Political.

Speech of Hon. Galusha A. Grew. of PENNSYDVANIA.

In the House of Representatives." MARCH 5, 1856.
The House being in Committe of the whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the President's annual message,

-MYAGROW saidy by an Page a select "Mr. SPIRKER "Runiors of a prospect of civil war in the Tertitory of Kansas have reached us, and filled the public mind with gloomy apprehension. The President in his annual message informed us that hin the Territory of Kansas there had been acts prejudicial to good order," but neglected to tell what these acts were; and at a later day he informed this House by special message that there had been 'acts plainly against the law.'

which now threaten the feace not only of the Territory of Kansas, but of the Union. It becomes the imperative duty of Congress, then, to inquire into the causes of this state of things, and devise if possible some means by which to divert so dire a calamity.

Congress being the aupreme legislative power for the Territories, giving them their organic law, executive and judicial officers, and prescribing the mode and manner of the exercise of all their legislative functions, it is our first duty to see that the inhabitants thereof are secure in the enloyment of all the rights and privileges guarranted to American freemen everywhere under the protection of the Republic.

The acts which the President regarded as threatening the peace not only of the Territory of Kansas, but of the Union, are summed up in a paragraph of the message:

"Person confessedly not constituting the body politic or all the inhabitants, but merely a party of the inhabitants and without law, lave undertaken to summon a convention for the purpose of transforming the Torritory into a State, and have formed a constitution, adopted it, and under it elected a fovernor and other officers, and a Representative to Congresse."

all of which he pronounces-illegal, and of revolutionary character. Sir, the doing of any or all the acts in this enumeration would be no violation of just law or constitutional right; for the people, or any part of them, of a State or Territory have a perfect right peaceably to assemble, at any time, and deposit their votes for any person they please, with such designation of office as they choose to affix; and unless they, or the person so chosen commit some overt act against the Government under which they live, they have violated no law and are amenable for no offence, any more than they would be to assemble and discuss their grievances, and petition for their redress. In Rhode Island, where there was no question as to the regularity of the existing government-for it had existed for almost two centuries-a call for a convention to form a new constitution was issued by persons confessedly not constituting the body politic, and without law, for the purpose of transforming a charter government into a State. They formed a constitution, adopted it, and under it elected a Governor and other officers, and a Representative to Congress. The members of the Legislature met, swore to support the new constitution, and the oath of office was administered to the Governor, and his message transmitted to the Legislature. None of these acts were considered as illegal by the consututed anthorities of Rhode Island; and no arrests were made till Dorr called out a military force to uphold his government.

The people of Kansas have thus far done only what was done in Rhode Island previous to an appeal of arms. Are acre that are harmless when performed in a State illegal and treasonable when performed under like circumstances in a Territory? It was not thought so by the country in the case of the admission of Michigan into the Union, where a convention of the people, called without taw, accepted certain conditions of Congress which had just been rejected by a convention of delegates assembled under authority of an act of the Legislature. But, sir, the undoubted right of the people of a Territory to call a State convention, without any act of the Territorial Legislature or of Congress, for the purpose of transforming a Territory into a State, and to elect all the officers necessary to administer such a State government, has been settled not only by the practice of the Government, but by the opinion of one of its ablest legal officers and constitutional advisers of the Presiden'. During General Jackson's Administration the Governor of the Territory of Arkansas addressed him a letter soliciting instructions for his guidance in case the people of said Territory should elect delegates to a convention without a law of the Legislature, and organize and put in operation a State government without authormy of Congress. The Governor informed the President that, unless otherwise instructed, he should feel "bound to consider and treat al. such proceedings as unlawful." The President-for General Jackson, it seems, had not adopted the "great principles of popular sovereignty," established by the compromise measures of 1850-replied through his Attorney General, B. F. Butler, on the 21st of September, 1835, that

"IP is not in the power of the Ganeral Assembly of Arkansas to pass any law for the purpose of electing members to a
convention to form a constitution and State government, nor
do any other act, directly or indirectly, to create such new
government. Every such law, even though it were approved
by the Governor of the Territory, would be null and void."

