

MAINE STATE LEGISLATURE

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DOCUMENTS

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THE LEGISLATURE

OF THE

STATE OF MAINE,

DURING ITS SESSION

A. D. 1857.

PART SECOND.

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1857.

THIRTY-SIXTH LEGISLATURE.

SENATE.]

[No. 11.]

STATE OF MAINE.

THE Committee, to which was referred so much of the Governor's Message as relates to Kansas Affairs and Slavery, ask leave to

REPORT:

The purposes and policy of the slave power, as developed within the last few years, have filled the minds of the friends of free institutions with apprehension and alarm. The government of the United States, which was instituted to protect and perpetuate human freedom, has been subverted from its original design to protect and perpetuate human slavery.

By the original policy of the government, the whole of the national domain was devoted to the purposes of freedom.

In 1820, by the Missouri Compromise Act, a part of the national domain was, by implication, at least, conceded to slavery, and now, the slave power boldly claims the whole, for its own purposes.

In the earlier and more virtuous days of the republic, slavery was almost universally regarded as a great moral, social and polit-

ical evil, at war with the common ideas of justice, and the principles upon which our government was founded. Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Patrick Henry, in common with many other illustrious southern men, regarded its abolition as an object of desire. A spirit of toleration was invoked for it, until, by the influences of our free institutions, it should ultimately disappear, and be numbered with the institutions of the past. It was regarded as strictly a local institution, depending for existence, upon the force of local laws, and its extension was not expected nor desired.

It existed in a mitigated form, for some years after the adoption of the constitution, in some of the present free States, but it early disappeared, in obedience to the spirit of the times, and the influences of advancing civilization. It was supposed that such would be its fate, at no distant day, wherever it existed in the United States.

In 1820 a new policy was inaugurated. By an unfortunate compromise, slavery was permitted to go into Missouri under the sanction of the federal government.

The proposition to admit Missouri with slavery met with great opposition in Congress and throughout the country, it being the first departure from the early policy of the government in relation to the extension of slavery. Several slave states were subsequently admitted into the Union with but little opposition.

In 1845, after a severe and somewhat protracted political struggle, Texas was annexed to the United States for the triple purpose of perpetuating slavery in that territory, rendering slave property more secure in Louisiana and Arkansas, and increasing the value of human flesh in the older slave states.

Since the year 1793, the territory obtained by the United States, by conquest and purchase, has cost more than \$800,000,000. More than three-fourths this amount has been paid by the free states. And yet, from the territory thus obtained and paid for, five states have been given to slavery, and but two to freedom.

In the year 1850, the compromise measures, including the fugi-

tive slave law, were passed by Congress, as an alleged adjustment of the whole slavery question.

It was now confidently predicted that the agitation of slavery would cease. The two then existing great political parties concurred in the declaration, that they would resist a renewal of the agitation.

Upon the basis of this adjustment, Mr. Pierce was subsequently made President with almost unparalleled unanimity.

He entered upon the discharge of his official duties, with a solemn pledge, voluntarily made, that by no official act of his, should the peace of the country be disturbed, in the renewal of the agitation of the question of slavery.

Many people, losing sight of the fact that freedom and slavery are eternal antagonisms, hoped that the peace would be permanent.

But in the year 1854, the people of the free states were startled by a new and alarming movement of the slave power.

A proposition was made in Congress to repeal the Missouri Compromise act. By this act, Missouri had been admitted into the Union with slavery, after a long and earnest opposition by the people of the northern states, in consideration of the perpetual prohibition of slavery in the present territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

Missouri had taken her place among the states, had added her influence to the potent influence of the slave power, for a period of thirty years, by virtue of the compromise act, and now this power steps boldly forward with a proposition to deprive the northern states of the benefit of the slavery restriction, as relating to the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The agitation of the slavery question was thus renewed with increased intensity. The excitement in the free states was without parallel in the whole history of legislation upon the question of slavery.

The friends of free institutions were filled with indignation at the breach of faith involved in the proposed repeal of the slavery restriction. All classes joined to swell the voice of earnest remonstrance.

So nearly universal was the opposition to this measure, in the free states, it was a rare thing to find a person even among the "natural allies of slavery," to offer for it any apology. But the slave power pushed the measure with relentless determination, and having control of the administration, and the patronage of the government, it was carried, and Kansas was opened to slavery.

