President's Message.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Throughout the year since our last meeting. the country has been eminently prosperous in all its material interests. The general health has been excellent, our harvests have been abundant, and plenty smiles throughout the land. Our commerce and manufactures have been prosecuted with energy and industry, and have yielded fair and ample returns. In short, no nation in the tide of time has ever presented a spectacle of greater material prosperity than we have done until within a very recent

Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensively prevails, and the Union of the States, which is the source of all these blessings, is threatened with distruction? The long-con tinued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of Slavery in the Southern States has at length produced its natural effects. The different sections of the Union are now arrayed against each other and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the Fathers of our Country, when hostile geographical parties have been formed. I have long forseen and often forewarned my countrymen of the now impending danger. This does not proceed solely from the claims on the part of Congress or the territorial legislature to exclude Slavery from the Territories, nor from the efforts of different States to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. .

All or any of these evils might have been endured by the South without danger to the Union (as others have been,) in the hope that time and reflection might apply the remedy. The immediate peril arises not so much from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the Slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century, has at length produced its malign influence on th slaves, and inspire them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no lon ger exists around the family altar. The feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection. Many matron throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and he children before the morning. Should this apprehension of domestic danger, whether real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall prevade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will become inevitable Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest purpose; and no political union, however fraught with blessings and benefits in all other respects, can long continue, if the necessary consequence be to render the homes and the firesides of nearly half the parties to it habitually and hopelessly insecure. Sooner or later the bonds of such a Union must be severed. It is my conviction that this fatal period has not yet arrived; and my prayer to God is, that he would preserve Constitution and the Union throughout all generations.

But let us take warning in time, and remove the cause of danger. It cannot be de-nied that, for five and twenty years, the agitation at the North against Slavery in the South has been incessant. In 1835, pictorial handbills and inflammatory appeals were cir culated extensively throughout the South, of a character to excite the passions of the slaves. and, in the language of Gen. Jackson, " stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horors of a servile war." This agitation has ever since been continued by the publi press, by the proceedings of State and County Conventions, and by Abolition sermons and and lectures. The time of Congress has been occupied in violent speeches on this neverending subject, and appeals in pamphlet and other forms, indorsed by distinguished name, have been sent forth from this central point, and spread broadcast over the Union.

How easy would it be for the American per ple to settle the Slavery question forever, and to restore peace and humanity to this distracted country

They, and they alone, can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the Slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone, and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they are responsible before God and the world for the Slavery existing among them. For this, the people of the North are not more responsible, and have no more right to interfere, than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil. Upon their good sense and patriotic forbearance I confess I still rely .-Without their aid, it is beyond the power of any President, no matter what may be his political proclivities, to restore peace and harmony among the States. Wisely limited and tons question.

And this brings me to observe that the election of any one of our fellow-citizens to transient and temporary causes, which may probably never again occur. In order to juslate Presidential election, however, has been Union. held in strict conformity with its express provisions. How, then, can the result justify a revolution to destroy this very Constitution? angerous act on the part of the President elect before resorting to such a remedy.

the President elect have been sufficient to justify the fears of the South that he will attempt to invade their constitutional rights. But are such apprehensions of contingent danger in the future sufficient to justify the immediate destruction of the noblest system of government ever devised by mortals? From the very nature of his office, and its high re- claimed within the last few years that any sponsibilities, he must necessarily be conserv. State, whenever this shall be its sovereign ative. The stern duty of administering the vast and complicated concerns of this govern- in accordance with the Constitution, and withment affords in itself a guarantee that he will out eny violation of the Constitutional rights not attempt any violation of a clear constitu- of the other members of the Confederacy.tional right. After all, he is no more than That, as each became parties to the Union by His province is not to make, but to execute the vention, so any one of them may retire from laws; and it is a remarkable fact in our his- the Union in a similar manner by the vote of tory, that, notwithstanding the repeated ef- such a convention. forts of the Anti-Slavery party, no single act has ever passed Congress, unless we may possibly except the Misouri Compromise, impair- the Federal Government is a mere voluntary ing, in the slightest degree, the rights of the association of States, to be dissolved at pleasure

indications, that no probability exists of the passage of such an act, by a majority of both Houses, either in the present or the next Congress. Surely, under these circumstances, we ought to be restrained from present action by the precept of Him who spake as never man spoke, that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." The day of evil may never come, unless we shall rashly bring it upon ourselves.

