AMERICAN VOLUNTEER. PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY MORNING BY John B. Bratton,

prion .- One Dollar and Fifty Cents, paid in advance; Two Dollars if paid within the year; and Two Dollars and Fifty Cents, if not year; and Two Donars and Thy Gene, it not paid within the year. These terms will be rig-idly adhered to in every instance. No sub-scription discontinued until all arrearages are paid unless at the option of the Editor.

ADVERTISEMENTS—Accompanied by the CASH, and not exceeding one square, will be inserted three times for One Dollar, and twenty-five cents for each additional insertion. Those of a greater length in proportion.

Jon-Printing—Such as Hand-bills, Posting-

bills, Pamphlets, Blanks, Labels, &c., &c., executed with accuracy and at the shortest notice.

President's Message.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of our history, com

Representatives: When we compare the condition of the country at the present day with what it was one Providence, which has never failed to interpose for our relief, at the most critical periods of our history. One year aro, the sectional relief. for our relief, at the most critical periods of our history. One year ago, the sectional strife between the North and the South on the dan. This reflection may prove to be a lesson of wisgerous subject of slavery, had again become so dom and of warning for our future guidance. Intense as to threaten the peace and perpetuity Practically considered, the question is whether of the confederacy. The application for the admission of Kansas as a State into the Union ostered this unhappy agitation, and brought more before Congress. he whole subject or ras the desire of every patriot that such such sures of legislation might be adopted, as stitution in accordance with their will? In the number of inhabitants shall equal those of legislation from the States, either case, the result would be precisely the a single congressional district. They surely t was the desire of every patriot that such would remove the excitement from the States. and confine it to the Territory where it legitimately belonged. Much has been done, I am happy to say, towards the accomplishment of

this object, during the last session of Congress.

The supreme Court of the United States had eviously decided, that all American citizens have an equal right to take into the Territories. whatever is held as property under the laws of approbation of Congress. They deemed it wis any of the States, and to hold such property ser to adopt a different measure for the settlewhatever is held as property under the laws of approached to different measure for the settleany of the States, and to hold such property
there under the guardianship of the federal conthere under the guardianship of the federal constitution, so long as the territorial condition

should have been willing to yield my assent to look forward to it and govern themselves accorstitution, so long as the territorial condition hall remain.

This is now a well-established position, and plish this object. I, therefore, cordially acqui-

the proceedings of the last session were alone wanting to give it practical effect. The princiwanting to give it practical effect. The principle has been recognized, in some form or other, sion of the State of Kansas into the Union," by an almost unanimous vote of both houses of gress, that a Territory has a right to come into the Union either as a free or a slave State. according to the will of a majority of its people. The just equality of all the States has thus been vindicated, and a fruitful source of dangerou dissension among them has been removed

Whilst such has been the beneficial tendency of your legislative proceedings outside of Kansas, their influence has nowhere been so happy as within that Territory itself: Left to manage and control its own affairs in its own way, hout the pressure of external influence, the As a natural consequence, that fine Territory grants to make it their happy home. grants of public lands which they had deman-The past unfortunate experience of Kansas ded under the ordinance, accept such grants as

that resistence to lawful authority, under our form of government, cannot fail in the end to States. Under this act, should a majority refer the government, cannot fail in the end to prove disastrous to its authors. Had the people of the Territory yielded obedience to the laws enacted by their legislature, it would at said proposition of the conditions set forth in the present moment have contained a large additional provides the proposition of the proposition of the Union with said constitution under the conditions set forth in the proposition of the proposition of the Union with said constitution under the conditions set forth in State would at said proposition. In the present moment have contained a proposition of the Union with said constitution under the conditions set forth in State would at the proposition of the Union with said contains a number of inhabitants which, if in has enforced the lesson so often already taught, had been made to Minnesota and other new the present moment have contained a large additional population of industrious and enterprising citizens, who have been deterred from a constitution and State governentering its borders by the existence of civil ment for themselves, whenever, and not before, it is ascertained by a census, duly and lestrife and organized rebellion;

It was the resistence to rightful authority and the preserving attempts to establish a two lutionary government under the Topeka constitution, which caused the people of Kansas to commit the grave error in refusing to vote the grave error in refusing to vote the grave error in refusing to vote the delegates the sassembled shall be convention to frame a confirm delegate to the convention to frame a confirmation of the convention to the wish r delegates to the convention to frame a confirst determine by a vote whether it is the wish itution, under a law not denied to be fair and of the people of the proposed State to be admitwho vote-not the majority who remain at home, from whatever cause—must decide the result of an election. For this reason, seeking approval or ratification by the people of the proto take advantage of their own error, they denied the authority of the convention thus cleated to frame a constitution.

