POETRY.

RISTORY OF LIFE. OF BARRALLORS SALE.

Day dewant. Without acustion if the Filled to faintness with perturne.

A lady lay at point of doom. Day closed. A child had seen the (i,h) but for the ledy fair and bright—the rested in undecaming might pring came. The fady's grave was green And near it offentimes was seen A gentle box, with thoughtful mice. Years field. He were a manty face. And struggled in the world's rough race. Yell won, at last, a lofty place. Viol then he dim! Behold before ye lumanity's brief sum and story...
Life, Beath, and all there is of Grone.

The Fice Press

BERLINGTON:

FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 19, 1858.

SPEECH OF MR. SEWARD, In the Kansas Bill, in the U. S. Senate, March Ld Mr. Presinger. Eight years ago, we slow the Wilmot Provise in the Senate Chamber, and buried it with triumphant demonstrahonored system of governing the Territories by Federal rules and regulations, and pul-ished and proclaimed in its stead a new gosished and proclaimed in its stead a new gas-pel of popular socretigaty, whose waves like these of wisdom, were to be ways of pleas antness, and all of whose paths were sup-posed to be flowery paths of peace. Never-theless, the question whether there shall be Slavery or no Slavery in the Territories, is is again the stirring passage of the day.— The restless Provise has burst the corements of the grave, and striking lands here in our of the grave, and striking hands here in our very presence with the gentle spirit of popular sovereignty run mad, is seen raging free-ly in our halls, stattering dismay among the Administration benches in both Houses of Congress. Thus an old unwelcome lesson is read to us anew. The question of Slavery in the Federal Territories, which are the nurseries of future States, independently of all its moral and humans elements, involves a dynastical struggle of two antaronistical sysnastical struggle of two antagonistical sys-tems, the labor of slaves and the labor of freemen, for mastery in the Federal Union.— One of these systems partakes of an aristo-eratic character the other is purely demo-

he said that the British House of Commons, of which he was at the moment equally an croament and an idol, like every other popular assembly, must be viewed as a mass of men capable of too much attachment and too much animosity, capable of being biased by weak and even wicked motives, and liable to be governed by ministerial influence, by caprice, and by corruption.

Mr. President, I propose to inquire, in the

first place, why the question before us is at-tended by real or apparent dangers.

I think our apprehensions are in part due to the intrinsic importance of the transaction concerned. Whenever we add a new column foundation so firmly, to shape its shaft with such just proportions, to poise it with such the exactness and to adjust its connections with the further removal of the borders of the Republic I cheerfully admit that this policy has not been the angle of the policy has not been and yet is predominant. I am not now to deploy the angle of the angle of the same and share States began with the further removal of the borders of the Republic I cheerfully admit that this policy has not been and yet is predominant. I am not now to deploy the angle of the same and share States began with the further removal of the borders of the Republic I cheerfully admit that this policy has not been and yet is predominant. I am not now to deploy the angle of the same and the further removal of the borders of the Republic I cheerfully admit that this policy has not been and yet is predominant. I am not now to deploy the angle of the same and the sam may stand erect forever, increasing the grand-State is not necessarily or even customarily without serious commotions, except in the cases of Missouri, Texas and California. We are even now admitting two others, Minnesota are even now admitting two others, Minnesota and Oregon; and these transactions go on so smoothly that only close observers are aware that we are thus consolidating our dominion the manumission of slaves, gave place to polion the shores of Lake Superior, and almost at the gates of the Arctic Ocean.

rates of the Arctic Ocean.
is manifest that the apprehended difficulties in the present case have some relation to the dispute concerning Slavery, which is raging within the Territory of Kansas. Yet, it must be remembered that nine of the new States which have been admitted, expressly established Slavery or tolerated it, and nin-The excitement, there-

National Government always or even habiti-ally, intervened in the Territories in favor of Free States, but only that such interven-tion prepanderated. While Slavery existed in all of the States but one, at the beginning.