It is alledged as one cause for immediate secession that the Southern States are denied equal rights with the other States in the common Territories. But by what authority are they denied? Not by Congress, which has never passed, and I believe never will pass, any act to exclude Slavery from these Territories; and certainly not by the Supreme Court, which has solemly decided that slaves are property, and, like all other property, their owners have a right to take them into the ommon Territories, and hold them there under

the protection of the Constitution. So far then, as Congress is concerned, the bjection is not to anything they have already ne, but to what they may do hereafter. It will surely be admitted that this apprehension of future danger is no good reason for an im-mediate disolution of the Union. It is true that the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, on the 23d of February, 1860, passed in great haste an act, over the veto of the Governor, declaring that Slavery "is, and shall be, forever prohibited in this Territory." Such an act however, plainly violating rights of property secured by the Constitution, will surely be declared void by the Judiciary whenever it shall be presented in a legal form.

Only three days after my inauguration, the Supreme Court of the United States solemnly judged that this power did not exist in a territorial legislature. Yet such has been the factions temper of the times that the correctness of this decision has been extensively impugned before the people, and the question has given rise to angry political conflicts throughout the country. Those who have appealed from this judgement of our highest constitutional tribunal to popular assemblies would, if they could, invest a territorial legslature with power to annul the sacred rights f property. This power Congress is expressforbidden by the Federal Constitution to exercise. Every State legislature in the Union is forbidden by its own constitution to exercise it. It cannot be exercised in States except by the people in their highest sovereign capacity when framing or amending their State constitution

In like manner it can only be exercised by the people of a Territory represented in a convention of delegates for the purpose of preparing a constitution preparatory to adnission as a State into the Union. Then, and not until then, are they invested with power to lecide the question whether Slavery shall or shall not exist within its limits. This is an act of sovereign authority, and not of subordinate territorial legislation. Were it otherwise, then indeed would the equallity of the States be destroyed, and the rights of propperty in slaves would depend, not upon the guarantees of the Costitution, but upon the shifting majorities of an irrepressible territorial legislature Such a doctrine, from its intrinsic unsoundness, cannot long influence any portion of our people, much less can it afford a good reason for a dissolution of the Union.

The most palpable violations of constitutional duty which have yet been committed, onsists in the acts of different State legisature to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It ought to be remembered, however, that for these acts neither Congress nor any President can justly be held responsi ble. Having been passed in violation of the Federal Constitution, they are therefore, null and void. All the courts, both State and national, before whom the question has arisen have from the beginning declared the Fugitive Slave law constitutional. The single exeption is that of a State court in Wisconsin; nd this has not only been reversed by the roper appellate tribunal, but has met with such universal reprobation that there can be The val idity of this law has been establised over and over again by the Supreme Court of the United States with perfect unanimity. It is founded upon an express provision of the Constitution, requiring that fugitive slaves who escape from service in one State to another shall be "delivered up" to their masters.

In one form or other, under the acts of 1793 and 1850, both being substantially the same, the Fugitive Slave Law has been the 'aw of the land from the days of Washington until the present moment. Here, then, a clear case is presented, in which it will be the duty of the next President, as it has been my own, to act with vigor in executing this surestrained as is his power, under the Constitu- preme law against the conflicting enactments tion and laws, he alone can accomplish but of State Legislature. Should he fail in the little, for good or for evil, on such a momen- performance of this high duty, he will then ave manifested a disregard of the Constitution and laws, to the great injury of the people of nearly one-half of the States of the the office of President does not of itself afford Union. The Fugitive Slave law has been States to lay and collect all other taxes. just cause for dissolving the Union. This is carried into execution in every contested case more especially true if his election has been since the commencement of the present adeffected by a mere plurality, and not by a ma- ministration; though often, it is to be rejority of the people, and has resulted from gretted, with great loss and inconvenience to the master, and with considerable expense to the Government. Let us trust that the State tify a resort to revolutionary resistance, the Legislature will repeal their unconstitutional Federal Government must be guilty of "a del and obnoxious enactments. Unless this shall liberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise" of be done without any necessary delay, it is impowers not granted by the Constitution. The possible for any human power to save the

