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BY GEO. W. BOWMAN.

NEW SERIES.

Select Poetry.



ANSWER TO

"WILL YOU LOVE ME WHEN I AM OLD."

A LYRIC.

Yes, ah yes, when thou art old, I'll love thee,
When the day of life declines,
When the shadows of old age above thee,
And the rays of pleasure shine;
When thy form, now lithe and graceful,
Bends beneath the weight of years,
And thy soul, so calm and peaceful,
From the world's harassing cares.

When those soft bright eyes are faded,
That so fondly look on me,
And the bloom of age has shaded
All that's beautiful to thee,
When thine ear forgets its hearing,
And can never hear again,
Those whose dulcet tones are cheering,
Then, ah yes, I'll love thee then.

When the hand of time effaces
Youth's bright roses from thy cheek,
Leaving there its furrowed traces,
That a mournful language speak;
When thy trust in earth is shaken,
Faithless proves the world and when
By all others thou'rt forsaken,
I, in truth, shall love thee then.

When the billow of life descending,
Wearily we travel on,
Then as now our spirits blending,
Till in love they are but one,
Visions of the past shall cheer us
To the haven of our rest;
Faith in future bliss shall bear us
To the mansions of the best.

MESSAGE

OF
GOV. JOHN W. GEARY.

To the Legislative Assembly of Kansas Territory.

Gentlemen of the Council and of the House of Representatives:

The all-wise and beneficent Being, who controls alike the destinies of individuals and of nations, has permitted you to convene this day, charged with grave responsibilities.

But of the entire Union, are upon you, watching with anxiety the result of your deliberations, and of your joint action in the execution of the delicate and important duties devolving upon us.

Selected at a critical period in the history of the country to discharge the executive functions of this Territory, the obligations I was required to assume were of the most weighty importance. And when I came seriously to contemplate their magnitude, I would have shrunk from the responsibility, were it not for an implicit reliance upon Divine aid, and a full confidence in the virtue, zeal and patriotism of the citizens, without which the wisest executive suggestions must be futile and unavailing.

To you, legislators, invested with sovereign authority, I look for that hearty co-operation which will enable us successfully to guide the ship of State through the troubled waters, into the haven of safety.

It is with feelings of profound gratitude to Almighty God, the bounteous giver of all good, I have the pleasure of announcing that after the bitter contest of opinion through which we have recently passed, and which has unfortunately led to fratricidal strife, that peace which I have every reason to believe will be permanent, now reigns throughout the Territory and gladdens with its genial influences, homes and hearts which but lately were sad and desolate; that the robber and the murderer have been driven from our soil; that burned cabins have been replaced by substantial dwellings; that a feeling of confidence and kindness has taken the place of distrust and hate; that all good citizens are disposed to deplore the errors and excesses of the past, and unite with fraternal zeal in repairing its injuries, and that this Territory—unsurpassed by any portion of the continent for the salubrity of its climate, the fertility of its soil, its mineral and agricultural wealth, its timber-fringed streams, and fine country of building-stone—has entered upon a career of unparalleled prosperity.

To maintain the advance we have made, and realize the bright anticipations of the future; to build up a model commonwealth, enriched with all the treasures of learning, of virtue and religion, and make it a choice heritage for our children and generations yet unborn, let me, not only as your Executive, but as a Kansan, devoted to the interest of Kansas, and animated solely by patriotic purposes, with all earnestness invoke you, with one heart and soul to pursue so high and lofty a course in your deliberations, as by its moderation and justice, will commend itself to the approbation of the country and command the respect of the people.

This being the first occasion afforded me to speak to the Legislative Assembly, it is but proper, and in accordance with general usage, that I should declare the principles which shall give shape and tone to my administration.—These principles without elaboration, I will condense into the narrow compass.