The people of a Territory have an undoubted right at any time to call a convention, frame and adopt a State convention, frame and adopt a State constitution, and elect all officers necessary to its action as an independent State, though it might be a question whether they could perform any official act as State officers until the action of Congress, though Michigan enacted laws and voted for President before she was admitted as a State into the Union. But the State must be formed before her admission; for it is States that are admitted, under the third section of the fourth'article of the Constitution, and not Territories. Upon this point, I read from the opinion of the Attorney General, in the Ark-

ansas case : "This provision implies that the new State shall have been constituted by the settlement of a constitution or frame of Government, and by the appointment of those official agents which a cludispensable to its action as a State, and especially to its action as a member of the Union, prior to its admission into the Union. In accordance with this implication, every State received into the Union since the adoption of the Federal Constitution has been actually organized prior to such admission."

Now, I desire to call particular attention to the part of this opinion which applies directly to the people of Kansas; and had it been

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COBB. STURROCK & CO., "THE AGITATION OF THOUGHT IS THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM."

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"They undoubtedly possess the ordinary privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States. Among these is the right of the people," possessibly to assemble and to petition the government for the redress of grievances." In the experies of this right the people of Arkansas may peaceably meet to gether in primary passembly, or genventions, chosen by sinch assembles, for the purpose of petitioning Congress to abrogate the territorial government, and to admit them into the Union as an independent State. The particular form, which they may give to their petition cannot be material so long as they conding themselves to the mare right of petitioning and conduct oil their proceedings in a peaceable manner.—And as the power of Congress over the whole subject is plearly and unlimited; they may accept any constitution, however framed, which in their judgment meets the sense of the pople to be affected by it. If therefore, the citizens of Arkansas think proper to accompany their petition by a written constitution, framed and agreed on by their primary assemblies, or by a convention of delegates choses, by such assembles, or precive on legal objection to their power to do so."

But it may be said that this doctrine will

But it may be said that this doctrine will not apply to Kansas, for there is "merely a part of the inhabitants" who called the convention. In all cases the call, in the first instance, must be by a part of the people; for it would be almost an impossibility to get the signatures of all the inhabitants of a Territory. The call issued for a State convention in Kansas was in this form:

"To the Legal Voters of Kansas;

"Typerass that territorial government as now constituted for Kansas has proved a failure—aquatter sovereignty under its workings a miserable delusion, in proof of which it is only necessary to refer to our past history and our present depleable condition: our ballot-boths have been taken possession of by a bland of armed men from foseign States; our people forcibly driven therefrom; persons attempted to be folsted upon us as members of a so-called Legislature, unequainted with our wants and hostile to our best interests—some of them never residents of our Territory; misnamed laws passed; and now attempted to be inforced by the aid of citizens of foreign States, of the most oppressive, tyrannical, and insulting character; the right of suffrage taken from us; debarred from the privilege of a volce in the viction of even the most insignificant officers; the right of free speech stifled; the mutualing of the press attempted: And whereas longer for bearance with such oppression and tyranny has ceased to be a virtue; and whereas the people of this country have heretofore axircised the right of changing their form of government when it became oppressive, and have, at all times, conceded this right to the people; and whereas a territorial form of government is unknown to the Constitution, and is the einerenature of necessity awaiting the action of the people; and whereas the debaying character of the slavery which now involves us impels to action, and leavesus as the only legal and peaceful alternative, the immediate establishment of a Rate government and whereas the organic act fails in pointing out the course o be adopted in an emergency like offers: Therefore you are requested to meet at your several precints in said Territory hereinafter mentioned, on the second Tresday of October next, 4thoing the right of said month, and then and there cast your ballots for members of a convention, to meet at Typeks on the foorth Tuesday in October next, to form a constitution, whop a bull of righ "To the Legal Voters of Kansas;

Under it all the legal voters of the Terriory could participate; and who shall say that a majority of them did not? The faci that it was necessary for the pro-slavery party at a later day to summon armed men from Missouri, is almost conclusive evidence that a majority of the people of the Territory are in favor of the free State movement. But to give validity to the action of the people of a Territory in any act which they have a right to do, it is not necessary that they should be ununimous, any more than it is necessary, in order to give validity to a law of a State, that every voter should be in favor of it. Majorities, under our system of government, constitute the people, and their action is the action of the people.

