

Missouri Legislature.

Se ARR.
Tribute to his Memory.
The Senate submitted the following
resolutions and resolutions:

Resolved, That we have heard with
sorrow and regret, of the death of
our fellow citizen and devoted countryman
John K. Kane, and do hereby extend to his
widow and children our sincere sympathy
and our best wishes for their comfort and
prosperity.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

My fellow citizens—I appear before
you today to take the solemn oath
of office as President of the United States,
and to pledge my ability, preserve,
protect and defend the Constitution of
the United States. In entering upon
this great office, I most humbly invoke
the aid of our Father for wisdom and
strength to execute his high and
honorable duties in such a manner as to
secure harmony and ancient friendship
among the people of the several States.

Let every Union-loving man, there-
fore, exert his best influences to sup-
press this agitation, which, since the
recent legislation of Congress, is with-
out any legitimate object. It is an
evil emanating from the times that men
have undertaken to calculate the mere
material value of the Union; reasoned
estimates have been presented of the
pecuniary profits and local advantages
which would result to different States
and sections from its dissolution, and
of the comparative injuries which such
an event would inflict on other States
and sections. Even descending to this
low and narrow view of the mighty
question, all such calculations are at
fault—the bare references to a single
consideration will be conclusive on this
point.

We at present enjoy a free trade
throughout our extensive and expanding
country, such as the world never
witnessed. This trade is conducted on
railroads and canals, on noble rivers
and arms of the sea, which bind to-
gether the North and the South, the
East and the West of our confederacy.
Annihilate this trade, arrest its free
progress by the geographical lines of
jealous and hostile States, and you de-
stroy the prosperity and onward march
of the whole and every part, and in-
volve all in one common ruin. But
such considerations, important as they
are in themselves, sink into insignifi-
cance, when we reflect on the terrific
evils which would result from disunion
to every portion of the confederacy.
To the North not more than to the
South—to the East not more than to
the West. These I shall not attempt
to portray, because I feel a humble
confidence that the kind Providence
which inspired our fathers with wis-
dom to frame the most perfect form of
Government and Union ever devised
by man, will not suffer it to perish,
until it shall have been peacefully in-
strumental, by its own aid, in the ex-
tinction of civil and religious liberty
throughout the world.

Next in importance to the mainte-
nance of the Constitution and the Union,
is the duty of preserving the Govern-
ment free from the taint or even the
suspicion of corruption. Public virtue
is the vital spirit of Republics; and
history proves that when this has
decayed and the love of money has
supplanted its place, although the form
of free Government may remain for a
season, the substance has departed
forever.

Territory free from all foreign in-
terference, to decide their own destiny
for themselves, subject only to the Con-
stitution of the United States. The
whole Territorial question being thus
settled upon the principle of popular
sovereignty—a principle as ancient as
the Government of itself—every thing of
a practical nature has been decided.
No other question remains for adjust-
ment, because all agree that, under
the Constitution, slavery in the States
is beyond the reach of any human pow-
er except that of the respective States
themselves when in it exists.

My own true hope that the long
agitation on this subject is approaching
its end, and that our geographical par-
ties will, in a few years, be happily
merged in the Father of his
Country—will speedily become an
actual fact. Most happy will it be for
the country when the public mind shall
be diverted from this question to others
of more pressing and practical im-
portance. Throughout the whole progress
of this agitation, which has so severely
known any intermission for more than
twenty years, what it has been pro-
ductive of no positive good to any in-
dividual man being, it has been prolific
of great evils to the master, to the slave,
and to the whole country. It has al-
literated and estranged the people of
sister States from each other, and has
even seriously endangered the very
existence of the Union.

Nor has the danger yet entirely
ceased. Under our system there is a
remedy for all mere political evils in
the sound sense and sober judgment of
the people. Time is a great correct-
ive. Political subjects which but a
few years ago excited and exasperated
the public mind, have passed away
and are now nearly forgotten. But
the question of domestic Slavery is of
far greater importance than any mere
political question, because should
the agitation continue it may eventu-
ally endanger the personal safety of a
large portion of our countrymen where
the institution exists. In that event,
the form of Government, however ad-
mirable in itself, however productive
of material benefits can compensate for
the loss of peace and domestic security
around the family altar.

