"THAT COUNTRY IS THE MOST PROSPEROUS WHERE LABOR COMMANDS THE GREATEST REWARD."-BUCHANAN.

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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate

and of the House of Representatives. The Constitution requires that the Presi dent shall from time to time not only recom-mend to the consideration of Congress such measures as he may judge necessary and ex-pedient, but that he shall also give informa-tion to them of the state of the Union. To do this fully important according of all matters in this fully involves exposition of all matters in the actual condition of the country, domestic or foreign, which essentially concern the gen-While performing this constitu tional daty in this respect, the President does erely to express personal convictions, but as the executive minister of the go-vernment, enabled by his position, and called upon by his official obligations, to scan with an impartial eye the intersets of the whole, and of every part of the United States.

the Union, its agriculture, mines, manufactures, commerce, it is necessary only navigation and navigation and commerce, it is necessary only to say that the internal prosperity of the coun-try, its continuous and steady advancement in wealth and population, and in private as well as public well-being, attest the wisdom of our institutions, and the predominant spirit and intelligence and patriotism, which, noting occasional irregularities of opinion or action resulting from popular freedom, has distinguished and characterized the people of America. In the brief interval between the termination

of the last and the commencement of the present session of Congress, the public mind has been occupied with the care of selecting, constitutional term, the President and Vice President of the United States

The determination of the persons, who are

the respective States of the Union, and the members of the House of Representatives the is the explicit and solemn act of the sole sovereign authority of the Union.

It is impossible to misapprehend the great principles, which, by their recent political ac-tion, the people of the United States have sanctioned and announced.

They have asserted the constitutional equali-ty of each and all of the States of the Union as States; they have affirmed the constitutional quality of each and all of the citizens of the gion, wherever their birth, or their residence; they have maintained the inviolability of the constitutional rights of the different sections of the Union; and they have proclaimed their the Union; and they have proclaimed their levoted and unalterable attachment to the rights of all, as the spirit and the essence of e liberty, peace, and greatness of the Repub-

In doing this, they have, at the same time, In doing this, they have, at the same time, emphatically condemned the idea of organi-zing in these United States mere geographical parties; of marshalling in hostile array tow-ards each other the different parts of the country, North or South, East or West.

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But they have entered into a path, which leads nowhere, unless it be to civil war and parting to it peculiar strength, make it per-reiterated accounts of the same runners of the same ru

to the United States. I condition of the domestic interests of energy and in several instances of their gov- though it in truth is between the sovereign condition of the domestic interests of ernments, aimed to facilitate the escape of States of the Union, In the present instance, on, its agriculture, mines, manufactures, persons held to service in the southern a political enactment, which had ceased to lorbidding their officers, under the severest penalties, to participate in the execution of any act of Congress whatever. In this way that system of harmonious co-operation be-tween the authorities of the United States and of the several States, for the mainte-nance of their common institutions which their cost of the fundamental corre-nance of their common institutions which their cost of the fundamental corre-tion of the several states is active a like to all by the fundamental corre-nance of their common institutions which their cost of the several states is a state of the several state of the several states is a state of the several state of the several states is a state of the several states is a state of the several state of the several state of the several state of the

existed in the early years of the Republic,

pever they will to the high post of Chief ed with the execution of its acts, as if they and the officers of the States were the minis-And thus it is that as the senators represent ters, respectively, of foreign governments in

a state of mutual hostility, rather than fellow magistrates of a common country, several constituencies of each State, so the peacefully subsisting under the protection of of the United States. Their election of him aggression was followed by reaction; and

ganization of territorial governments, and the admissiou of new States into the Union.— When it was proposed to admit the State of Maine, by separation of that territory from each with his convictions of public policy and that of Massachusetts, and the State of Misprivate interest, there to found in their discre-Inited States as citizens, whatever their reli- souri, formed of a portion of the territory ce- tion, subject to such limitations as the Conded by France to the United States, repre-sentatives of Congress objected to the admisson of the latter, unless with conditions sui-sion of the latter, unless with conditions sui-whether the statute line of assumed restriction we perceive that controversy concerning Union and to the Constitution, as objects of fully resisted. But, at the same period, the interest superior to all subjects of local or sectional controversy, as the safeguard of the to residue of the territory ceded such repeal, would have been closed against could have prevented this. them: it found that field of competition alby France. That question was, for the time, disposed of by the adoption of a geographical line of limitation. peal did was to relieve the statute book of an

In this connexion is should not be forgotten that France, of her own accord, resolved, for considerations of the most far-sighted portion of the States. sagacity, to cede Louisiana to the United

and search other the different parts of the country, North or South, East or West. Schemes of this nature, fraught with incal-enlable mischief, and which the considerate had countenance in no part of the country, had they not been disquised by suggestions. possible, according to the principles of the the peculiar domestic institutions of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all southern States possess relatively so much of

and paceful limits, but which attempted indirectly, that is, to act aggressively against the constitutional rights of nearly ons-half of the thirty-one States. The scond step in several instances of the people of the northern States, and to pervent their extradition States, shie to pervent their extradition States, shie to states, and to prevent their extradition have legal power or authority of any kind, when reclaimed according to law and in vir-tue of the express provisions of the Consti-tution. To promote this object, legislative enactments and other means were adopted to take away or defeat rights, which the Consti-tution solemnly guaranteed. In order to nullify the then existing acts of Congress service, laws were enacted in many States, forbidding their officers, under the severest vote himself in peace to the pursuits of prosperous industry, for the prosecution of which he undertook to participate in the settlement of the Territory.

