

the ballot box and to Congress be made for relief from this oppressive load; that violence should be deprecated as long as a single hope of peaceable redress remained; but if, at last, all these should fail—if, in the proper tribunals there is no hope for our dearest rights, outraged and profaned; if we are still to suffer that corrupt men may reap harvests watered by our tears, then there is one more chance for justice. God has provided in the eternal frame of things redress for every wrong and there remains for us the steady eye and the strong arm and we must conquer or mingle the bodies of the oppressors with those of the oppressed upon the soil which the Declaration of Independence no longer protects. But he was not at all apprehensive that such a crisis would ever arrive. He believed that justice might be found far short of so dreadful an extremity; and even should an appeal to arms come, it was his opinion that if we are well prepared, that moment the victory is won."

In pursuance of the recommendation of the mass meeting held at Lawrence on the 14th of August, and endorsed by the convention held at the Big Springs, on the 6th and 6th of September, a convention was held at Topeka, on the 19th and 20th of September, at which it was determined to hold another convention at the same place, on the fourth Tuesday of October, for the purpose of forming a constitution and State government, and to this end such proceedings were had as were deemed necessary for giving the notices, conducting the election of delegates, making the returns, and assembling the convention. With regard to the regularity of these proceedings your committee see no necessity for further criticism than is to be found in the fact that it was the movement of a political party instead of the whole body of the people of Kansas, conducted without the sanction of law, and in defiance of the constituted authorities, for the avowed purpose of overthrowing the Territorial government established by Congress.

The Constitutional Convention met at Topeka on the fourth Tuesday of October, and organized by electing Col. J. H. Lane President, who in returning his acknowledgments for the honor, repudiated the validity of the Territorial Legislature and its acts, in these words:—

"Gentlemen of the Convention.—For the position assigned me accept my thanks. You have met, gentlemen, on no ordinary occasion, to accomplish no ordinary purpose. You are the first legal representatives, the real settlers of Kansas have ever had. You comprise the first legally elected representative body ever assembled in the Territory." &c., &c.

On Friday, October 25, Mr. Smith offered the following resolution, instructing the Standing Committee:—

"Resolved, That the various committees of this Convention be and they are hereby instructed to frame their work, having in view an immediate organization of a State government."

#### STATE ORGANIZATION.

"Oct. 31.—In the evening session the debate ran high upon Mr. Smith's resolution in reference to an immediate State organization. The mover of the resolution was in favor of electing State officers at once. He would advise no hesitation; he would present a bold front and waver not at all; the Territory was without laws; life and property were unprotected. The Territorial government had broken down. He would not leave it an hour for the action of Congress after an application for admission, but would set up an independent form of government, &c.

"Mr. Emery said.—Now, Mr. Chairman, what does this resolution contemplate—what is proposed to be done? It first proposes to supersede the present weak and inefficient Territorial government, and hence it enunciates the fundamental idea of the constitutional movement. Aye, it does more—it proposes to prove into a fact the leading idea of the Declaration of Independence, the highest human authority in American politics, which is this—when ever any form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, &c. It proposes to force theories of human rights into facts—to practically apply this great principle to the wants and to the necessities of the down-trodden people of Kansas. I do not question this right of the people, and certainly no gentleman on this floor will disagree with me. If he does he occurs as a most extraordinary position, and consistency would suggest that he withdraw from this body. Not when we say that we will take measures to supersede and render unnecessary that thing now extended over us called a Territorial government, when we say and maintain that we have a right to guarantee by the constitution, to have a form of government resting on our own consent and free will, we are only doing what, as American citizens, we have a right to do. We only propose to carry out the doctrine, much abused and grossly misrepresented as it has been—I mean the doctrine of squatter sovereignty—under which we are assembled here to day, and in pursuance of the principles of which we hope to extricate ourselves from our present unhappy condition."

It is but just to state that in another part of this same speech Mr. Emery declared himself apposed to  
"An immediate election under the new constitution and an immediate session of the General Assembly, when all the wheels of State government shall be put in motion, irrespective of the action of Congress, upon due application for admission. Hon. Mr. E. presented his objection to the position of Mr. Smith, and maintained the views above indicated. He contended that, inasmuch as the Territorial form of government was organized by the Supreme Court of the United States, and hence a legal form of government, no other government could be substituted so long as that was in existence, without risking the most serious consequences, to say the least."

