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SPEECH

WM. BIGLER

of the United States, on the

at-Arms is bringing in the absenthere is no objection, I will speak to effect of the election for delegates.

a for delegates. Whilst all were not ority of the voters of the State

my and no qualification except the tion? aty-one years, was less than four- Mr. Bigler. Certainly.

Mr. Doolittle The question which I desire to put to the Senator is this: whether more voters did not reside in the counties which had no register at all than all the voters that voted for the delegates to the Le
sometimes which had no register at all than all the voters that voted for the delegates to the Le
sometimes which had no register at all than all the voter and the family of States. That can only be done to the family of States. That can only be done to the family of States are that power. Senators on the other side, weak. The Constitution must be our bond whilst claiming a large majority for the free compton convention?

Mr Bigler, Gov. Walker did substantially so state. Governor Walker made other ticle, which I cannot concur. Sir, the evidence is when there was no registry, and no qualifithe nonregistered counties.

early in the season, that at the time that reg- | the power is complete in the Legislature as | istry was made in April, before the spring it now stands. immigration could have passed to the back than from six to eight hundred votes in the liele in or with it out? to the question which the Senator propoun- had been voted out. ded; and I trust I have convinced him that gler. Mr. President, whilst the the defects in the registry could not have

make a record of a ted or not. That any other doctrine would tion. That is where he is mistaken. that the proceedings in her case voters; at the last election certain amend- as in open rebellion to the laws during nearly Territorial Legislature, without other can be countenanced—the Lecompton question of slavery. I can find no evidence thoughts for a few minutes. ing the people. Some of the con- Constitution had a more complete authority, that they did so desire; but much that they

they had been clamore a for a State the Territory should not come into of voting for delegates to make a free State, ment from the beginning. A law was the Union as a State. It was more inportant and when they daily boasted of being three or Jungly, providing for a conven- to know that what the people did was right five to one of the population, they would not gates of the people to form a con- in itself than to inquire into the way which vote. D.fferent pretexts were set up in differad State government, preparatory that right thing had been done. They had cut parts of the Territory, as I know of my was well adapted to the end in The right of the people in convention, by not vote because the laws under which this It has been 'pronounced 'right and delegates, to make and adopt a constitution, convention are to assemble are 'bogus laws." all its objects and purposes." It was conceded by even Governor Walker. This Others said, "none shall vote, because all ed mainly, after a bill which this was one of his special reasons for urging the were not registered." of Congress had passed to accomplish people to vote for delegates. I think adop- I am sorry that I do not see my friend we end. It was well designed to pro- tion by popular vote a good mode of making from Massachusetts in his seat; for as he took purity of the ballot-box, and at the a constitution. I certainly do not think it the liberty, the other day, of asking me a time to extend to each citizen a fair the only good way. It is not the way in question relating to my experience in Kantunity to exercise the high function of which the constitution of nearly all the orig- sas, he would not take it unkind if I asked ependent elector. The opportunity to inal States of this happy Confederacy were him one touching his career in that noted delegates it is not pretended was uni- made in the earlier and purer days of the country I heard it said on more occasions or unexceptionable, but it certainly Republic. My own cherished State, than than one that during that honorable Senator's considering the character of the whom there is not a happier or greater in tour in the Territory he had advised the free The registry of voters only was li- the Union, did not make her fundamental law State party in Kansas not to vote; and that tory, will dare to dispute their right to do ern States, and even poisoning the very chanreasonable complaint; but no can- in this way prior to the year 1838, when am- he also concurred in the policy of attempting in will pretend that it was so imperfect endments to that instrument were submitted to make Kansas a free State by allowing the pair the legality or authority of the to a vote of the people, and adopted by a min- pro-slavery party to elect all the dellegates to

red it will not be pretended that those I did hold, Mr. President, that the spirit the rumor be correct or not. It is not imfere had not the proper authority to of the compromises of 1850, and the organic portant to my purpose. But it is a signifia constitution; for, according to the act for this Territory, looked to the decision cant fact that the Republican, or free-State clusive authority, seven out of eight of the question of slavery by some direct ac- party, did not vote in June when the fate of egal voters were registered and had tion of the people; that there was a general slavery was involved and that in October, understanding throughout the country that when nothing was at stake but offices and a acts exhibited by the Senator from the question of slavery should not come back Delegate in Congress, they did vote-they the other day, has completely put to to Congress unaccompanied by an expression | did rush to the polls and carry the election, legation that nineteen counties had of popular will I therefore, regard the Le regardless of the humiliation implied in the fanchised -I need not repeat these compton convention as under special obliga- recognition of the "bogus laws." Then, ations to submit the question of slavery to a gain, in December following, on the direct senough to satisfy any reasonable vote of the people. But I never thought we question of whether slavery should or should lew general facts. Nine thousand outsiders had the power to dictate on even not exist in the new State of Kansas, these bired and fifty-one names were regis- that point, and there never was a time when anti-slavery men did not vote. The "bogus May; a clamor was immediately rai- I would not have said the submission of the laws" and the "bogus convention" forbid

de January election, when there was honorable Senator allow me to put a ques-

dred votes, is perfectly conclusive. Mr Doolittle, Was the slavery question

Mr. Doolittle. Let me understand the part of the Territory, there were not more Senator. Is it complete with the slavery art-