There seemed one opportunity left to confer upon Kansas the inestimable blessings of freedom. By the act organizing a government for that territory, it was declared that "the true intent and meaning of the act is not to legislate slavery into any state or territory, or exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States."

The people of the free states now proposed to go into the territory, settle there in good faith, and determine the matter peaceably at the ballot box, in strict compliance with the terms of the organic act. But at the election they found themselves surrounded by new difficulties. The doctrine of popular sovereignty, which had been found so convenient and efficient in breaking down the slavery restriction, now stood in the way of the purposes of the slave power, and the elections were controlled by armed invasions from Missouri. The present Legislative Assembly of Kansas was elected by citizens of Missouri, and many of its members were not, at the time of their election, nor had they ever been, citizens of Kansas. This government of Kansas, which is one of the most monstrous usurpations which the world has ever known, receives the sanction and protection of the federal government. The whole doctrine of popular sovereignty was repudiated first by the slave power, and then, at the demand of the slave power, by the federal government.

Of the laws of the Kansas legislative assembly, it is not necessary here to speak. Their character is sufficiently well known to the public. The acts of tyranny and outrage which were perpetrated in the name of law and order in that ill-fated territory, through a succession of many months, for the purpose of exterminating the free state settlers, are also well known.

It may not be improper, however, to introduce an extract from the late message of Gov. Geary, to show the state of affairs in Kansas, when he entered upon the discharge of his official duties there. He says:

“The territory was declared, by the acting Governor to be in a state of insurrection; the civil authority was powerless—entirely without capacity to vindicate the majesty of the law, and restore the broken peace; the existing difficulties of a *far more complicated character than I had anticipated*; predatory bands, whose sole aim, unrelieved by the mitigation of political causes, was *assassination, arson, plunder, and rapine*, had undisturbed possession of some portions of the territory, while every part of it was kept in constant alarm and terror; *unoffending and peaceable citizens were driven from their homes; others murdered in their own dwellings*, which were given to the flames; that sacred respect for woman, which has characterized all civilized nations, *seemed in the hour of mad excitement to be forgotten*; partisan feeling, on all sides, intensely excited by a question which inflamed the entire nation, almost closed the minds of the people against me; the most unfortunate suspicions prevailed; in isolated country places no man’s life was safe; *robberies and murders were of daily occurrence; nearly every farm house was deserted; and no traveller could safely venture on the highway without an escort*. This state of affairs was greatly aggravated by the interference of *prominent politicians outside of the territory*.

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

It will be seen that the testimony of Gov. Geary confirms, in a most remarkable manner, the representations made by the free state settlers of Kansas, of outrage and violence, which prevailed for many months in the territory.

As with individuals, so with governments, there is great danger in the first wrong step. The admission of Missouri into the Union with slavery, has been followed by a succession of demands by the slave power, and corresponding concessions by the free states, until constitutional liberty in this country is threatened with final and irretrievable overthrow.

The slave power, encouraged by a succession of important victories, is now putting forth new and alarming assumptions. Rendered bold and defiant by its successes, it seeks no new compromises, but claims to have slavery recognized as the supreme law of the land, by virtue of the constitution of the United States.

So far now from apologizing for the existence of slavery, it claims for it the sanction of christianity. It declares it to be necessary and right, and the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether white or black.

The doctrine is rapidly gaining ground in the southern states, that the laboring man, without regard to color, should be owned by the capitalist. Free institutions—including free farms, free labor, free presses, and free schools, are denounced with unsparing severity. Northern men who adhere to the fortunes of the slave power may not yet be ready to endorse these doctrines, but they will come to it at last. Some of them have already done so. One of the New York city presses, which aided the present administration into power, in speaking of the poor white people of that city, says :

“Sell the parents of these children into slavery. Let our Legislature pass a law, that whoever will take these parents and take care of them and their offspring, in sickness and in health, clothe them, feed them, and house them, shall be legally entitled to their service; and let the same Legislature decree that whoever receives these parents and their children, and obtains their services, shall take care of them as long as they live.”