It affords me unmingled satisfaction thus This argument against the repeal of the sta-tute line in question, was accompanied by for the attaiument of the end, namely, the of right, or contingently, to preside over the administration of the government, is, under our system, committed to the States and the people. We appeal to them, by their voice pronounced in the forms of law, to call whom-thorize the appointent of new officers charg-sever they will to the history against foreign foes or the savages of the sever they will to the state and the execution of its acts the sever they will to the state and the execution of its acts the sever they will to the state appoint of the constitu-to be frequent; and Congress found itself the sever they will the sevention of its acts the sever they will to the sever to ac-the sever they will to the sever to acts the sever the sever to the the sever to acts the sever the sever the sever the sever to acts the sever to acts the sever to acts the sever the sever to acts the sever to sure originated in the conception of extending country against foreign fees or the savages of the limits of slave-labor beyond those prethe limits of slave-labor beyond those pre-viously assigned to it, and that such was its natural as well as intended effect; and these baseless assumptions were made, in the north-ern States, the ground of unceasing assault The repeal in terms of a statute, which was

The repeal in terms of a statute, which was already obsolete, and also null for unconstitu-tionality, could have no influence to obstruct aggression was followed by reaction; and already obsolete, and also null for unconstitu-the attacks upon the Constitution at this point did but serve to raise up new barriers for its defence and security. The third stage of this unhappy sectional the act organizing the Territories of Kansas ty there, tranquility has been restored with and Nebraska was passed, the inherent effect out one drop of block having been sheet in its out one drop of blood having been shed in its ccomplishment by the forces of the United

The restoration of comparative tranquility in that Territory furnishes the means of observing calmly, and appreciating at their just value, the events which have occurred there, and the discussions of which the govstitution and acts of Congress might prescribe, new States, hereafter to be admitted into the

were repealed or not. That repeal did not open its future domestic institutions was inevitable; that no human prudence, no form of le-

could have prevented this. It is idle to suppose that the particular opened, in fact and in law, All the re-lid was to relieve the statute book of an cause of agitation. Those provisions were objectionable enactment, unconstitutional in but the occasion, or the pretext of an agitaeffect, and injurious in terms to a large pro- tation, which was inherent in the nature of things. Congress legislated upon the subject Is it the fact, that, in all the unsettled re- in such terms as were most consonant with

We perceive, a lso, that sectional interest

successive disturbances in Kansas. The as

the people of the United States.

ment, and the various branches of the

toms, so as not to exceed forty-eight or fifty million dollars. I think the exigency for such reduction is imperative, and again urge

linits of Central America. The pretension subse quently asserted by Great Britain, to dominion or control over territories, in or near two of the routes, those of Nicaragua and Honduras, were deemed by the United States, not merely incompatible with the main object of the treaty, but opposed even to its express stipulations. Occasion of con-troversy on this point has been removed by an ad-ditional treaty, which our minister at London has concluded, and which will be impediation to the set. it upon the consideration of Congress. The amount of reduction, as well as the to announce the peaceful condition of things in Kansas, especially considering the means and general interest; it being essential to industrial enterprise and the public prosperity,

> out-going officer to his successor; of a law re-quiring disbursing officers to deposite all pub-lic money in the vaults of the treasury or in other legal depositories, where the same are conveniently accessible; and a law to extend existing penal provisions to all persons who may become possessed of public money by de-posite or otherwise of dollars, exceeding those of the preceding year by near the provisions of dollars, exceeding those of the preceding year by near the procession of dollars. may become possessed of public money by de-posite or otherwise, and who shall refuse or the preceding year by nearly seven millions of doi lars; and the imports therefrom, during the same period, amounted to more than twenty-one mil-lions,—an increase of six millions upon those of eglect, on due demand, to pay the same into the treasury. I invite your attention anew to each of the

the previous year. The improved condition of this branch of our The army during the past year has been so Ine army during the past year has been as been as the improved condition of this branch of the commerce is mainly attributable to the above-in various quarters, that it can scarcely be mentioned treaty. said, with propriety of language, to have been said, with propriety of language, to have been a peace establishment. Its duties have been satisfactorily performed, and we have reason to expect, as a result of the year's operations, greater security to the frontier inhabitants than has been hitherto enjoyed. Extensive than has been hitherto enjoyed. Extensive combinations among the hostile Indians of the Territories of Washington and Oregon at one time threatened the devastation of the newly formed settlements of that remote por-tion of the country. From recent informaone time threatened the devastation of the newly formed settlements of that remote portion of the country. From recent informa-

resources. Legislation has been recommended by me on previous occasions to cure defects in the existing organization, and to increase the effi-ciency of the army, and further observation sumption that, because in the organization of has but served to confirm me in the views then the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, Conexpressed, and to enforce on my mind the congress abstained from imposing restraints upon them to which certain other Territories had viction that such measures are not only prope but necessary. I have, in addition, to invite the attention of