In reply to the advocate of immediate State organization, Mr. Delahay, of Leavenworth said:—

"Under the defined rights of squatter sovereignty, as enunciated by the Kansas Nebraska act it seems reasonable that the people have the right to take upon themselves the burthens of a government; but I question the right of the people of Kansas to organize a new government if its authority is to come in conflict with that of the government created by Congress. The gentleman from Lawrence (Col. Lane) has assumed as a fundamental position, in advocating an immediate State organization, that neither government nor local law exists in this Territory. Sir, I must dissent from that position. I deny, Mr. Chairman, that a Territorial government can be legally abolished by the election of another government. I hold, on the contrary, and I think that my position would be supported by our highest legal authorities—that the power of a Territorial government ceases only by the enactment of the body which created it in other words, that the government and laws of Kansas can be abolished by Congress alone, and are beyond the reach of this Territory or any other power. I do not pretend to deny that, as all civil power is derived from the people, they have the moral right to abolish unjust laws or overthrow obnoxious governments by force; but I do question the expediency of effecting a reform in Kansas by an overt act of rebellion. For I must confess Mr. Chairman, while I cast not the shadow of suspicion on the motives of the advocates of this measure, that from the point of view from which I regard this measure, it appears to me to be an act of rebellion."

Your committee have made these voluminous extracts from the best authenticated reports which we have been able to obtain of the proceedings of the Convention, for the purpose of showing that it was distinctly understood on all sides that the adoption of the proposition for the organizing the State government before the assent of Congress for the admission of the State should be obtained, was a decision in favor of repudiating the laws and overthrowing the Territorial government, in defiance of the authority of Congress. By this decision, as incorporated in the schedule to the constitution, the vote on the ratification of the constitution was to be held on the 15th of December, 1855, and the election for all State officers on the third Tuesday of January, 1856. The 3d section of the schedule is as follows:—

"The General Assembly shall meet on the 4th day of March, A. D. 1856, at the city of Topeka, at 12 M., at which time and place the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Judges of Supreme Court, Treasurer, Auditor, State Printer, Reporter and Clerk of Supreme Court, and Attorney General, shall appear, take the oath of office, and enter upon the discharge of the duties of their respective offices, under this constitution, and shall continue in office in the same manner and dur-

ing the same period they would have done had they been elected on the first Monday of August, A. D. 1856."

The elections for all these officers were held at the times specified, and on the 4th day of the present month the new government was to have been put in operation in conflict with the Territorial government established by Congress, and for the avowed purpose of subverting and overthrowing the same, without reference to the action of Congress upon their application for admission into the Union.

Your committee are not aware of any case in the history of our country which can be fairly cited as an example, much less a justification, for these extraordinary proceedings. Cases have occurred in which the inhabitants of particular Territories have been permitted to form constitutions and take the initiatory steps for the organization of State governments, preparatory to their admission into the Union, without obtaining the previous assent of Congress; but in every instance the proceeding has originated with and been conducted in subordination to the authority of the local governments, established or recognized by the government of the United States. Michigan, Arkansas, Florida and California are sometimes cited as cases in point. Michigan was erected into a Territory in pursuance of the ordinance of the 13th of July, 1787, as recognized and carried into effect by acts of Congress subsequent to the adoption of the federal constitution. In that ordinance it was provided that the territory northwest of the Ohio river should be divided into not less than three nor more than five States, and whenever any of said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever, and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government.

In pursuance of this provision of their organic law the Legislature of the Territory of Michigan passed an act providing for a convention of the people to form a constitution and State government, which was accordingly done in obedience to the laws and constituted authorities of the Territory. The legislature of the Territory of Arkansas, having ascertained by a census that the Territory contained about fifty-one thousand and eight hundred inhabitants, at a time when the ratio of representation in Congress awarded one representative to each forty seven thousand and seven hundred inhabitants, passed an act authorizing the people to form a constitution and ask for admission into the Union, as they supposed they had a right to do under the treaty acquiring the Territory from France, which guaranteed their admission as soon as might be consistent with the federal constitution.