The fathers knew only two kinds of labor, the same which now exist among ourselves—namely, the labor of African slaves and the labor of freezen. The former then predominated in this country, as it did throughout the continent. A confessel deficiency of slave labor could be supplied only by domestic increase, and by continuance of the then existing importation from Africa. The supply of free labor depended on domestic increase, and a voluntary immigration from exasts. ply of free labor depended on domestic in crease, and a voluntary immigration from Europe. Settlements which had time early taken on a free-labor character, or a slave-labor character, were already maturing in those parts of the old States which were to be ultimately dotached and formed into new States. When new States of this class were organized, they were admitted promptly, either as free States or as slave States, without objection. Thus Vermont, a free States was adjection. Thus Vermont, a free State, was admitted in 1791; Kentucky, a slave State, 1792; and Tennessee, also a slave State, in 1796. Five new States were contemplated to be erected in the Northwest Territory. Pracbe erected in the Northwest Territory. Prac-tically it was unoccupied, and therefore open to labor of either kind. The one kind or the other, in the absence of any anticipated emulation, would predominate, just as Con-gress should intervene to layer it. Congress intervened in favor of free labor. This in-deed, was an act of the Continental Congress, leading to the continental Congress, leading to the continental Congress. deed, was an act of the Continental Congress, but it was confirmed by the first Constitution. But it was confirmed by the first Constitution all Congress. The fathers simultaneously adopted three other measures of less direct instance of the African slave trade. Secondly, they considered in 1808, the absolute suppression of the African slave trade. Secondly, they originized systems of foreign commerce and navigation, which stimulated voluntary emitted and the constitution of the constitution of the African slave trade. Secondly, they originized systems of foreign commerce and navigation, which stimulated voluntary emitted to the constitution of the African slave trade. Secondly, they are also the constitution of the African slave trade and the constitution of the African slave trade. Secondly, they are also the constitution of the African slave trade in the people of every State, exclusive authority and the people of every States, exclusive authority and the people of every States. tensine, for mastery in the Federal Curion.
One of these systems partakes of an aristic cratic character the other is purely democratic character. Each one of the existing States has staked, or it will ultimately stake, not only its influence in the Federal councils, on the decision of that contest, so show the struggle is not to be arrested quelled or reconciled, by temporary expedients or compromises.

Mr. President, Lalways engage reluctantly in these discussions, which have made to work the matter of the degree that their importance denames the impartial unpriage of reason. This reluctance deepens now, when I look around me and count the able contestants who have nearly entered the lists on either side, and shadowy forms of many great and homored states and the major states are whose tongues have since be comestrative who have nearly entered the lists on either side, and shadowy forms of many great and homored states and way as the work of the sum of the contestants who have nearly entered the lists on either side, and shadowy forms of many great and homored states men who once were cloquent in these disputes, but whose tongues have since be comestratingles instruments, rise up before me. It is, however, a maxim in military science, that in preparation for war, every one should think as if the last event depended on his former portions of the same settlement in St. Lails, applied with the sum of shave labor was at one of State, the State saministian, upon a shave labor settlement in St. Lails, applied with the sum of shave labor, and shave state sould fight as if he were the only champion. The principle, perhaps, is equally sound in political science, which teaches that all its not of political science, which teaches that all its not of political science of the same straints and the same of shave and one of shave labor was at one of State; the kind of the first and before the first and the more application. The champion of the same of the same of the major of the first and the against the decision of the co

of the instruction given by the Banan may be defined science, which teaches that all ity, demanded that the new State should be a slave-holding and free-more many in are bad by nature, and that they will shake the Union to its foundations, and it grants, not face to face to organize, through the machinery of republican action, a cost have a fair opportunity. But jealousy of ex-coutive power is a high practical virtue in Republies; and we shall find it hard to deny the justice of the character of free legislative ment was to be admitted, and it was after

effective by the stipulation that the new State of Texas may hereafter be divided and so reorganized as to constitute five slave States — This great act cast a long slandow before it—a ly consequences of the annexation of Texas, that all of those events in fact may be re-garded as constituting one net of interves-tion in favor of slave labor and slave. States. there are three of them, namely

First. That whereas, in the beginning, the

accordency of the Slave States was absolute.
it is now being reversed.

Second. That whereas, heretofore, the Na
Second. That whereas, heretofore, the Na
Control of California. The amazing mineeral wealth of California like that of vorce. Second. That whereas, heretolore, the Na-tional Government favored this change of balance from the slave States to the free States, it has now reversed this policy, and opposes the change.

The Mexican laws which prevailed in the newly-acquired Territories dedicated them to free labor, and thus the astounding

ing the sametion of public faith, as it certainly bad those of time and asquisseme. But the slaveholding people of Missouri backed across the border, into Kansas, and ceveted the land. The slave States could not fail to sympathize with them.