"Equal and exact justice" to all men, of whatever political or religious persuasion; peace, comity and friendship with neighboring States and Territories, with a sacred regard for State rights and a reverential respect for the integrity and perpetuity of the Union; a reverence for the Federal Constitution as the concentrated wisdom of the fathers of the Republic,

and the very ark of our political safety; the cultivation of a pure and energetic nationality, and the development of an exalted and intensely vital patriotism; a jealous regard for the elective franchise and the entire security and sanctity of the ballot-box; a firm determination to adhere to the doctrine of self-government and popular sovereignty as guaranteed by the Organic Act; unqualified submission to the will of the majority; the election of all officers by the people themselves; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; strict economy in public expenditures with a rigid accountability of all public officers; the preservation of the public faith and a currency based upon and equal to gold and silver; free and safe immigration from every quarter of the country; the cultivation of a proper Territorial pride, with a firm determination to submit to no invasion of our Territory; the fostering care of agriculture, manufactures, mechanic arts, and all works of internal improvement; the liberal and free education of all the children of the Territory; entire religious freedom, a free press, free speech, and the peaceable right to assemble and discuss all questions of public interest; trial by jury impartially selected; the sanctity of the law; the repeal of the laws inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States and the Organic Act, and the steady administration of the government so as to best secure the general welfare.

These sterling maxims, sanctioned by the wisdom and experience of the past, and the observance of which has brought our country to so exalted a position among the nations of the earth, will be the steady lights by which my administration will be guided.

A summary view of the state of the Territory upon my advent, with an allusion to some of my official acts, may not be inappropriate to this occasion, and may serve to inspire your councils with that wisdom and prudence, by a contemplation of the frightful excesses of the past so essential in the adoption of measures to prevent their recurrence, and enable you wisely to lay the broad and solid foundations of a future commonwealth which may give protection and happiness to millions of freemen.

It accords not with my policy or intention, to do the least injustice to any citizen or party of men in this Territory or elsewhere. Pledged to do "equal and exact justice," in my executive capacity, I am inclined to throw the veil of oblivion over the errors and outrages of the period antecedent to my arrival, except so far as reference to them may be necessary for substantial justice and to explain and develop the policy which has shed the benign influence of peace upon Kansas, and which, if responded to by the Legislature, will terminate those feelings of bitterness and contention, which in the past brought upon us such untold evils.

I arrived at Fort Leavenworth on the ninth day of September last, and immediately assumed the executive functions. On the eleventh I issued my Inaugural Address, declaring the general principles upon which I intended to administer the government. In this address I solemnly pledged myself to support the Constitution of the United States, and to discharge my duties as Governor of Kansas with fidelity to sustain all the provisions of the Organic Act, which I pronounced to be "eminently just and beneficial"; to stand by the doctrine of popular sovereignty, or the will of the majority of the actual, bona fide inhabitants, when legitimately expressed, which I characterized "the imperative rule of civil action for every law-abiding citizen." The gigantic evils under which this Territory was groaning, were attributed to outside influences, and the people of Kansas were earnestly invoked to suspend unwarlike strife, to banish extraneous and improper influences from their deliberations, and in the spirit of reason and mutual conciliation to adjust their own differences. Such suggestions in relation to modifications of the present statutes as I deemed for the public interest, were premised at the proper time. It was declared that this Territory is the common property of the people of the several States, and that no obstacle should be interposed to its free settlement, while in a Territorial condition, by the citizens of every State of the Union. A just Territorial pride was sought to be infused; a pledge was solemnly given to know no party, no section, nothing but Kansas and the Union—and the people were earnestly invoked to bury the past in oblivion; to suspend hostilities and to refrain from the indulgence of bitter feeling; to begin anew; to devote themselves to the true and substantial interests of Kansas; to develop her rich agricultural and mineral resources; to build up manufactures; to make public roads and other works of internal improvement; to prepare amply for the education of their children; to devote themselves to all the arts of peace, and make this Territory the sanctuary of those cherished principles which protect the inalienable rights of the individual and elevate States in their sovereign capacities.

The foregoing is a brief summary of the principles upon which my administration was commenced. I have steadily adhered to them, and time and trial have but served to strengthen my convictions of their justice.

Coincident with my Inaugural were issued two Proclamations, the one, disbanded the Territorial militia, composed of a mixed force of citizens and others, and commanding "all bodies of men, combined, armed and equipped with munitions of war, without authority of the government, instantly to disband or quit the Territory, as they would answer the contrary at their peril"; the other, ordering "all free male citizens qualified to bear arms, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, to enroll themselves, that they might be completely organized by companies, regiments, brigades and divisions, and hold themselves in readiness to be mustered, by my order, into the service of the United States, upon requisition of the commander of the military department in which

Kansas is embraced, for the suppression of unlawful combinations, and for the maintenance of public order and civil government."

The policy of these proclamations is so evident, and their beneficial results have been apparent as to require no elucidation.