Mr. Doolittle. Well, what then?

commenced at the very Now, sir, as to the action of the conven- do not understand "this free State party in it wise to do so. wer. The people, at tion. The only objection raised worthy of Kansas, who are all the while trying to make true that the Topeka party did not of making the constitution as a reason why In June last, when they had the opportunity

make the constitution. I know not whether

back counties? In my judgment, and I "thereafter slavery shall not exist in the new extremity to the other abovt an alleged des- the Union with the Constitution, and resist | that popular sovereignty is to have unrestrahave repeatedly expressed the opinion before, State of Kansas," the institution would have those counties could not, at that time have been abolished, and there would have been abolished, and there would have been sir, within the last nine months, the party may. But, sir, it is no difficult task to discontained more than six or eight hundred vo- abolished, and there would have been com- claiming to have the absolute power, and the cover that the rejection of Kansas would claiming and having that power, can have no ters. This was the only vital point ever pre- plete authority in the Legislature to have will to do the deed, have had two opportuni- tend to the perpetuity and aggravation of this well founded objection to the remedy. Now, sented against the authority of the Lecomp- wiped out the remnant of slavery, that had ties of abolishing and forever interdicting fruitless strife about slavery—this bitter feud the power of the people of Kansas is not equal ton convention, and certainly this has been been previously planted in the Territory.

the institution; but they would not. How which is so rapidly estranging the feelings of to the abolition of slavery. Staves are now one section of our country from the other, in that Territory; slaves can go there and be now one section of our country from the other, in that Territory; slaves can go there and be now one section of our country from the other.

The institution of slavery. Staves are now one section of our country from the other, in that Territory; slaves can go there and be now one section of our country from the other. ted. The opportunity to vote was sufficient. ator, does not the schedule expressly estab- long is the country to be harrassed by the rapidly exhausting those sources of fraternal held there. - Congress cannot prevent it. -The authority of the convention was there-fore perfect, and its proceedings were regular. shall not be interfered with? complaints of men who will not avail them-selves of their prerogatives as freemen? They be a rope of sand. I believe in the cultiva-it, so long as they remain a Territory. But Mr Bigler. The property value in slaves cannot be made to vote against slavery, and tion of good feeling and affection amongst the when clothed with the sovereignty of a State, is protected. I never heard anybody even in how can they be counted against it until they people as the greatest agency in maintaining they will become equal to the task. I am

ompton convention?

Mr. Bigler Certainly not, Mr. President.

Mr. Doolittle. Did not Governor Walker of state?

Mr. Bigler Gov Walker did substantial of the Territory.

Mr. Bigler Gov Walker did substantial of the Territory.

Mr. Doolittle Governor Walker of the Intercent of the constitution in that constitution in that constitution in the tree down nonorable Senators on the other side can be winted in that constitution in that constitution in the tree down nonorable Senators on the other side can be winted in that constitution in that the constitution in that constitution in that constitution is a large in alority for the free and our guide. Let the two States of Kansas as a State—shall interdict the immigration of slaves into the demonstration of the compromitation of the demonstration of the state of the low induction in the demonstration of the state of the low in the demonstration of the state of the low in the demonstration of the state of the low in the demonstration of the state of the low in the demonstration of the state of the low in the demonstration of the state of the low in the demonstration of the state of the low in the demonstration of the state of the low in the demonstration of the state of the low in the demonstration of the state of the low in the demonstration o held in bondage in the Territory.