The members of the convertion were elected at the same time and by about the same vote as the free State Delegate to Congress, and he received almost three thousand votes at a time when there was no occasion for illegal votes. Judging by the census, and the other elections held in the Territory, that would be a majority of the legal voters. If the proceedings for a State convention were of speech, freedom of the press, and the inparticipated in by a party only, how did it alienable rights of men, and enacted into law happen that the delegates did not all hold one a despotism as galling, if not as odious, as sentiment on the all absorbing question before them-that of slavery? . Many of the of freemen are trampled under foot, while delegates in that convention were never sus- the right to slave property is shielded and pected of being Abolitionists or Free-Soilers bufore they went to the Territory, and some of them were well known to the country as prentice to run away from his master is a earnest advocates of the Kansas-Nebraska

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

The President has failed, though devoting an entire message to Kansas; to give us any information as to the mode or manner in which that election was conducted, but seemed more anxious to discuss questions involved in the contested seat of a Delegate on this floor, for such an offense under the laws of Kansas and to show, if possible, inconsistencies of conduct in one of the officials whom he had appointed to office in that Territory. We sisting in persuading a slave to abtain his are, therefore, left to rely on the history of freedom. those transactions as they have reached us through the press and by private correspondence. But that election was a fraud and the Legislature a usurpation imposed upon the actual settlers of Kansas, is as well established as that there was an election held; for we have no different or better means of information of the one than of the other. . . .

The census of the Territory was taken in February, and the election was in the following March. By the census there were but about three thousand legal voters. Yet, at the election about six thousand votés were. polled, while a large number of residents did not vote, owing to the threatened violence of the election; and every member elected to the Legislature at that time, save one, belonged to the pro-slayery party. Is it to be supposed that, at a fair election in that Ter, around the rights of freemen, compared with ritory, but one free State man would be elected to the Legislature out of thirty-nine members, and that he should he in the district furthest removed from Missouri? But passing by the election for members of the Legislature, I

promise. Without inquiring into the validity of that Legislature on account of the mode of its election; or by reason of its changing the seat of government to Shawnee Massion, the legislation itself is a sufficient justification ion the free State men of Kansas to appeal, in the mode they have adopted, to Congress, to secure to them their rights and privileges.

This Legislature, imposed upon Kansas by non-residents, has distranchised a large class of its citizens, and deprived them of the right. of holding office, or of practicing as attornevs-at-law in the courts, by imposing, as a condition, unwarranted oaths to support parucular laws of Congress or of the Legislature, thereby destroying freedom of opinion and the right of private judgment as to the constitutionality of the laws of the country, which is the birthright of an American citizen. t

Mr. Smith, of Virginia. Quote the acts. Mr. Grow. That is what I propose to do. The voter if required must swear, in addition to other things, to sustain the fugitive slave law before he can vote-an unheard of requisition, to require a voter anywhere under our form of government to swear to support any particular law as a condition to vote; for in most cases the very object of his going to the polls is to secure the repeal, or modification of such laws as he considers unconstitutional er unjust. And every person elected or appointed to office in the Territory must take the same oath. To be admitted to practice as attorney in the courts the applicant must swear to "support and sustain the provisions of an act entitled an act to organize the Territuries of Nebraska and Kansas, and the provisions of an act commonly known as the fugitive slave law,?' and to which I understand the court has added all the laws of the Territorial Legislature.

The Legislature has appointed or provided for the appointment of all officers not already appointed by the General Government, for terms of from two to five years, including sheriffs, constables, justices of the peace, county commissioners, and election boards. So that there is not an officer in the Territo. ry of Kansas to day, of any kind or description, civil, military, or judicial, except the thirteen members of the council, who hold their offices for two years, in the selection of which, the people of the Territory have had any voice, nor can they have under present regulations till the fall of 1857. 'The Legislature has prolonged its own existence by legislative act till the 1st of January, 1858, so there can be no change in the laws till after that time. This is the popular sovereignty that leaves the people "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way." And under these circumstances the people of Kansas are assured by the President that "the constitutional means of relieving the people of unjust administration and laws by a change of public agents and by repeal are ample."