The Territory was declared, by the act of Governor, to be in a state of insurrection; civil authority was powerless—entirely null and void; the freedom peace, the existing order, was a most complicated chaos; the sole aim, unrelieved by the mitigation of political causes, was assassination, arson, plunder and rapine, and undisturbed possession of some portions of the Territory, while every part of it was kept in constant alarm and terror by the advocates of political sentiments, inimical according to their respective sympathies, formidable bodies of armed men, completely equipped with munitions of war, and resolved upon mutual extermination as the only hope of peace; unoffending and peaceable citizens were driven from their homes, others murdered in their own dwellings, which were given to the flames; that sacred respect for woman, which has characterized all civilized nations, seemed in the hour of mad excitement to be forgotten; partisan feeling, on all sides, intensely excited, by a question which inflamed the entire nation, almost closed the minds of the people against me; idle and mendacious rumors, well calculated to produce exasperation and destroy confidence, were everywhere; the most unfounded suspicions prevailed; the colored people no man's life was safe; robberies and murders were of daily occurrence; nearly every farm-house was deserted; and no traveler could safely venture on the highway without an escort. This state of affairs was greatly aggravated by the influence of prominent political organs of the Territory.

The foregoing is a faint outline of the fearful condition of things which ruled Kansas, and convulsed the nation. The full picture will be drawn by the iron pen of impartial history, and the actors in the various scenes will be assigned their true positions.

I came here a stranger to your difficulties, without prejudice, and with a solemn sense of my official obligations, and with a lofty resolution to get a speedy termination to events so fraught with evil, and which, if unchecked, would have flooded the country into the most bloody civil war.

Hesitation, or partisan affiliations, would have resulted in certain failure, and only served further to complicate affairs. To restore peace and order, and relieve the people from the evils which were impending, "disunion" and "justice" should be adopted, which would embrace in its protection all good citizens, without distinction of party, and sternly punish all bad men who continued to disturb the public tranquility. Accordingly my Inaugural Address and Proclamations were immediately circulated among the people, in order that they might have early notice of my intentions.

On the fourteenth day of September, reliable information was received that a large body of armed men were marching to attack Hickory Point on the north side of the Kansas River. I immediately dispatched a squadron of United States dragoons, with instructions to capture and bring to this place any persons whom they might find acting in violation of my Proclamation. In pursuance of these instructions one hundred and one prisoners were taken and brought here, and committed for trial.

While a portion of the army were performing this duty, I was advised that a large body of men were approaching the town of Lawrence determined upon its destruction. I at once ordered three hundred United States troops to that place, and repaired there in person. Within four miles of Lawrence I found a force of twenty-seven hundred men, consisting of citizens of this Territory, and of other places, organized as Territorial militia, under a Proclamation of the late acting Governor. I disbanded this force, ordering the various companies comprising it to repair to their respective places of rendezvous, there to be mustered out of service. My orders were obeyed; the militia retired to their homes, the effusion of blood was prevented, the preservation of Lawrence effected, and a great step made toward the restoration of peace and confidence.

To recant any various official acts, following each other in quick succession under your immediate observation, would be a work of supererogation, and would occupy more space than the limits of an executive message would justify. My Executive Minutes, containing a truthful history of my official transactions, with the policy which dictated them, have been forwarded to the General Government, and are open to the inspection of the country.

In relation to any alterations or modifications of the Territorial Statutes which I might deem advisable, I promised in my Inaugural Address, to direct public attention at the proper time.—In the progress of events that time has arrived, and you are the tribunal to which my suggestions should be submitted. On this subject I speak your candid attention, as it has an inseparable connection with the prosperity and happiness of the people.

It has already been remarked that the Territories of the United States are the common property of the citizens of the several States. It may be likened to a joint ownership in an estate, and no conditions should be imposed or restrictions placed upon the equal enjoyment of all the benefits arising therefrom, which will do the least injustice to any of the owners, or which is not contemplated in the tenure by which it is held, which is no less than the Constitution of the United States, the sole bond of the American Union. This being the true position, no obstacle should be interposed to this free, speedy and general settlement of this Territory.

The durability and imperative authority of a State Constitution, when the interests of the people require it, is necessary to give it sanction and effect, will be the proper occasion, once for all, to decide the grave political questions which underlie a well regulated Commonwealth.