It seemed as if no organization of Government could be effected in the Forritory. The Sandor from Illinois, (Mr. Douglas,) projected a scheme. I when his virgous bealing, Congress crytted by Territoris. Advanced Might, it was supposed, by sufficiently one) might, it was supposed, by sufficient showing the second free States. The latter (the Southern one) was accessible to the slave States, be derest on one of them, and was regarded as a region inviting to slaveholders. So it might be settled by them, and become a free States. Thus indirectly a further compromises might be effected, if the Missouri probabilition of 1820 should be abrogated. Congress tion of 1820 should be abrogated. Congress abrogated it, with the special effective cooperation of the President, and thus the National Government directly intervened in favor of slave labor. Loud remonstrances against the measure on the ground of its riblation of the untional faith were silenced by clamorous arowals of a dissovery that Congress had never had any right to in-tercene in the Cerritories for or against Slavery, but that the criticus of the United

yaded and entered the Territory, with banners, ammunition, proxisions and forag and encamped around the polls. They see This great act cast a long shadow before it—a a shadow which preplexed the people of the free States. It was then that a feeble socile movement, which aimed by moral persuasion at the manumission of slaves, gave place to political organizations, which have ever since gone on increasing in energy and extent, directed against a further extension of slavery in the United States. The war between the United States. The war between the United States and Mexico, and the acquisition of the Mexican provinces of New Mexico and I pper California, the fraits of that war, were so immediately and direct. a State without affection for it, and childless again without b reavement. In the first hour of trial, the new system of popular sovereignty signally failed—failed be one it is impossible to organize, by one single act, in one day, a community perfectly free, perfectly savereign, and perfectly constituted, out of elements massimilated, anarranged and mecomposed. Free labor rightfully won the day. Slave labor wrested the victory to itself for fraud and violence. Instead of a free republican teaternment in the Territory, such as popular sovereignty had promised, there was then and thenceforth a batchil usurpation. This usurpation presented without delay and with congration presented without delay and with balance from the size Nation to the formule size Nation to the formule size Nation to the formule size of Nation to the stress of the policy and the policy and the stress of National Tributions desired the stress of National Property and the State of National Property and the National Pro

the people upon Congress, were dispersed by the army, and the State officers provision-ally elected, who had committed no criminal act, were arrested, indicast, and held in the Federal camp as State prisoners. Neverthe-less, the people of Kansas did not acquiesce.

to submit to disfranchising laws, and to usual a reasonal of the frauds and violence y which the autreparties had been established. I. On a account, would the Legislature gree that the projected Constitution should agree that the projected Constitution should be submitted to the people, after it should have been recrisical by the Concention. The reforal of this just measure, so necessary to the public security in case of surprise and fraud, was a confession of the purpose on the part of the usurpation to carry a Constitution into effect by surprise and fraud.—The Governor insisted on this provision, and demanded of the President of the United States the removal of a partial and transition.

with the first production of the control of the con phase the mouning President, by seizing this extraneous and idle forensie discussion, and converting it into an occasion for pronouncing an opinion that the Missouri

And they and the President alike forgot that the people indicial usurpation is more odious and intol-

the same of the collegations of that great adopted. The same page and that was to be described not in fact.

anse.

The people of Kansas, thus deprived, not the page and ended. On the 5th of March, stall door attention with recognizing their to overlook the manifest objections to the lastic appoint.

required an opening of the region in the Northern than in some of the Southern States. All of the form recontemplate in early satisfied by a state of the southern States. All of the form recontemplate in the States. All of the form recontemplate in the States is a state of the interest of the interest

emancipated, and thus received from his master, as a reward, the freedom which the Court had denied him as a right. The new President of the United States, having organized this formulable pudicial but tery at the Capital, was now reads to be a Apartime all-time was new superacting. Excitoment within and sympathies without the Territory must be allayed. Governor Stamon was removed, and Mr. Geary was appointed his successor. He exacted submission to the statutes of the usurpation, but promised equality in their administration. He induced a repeal of some of those statutes which were most obviously unconstitutional, and declared an amoesty for political offences. He persuaded the Legislature of the usurpation to ordain a call for a Convention at Lecompton to form a Constitution, if the measure should be approved by a popular vote at an election to be held for that purpose. It was tach an election was to recognise and tolerate the usurpation, as well as to submit to disfranchicing laws, and to small a removal of the franchical propose of the propose of the propose of the continuation of the franchical propose of the propo

near, Frederick P. Strates, at J. accesses, beneated and capable, of persons of the combined but bonest ambition, was appointed his Secretary. The new agents son found they had assumed a task that would fax all their energies and require all their admines. On the one side, the Slave Labor party were determined to circumvent the people, and secure through the Lecompton Convention, a slave State. On the other the results was ward. State. On the other, the people were watchful and determined not to be circumvented, and in no case to submit. Elections for del-

and converting it into an occasion for pronouncing an opinion that the Missouri production was void, and that by force of the Constitution, slavery existed, with all the elements of property in man over man, in all the Freitories of the United States, parameunt to any popular sovereignty within the Territories, and even to the authority of Congress itself.