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When my last annual message was itransmitted to Congress, two subjects of controversy, one rela-ting to the enlistment of soldiers in this country for foreign service, and the other to Central America. the United States and Great Britain. Of the pro-gress and termination of the former question you were informed at the time; and the other is now in the way of satisfactory adjustment. The object of the convention between the United States and Great Britain of the 30th of April, 1850, was to secure, for the benefit of all nations, the neutrality and the common use of any transit way of Panama, which might be opened within the limits of Central America. The pretension subset quently sected the transit, tage of the secure and the secure of the secure

pecially to the communication of France. The government of the United States has at all times regarded with friendly interest the other States of America, formerly, like this country, European colonies, and now independent members of the great fumily of nations. But the unsettled condition of some of them, distracted by frequent revolutions, and thus incapable of regular and firm internal administration, has tended to embarra

and generation the research of the properity as well as the dictate of obgious justice, that the burden of taxation be made to rest as the or is consideration. Should it on a freatery, which our minister at London has a fossible upon all classes, and all sections and interests of the country. I have heretofore recommended to your for herevenue laws; prepared under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, and also legislation upon some special questions affecting the business of that department, more especially the enactment of a law to punish the abstraction of official books and papers and all other public property to be turned over by the out-going officer to his successor; of a law requiring disbursing officers to denotic to maintain a prosperity and strength, it he had a fully attaing the successor is and an appressible to the continue my and strength, it he had a fully attaing the successor is indepared to the continue my and strength, it he had a fully attaing the continue my and strength, it he had a fully attaing the continue my and strength, it he had a fully attaing the continue my and the properity and strength, it he had a fully attaing the continue my and the continue my and the properity and strength, it he had a fully attaing the continue my and the continue my an ed friendly association of the two republic

d friendly association of the two republics. The peculiar condition of affairs in Nicaragua in the carly part of the present year, rendered in important that this government should have diplo-unatio relations with that State. Through its important that this government should have diplo-matic relations with that State. Through its territory had been opened one of the principal thoroughfares across the isthmus connecting North and South America, on which a vast amount of property was transported, and to which our siti-zens resorted in great numbers, in passing between the Atlantic and Pacific consts of the U. States. The protection of both required that the existing power in that state should be regarded as a re-sponsible government, and its minister was ac-cordingly received. But he remained here only a short time. Soon thereafter the political affairs of Nicarneus underwent unfavorable changes and Provision was made, in the first article of that treaty, for a commission to designate the mouths of rivers to which the common right of fishery, on the coast of the United States and the British Pro-vinces, was not to extend. This commission has been employed a part of two seasons, but without