Upon this point your committee adopt the legal opinion of the Attorney General of the United States (B. F. Butler) as expressed in the following letter:—

"But I am not prepared to say that all proceedings on this subject on the part of the citizens of Arkansas will be illegal. They undoubtedly possess the ordinary privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States. Among these is the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for the redress of grievances." In the exercise of this right, the inhabitants of Arkansas may peaceably meet together in primary assemblies, for the purpose of petitioning Congress to abrogate the Territorial government, and to admit them into the Union as an independent State. The particular form which they may give to their petition cannot be material, so long as they confine themselves to the mere right of petitioning, and conduct all their proceedings in a peaceable manner. And as the power of Congress over the whole subject is plenary and unlimited, they may accept any constitution, however framed, which in their judgment, meets the sense of the people to be affected by it.

If, therefore, the citizens of Arkansas think proper to accompany their petition by a written constitution, framed and agreed on by their primary assemblies, or by a convention of delegates chosen by such assemblies, I perceive no legal objection to their power to do so, nor to any measures which may be taken to collect the sense of the people in respect to it; provided always that such measures be commenced and prosecuted in a peaceable manner, in strict subordination to the existing Territorial government, and in entire subservance to the power of Congress to adopt, reject, or disregard them at their pleasure.

It is, however, obvious that all measures commenced and prosecuted with a design to subvert the Territorial government, and to establish and put in force in its place a new government without the consent of Congress, will be unlawful.

The laws establishing the Territorial government must continue in force until abrogated by Congress; and, in the meantime it will be the duty of the government and all the Territorial officers, as well as the President, to take care that they are faithfully executed."

On the 11th day of January, 1839, a committee of the Constitutional Convention of Florida addressed a memorial to Congress, in which they state that in 1837 the Territorial Council passed a law submitting to the people the question of "State" or "Territory" to be decided at the election of delegates to Congress in the month of May of that year; that a decided majority of the suffrages given at that election was in favor of a "State"; that the Legislative Council of 1838, in obedience to the expressed wishes of the people, enacted a law authorizing the holding of a convention to form and adopt a State constitution; that the convention assembled on the 3rd of December, 1838, and continued in session until the 11th of January, 1839; and that on behalf of the people of Florida, they transmit the "constitution or form of government," and ask for admission into the Union.

It is also stated in the memorial that in 1838 a census of the Territory was taken, in obedience to a law passed by the Territorial Council, and that this census, although taken during the ravages of Indian hostilities, when a large portion of the inhabitants could not be found at their homes, showed an aggregate population of forty-eight thousand two hundred and twenty-three persons, which the memorialists insisted furnished satisfactory assurance of a sufficient population to entitle them to admission according to the treaty acquiring the country from Spain, and the then ratio of representation. Congress failing to yield its assent to the admission of Florida for more than six years after this constitution was formed and application made, the people of Florida during all that period remained loyal to the Territorial government and obedient to its laws, and did not assume the right to supersede the existing government by putting in operation a State government until the assent of Congress was obtained in 1845.

The circumstances connected with the formation of the constitution and State government of California are peculiar. During the Mexican war the country was conquered and occupied by our troops, and the civil government administered by the military authorities under the war power. According to an official communication of General Persifer Smith, acting Governor of California, to a committee of the citizens of San Francisco, under date of March 27, 1849, withholding his "recognition and concurrence" in their proposition "to organize a Legislative Assembly, and to appoint Judges and other ministerial officers, and to enact suitable laws, to establish principles of justice and equity, and to give protection to life, liberty and property." It appears that "the President of the United States (Mr. Polk) and those of his Cabinet," officially promulgated the following opinions, as the decision of the executive on the points stated:—

1st, That at the conclusion of the treaty with Mexico, on the 30th of May, 1848, the military government existing in California was a government *de facto*.

2nd, That it of necessity continued until Congress provide another, because, if it ceased, anarchy must ensue—thus inferring that no power but Congress can establish any government.

