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VOLUME XIII. "LIBERTY, THE UNION, AND THE CONSTITUTION." NUMBER 285.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, SATURDAY MORNING, MARCH 20, 1858.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The name of no person will be entered upon our books, unless the payment of the subscription be made in advance.

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WASHINGTON AQUEDUCT.

OFFICE OF THE WASHINGTON AQUEDUCT,
Washington, March 8, 1858.

PROPOSALS are invited for the completion of the Washington Aqueduct, according to plans and specifications which will be on exhibition in this office on and after the 10th of April.

Bids will be received for the completion of the whole work in gross, or for the separate works described in the specifications—the United States reserving the right to make a contract for the whole, or for the separate works, as may seem most advantageous upon comparison of the bids.

A portion, only, of the work can be completed with the appropriations now available; and the contracts will be subject to the contingency of future appropriations by Congress.

The engineer reserves the right to prescribe the amount of work to be done and the rate of progress under each contract, and for each work.

Payments will be made in checks upon the United States Treasury upon the monthly estimates of the engineer, reserving 10 per cent. on all payments until the completion of the contract; and it will be a condition of all contracts that the workmen shall be paid their full wages monthly and in specie.

Proposals should be sealed, and endorsed "Proposals for Work and Materials for the Washington Aqueduct."

The United States reserves the right to reject any or all bids for the whole or for any part of the work, if not deemed advantageous; but the work will be awarded to the lowest bidders for the whole, or for parts of the work, who give good security for the completion of their contracts, if at reasonable prices.

Every offer must be accompanied by a written guarantee, signed by one or more responsible persons, to the effect that he or they undertake that the bidder or bidders will, if his or their bids be accepted, enter into an obligation within ten days, with good and sufficient securities, for the completion of the work undertaken; said guarantee to be accompanied by the certificate of the United States district judge, United States district attorney, navy agent, or some officer of the general government, or individual known to the engineer or Department of War, that the guarantors are able to make good their guarantee.

Bids will be opened in the presence of the bidders, at noon of the 11th May; none will be received after that hour.

The work to be let comprises: completion of the dam across the Potomac at the Great Falls; building of gate houses; completion of masonry bridges; waste weirs; building distributing reservoir; completion of conduit, furnishing cast-iron pipe; building of two iron pipe bridges; laying pipes from the distributing reservoir to the navy-yard and other principal public establishments of Washington; building of high service reservoir in Georgetown; and supply of cement, sand, bricks, stone, and all other materials; for all of which reference is to be made to the detailed descriptions and specifications to be exhibited in this office.

The comparison of the bids will be made upon the quantities noted in the specifications and plans exhibited at the time of letting; and, should a bid in gross be accepted, the monthly payments upon the contracts will be made upon the estimate of the engineer, at prices to be fixed by him, with the usual reservation of ten per cent. until the entire completion of the contract according to the specifications and plans.

Proposals should state the time within which each work will be completed, provided Congress appropriates the necessary funds.

By order of the Secretary of War:

M. C. MEIGS,
Captain of Engineers,
in charge of Washington Aqueduct.

Form of Guarantee.

To Capt. M. C. MEIGS, U. S. Engineers:

We, the undersigned, residents of ——, in the State of ——, hereby, jointly and severally, covenant with the United States, and guaranty, in case the foregoing bid of —— be accepted, that he or they will, within ten days after the acceptance of the said bid, execute the contract for the same, with good and sufficient sureties to perform the work or furnish the articles proposed, in conformity to the terms of the advertisement under which it was made. And in case the said —— shall fail to enter into contract as aforesaid, we guaranty to make good the difference between the offer by the said —— and the next lowest bidder.

Signed A B,
C D.

I hereby certify that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the above named guarantors are good and sufficient.

Signed E F.
Mar 10—tMay11

L. J. MIDDLETON, Ice dealer, office and depot southwest corner of F and Twelfth streets, Washington, D. C
Ap 11—d1y †

COMPLETION of Panama Railroad.—Reduction of fare to California.—United States mail steamships leave New York for Aspinwall on the 5th and 20th of each month, connecting with mail steamers from Panama to San Francisco.

These steamships have been inspected and approved by the Navy Department, and guaranty *speed and safety*.

The Panama railroad (47 miles long) is now completed from ocean to ocean, and is crossed in 3 or 4 hours. The baggage of passengers is checked in New York through to San Francisco, and passengers are embarked at Panama by steamer at the company's expense. The money paid in New York covers all expenses of the trip.

Reserve steamers are kept in port in New York, Panama, and San Francisco, to prevent detention in case of accident, so that the route is entirely *reliable*.

Passengers leave Panama the same day they arrive at Aspinwall.

Conductors go through by each steamer, and take charge of women and children without other protectors.