The convention, notwithstanding, proceeded to adopt a constitution unexceptionable in its general features, and providing for the submission of the slavery question to a vote of the people, which, in my opinion, they were bound to do, under the Kansas and Nebraska act. This was the all-important question which had osition submitted to the people by Congress. alone convulsed the Territory : and yet the opponents of the lawful government, persisting i heir first error, refrained from exercising their right to vote, and preferred that slavery should ntinue, rather than surrender their revolulionary Topeka organization. A wiser and better spirit seemed to prevail

fore the first Monday of January last, when case, that a third constitution can be lawfully relection was held under the constitution. A framed and presented to Congress by Kansas. majority of the people then voted for a Gover-per and other State officers, for a member of designated number. Nor is it to be presumed ngress, and members of the State Legisla- that, after their sad experience in resisting the re. This election was warmly contested by territorial laws, they will attempt to adopt a two political parties of Kansas, and a greatons two political parties of Kansas, and a greatons titution in express violation of the provisions of an act of Congress. During the session of 1856, much of the time of Congress was occisial ture elect belonged to that party which n. A large majority of the memoers of the cupied on the question of admitting Kausac and islature elect belonged to that party which der the Topeka constitution. Again, nearly the previously refused in the ascendant, the whole of the last session was devoted to the the political power of the State was in their question of its admission under the Lecompton of hands. Had Congress admitted Kansas othe Union under the Lecompton constitution, the Legislature might, at its very first have submitted the question to a vote inhabitants shall amount to ninety-three thouof the people, whether they would or would not ivention to amend their constitution Wither on the slavery or any other question, and thive adopted all necessary means for giving speedy effect to the will of the majority. Thus the Kansas question would have been immeditely and finally settled.

Under these circumstances, I submitted to gress the constitution thus framed, with all the officers already elected necessary to put the State government into operation, accompanied by a strong recommendation in favor of the ission of Kansas as a State. It the course of my long public life I have never performed my official act which, in the retrospect, has afforded me more heartfelt satisfaction. Its ad-mission could have inflicted no possible injury n any human being, whilst it would, within

rief period, have restored peace to Kansas and mony to the Union. In that event, the slay question would ere this have been finally ted, according to the legally expressed will majority of the voters, and popular sover-

itutional manner. With my deep convictions of duty, I could have pursued no other course. It is true, that, as individual, I had expressed an opinion, both before and during the session of the con-lidit, in favor of submitting the remaining clauses of the constitution, as well as that conming slavery, to the people. But, acting in tories or upon the people of the existing states of the serious dissensions which have myself nor any Many of the serious dissensions which have the countries in Coursess and throughout the countries in Courses and throughout the countries in the course of the cours Many of the serious dissensions which have the wisdom and economy of sen in the authority had the power to rejudge the prevailed in Congress and throughout the council of the convention, and declare the prevailed in Congress and throughout the council of the serious dissensions which have the council of the convention, and declare the prevailed in Congress and throughout the council of the serious dissensions which have the council of the convention, and declare the prevailed in Congress and throughout the council of the serious dissensions which have been reinforcements to Utah are established the council of the convention, and declare the prevailed in Congress and throughout the council of the serious dissensions which have reinforcements to Utah are established that this rule by the event, but in the opinion of the serious dissensions which have reinforcements to Utah are established that this rule by the event, but in the opinion of the serious dissensions which have reinforcements to Utah are established that the council of the serious dissensions which have been avoided that this rule by the event, but in the opinion of the serious dissensions which have been avoided that this rule by the event, but in the opinion of the serious dissensions which have been avoided the council of the council of the serious dissensions which have been avoided the council of the serious dissensions which have been avoided the council of To have done this would have been a violation of the Kansas and Nebraska act, which
left the people of the Territory "perfectly free
to furn and regulate their domestic institutions foreign countries rush into it. for the laudible purpose of unproving their condition. Their tion of the United States." It would equally take violated the great principle of popular farms, to construct roads, to establish schools.

American



Bolunteer.

BY JOHN B. BRATTON.

to subject their constituents to the trouble, ex-

ense, and delay of a second election. It would

have been in opposition to many precedents in

our history, commencing in the very best age of the republic, of the admission of Territories

as States into the Union, without a previous

vote of the people approving their constitution.
It is to be lamented that a question so insig-

the people of that Territory should first come

into the Union and then change any provision in their constitution not agreeable to themselves,

or accomplish the very same object by remain-

State during the last session of Congress.

upon the terms therein prescribed.

or exceed the ratio required to elect a men

territorial laws, they will attempt to adopt

require the people of Kansas to wait, before ma-king a third attempt, until the number of their

sand four hundred and twenty. During this

as the great business interests of the country,

demand that the people of the Union shall not

for a third time be convulsed by another agita-

tion on the Kansas question. By waiting for a

short time, and acting in obedience to law, Kan-sas will glide into the Union without the sligh-

This excellent provision, which Congress

and is now prepared to enter the Union.

to the House of Representatives.

My recommendation, however, for the imme-

Under the ordinance which accompanied the

diate admission of Kansas, failed to meet the

"OUR COUNTRY-MAY IT ALWAYS BE RIGHT-BUT RIGHT OR WRONG, OUR COUNTRY."