Let this, then, be the touchstone of your deliberations. Enact no law which will not clearly bear the constitutional test; and if any laws have been passed which do not come up to this standard it is your solemn duty to sweep them from the statute book.

The Territorial Government should abstain from the exercise of authority not clearly delegated to it, and should permit all doubtful questions to remain in abeyance until the formation of a State Constitution.

On the delicate and exciting question of slavery, a subject which so peculiarly engaged the attention of Congress at the passage of our Organic Act, I cannot too earnestly invoke you to permit it to remain where the Constitution of the United States and that act place it, subject to the decision of the courts upon all points arising during our present infant condition.

The repeal of the Missouri line, which was a restriction on popular sovereignty, now considered the great doctrine of self-government, and restored to the people their full control over every question of interest to themselves, both north and south of that line.

Justice to the country and the dictates of sound policy, require that the Legislature should confine itself to such subjects as will preserve the basis of entire equality, and when a sufficient population is here, and they choose to adopt a State Government, that they shall be perfectly free, without let or hindrance, to form all their domestic institutions in their own way; and to dictate that form of government which, in their deliberate judgment, may be deemed proper.

Any attempt to incite servile insurrection, and to interfere with the domestic institutions of the several States, is extremely reprehensible, and shall receive no countenance from me.—Such intervention can result in no good, but is pregnant with untold disasters. Murder, arson, rapine and death follow in its wake, while not one link in the fetters of the slave is weakened or broken, or any amelioration in his condition secured. Such interference is a direct invasion of State rights, only calculated to produce irritation and estrangement.

Every dictate of self-respect—every consideration of State equality—the glories of the past and the hopes of the future—all, with soul-stirring dominions constrain us to cultivate a reverence for our safety, and on us, in good faith, to carry out all its provisions.

Many of the statutes are excellent and well suited to our wants and condition; but in order that they may receive that respect and sanction which is the vital principle of all law, let such which are not eminently just, and will not receive the fullest approbation of the people. I trust you will test them all by the light of the general and fundamental principles of our government, and that all that will not bear this ordeal, be revised, amended, or repealed. To some of them which strike my mind as objectionable, your candid and special attention is respectfully invited.

By carefully comparing the Organic Act, as printed in the statutes, with a certified copy of the same from the Department of State, important discrepancies, omissions and additions will be discovered. I therefore recommend the appointment of a committee to compare the printed statutes with the original rolls on file in the Secretary's office, to ascertain whether the same liberty has been taken with them as appears to have been taken with the act under which they were made.

Of the numerous errors discovered by me in the copy of the Organic Act, as printed in the statutes, I will refer to one in illustration of my meaning. In the 29th section, defining the Executive authority, will be found the following striking omission—"against the laws of said Territory, and represses for offences."—This omission impairs the Executive authority, and deprives the Governor of the pardoning power for offences committed against the laws of the Territory, which Congress, for the wisest and most humane reasons, has conferred upon him.

The Organic Act requires every bill to be presented to the Governor, and demand his signature, as the evidence of his approval, before it can become a law. The statutes are defective in this respect, as they do not contain the date of approval, nor the proper evidence of that fact, by having the Governor's signature.

Your attention is invited to chapter 30, in relation to county boundaries. The boundary of Douglas county is imperfect, and in connection with Shawnee county, is an absurdity for both counties. The boundary lines of all the counties should be absolutely established.

Chapter 44, establishing the Probate Court, also requires attention. The Act is good generally, so far as it relates to the organization and duties of the Court. But all provisions in this and other acts vesting the appointment of Probate Judges, County Commissioners, and other public officers in the Legislative Assembly, should at once be repealed, and the unqualified right of election conferred upon the people, whose interests are immediately affected by the acts of these officials. The free and unrestricted right of the people to select all their own agents, is a maxim so well settled in political ethics, and springs so legitimately from the doctrine of self-government, that I need only allude to the question to satisfy every one of its justice. The "people must be perfectly free" to regulate their own business in their own way; and when the voice of the majority is fairly expressed, all will bow to it as the voice of God. Let the people, then, rule in everything. I have every confidence in the virtue, intelligence, and "sober thought" of the

toiling millions. The deliberate popular judgment is never wrong. When in times of excitement the popular mind may be temporarily obscured from the dearth of correct information, or the mist of passion, the day of retribution and justice speedily follows, and a summary reversal is the certain result. Just and patriotic sentiment is a sure reliance for every honest public servant. The sovereignty of the people must be maintained.

