Bradford Reporter.

TOWANDA:

Thursday Morning, December 9, 1858.

E. O. GOODRICH, EDITOR.

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to give our readers President BUCHANAN'S annual message. The document is unusually lengthy, and not remarkably interesting. The comments to which it give rise, we are necessarily obliged to defer until next week. FRED DougLass' Lectures, on Monday and Tuesday evenings last, were a complete success, both as to the num bers of the audience and interest they manifested in the

remarks of the Lecturer. On Tuesday evening, in partic ular, when endeavoring to prove the Unity of the Races. an address of two hours and a half in length was enjoyed with unwearied attebtion. It is hardly necessary to say. that it was eloquent, brilliant, logical and witty; worthy of his reputation as an orator.

The Fourth Lecture in the Course will be delivered on

Tuesday, 21st instant, by Dr. WILLIAM ELDER, of Philadelphia. The Dr. stands in the front rank of public lecturers, and the opportunity to hear him will unquestionably be improved by our citizens.

Subscribe at Once!-The Cosmopolitan Art Associa tion, now in its fifth year, is furnishing subscribers with a copy of the superb Steel Engraving, after Herring's celebrated painting, "THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH." This elegant engraving can now be seen at Parton & Payne's, where subscriptions will be received by J. G. PATTON. Honorary Secretary.

The New Hall of the Alpha Epsilon Society was dedicated on Saturday evening last, an Address being read by G. H. WATKINS, followed by remarks from several oth er gentlemen.

On Friday evening, 17th inst., an Address will be deliv ered by W. T. Davis, and a public debate will take place

President's Message.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives :

When we compare the condition of the country at the present day with what it was a year ago, at the meeting of Congress, we have much reason for gratitude to that Almighty Providence, which has never failed to interpose for our relief, at the most critical period of our history. One year ago the sectional strife between the North and the South, on the dan gerous subject of Slavery, had again become so intense as to threaten the peace and perpetuity of the confederacy. The application for the admission of Kansas as a State into the Union, fostered this unhappy agitation, and brought the whole subject once more before Congress. It was the desire of every patriot that such a measure of legislation might be adopted as would remove the agitation 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

THE KANSAS QUESTION. The Supreme Court of the United States had previously decided, that all American citi- provision in their constitution not agreeable to zens have an equal right to take into the Terrilaws of any of the States, and to hold such Federal Constitution, so long as the Territori-

al condition shall remain. This is now a well-established position, and the proceedings of the last session were alone wanting to give it practical effect. The prineiple has been recognized, in some form or other, by almost unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress, 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 vendicated, and a fruitful source of dangerous dissention among them has been

Whilst such has been the beneficial tenden-Kansas their influence has been nowhere so happy as within that Territory itself. Left to | ion," upon the terms therein prescribed.' manage and control its own affairs in its own way, without the pressure of external influence. the revolutionary Topeka organization, and all lished by Congress, have been finally abandon-Territory now appears to be tranquil and prosperons, and is attracting increasing thousands

of imigrants to make it their happy home. ple of the Territory, yielded obedience to the laws enacted by their Legislature, it would at the present moment have contained a large additional population of industrious and enterprising citizens, who have been deterred from en-

strife and organized rebellion. It was the resistance of rightful authority volutionary government under the Topeka conthus elected to frame a constitution.

The convention, notwithstanding, proceeded Teis was the all important question which had mode or manner of its approval or ratification people of Kansas.

alone convulsed the Territory ; and yet the opponents of the lawful government, persisting in their first error, refrained from exercising their right to vote, and preferred that slavery should continue rather than surrender their revolutionary Topeka organization.

A wiser and better spirit seemed to prevail before the first Monday of January last, when an election was held under the Constitution. A majority of the people then voted for a Governor and other State officers, for a member of Congress, and members of the State Legislature. This election was warmly contested by the two political parties in Kansas, and a great er vote was polled than at any previous election. A large majority of the members of the Legislature elect belonged to that party which had previously refused to vote. The Anti-Slavery party were thus placed in the ascendent. and the political power of the State was in their own hands. Had Congress admitted Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, the Legislature might, at its very first session, have submitted the question to a vote of the people, whether they would or would not have a Convention to amend their Constitution, either on the Slavery or on any other question, and have adopted all necessary means for giving speedy effect to the will the majority. Thus the Kansas question would have been immediately and finally settled.