AT \$2,00 PER ANNUM.

VOL. 45.

CARLISLE, PA., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1858.

NO. 27.

thousand, they should prematurely enter the Union, they are oppressed by the burden of State taxation, and the means necessary for the improvement of the Territory and the advance ment of their own interests, are thus diverted to very different purposes.

The federal government has ever been a liberal parent to the Territories, and a generous of the Territories, and a generous of the United States are thus diverted to the Territories, and a generous of the United States are thus diverted to the Territories, and a generous of the United States are thus diverted to the Territories, and a generous of the United States are thus diverted to the Territories, and a generous of the United States are thus diverted to the United States that some mode that the moment, we should be obliged to resort to Madrid, especially when the very first step to be taken there is to refer it back to Cuba. eral parent to the Territories, and a generous contributor to the useful enterprises of the early settlers. It has paid the expenses of their overnments and legislative assemblies out of he common treasury, and thus relieved them from a heavy charge. Under these circumstances, nothing can be better calculated to retard their material progress, than to divert them from their useful employments, by prematurely exciting angry poltical contests among them-selves, for the benfit of aspiring leaders. It is surely no hardship for embryo governors, senasame. The only difference in point of fact is, ought not to be permitted to rush into the Unthat the object would have been much sooner ion, with a population less than one-half of sevattained, and the pacification of Kansas more speedily effected, had it been admitted as a of the States. This was the condition of Kansas more speedily effected, had it been admitted as a sas when it made application to be admitted under the Topeka constitution. Besides, it requires some time to render the mass of a population collected in a new Territory, at all h

> dingly.
>
> But justice to the people of the several States requires that this rule should be established by Congress. Each State is entitled to two senators and at least one representative in Congress. Should the people of the States fail to elect a Vice President, the power devolves upon elected by the Senate, becomes President of the United States. On all questions of legislation,

had ever been previously granted to any State upon entering the Union; and also the alterthe Senators from the smallest States of the nate sections of land for twelve miles on each Union have an equal vote with those of the larside of two railroads, proposed to be construcgest. The same may be said in regard to the ratification of treaties, and of Executive apted from the northern to the Southern boundary, and from the eastern to the western bounda ry of the State. Congress, deeming these claims unreasonable, provided, by the act of pointments. All this has worked admirably n practice, whilst it conforms in principle with revolutionary Topeka organization and all re-sistence to the territorial government establish-red by Congress, have been finally abandoned. With the original States, but "upon the funda-red by Congress, have been finally abandoned." mental condition precedent" that a majority of rangement. Still, is it not unjust and unequal now appears to be tranquil and prosperous, and the people thereof, at an election to be held for that purpose, should, in place of the very large grants to make it their happy home.

The people thereof, at an election to be held for that purpose, should, in place of the very large that purpose it their happy home. fifty thousand people collected in a Territory with the attributes of sovereignty, and place, them on an equal footing with Virginia and New York in the Senate of the United States?

dent to cause a census of the inhabitants to be taken, and if found sufficient, then by the terms of this act to authorize them to proceed "in their own way" to frame a State constitution preparatory to admission into the Union. I also recommend that an apprortation may be made, to enable the President to take a census

of the people of Kansas.

The present condition of the Territory of Utah, when contrasted with what it was one year ago, is a subject for congratulation. It was then in a state of open rebellion, and, cost what it wish the character of the government relationship. stitution, under a law not denied to be fair and just in its provisions. This refusal to vote has been the prolific source of all the evils which have followed. In their hostility to the terrial government, they disregarded the principle, absolutely essential to the working of our ple, absolutely essential to the working of our ple that this rebellion, and take it was one year ago, is a subject for congratulation. It was the interest and in the union at that time, and, if so, that this rebellion, and the was a subject for congratulation. It was the interest and in the union at that time, and, if so, if we are all excessory steps for the establishment of a state of open rebellion, and the was a subject for congratulation. It was one year ago, is a subject for congratulation. It was one year ago, is a subject for congratulation. It was one year ago, is a subject for congratulation. It was one year ago, is a subject for congratulation. It was one year ago, is a subject for congr absolutely essential to the working of our al constitution. After this constitution out the have been formed, Congress, carrying out the accomplish this object, as I informed you in my principles of popular sovereignty and non-inter-last annual message, I appointed a new governor last annual message, I appointed a new governor out the following follows. last annual message, I appointed a new governor instead of Brigham Young, and other federal officers to take the place of those who, consulting their personal safety, had found it necessary to withdraw from the Territory. To protect those givil officers, and to aid, as a posse contitue of the severe chastisement with had then but the severe chastisement with the severe chastis posed State" to be "proscribed by law," and they "shall then be admitted into the Union as a State under such constitution thus fairly and legally made, with or without slavery, as said need, I ordered a detachment of the army to ac-company them to Utah. The necessity for adopting these measures is now demonstrated. constitution may prescribe."