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rant can be found in the Constitution.
Among these I might mention the ex-
tinguishment of the public debt, a
reasonable increase of the Navy,—
which is at present inadequate to the
protection of our vast coasting aban-
doned greater than that of any other na-
tion—as well as to the defence of our
extensive sea coast. It is beyond all
question the principle that no more
revenue ought to be collected from
the people than the amount necessary
to defray the expenses of a wise, eco-
nomical and efficient administration of
the government.

To reach this point, it was necessary
to resort to a modification of the tariff,
and this has, I trust, been accomplish-
ed by such a manner as to do as little
injury as may have been practicable to
our domestic manufactures, especially
those necessary for the defence of the
country. Any discrimination against
a particular branch for the purpose of
benefitting favored corporations, indi-
viduals or interests, would have been
unjust to the rest of the community,
and inconsistent with that spirit of fair-
ness and equality which ought to gov-
ern in the adjustment of a revenue tariff.
But the squandering of the public
money sinks into comparative in-
significance, as a temptation to cor-
ruption, when compared with the squan-
doring of the public lands. No nation
in the tide of time has ever been bless-
ed with so rich and noble an inheri-
tance as we enjoy in the Public lands.

In administering this important trust,
while it may be wise to grant portions
of them for the improvement of the
remainder, yet we should never forget
that it is our cardinal policy to pre-
serve these lands, as much as may be,
for actual settlers, and this at moder-
ate prices. We shall thus not only
best promote the prosperity of the
new States and Territories, by furnish-
ing them a hardy and independent
race of honest and industrious citizens;
but shall secure homes for our children
and our children's children, as well as
for those exiles from foreign shores,
who may seek in this country to im-
prove their condition and to enjoy the
blessings of civil and religious liberty.
Such emigrants have done much to
promote the growth and prosperity of
the country. They have proved both
fulfilling both in peace and in war. Al-
though becoming citizens they are entitled
under the Constitution and laws to be
placed on perfect equality with native
born citizens; and in this character
they should ever be kindly recognized.

The Federal Constitution is a grant
from the States to Congress to exer-
cise certain powers, and the question
whether this grant should be liberally
or strictly construed, has more or less
divided political parties from the be-
ginning. Without entering into the
argument, I desire to state at the com-
mencement of my administration, that
long experience and observation have
convinced me that a strict construction
of the powers of the Government is
the only true, as well as the only safe
theory of the Constitution. Whenever,
in our past history, doubtful pow-
ers have been exercised by Congress,
those have never failed to produce
injury and a unhappy consequences.—
Many substances might be adduced,
if this were the proper occasion. Nei-
ther is it necessary for the public ser-
vice to strain the language of the Con-
stitution, because all the great and
useful powers required for a success-
ful administration of the Government,
both in peace and in war, have been
granted either in express terms, or by
the plainest implication.

While deeply convinced of these
truths, I yet consider it clear, that un-
der the war-making power Congress
may appropriate money towards the
construction of a military road, when
this is absolutely necessary for the de-
fence of any State or Territory of the
Union, against foreign invasion. Under
the Constitution, Congress has power
to "declare war"—to raise and support
armies—to provide and maintain a navy,
and to call forth the militia to "repel in-
vasion." Thus endowed in an ample manner with
war-making power, the corresponding
duty is required that "the United
States shall protect each of them (the
States) against invasion." Now is it
possible to afford this protection to Cal-
ifornia and our Pacific possessions, ex-
cept by means of a military road, lead-
ing through the Territories of the United
States, over which men and munitions
of war may be speedily transported
from the Atlantic States to meet and
repel the invader.