Under these circumstances, I submitted to Congress 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 admission of Kansas as a State. In the course of my long public life I have never performed any official act which, in the retrospect, has afforded me more heartfelt satisfaction. Its admission could have inflicted no possible injury on any human being, whilst it would, within a brief period, have restored peace to Kansas and harmony to the Union. In that event, the Slavery question would ere this be finally settled, according to the legally expressed will of a majority of the voters, and popular sovereignty would thus have been vindicated in a

constitutional manner. With my deep convictions of duty, I could have pursued no other course. It is true that, as an individual. I had expressed an opinion. before and during the session of the Convention, in favor of submitting the remaining clauses of the constitution, as well as that concerning Slavery, to the people. But, acting in an official character, neither myself nor any human rule, the country would have escaped all the authority had the power to rejudge the proceedings of the Convention, and declare the posed by the Kansas question. constitution which it had framed to be a nullity. 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 form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." It would have equally have violated the great principle of opular sovereignty, at the foundation of our stitutions, to deprive the people of the power, if they thought proper to exercise it, of con fiding to delegates elected by themselves the trust of framing a constitution, without requiring them to subject their constituents to the ment. rouble, expense and delay of a second'election. It would have been in opposition to many preedents in our history, commencing in the very best age of the republic, of the admission of

onstitution. This reflection may prove to be a lesson of wis- ter the Union, they are oppressed by the burdom and of warning for our future guidance. den of State taxation, and the means necessa-Practically considered the question first come into the Union and then change any thus diverted to very different purposes. another Constitution in accordance with their early settlers. It has paid the expenses of their property there under the guardianship of the will? In either case the result would be pre- government and legislative assemblies out of much sooner attained, and the pacification of stances, nothing can be better calculated to re-Kansas more speedily effected, had it been ad- tard their material progress than to divert them mitted as a State during the last session of Congress.

My recommendation, however, for the immediate admission of Kansas, failed to meet the approbation of Congress. They deemed it wiser to adopt a different measure for the til the number of inhabitants shall equal those settlement of the question. For my own part of a single Congressional District. They sure I should have been willing to yield my assent by ought not be permitted to rush into the to almost any constitutional measure to accomplish this object. I therefore, cordially aquiseel in what has been called "the English cy of your legislative proceedings outside of Compromise," and approved the " Act for the admission of the State of Kansas into the Un-