For through tickets at the lowest rates apply at the agency, 177 West street, New York, to I. W. RAYMOND.
May 6—tdf

FOR SALE.—A rare chance to secure a very fine lady's riding horse. He is a beautiful black, eight years old, fifteen hands and upwards high, and sound. He cannot be surpassed in style and action, and is perfect in all and every gait. He can be seen at the livery stable of Mr. Levy Pumphrey for a few days only.
Feb 5—dtf

GEORGE W. BREGA, ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW, *No. 16 Wall street, New York.*
Nov 26—6m

R. H. GILLET, Counsellor at Law, has removed his office to his residence in Franklin Row, corner of K and Thirteenth streets. He will continue to devote his attention principally to cases in the United States Supreme Court.
Oct 28—tf

Eugene Dupuy,

Sole Agent for Piesse & Lubin's Perfumery and Compounds.

THE agency for the United States of Messrs. Piesse & Lubin, perfumery factors in London, having been transferred from the late firm of Inger & Co., 299 Broadway, to my own firm, (Mr. George E. Inger being now in connection with my establishment,) I beg to inform merchants, fancy goods dealers, and the trade generally, that I shall keep on hand and in bond, a constant supply of Piesse & Lubin's articles; such as the Frangipanni perfume and its compounds, the Pistachio nut preparations in all their varieties; to which may be added, from time to time, whatever said firm may introduce in market, combining excellence with novelty. Merchants may rely upon their orders being filled with promptness and care, and on as favorable terms as heretofore.

E. DUPUY,
609 Broadway, New York.

The real Frangipanni perfume is manufactured only by Messrs. Piesse & Lubin, of London, and they take this opportunity to caution purchasers against imitations, of which there are many; none, however, approach in any degree the exquisite fragrance as made by P. & L.

Frangipanni bouquet.
Frangipanni oil for the hair, exquisitely scented.
Frangipanni fruit. Hold their scent for years, and impart a delightful fragrance to articles they are placed near.
Frangipanni scented soap.
Frangipanni incense. Take a hot cinder between the tongs, put a piece of the incense upon it, and the apartment will be delightfully perfumed.
Frangipanni pomade. This is an Italian unguent for the hair. Its superlative fragrance has given it a world-wide reputation.
Frangipanni satchet. Sold everywere.
March 6—2tas Tues&Satlm

Miss Christie Johnson,

TEACHER OF ELOCUTION,

IS desirous of forming classes in elocution in the schools in Washington, and will give instruction to private pupils in that city and in Georgetown.

Miss Johnson will give lessons to youths and professional gentlemen, and also to foreigners who wish to acquire a pure English accent.

Residence Mrs. Hanover's (formerly Miss English's) Female Seminary, corner Washington and Gay streets, Georgetown.

REFERENCES.

Mrs. Anna Cora Ritchie, Richmond, Va.
Rev. Stephen P. Hill, Washington, D. C.
Grafton Tyler, M. D., Georgetown, D. C.

For further information apply to Blanchard & Mohun, at their bookstore, corner of Pennsylvania avenue and Eleventh street.
Nov 6—tf

PROF. MACLEOD'S boarding and day school for young ladies, 309 F street, between 11th and 12th.
Feb 16—3tawtf

GROVER & BAKER'S SEWING MACHINE.—The subscriber has taken the agency and has now on hand an assortment of the above celebrated family sewing machines, and in presenting them to the public notice can, without fear of contradiction, say that they are believed to be the best article ever offered to the public. They are adapted to all kinds of family sewing, from the finest to the coarsest kind. He most respectfully invites the ladies to call and examine them.

A lady will always be in attendance to exhibit them, and to instruct all who are desirous of purchasing.

Needles of all sizes will be constantly kept on hand for sale.

C. W. BOTELER,
No. 318, from Hall, Pennsylvania avenue, between
Mar 5—3tawtdwtf 9th and 10th streets.

GEORGE W. BRAY, COLLECTOR AND AGENT for Houses. Residence No. 282 Ninth Street north, between M and N streets, Washington.

Houses renting and collecting promptly attended to, and punctual returns made. Jan 22—d2m

JAMES J. DICKINS, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW, Patent, Claim, and General Agency, Office Southeast Corner of Seventh and F streets. Dec 4—tf

GEORGE C. THOMAS, COMMISSIONER OF Deeds for all the States, and Notary Public. Seventh street, No. 469. May 16—1y

WASHINGTON ART ASSOCIATION.—The Second Annual Exhibition of the Washington Art Association is now open at the Gallery, on H street, between 13th and 14th streets, from 10, a. m., to 10, p. m.

Admission 25 cents. Season tickets $1. To be had at the principal bookstores and hotels, and at the door.
Dec 25—dtf

THE ADMISSION OF KANSAS.

