amended after 1864 by a two-thirds vote. slaves,"

It will be seen by these clauses in the Le | we chose in Illmois to prohibit slavery, it is | Cabinet, not to the Administration. The man is branded as a Free Soiler and Abolito form and regulate its domestic institutions eignty of Virginia may authorize its existit that you have to recognize and protect it. Each State is sovereign within its own sphere of powers, sovereign in respect to its own domestic and local institutions and internal concerns. So long as you regulate your local institutions to suit yourselves, we are content, but when you claim the right to override our laws and our Constitution, and deny our I protest against it. The same doctrine is asserted in this Lecompton Constitution. There

slaves is "before and higher than any consti-Mr. President, I recognize the right of the slaveholding States to regulate their local inunder their own State laws, and I am prepared to perform each and every one of my obligations under the Constitution of the United States in respect to them ! but I do not admit, and I do not think they are safe in ass higher than and above constitutional obligations, is independent of constitutional obligations. When you rely upon the Constitution and upon your own laws you are safe.-

stitution, becomes the law.

When I saw that article in the Union of State has a right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a fatal blow being struck at the sovereignty of the States subversive of the Democratic platform and of the principles upon which the Democratic party have ever stood, and upon which I trust hey ever will stand. Because of these exraordinary doctrines, I declined to vote for the editor of the Washington Union for public printer; and for that refusal, as I suppose, I have been read out of the party, by the editor of the Union, at least every other day from that time to this. Sir, I submit the sanction it, who does not vote to bring Kanoppressions we thought intolerable, an Adparty and the Democratic platform-he who stands by the sovereign rights of the States to establish, abolish, and prohibit slavery as it pleases, or he who attempts to strike down the sovereignty of the States, and combine all power in one central Goverument, and establish an empire instead of

The principles upon which the Presidential campaign of 1856 was fought, on which the present Chief Magistrate was brought to the atives. How, then, came it to be a party high position he now occupies, are well known to the country. At least in Illinois, I think its creed at its last national convention. am authorized to state what they were with clearness and precision, so far as the slavery cording to the rules and practices of the parquestion is concerned. The Democracy of ty. Who has interpolated this Lecompton the King or the Queen. There the repre-Illinois are prepared to stand on the platform upon which the battle of 1856 was fought .-

It was: First, The migration or importation of negroes into the country having been prohibited since 1808-never again to be renewed

zens of the United States and hence not entitled to political equality with whites, they

Third, That each State and Territory must as it was involuntarily done on the part of judge and determine for itself of the nature to make it so was put at defiance, and the and extent of these rights and privileges. Fourth, That while each free State should and will maintain and protect all the rights down by an overwhelming majority. Is the traitors, But it is said a dispensation is of the slaveholding States, they will, each for Pacific Railroad bill a party measure? I granted, from the fountain of all power, for itself, maintain and defend its sovereign right should like to see whether the guillotine is to rebellion on all subjects but one. The Presway, subject only to the Constitution of the rupt law a party measure? We shall see, ton. On what principle is it that we must

> Fifth. That, in the language of Mr. Buchanan's letter of acceptance of the Presidential nomination, the Nebraska-Kansas act does no more than give the form of law to this eler slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits. These were the general propositions on

ery question—the right of each State to de stitution?

rom the Speech of Senator Douglas, on the compton Constitution, that they are identical our right, and you must not interfere with it. Convention in Kansas did not send it to the Administration, did not authorize it to be 1858.

Washington Union of the day previous to its endorsement of this Constitution, and every extend them, but she must not attempt to sent to Congress; and the President of the tionist who does not subscribe to them. The State take care of its own affairs, mind its commission of the surveyor-general, who was proposition is advanced that the emancipation own business, and let its neighbors alone, then also president of the Lecompton Convention. acts of New York, of New England, of Pennthere will be peace in the country. When The Constitution as made was ordered to be case during my absence, much was said on sylvania, and of New Jersey, were unconstituted by the congress of the peace of the congress of the c the slavery question in connection with the admission of Kansas. Many gentleman have labored to produce the impression that the labored to produce the impression that the of the United States. The proposition is ad-Now, Mr. Smith who was within, was extended to produce the impression that the of the United States. The proposition is addressed in the condingly astonished at what he heard. He whole opposition to the admission arises out vanced that a Southern man has a right to that there will be resistance to the demand. certainly wished to be let out, but he had no of the fact that the Lecompton Constitution move from South Carolina, with his negroes, Our Government was not formed on the idea President or by the Administration. It is desire to have the padlock smashed without makes Kansas a Slave State. I am sure that into Illinois, to settle there, and hold them that there was to be uniformity of local laws the last measure on earth that could be rightboots, and ran first to Deacon Naffles' house, first trying other means. Something like the no gentleman here will do me the injustice to there as slaves, anything in the Constitutions. It was founded upon the fully made an Administration measure. It assert or suppose that my opposition is pred- and laws of Illinois to the contrary, notwith supposition that there must be diversity and is not usual for the Constitution of a new who was courting Nafflest daughter. He was surprised to see the house all dark, as if the Naffless had all retired to rest, and blown the voice was marvelously like a woman's. Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution the citizen of a free State cannot himself have. was made on the 9th of December, two We prohibit ourselves from holding slaves Hampshire would be ill adapted to the rice the Convention of Minnesota directed it to be weeks before the vote was taken upon the slavery clause in Kansas, and when the gendoctrine, a citizen of Kentucky can move insaw that the institutions which would be well as without any recommendation. Because eral impression was that the pro-slavery to our State, bring in one hundred slaves adapted to the mountains and valleys of Penn-clause would be excluded. I predicated my with him, and hold them as such in defiance sylvania would not suit the plantation interwith him, and hold them as such in defiance sylvania would not suit the plantation interof the Constitution and laws of our own State. ests of Virginia. They foresaw that the great If that proposition is true, the creed of the diversity of climate, of production, of interDemocratic party is false. The principle of ests, would require a corresponding diversity on which the Administration are not required the Kansas Nebraska bill is, that "each State of local laws and local institutions. For this to act at all, a system of proscription, of perand each Territory shall be left perfectly free reason, they provided for thirteen separate States, each with a separate Legislature, and in its own way, subject only to the Constitu-tion of the United States." I claim that III- with the right to make its local laws and loeach State sovereign within its own sphere, inois has the sovereign right to prohibit slave-ry, a right as undeniable as that the sover-tion that they would be as different and diversified as the number of States themselves. ence. We have the same right to prohibit Then the General Government was made, with a Congress having limited and specified powers, extending only to those subjects which were national and not local, which were