Under the ordinance which accompanied the Lecompton Constitution, the people of Kansas had claimed double the quantity of public lands like a fixed policy. Establish the rule, and all resistance to the Territorial Government estab. for the support of common shools, which had will look forward to it and govern themselves ever been previously granted to any Statee upel. And as a natural consequence, that fine on entering the Union; and also the alternate sections of land for twelve miles on each side of two railroads, proposed to be constructed from the northern to the southern boundary, The past unfortunate experience of Kansas and from the eastern to the western boundary has enforced the lesson so often already taught of the State. Congress, deeming the claims that, resistance to lawful authority, under our unreasonable, provided, by the act of May 4, form of Government, cannot fail in the end to 1848, to which I have just referred, for the adprove disastrous to its authors. Had the peo- mission of the State on equal footing with the original States, but "upon the fundamental condition precedent" that a majority of the people thereof, at an election to be held for that purpose, should, in place of the very large grants of the public lands which they had de- from the largest. The same may be said in retering its borders by the existence of civil manded under the ordinance, except such gard to the ratification of treaties, and of Exgrants as had been made to Minnesota and and the persevering attempts to establish a re- majority reject the proposition offered them, 'it shall be deemed and held that the people stitution, which caused the people of Kansas to of Kansas do not desire admission into the Un- American citizen would desire the slightest commit the grave error of refusing to vote for ion with said Constitution under the conditions change in the arrangement. Still, is it not un-Delegates to the Convention to frame a Con- set forth in said proposition." In that event stitution under a law not denied to be fair and the act authorizes the people of the Territory vest some forty or fifty thousand people collectory forming their appropriate functions without just in its provisions. This refusal to vote has to elect delegates to form a Constitution and a ted in a Territory with the attributes of sover- resistance. The authority of the Constitution been the prolific source of all the evils State Government for themselves, "whenever eignty, and place them on equal footing with and the laws has been fully restored, and peace which have followed. In their hostility to the and not before, it is ascertained by a census, Territorial Government they disregarded the duly and legally taken, that the population of principle, absolutely essential to the workings said Territory equals or exceeds the ratio of of our form of Government, that a majority of representation required for a member of the passage of a general act which shall provide miles southwest of Salt Lake City; and the those who vote-not the majority of those who House of Representatives of the Congress of that, upon the application of a Territorial Le- remainder have been ordered to Oregon to supmay stay at home, from whatever cause-mu-t | the United States." The delegates thus as- gislature, declaring their belief that the Terri- press Indian hostilities. decide the result of an election. For this rea- sembled "shall first determine by a vote wheth- tory contains a number of inhabitants which, if son seeking to take advantage of their own er- er it is the wish of the people of the proposed in a State, would entitle them to elect a Mem- through the Indian Territory, has had a pow ror, they denied the authority of the convention State to be admitted into the Union at that ber of Congress, it shall be the duty of the Pre- erful effect in restraining the hostile feelings time, and, if so, shall proceed to form a Con- sident to cause a census to be taken, and if against the United States which existed among stitution, and take all necessary steps for the found sufficient, then by the terms of this act the Indians in that region, and in securing emto adopt a constitution unexceptionable in its general features, and providing for the submisformity with the Federal Constitution." Afway" to frame a State Constitution preparatodations. This will also be the means of estabsion of the slavery question to a vote of the ter this Constitution has been formed, Congress ry to admission into the Union. I also recom- lishing military posts and promoting settlements

by the people of the proposed State" to be prescribed by law," and they "shall then be admitted into the Union as a State under such Constitution, thus fairly and legally made, with year ago, is a subject for congratulation. or without slavery, as said Constitution may was then in a state of open rebellion, and cost, orescribe."

An election was held throughout Kausas in pursuance of the provisions of this act, on the 2d day of August last, and it resulted in the rejection, by a large majority, of the proposition submitted to the people by Congress .-This being the case, they are now authorized to form another Constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union, but not until their number, as ascertained by a census, shall equal or exceed the ratio required to elect a member to the House of Representatives.

It is not probable, in the present state of the case, that a third Constitution can be lawfully framed and presented to Congress by Kansas, before the population shall have reached the designated number. Nor is it to be presumed that, after their sad experience in resisting the Territorial laws, they will attempt to adopt the Constitution in express violation of the provision of an act of Congress. During the session of 1856, much of the time of Congress was occupied on the question of admit ting Kansas under the Topeka Constitution. Again, nearly the whole of the last session was devoted to the question of its admission under the Lecompton Constitution Surely it is not unreasonable to require the people of Kansas to wait before making a third attempt, antil the number of their inhabitants shall amount to ninety-three thousand four hundred and twen-During this brief period, the harmony of the States, as well 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 agitation on the Kansas ques-By waiting for a short time, and acting in obedience to law, Kausas will glide into the Union without the slightest impediment.

THE TERRITORIES AND NEW STATES. This excellent provision, which Congress ha applied to Kansas, ought to be extended and rendered applicable to all Territories which may here after seek admission into the Union.