SPEECH OF HON. M. J. CRAWFORD, OF GEORGIA;

Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 24, 1858.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, Mr. M. J. CRAWFORD, of Georgia, said—

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I propose, in the hour allotted me, to examine the causes and to explain the reasons why it is that the public peace has been so much disturbed, and the apprehensions of law-abiding citizens aroused lest civil war should break out upon the borders of our western States, and spread its desolating influences throughout the entire republic.

In so doing I cannot hope to bring anything new before the country; but I do hope to show whence originates this dangerous spirit, and to whom we are indebted for all the confusion, disorder, and rebellion with which we have been threatened.

I propose to show further that the opposition to the admission of Kansas *originated here*, and is not the result of any action whatever of the Lecompton convention, but of a fixed and settled determination upon the part of the anti-slavery men of the North to repudiate the pledges of 1850, and to defeat the very object accomplished by the passage of the Nebraska act.

The Territory of Kansas has attracted more of public attention, and excited more bitterness of feeling among the statesmen of the country and the people of the United States, than any other subject since its first introduction into national politics.

The question very naturally and properly arises, why is this so? The answer lies in the hatred which exists with the republican party of the country to slave labor, and the doctrine of self-government as is provided for the people of Kansas by her organic act. The area over which this act extends differs in no material respect from other portions of the public domain, for which similar legal provisions have been made. The soil, climate, and productions differ but little from those of the adjacent country which skirts her borders. Nature has made no great change in her gifts toward this and other surrounding territory; then why, we repeat, this struggle—this conflict over Kansas? Nothing, except that she permits her citizens to employ slave labor wherever they may prefer it to white labor, and has imbodied that provision in her constitution.

This clamor is not new to this House, nor to the country. For a quarter of a century we have listened to it before this Territory was known to the people; and had it not been seized upon by a great and powerful party to carry the popular elections, not a hostile gun would have been heard on the plains of Kansas. The torch of the incendiary and the bloody knife of the assassin would have been unseen within her peaceful limits, and the military tread of American soldiery would have been known only to protect the hardy settler in his quiet home from the depredations of the savage Indian.

The worst passions belonging to humanity were excited and put in action by these party influences, and manifested themselves in acts of arson, robbery, murder, and treason. Why, let us inquire, should these results have occurred in Kansas? All the territory of the United States had been provided for except Nebraska and Kansas. Governments had been given to the territory acquired from Mexico, and in them the greatest and most alarming question in American politics was considered and settled. The enemies of our constitution, at home and abroad, looked upon the question of slave labor as the rock upon which this Union would split, and leave our country divided and distracted, as they hoped it would be, a fit and proper subject for the cupidity and avarice of the commercial nations of the earth. And whilst we had hoped that this danger had passed, and that this question had been forever closed by the Congress of the United States, in having placed it beyond the reach of its own intervention, and in the hands of each separate community when it becomes sovereign, yet we are well convinced that if it shall ever be settled, it must be when we have yielded to every demand which fanaticism makes, or cease to live in a common government where it prevails.

In the above simple, easy, practical, and constitutional manner was this perplexing question disposed of, and, as it was hoped, forever; and if in good faith it had been kept, peace and harmony would now prevail between the North and South, and this new sister would be welcomed into the family of States upon the ascertainment that her constitution was republican in form. But, sir, when we attempted to apply this principle to the organic act of Kansas, and to give the people the right to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, it became necessary to repeal a law which was in direct conflict with the exercise of this prerogative. Northern and southern patriotism was equal to the task, and in pursuance of a principle which was just, as well as constitutional, American statesmen repealed the law, and put Kansas where she had a right to be—free to determine her questions of domestic policy, limited only by the constitution.

When this act, securing these rights, was first reported in the other end of the Capitol, the enemies of slave labor and self-government manifested their opposition in every possible form—and from that hour to this the peace of the country has been disturbed, and Kansas made a scene of bloody strife, almost amounting to civil war, and all done alone to destroy the rights which had been secured to the citizens of one half your States by a law of Congress regularly enacted.

That it may be seen that I charge no man wrongfully, I will read a part of "an appeal to the people of the United States," put forth by the leading opponents of slavery in the Senate and House of Representatives at that time. They say:

"At the present session a new Nebraska bill has been reported by the Senate Committee on Territories, which, should it unhappily receive the sanction of Congress, will open all the unorganized territory of the Union to the ingress of slavery."

Will open the territory to the ingress of slavery! And for this *encroachment* upon the rights of the free States, they conclude their appeal with the following words:

"We implore Christians and Christian ministers to interpose. Their Divine religion requires them to behold in every man a brother, and to labor for the advancement and regeneration of the human race.

"Whatever apologies may be offered for the toleration of slavery in the State, none can be urged for its extension into Territories where it does not now exist, and where that extension involves the repeal of ancient law, and the violation of solemn compact. Let all protest, earnestly, emphatically, by correspondence, through the press, by memorials, by resolutions of public meetings and legislative bodies, and in whatever other mode may seem expedient, against this enormous crime.