there will prevent such combinations in future, and secure to those Territories an or-portunity to make steady progress in the de-velopment of their agricultural and mineral resources. Legislation has been recommended by me on previous occasions to cure defects in the our vessels were entitled to be exempt from ton-nage duty in the free ports of Panama and Aspin-wall. But the purpose has been recently revived, on the part of New Granada, by the enactment of a law to subject vessels visiting her ports to the tonnage duty of forty cents per ton; and although the law has not been put in force, yet the right to tisfactory arrangement with them could soon be concluded, she made a strong appeal to this gov-ernment for temporary suspension of definite ac-tion on its part, in consideration of the embarrass. enforce it is still asserted and may, at any time he entore it is still asserted and may, at any time be acted on by the goverement of that republic. The Congress of New Granada has also enaoted a law during the last year, which levies a tax of more than three dcllars on every pound of mail matter transported across the Isthmus. The sum thus required to be paid on the mails of the Unit-ed States would be nearly two millions of dcllars. tion on its part, in consideration of the embarrags-iment which might result to her European negotia-tions by an immediate adjustment of the question with the United States. This request has been acceded to, upon the condition that the sums col-lected after the 16th of June last, and until the 16th of June part form result, and until the lected after the 16th of June last, and until the 16th of June next, from vessels and cargoes be-longing to our merchants, are to be considered as paid under protest and subject to future adjustment.— There is reason to believe that an arrangement, between Denmark and the maritime powers of Eu-rope on the subject, will be soon concluded, and that the pending negotiation with the United States may than be resumed and terminated in a satis. Contravene our treaty with New Granada, and in-The imposition of it, however, would obviously contravene our treaty with New Granada, and in-fringe the contract of that republic with the Pan-ama Railroad Company. The law providing for this tax was, by its terms, to take effect on the first of September last, but the local authorities on the istlmus have been induced to suspend its execution, and to await further instructions on the subject from the government of the republic. I am not yet advised of the determination of that government. If a measure so extraordinary in its character, and so clearly contrary to treaty stipulations, and the contract rights of the Pan-ama Railroad Company, composed mostly of Ame-rican citizens, should be persisted in, it will be the duty of the United States to resist its excen-tion. may then be resumed and terminated in a satisfactory manner. With Spain no new difficulties have arisen, nor With Spain no new difficulties have arisen, nor has much progress been made in the adjustment of pending ones. Negotiations entered into for the purplose of re-lieving our commertial intercourse with the Island of Cuba of some of its burdens, and providing for the more speedy settlement of local disputes grow-ing out of that intercourse, have not yet been at-tended with any result. Soon after the commencement of the late war in Europe, this government submitted to the consid-eration of all maritime nations, two principles for the security of neutral commerce : "one, that the neutral flag should cover nemines' goods, except neutral flag should cover enemies' goods except articles contraband of war; and the other, that I regret exceedingly that occasion exists to inarticles contraband of war; and the other, that neutral property on board merchant vessels of bel-ligerents should be exempt from condemnation, with the exception of contraband articles. These were not presented as new rules of inter-national law; having been generally claimed by neutrals, though not always admitted by belligerrie your relation to subject of still graver im-port in our relations with the Republic of New Granada. On the fifteenth day of April last, a riotous assemblage of the inhabitants of Panama national law; having been generally claimed by neutrals, though not always admitted by belliger-ents. One of the parties to the, war-Ruesia-as well as several neutral powers, promptly acceded to these propositions; and the two other principal belligerents, Great Britain and France, having com-sented to observe them for the present occasion, a favorable opportunity secmed to be mesented for obtaining a general recognition of them both in Europe and America. But Great Britain and France, in common with most of the states of Europe, while forbearing to account of the states of Europe, while forbearing to recommend the two ther principal sented to observe them for the present occasion, a favorable opportunity seemed to be presented for but for a large amount of property belong-ing to the railroad company. I caused full inves-tigation of that event to be made, and the result shows satisfactorily that complete responsibility for what occurred attaches to the government of New for anada. I have, therefore, demanded of that government thet the merefore, demanded of that what occurred attaches to the government of New Granada. I have, therefore, demanded of that government that the perpetrators of the wrongs in question should be panished; that provision should be made for the families of citizens of the United States who were killed, with full indemnity for the converte uitband a determined. most of the states of Europe, while forbearing to reject, did not affirmatively act upon the overtures f the United States While the question was in this position; the rep-resentatives of Russia, France, Great Britain, Aus-tria, Prussia, Sardinia, and Turkey, assembled at States who were shire, included a state of the state of the present condition of the Isthmus of Panama, in so far as regards the security of per-Paris, took into consideration the subject of mari-time rights, and put forth a declaration containing Panama, in so far as regards the security of per-sons and property passing over it, requires serious consideration. Recent incidents tend to show that the local authorities cannot be relied on to maintain the public peace of Panama, and there is just ground for apprehension that a portion of the inhabitants are meditating further outrages, with-out adequate measures for the security and pro-tection of persons or upperty having beap taken. time right, and put form is declaration containing the two-principles which this government had sub-mitted, nearly two years before, to the considera-tion of maritime powers, and adding thereto the following propositions: "Privateering is and re-mains abolished," and "Blockades, in order to be binding must be effective thet is to say main binding, must be effective, that is to say, main-tained by a force, sufficient really, to prevent acout adequate messures for the security and pro-tection of persons or property having been taken, either by the State of Pannama, or by the general government of New Granada. Under the guaranties of treaty, oitizens of the United States have, by the outlay of several mil-lions of dollars, constructed a railroad across the Isthmus, and it has become the main route between our Atlantic and Pacific possessions, over which a multitude of our citizens and a vast tained by a lorce, sumoion really, to prevent ac-cess to the const of the enemy;" and to the dec-laration thus composed of four points, two of which had already been proposed by the United States, this government has bean invited to accede by all the powers represented at Paris, except Great Brit-ain and Turkey. To the last of the two addition-tions and Turkey. al propositions—that in relation to blockades— there can certainly be no objection. It is merely the definition of what shall constitute the effectual netween our Athintic and Fabilic possessions, over which a multitude of our citizens and a vast amount of property are constantly passing—to the security and protection of all which, and the con-tinuance of the public advantages involved, it is impossible for the government of the United States to be indifferent. I have deemed the danger of the recurrence of seenes of lawless violence in this quarter so im-minent as to make it my duty to station a part of our naval force in the harbors of Panama and Aspinwall, in order to protect the persons and pro-perty of the citizens of the United States in those ports, and to insure to them safe passage across the Ischmus. And it would, in my judgment, be unwise to withdraw the naval force now in those ports, until, by the spontaneous action of the re-public of New Granada, or otherwise, some add-quate arrangement shall have been made for the protection and security ef a line of inter-oceanfic communication, so important at this time, not to investment of a blockaded place, a deflation for which this government has always contended, claiming indemnity for losses where a practical vi-olation of the rule thus defined has been injurious to our commerce. As to the remaining juricle of the declaration of the conference of Paris, "that privateering is and remains abolished,"—I cer-tainly cannot ascribe to the powers représented in the conference of Paris, any but liberal and phi lanthropic views in the attempt to change the un-cuestionable rule of montime law in remark to lanthropic views in the attempt to change the un-questionable rule of maritime law in jregard to privateering. Their proposition was doubtless in tended to imply approval of the principal that pri-vate property upon the ocean, although it might belong to the citizens of a beligerent state, should be exempted from capture; and had that prop-osition been so framed as to give full, effect to the principal it would have reasting the ready the principle, it would have received my ready assent on behalf of the United States. But ommunication, so important at this time, not to the United States only, but to all other maritime assent on behalf of the United States. But the measure proposed is inadequate to that pur-pose. It is true that if adopted, private prop-erty upon the ocean would be withdrawn from one mode of plunder, but left exposed, meanwhile, to another mode, which could be used with increased States both of Europe and America. Meanwhile, negotiations have been instituted by means of a special commission, to obtain from New Granada full indemnity for injuries sustained by our citizens on the Isthmus, and satisfactory security for the general interests of the United another mode, which dould be used with increased effectiveness. The aggressive capacity of great naval powers would be thereby augmented, while the defensive ability of others would be; reduced. Though the surrender of the means of prosecuting hostilities by employing privateers, as proposed by the conference of Paris, is mutual in terms, yet, in mentionel effect it would be the relinquiburent of States States In addressing to you my last annual message, the occasion seems to me an appropriate one to express my congratulations in view of the peace, greatness and felicity, which the United States now possess and enjoy. To point you to the state of the various departments of the government, and practical effect, it would be the relinquishment of a right of little value to one class of states, but of essential importance to another and a far larger class. It ought not to have been anticipated that a measure, so inadequate to the accomplishment of the proposed object, and so unequal in its oper-ation, would receive the ascent of all maritime powers. Private property would be still left to the depredations of public public armed cruisers. I have expressed a readiness on the part of this government, to accede to all the principles 'con-tained in the declaration of the conference of Paris, provided that that relating to the abandonment of privatering can be so amended as to effect the practical effect, it would be the relinquish the various departments of the government, and of all the great branches of the public service, civil and military, in order to speak of the in-telligence and the integrity which pervades the whole, would be to indicate but imperfectly, the administrative condition of the country, and the beneficial effects of that on the general weifare. beneficial effects of that of the general weight. Nor would its suffice to say that the nation is actu-ally at peace at home and abroad; that its indus-trial interests are prosperous; that the canves of its makiners whitens every sea; and the plough of its hugbandmen is marching steadily onward to the bloodless conquest of the continent; that cities and its its take are subjurged at a fifty anough of privateering canobe so amended as to effect the object for which, as is presumed, it was intende apulous States are springing up, as if by enchant the innerty of private property on the ocean from hostile capture. To effect this object, it is proposed om the bosom of our western will (Concluded on fourth page.)