But, in addition to invading the right of ers, the Legislature has struck down freedom protected by the highest sanctions of the law. The penalty for advising or assisting an apfine of not less than \$20, nor more than bill and of all the measures of this adminis- 8500; but for enticing or carrying away a slave, death, or ten years' imprisonment.

For harboring or concealing an apprentice, one dollar for each day's concealment; but for harboring or concealing a slave, not less than five years' imprisonment at hard labor.

For advising or persuading an apprentice to rebel against or assault his master, not less than \$20, nor more than \$500 : but for advising or persuading a slave to rebel,

Kidnapping a free man and selling him into slavery, an offense that should receive the severest punishment known to the criminal calendar, unless it be for taking lifeand I know not as that should be excepted; for what graver offense against the laws of a civilized community could be committed, than to seize a peaceable citizen reposing upon its protection, and place upon him the chain and the manacle, and then consign him to hopeless bondage-yet the penalty is not to exceed ten years' imprisonment; while death is the penalty for aiding or as-

For decoying and carrying away a child under twelve years of age, in order to detain or conceal it from its parents, imprisonment not to exceed five years, or six months in county jail, or fine of \$500, at the discretion of the coirt. Even the innocence and helplessness of childhood finds less projection under the sanction of these laws than is given to the fight of property claimed in the souls and bodies of mer.

A. MEMBER. They do not sell the souls. Mr. GROW. Can it be separated at the auction block? Does it not go with the body in this world's pilgrimage, till it passes the dark valley? Mr. Chairman, I have contrasted some of these laws for the purpose of showing what kind of protection is thrown that given to a particular species of property.

General Stringfellow, in a letter to the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, uses this language as to the character of the laws of the territory in reference to slavery :-

Not content with enacting laws more efficient to protect slave property than any State in the Union, they attempt to stifle freedom of speech and of the press by enacting that-

Such are some of the laws of the Territory of Kansas which the President has announced must be enforced at the point of the bayonet, if necessary. The first gun fired by the armies of the Republic in such a cause would be but the echo of the British musket. ry in the streets of Boston on the 19th of April, 1775, and its flash would light a flame, gress to transmit "one copy of the laws and that the fleods of the father of waters could not extinguish.

Should a despot of the Old World issue an edict that any of his subjects who should declare that he had not a divine right to rule to the President, and copies of the laws to to imprison and to kill, should be incarcera- the Senate and House of Representatives, to ted in the dungeons, and that any one should be deposited in the libraries of Congress, has be incompetent to try the accused unless he neglected entirely to send the laws to Conbelieved in the divine rights of kings, would gress, or to furnish the President with the not an execution go up from the heart of executive proceedings. If so, the President civilization deep and bitter as the wailings of the damned; and his name would head the answer to their call for them, and has not infamous roll of the world's Neros, Gesslers, answered a call made by this House more and Haynaus; yet in the heart of the Re- than three weeks since. So I take it for public American citizens are to-day required | granted that they have not been furnished by to submit to an enactment in the form of law not less odious. , .

It is to free themselves from such wrongs, and that they may enjoy the common rights of American freemen, that the people of Kapsus have peaceably assembled and formed a constitution, in order to petition Congress cials of the Territory is passed by unnoticed for a redress of grievances.

The President informed us, in his special message, that associations were formed in some of the States to promote emigration to Kansas, which "awakened emotions of intense indignation in States near to the Territory of Kansas, and especially in the adjoining State of Missouri." Why this in than otherwise-that I did not understand dignation at any effort to furnish settlers of ness? For the first time in the history of settlement of new States excited indignation those laws and arguing upon them. I thought anywhere. But the prayer of the patriot and the philanthropiat has ever followed the Mr. GROW. I suppose, then, Mr. Chair hardy pioneer, as he went forth to subdue the forest and convert the lair of the wife beast into a home for civilized man.