The slave power repudiates also the doctrine that slavery is a local institution. When it was found that popular sovereignty stood in the way of enslaving Kansas, it was discarded, and a new doctrine interposed to meet the exigency. This doctrine is, “that the constitution of the United States recognizes and protects slavery, wherever that instrument extends.” It is claimed that “the right of a southern man to his slave is equal in its length and breadth to the right of a northern man to his horse,” and that the “south should make the recognition of this right full, complete, and indisputable.” This doctrine means that slaveholders may take their

slaves where they please, and demand the protection of the federal government. It throws down the last barrier to the extension of slavery into the territories or states, and so far as it relates to the territories, it has received the sanction of the highest tribunal in the land.

It requires but a single additional step of judicial tyranny to legalize slavery all over the United States, and the monument which was erected at Bunker's Hill, to commemorate the first battle for American liberty, may yet cast its shadow over the auction block of the slave trader.

The public mind has awaited with great interest the first indication of the policy which would be pursued by the administration which has just come into power, in relation to the question of slavery. The views of the new President upon the doctrine of squatter sovereignty having been made public almost simultaneously with the late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Dred Scott case, and being interpreted by that decision, are full of significance.

In his message the President says: "Congress is neither to legislate slavery into territories or states, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States." Thus, his views on the question of slavery in the territories are announced in the language of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The question of slavery is confessedly the most important question upon which the people of the territories are called to act. *When* may they act upon this question? The President goes on to say: "A difference of opinion has arisen in regard to the *time* when the people of a territory may decide this question for themselves." "It has been my individual opinion that, under the Nebraska-Kansas act, the appropriate period will be when the number of actual residents in the territory shall justify the formation of a constitution, with a view of its admission as a state into the Union."

They are not to decide this question, then, till their numbers shall justify the formation of a constitution. This may be five, ten, fifteen, or twenty years, and during this whole time they are not to be allowed to exercise the rights of squatter sovereignty, at all, upon the question of the most vital importance. And this is tantamount to being allowed no action upon the question of slavery, for during this period of suspended squatter sovereignty, the institution may strike its roots so deeply into the soil of the territories, as to defy all efforts for its extermination. Practically this doctrine is precisely the same, as the southern doctrine.

The slave power claims the right for the slave holder, of going into the territories in spite of squatter sovereignty. The President proposes to suspend squatter sovereignty to *let* them go into the territories with their slaves. *And when slavery is hopelessly fastened to a territory, then the people may vote to exclude it.*

The whole question *having been thus* settled, by the President and Supreme Court of the United States, the President asks, with great simplicity—"May we not then hope, that the long agitation of this subject is approaching an end, and that the geographical parties, to which it has given birth, so much dreaded by the father of this country, will speedily become extinct." * * *

"This question of domestic slavery is of far greater importance than any mere political question, because, should the agitation continue, it might eventually *endanger the personal safety of a large portion of our countrymen, where the institution exists.*"

The President and his friends, who so much deprecate agitation, on account of the danger which it involves, should know that those who are engaged in the commission of great crimes against mankind, *are always in danger*, and the mere cessation of agitation will not save them from the retribution which must and will ultimately overtake them.

The President also says: "No nation in the tide of time has ever been blessed with so rich and noble an inheritance as we enjoy in the public lands. * * * We should never forget that it is our

cardinal policy to preserve these lands as much as may be, for actual settlers. * * We shall thus not only best promote the prosperity of the new states, by furnishing them with a hardy and independent race of honest, industrious citizens, but shall secure homes for our children, and children's children, as well as for those exiles from foreign shores, who may seek in this country to improve their condition, and to enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty."

But the policy which the President proposes to pursue in relation to those public lands, must inevitably give the finest portions of them, to a system of shiftless, thriftless and impoverishing labor, to the utter exclusion, not only of the children of the citizens of free states, but those exiles from foreign shores, who may seek to improve their condition in this country. Men whose only capital is good health, good character and strong sinews, seldom go into a community where labor is degraded by being brought in contact with slavery.