In the event of a war with a naval
power much stronger than our own,
we should then have no other available
access to the Pacific coast, because
such a power would instantly close the
route across the Isthmus of Central
America. It is an insupportable bur-
den, while the Constitution in ex-
press required Congress to defend
all the States, it could yet deny to
them by any fair construction, the only
possible means by which one of
these States can be defended. Besides,
the government, ever since its origin,
has been in the constant practice of
constructing military roads. It might
also be wise to consider whether the
love for the Union, which now animates
our fellow-citizens on the Pacific
coast, may not be impaired by our
neglect or refusal to provide for them
in their remote and isolated condition,
the only means by which the power of

the States on this side of the Rocky
Mountains can reach them in sufficient
time to protect them against invasion.

I forbear to present from ex-
pressing an opinion as to the wisest
and most economical mode in which
the Government can lend its aid in ac-
complishing this great and necessary
work. I believe that many of the
difficulties in the way which now ap-
pear formidable, will, in a great de-
gree, vanish as soon as the nearest and
best route shall have been satisfactorily
ascertained. It may be right that in
this occasion I should make some brief
remarks in regard to our rights and
duties as a member of the great family
of nations. In our intercourse with
them, there are some plain principles
approved by our own experience from
which we should never depart.

We ought to cultivate peace, com-
merce and friendship with all nations,
and this, not merely as the best means
of promoting our own material inter-
ests, but in a spirit of Christian benev-
olence towards fellow men, wherever
their lot may be cast.

Our diplomacy should be direct and
frank, neither seeking to obtain more
than we accept, less than is our due.—
We ought to cherish a sacred regard
for the independence of all nations,
and never attempt to interfere in the
domestic concerns of any, unless in
self-defensive or self-preservation. To
avoid entering into alliances has been
a maxim of our policy ever since the
days of Washington, and its wisdom
no one will attempt to dispute.

In short, we ought to do justice with
a kindly spirit to all nations, and require
justice from them in return.

It is our glory that while other na-
tions have extended their dominion
by the sword, we have never acquired
any territory except by fair purchase,
or, as in the case of Texas, by the vol-
untary determination of a brave and
deed and independent people to bind
their destinies with our own. Even
our acquisitions from Mexico form an
exception. Not willing to take advan-
tage of the fortune of war against a
sister Republic, we purchased these
possessions under the treaty of peace,
for a sum which was considered at the
time a fair equivalent. Our past his-
tory forbids that we should in the fu-
ture acquire territory, unless this be
sanctioned by the laws of Justice and
Honor. Acting on this principle, no
nation will have a right to interfere or
to complain, if in the progress of events
we shall still further extend our pos-
sessions. It is to all our acquisitions,
the people, under the protection
of the American flag, have enjoyed civil
and religious liberty, as well as equal
and just laws, and have been contented,
prosperous and happy. Their trade
with the rest of the world has rapidly
increased, and thus every commercial
nation has shared largely in their suc-
cessful progress. I shall now proceed
to take the oath prescribed by the Con-
stitution—while humbly invoking the
blessings of Divine Providence on this
great people.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

THE JOURNAL.

CONFESSION, Pa.
Thursday Morning Mar 12, 1857.

J. S. MANN, EDITOR.

The Inaugural.

We surrender a large part of our
paper this week to the Inaugural Ad-
dress of Mr. Buchanan, believing that
our readers will be anxious to see the
policy of our new Executive, as fore-
shadowed in that document. If north-
ern democrats can see aught in it that
promises an advantage to them over
the Southern wing of their party, we
should be happy to have their point
it out; and if any but his blind and
bigoted partisans fail to see in it a re-
flect of the policy recently adopted by
Pierce & Co. in regard to Northern
interests, we can only say that we pity
their want of perception. As we pre-
dicted in our editorial after the election,
he is entirely new to us in the Slave-
ocracy, and reiterates his Oatend doc-
trine in quite as strong language as he
gave to its expression at Aix la Chap-
elle.