Mr, Doolittle. That is in the slavery ar
have claimed admission for Kansas on the cratic faith. This will be wiser than the perto abolish slavery They object, and yet atstatements in reference to this question in Mr. Bigler. But they can, by making rial or congressional, and in derogation of the other. But if Kansas be rejected, what the peculiar friends of a free State. That is compensation, emancipate the slaves. The fine authority of the United States. It was will be the truth of history on the subject ?- much after the plan that their friends in Kanconclusive against the objection presented by Legislature has that power, The Senator conceived in avowed rebellion, and prosecu- Will it be that the State was refused because sas have used to abolish slavery. They would the Senator from Wisconsin. In January, from Virginia, on Friday last, in his able ted in menace of the Federal authority. Nor the mode of getting it up was not satisfactory always vote when they could not vote against and eloquent speech, pointed cut clearly the was it sustained by the popular will. It had or because the Constitution recognized sla- slavery. They would not go to the election eation except the age of twenty-one, only one power in the Legislature to get clear of sla- its origin in a mass meeting of one political very? I am confident some northern mem- on the 21st December, because they could thousand four hundred votes were cast in all very in that Territory without any amend- party, and had the sauction, its advocates bers of Congress are going against the admis- have rejected slavery. ment of the constitution whatever. There- say, of seventeen hundred votes at the polls; rion of the State, who would not do so were Now sir, a few words more as to popular Now, sir, I repeat, the opinion expressed fore I answer that, so far as regards the ques- whilst its enemies say it did not receive ex- the proceedings in Kansas satisfactory to sovereignty. There are those who hold that. heretofore, from what I saw in the Territory tion of slavery, taking these clauses together ceeding seven hundred votes in all. In no them; but I am still more confident that but because the constitution was not submitted to whole of those counties. That is the answer Mr. Bigler. I said if the slavery article happy territory-how one man has usurped but, sir, it is too clear that whilst it is conce- and a common Democracy be embraced as Mr. Bigler. Then slavery would have the Free State party are as five to one, or ten the Constitution is the real cause of hostility for the people the delegate their sovereign been sufficient to impair the legal or moral effect of the election for delegates.

But it is said that but a meager vote was what the Senator had in view, that, because deprived of their political rights. Some locast for delegates, and that is true; but that the schedule potected the property value in gieians have a convenient mode of making plication? Let her be turned over to the original States did it. resident. I had not intended to dis-subject further, and I do not now tion. Governor Walker gave the discontents the slaves were to remain in bondage, that I have noticed in the discussion, that Goverconsiderable length - full notice on this point. He told them that | there was no power in the Legislature to | nor Walker is given by Senators on the other | guarantee that they will make a constitution | terly. They talk as though congress have make myself understood on a they would be responsible whether they vo- wipe out that remnant or root of the institu- side, as conclusive authority as to the nine- that could be accepted by Congress? What guarantied that men should not cheat cach my own use hereaf- lead to anarchy. And there never was a Now, I wish to notice the extraordinary of the Free State party, and the malpractices have a repetition of the scenes of violence ty should not take the advantage of the other an carly date in the session I pur- true sentiment. We must either accept or course and policy which has from time to of the other party; but when he testified offi- and excess that have so far marked the pro- as though representatives should not deceive this vexed controversy at some length, need not now repeat its general histories then, as to the legality and reglings for the organization down a dectrine that would lead to anarchy standing out against the laws; nor their con- This is not fair to him, or to the country. cent Republican Legislature is suggestive on of the Territories, and that the States, as such

ave been submitted to the popular I venture to say, than any other similar body did not. In the language of a distinguished is legal and proper, and that I may vote for | violently anti-slavery; and I shall be amazed New York politician, (John Van Buren,) I the admission of Kansas as a State, if I deem | if they do not incorporate some extreme anti-

> wrong of forcing a government upon the peo- are the owners of slaves to lose the property ple of Kansas. Yet no one proposes to do value in such slaves? That has not been my this. We make no government for them - understanding of the Government. These They make it for themselves. If they do not complications and new issues could scarcely like it, after they get into the Union they can fail to perpetuate this bitter controversy, abolish it and adopt other forms. No power which is so rapidly uprooting fraternity and on the face of the earth, outside of the Terri- confidence between the northern and souththis. That there is nothing in the constitu- nels of communication between the people of tion to interfere with this right for a single the several States

fact their doctrines are the reverse. slavery was at stake they were shrunk from believe, or what they should do if they be- that the wit of man can devise. It has all as from the touch of death. Constantly lieve the worst. I should, for one, hope for the good qualities of an enabling act, without nunties contained but fourteen hun- in fact submitted to the people of Kansas? | make Kansas a free State, these anti-slavery | those fraternal relations between the States extend the strife. Then, again, it as alleged, the popular will sain when the registry was taken in Mr. President, that if the majority of the when the institution came within their reach.