The Southern States, standing on the basis of the Constitution, have a right to demand this act of justice from the States of the North. all require that we shall wait for some overt | Should it be refused, them the Constitution, to which all the States are parties, will have been willfully violated by one portion of them in a It is said, however, that the antecedents of provision essential to the domestic security and happiness os the remainder. In that event the injured States, after baving first used all peaceful and Constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resis-

tance to the Government of the Union. I have purposely confined my remarks to revolationary resistance, because it has been will and pleasure, may secede from the Union the chief executive officer of the Government. the vote of its own people assembled in Con-

In order to justify secession as a constitutional remedy it must be on the principle that South to their property in slaves. And it by any one of the contracting parties. If this

may also be observed, judging from the present be so, the Confederacy is a rope of and, to be United States, all members of State Legisla peentrated and dissolved by the first adverse wave of public opinion in any of the States .-In this manner yor thirty-three States may resolve themselves into as many petty, jarring, and hostile republics; each one retiring from the Union, without responsibility, whenever any sudden excitement might impel them to such a course. By this process a Union might and judicial; and this Government to the exbe entirely broken into fragments in a few weeks, which cost our forefathers many years of toil, privation, aed blood to establish.

Such a principle is wholly inconsistent with the history as well as the character of the Federal Constitution. After it was framed, with the greatest deliberation and care, it was submitted to conventions of the people of the several States for ratification. Its provisions were disensed at length in these bodies, composed of the first men of the country. Its opponents contended that it conferred powers upon the Federal Government dangerous to the rights of the States, while its advocates maintained that under a fair construction of the instrument there was no foundation for such apprehensions. In that mighty struggle between the first intellects of this or any other country it never occurred to any individual, either among its opponents or advocates, to assert.or even to intimate, that their efforts were all vain labor, because the moment any State felt herself aggrieved she might secede from the Union. What a crushing argument would this have proved against those who dreaded that the rights of the States would be endangered by the Constitution. The truth is, that it was not until many years after the origin of the Federal Government that such a proposition was first advanced.

It was then met and refuted by the conclusive arguments of Gen. Jackson, who in his message of 16th January, 1833, transmitting the nullifying ordinance of South Carolina to Congress, employs the following language: The right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberty and happiness of the millions composing this Union cannot be acknowledged. Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant bothto the principles upon which the General Government is constituted and to the objects which it was expressly formed to attain."

It is not pretended that any clause in the Constitution gives countenance to such a theory. It is altogether founded upon inference, not from any language contained in the instrument itself, but from the sovereign character of the several States by which it was ratified. But s it beyond the power of a State, like an individual, to yield a portion of its sovereign rights to secure the remainder? In the language of Mr. Madison, who has been called the father of the Constitution : " It was formed by the States-that is, by the people in each of the States, acting in their highest sovereign capacity; and formed consequently by the same authority which formed the State Constitutu-

"Nor is the Government of the United States created by the Constitution, less a Government in the strict sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, than the governments created by the constitutions of the States are within their several spheres. It is, like them, organized into legislative, executive and juliciary departments. It operates, like them, lirectly on persons and things; and like them. it has at command a physical torce for executing the powers committed to it.

It was intended to be perpetual, and not to be annulled at the pleasure of any one of the contracting parties. The old articles of confederation were entitled "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States ;" and by the 13th article it is expressly declared that "the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual."-The preamble to the Constitution of the Uni-States, having express reference to the essential attribute of perpetuity.

But that the Union was designed to be perpetual appears conclusively from the nature Constitution on 'the Federal Government .-These powers embrace the very highest attrioutes of the national sovereignty. They place both the sword and the purse under its control. Congress has power to make war, and to make peace; to raise and support armies and navies and to conclude treaties with foriegn Governments. It is is invested with the nower to coin money and to regulate the value nations, and among the several States. It is not necessary to enumerate the other high Federal Government. In order to carry the enumerated powers into effect, Congress possesses the exclusive right to lay and collect duties on imports, and in common with the

adopted effectual means to restrain the States time." from interfering with their exercise. For that formed in a State where no judicial authority purpose it has strong prohibitory language, expressly declaring that "no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; great letters of marque and reprisal; coin would constitute one solid combination to remoney ; emit bills of credit ; make anything sist him. but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post amount, the excess shall belong to the United the objects of the Constitution,