Section 15th of this Act allows writs of habeas corpus to be issued by the Probate Judge, but leaves him no authority to hear the case and grant justice; but refers the matter to the "next terms" of the District Court. The several "terms" of the District Court are at stated periods, and the provision alluded to amounts to a denial of justice and virtually a suspension of the great writ of liberty, contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

Many provisions of chapter 66, entitled "Elections," are objectionable. Section 11th, requiring certain "test oaths" as pre-requisites to the right of suffrage, is wrong, unfair, and unequal upon citizens of different sections of the Union. It is exceedingly invidious to require obedience to any special enactment. The peculiar features of the test oaths should be abolished and all citizens presumed to be law-abiding and patriotic until the contrary clearly appears. Sworn obedience to particular statutes has seldom secured that object. Justice will ever commend itself to the support of all honest men, and the surest means of insuring the ready execution of law, is to make it so pre-eminently just, equal, and impartial, as to command the respect of those whom it is intended to affect.

Section 36 deprives electors of the great safeguard of the purity and independence of the elective franchise. I mean the right to vote by ballot and after the first day of November, 1856, requires all voting to be viva voce. This provision, taken in connection with section 9th, which provides that "if all the votes offered cannot be taken before the hour appointed for closing the polls, the judges shall, by public proclamation, adjourn such election until the following day, when the polls shall again be opened and the election continued as before." &c., offers great room for fraud and corruption.

Voting viva voce, the condition of the poll can be ascertained at any moment. If the party having the election officers are likely to be defeated, they have the option of adjourning for the purpose of drumming up votes, or in the insane desire for victory, may be tempted to resort to other means even more reprehensible.—The right of voting by ballot is now incorporated in the constitutions of nearly all the States.

The arguments in its favor are so numerous and overwhelming that I have no hesitation in recommending its adoption. The election law should be carefully examined, and such guards thrown around it as will most effectively secure the sanctity of the ballot-box and preserve it from the taint of a single illegal vote. The man who will deliberately tamper with the elective franchise and dare to offer an illegal vote, strikes at the fountain of justice, undermines the pillars of society, applies the torch to the temple of our liberties, and should receive severe punishment. As a qualification for voting, a definite period of actual inhabitation in the Territory, to the exclusion of a home elsewhere, should be rigidly prescribed. No man should be permitted to vote upon a floating residency. He should have resided within the territory for a period of not less than ninety days, and in the district where he offers to vote at least ten days immediately preceding such election. All the voters should be registered and published for a certain time previous to the election. False voting should be severely punished, and false swearing to secure a vote visited with the pains and penalties of perjury.

In this connection your attention is also invited to chapter 92, entitled "Jurors." This chapter leaves the selection of Jurors to the absolute discretion of the Marshal, Sheriff, or Constable, as the case may be, and affords great room for partiality and corruption. The names of all properly qualified citizens, without party distinction, should be thrown into a wheel or box, and at stated periods, under the order of the Courts, Jurors should be publicly drawn by responsible persons. Too many safeguards cannot be thrown around the right of trial by jury, which cherished place in the affections of the people so essential to its preservation and sanctity.

Some portions of chapter 110, "Militia," infringes the Executive prerogative, impairs the Governor's usefulness, and clearly conflicts with the Organic Act. This Act requires the Executive to reside in the territory and make him "Commander-in-chief of the militia." This power must be vested some place, and is always conferred upon the chief magistrate.—Section 26th virtually confers this almost sovereign prerogative, "upon any commissioned officer," and permits him "whenever and as often as in any invasion or danger may come to his knowledge, to order out the militia or volunteer corps, or any part thereof, under his command for the defence of the Territory." &c.; thus almost giving "any commissioned officer" whatever, at his option, the power to involve the Territory in war.

Section 12th provides for a general militia training on the first Monday of October, the day fixed for the general election. This is wrong, and is well calculated to incite terrorism. The silent ballots of the people, unawed by military display, should quietly and definitely determine all questions of public interest.

The other sections of the law, requiring the appointment of field and commissioned officers, should be repealed.—All officers should derive their authority directly from their respective commands, by election. To make the military system complete and effective, there must be entire subordination and unity running from

the commander-in-chief to the humblest soldier, and one spirit must animate the entire system.