Mr. Jefferson has said—"Error cases to be dangerous, when reason is left free to combat it." Nothing shows more forcibly the dangerous character of slavery, than the determined efforts of its supporters to shield it from investigation. Freedom of speech and of the press exist only in name in the southern states. An unrelenting spirit of ostracism closes all lips which would speak in favor of freedom. The same spirit has extended into Congress, and for many years attempts have been made to suppress the freedom of debate there. A few months ago, one of our most accomplished statesmen, whose voice had, on various occasions, been eloquently and effectively raised, in behalf of free institutions, was nearly assassinated in his own seat in the senate chamber, the place where, above all others, he should have been secure from personal violence. The sovereign State of Massachusetts was thus deprived of one-half its representation in the senate at a most critical juncture.

The unfortunate man who perpetrated this act, has been the object of severe rebuke, but the responsibility should be placed where it belongs, upon the system under whose adverse influences he was

educated, and by whose spirit this act was demanded at his hands. It was not simply a blow, inflicted by a southern man upon a northern man, but an attack of the slave power upon constitutional freedom.

In reviewing the objections against slavery, we assert that it repudiates the truths of the declaration of independence—it contravenes each specific purpose for which the constitution of the United States was adopted, as set forth in the preamble to that instrument—it lives upon the toil and sweat of unpaid labor—it buys and sells human beings, as oxen and horses are bought and sold—it impiously claims that slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether white or black—it excludes free white laborers from all territory where it obtains the ascendancy—it withholds the means of education from the masses—it tolerates no opinions adverse to its own interests—it boasts of the superior strength and security of its own society, and yet is thrown into great alarm, when a few slaves are found together at unusual times, in unusual places—it seeks to govern eighteen millions of freemen by an odious oligarchy of four hundred thousand slaveholders—it bends to its own purposes the supreme court of the United States, and forces that tribunal which was formerly the bulwark of liberty, to sanction the most monstrous schemes, for the propagandism of slavery—it demands an entire fulfillment of all the conditions of all compromises which inure to its own benefit, and basely repudiates all the conditions of all compromises, which inure to the benefit of freedom, when such conditions stand in the way of its own purposes.

The free people of Maine will never consent to the expansion of such a system as this. Disclaiming now as they always *have*, any intention of interfering with slavery where it exists under state jurisdiction, it is believed that, with a full appreciation of all the responsibility which attaches to the act, they are ready to say in the language of Mr. Webster—"Our opposition to the further extension of local slavery in this country, or to the increase of slave representation in Congress, is general and universal. It has no

reference to limits of latitude or points of the compass. We shall oppose all such extension and all such increase, in all places, at all times, under all circumstances, even against all inducements, against all supposed limitations of great interests, against all combinations, against all compromises."

In closing this report, it will be proper to refer briefly to the present state of affairs in Kansas. About the time of the presidential election, there was a material change of policy in the territory. Judge Leconte was removed, at the demand of Gov. Geary, for gross judicial misconduct. Marshall Donaldson resigned his commission, and Buford and Titus, who had been conspicuous leaders in the war upon the free state settlers, retired from the territory, the former to his home in Georgia, and the latter to a congenial field of operations in Central America. Since that time, the free state settlers have enjoyed a measure of peace.

The destitution and suffering which existed for many months in the territory, has, to a great extent, been relieved by the generous contributions of a sympathizing public. About \$100,000 in money, provisions, and substantial clothing, was sent into the territory through the National Kansas Committee. Large sums found their way there through other channels. If there should be a recurrence of destitution and want, it will be promptly met in the same manner.

Nothing has been done by Congress or the legislative assembly of Kansas to relieve, materially, the settlers from the odious legislation which has cursed the territory for so many months.

On the contrary, if late reports are to be credited, new acts of a more tyrannical character have been added to the list.

Intelligence of fresh acts of violence and outrage has also been received, and there is reason to apprehend that the struggle between freedom and slavery, on the soil of Kansas, is not yet terminated.

All accounts concur in representing that the emigration to the territory within the next few months will be very large, and that by it, the preponderance of the free state settlers will be greatly increased.

It is due Gov. Geary to say, that he has declared his intention to have justice done all parties, and to preserve the purity of the ballot box. But his approval of the late odious legislation which has just passed the legislative assembly, is certainly calculated to weaken the confidence of the public in his professions.

The late decision of the supreme court of the United States, in the case of Dred Scott, considered in connection with the President's message and the constitution of the new cabinet, certainly looks ominous for the cause of freedom, not only in Kansas, but everywhere in the United States. By this decision, no person of the African race, although he may have a skin as white, an intellect as towering and character as pure and noble as any judge upon that bench, can be a citizen of the United States, under the constitution.