But the reason assigned for the special indignation of the people of Missouri, is, that their "domestic peace was the most directly endangered." Sir, how could the domestic peace of any section of this Union be endenthe homes of civilized men? a Though the President failed to give us that information. General Atchison has, in a letter to the Atianta (Georgia) Examiner, dated Platte City, December 15, 1855 :-

"Kansas and Missouri have the same latitude, climate and soil, and should have:the same institutions. The peace and prosperity of both depend upon it. Kansas must have traited institutions, or Missouri must have free institutions—hence the interest the "border rufflans" take in Kansas office.

hence the interest the border ruffians" take in Kansas affairs.

"If the settlement of Kansas had been left to the laws which govern emigration, it would have been selate Territory as certainly as Missouri is a slave State; but insamuch as those laws have been violated and perverted by the force of money, and a powerful organization in the North and East, it becomes the South "to be up and doing," and to send in a population to counteract the North.

"Let your young men come forth to Missouri and Kansasi Let them come seell armed, with money enough to support them for twelve months, and determined to see this thing out: One hundred true men will be an acquisition.—The more the better. I do not see how we are to avoid civil war: come it will. Twelve months will not elapse before war—civil war of the fercest kind—will be upon us. We are arming and preparing fer it. Indeed, we of the border counties are prepared. We must have the support of the South. We are faifning the bottlet of the South. Our institutions are at stake. You far southern men are now out of the naive of the war, but, if we fail, it will reach your own doors, perhaps your hearths. We want men, armed men. We want may come from a distance."

Is the domestic peace of Missouri endan-

Is the domestic peace of Missouri endangered, then, by an effort to make Kansas a free State? Are the institutions of Missouri and the South staked on the issue whether a free State shall join a slave State on the west? Then the only vital question in the politics of the day is freedom or slavery to Kansas; for its destiny is to shape and control that of all the territory west of it to the Pacific. For, with slavery established in Kansas, its institutions, as well as those of the South, will be just as insecure with a free State on its western border as would be Missouri with Kansas free. The moving and demolish it and the process, and demolish it and the process, and demolish it and the process, and demolish it and the process are a second designed to dishard their forces, triction on slavery in this vast territory, once consecrated to freedom, was to plant upon its virgin soil the institutions of human bondage, so that the domestic peace of the south. ern States might not be endangered.

The repeal of the Missouri compromise was, from its inception, a conspiracy against freedom. The moving cause that abrogated to burn its houses, and drive out its citizens this time-honored restriction was to secure the introduction and establishment of slavery, so as to prevent, if possible, a free State bordering a slave State on the west. For easily to make its conquest.

Why was Kansas intrenched and hemmed in entirely by the State of Missouri, and restricted to a small area compared with Nebraska, with an imaginary line for its northern boundary, when the Platte river, a few miles further north, was the great natural written expressly for their case, it could not desire to call attention to their official acts, for have been more applicable. In defining the these are the first fruits of popular savereignty, rights of the citizens of Arkansas, he says; catablished by the repeal of the Missouti com: posite lows, so that freemen could reach the for its own advantages. Hence the innova-

only is it prontable for slaveholders to go to Kansas; but po Territory without the necessity of passing through a slave State? Why was the clause always before inserted in every territorial bill since the formation of the Government, requiring the laws of the Territory to be the supervision of Congress, omitted in this?-Then, when, the time comes for electing the Legislature;" which is, of course, to give shape, by its action, to the institutions of the infant State, it is secured to slavery by an invasion, of non-residents, and then follows the legislation to which I have referred; a series of acis, all pointing, from the first, to the consumation of one object—the fulfillment of the prophecy of General Atchison, made in the Senate of the United States, that if the Missouri compromise was repealed Kansas would be a slave State. And he has insisted upon that opinion from that day to

> In addition to all this, the secretary of the Territory, who is required by act of Conjournals of the Legislative Assembly within thirty days after the end of each session. and one copy of the executive proceedings and official correspondence semi-annually, has not transmitted them to the Senate, to the secretary of the Territory, as required by law: So, no information of the doings of the Territory reaches us officially till a late day, and then we are furnished only such part as the officials choose to give. -But his neglect on the part of one of the offiby the President, while he removes other officers for alleged dereliction of duty. Now, if the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Smith] wishes it, I will yield to him.