"For ourselves, we shall resist it, by speech and vote, and with all the abilities which God has given us. Even if overcome in the impending struggle, we shall not submit. We shall go home to our constituents; erect anew the standard of freedom, and call on the people to come to the rescue of the country from the domination of slavery. We will not despair, for the cause of human freedom is the cause of God."

In this appeal we find that the opponents of slavery and the enemies of self-government were determined to resist the passage of this measure by vote and speech, and all the abilities which God had given them; fearing lest these should prove ineffectual, they invoke the aid of the men of God, and call upon Christian ministers to interpose, and especially seek their interposition, upon the ground that in each slave they saw a brother; and this, sir, to some extent, is true, for whilst the one is a slave to his master, the other is a slave to his own fanaticism and folly. This appeal had its desired effect, and thousands of deluded clergymen—men upon whom holy hands had been laid—stepped from their high and divine mission, and united with these abolitionists in endeavoring to prevent an American Congress from allowing the men in Kansas the same rights and privileges which they themselves enjoyed. To this appeal and these efforts they did add a pledge of resistance to the law, should it be passed, and called upon the people, in that event, to rescue Kansas from the domination of slavery.

These anti-Kansas men were in sober earnest in all they said upon the subject—and they have, with a devotion worthy of a better cause, contested every inch of ground over which this question had the slightest bearing. The developments of the Kansas investigation of the last Congress brought to light the fact that upon the *passage of the bill* the enemies of slavery and of self-government formed a society to defeat the very objects secured by the enactment.

The Hon. Mr. Mace, a member of that and the next succeeding Congress, swears that—

"Immediately after the passage of the Kansas act, I, together with a number of others who were members of Congress and senators, believing that the tendency of that act would be to make Kansas a slave State, in order to prevent it, formed an association here in Washington, called, if I recollect aright, the Kansas Aid Society. I do not remember all who became members of that society, but quite a number of members who were opposed to slavery in Kansas, of the lower house, and also of the Senate, became members of it, and subscribed various sums of money. I think I subscribed fifty or a hundred dollars—I am not prepared to say which.

"My recollection is, that generally those members of the House and Senate who were opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska act became members of this society, and contributed to it.

"I think no other object was mentioned or specified except the prevention of slavery in Kansas. I think that was the sole object of the movement. My impression is, that a majority of those who voted against the bill were members of that organization. I do not remember the total amount of money raised."

Under this testimony we find that the members generally who *voted* against the act *joined* this society, and *contributed* money to prevent slavery in Kansas, and to defeat the very object which Congress had in view in its passage—that of removing the restriction against slavery, and allowing the people who were to be affected by it to establish or prohibit the same as they thought best. This fund thus raised was used in the transportation of men and guns from the eastern States to the Territory of Kansas, that they might by powder and ball prevent the people there from the enjoyment of a right which Congress by law had conferred upon them. Congress had said, "form and regulate your domestic institutions in your own way, so that you do not violate the constitution;" but these men, who had determined to resist the law by speech and vote, and all the powers which God had given them, armed their people, and sent them out to accomplish on the battle-field what they had lost in the council chamber. Boxes of rifles, marked "revised statutes," had been shipped to Kansas to arm the free-State men, who were to prevent, by their bloody use, the people from establishing slavery, should they desire it.

Thus from the Capitol to the soil of this new Territory was transferred the same spirit of resistance to law and order which originated within its walls. The fiat of a great and powerful party in this country had gone forth that "no more slave States should be added to the Union," and it must be obeyed. True, the constitution said no such thing; true, that the law of Congress had declared that this, as well as other Territories, might be admitted as States, either with or without slavery; yet these are not regarded—for the day has yet to come when abolitionists are found observing the constitution or obeying the laws of the land. Instead of allowing Kansas peaceably to populate itself, they organize here, in the heart of the nation, a society for the purpose of preventing the ordinary process of settlement, and to throw into Kansas a class of men who were to take possession of the "revised statutes," and shoot down or drive out of the Territory the *slaveholder* when his government no longer interposed by legal enactment to restrain him from its use and occupation with whatsoever was property. They had received, under the official signatures of their great captains, a written statement, that if *Congress* consented to allow slaveholders to settle in the Territory, *they* never would submit to such an *enormous crime*. In pursuance of this feeling of insubordination, we find introduced into, perhaps, the first convention they ever held in Kansas, the following significant resolution:

"*Resolved*, That every reliable free-State man in the Territory be furnished with a rifle, a brace of pistols, and a sabre, gratis; and that he be required to take an oath to come when called upon, and muster into service under his superior officer, and to sacrifice his life, if necessary, to rescue the person and property of any person who would be brought under the jurisdiction of the present laws of the Territory."