It also appears from the proclamation of Gen. Riley, Acting Governor, "to the people of California," dated June 3, 1849, that government *de facto* was constituted as follows:—

"A brief summary of the organization of the present government may not be uninteresting. It consists, first, of a Governor, appointed by the supreme government—in default of such appointment, the office is temporarily vested in the commanding military officer of the department. The powers and duties of the Governor are of a limited character, but fully defined and pointed out by the laws. Second a secretary, whose duties and powers are also properly defined. Third, a Territorial or departmental

Legislature, with limited powers to pass laws of a local character. Fourth, a Superior Court (tribunal superior) of the Territory, consisting of four Judges and a fiscal. Fifth, a prefect and sub-prefect for each district, who are charged with the preservation of the public order and the execution of the laws; their duties correspond, in a great measure, with those of district marshals and sheriffs. Sixth, a Judge of first instance for each district. This office is, by a custom not inconsistent with the laws, vested in the first alcalde of the district. Seventh, alcaldes, who have concurrent jurisdiction among themselves in the same district, but are subordinate to the higher judicial tribunals. Eighth, local Justices of the Peace. Ninth, ayuntamientos, or town councils. The powers and functions of all these officers are fully defined in the laws of the country, and are almost identical with those of the corresponding officers in the Atlantic and Western States."

On the 3rd of April, 1849, President Taylor appointed Thomas Butler King agent for the purpose of conveying important instructions to our military naval commanders who were intrusted with the administration of the civil government *de facto* in California, and to make known to the people his opinions and wishes in respect to the formation of a constitution and State government, preparatory to their admission into the Union. What these opinions and wishes were are distinctly stated by the President in the following extract from his special message to Congress on the 23d of January, 1850:—

"I did not hesitate to express to the people of those Territories my desire that each Territory should, if prepared to comply with the requisitions of the constitution of the United States, form a plan of a State constitution and submit the same to Congress, with a prayer for admission into the Union as a State; but I did not anticipate, suggest, or authorize the establishment of any such government without the assent of Congress; nor did I authorize any government agent or officer to interfere with or exercise any influence or control over the election of delegates, or over any convention, in making or modifying their domestic institutions or any of the provisions of their proposed constitution. On the contrary, the instructions given by my orders were, that all measures of domestic policy adopted by the people of California must originate solely with themselves; that while the Executive of the United States was desirous to protect them, in the formation of any government republican in its character, to be at the proper time submitted to Congress, yet it was to be distinctly understood that the plan of such a government must at the same time be the result of their own deliberate choice, and originate with themselves, without the interference of the Executive."

On the 30th of June, 1850, General Riley in his capacity as Civil Governor of California, reports to the government at Washington, that—

"On the 3d inst., I issued my proclamation to the people of California, defining what was understood to be the legal position of affairs here, and pointing out the course it was deemed advisable to pursue in order to procure a new political organization better adapted to the character and present condition of the country. The course indicated in my proclamation will be adopted by the people, almost unanimously, and there is no little or no doubt that the convention will meet on the first of September next, and form a State constitution, to be submitted to Congress in the early part of the coming season."

A few prefer a Territorial organization, but I think a majority will be in favor of a State government, so as to avoid all further difficulties respecting the question of slavery. This question will probably be submitted together with the constitution, to a direct vote of the people, in order that the wishes of the people of California may be clearly and fully expressed. Of course, the constitution or plan of a Territorial government formed by this convention, can have no legal force till approved by Congress."

On the 12th day of October, Gen. Riley, Acting Governor, issued the following proclamation to the people of California:—

"The delegates of the people, assembled in Convention, have formed a constitution, which is now presented for your ratification. The time and manner of voting on this constitution, and of holding the first general election, are clearly set forth in the schedule. The whole subject I therefore left for your unbiased and deliberate consideration."

The Prefect, (or person exercising the functions of that office) of each district will designate the places for opening the polls, and give due notice of the election, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and schedule.

The people are now called upon to form a government for themselves and to designate such officers as they desire to make and execute the laws. That their choice may be wisely made, and that the government so organized may secure the permanent welfare and happiness of the people of the new State, is the sincere and earnest wish of the present executive, who if the constitution be ratified, will with pleasure surrender his powers to whomsoever the people may designate as his successor.

Given at Monterey, California, this twelfth day of October, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty nine.

Brevet Brig. Genl. U. S. Army and Gov. of California. Official.—H. W. HALLECK, Brevet Captain and Secretary of State.