An election was held throughout Kansas, in pursuance of the provisions of this act, on the On the 15th September, 1857, Gov. Young second day of August last, and it resulted in issued his proclamation, in the style of an inde the rejection, by a large majority, of the proppendent sovereign, announcing his purpose to resist by force of arms the entry of the United This being the case, they are now authorized States troops into our own Territory of Utah.— By this he required all the forces in the Terri-tory, to "hold themselves in readiness to march to form another constitution, preparatory to adission into the Union, but not until their tory, to "hold themselves in readness to match at a moment's notice to repel any and all such invasion," and established martial law from its date throughout the Territory. These proved to be no idle threats. Forts Bridger and Sup-ply were vacated and burnt down by the Mor-mons, to deprive our troops of a shelter after their lear and futuring march. Orders were number, as ascertained by a census, shall equal It is not probable, in the present state of the mons, to deprive our troops of a such a tree their long and fatiguing march. Orders were issued by Danl. H. Wells, styling himself "Lieutenant General, Nauvoo Legion," to stampede the animals of the United States troops on their march, to set fire to their trains, to burn the

grass and the whole country before them and on their flanks, to keep them from sleeping by night their flanks, to geep them from siceping by night surprises, and to blockade the road by felling trees, and destroying the fords of rivers, &c.

These orders were promptly and effectually obeyed. On the 4th October, 1857, the Mormons captured and burned on Green River, three of our supply trains, consisting of seventy flye wagons loaded with provisions and tents for the array and drog eagus saveral hundred enithe army, and drove away several hundred animals. This diminished the supply of provisions so materially that General Johnston was obliged brief period, the harmony of the States, as well to reduce the ration, and even with this precau

to reduce the fatton, and even with this precau-tion, there was only sufficient left to subsist the troops until the first of June.

Our little army behaved admirably in their encampment at Fort Bridger, under these try-ing privations. In the midst of the mountains, in a dreary, unsettled, and inhospitable region, more than a thousand miles from home, they eassed the severe and inclement winter withou murmur. They looked forward with confi dence for relief from their country in due sea son, and in this they were not disappointed.

The Secretary of War employed all his en

have applied to Kansas, ought to be extended and rendered applicable to all Territories which may hereafter seek admission into the Union.
Whilst Congress possess the undoubted pow-The Secretary of War employed all his engies to forward them the necessary stipplies, to muster and send such a military force to U as would render restance on the part of Mormons hopeless, and thus terminate the without the effusion of blood. In his effort was efficiently sustained by Congress. granted appropriations sufficient to cover deficiency thus necessarily created, and also yield for reiging two regiments of voluntials. er of admitting a new State into the Union, however small may be the number of its inhabitants, yet this power ought not, in my opin-ion, to be exercised before the population shall amount to the ratio required by the act for the admission of Kansas. Had this been previously the rule, the country would have escaped all vided for raising two regiments of vol
for the purpose of quelling disturbance
Recritory of Utah, for the protection of he evils and misfortunes to which it has been exposed by the Kansas question.

Of course, it would be unjust to give this and emigrant trains, and the suppress dian hostilities on the frontiers." Hap rule a retrospective application, and exclude a State which, acting upon the past practice of the government, has already formed its constiwas no occasion to call these regiservice. If there had been, I should serious embarrassment in selecting great was the number of our brave

tution, elected its legislative and other officers, The rule ought to be adopted, whether we onsider its bearing on the people of the Terri. distant and apparently dangerous Thus it has ever been, and thus m The wisdom and economy of ser in addressing the Secretary of Bridger, under date of Octo presses the opinion that "unle sent here, from the nature of t first duty to themselves is to open and cultivate s] part is in tracted war on their [the M evitable." This he consid to erect places of religious worship, and to de-vote their energies generally to reclaim the wil-derness and to least to found the foundation of the country of the count re economi ient means."

and how hopeless it was on their part to persist in rebellion against the United States, and ofthe necessity of sending reinforcements to Utah.

In this they state, that they fare firmly impressed with the belief that the presence of the army here and the large additional force that had been This government has yet received no communiordered to this Territory, were the chief induce.

These gentlemen conducted themselves to my in executing the humane intentions of the gov-

It also affords me great satisfaction to state, that Gov. Cumming has performed his duty in an able and conciliatory mapper, and with the and Bulwer treaty of April, 1850, have been happiest effect. I connot, in this connection, refrain from mentioning the valuable services of Col. Thomas L. Kane, who, from motives of pure benevolence, and without any official ch Lecompton constitution, the people of Kansas the Senate to select this officer from the two had claimed double the quantity of public lands for the support of common schools, which death of the President, the Vice President thus pose of contributing to the pacification of the

Territory. I am happy to inform you, that the Governo and other civil officers of Utah, are now performing their appropriate functions without resistance. The authority of the constitution and

sistance. The authority of the constitution and the laws has been fully restored, and peace prevails throughout the Territory.