These men had been advertised that if southern men should be permitted by law to occupy this Territory, then *they* would be called upon to "*rescue the country from the domination of slavery*." In obedience to this command, we see that the free-State men are to be armed with a rifle, pistols, and a sabre, gratis, purchased, perhaps, with the funds referred to by the Hon. Mr. Mace in his testimony. To what immediate use were they to be applied? In resisting the laws enacted by the legislature of Kansas? Why? Because they protect the slaveholder in his rights of property. Admit that they were unconstitutional: then why not appeal to the courts to declare them so? Because theirs was not a mission of law and peace, but of blood and treason; else, why ship the rifle and the revolver, instead of the Bible and the prayer-book?

These men neither regarded the law of Congress nor the law of the Territory; they were opposed to *all* law, and to its enforcement; hence, in pursuance of the above resolution, they *swear* their men to resist the laws, and to sacrifice their lives, if need be, to rescue the person or property of any who might be brought under their jurisdiction. Here is the oath:

"I, of my own free will and accord, in the presence of Almighty God and these witnesses, do solemnly swear that I will always hail, forever conceal, and never reveal, any of the secrets of this organization to any person in the known world, except it be to a member of the order, or within the body of a just and legal council. I further more promise and swear that I will not write, print, stain, or indite them on anything movable or immovable, whereby the least figure or character may become intelligible to myself or any other person. I furthermore promise and swear that I will, at all times and under all circumstances, hold myself in readiness to obey, even to death, the orders of my superior officers. I furthermore promise and swear that I will, at all times and under all circumstances, use my influence to make Kansas a free white State. I furthermore promise and swear that, all things else being equal, I will employ a free-State man in preference to a Missouri man. I furthermore promise and swear that all business that I transact, so far as in my power, shall be transacted with free-State men. I furthermore promise and swear that I will, at all times and under all circumstances, hold myself in readiness to take up arms in defence of free-State principles, even though it should subvert the government. I furthermore promise and swear that I will, at all times and under all circumstances, wear upon my person the regalia of my office and the insignia of the order. I furthermore swear that I will, at all times and under all circumstances, wear on my person a weapon of death. I furthermore promise and swear that I will, at all times and under all circumstances, keep in my house at least one gun, with a full supply of ammunition. I furthermore promise and swear that I will, at all times and under all circumstances, when I see the sign of distress given, rush to the assistance of the person giving it, even where there is a greater probability of saving his life than of losing my own. I furthermore promise and swear that I will, to the utmost of my power, *oppose the laws of the so called Kansas legislature*. I furthermore promise and swear that, when I hear the words of danger given, I will repair to the place where the danger is. I furthermore promise and swear that, if any part of my obligation is at this time omitted, I will consider the same as binding when legally informed of it. I furthermore promise that, at the first convenient opportunity, I will commit this obligation to memory. To all of this I solemnly swear, without equivocation or self-evasion, binding myself under the penalty of being declared a perjurer before Heaven and a traitor to my country."

This oath expresses, more fully than anything which I could say, the object of this bloody and treasonable organization. They were to keep their secrets from every person in the known world, except members; they were to obey, even unto death, the orders of their superior officers; to be in readiness to take up arms in defence of free-State principles, *although it should subvert the government*; to wear at all times upon their persons a weapon of death; and to oppose to the uttermost *the laws of the Kansas legislature*. Never were orders more strictly obeyed than were those issued from the headquarters of this revolutionary party in this city. It is proclaimed from this Capitol, by senators and representatives, that although Congress may open territory to the ingress of slavery, yet we will *never* submit to such an enormous crime. Instantly the free-soilers of the eastern States caught up the cry, and they, too, declare *that we never will submit*. And all along the lines of the great republican party, stretching from Boston to the plains of Kansas, is re-echoed the same determined spirit of insubordination and resistance to law that was first heard from those who ought to have been the last men in the government to stir up insurrection, and to excite the people to acts of incipient treason. These men have faithfully kept *their pledge*, and the "Kansas regulators" *their oath*; for soon we see another convention at Topeka forming a constitution without law, without authority, and in direct opposition to the regular territorial government authorized by Congress.

Under this constitution they attempted to subvert the local government, for the next movement of these armed and sworn "regulators" was to place themselves in the attitude of *resistance* to the laws, and by force of arms to prevent their execution by the officers. The despatch of Governor Shannon to the President explains the condition of the country immediately after the formation of this constitution, and proves the assertion which we have made. He says:

"Affairs in this Territory are daily assuming a shape of real danger to the peace and good order of society. I am well satisfied that there exists in this Territory a secret military organization, which has for its object, among other things, resistance to the laws by force. Until within a few days past I have looked upon the threats of leading men and public papers, who have placed themselves in an attitude of resistance to the laws, as not intended by those who made them to be carried into execution. I am now satisfied of the existence of this secret military organization, and that those engaged in it have been secretly supplied with arms and munitions of war; and that it is the object and purpose of this organization to resist the laws by force. The strength of this organization is variously estimated at from one to two thousand; but I have no satisfactory data from which to estimate its real strength; and I do believe they can command, for any purpose, more than one thousand men. They are said to be well supplied with Sharpe's rifles and revolvers, and are bound by an oath to assist and aid each other in the resistance of the laws when called upon so to do."