Mr. SMITH, of Virginia. I do not desire to interrupt the gentleman at this point; I merely made the remark-rather sub rosa why the gentleman should complain of the sis of national greatness and glory destroyed the Territory, and thus to people the wilder secretary of the Territory for failing to put the House and the country in possession of the country has any effort to facilitate the the territorial laws when I found him using on Virginia, hes given to the world its influ-

man, that it would not be necessary for the omcials of the Government to do their official duty because the information they might communicate could obtain in some other way. I take it for granted that, when the organic law requires an officer of the Territory to do a certain duty, you have a right to complain if he fails to perform that duty, even through gered by building up new States in the wil- you may obtain the information by some other means.

But to return from the digression into which I have been drawn by the gentleman's remark.

It seems, that but one object has actuated this whole movement, from the inception of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and that has been to supplant free labor and free institutions, in order to establish slavery on the soil of Kanana.

Why are men brought there face to face with the bayonet in their hands and deadly hostility in their hearts? Governor Shanuon, in his dispatch to the President, giving an account of the troubles at Lawrence, says

"The excitement increased and spread, not only through-out this whole Territory, but was worked up to the utmost point of intensity in the whole of the upper portion of Mis-sourt. Armed men were seen rushing from all quarters towards Lawrence, some to defend the place and others to

"Men rush with arms to demolish it !"-From where? The State of Missouri.-What interest has Missouri in enforcing the laws of Kansas more than the State of Ohio, or Virginia! General Atchison tells us :-Slave institutions for Kansas or free institutions for Missouri. Slavery in Kunsas secures slavery forever in Missouri. This is the motive which brings from Missouri men to preserve law and order in Kansas. From the description in another part of this letter, the "law and order" that such men would preserve is like the protection the wolf would give the lamb. In another part of the despatch he says:

"I found in the camp at Wakarusa a deep and settled feeling of hostifity against the opposing forces in Lawrence, and apparently a fixed determination to attack this place and demolish it and the presses, and take possession of their

would have been to let loose this large body of mon, who would have been left without control to follow the impulse of their feelings, which evidently was to attack and disarm the people of Laurence."

Those are the men who go forth to enforce law and order, and to preserve peace and quiet in one of the Territories of the Union. They come for what? To demolish a town, from their homes at the point of the bayonet.

Why is Missouri fighting the battle of the South; and how are her institutions at stake in the issue of slavery or freedom in Kanbut one Territory was needed for all pur- sas? The capital invested in any one kind poses of fair settlement; and such was the of property has always a common interest, form of the hill first introduced. Yet it was and is moved by a common motive. The afterwards divided without any apparent rea- three million slaves in the South, an average son, unless it was to enable slavery the more price of \$500 each, makes a capital of \$1,-500,000,000. But, in addition, it is the same interest that owns the landed and personal property; so that the moneyed interest of the South that acts together by a common sympathy probably exceeds \$4,000,000,000. Whatever, then, tends to enhance the market value of the slave moves this mighty inboundary that should have divided the two, terest with a common impulse. A moneyed interest in any country always struggles to seize upon its Government, and to wield it

tions on the early and well-established policy of the Government in restricting slavery

where it had not an actual existence.

figure the efforts now maring to overturn
the settled decisions of the courts, and to mationalize the institution of slavery under the new doctrine, that the Constitution carries it wherever its jurisdiction extends unless there be local law to prevent it.

The Democracy of the country, in the days of its glory and triumph, resisted the attempt of the moneyed interest of the couniry, invested in banking, to seize upon this Government to use it for its own purposes, They also resisted the attempt of the money. ed interest engaged in manufacturing to use this Government for its purposes. And yet here is a united concentrated moneyed interest-compared to which either of those was: but a drop in the bucket to the ocean-endeavoring to use this Government for the promotion of its interests and the advance. ment of its ends. Now, sir, it is to resist any such attempt, on the part of the money. ed interest invested in slaves, that the people whom I represent resist all attempts to plant slavery in Kansas.