Whilst Congress possesses the undoubted power of admitting a new State into the Union, however small may be the number of its inhabitants, yet this power ought not, in my opinion, be exercised before the population shall amount to the ratio required by the act for the admission of Kansas. Had this been previously the evils and mistortunes to which it has been ex-

Of course, it would be unjust to give rule a retrospective application, and exclude a the war without the effusion of blood. In his State which, acting upon the past practice of stitution, elected its Legislature and other offi-

cers, and is now prepared to enter the Union. The rule ought to be adopted, whenever we The rule ought to be adopted, whenever we consider its bearing on the people of the Terrices in the territory of Utah, for the protection tories or upon the people of the existing States. Many of the serious dissensions which have prevailed in Congress and throughout the country, would have been avoided, had this rule been regiments into service. If there had been, I adopted at an earlier period of the Govern-

Immediately upon the formation of a new from foreign countries rush into it, for the laudable purpose of improving their condition .-Territories as States into the Union, without a Their first duty to themselves is to open and previous vote of the people approving their cultivate farms, to construct roads, to establish schools, to erect places of religious worship, and It is to be lamented that a question so in-significant when viewed in its practical effects the wilderness and to lay the foundation of a way or the other, should have kindled such a in this incipient condition, with a population flame of excitement throughout the country. of a few thousand, they should prematurely ensimply ry for the improvement of the Territory whether the people of that Territory should the advancement of their own interests, are

The Federal Government has ever been a themselves or accomplish the very same object liberal parent to the Territories, and a genercisely the same. The only difference in point | the common treasury, and thus relieved them of fact is, that the object would have been from a heavy charge. Under these circumfrom their useful employment by prematurely exciting angry political contest among themselves, for the benefit of aspiring leaders. It is surely no hardship for embryo Governors, Senators and Members of Congress to wait un-Union with a population less than one half of several of the large counties in the interior of some of the States. This was the condition of Kansas 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 homogeneous, and to unite them to anything ce ordingly.

But justice to the people of the severalStates Congress. Each State is entitled to two Senators and at least to one Representative in Congress. Should the people of the States fail to elect a Vice-President, the power devolves upon the Senators to select this officer from the two highest candidates on the list. In case of the death of the President, the Vice-President thus elected by the Senate becomes President of the United States. On all the questions of legislation, the Senators of the smallest States of the Union have an equal vote with those ecutive appointments. All this has worked other new States. Under this act, should a admirably in practice, whilst it conforms in principle with the character of a Government instituted by sovereign States. I presume no just and unequal to the existing States to in-Virginia and New York in the Senate of the prevails throughout the Territory. United States.

For these reasons, I carnestly recommend the

UTAH AFFAIRS.

The present condition of the Territory of Utah, when contrasted with what it was one what it might, the character of the Government required that this rebellion should be suppressed and the Mormons compelled to yield obedience to the Constitution and the laws. In order to accomplish this object, as I informed you in my 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 these civil officers, and to aid them, as a posse comitatus, in the execution of the laws in case of need, I ordered a detachment of the army to accompany them to Utah. The necessity for adopting these measures is now demonstrated.

On the 16th of September, 1857, Governor Young issued his proclamation, in the style of independent sovereign, announcing his purpose to resist by force of arms the entry of the United States troops into our own Territory of Utah. By this he required all the forces in the Territory to "hold themselves in readiness to march 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 idle threats. Forts Bridger and Supply were vacated and burnt down by the Mormons to deprive our troops of a shelter after their long and fatiguing march. Orders were issued by Daniel H. Wells, styling himself "Lieutenant-General, Nanvoo 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 surprises, and to blockade the road by felling trees and destroying the fords of rivers, &c., &c.

These orders were promptly and effectually obeyed. On the 4th of October, 1857, the Mormons captured and burned on Green river three of our supply trains, consisting of seventy-five wagons loaded with provisions and tents for the army, and drove away several hundred animals. This diminished the supply of provisions so materially that Gen. Johnston was obliged to reduce the ration, and even with this precaution there was only sufficient left to subsist the troops until the 1st of June.