A portion of the troops sent to Utah are now encauped in Cedar valley, 44 miles southwest of Salt Lake City; and the remainder have been ordered to Oregon to suppress Indian hostilities. The march of the army to Salt Lake City; though the Indian Territory Research of a powerthrough the Indian Territory, has had a powerful, effect in restraining they hostile 'teelings against the United States, which existed among the Indians in that region, and in securing emigrants the financial states. grants to the far west against their depredations. This will also be the means of establishing mili-tary posts and promoting settlements along the

I recommend that the beneats of our land laws and pre-emption system be extended to the people of Utah, by the establishment of a land office in that Territory.

I have occasion, also, to constitute you on

I have occasion, also, to corratulate you on the result of our negotiations with China.

You were informed by my last remain message, that our minister had been insolved to occupy a neutral position in the host research of Great Britain and Reason in the last sandard of the was, however, at the same lime, directed to indicate the same lime, directed to cooperate cordially with the British and French ministers, in all peacoful measures to secure by treuty those just concession to foreign commerce, which the nations of the world had a right to demand. It was impossible for me to proceed further than this, on by own authority, without usurping the war-making power, which, under the constitution, belong exclusively to Congress.

I hat of Spain, continue to be of the most friend-ly character.

With Spain our relations remain in an unsatisation of condition. In my message of December last, I informed you that our entire ty was my purpose to send out a new minister to that court with special instructions on all questions pending between the two governments, and with a determination to have them specially and amically adjusted, if that were possible. This purpose has been hitherto defeated by causes which I need not enumerate.

The mission to Spain has been intrusted to a

tatus, in the execution of the laws in case of recently been inflicted upon the Chinese by our squadron, in the capture and distruction of the Barrier forts, to avenge an alled insult to our

The event has proved the wdom of our neu-The event has proved the whom of our neutrality. Our minister has exchted his instructions with eminent skill and bility. In conjunction with the Russian phipotentiary, he has peacefully, but effectually so-operated with the English and French pleniotentiaries; and each of the four powers has included a sepa-rate treaty with China, of a haly satisfactory character. The treaty concluded by our own plenipotentiary will immediate be submitted o the Senate.

I am happy to announce the through the energetic yet conciliatory effor of our consu general in Japan, a new treaty is been conclu-ded with that empire, which ay be expected materially to augment our tradand intercourse in that quarter, and remove on our country-men the disabilities which has heretofore been imposed upon the exercise other religion .-The treaty shall be submittedo the Senate for

approval without delay.

It is my earnest desire the every misunder-standing with the governmenof Great Britain, should be amicably and spelily adjusted. It has been the misfortune of th countries, almost wer since the period othe revolution, to have been annoyed by a succession of irritating and dangerous questions, hreatening their rickly relations. This has artially prevented hold development of those teelings of mutual riedship between the peope of the two coun-ries, so natural in themselvs and so conducive heir common interest. Any serious intertion of the commerce btween the United sites and Great Britain, would be equally infould do each other so muli good or so much

Entertaining these sentinents, I am gratified

to inform you, that the long-lending controversy between the two governmens, in relation to the question of visitation and sarch, has been amicably adjusted. The claimon the part of Great Britain, forcibly to visit American vessels on the high seas in time of jeace, could not be sustained under the law of nations, and it had examination and adjustment of our claims, ion; and the various constitutions from time to been overruled by her own nost eminent jurists. arises from an obstacle which it is the duty of time adopted, have been set at naught almost This question was recently brought to an Issue, by the repeated acts of British cruisers, in boarding and searching ou merchant vessels in the captain-general of Cuba is invested with ive governments have afforded no adequate protection either to Mexican citizens or foreign that island, the power is withheld from him to residents, against lawless violence. Heretofore, These acts were the more injurious and annoying, as these waters are taversed by a large portion of the commerce and navigation of the United States, and their free and unrestricted use is essential to the security of the coastwise trade between different States of the Union.— Such vexatious interruptions could not fail to iotic excite the feelings of excite the feelings of the country, and to require the interposition of the government. Remonstrances were addressed to the British government against these violations of our rights of sovereignty, and a naval force was at the same time ordered to the Cuban waters, with direction of the Cuban waters, with direction of proceedings of the constitution of the contraction of the contraction of the contraction which has endeavored to subvert the constitution and contraction of the contrac between the two governments would be obviation of the Ouban waters, with directors who, it is a constantly changing.—

between the two governments would be obviation avoided, if fortunes of the war are constantly changing.—

is, are the on the high seas, from search or detention by igment.—

the forces, measures received the unqualified and even enther forces, measures received the unqualified and even enther forces.

between the two governments would be obviated, and a long train of negotiation avoided, if fortunes of the war are constantly changing.—

Meanwhile, the most reprehensible means have been employed by both parties to extort money from forcigners, as well as natives, to carry on the facts are fresh, and could be , measures received the unqualitied and even enthusiastic approbation of the American people.