Regarding it; as did the fathers of the Republic, as a social and political evil, that retards the growth and development of a country by degrading its labor, they believe it to be the duty of Congress to do in reference to the territories what Madison desired it to do more than half a century ago in reference to the foreign slave trade. In urging its abolition he says:

The dictates of humanity, the principles of the people, the astional safety and happiness, and prudent policy require is of us

"It is to be hoped that, by expressing u national disapproballon of this trada, we may destroy it and save ourselves from reproaches and our posterity the imbedility over attending a country filled with slaves."

And here, sir, I desire to read an extract from a speech of mine in the last Congress on the Nebraska bill:

"But it is said that these Territories are common property and that all the citizens of the United States have common rights in them; and that, therefore, no citizen can be excluded from emigrating to them without injustice and degradation. proposes to exclude any person from emigrating and settling on the public domain. The territory, it is true, is the property of the whole people, but by the Federal Constitution they agreed to put it under a supervisory power. That power is Congress; Congress is made a board of direction over this trust wind to make it is not believed the conditions. fund, to use it in such way as, in their sound discre-tion will be most advantageous to the trust, and will best accomplish the object of its creation, the pro-motion of the roal and permanent interests of the

If, then, this Government should see that the territoties are used such way as best to promote the para mount interest of the country, to develop its 'physical strength and the mental resources of its people, free labor can accomplish it better than slave. For slavery, wherever it goes, bears a sirocco before it, and leaves a waste in its track. Under slave labor, the soil, which is the means of supporting the human race, and was given by the Creator for that purpose, is impoverished and made worthless. It is then abandoned, and virgin soil taken up again to be in the same way impoverished. And thus is the baand the energies of a people palsied by degrading its labor. Mr. Jefferson in his Notes ence on society:

"With the morals of a people their industry is also destroyed; for in a warm climate no man will la-bor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. "With what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus forms those into desputs, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patrie of the other.

I trust, sir, that Jefferson, born and reared amid the influence of slavery, will not be re garded as a fanatic for his views on the institution. As for myself, I have no sentimentalities, other than those which man should ever feel for the woes and miseries of his race, on the subject of slavery as it exists in the States. If it be a good, those who have it are entitled to all its blessings; if an evil, they alone have to answer for it to their own consciences and to the public opinion of the world, and to their God. I would leave it then to the people among whom it exists to devise, in their own time and in their own way, the mode and manner of its removal. That is a problem with the solution of which I tax not my brain. It has taxed in vain the wisdom and ingenuity of some of our wisest and ablest statesmen.

When, therefore, we find an institution that once planted among a people they are unable to devise means to get rid of, even tho' they desire to do so, should we not hesitate in doing any act by which it would be fasten. ed upon a people who have it not, and who would be much better without it! Would the people of Kansas, left to their own free choice, to-day choose the institution of slavery instead of free institutions?

It is said that the bill organizing the terriiory was to leave the people to do as they please. The people of Kansas to do as they please, when there is not an officer in the territory in whose election they have had a voice, and cannot have for two years to come! The people of Kansas to do as they please, when by force you trample down heir ballot-boxes and deprive them, of the full benefit of the elective franchise! You have imposed on them a Legislature which has enacted laws striking down the dearest rights of freemen! and you call it law and order to sustain the invasion, and enforce the enactments! And after the people of Kansas have been disfranchised at the ballot-box, and have been deprived of their rights because they undertake to demand a redress of their grievances at the hands of the only body hat can give it—the Congress of the United States-armed men are to be called in to shoot them down? Are the citizens of Kansas competent to take care of themselves? If so, why import men from other States to enforce the laws? The fact that men are imported to execute the laws of the Legislature is conclusive that those laws do not meet with the approbation of a majority of the people.

Under these circumstances, what is the duty of Congress? Is it their duty to sit quietly by and behold these altercations in the territory without devising means to avoid them? Is it the duty of Congress, which embodies the sentiments of this whole Republic, to sit quietly by and allow the institution of Slavery to extend itself into territory under its exclusive jurisdiction, and which

(CONCLUDED ON FOURTH PAGE.)