In this ill-amened act, the Supreme Court forget its own dignity, which had always been maintained with just judicial jealouse. In this ill-omened act, the Supreme Court forget its own dignity, which had always been maintained with just judicial jealousy. They forget that that the prevince of a court is simply "justheere," and not at all "just dore." They forget also that one "foul sentence does more harm than many foul examples, for the last do but corrupt the stream, while the former corrupteth, the fountain, "while the former corrupteth the fountain." was only for the last do but corrupt the stream, while the former corrupteth the fountain."

And they and the President alike forgot that judicial usurpation is more odious and intolerable than any other among the manifold practices of tyranny.

was only full row came the question whether the Constitution should be submitted to the people. It was confessed that it was observed that it was observed to the property of the proper cactices of tyranny
The day of manguration came—the first
to have suggested the solution which was
adopted. This was a submission in form but
not in fact. The President of the Convenby a califfon between the Executive and Judicial departments, to undermine the National Legislature and the liberties of the
Executive and Judicial departments, to undermine the National Legislature and the liberties of the
Executive and Judicial departments, to undermine the National Legislature and the liberties of the
Executive and Judicial departments, to undermine the National Legislature and the liberties of the
Executive and Judicial departments, to undermine the National Legislature and the liberties of the
Executive and Judicial departments, to undermine the National Legislature and the liberties of the
Sas under that Constitution, strive to delay
the admission of Minnesota, until their oppoments shall compromise on that paramount
authorities, and with their aid to hold an
of the national intervention in the Territories in favor of slave labor and slave States
same 1820. No wonder that the question
the liberties of the Constitution with Slavery,
by a control of the Constitution of the Constitution of the Austion.

The President of the Constitution, strive to delay
the admission of Minnesota, until their oppoments shall compromise on that paramount
question.

This, Mr. President, is a concise account
of the national intervention in the Territories in favor of slave labor and slave States
same until their oppoments shall compromise on that paramount
question.

This, Mr. President, as a concise account
of the constitution with the open and the same and with their aid to hold an
of the translation of Minnesota, until their oppoments shall compromise on that paramount
authorities, and with their aid to hold an
of the Territorial
authorities, and with their aid to hold an
of the International intervention in the
ories in favor of slave labor and shave States
same until their oppoments shall compromise on that paramount
authorities and with the open and the same and the constitution.

The President of the Austion.

The President of the Constitution.

The Austional Constit

to be noise on the 21st of December, on the questions submitted by the Convention. The people, however, were neither misled nor intimidated. Alarmed by this act of counivance by the President of the United States with their oppressors, they began to prepare for the last arbitrament of nations. The Secretary, Mr. Stanton, now Governor admiron, issued his preclamation, calling the new Territorial Legislature to assemble to provide for preserving the nablic peace. An new Territorial Legislature to assemble to provide for preserving the public peace. An Executive spy dispatched information of this proceeding to the President by telegraph and instantly. Mr. Stanton ceased to be Secretary and Geovernor of interim, being removed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States. Thus the service of Frederick P. Stanton came to an alternational last in accessive to the to an algupt end, but it a namer most hon-orable to bimself. His chief, Mr. Walker, was less wise and less fortunate. He resigned Pactus Thrasca, (we are intermed by Tacitus) had been often present in the Senate, when the fathers descended to unworthy acts, and did not six for the second of the did not rise in opposition; but, on the occa-sion when Nero procured from them a decre-to celebrate as a festival, the day on which he ind murdered his mother, Agrippina, Pietus left his scat, and walked out of the chamber—thus by his virtue provoking future vengennee, and yet doing no service to the cause of Liberty. Possibly Robert J. Walker may of Liberty Possibly Robe find a less stern historian.

The new Secretary, Mr Denver, became Gracener of Kansar, the fifth incumbent of that office appointed within less than four years, the legal term of one. Happily, however, for the honor of the country, three of the recalls were made on the ground of the virtues of the parties disgraced. The Pro-Consuls of the Roman Provinces were brought back to answer for their crimes.