Most fortunately, however, no collision took
splace, and the British government promptly
avowed its recognition of the principles of international law upon this subject, as laid down
by the government of the United States, in the
note of the Secretary of State to the British
ministry twishington of April 10, 1858 which minister at Washington, of April 10, 1858, which inxions desire secure the vessels of the United States upon the bedience to the high seas from visitation or search in time of bedience to the high seas from visitation or search in time of commerce with it is far greater than that of lars, against Mexico, because she is destitute of but rendering it peace, under any circumstances whatever. The any other nation, including Spain itself, and all pecuniary means to satisfy these demands.

should be adopted, by mutual arrangement be-tween the two countries, of a character which may be found effective without being offensive, fering all those who should submit to the laws a full pardon for their past sellitions and treasons. At the same time, I assured those who should persist in rebellion against the United States, that they must expect no further lenity, but look to be rigorously dealt with according to their grave a responsibility, the Secretary of State has informed the British government that we are deserts. The instructions to these agents, as ering all those who should submit to the laws a for verifying the nationality of vessels suspect-This government has yet received no communication specifying the manner in which the Britments that caused the Mormons to abandon the ish government would propose to carry out their idea of resisting the authority of the United suggestions; and I am inclined to believe, that States. A less decisive policy would probably have resulted in a long, bloody, and expensive war."

| A less decisive policy would probably no plan which can be devised, will be free from plan which can be devised. have carefully and in the best spirit examined entire satisfaction, and rendered useful services any proposals which they may think proper to

finally adjusted.

At the commencement of your last session, I had reason to hope that, emancipating themselves from further unavailing discussions, the selves from further unavailing discussions, the two governments would proceed to settle the Central American questions in a practical manner, alike honorable and satisfactory to both; and this hope I have not yet abandoned. In this purpose, in a friendly spirit, which I cordially reciprocated. Their proposal was, to withdraw these questions from direct negotiations the direct negotiation of the imperative and overruling law of selftion between the two governments; but to accomplish the same object, by a negotiation between the British government and each of the Central American republics whose territorial interests are immediately involved. The settlement was to be made in accordance with the general tenor of the interpretation placed upon the Clayton and Bulwer treaty by the United States, with certain modifications. As negotiations are still pending upon this basis, it would not be proper for me now to communicate their present condition. A final settlement of

France and Russia, as well as with all other governments on the continent of Europe, except

sons and property of our citizens. These have our successive diplomatic representatives. Notwithstanding this, we have not arrived at a sideration. practical result in any single instance, unless we may except the case of the Black Warrior under the late administration; and that pre-sented an outrage of such a character as would

Even what have been denominated "the Cuour citizens are directly interested, have furnished no exception. These claims were for Cuba, so long ago as the year 1844. The principles upon which they rest are so manifestly equitable and just, that after a period of nearly ten years, in 1854, they were recognised by the Spanish government. Proceedings were afterwards instituted to ascertain their amount, and this was finally fixed according to their own statement, (with which we were satisfied) at the sum of one hundred and twenty-eight thousand six hundred and thirty-five dollars and fiftyfour cents. Just at the moment, after a delay of fourteen years, when we had reason to expect that this sum would be repaid with interest rious to both. In fact, o two nations have we have received a proposal offering to refund existed on the face of the earth, which one third of that amount, (forty-two thousand d do each other so much good or so much eight hundred and seventy-eight dollars and orty-one cents,) but without interest, if we would accept this in full satisfaction. The offer is, also, accompanied by a declaration that this indemnification is not founded on any reason of strict justice; but is made as a special

> One alleged cause for procrastination in the examine and redress wrongs committed by officials under his control, on citizens of the United States. Instead of making our complaints directly to him at Havana, we are obliged to present them through our minister at Madrid. These are then referred back to the captainform of the control for information, and much time is thus examine and redress wrongs committed by offithe country, and to re-

right of search, now so happily terminated, could never have arisen if Cuba had not affordthe demand for slaves continue in Cuba, wars will be waged among the petty and barbarous chiefs in Africa, for the purpose of seizing subjects to supply this trade. In such a condithese dark abodes.

It has been made known to the world by my predecessors, that the United States have, on I am truly sorry I cannot also inform you that the complications between Great Britain and the United States, arising out of the Clayton and Bulwer treaty of April. 1850. have been were accomplished, the last relic of the African just and oppressive measure. Design slave-trade would instantly disappear. We factions in other parts of the republic were at would not, if we could, acquire Cuba in any the same time levying similar exactions upon other manner. This is due to our national the property of our citizens, and interrupting character. All the territory which we have ny last annual message, I stated that overtures her destinies with our own: This course we had been made by the British government for shall ever pursue, unless circumstances should preservation

trade, foreign and coastwise, from the valley of per to sanction his withdrawal of the legation that noble river, now embracing half the sover- from the city of Mexico. eign States of the Union. With that Island under the dominion of a distant foreign power, this trade, of vital importance to these States, is exposed to the danger of being destroyed in time of war, and it has hitherto been subjected