The address sets out with the de-
claration that its author will not be a
candidate for reelection, and then goes
right to work on the Kansas question.
While it professes earnestly to depre-
cate the further agitation of slavery,
it claims for it a national charac-
ter, and asks us of the north to qui-
etly submit to its extension, even over
our not hallowed to us in the ordi-
nance of 1787 and the compromise of
1820. We of the north have already
been too generous upon this subject,
and allowed the south to quietly get
advantages which will now require all
our efforts to overcome, in order to
prevent the consummation of the claims
of the new President. If Mr. Bu-
chanan may thus in the outset agitate
the question of Slavery, we deem it but

fair that on this side of Mason and
Dixon's line, we may be allowed to de-
cur share of the agitation. We are,
we acknowledge, as prone to agitation
as our Southern friends, when we are
awakened; but they having thus given
us the banner through their especial
representative, cannot object to our
responding in a proper spirit. They
must not now set up the howl of insur-
rectious agitation if we see fit to defend our
rights in the national legislature as
elsewhere, for we will do so only upon
the strictest ground of right and
precedent.

But our readers can judge the Ad-
dress for themselves, and receive their
own impressions of its inguings and
outgoings. For our part, we are
satisfied that the policy of Mr. Bu-
chanan will not be half so conservative
to the interests of the north as his
friends in this section have been so
sanguine of since his election, and
which even many liberal Republicans
have been so generous as to promise
themselves the realization of.

But a worse feature presents itself
in the opinion of Chief Justice Taney
and four other of the nine Justices of
the United States Supreme Court, in
deciding the Dred Scott case. In
this opinion (Justice Campbell, C.
Cron, Wayne and Daniel dissenting)
the main points are decided as follows,
thus ignoring the constitutionality
of the Missouri Compromise, and
nationalizing Slavery; and which is so
officially the expressed opinion of
Mr. Buchanan in his inaugural, that
we are inclined to believe that either
he received his cue from the Chief
Justice, or that worthy did from him.
Here are the points as decided by a
majority of the Supreme Tribunal of a
nominally free and civilized nation:

First: Negroes, whether slaves or
free, that is men of the African race,
are not citizens of the United States,
by the Constitution.

Second: The Ordinance of 1787 had
no independent constitutional force or
legal effect subsequent to the adoption
of the Constitution; and could not op-
erate of itself to confer freedom or citi-
zenship within the North-West Terri-
tory on negroes, not citizens by the
Constitution.

Third: The provisions of the act of
1820, commonly called the Missouri
compromise, in so far as it undertook
to exclude negro slavery from and
communicate freedom and citizenship
to negroes in the northern part of the
Louisiana cession, was a legislative act
extending the powers of Congress,
and void, and of no legal effect to
that end.

In deciding these main points, the
Supreme Court determined the follow-
ing incidental points:

First: The expressed opinion of a territory
and other property of the Union, in
the Constitution, applies "in general"
only to such territory as the Union
possessed at the time of the adoption
of the Constitution.

Second: The right of citizens of the
United States emigrating into any Fed-
eral Territory, and the power of the
Federal Government there to depend
on the general provisions of the constitu-
tion, which defines in this, as in all
other respects, the powers of Congress.

Third: A Congress does not possess
power itself to make enactments
relative to the persons or property of
citizens of the United States in a Fed-
eral Territory, other than such as the
Constitution confers, so it cannot con-
stitutionally delegate any such powers
to a territorial government, organized
by it under the Constitution.

Fourth: The legal condition of a
slave in the State of Missouri is not
affected by the temporary sojourn of
such slave in any other State, but on
his return his condition still depends
on the laws of Missouri.

As the plaintiff was not a citizen of
Missouri, he therefore could not sue in
Courts of the United States.

The suit must be dismissed for want
of jurisdiction.

We shall, for want of room now, re-
fer to this matter again in our next.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

HARRISBURG, March 1, 1857.

truthfulness of the charges made by
the Republican press.