These facts and official papers prove conclusively that the proposition to the people of California to hold a convention and organize a State government, originated with, and that all the proceedings were had in subordination to the authority and supremacy of the existing local government of the Territory under the advice and with the approval of the executive government of the United States. Hence the action of the people of California in forming their constitution and State government, and of Congress in admitting the State into the Union, cannot be cited with the least show of justice or fairness in justification or palliation of the revolutionary movements to subvert the government which Congress has established in Kansas.

Nor can the insurgents derive aid or comfort from the position assumed by either party to the unfortunate controversy which arose in the State of Rhode Island a few years ago, when an effort was made to change the organic law and set up a State government in opposition to the one then in existence, under the charter granted by Charles the Second of England. Those who were engaged in that unsuccessful struggle assumed, as fundamental truths in their system of government, that Rhode Island was a sovereign State in all that pertained to her internal affairs—that the right to change their organic law was an essential attribute of sovereignty; that inasmuch as the charter, under which the existing government was organized, contained no provision for changing or amending the same, and the people had not delegated that right to the Legislature, or any other tribunal, it followed as a matter of course, that they had retained it, and were at liberty to exercise it in such a manner as to them should seem wise, just and proper.

Without deeming it necessary to express any opinion on this occasion, in reference to the merits of that controversy, it is evident that the principles upon which it was conducted are not involved in the revolutionary struggle now going on in Kansas, for the reason that the sovereignty of a Territory remains in abeyance, suspended in the United States in trust for the people, until they shall be admitted into the Union as a State.

In the meantime, they are entitled to enjoy and exercise all the privileges and rights of self government, in subordination to the constitution of the United States, and in obedience to their organic law, passed by Congress in pursuance of that instrument.

These rights and privileges are all derived from the constitution, through the act of Congress, and must be exercised and enjoyed in subjection to all the limitations and restrictions which that constitution imposes. Hence it is clear that the people of the Territory have no inherent sovereign right under the constitution of the United States to annul the laws and resist the authority of the Territorial government which Congress has established in obedience to the constitution.

In tracing step by step the origin and history of these Kansas difficulties, your committee have been profoundly impressed with the significant fact that each one has resulted from an attempt to violate or circumvent the principles and provisions of the act of Congress for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska.

The leading idea and fundamental principle of the

Kansas and Nebraska act, as expressed in the law itself, was: to leave the actual settlers and bona fide inhabitants of each Territory "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States." While this is declared to be "the true intent and meaning of this act," those who were opposed to allowing the people of the Territory, preparatory to their admission into the Union as a State, to decide the slavery question for themselves, failing to accomplish their purpose in the halls of Congress, and under the authority of the constitution, immediately resorted in their respective States to unusual and extraordinary means to control the political destinies and shape the domestic institutions of Kansas, in defiance of the wishes and regardless of the rights of the people of that Territory as guaranteed by their organic law.

Combinations in one section of the Union to stimulate an unnatural and false system of emigration with the view of controlling the elections and forcing the domestic institutions of the Territory to assimilate to those of the non-slave-holding States, were followed, as might have been foreseen by the use of similar means, in the slave-holding States, to produce directly the opposite result. To these causes, and to these alone, in the opinion of your committee, may be traced the origin and progress of all the controversies and disturbances with which Kansas is now convulsed.

If these unfortunate troubles have resulted as natural consequences, from unauthorized and improper schemes of foreign interference with the internal affairs and domestic concerns of the Territory, it is apparent that the remedy must be sought in a strict adherence to the principles and rigid enforcement of the provisions of the organic law.

In this connection your committee feel sincere satisfaction in commending the special message and proclamation of the President of the United States, in which we have the gratifying assurance that the supremacy of the laws will be maintained—that rebellion will be crushed—that insurrection will be suppressed—that aggressive intrusion, for the purpose of deciding elections or any other purpose, will be repelled—that unauthorized interference in the local concerns of the Territory, both from adjoining and distant States, will be prevented—that the federal and local laws will be vindicated against all attempts of organic resistance—and that the people of the Territory will be protected in the establishment of their own institutions, undisturbed by encroachment from without, and in the full enjoyment of the rights of self government assured to them by the constitution and the organic law.

In view of these assurances, given under the conviction that the existing laws confer all the authority necessary to the performance of these important duties, and that the whole available force of the United States will be exerted to the extent required for their performance, your committee repose in entire confidence that peace and security and law will prevail in Kansas.