The publicity which has been given to our former negotiations upon this subject, and the large appropriations which may be required to large appropriations which may be required to effect the purpose, render it expedient, before affairs along our southwestern frontier, which quireu, mat this repening should be suppressed and the Mormons compelled to yield obedience to the constitution and the laws. In order to accomplish this object, as Linformed you in my last annual message, I appointed a new governor instead of Brigham Young and other federal should be entrusted with the means of making Spanish officials, under the direct control of an advance to the Spanish government immediate the captain general of Cuba, have insulted our national flag, and, in repeated instances, have am encouraged to make this suggestion, by the power, if they possessed the will, even to example of Mr. Jefferson previous to the purgiven birth to numerous claims against the chase of Louisiana from France, and by that of Spanish government, the merits of which have Mr. Polk, in view of the acquisition of territoover ably discussed for a series of years, by aur successive diplomatic representatives. Not-

I repeat the recommendation made in my message of December last, in favor of an appro-priation "to be paid to the Spanish governsented an outrage of such a character as would have justified an immediate resort to war. All our attempts to obtain redress have been baffled and defeated. The frequent and oft-recurring changes in the Spanish ministry, have been employed as reasons for delay. We have been employed as reasons for delay. We have to these claimants under our treaty with Spain bilished between our Atlantic and Pacific possible to these claimants under our treaty with Spain boundary, throughout the whole length of Arizona. I can intagine po possible remedy for priation promptly made for this purpose could ban claims," in which more than a hundred of not fail to exert a favorable influence on our negotiations with Spain.

Our postion in relation to the independent the refunding of duties unjustly exacted from States south of us on this continent, and espec-American vessels at different custom-houses in ially those within the limits of North America, is of a peculiar character. The northern boundary of Mexico is coincident with our own southern boundary from ocean to ocean; and that concerns the well being and the fate of so near a neighbor. We have always cherished the kindest wishes for the success of that republic, and have indulged the liope that it might at last, after all its trials, enjoy peace and prosperity under a free and stable government. perity under a free and stable government.— We have never hitherto interfered, directly or indirectly, with its internal affairs, and it is duty which we owe to ourselves, to protect the integrity of its territory against the hostile interference of any other power. Our geographical position, our direct interest in all that concerns Mexico, and our well-settled policy in regard to the North American continent, render this an indispensable duty. Mexico has been in a state of constant revo-

lution, almost ever since it achieved its independence. One military leader after another has usurped the government in rapid successthe Spanish government to remove. Whilst as soon as they were proclaimed. The succesthe captain-general of Cuba is invested with a seizure of the capital by a military chieftan, promptly and satisfactorily ascertained. We have hitherto in vain urged upon the Spanish fine country, blessed with a productive soil, government, to confer this power upon the cap-tain-general: and our minister to Spain will again be instructed to urge this subject on an a benign climate, has been reduced by civ-tii dissension to a condition of almost hopeless anarchy and imbecility. It would be vain for their notice. In this respect, we occupy a dif-ferent position from the powers of Europe. In money of the claims of American citizens, Cuba is almost within sight of our shores; our now amounting to more than ten million dol-

Our late minister was furnished with ample owers and instructions for the adjustment of powers and instructions for the adjustment of all pending questions with the central government of Mexico, and he performed his duty with zeal and ability. The claims of our citizens, some of them arising out of the violation of an express provision of the treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo, and others from gross injuries to persons as well as property, have remained unredressed and even unnoticed. Remonstrances against these grievances, have been addressed against these grievances, have been addressed without effect to that government. Mcantime in various parts of the Republic, instances have been numerous of the murder, imprisonment, and plunder of our citizens, by different parties claiming and exercising a local jurisdiction; but the central government, although repeatedly urged thereto, have made no effort either to punish the authors of these outrages, or to pre-vent their recurrence. No American citizen can now visit Mexico on lawful business, without imminent danger to his person and proper-There is no adequate protection to either;

and in this respect our treaty with that repub-lic is almost a dead letter. This state of affairs was brought to a crisis in important, which might be readily settled at the moment, we should be obliged to resort to ling a contribution pro rata upon all the capital Madrid, especially when the very first step to be taken there is to refer it back to Cuba.

The truth is that Cuba, in its existing colonial condition, is a constant source of injury and of a "forced loan," formally protested against its analysis of a "forced loan," formally protested against the analysis of the supplies that the condition of a "forced loan," formally protested against the supplies that the condition of a "forced loan," formally protested against the supplies that the condition of the supplies that annoyance to the American people. It is the only spot in the civilized world where the African slave-trade is tolerated; and we are bound vice, an American citizen refused to pay the contribution, and his property was seized by armed men to satisfy the amount. Not content with this, the government proceeded still further, and issued a decree banishing him from the well as a copy of the proclamation, and their reports, are herewith submitted. It will be seen by their report of the 3d of July last, that they have fully confirmed the opinion expressed by General Johnston in the previous October, as to could never have arisen if Cuba had not afforded a market for slaves. As long as this market shall remain open, there can be no hope for the civilization of benighted Africa. Whilst the banishment was enforced, and Mr. Forsyth promptly announced to the government the sus-pension of the political relations of his legalich with them, until the pleasure of his own government should be ascertained.