The Secretary of War employed all his energies to forward them the necessary supplies, and to muster and send such a military force to Utah as would render resistance on the part of the Mormons hopeless, and thus terminate efforts he was efficiently sustained by Congress. the Government, has already formed its Con- They granted appropriations sufficient to cover the deficiency thus necessarily created, and also provided for raising two regiments of volunof supply and emigrant trains, and the suppression of Indian hostilities on the frontier. Happily, there was no occasion to call these should have felt serious embarrassment in selecting them, so great was the number of our brave and patriotic citizens anxious to serve Territory, people from different States and their country in this distant and apparently Thus it has been, and dangerous expedition.

thus may it ever be ! The whole wisdom and economy of sending sufficient reinforcements to Utah are established not only by the event, but in the opinion of those who, from their position and opportunities, are the most capable of forming a correct on the people of Kansas, whether decided one flourishing and prosperous commonwealth. If, judgment. Gen. Johnston, the commander of the forces, in addressing the Secretary of War from Fort Bridger, under date Oct. 18, 1857, expresses the opinion that "unless a large force is sent here, from the nature of the country, a ted war on their (the Mormons) is inevitable." This he considers necessary, to terminate the war "speedily and more econom-

ically than if attempted by insufficient means. In the meantime it was my as xious desire tories whatever is held as property under the by remaining out of the Union and framing ous contributor to the useful enterprises of the that the Mormons seould yield obedience to the Constitution and the laws, without rendering it necessary to resort to military force. To aid in accomplishing this object, I deemed it advisable in April last to dispatch two distinguished citizens of the United States, Messrs. Powell and McColloch, to Utah. They bore with them a proclamation addressed by myself to the inhabitants of Utah, dated on the 6th day of that month, warning them of their true condition, and how hopeless it was on their port to persist in rebellion against the United States, that they must expect no further lenity but look to be rigorously dealt with according to their deserts. The instructions to these agents, as well as a copy of the proclamation. and their reports are herewith submitted. It will be seen by their report of the 3rd of July last, that they have fully confirmed the opiniou expressed by Gen, Johnston in the previous October, as to the necessity of sending reinforcements to Utah. In this they state they 'are firmly impressed with the belief that the presence of the army here and the large additional force that has been ordered to this Ter ritory, were the chief inducements that caused the Mormons to abandon the idea of resisting requires that this rule should be established by the authority of the United States. A less de cisive policy would probably have resulted in a long, bloody and expensive war."

These gentlemen conducted themselves to my entire satisfaction, and rendered useful services in executing the humane intentions of the Government.

It also affords me great satisfaction to state that Governor Cumming has performed his duty in an able and conciliatory manner, and with the happiest effect. I cannot, in this connection, refrain from mentioning the valuable services of Col. Thomas L. Kane, who from motives of pure benevolence, and without any official character or pecuniary compensation, visited Utah during the last inclement winter, for the purpose of contributing to the pacification of the Territory.

I am happy to inform you, that the Governor and other civil officers of Utah are now per-

A portion of the troops sent to Utah are now encamped at Cedar Valley, forty-four

The march of the army to Salt Lake City.

people of Utah, by the establishment of a land my last annual message, I stated that office in that Territory.

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

Canton. He was, however, at the same time torial interests are immediately involved. directed to cooperate cordially with the British settlement was to be made in accordance a and French Ministers, in all peaceful measures, the general tenor of the interpretation p to secure by treaty those just concessions to upon the Clayton and Balwer freaty had foreign commerce, which natious of the world United States, with certain modificat had a right to demand. It was impossible for me to proceed further than this on my own authority, without usurping the war-making power, which, under the Constitution, belongs exclusively to Congress.

Besides, after a careful examination of the nature and extent of our grievances, I did not believe they were of such a pressing and aggravated character, as would have justified Congress in declaring war against the Chinese Empire, without first making another earnest attempt to adjust them by penceful negotia tion. I was the more inclined to this opinion, because of the severe chastisement which had then but recently been inflicted upon the Chinese by our squadron, in the capture and des- Extraordinary and Minister Plenipoten truction of the Barrier forts, to avenge an insult to our flag.

The event has proved the wisdom of our neutrality. Our Minister has executed his instruction with eminent skill and ability. In conjunction with the Russian Plenipotentiary he has peacefully, but effectually, cooperated with the English and French Plenipotentiaries; each of the four Powers has concluded a separate treaty with China, of a highly satisfactory character. The treaty concluded by our own proceed to Madrid without delay, and m Plenipotentiary will immediately be submitted to the Senate.