He further says:

"On Monday last a warrant was issued against one of this band of men for threatening the life of one of his neighbors, and placed in the hands of the sheriff of the county for execution, who, with a posse of some ten men, arrested him on Tuesday night; and as he was conveying the prisoner to Lecompton, he was met about two o'clock in the morning by a band of these men, consisting of between forty and fifty, all armed with Sharpe's rifles and revolvers, who forcibly rescued the prisoner out of his hands, *and openly proclaimed that there were no officers or laws in this Territory*."

Here we see, sir, before the Topeka constitution was ninety days old, that these sworn "regulators" rescue prisoners, destroy property, burn houses, and force helpless women and innocent children, terrified by fear and threats, to flee their homes and seek shelter in Missouri. It is to prevent all this the governor calls upon the President to send the army of the United States to aid in the preservation of life and property. I will not fail just here to pay to the late President of the United States the high compliment which he so richly deserves for his manly and patriotic reply to Governor Shannon, by inserting the same, that the country may honor him for his devotion to law and order, and give him the high position to which he is so justly entitled, but which the party bitterness of the hour denied him. He says:

"Your despatch is received. All the power vested in the Executive will be exerted to preserve order and enforce the laws."

Notwithstanding this, the sworn "regulators," continuing their rebellious opposition to the local government, go forward, elect all their officers, both State and federal, declare certain persons governor, senators to Congress, judges and sheriffs, with the avowed purpose of destroying that government which Congress had authorized. This new one was put in operation; but very soon sufficient *arrests* were made to temper the spirit of rebellion which had broken out among these "regulators," and forced the immediate parties to acknowledge that theirs was only a mere "fancy" government, and existed only on paper; understanding full well that no man could be punished because he imagined himself a governor, a judge, or a sheriff.

No sooner, however, were these men discharged than they attempted to set up their State government, and put at defiance the laws of Kansas, and it became necessary for the President of the United States, by proclamation, "to command all persons engaged in unlawful combinations *against the constituted authority* of the Territory of Kansas, or of the United States, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes; and to warn all such persons that any attempted insurrection in said Territory, or aggressive intrusion into the same, will be resisted not only by the local militia, but also by that of any available forces of the United States."

This proposed use of "villanous saltpetre" had a very happy, though temporary effect; for, although no *forcible* attempt was made to set up the Topeka government, yet every other method was adopted to weaken and destroy that which was lawfully established. Failing to accomplish their purposes in Kansas, these "regulators" came before Congress and demanded admission for her into the Union as a State under their government; but she was rejected by the votes of every member of Congress except those who were determined never to act in obedience to a law which opened our common territory to the ingress of slavery, and whose party had planted itself upon the doctrine that no more slave States should be added to this Union.

The democratic party, upon that occasion, stood by the law of 1854 organizing the territorial government, and in which law was recognised the right of a people in forming their constitution to adopt or reject slavery, as they might choose; and, without regard to that subject, such State might be admitted into the Union. Upon the rejection of this revolutionary State government by Congress, the imprisonment of certain "regulators" in Kansas, and upon the great principle of self-government contained in the act itself, these "regulators," through their chiefs and head men, appealed for justice, as they called it, to the American people in the popular elections of 1856. They stood with "bleeding Kansas" and the Topeka constitution emblazoned upon their banners, and called upon the people to hurl from power the oppressor, and to drive from these halls all who had refused to redress the wrongs of Kansas. But even here they appealed in vain, for a majority of the people decided to *stand by the law*, and to sustain those men only who lived in obedience thereto.

Thus our present Chief Magistrate came into the executive chair instructed to enforce the laws as they had been made, and as they had been construed by his predecessor.

The people of Kansas who were obeying the laws of the Territory, seeing that a majority of the people of the States would not justify rebellion even there, and desiring to satisfy the wishes of those who sought admission as a State for her into the Union, through their legislature pass a law in January, 1857, authorizing the election of delegates to a convention, which was, in pursuance of the same, to form a State constitution. So much had been said and written upon the subject of Missouri voters, and of their having forced the laws of the Territory upon an unwilling people, that the legislature provided against fraudulent voting in the election for delegates, by requiring a registry of the names of such persons in each county as were authorized to vote, to be made three months prior to the day set apart for the election.