This government did not regard the contribution imposed by the decree of the 15th of May last to be in strictness a "forced loan," and as such prohibited by the 10th article of the treaty of 1826 between Great Britain and Mexico, to the benefits of which American citizens are entheir commerce. There had been an entire failure on the part of our minister, to secure re-And from the temper manifested by the Mexi-cin government, he had repeatedly assured us that no tavorable change could be expected, until the United States should " give striking evidence of their will and power to protect th citizens," and that "severe chastening is the only earthly remedy for our grievances." From The Island of Cuba, from its geographical than idle, to direct Mr. Forsyth to retrace his position, commands the mouth of the Mississi steps and resume diplomatic relations with that position, commands the mouth of the Mississi steps and resume diplomatic relations with that ppi, and the immense and annually increasing government; and it was, therefore, deemed pro-

Abundant cause now undoubtedly exists, for a resort to hostilities against the government still holding possession of the capital. Should they succeed in subduing the constitutional forces, all reasonable hope will then have expirtheir present condition. A final settlement of these questions is greatly to be desired, as this would wipe out the last remaining subject of dispute between the two countries.

Our relations with the great empires of France and Russia, as well as with all other governments on the continent of Europe, except that of Spain, continue to be of the most friendly character, must always be placed in jeopardy, whilst the existing colonial government over the Island shall remain in its present condition.

Whilst the possession of the Island would be of vast importance to the United States, its which justice requires, so far as they may possess the means. But for this expectation, I should at once have recommended to Congress value to Spain, so comparatively, unimportant. be of vast importance to the United States, its value to Spain is, comparatively, unimportant, to take possession of a sufficient portion of the parties, being and it was my purpose to send out a new minister to that court with special instructions on all questions pending between the two governments, and with a determination to have they are sufficient portion of the united States. Jealous, as he ever was, of the national honor and interests of France, in person throughout the world, has imputed blame to him, for accepting a pecuniary equivalent of reprisals is recognised by the law of nations, and with a left for this cession. not only as just in itseli, but as a means of pre venting actual war.

But there is another view of chirrelations with

Chihuahua and Sonora, and our adjoining Territories. The local governments of these States der and committing depredations on our remote settlers. A state of anarchy and violence prevails throughout that distant frontier. The laws are a dead letter, and life and property are wholly insecure. For this reason the settlement of Arizona is arrested, whilst it is of great importance that a chain of inhabitants sh tend all along its southern border, sufficient for their own protection and that of the United zona. I can intagine no possible remedy for these evils, and no mode of restoring law and order on that remote and unsettled frontier; but for the government of the United States to assume a temporary protectorate over the north-ern portions of Chimahita and Sonora, and to stablish military posts within the same-and this I carnestly recommend to Congress. This protection may be withdrawn, as soon as local governments shall be established in these Mexsouthern boundary from ocean to ocean; and ican States, capable of performing their duties we must necessarily feel a deep interest in all to the United States, restraining the lawless

> tier, as for citizens of the United States. And in this connexion, permit me to recall your attention to the condition of Arizona. The population of that territory, numbering, as is alleged, more than ten thousand souls, are practically without a government, without laws, and without any regular administration of justice. Murder and other crimes are committed with impunity. This state of things calls loudly for redress; and I, therefore, repeat my recommendation for the establishment of a territorial government over Arizona.
>
> The political condition of the narrow isth-

> mus of Central America, through which transit routes pass, between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, presents a subject of deep interest to all commercial nations. It is over these transits, that a large proportion of the trade and travel between the European and Asiatic continents, is destined to pass. To the United States these routes are of incalculable importance are a means of communication between ance, as a means of communication between their Atlantic and Pacific possessions. The grees of latitude on the Pacific coast, embracing the important State of California and the flourishing territories of Oregon and Washington. All commercial nations, therefore, have a deep and direct interest, that these communications shall be rendered secure from interruption. If an arm of the sea, connecting two oceans, penetrated through Nicatagua and Costa Rica, it could not be prefended that these States would have the right to arrest or retard its navigation, to the injury of other na-tions. The transit by land over this narrow isthmus, occupies nearly the same position. It is a highway in which they themselves have tle interest when compared with the vast intercists of the rest of the world. Whilst their rights of sovereignty ought to be respected, it is the duty of other nations, to require, that this important passage should not be interrupted, by the civil wars and revolutionary outbreaks, which have so frequently occurred in that rogion. The stake is too important, to be left at the mercy of rival companies, claiming

(Concluded on 2d Faze.)