We ask all honest men to read and
ponder upon the admissions:

J. S. M.

"In nothing, of late, have the prac-
tical operations of this law of reaction
been more plainly visible than in the
Kansas slavery excitement; and in
nothing have the pernicious effects of
extreme measures and fanatical doc-
trines been more strikingly illustrated.
A few hot-headed, crazy men, whose
questionable zeal entirely outstripped
their knowledge, undertook to force
slavery into Kansas, at any and every
hazard. These men, or some of them
at least, there is reason to believe,
were not really citizens of Kansas.
They were Missourians, who went over
into the Territory, and by unjustifi-
cable acts obtained seats in its Legisla-
ture, where, regarding only their own
views and their own projects, they en-
acted laws in order to force slavery
into the Territory, at were a disgrace to
the civilization of the age; laws to
outrage us that two professed friends
of the Kansas bill were compelled to
denounce them in Congress. By vir-
tue of these arbitrary, despotic laws,
and corresponding measures, various
outrages were committed upon men
who, just as good a right to their
opinions, and to settle in the Terri-
tory, as the authors of these vile and
obnoxious enactments. To such an
extent did these violent, reprehensi-
ble, and high-minded measures go,
that the navigation of the Missouri river,
a public highway, was interrupted,
and men were not permitted to pursue
their business in it, to go themselves
or take their goods across the country,
solely on account of their political
opinions, solely because they were
free State men! No doubt these free
State men, when the snarl commenced,
and all feelings had been engendered,
were themselves guilty of outrages.
But these did not justify or palliate
the infamy of the unjust laws and
kindred measures, the direct cause of
all the difficulties.

"Thousands of the best men in Mis-
souri, slaveholders and others, were
dugested at the political violence and
practical brutality enacted by the
self-styled champions of the South.
They denounced them as violators not
only of the Constitution of the United
States, but of the original bill of rights
and of the inalienable rights and priv-
ileges of a American citizens, no matter
to what party they might belong, or
what political or social opinions they
might hold. Is it any wonder, there-
fore, that these extra-judicial and im-
proper measures would follow the
general law to which we have referred,
and produce in the end a wide spread
and deep seated reaction in the very
quarter where they were attempted?
Can any man, with a median of general infor-
mation, ordinary sagacity, and a slight
knowledge of human nature, have ant-
icipated any other result?"

THE CABINET.

The following is Mr. Buchanan's
Cabinet, as confirmed by the Senate on
Friday last:

- Secretary of State.—Lewis Cass, of
Michigan.
Secretary of the Treasury.—Howell
Cobb, of Georgia.
Secretary of War.—John B. Floyd,
of Virginia.
Secretary of Navy.—Isaac Toucey,
of Connecticut.
Secretary of the Interior.—Jacob
Thompson, of Mississippi.
Attorney General.—Eromiah Black
of Pennsylvania.
Postmaster General.—A. W. Brown,
of Tennessee.

It will be seen from the above that
the South gets the "larger end of the
load," as a remuneration for its un-
warranted support in November.

Original Poetry

For the People's Journal.
LINES.

I've been thinking, I've been thinking,
Of this day of human life,
On its days an actor, shrinking
From its fever and its strife,
From its weight of care and sorrow—
From its knowledge, that to-morrow
Jing to bright or day.

I've been weeping, I've been weeping;
Such tears but once were shed,
O'er the grave of one who sleeping,
Is with his silent dead.
Tears, that through the mountain way
My wearies feet so often stray
In paths of hidden thorn.

I've been dreaming, I've been dreaming
Day-dreams, when the noon-day sun
Lends a glory with his beaming
To a glory which his beams
To my hope, that I may run
Life's race with better aims in view—
Life's race with motive good and true,
And purpose undisturbed.

I've been praying, I've been praying,
For wisdom from on high,
That in this drama playing,
God's help may ever be nigh,
And when He drops the curtain down
May it be mine to wear the crown
That lies beyond its fold.
CINCINNATI, March, 1857.