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12

ced without the authority of any law, territo- nation, of assault on the one hand, repulse on tempt to make the world believe that they are

teen disfranchised counties; as to the strength reason have we to believe that we should not other in Kansas; as though one political par-I think, as to these, in probably every State in this Union. In stant and persistent efforts to produce vio- The Governor has made up an issue against this point. I should be disappointed-agree- should not interfere; but that was all, It reasonable doubt. The my own State, on this principle, the funda- lence, rebellion, and civil war. Governor this party, and it should be met and answered ably disappointed, sir-if the rejection did never was pretended that the Federal governof the organization of the several mental law could be repudiated any day - Walker's dispatches are full and complete on But, Mr. President, holding as I do, that not renew and heighten the strife and com- ment could interfere between the people and ally suchcate Kansas on these points, That State contains five hundred thousand this point. He discribes the Republican party the applications in the Territory. If the one party the application of the people of Kansas for plications in the Territory. admission as a State has been made in due proceeded to make a State, the other would Congress guaranty that those who do not yote more regular, legal and bind ments were adopted to the constitution, and all his service, and as plotting for the over- form-that their appearance at the doors of abstain from all agency in the work. Indeed should carry the election; nor yet that the is most cases, but that in these par- the whole vote for and against did not exceed throw of the Government. Against the other | Congress with a Constitution and State gov- one party in the Territory are at this time she is an exception to the general one hundred and thirty eight thousand votes; party, the Lecompton party, he made no canment is the legal and conclusive evidence engaged in electing delegates to another con- through the agency of the law. It is the Some States have been prepared and the highest affirmative vote reached only complaints prior to his departure from the of their application. The right of the law to rule, and the right of the may act of Congress, territorial or one hundred and seventeen thousand; who Territory. But I wish to look for the evisome by enabling acts; some un- thinks of doubting the authority of those dences in the career of the Republican party admit them as a State; and it is to the alter- that the election is being held without the au- is as much bound by the law, whilst it is such Congress; some by amendments? On this principle—and none in Kansas that they ever desired to settle the natives thus presented that I wish to turn my thority of any law, the Governor having re- as is the minority. Well, sir, I have held that the application complication. This new convention will be slavery feature, having the effect to keep the On the great question of admission or re- State out of the Union. They may interrupt best and wisest of the alternatives that are before 1855, were consulted notice is that it did not admit the entire con- Kansas a slave State." The remark is wit- jection, I have reflected long and seriously, the execution of the fugitive slave law, or us. There is much in the details of the proceeddesire to change their form of stitution to a vo e of the people. I have said to and true. The free State party in Kan- and am a firm believer in the policy of adnt from a territorial to a State, and heretofore that, at the time I perferred they sas have never exercised their power when mission I think it best for Kansas, and for now in the Territory. It is evident that every partaking of evident abuse of the elective franchise to a State, and I heretofore that, at the time I perferred they sas have never exercised their power when mission I think it best for Kansas, and for the elective franchise on one hand, and the attempt to superseder the elective franchise on one hand, and the attempt to superseder the elective franchise on one hand, and the attempt to superseder the elective franchise on one hand, and the attempt to superseder the elective franchise on one hand, and the attempt to superseder the elective franchise on the elective franchise of the elective franchise on the elective franchise of the elective franchise of the elective franchise franchi ded to have a State government | should do so; but I never regarded the mode | they could touch the question of slavery .-- the whole family of States. And I believe, en the Senator from Wisconsin does not like in addition, sir, that so soon as the popular the Constitution now before the Senate, bemind is turned from the unpleasant strife in cause it protects the property value in the Kansas—from that war of crimination and recrimination—of alleged fraud and usurpations on the one hand, and persistent rebellion and violence on the other, to contemplate promises guaranteeing to the Territories ad- ed insubordination to the laws, if not rebellion to and count the consequences of admission mission, with or without slavery slave own- the Government. Between these, I prefer the against those of rejection, the measure will ers are liable to lose the property value in encounter much less opposition from the peo. slaves whenever a decision is made against ple. What great wrong can flow from admis- the institution? When the people of all the sion? What interest or right of the people States go to the Territories, carrying with is to be damaged? Our ears are daily as- them their property, of whatsoever kind, in saulted with graphic descriptions of the great | case the Territory should become a free State