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had they not been disguised by suggestions plausible in appearance, acting upon an exci-ted state of the public mind, induced by causes temporary in their character, and it is to be hoped transient in their influence.

Perfect liberty of association for politics bjects, and the widest scope of discussion. are the received and ordinary conditions government in our country. Our institutions framed in the spirit of confidence in the intelligence and integrity of the people, do not for-bid citizens either individually or associated together, to attack by writing, speech, or any other methods short of physical force, the Constitution and the very existence of the Union. Under the shelter of this great liberty, and protected by the laws and usages of the been formed, in some of the States, of indi they assail, associations have viduals, who, pretending to seek only to pre-vent the spread of the institution of slavery into the present or future inchoate States of the Union, are really inflamed with desire to change the domestic institutions of existing

To accomplish their objects, they dedicate themselves to the odious task of depreciating the government organization which stands in their way, and of calumniating, with indis criminat criminate invective, not only the citizens of particular States, with whose laws they find fault, but all others of their fellow-citizens compact there was. throughout the country, who do not participate with them in their assaults upon the Consti-tution, framed and adopted by their fathers and claiming for the privileges it has secured and the blessings it has conferred, the steady support and grateful reverence of their chil-dren. They seek an object which they well know to be a revolutionary one. They are perfectly aware that the change in the relative condition of the white and black races in the condition of the white and brown and pro-slaveholding States, which they would promote. is beyond their lawful authority; to them it is a foreign object ; that it cannot be effected by any peaceful instrumentality of theirs; that for them and the States of which they are citizens, the only path to its accom plishment is through burning cities and rava-ged fields, and slaughtered populations, and all there is most terrible in foreign, complica-ted with civil and servile war; and that the first step in the attempt is the forcible disrup tion of a country embracing in its broad be som a degree of liberty, and an amount of in-dividual and public prosperity, to which there is no parallel in history, and substituting in its place hostile governments, driven at once and inevitably into mutual devastation and fratricidal carnage, transforming the now peaceful and felicitous brotherhood into a vast permanent camp of armed men like the rival nonarchies of Europe and Asia. Well know ing that such, and such only, are the mean nd consequences of their plans and purposes they endeavor to prepare the people of the United States for civil war by doing every thing in their power to deprive the Constitution and the laws of moral authority, and t andermine the fabric of the Union by appeals to passion and sectional prejudice, by indoc-trinating its people with reciprocal hatred, and by educating them to stand face to face as enzens. emies, rather than shoulder to shoulder as friends