The "Kansas regulators" at *that* time, as well as at *this*, claimed for themselves a majority in the Territory. Yet under this fair and proper mode of ascertaining who were legal voters, and who were not, in some counties they refused to be registered, whilst in others, as for instance Franklin, the sheriff who was authorized to discharge this duty had been killed; and the probate clerk, who, in the absence of the sheriff, had the same power, utterly refused to obey the law.

This preliminary duty, however, was executed as far as possible, and wherever the people would submit to it; and at the regularly appointed time the election was held and delegates chosen for the purpose of forming a State constitution. The elective franchise is a right or privilege which is to be enjoyed or not by the citizen; if he chooses, he exercises it; and if not, he delegates to others the authority and power of acting for him. By his own refusal, therefore, he is estopped from complaint at results which his own act might have prevented. Thus in Kansas, those men who refused to obey the law by withholding their names from registry, and subsequently from voting, are foreclosed from objection by their own deed. This, of itself, is a sufficient argument against them; but how much more so it becomes when we remember that, in this matter as in all others, they stood *outside the government*, and obstinately refused to participate in the rights secured to them, or perform the duties required of them. They had the assurance of both territorial and federal governments that they should be protected in all their rights. Instead, however, of accepting these proffered offers, and by way of manifesting their purpose to disregard all law, they undertake, by the authority of a municipal election, to exercise certain chartered rights given to the town of Lawrence, in known violation of territorial law, and in direct conflict therewith. So palpably *rebellious* was this new movement that Governor Walker, who had made himself obnoxious to the charge of intervention in their behalf, thus writes to General Harney, commander of the troops in Kansas:

"I have received authentic intelligence that a dangerous rebellion has occurred in the city of Lawrence, in this Territory, involving an open defiance of the laws and the establishment of an insurgent government in that city.

"This movement, if not speedily arrested, I am also assured, will be extended throughout the Territory, and must result in the renewal of civil war.

"It becomes my painful duty, under my instructions from the President of the United States, to request you to furnish a regiment of dragoons to proceed at once to the immediate vicinage of Lawrence, to act as a *posse comitatus* in aid of the civil authorities in due execution of the laws and for the preservation of the public peace."

General Harney obeys the order and marches with his command upon Lawrence; but before any act of hostility by the troops upon this population, Governor Walker issues his proclamation, in which he charges them with the following crimes:

"You are inaugurating rebellion and revolution; you are disregarding the laws of Congress and of the territorial government, and defying their authority; you are conspiring to overthrow the government of the United States in this Territory. Your purpose, if carried into effect in the mode designated by you, by putting your laws forcibly into execution, would involve you in the guilt and crime of treason."

General Harney's troops and this proclamation had a most "soothing effect" upon the "regulators" of the city of Lawrence; for although many were for bringing on the conflict, yet the more prudent counsels prevailed, and a bloody issue was avoided. Still no obedience was given to the laws, and no participation was taken in the affairs of government other than such as would tend to break up and destroy it. The law-abiding citizens, however, had chosen their delegates to the constitutional convention, and were only awaiting their action to ask admission into the Union. This body met at the time and in the manner provided by law, framed a constitution, and prepared Kansas for taking her place as one of the great family of States. And now, sir, she stands before Congress claiming admission. Yet, strange to say, she is met with opposition, and that, too, upon the ground that these same "regulators" had not participated in the formation of her constitution; that their names had not been registered; that they had not voted in the election for delegates to the convention; nor had the constitution been referred to them for ratification; and that they do constitute a majority of the legal voters of the Territory. What unblushing effrontery! After having obstinately refused to recognise the laws of the Territory; after having obstinately refused to register their names; after having refused to vote for delegates; and after having refused to vote for or against the constitution, they stand here at the doors of your Capitol and demand that Kansas shall not be admitted—and that, too, because of their factious and rebellious conduct. Others are found opposing her admission, not only on these accounts, but for the reason that Congress had no power to repeal the law which made an unconstitutional discrimination against the slaveholder; and although the Supreme Court has decided that the law of 1854 was constitutional, yet this opposition still exists, and the decision is met by the charge that the court making it, as well as the law-making power, both here and in Kansas, are all *corrupt*. Yes, sir, the senator who introduced the bill, and the President who approved it, have both been burned in effigy more than once for their offences; the one for bringing forward, the other for signing, a constitutional law.

The great and paramount question now is, however, shall Kansas be admitted? In answer to this question I am pained to say that recent developments have shown that new and more dangerous foes are added to the list of those who have hitherto clamored against her admission. Who are they? and whence do they come? They are the early friends of the Kansas act—men who stood by it whilst it was *theoretic*, but who do not now sustain it in its practical results. They are of the few northern democrats who withstood the shock of the political elements after the passage of the Nebraska act. But they are the last men in the world who ought to have bowed their heads *after* the violence of the storm had passed. It is only another convincing proof that the great ties which bind us together are one by one being snapped asunder.