These were the principles on which our institutions were established. These are the principles on which the Democratic party has ever fought its battles. This attempt now toright to form our institutions to suit ourselves, establish the ductrine that a Free State has no power to prohibit slavery, that our emancipation acts are unconstitutional and void. it is stated that the right of property in that they were outrages on the rights of property, that slavery is national and not local, that it goes everywhere under the Constitu-tion of the United States, and yet is higher than the Constitution, above the Constitution, stitutions, to claim the service of their slaves beyond the reach of sovereign power, existing by virtue of that higher law proclaimed by the Senator from New Ydrk, will not be tolerated. When the doctrine of a higher law, a law above the Constitution, a law overriding the Constitution, and imposing obligaserting, that their right of property in slaves tions upon public men in defiance of the Constitution, was first proclaimed in the Senate, it was deemed moral treason in this body; but now I am read out of the party three President of the United States can change times a week by the Washington Union, for the allegiance of the Senators from the States disputing this higher law, which is embodied to himself, what becomes of the sovereignty selves, irrespective of the fact whether they decide for or against slavery, provided it be is. If this doctrine is true that slavery is the right to slave property, does not depend a Senator is to account to the Executive, and submitted to a fair vote at a fair election, higher than the Constitution, and above the upon human law nor Constitutional sanction, not to his State, whom does he represent? Constitution, it necessarily follows that a but is above and beyond and before all con- If the will of my State is one way, and the State cannot abolish it, cannot prohibit it, and stitutional sanctions and obligations! I feel will of the President is the other, am I to be the doctrine of the Washington Union, that bound, as a Senator from a sovereign State, told that I must obey the Executive and bethe emancipation laws were outrages on the to repudiate and rebuke this doctrine. I am tray my State, or else be branded as a trairights of property, and violations of the Con- bound as a Democrat, bound as an American tor to the party, and hunted down by all the

citizen, bound as a Senator claiming to represent, a sovereign State, to enter my protest, the 17th of November, followed by the glo- and the protest of my constituency, against petty office in any part of my State to have rification of the Lecompton Constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the Constitution asserting the doctrine that no Constitution asserting the doctrine that no ment, annihilated the sovereignty of the States, established a consolidated despotism with uniformity of local institutions, and that of this Union, a death-blow to State rights, uniformity being slavery, existing by Divine right, and a higher law beyond the reach of gresses, what is the use of Senates and Housthe Constitution and of human authority. Mr. President, if my protest against this ty is to obey the Executive in disregard of interpolation into the policy of this country the wishes, rights, and honor of their constitute or the creed of the Democratic party is to uents. What despotism on earth would be bring me under the ban, I am ready to meet equal to this, if you establish the doctrine

measure. I know of but one State convention that has endorsed it. It has not been declared to be a party measure by State conventions or by national convention, or by a Senatorial caucus, or by a caucus of the democratic members of the House of Represent-That ereed is unalterable for four years, acty. Who has interpolated this Lecompton constitution into the party platform?