If any further evidence were necessary to prove that all the collisions and difficulties in Kansas have been produced by the schemes of foreign interference which have been developed in this report, in violation of the principles and evasion of the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act, it may be found in the fact that in Nebraska, to which the Emigrant Aid Societies did not extend their operations, and into which the stream of emigration was permitted to flow in its usual and natural channels, nothing has occurred to disturb the peace and harmony of the Territory, while the principle of self government, in obedience to the constitution, has had fair play and is quietly working out its legitimate results.

It now only remains for your committee to respond to the two specific recommendations of the President in his special message. They are as follows:—

"This, it seems to me, can best be accomplished by providing that, when the inhabitants of Kansas may desire it, and shall be of sufficient numbers to constitute a State, a convention of delegates, duly elected by the qualified voters shall assemble to frame a constitution, and thus to prepare through regular and lawful means, for its admission into the Union as a State. I respectfully recommend the enactment of a law to that effect."

I recommend, also, that a special appropriation be made to defray any expense which may become requisite in the execution of the laws, or the maintenance of public order in the Territory of Kansas."

In compliance with the first recommendation, your committee ask leave to report a bill authorizing the Legislature of the Territory to provide by law for the election of delegates by the people, and the assembling of a convention to form a constitution and State government preparatory to their admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, so soon as it shall appear by a census to be taken under the direction of the Governor, by the authority of the Legislature, that the Territory contains ninety-three thousand four hundred and twenty inhabitants—that being the number required by the present ratio of representation for a member of Congress.

In compliance with the other recommendation, your committee propose to offer to the Appropriation bill an amendment appropriating such sum as shall be found necessary by the estimates to be obtained for the purpose indicated in the recommendation of the President.

A bill of which is respectfully submitted to the Senate by your committee.

Mr. Collamer, of Vt., read a minority report, which discusses the slavery question in the Northern view, declaring that the system gives political supremacy to a practical minority of the people of the United States.—The friends of peace and quiet had hoped the compromise measure had settled the agitation of the question; but the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill reopened it, in consequence of the repeal of the Missouri restriction, from which all the present trouble has emanated. The repeal of that restriction gave a prospect of the unlimited extension of the institution of slavery, and the North very naturally tried to devise means to avoid that result. It is the right and duty of all who opposed slavery to use all legal means to prevent its extension into free territory. The report states that the people of the Territory were overawed and prevented from casting their votes by armed invaders from Missouri. Thus the Legislature was constituted in a fraudulent manner, and Governor Reeder gave members certificates without a full knowledge of these facts.

This Legislature passed acts by which slavery was recognized and protected as an existing institution. The free State people were thus either driven out or reduced to submission. Finding the government had become the engine of tyranny and oppression, the people assembled peaceably at Topeka, to take measures preliminary to the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State. The proper course now would be, either to repeal the act of 1854, and organize anew as a free Territory; or, if Congress will not do that, let them declare all the acts of this spurious Legislature utterly inoperative and void, and provide a new government for that Territory.

The reading of the report occupied more than three hours.

Mr. Sumner, of Mass., had no desire to precipitate discussion on this important question before the reports are printed. Both ably treated the subject, but one was calculated to smother the true issue while the other placed the issue in living light before the country. Let them be published together. Error can go abroad safely, while reason is left free to combat it. The Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts had done nothing which would in the least degree violate either the letter or the spirit of the constitution or the laws of the land. He denied the charge contained in the majority report, and declared them untenable.

Mr. Douglas said that there were facts in it which could not be successfully denied. Violence, fraud and treason shall be punished. The report of the minority justifies foreign interference in Kansas, while that of the majority condemns such interposition. The laws must be executed.

Mr. Seward, of N. Y., was prepared to stand up and defend the minority report, its statement of facts and the conclusions at which it arrives. He tendered his thanks and the thanks of the friends of freedom throughout the free States and the world for the ability, dignity, moderation and wisdom with which Mr. Collamer has presented their views. It was quite unnecessary for Mr. Douglas to tell them that the laws shall be enforced by this administration. Mr. Seward gave notice that the administration have but 350 days left in which they will have the