It is by the agency of such unwarrantable interference, foreign and domestic, that the minds of many, otherwise good citizens, have been so inflamed into the passionate condem nation of the domestic institutions of the sou thern states, as at length to pass insensibly to almost equal passionate hostility towards their fellow citizens of those states, and thus to finally to fall into temporary fellowship with the avowed and active enemies of the constitution. Ardently attached to liberty in the abstract they do not stop to consider practically how the objects they would attain can be accom plished, nor to reflect that, even if the evil were as great as they deem it, they have no remedy to apply, and that it can only be aggravated by their violence and unconstitutio A question, which is one of the most difficult of all the problems of social institution, political economy and statesmanship, with unreasoning intemperance of thought and language. Extremes beget ex-tremes. Violent attacks from the North finds its inevitable consequence in the growth of a spirit of angry defiance at the South. Thus in the progress of events we had reached the consummation, which the voice of the people has now so pointedly rebuked of the attempt of a portion of the States, by a sectional orga nization and movement to usurp the control of the government of the United States.

I confidently believe, that the great body of those, who inconsiderately took this fatal of those, who inconsiderately took this fatal step are sincerely attached to the constitu-tion and the union. They would, upon delib-eration, shrink with unaffected horror from any conscious act of disunion or civil war.

the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime they shall be maintained and promeantime they shall be maintained and pro-tected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they pro-fess."—that is to say, while it remains in a territorial condition, its inh abitants are main-tained and protected in the free enjoyment of

their liberty and property, with a right then to pass into the condition of States on a foot-ing of perfect equality with the original tates. The enactment, which established the re trictive geographical line, was acquiesced in rather than approved by the States of the It stood on the statute book, how

Union. It stood on the statute book, how-ever, for a number of years; and the people of the respective States acquiesced in the re-enactment of the principle as applied to the State of Texas; and it was proposed to ac-quiesce in its further application to the terri-tory acquired by the United States from Mexico. But this proposition was success-fully resisted by the representatives from the northern States, who, recardless of the statute northern States, who, regardless of the statute line, insisted upon applying restriction to the new territory generally, whether lying north or south of it, thereby repealing it as a legis-

the United States. lative compromise, and, on the part of the North, persistently violating the compact, if Thereupon this enactment ceased to have

binding virtue in any sense, whether as respects the North or the South; and so in effect it was treated on the occasion of the admission of the State of California, and the organization of the Territories of New Mexico, tah, and Washington. Such was the state of this question, when

the time arrived for the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. In the progress of constitutional inquiry and reflecion, it had now at length come to be seen clearly that Congress does not possess Constitutional power to impose restrictions of this character upon any present or future State of the Union. In a long series of decisions, on the fullest argument, and after the most deliberate consideration, the Su-preme Court of the United States had finally determined this point, in every form under which the question could arise, whether as affecting public or private rights—in questions of the public domain, of religion, of navigation, and of servitude.

The several Slates of the Union are, by force of the Constitution, co-equal in domestic legislative power. Congress cannot change law of domestic relation in the State Maine; no more can it in the State of Missouri. Any statute which proposes to do this is a mere nullity; it takes away no right, it confers none. If it remains on the statute-book unrepealed, it remains there on ly as a monument of error, and a beacon of warning to the legislator and the statesman. To repeal it will be only to remove imperfec-tion from the statutes, without affecting, ei ther in the sense of permission or of prohibi tion, the action of the States, or of their citi Still, when the nominal restriction of this

nature, already a dead letter in law, was in terms repealed by the last Congress, in a clause of the act organizing the Territories of

Kansas and Nebraska that repeal was made the occasion of a wide-spread and dangerous agitation.

It was alleged that the original enactment being a compact of perpetual moral obligation, its repeal constituted an odious breach of faith. An act of Congress, while it remains unrepealed, more especially if it be constitutionally valid in the judgment of those public functionaries whose duty it is to pronounce on that point, is undoubtedly binding on the conscience each good citizen of the Republic. But in what sense can it be asserted that the ment in question was invested with perpetuity and entitl ed to the respect of a solemn com pact? Between whom was the compact? No distinct contending powers of the government. no separate sections of the Union, treating Union. such, entered into treaty stipulati ons on the subject. It was a mere clause of an act of Congress, and like any other controverted mat-ter of legislation, received its final shape and was passed by compromise of the conflicting ions or sentiments of the members of Co

gress. But if it had moral authority over men's consciences, to whom did this authority attach Not to those of the North, who had repeatedly efused to confirm it by extension, and who had zealously striven to establish other and ompatible regulations upon the suject. And it, as it thus appears, the supposed compact had no obligatory force as to the North, of