Oh! but we are told that it is an adminis it is a party measure? Is it the right of an -each State will take care of its own color- measures and what are not? That has been attempted heretofore, and it has failed. When | mg to the interests of his constituents. John Tyler prescribed a creed to the Whig party, his right to do so was not respected. When a certain doctrine in regard to the neutrality laws was proclaimed to be a party measure, my friends around me here considspected. When the army bill was proclaim-

ementary principle of self-government, when hests of an Administration in power? There The President says that he regrets this Conit declares the people of a Territory, like those is infinitely more plausibility in declaring stitution was not submitted to the people, of a State, shall decide for themselves whether each of the measures to which I have just all although he knows that if it had been subluded to be an Administration measure than mitted it would have been rejected. Hence in declaring the Lecompton Constitution to be the President regrets that it was not reject. such. By what right does the Administra. ed. Would he regret that it was not submitted which we maintained the canvass on the slav- tion take cognizance of the Lecompton Con- and rejected, if he did not think it was wrong?

decision. She caught up a hammer, threw a may have been an excuse for it in the old the right of property in the ownership of slaves, it is your business; and not ours, if session;" not to the President, not to the President, not to the with anybody for voting against it. He slaves, it is your business and not ours. If session," not to the President, not to the with anybody for voting against it. He

force us to do the same thing. Let each United States only got hold of it through the Senators and Representatives do not yield their judgments and their consciences, and bow in abject obedience to the requirements secution, is to be adopted against every man

> ment, and his own conscience.
>
> I do not recognize the right of the President, or his Cabinet, no matter what my respect may be for them, to tell me my duty in the Senate chamber. The President has his duties to perform under the Constitution; and he is responsible to his constituency. A Senator has his duties to perform here under the Constitution and according to his oath; and he is responsible to the sovereign State which he represents as his constituency. A member of the House of Representatives has his duties under the Constitution and his oath; and he is responsible to the people that electhim. The President has no more right to prescribe tests to Senators than Senators have to the President; the President has no more right to prescribe tests to the Representa-. tives than the Representatives have to the President. Suppose we here should attempt to prescribe a test of faith to the President of the United States; would he not rebuke our impertinence and impudence as subversive of the fundamental principle of the Constitution? Would he not tell us that the Constitution and his coath and his conscience were his guide; that we must perform our duties, and he would perform his, and let each be responsible to his own constituency?

Sit, whenever the time comes that the

who maintains his self-respect, his own judg-

newspapers that share the patronage of the Government, and every man who holds a the question put to him, "Are you Douglas's enemy?" if not, "your head comes off."-Why? "Because he is a recreant Senator; because he chooses to follow his judgment and his conscience, and represent his State instead of obeying my Executive behest."-I should like to know what is the use of Cones of Representatives, when their highest duthe issue. I am told that this Lecompton that the Executive has a right to command sas into the Union with the Government unoppressions we thought intolerable, an Adthat Constitution. Sir, who made it a party ministration is hurled from power in an hour test? Who made it a party measure? Cer- when voted down by the representatives of tainly the party has not assembled in conventine people upon a Government measure. If tion to ordain any such thing to be a party the rule of old England applied here, this Cabinet would have gone out of office when the army bill was voted down, the other day, in the House of Representatives. There, in that monarchical country, where they have a Queen by divine right, and lords by the grace of God, and where republicanism is supposed to have but a slight toothold, the representatives of the people can check the Throne, restrain the Government, change the Ministry, and give a new direction to the policy of the sentatives of the people are responsible to their constituents. Across the channel, untration measure. Because it is an administ tration measure, does it therefore follow that yet I doubt whether it would be so boldly proclaimed there that a man is a traitor for administration to declare what are party daring to vote according to his sense of duty -according to the will of his State-according

Suppose the Executive should tell the Senator from Calitornia [Mr. Gwin] to vote against his Pacific Railroad bill: would he obey? If not, he will be deemed a rebel. Suppose the Executive should tell the Senaered it a "grave error," and it was not re. tor from Virginia [Mr. Mason] to vote for ed an administration measure, the authority Georgia [Mr. Toombs] to vote for the army: bill, or the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Senate rejected it by a vote of four to one, Brown] to sustain him on the neutrality and the House of Representatives voted it laws: we should have more rebels and more within its own limits, to form and regulate be applied to every recreant renegade who ident says, in effect, "Do as you please on their own domestic institutions in their own does not come up to that test. Is the bank. all questions but one;" that one is Lecompwhen the vote is taken, how many renegades not judge for ourselves on this measure, and there will be then. Was the loan bill an ad- may on every thing else? I suppose it is ministration measure, or a party measure? on the old adage that a man needs no friends Is the guillotine to be applied to every one when he knows he is right, and he only wants who does not yield implicit obedience to the be- his friends to stand by him when he is wrong. And yet he demands our assistance in forccide for itself; that a negro should have such The Constitution of the United States says ing it on unwilling people, and threatens rights as he was capable of enjoying, and that new States may be admitted into the vengennes on all who refuse obedience. He could enjoy, consistently with the safety and Union by the Congress;" not by the Presi- recommends the army bill; he thinks it welfare of society; and that each State should dent, not by the Cabinet, not by the Admin- necessary to carry on the Mormon war; it decide for itself the nature and extent and de istration. The Lecompton Constitution itself is necessary to carry out a measure of the "But no alteration shall be made to affect scription of those rights and privileges Hence, says, "this Constitution shall be submitted to Administration, and hence it is an Adminis-