I am happy to announce that, through the onergetic yet conciliatory efforts of our Consul our national flag, aud, in repeated General in Japan, a new treaty has been concladed with that Empire, which may be ex- sons and property of our citizens. The pected materially to angment our trade and in- given birth to numerous claims against tercourse in that quarter, and remove from our countrymen the disabilities which have heretofore been imposed upon the exercise of their our successive diplomatic representatives religion. The treaty shall be submitted to the Senate for approval without delay.

OUR RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN. It is my earnest desire that every misunderstanding with the Government of Great Britain should be amicably and speedily adjusted. It has been the misfortune of both countries, almost ever since the period of the Revolution, to have been annoyed by a succession of irritating and dangerous questions, threatening their friendly relations. This has partially prevented the full developement of those feelings of mutual friendship between the people of the two countries, so natural in themselves, and so conducive to their common interest. Any serious interruption of the commerce between the United States and Great Britain would be equally injurious to both. In fact no two nations have ever existed on the face of the earth, which could do each other so much good or so much harm.

Entertaining these sentiments, I am gratified to inform you that the long-pending con- ly ten years, in 1854, they were recognize troversy between those two Governments, in the Spanish Government. Proceeding relation to visitation and search, has been am- afterwards instituted to find their amo cably edjusted. The claim on the part of this was finally fixed according to the Great Britain foreibly to visit American ves-statement, (with which we are satisfied sels on the high seas in time of peace, could the sum of one hundred and twenty-eigh not be sustained by the law of nations, and it sond six hundred and thirty-five had been overruled by her most eminent jurists. fifty-four cents. Just at the moment, This question was recently brought to an issue delay of fourteen years, when we had by the repeated acts of British cruisers in to expect that this sum would be re boarding and searching our merchant vessels interest, we have received a propoin the Gulf of Mexico, and the adjacent seas. to refund one-third of that amount, These acts were more injurious and annoying thousand eight hundred and seventyas these waters are traversed by a large por- lars and forty-one cents.) tion of the commerce and navigation of the if we would accept this in full satis United States, and their free coastwise trade | The offer is, also, accompanied by a decl between different States of the Union. Such that this indemnification is not founded vexations interruptions could not fail to excite | reason of strict justice, but is made as a the feelings of the country, and to require the | cial favor. interposition of Government. Remonstrances were addressed to the British Government examination and adjustment of our against these violations of our rights of sovergignty, and a naval force was at the same time | the Spanish Government to remove. ordered to the Cuban waters, with directions to protect all vessels of the United States on general despotic authority in the government high seas from search or detention by the vessels of war of any other nation." These meas- to examine and redress wrongs con ures received the unqualified and even enthusiastic approbation of the American people. Most fortunately, however, no collision took place, and the British Government promptly avowed its recognition of the 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 Minister at gations and correspondence between Washington, of April 18, 1858, which secure the vessels of the United States upon the high seas from visitation or search in time of peace, under any circumstances whatever. The claim has been abandoned in a manner reflecting honor on the British Government, and evincing a just regard for the law of nations, and cannot fail to strengthen the amicable relations between the two countries.

The British Government, at the same time, proposed to the United States that some mode should be adopted, by mutual arrangement between the two countries, of a character which may be found effective without being offensive, for verifying the nationality of vessels suspected on good grounds of carrying false colors. They have also invited the United States to take the initiative, and propose measures for this purpose. Whilst declining to assume so grave a responsibility, the Secretary of State has informed the British Government that we that, when a difficulty occurs, B are ready to receive any proposals which they may feel disposed to offer, having this object at the moment, we should be ob in view, and to consider them in an amicable to Madrid, especially when the spirit. A strong opinion is, however, expressed that the occasional abuse of the flag of any nation is an evil far less to be deprecated | nial condition, is a constant source than the establishment of any regulations and annoyance to the American pe which might be incompatible with the freedom of the seas. This Government has yet received no communication specifying the manner in bound by treaty with Great Britain to which the British Government would propose tain a naval force on the coast of Afr to carry out their suggestion; and I am inclined to believe that no plan which can be devised will be free from embarrasments. Still that Island. The late serious difficult I shall form no decided opinion on the subject until I shall have carefully and in the best respecting the right of search, now so spirit examined any proposals which they may think proper to make.