The 122nd chapter, in relation to "Patrols," is unnecessary. It renders all other property liable to heavy taxation for the protection of slave property, thus operating unequally upon citizens, and is liable to the odious charge of being a system of espionage, as it authorizes the Patrols, an indefinite number of whom may be appointed, to visit not only negro quarters, but "any other places" suspected of unlawful assemblies of slaves.

Chapter 131, "Pre-emption," squanders the school-fund by appropriating the school sections contrary to the Organic Act, which provides that sections numbered sixteen and thirty-six in each township in Kansas Territory, shall be and the same are hereby reserved for the purpose of being applied to schools in said Territory, and in the States and Territories to be erected out of the same; contravenes the United States pre-emption laws, which forbid trafficking in claims and holding more than one claim, and directs the Governor to grant patents for lands belonging to the United States and only conditionally granted to the Territory. This act is directly calculated to destroy the effect of a munificent grant of lands by Congress for educational purposes. The Territory is the trustee of this valuable gift, and posterity has a right to demand of us that this sacred trust shall remain unimpaired, in order that the blessings of free education may be shed upon our children.

Every State should have the best educational system which an intelligent government can provide. The physical, moral and mental faculties should be cultivated in harmonious union, and that system of education is the best which will effect these objects. Congress has already provided for the support of common schools. In addition to this, I would recommend the Legislature to ask Congress to donate land lying in this Territory for the establishment of a university, embracing a normal, agricultural, and a mechanical school. A university thus endowed, would be a blessing to our people; disseminate useful and scientific intelligence; provide competent teachers for our primary schools, and furnish a complete system of education adequate to our wants in all the departments of life.

The subject of roads, bridges, and highways, merits your special attention. Nothing adds more to comfort, convenience, prosperity and happiness, and more greatly promotes social intercourse and kind feeling, than easy and convenient inter-communication. Roads should be wide and straight, and the various rivers and ravines substantially bridged.

The Legislature should have in view the interests of the whole people. The prosperity of the Territory is intimately connected with the early and general construction of this rapid and satisfactory means of transit.

While on the subject of internal improvements, I would call for your notice, and solicit for it your serious consideration, the opening, at the earliest period, of a more easy means of communication with the sea-board than we at present enjoy. One great obstacle to our prosperity is the immense distance we occupy from all the great maritime depots of the country by any of the routes now traveled. This can be removed by the construction of a railway, commencing at an appropriate place in the Territory, and running southwardly through the Indian Territory and Texas, to the most eligible point on the Gulf of Mexico. The entire length of such a road would not exceed six hundred miles, (much less than half the distance to the Atlantic), and at an ordinary speed of railroad travel, could be traversed in less than twenty-four hours. It would pass through a country remarkable for beauty of scenery, fertility of soil and salubrity of climate, and which has properly been styled "the Eden of the world;" and would open up new sources of wealth superior to any that have yet been discovered on the eastern division of the continent. It would place Kansas, isolated as she now is, in as favorable a position for commercial enterprises as very many of the most prosperous States of the Union, and furnish her a sure, easy and profitable market for her products, as well as a safe, expeditious and economical means of obtaining all her needed supplies at every season of the year. You will not fail at once to perceive the importance of this suggestion. Not only Kansas and Nebraska, but the entire country west of the Mississippi will be vastly benefited by its adoption. The advantages to Texas would be incalculable; and should you be favorably impressed with the feasibility of the plan, I would advise that you communicate in your legislative capacity, with the Legislature of that State, and also with that of the Territory of Nebraska, in regard to the most effectual measures for its speedy accomplishment.

Chapter 149, permitting settlers to hold three hundred and twenty acres of land, is in violation of the pre-emption laws, and leads to contention and litigation.

Chapter 151, relating to "slaves," attacks the equality which underlies the very theory of our Territorial Government; destroys the freedom of speech and the privilege of discussion, so essential to uncloud error and enable the people properly to mould their institutions in their own way. The freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of public discussion upon all matters affecting the interests of the people, are the great constitutional safeguards of popular rights, liberty and happiness.

The Act in relation to a "Territorial Library," makes the Auditors ex officio Librarian, and gives him authority to audit his own accounts.—These offices should be distinct, as their duties conflict.

The congressional appropriation for a Territorial Library, has been expended in the purchase of a very valuable collection of books. Time and space will not permit me to point