it, as it thus appears, had no obligatory force as to the house, -it could not have had any as to the must be mutual and of reciprocal obligation. It has not unfrequently happened that law-

resoever an avenue is freely and party passions, have been the great imped iment to the salutary operation of the organic principles adopted, and the chief cause of the open to all the world, they will penetrate to the exclusion of those of the northern States? Is it the fact, that the former enjoy, compared with the latter, such irresistibly superior vitality, independent of climate, soil, and all other accidental circumstances, as to be able to produce the supposed result, in spite of he assumed moral and natural obstacles to its accomplishment, and of the more numerous population of the northern States? The argument of those, who advocate the enactment of new laws of restriction, and

condemu the repeal of old ones, in effect vers that their particular views of government have no self-extending orself-sustaining power of their own, and will go nowhere un-less forced by act of Congress. And if Congress do but pause for a moment in the policy of stern coercion : if it venture to try the ex eriment of leaving men to judge for themselves what institutions will best suit them hands of the Executive if it be not strained up to perpetual legisla-tive exertion on this point; if Congress proceed thus to act in the very spirit of lib-

erty, it is at once charged with aiming to ex-tend slave labor into all the new Territories of Of course, these imputations on the inter tions of Congress in this respect, conceived as they were in prejudice, and disseminated

in passion, are utterly destitute of any justi-fication in the nature of things, and contrary to all the fundamental doctrines and princ ples of civil liberty and self-government. While therefore, in general, the people o the northern States have never, at any arrogated for the federal government the

power to interefere directly with the domes tic condition of persons in the southern States, but on the contrary have disavowed all such intentions, and have shrunk from conspicuous affiliation with those few who pursue_their fanatical objects avowedly through the contemplated means of revolutionary change of the government, and with acceptance of the necessary consequencesa civil and servile war-vet many citizens have suffered themselves to be drawn into one evanescent political issue of agitation after another, appertaining to the same set of opinions, and which subsided as rapidly they arose when it came to be seen, as uniformly did, that they were incompatible

with the compacts of the Constitution and the existence of the Union. Thus, when the acts of some of the States to nullify the existing extradition law imposed upon Con-gress the duty of passing a new one, the country was invited by agitators to enter in-to party organization for its repeal; but that agitation speedly ceased by reason of the impracticability of its objects. So, when the statute restriction upon the institutions of new States, by a geographical line, had been repealed, the country was urged to demand its restoration, and that project also died al-most with its birth. Then followed the cry of alarm from the North against imputed southern encroachments; which cry sprang in reality from the spirit of revolutionary et the domestic institutions of the South, and, after a troubled existence of a and will take all other necessary steps to asfew months has been rebuked by the voice

of a patriotic people. Of this last agitation, one lamentable feature was, that it was carried on at the immediate expense of the peace and happiness of the people of the Territory of Kansas. That was made the battle-field, not so much of op posing factions or interests within itself, as ments communic of the conflicting passions of the whole peo-ple of the United States. Revolutionary disorder in Kansas had its origin in projects partments of State and War. of intervention, deliberately arranged by certain members of Congress, which enacted the law for the organization of the Territory And when propagandist colonization of Kanment. sas had thus been undertaken in one section of the Union, for the systematic promotion of its peculiar views of policy, there ensued. as a matter of course, a counter-action with opposite views, in other sections of the

In consequence of these and other dents, many acts of disorder it is undenia-ble, have been perpetrated in Kansas, to the occasional interruption, rather than the per manent suspension, of regular government. Aggressive and most reprehensible incursions into the Territory were undertaken, both in he North and the South, and entered it on its northern border by the way of Iowa, as and there has existed within it a state of in-surrection against the constituted authori hundred and ninety-two dollars, the payment surrection against the constituted authori ties, not without countenance from inconsiderable persons in each of the great sections of the Union. But the unmounted and Territory have been extravagantly exaggeraof the Union. But the difficulties in that

been subject, therefore disorders occurred in the latter Territory, is emphatically contra-dicted by the fact that none have occurred in Congress to a change of policy in the distribu-tion of troops, and to the necessity of providing the former. These disorders were not the con a more rapid increase of the military armasequence, in Kansas, of the freedom of self ment. For details of these and other subjects relating to the army, I refer to the report of the government conceded to that Territory by Congress, but of unjust interference on the par Secretary of War. The condition of the navy is not merely sa

of persons not inhabitants of the Territory.— Such interference, wherever it has exhibited tisfactory, but exhibits the most gratifying evi itself, by acts of insurrectionary character, or dences of increased vigor. As it is comparaof obstruction to processes of law, has tively small, it is more important that it should be as complete as possible in all the elements of strength; that it should be sufficient in the repelled or suppressed, by all the means which the Constitution and the laws place in the character of its officers in the zeal and disci In those parts of the United States where by pline of its men, in the reliability of its ordreason of the inflamed state of the public mind nance, and in the capacity of its ships. In all these various qualities the navy has made great progress within the last few years. The false rumors and misrepresentations have the greatest currency, it has been assumed that it was the duty of the Executive not only to supexecution of the law of Congress, of February press insurrectionary movements in Kansas but also to see to the regularity of local elec-23. 1855. "to promote the efficiency of th ' has been attended by the most advannavy,' tions. It needs little argument to show that