I am truly sorry that I cannot also inform you that the complications between Great Brit- no hope for the civilization of benighted ain and the United States, arising out of the Clayton and Bulwer treaty of April 1850, have ba, wars will be waged among the pe been finally adjusted.

At the commencement of your last session, I had reason to hope that, emancipating themselves from further unavailing discussions, the light of civilization and relinion can exc two Governments would proceed to settle the people, which, in my opinion, they were bound carrying out the principles of popular soverto do under the Kansas and Nebraska act.— eighty and non-intervention, have left "the enable the President to take a census of the out to the work of the control of the :: : 1 laws and preemption system be extended to the and this hope I have not yet abandoned. In on several occasions, endeavored to of

tures had been made by the British (ment for this purpose, in a friendly spirit which I cordiall yreciprocated. Their proposal was to withdraw these questions from direct ne on the result of our negotiations with the control of the result of our negotiations with the control of the co negotiations are still pending upon this it would not be proper for me now to nicate their present condition. A final ment of these questions is greatly to be desi as this would wipe out the remaining sul of dispute between the two countries

Our relations with the two great em France and Russia, as well as with all oil Governments on the Continent of Enrope cept that of Spain, continue to be of th friendly character.

OUR RELATIONS WITH SPAIN With Spain our relations remain in an satisfactory condition. In my message of cember last, I informed you that our to Madrid had asked for his recall was my purpose to send out a new Minister that Court with special instructions on all or tions pending between the two Gove and with a determination to have them ily and amicably adjusted, if that were ble. This purpose has been hitherto def by causes which I need not enumerate

The mission to Spain has been intrusted a distinguished citizen of Kentucky, who another and a final attempt to obtain in from that Government.

Spanish officials, under the direct contra the Captain-General of Cuba, have have from time to time inflicted injurie Spanish Government, the merits of which been ably discussed for a series of year withstanding this we have not arrived practical result in any single instance we may except the case of the Black Wa under the late administration; and that sented an outrage of such a character as have justified an immediate resort to war, our attempts to obtain redress have bee fled and defeated. The frequent and curring changes in the Spanish Ministr been employed as reasons for delay. We been compelled to wait, again and again, the new Minister shall have had time t vestigate the justice of our demand

Even what has been denominated the ban claims," in which more than a hun our citizens are directly interested, have nished no exception. These claims were refunding duties unjustly exacted from Ar can vessels, at different Custom-hous ba, so long ago as the year 1844. ciples upon which they rest are man equitable and just, that after a period

One alledged cause of procrastination is arises from an obstacle which it is the the Captain-General of Cuba is invested of that Island, the power is withhele officials under his control, on citize United States. Instead of making out plaints directly to him at Havana we ar ged to present them through our Mini Madrid. These are then referred back Captain-General for information; and time is thus consumed in preliminary and Cuba, before the Spanish Governme proceed to negotiation. Many of the ties between the two Governments woo obviated, and a long train of negotiation ed, if the Captain-General were invest authority to settle questions of easy s on the spot, where all the facts are could be promptly and satisfactpriled. We have hitherto in vain urg

Spanish Government to confer this p on the Captain-General, and our Mi Spain will again be instructed to urge ct on their notice. In this respect a different position from the Powers of I Cuba is almost within sight of our commerce with it far greater than that other nation, including Spain itself citizens are in habits of daily and personal intercourse with every part Island. It is, therefore, a great unimportant, which might be to be taken there is to refer it be

The truth is, that Cuba, in its existi much expense both of life and treasur for the purpose of arresting slavers both tween the United States and Great terminated, could never have arisen had not afforded a market for slaves. A as this market shall remain open, there Whilst the demand for slaves centil barbarous chiefs in Africa, for the seizing subjects to supply this trade. a condition of affairs, it is impossible

etrate these dark abodes.