And "no State shall, without the consent troops, or ships of war, in time of peace; enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power; or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of de-

In order still further to secure the uninterrupted exercise of those high powers against State interposition, it is provided "that this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in persuance thereof : and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

The solemn sanction of religion has been and all Senators and Representatives of the sailants.

ture, and all executive and judicial officers far as this may be practicable, the Executive and in any event it ought to be tried in ciliation before any of these States shall States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation relations between the Federal Government and to support this Constitution."

In order to carry into effect these powers. the Constitution has established a perfect Government in all its forms, legislative, executive tent of its powers, acts directly upon the indi vidual citizen of every State, and executes its own decrees by the agency of its own officers. In this respect it differs entirely from the Government under the old Confederation, which was confined to making requisitions on the it in the discretion of each whether to obey or to refuse, and they often declined to comply with such requisition. It thus became necessary for the purpose of removing this barrier, and in order to form a more perfect Union," to establish a Government which could act directly upon the people, and execute its own laws without the intermediate agency of the States. This has been accomplished by the Constitution of the United States.

In short, the Government created by the onstitution, and deriving its authority from the sovereign people of each of the several States, has precisely the same right to exercise its power over the people of all these States, in the enumerated cases, that each one of them possesses over subjects not delegated to the United States but "reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people."

To the extent of the delegated powers of the Constitution of the United States is as much a part of the Constitution of each State and is as binding upon its people as though it had been textually inserted therein.

This Government, therefore, is a great and powerful Government, invested with all the attributes of sovereignty over the special subects to which its authority extends. Its framers never intended to implant in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction, nor were they at its creation guilty of the absurdity of provding for its own dissolution. It was not intended by its framers to be the baseless fabric of a vision which, at the touch of the enchanter, would vanish into thin air, but a substantial and mighty fabric, capable of resisting the slow decay of time and of defying the storms of Indeed, well may the jealous patriots of that day have indulged fears thas a government of such high powers night violate the reserved rights of the States and wisely did they adopt the rule of a strict construction of these powers to prevent the danger ! But they did not fear, nor had they any reason to imagine, that the Constitution would be so interpreted as to enable any State, by her own act, and without the consent of her sister States, to discharge her people from all or any of their Federal obligations.

It may be asked, then, are the people of he States without redress against the tyranny and oppression of the Federal Government? By no means, The right of resistance on the part of the governed against the oppression of their Governments cannot be denied. It exists independently of all Constitutions, and has been exercised at all periods of the world's history: Under it old Governments hve been destroyed and new ones have taken their place. It is embodied in strong and express language in our own Declaration of Independance. But the distinction must ever be observed, that this is revolution against an established Governorment, and not a voluntary session from t by virtue of an inherest constitutional right. In short, let us look the danger fairly in the face: Secession is neither more nor less than revolution. It may or it may not be a justifiable revolution, but still it is revolution

What, in the mean time, is the responsibiliy and true position of the Executive? He is bound by solemn oath before God and the country "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and from this obligation he cannot be absolved by any human power .-But what if the performance of this duty, in whole or in part, has been rendered impracticable by events over which he could have exercised no control? Such at the present more reached no control? Such at the present more recised no control? Such at the present more recised no control? articles of Confederation, recites that it was cable by events over which he could have exestablished "in order to form a msre perfect ercised to control? Such at the present mounion." And yet it is contended that this ment, is the case throughout the State of South Carolina, so far as the laws of the United States to secure the administration of justice by means of the Federal Judiciary are concerned. All the Federal officers within its and extent of the powers conferred by the limits, through whose agency alone these laws can be carried into execution have already resigned. We no longer have a District-Judge. a District-Attorney, or a Marshal, in South Carolina. In fact the, the whole muchinery of the Federal Government necessary for the distribution of remedial justice among the people has been demolished, and it would be difficult. if not impossible, to replace it.