tageous results. The law for promoting disci-pline among the men is found convenient and salutary. The system of granting an honorthe President has no such power. All government in the United States rests substantially upon popular election. The freedom of elec-tions is liable to be impaired by the intrusion able discharge to faithful seamen on the expi ration of the period of their enlistment, and of unlawful votes, or the exclusion of lawful permitting them to re-enlist after a leave of ab ones, by improper influences, by violence, or by fraud. But the people of the United States sence of a few months, without cessation of pay s highly beneficial in its influence. The apare themselves the all-sufficient guardians of rentice system recently adopted is evidently their own rights, and to suppose they will not remedy, in due season, any such incidents of lestined to incorporate into the service a large number of our countrymen hitherto so difficult o procure. Several hundred Americans boys are ivil freedom, is to suppose them to have ceased to be capable of self-government. The Presi-dent of the United States has not power to inow on a three years' cruise in our national yes els, and will return well trained seamen. terpose in elections, to see to their freedom, to the ordanance department there is a decided canvass their votes, or to pass upon their legal-ity in the Territories any more than in the gratifying indication of progress creditable to it gratifying indication of progress creatization to and to the country. The suggestions of the Secretary of the Navy, in regard to further improvement in that branch of the service, I States. If he had such power, the government might be republican in form, but it would be a monarchy in fact; and if he had undertaken mmend to your favorable action. to exercise it in the case of Kansas, he would The new frigates ordered by Congress ar

have been justly subject to the charge of usurp ow afloat, and two of them in active service They are superior models of naval architecture and with their formidable battery add largely ation, and of violation of the dearest rights of Unwise laws, equally with irregularities at public strength and security. I concur in the views expressed by the Se

elections, are, in periods of great excitement, the occasional incidents of even the freest and best political institutions. But all experetary of the Department in favor of a stil urther increase of our naval force. The report of the Secretary of the Interior rience demonstrates that in a country like ours, where the right of self-constitution ex-ists in the completest form, the attempt to

presents facts and views in relation to inter-nal affairs over which the supervision of his remedy unwise legislation by resort to revo-lution, is totally out of place; inasmuch as existing legal institutions afford more prompt department extends, of much interest and imortance.

The aggregate sales of the public lands dur ng the last fiscal year, amount to nine mill-on two hundred and twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight acres; for which has been received eight millions eight hundred and twenty-one thousand four hundred and fourteen dollars. 'During the same period there have been located, with military Constitution, or subversive of the great objects for which that was ordained and established, scrip and land warrants. and for other pur ses, thirty million one hundred thousand two hundred and thirty acres, thus making a total sure to its inhabitants the enjoyment, without aggregate of thirty-nine millions three hun-dred and twenty-eight thousand one hundred obstruction or abridgement, of all the consti-tutional rights, privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, as contemplated and eight acres. On the 30th of September last, surveys had been made of sixteen mill by the organic law of the Territory. Full information in relation to recent events ons eight hundred and seventy-three thousand six hundred and ninety-nine acres, a larg in this Territory will be found in the docuoportion of which is ready for market. The suggestions in this report in regard to ated herewith from the De

he complication and progressive expansion of the business of the different bureaux of I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for particular information conthe department, to the pension system; to the colonization of Indian tribes, and the recerning the financial condition of the governcommendations in relation to various imservice connected with the Treasury Depart provements in the District of Columbia are specially recommended to your considera-During the last fiscal year, the receipts from

customs were, for the first time, more than sixty-four million dollars, and from all sources, seventy-three million nine hundred and eight The report of the Postmaster General pre sents fully the condition of that department of the government. Its expenditures for the een thousand one hundred and forty-one dol-lars; which, with the balance on hand up to ast fiscal year, were ten millions four hundlast Bacal year, were ten minious four hundred red and seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight dollars; and its gross receipts seven millions six hundred and twenty thouthe 1st of July, 1855, made the total resources of the year to amount to ninety-two million eight hundred and fifty thousand one hundred and eight hundred and one dollars-making and seventeen dollars. The expenditures, in-cluding three million dollars in execution of the treaty with Mexico, and excluding sums an excess of expenditure over receipts of two millions seven hundred and eighty-seven thousand and forty-six dollars. The defi paid on account of the public debt, amounted to sixty million one hundred and seventy-two ciency of this department is thus seven hundred and forty-four thousand dollars greate than for the year ending June 30, 1853. thousand four hundred and one dollars; and,

Of this deficiency, three hundred thirty thousand dollars is to be attributed to on this account having amounted to twelve million seven hundred and seventy-six thouthe additional compensation allowed pos masters by the act of Congress of June 2. of the Union. But the difficulties in that Territory have been extravagantly exaggera-ted for purposes of political agitation else-where. The number and gravity of the acts sand three hundred and ninety dollars.