and the decision of Congress on the acceptance of the Lecompton Constitution. In the meantime, the Territorial Legislature has called a Convention, subject to the repular approval, to be held in March next, and to people, and, when adopted to be the organic law of the new State of Kansas, subject to her admission into the Union. The Presi-dent of the United States, having re-dent of the United States, having reesived the Lecompton Constitution, has submitted it to Congress, and insisting that bor, is legally conclusive of its acceptance b' the people, and absolute against the fair, di-rect, and unimpeachable rejection of it by the people, made on the 4th of January last. immends and urges and implores the admission of Kansasas a State into the Federal Union, under that false, pretended, and spurious Constitution. I refrain from any examination of this extraordinary message My recital is less complete than I have hoped, if it does not overthrow all the President's arguments in favor of the neceptance of the Lecompton Constitution as an act of the people of Kansas, however specious, and without descending to any details. In Congress, those who seek the admission of Kansus under that Constitution, strive to delay the admission of Minnesota, until their op-

ber, a North side of the Chamber of Repre-scutatives, a North side of the Union, as well as South sides of all these. Each of them is watchful, jealous and resolute. If it be true, as has so often been asserted, that this Union cannot survive the decision by Congress of a draw after it the restoration of the influence of Freedom in the domestic and foreign con-duct of the Government, then the day of dis-

draw after if the restoration of the influence of Frestom in the domestic and foreign conduct of the Constitution and foreign conduct of the Constitution is at hand.

I have thus, Mr. President, arrived at the third circumstance attending the Kansas question which I have thought worthy of consideration, namely, that the national intervention in the Territories in favor of slave labor and Slave States, is opposed to the material, noral and social developments of the Republic. The proposition seems to involve a paradox, but it is easy to understand that the checks which the Constitution applies through predent caution, to the relative increase of the representatives, and especially in the House of Representatives, and especially in the Senate, co-operating with the discrement of the Februal I nion in one cially in the Senate, co-operating with the two the two classes of States, may direct the Government of the Februal I nion in one cially of the following the self, popularly regarded, are in a direction expensed by the Federal Contact of the Senate and direction expenses the foreign contact of the popularly regarded, are in a direction expense of the regarded and the representation of the Intervention in the Februal I nion in one cially of the senate of the regarded and the senate of the regarded and the regarded and the circumstance of the proposition seems to involve an action of the free States in the House of Representatives, and especially in the Senate, co-operating with the differences of temper and political activity to two rules the classes of States, may direct the Government of the Februal I nion in one cally of the senate of the regarded are in a direction expense that the rection be shed there we shall arrow the two classes of States, may direct the first the regarded and the continuous directions are the first of the second that the citizent senates are the first of the second that the citizent senates are the continuous distributions and the first the first the citizent senates are the first that t

Timeness and success which attended the rails policy of intervention in have of free labs and free States, and the resistance which the success policy of intervention in favor of free labs and free States, and the resistance which the success policy of intervention in favor of free labs and the success policy of intervention in favor of free labs and the success policy of intervention in favor of free labs and the success of the labs and the labs and the success of the labs and the labs and the labs a

measure as the restoration of the Missouri prohibition. I know how difficult it is for power to relinquish even a pernicious and suicidal policy all at once. We may attain the same result, in this particular case of Kansas, without going back so far. Go back only to the ground assumed in 1854, the ground of popular sovereignty. Happily for the authors of that measure, the zealous and energetic resistance of abuses practiced under it has been effected that popular sovereignty in Kansas may new be made a fact, and Liberty there may be research from danger through its free exercise. Popular sovereignty is an opic of two parts. Part the first presents Freedom in Kansas lost—Part the second, if you will so consent to write it, shall be Freedom in Kansas regained. It is on this ground that I hall the eminent Senator from Hilmos [Mr. Douglas and his associates, the distinguished Senator from Michigan, [Mr. Stuart, and the youthful, but most brave Senator from California, [Mr. Roderick.] The late Mr. Clay told us that Providence has many ways for saving mations. God forbid that I should consent to see Freedom wanded, because my own lead or even my own agency in saving it should be rejected. I will cheerfully cooperate with these new defenders of this sacred cause in Kansas, and I will award them all due praise, when we shall have been successful, for their large share of merit in its deliverance.

Will you tell me that it is difficult to induce the Senate and the House of Regreson.

Will you tell me that it is difficult to in-duce the Senate and the House of Represen-tatives to take that short backward step?— On the contrary, the hardest task that an Executive dictator ever set, or parliamentary manager ever undertook, is to prevent this long, and held to its tension by at hard a

quences of your refusal. It you attempt to overce Kansas into the Union, under the Le-sampton Constitution, the people of that Territory will resort to civil war. You are

occupy a low stave State any White, is, jour poten, to depopulate old slave States. Whence then, are the supplies of Shares to come, and how a thirty by reviving the African slave trade. But this is forbibled. A sociaries dream that the provision can be to peakly The idea is made. A Republic of these millions of freezion, with a free white labor tion. Though Africa is yet anorganized, and unable to project itself, still it has already exchanged, to a large degree, its wars to make slaves and its commerce in slaves, for legitimate agriculture and trade. All European States are interested in the enviloation of that continent, and they will not consent that we shall arrest it. The Christian Charles are large and has been contaries and because of the formal back two contaries and because