Dred Scott, who, according to Judge McLean, is free by the decisions of the last twenty-eight years, is doomed, with his family, to slavery.

More than eighty years ago, in the celebrated Somersett case, England, through the voice of the highest tribunal, uttered the mandate—" *Let the negro go free,*" and immediately the shackles fell from the limbs of the last slave on English soil, and since that time it has been the boast of Englishmen, that no slave can breathe the air of England.

In 1857, in the case of Dred Scott, the highest tribunal of the United States, the boasted land of the free and home of the brave, utters the mandate, *let the negro with his wife and children be doomed to returnless bondage.*

By this decision, also, the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, the right of slaveholders to go into the territories with their slaves is affirmed, and it is not within the power of the federal government to arrest the deep, dark, turbid waters of that foul system, which is destroying the fairest portions of this continent.

The cabinet of the new President is more intensely southern than any preceding cabinet. Four of its seven members are southern men, and have the distribution of nearly the whole of th

governmental patronage. The three northern members have no sympathies in common with the masses of the northern states.

The 1,300,000 men who cast their suffrages in the last election for the great interests of free labor, are not represented in that cabinet. New England, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, with their vast agricultural, manufacturing and commercial interests, are not represented in the cabinet.

It was constituted solely with reference to the wants and interests of the 400,000 slaveholders of the south, to the utter exclusion of eighteen millions of free inhabitants of the nation.

The slave power now has control of the President, cabinet, Congress, judiciary, treasury, army and navy. Never before were the free states placed in a position so humiliating.

Never before did the recreancy of northern men with southern principles, stand out in the presence of the world so conspicuously.

Never before did the bitter words of John Randolph apply with such significance as now, when he said—"We do not govern them (the northern people) by our black slaves, but by their own white slaves. We know what we are doing. We have conquered you once, and *can* and *will* conquer you again. Ay, sir, we will drive you to the wall, and when we have you there once more, we mean to keep you there, and nail you down like base coin."

But this is no time to indulge in feelings of despondency, nor is there any occasion for despondency. The free-soil movement, feeble at the beginning, and despised *because* it was feeble, has become a power in the land. The revolution in public sentiment is going irresistibly forward. This sentiment, represented by 1,300,000 voters in the northern states, with the warm sympathies and best wishes of thousands of true men in the south, and vindicated by the moral sense of the world, is going steadily on to final triumph.

Those old truths of the Declaration of Independence, which are denounced by modern political infidelity, as rhetorical flourishes, and glittering and sounding generalities, have assumed a new and startling significance, and will yet shake the nation with omnipotent power.

The agitation of the question of human freedom will go on, in spite of opposition from presidents and cabinets, from dominant political parties and judicial decisions, until not only America will be free, but the shouts of enfranchised millions, like the morning drum beat of the British nation, shall follow the sun in his circuit round the globe.

LYNDON OAK,
G. W. HATHAWAY,
SAMUEL WASSON,
C. P. CHANDLER,
EBENEZER WELLS,
W. H. PARLIN,
A. GARCELON,
SAMUEL H. ALLEN,
J. B. MORRISON.

STATE OF MAINE.

RESOLVES relating to Kansas Affairs and Slavery

1. *Resolved*, That the only principles on which the
2 rightful existence of any civil government can be vindicated,
3 are the self-evident principles of the declaration of American
4 independence, viz: that all men
5 are created equal, (equal not in physical or intellectual
6 powers, or in circumstantial advantages, but in nature
6 or kind;) and are equally endowed by their creator
7 with certain rights, among which are life, liberty and
8 the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights,
9 governments are instituted among men; and that
10 when any government becomes destructive of these
11 ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish
12 it, and institute a new government, organizing its
13 powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely
14 to effect their safety and happiness.