day, has been made so clear by the President | On the other hand, as I have inquired, and by Senators, that I shall not discuss it what evil consequences are to flow from the again. It is a little singular, however, that admision of the State? As was so forcibly this allegation of the want of power in the peo remarked the oher day by the Senator from ple by virtue of their "inalienable and inde- Lousianna, (Mr. Benjamin,) what possible feasible right" to alter, amend or supersede wrong do we inflict on the people of Kansas their form of government at pleasure, should by conferring upon them the rights and digcome from the advocates par excellence, of nitiee of a sovereign State? We hear much popular sovereignty. Not only in this par- about forcing a government upon Kansas: ticular; but as to the right of the people to whilst the truth is, she has proposed to come make a State constitution through the agen- in, and Congress is about to accept her procy of delegates, have these expounders of position. That is all. It is said the Constipopular sovereignty sought to impose serious tution is not acceptable to the will of the marestrictions upon the rights of the people .- | jority. Well, sir, that is their business. not They would pursuade the people that they ours. If they do not like their fundamental cebe us. - She am it who gives us castor oil are on the side of popular rights, whilst in law, they can change it. Some gentlemen and puts close on our naked helpless limbs, talk about this constitution as though it was and cubbers up our feets and noses in long the Republicaus cught not to vote vexed question of slavery is all that the peothat they should condescend to vote against But, sir, who can foretell the consequences to be, like the laws of Medes and Persians, long flannel peticoat s, and it am she as we gates because the registery was so exple of other States had any right even to inslavery, and they did not vote. But less of the rejection of the State? How will the unalterable. But so far from this, the questhe contract of grows up, fills our dinner baskets with dough at the end of a violent partisan con- dictate a mode of making a constitution as a of slavery was not involved, when office and there are the instrument, will be forever subject to the nuts and apples as we start to school, and party charging the other with poi- condition on which the people who are to live honor and emoluments were staked, they the consequence of the informalities or the will of the majority. When this issue first licks us when we tears our trowsis. gal votes, only eleven thousand seven big and eighty were cast for the Dele
a Congress. Here is corclusive evi
the condition of which the polyth was a question of the Constitution, and ral
a Congress. Here is corclusive evi
the condition of which the polyth was the consequence of mind is state. Yet, this readily got over their scruples of conscience want of nonular sanction of the Constitution, and ral
or will they believe that it was the consequence of mind is between admission under the Lecompton Constitution on the one hand, and an enabling that of a young lady who, on returning from hat the disfranchised vote as it is ter- ists. That vexed question was presented; under, what they term, the "Lecompton swin- are bound to treat it as practical and positive act on the other. An enabling act—what a walk with her lover, the other evening, rapthat question was voted upon. Now Mr. that the enderstand the strength of this history. It is painfully significant,—
The in the whole of the nineteen countries. The whole of the nineteen countries of the nineteen countries. The component of the nineteen countries of the nineteen countries. The component cannot add to the strength of the for? Why, to enable the people to make a definite that no more slave States are to be of this history. It is painfully significant,—

When it was necessary to get office, the "bo-compromises of 1850 is not to be carried out?"

The component cannot add to the strength of the for? Why, to enable the people to make a definite the faith of the state of the nineteen countries. The component cannot add to the strength of the for? Why, to enable the people to make a definite the faith of the strength of the gus laws" were promptly recognized; when It does not become me to say what they sho'd a State Constitution is the best empling act

particular, then, does it stand so well as the for the slavery article the opposition to the a popular vote as an entirety, the process of Lecompton movement, either as to regularity admission would scarce have amounted to re- making it was in violation of popular soveror authority. Nor will the historian be able spectability. On the stand as a witness I eignty, as recognized in the creed of the Demto understand now a majority of five to one could give no other testimony. There may have been so constantly oppressed in that un- be those who differ with me in this opinion; less our representative system be abolished the rights and powers of five or six or ten, as | ded on all hands that Kansas is to be a Free | the system we prefer, Recognizing the repwe are told In one breath it is asserted that State, the shadow of slavery that appears in resentative system, it is perfectly competent

majority should rule, if they did not do so

er. Kansas should not be an example for future

stability, progress and general prosperity to the

New York. April 3 .- It is reported that unteers have been accepted by the President. Another authorized regiment will be taken from Pennsylvania. Arrangements are complete to enact a rigid enforcement of the quarantine, and all arrivals are subject to the visit of the heaith officer.

SAMEO ON WOMEN .- Dev may rail against against dem. I had always in my life found dem to be fust in lub, fust in a quarrel, fust in de dance, de fust in the ice cream saloon and de fust, best and last in do sick room What would we do wi hout them? Let us be born as young as ugly and as helpless as we please, and a woman's arms are open to re

- A bachelor friend of ours has left a boarding-house, in which was a number of boasting their power and determination to the best, and struggle to the end to maintain its bad ones. It would terminate, instead of old maids, on account of the miserable fair set before him at the table,

A young man without money among the young thing mouth of April, before the people had voted down the slavery article. They beasted of the power, but would not do will contend for the just rights of all the admission is the most direct mode of complete ladies, is like the most open a language of the schedule, the deed. The country is agitated from one States, North or South. She will stand by vindication. It is under a State Constitution leady class.