

Volunteer
EXTRA.

IDENT'S MESSAGE.

House of Representatives.

about the year since our last meeting, we have been eminently prosperous in all our interests.

Our commerce and manufactures have flourished with energy and industry, and we have had a fair and ample return.

In short, the time of day has ever presented itself as a period of general health and plenty smiles throughout the land.

Our agriculture has been unusually abundant, and the Union of the States, in its various parts, has been blessed with a general and abundant harvest.

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property, and, like all other property, their owners have a right to take them into the protection of the Constitution.

So far, then, as Congress is concerned, the objection is not to anything they have already done, but to what they have yet to do.

It will surely be admitted that the apprehension of future danger is no good reason for an immediate dissolution of the Union.

It is true that the territorial legislature of Kansas, on the 23d of February, 1860, passed in great haste an act, over the veto of the Governor, prohibiting the sale of slaves.

Only three days after my inauguration the Supreme Court of the United States solemnly adjudged that this power did not exist in territorial legislatures.

Yet such has been the factious temper of the times that the correctness of this decision has been extensively impugned before the people, and the question has given birth to angry political conflicts throughout the country.

Those who have appeared from this judgment of our highest constitutional tribunal to popular assemblies would, if they could, invest a territorial legislature with power to annul the sacred rights of property.

Every State is expressly forbidden by the Federal Constitution to exercise. Every State legislature in the Union is forbidden by its own constitution to exercise it.

It cannot be exercised by the people in any State except by the people in their highest sovereign capacity when framing or amending their State constitution.

It can only be exercised by the people of a Territory representing a convention of delegates for the purpose of framing a constitution preparatory to admission as a State.

liberty and happiness of the millions composing this Union cannot be sacrificed to such a purpose. Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the General Government is constituted and to the objects which it was expressly formed to attain.

It is not pretended that any clause in the Constitution gives countenance to such a theory. It is altogether founded upon inference, drawn from any language contained in the instrument itself, but from the sovereign character of the several States by which it was ratified.

But is beyond the power of a State, like an individual, to yield a portion of its sovereign rights to secure the remainder? In the language of Madison, who has been called the father of the Constitution: "It was formed by the States—that is by the people in each of the States, acting in their highest sovereign capacity; and consequently by the same authority as the several States."

"Nor is the Government of the United States, created by the Constitution, less a Government in the strict sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, than the governments created by the constitutions of the States are."

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national right. In short, let us look the danger of the Union. Session is nothing more nor less than a revolution. It may or may not be a justifiable revolution, but still it is a revolution.

What, in the meantime, is the responsibility of the Executive? He is bound by solemn oaths before God and the people to see that the laws be faithfully executed, and that this obligation be not absolved by any human power.

But what? If the performance of this obligation in whole or in part has been rendered impracticable by events over which he could have exercised no control? Such, at the present moment, is the case throughout the State of South Carolina, so far as the laws of the United States to secure the administration of justice by means of the Federal Judiciary are concerned.

All the Federal officers within its limits, through whose agency alone these laws can be carried into execution, have already resigned. We no longer have a district judge, a district attorney, or a marshal in South Carolina.

In fact, the whole machinery of the Federal Government, necessary for the distribution of remedial justice among the people, has been demolished; and it would be difficult, if not impossible to replace it.

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servo, render us the most powerful nation on the face of the earth. In every foreign region held in high respect, and when pronounced in foreign lands it causes the hearts of our countrymen to swell with honest pride.

Surveys we shall recoil with horror from the last fatal plunge. By such a deed catastrophic the world would be destroyed, and a long night of human desolation would enshroud the nations.

Our example for the last eighty years would not only be lost, but it would be quoted as a conclusive proof that man is unfit for self-government.

It is not very wrong—no, it is not every grievous wrong—which can justify a resort to such a fearful alternative. This ought to be the last desperate remedy of a despairing people, after every other constitutional means of conciliation had been exhausted.

We should reflect that under this free republic opinion, the slave, who is every thing but a human, will have its say. I firmly believe that it has already reached and passed the culminating point. If, in the midst of the existing excitement, the Union shall perish, the evil may then become irreparable.

Congress can contribute much to avert it by proposing and recommending to the legislatures of the several States the remedy of amending the Constitution.

The Legislature of the several States has itself provided for its own preservation. The amendments at different critical periods of our history, and always with imminent success. It is to be found in our history, and it is to be found in our history.

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protectorate. Besides, by the former, the Bay Islands are recognized as a part of the republic of Honduras. It may be observed that the stipulations of these treaties conform in every particular to the amendments adopted by the Senate of the United States to the treaty concluded at London on the 19th of October, 1856.

It will be recollected that this treaty was rejected by the British government because of its object being to the article relating to Rutan and the other islands in the Bay of Honduras.

It must be a source of sincere satisfaction to those engaged in the great enterprise, that the claim on the part of Great Britain, formerly to visit and search American merchant vessels on the high seas in time of peace, has been abandoned.

This was by far the most dangerous question to the peace of the two countries since the commencement of the war of 1812. Whilst it remained open, every night of any moment has been precipitated in the minds of the people, rendered manifest by the exasperated state of public feeling throughout our entire country, produced by the forcible search of American merchant vessels by British cruisers on the coast of Cuba, in the spring of 1853.

The American people, in their general opinion, have been ever since the time of the orders of the Secretary of the Navy to order naval vessels in the Gulf of Mexico, to protect all vessels of the United States on the high seas from search or detention by the vessels of war of any other nation.

These orders might have produced an immediate collision between the naval forces of the two countries. This was most fortunately prevented by an appeal to the justice of Great Britain and to the law of nations as expounded by her own most eminent jurists.

The only question of any importance which still remains open, is the disputed title between the two governments to the island of San Juan, in the vicinity of Washington Territory. As this question is still under negotiation, it is not deemed proper to allude to it at the present moment.

The recent visit of the Prince of Wales, in private character, to the people of this country, has proved to be a most auspicious event. In its consequences, it has increased the kindred feelings which unite the two nations, and has increased the friendship and social intercourse with each other.

With France, our ancient and powerful ally, our relations continue to be of the most friendly character. A decision has recently been made by the Imperial Government, with the approval of the Emperor, to increase the number of French troops in the vicinity of San Juan, in the vicinity of Washington Territory. As this question is still under negotiation, it is not deemed proper to allude to it at the present moment.

With the Emperor of Austria, and the remaining continental powers of Europe, including that of the Sultan, our relations continue to be of the most friendly character.