But, sir, to the question—why is it that Kansas is to be rejected? Because her constitution is not republican in form? No man has yet made such an objection. Because there is not a sufficient population? That is not urged. Then, why is it? First, because there is a pro-slavery clause contained in the constitution; and second, because it is asserted that there is a sufficient number of "Kansas regulators" to vote it down. For the sake of the argument, let us admit that these who advocate the Topeka constitution have a *majority*. Who are they, and by what right do they come before us to ask admission under their constitution? They are the men who never did, and do not now, recognise our law providing them with a government; they are the men who went out to take charge of the "Revised Statutes," and who, in obedience to the great "appeal" issued from this Capitol, settled in Kansas with a fixed determination *never to submit* to your law, nor to any other that might be made under it. They are those who entered into solemn league and covenant, *under oath*, to resist the laws of Kansas, though that resistance should subvert your government; they are the men who set at defiance all law, human and divine, and committed the grossest acts of violence and wrong upon helpless and unoffending people; they are the men against whom Gov. Shannon marched with the forces he could command to quell their insurrectionary movements; they are the men who came to Congress asking admission into the Union under the Topeka constitution, and whose very petition, I believe, the Senate decided to be a forgery. These are the men against whom Gen. Harney was ordered to march to subdue their rebellion in the city of Lawrence, and the same who refused to qualify themselves as voters by registering their names; who refused to vote for delegates, or upon the constitution; and who now, for these reasons, ask you to reject Kansas because they did not choose to exercise their franchises according to law; and more than all, these are the men who now say to an American Congress, that, if you dare to admit Kansas, civil war will be the consequence: *we* never have recognised this government of yours in Kansas, and *you* must not; we have never lived under it, for we have uniformly resisted its laws. We have an inherent right to make a government without your authority, and we have made it; under it we have officers and we have citizens—under none other have we lived; and under this (the Topeka government) we ask admission into the Union.

How different with those who represent the Lecompton constitution! In 1854 you passed an act organizing this Territory; the grant which you gave was accepted. Under it, a legislature was chosen, and laws enacted for the protection of person and property; and as the population increased, they, under recommendation of the late Chief Magistrate to Congress, suggesting that a State government should be formed, submitted that matter to the sense of the people; a majority of the voters endorsed the recommendation, and the legislature ordered an election for delegates to a constitutional convention. All this was regular and lawful; what else was done? In order that only the actual residents should vote, they provide that no person should be permitted to vote unless he had been a resident inhabitant for three months prior to the election; and to make assurance doubly sure, they required that the names of all persons living in the Territory be registered, so that the armed bands of Missourians should be excluded. Congress had extended to them the power to legislate upon all rightful subjects, and to determine who should, at all elections after the *first*, constitute the voters. In the exercise of this grant of power they prescribed who should be voters and who should not. This law was constitutional and valid—therefore binding. Those who qualified themselves under it could exercise the elective franchise; those who did not were, by their own act, properly excluded, and must accept the fruits of their own obstinacy without complaint. The convention, therefore, was in pursuance of law, and, as a necessary consequence, its action was binding and irrevocable, except in the proper and legal mode. The constitution upon your table, sir, is the result of their labors; and with it Kansas asks you to admit her.

Just at this point she is met with the objection that her entire constitution was not submitted to the people for ratification; her answer is, that eighteen of your thirty-one States did not submit theirs to the people, and that eight of the new States now in the Union have been admitted without this requirement; that it is unjust to put upon her a restriction never before required of others. It is then urged that the voters were compelled to vote for the constitution in voting for or against slavery. How plausible soever this objection may be, we insist that it should have been made *before the convention* of Kansas as a reason for submitting the whole instrument; but it is a question that comes not properly before us. The delegates were authorized and instructed by the law calling the convention to frame a State constitution, but upon the subject of submitting their work to the people they were left untrammeled and uninstructed—therefore free.

Being thus clothed with sovereign powers to make a constitution, they were clothed with the right to submit the whole, or a part, or none of their labors, as they might determine; and these are questions not for *us* to inquire into or decide. That convention, unlimited as it was by legal enactment, possessed all the power that it would have had if every man in Kansas had been a member, and voted upon each article and section until the whole was complete; this being true, when that constitution was made it expressed the voice and will of the people as though they had been present, and from that judgment of the sovereignty of Kansas there lies no appeal. If this be not a sufficient answer, she points you to your own act of 1854, where you expressly secured to her the right to form and regulate her institutions *in her own way*, and conferred upon her the power to legislate upon all rightful subjects. She has, by *your permission* and under *your authority*, exercised these grants of power, and now presents to you a republican form of government and asks you to receive her as a State. There can be and is but one objection to her admission, and that is, her constitution recognises and protects slavery; but even upon this point she is guar