2. *Resolved*, That the constitution of the United States was designed not to repudiate or deny these self-evident principles, but to be in harmony with them, and to carry them into effect to the utmost extent that was deemed practicable in the then existing circumstances of the country; that the objects for which it was adopted are what they are avowed to be in its preamble, viz: to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States and their posterity, without regard to the structure of their hair, the form of their features, the hue of their complexions, the part of the human race from which they may have sprung, or any other physical distinction; that although it withholds from the general government the power to abolish by legislative, or judicial or executive action, the practice of slaveholding within the several states, or to suppress any other local wrong which may be committed within the exclusive sphere of state jurisdiction, but leaves with the state authorities alone the power and responsibility of suppressing such local

24 violations of the rights of man, it is itself an absolute
25 law of impartial liberty to the full extent of federal
26 jurisdiction; allowing no man under that jurisdiction
27 to be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due
28 process of law; authorizing no crime, permitting no
29 oppression; but outside of state limits, guaranteeing
30 the security of freedom to all human beings under its
31 exclusive authority, who have not forfeited their lib-
32 erty by crime.

3. *Resolved*, That the system of slavery which ex-
2 ists in some of the States is an evil which had its ori-
3 gin antecedently to the constitution, and which now
4 exists independently of the constitution, and to which
5 the constitution neither does, nor can, nor ever could
6 clothe the general government with power to apply a
7 coercive and effectual remedy; and for which of
8 course the constitution is not responsible; and there-
9 fore, notwithstanding the existence of the system of
10 slavery in our country, and notwithstanding the in-
11 trinsic wrongfulness of that system, the constitution
12 may be, what we affirm that it is, all things considered,
13 one of the most glorious edifices of liberty ever erected
14 by man, in any age or country; and what we demand,

15 is, to have it faithfully maintained against state en-
16 croachment on the one hand, and federal usurpation
17 on the other; its justice-establishing and liberty-
18 securing ægis extended over all our national domain,
19 by such action on the part of the legislative, judicial
20 and executive branches of our national government, as
21 shall effectually prevent every inhabitant of territory
22 under United States jurisdiction, from being deprived
23 of life, liberty or property, without due process of law,
24 and thus secure to all the inhabitants of such terri-
25 tory their inalienable right to life, liberty, and the
26 pursuit of happiness; and the several states left to
27 manage their own internal concerns, according to their
28 own wisdom, and in obedience to the dictates of their
29 own sense of right and propriety.

4. *Resolved*, That the doctrines now extensively
2 and boldly avowed, viz: that the perpetuation of sla-
3 very in those localities of our country in which it now
4 exists, the extension of it with the extending area of
5 our country, over territory previously free, and the
6 perpetuation of it there, are among the objects of our
7 national union; that the constitution by its own force
8 authorizes slavery in every territory of the United

9 States, and gives it an establishment there, which till
10 that territory becomes a state, there is no legislative
11 power competent to prohibit; and that a slaveholder
12 in any slaveholding state has a constitutional right to
13 carry his slaves into any other state, and to hold
14 them in slavery there, any thing in the constitution
15 and laws of the state into which he may carry them
16 to the contrary notwithstanding, are doctrines which,
17 in the early days of our republic, would have been
18 scouted as the height of political folly and madness
19 by the leading statesmen of the slave states themselves.

5. *Resolved*, That the Missouri compromise, so
2 called, by which slavery was forever prohibited in all
3 that part of the Louisiana territory lying north of
4 36° 30' north latitude, and in consideration of that
5 prohibition, it was agreed that slavery should not be
6 prohibited by congress in any part of that territory
7 lying south of that line, was a concession on the part
8 of the non-slaveholding states for the sake of peace;
9 and was virtually and morally a solemn compact be-
10 tween the slaveholding states on the one hand, and
11 the non-slaveholding states on the other; that the
12 violation of that compact by the repeal of that pro-

hibition, after all that part of that Territory lying south of that line had been taken possession of by slavery, was a gross breach of faith; and that the series of wrongs begun by that act of perfidy, and continued by the outrages subsequently perpetrated in Kansas, and sanctioned by the national government, for the obvious purpose of forcing the system of slavery on the reluctant people there, ought to arouse every friend of his country, to put forth the most strenuous exertions by every lawful and constitutional means in his power, in order to arrest, if possible, our national progress in the practice of despotism.

STATE OF MAINE.

IN SENATE,
March 14, 1857. }

Ordered, That 1000 copies of the foregoing Report and Resolves, (reported from the Joint Select Committee on Kansas Affairs and Slavery,) be printed for the use of the Legislature.

JOS. K. CLARK, *Secretary pro tem.*