The only acts of Congress on the statute thereof, and to regulate commerce with foreign book, bearing upon this subject, are those of the 28th February, 1795, and 3d March, 1807. These authorize the President, after be shall powers that have been conferred upon the have ascertained that the marshal with his posse comitatus is unable to execute civil or criminal process in any particular case, to call forth the militia and employ the army and na vy to aid him in performing this service, hav ing first by Proclamation commanded the in-But the Constitution has not only conferred surgents to "disperse and retiae peaceably to these high powers upon Congress, but it has their respective abodes, within a limited This duty cannot by possibility be per-

exists to issue process, and where there is no warshal to execute it, and where, even if there were such an officer, the entire population

The bare ennmeration of these provisions proves how inadequate they are without furfacto law, or law impairing the obligation of ther legislation to overcome a united opposicontracts." Moreover, "without the consent of tion in a single State, not to speak of other Congress, no State shall lay any imposts or States who may place themselves in a similar duties on any imports or exports, except what attitude. Congress alone has power to decide may be absolutely necessary for executing its whether the present laws can or cannot be inspection laws;" and if they exceed this amended so as to carry out more effectually The same insuperable obstacles do not lie in

the way of executing the laws for the collec of Congress, lay any duty of tunnage; keep tion of the customs. The revenue still continues to be collected, as heretofore, at the Custom-House in Charleston; and should the collector unfortunately resign, a successor may be appointed to perform this duty.

Then in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina. This has been purchased for a fair equivalent. "by the consent of the Legislature of the State," "for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals," &c , and over these the authority "to exercise exclusive legislation" has been expressly granted by the Constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has orders to act strictly on the defensive. In such a contingency, the responsibility for consequences superaded to the obligations of the official duty | would rightfully rest upon the heads of the as-

Apart from the execution of the laws, so be received with favor by all the States of the Confer both of the United States and of the several has no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the Federal Government and South Carolina. He has been invested with no such discretion. He possesses no power to change the relations heretofore existing between them, much less to acknowledge the independence of that State. This would be to invest a mere Executive officer with the power of recognizing the dissolution of the Confederacy among our thirty-three sovereign States. It bears no resemblance to the recognition of a foreign defacto Government, involving no such responsibility. Any at-States in their sovereign character. This left tempt to do this would, on his part, be a naked usurpation. It is, therefore, my duty to submit to Congress the whole question in all its bearings. The course of events is so rapidly hastening forward, that the emergency may oon arise, when you may be called upon to decide the momentuous question whether you possess the power, by force of arms, to compel a State to remain in the Union. I should feel myself recreant to my duty were I not to ex-

press an opinion on this important subject. The question fairly stated is: Has the Constitution elegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into utmission which is attempting to withdraw, or has actually withdrawn, from the Confederacy? If answered a the affirmative, it must be on the principle that the ower has been conferred upon Congress to declare and nake war against a State. After much serious reflection, have arrived at the conclusion that no such move has have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to Congress, or to any other department of the Federal Government. It is manifest, upon an in-

been delegated to Congress, or to any other department of the Federal Government. It is manifest, upon an inspection of the Constitution, that this is not among the specific and enumerated powers granted to Congress; and it is equally apparent that its exercise is not "necessary and proper for carrying into execution" any one of these powers. So far from this power having been delegated to Congress, it was expressly refused by the Convention which framed the Constitution.

It appears from the proceedings of that body, that on the 31st May, 1787, the clause "authorizing an exertion of the force of the whole against a deli quent State," came up for consideration. Mr. Madison opposed it in a brief but powerful speech, from which I shall extract but a single sentence. He observed: "The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than infliction of punishment; and would probably be considered by the party attacked by dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound." Upon his motion, the clause was unanimously postponed, and was never. I believe, again presented. Soon afterward, the 5th Lora 1787, when invidentally adverting to his motion, the clause was unanimously postponed, and was never. I believe, again presented. Soon afterward, on the std June, 1787, when incidentally adverting to the subject, he said: "Any Government for the United States, formed on the supposed practicability of using force against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, would prove as visionary and fallacious as the Government of Congress." evidently meaning the then existing Congress of the old Confederation.

Without descending to particulars, it may be safely asserted that the power to make war gradust a State is at variance with the whole spirit and interest of the Constitution. Suppose such a war should result in the conquest of a State, now are we to govern it afterward?—Shall we hold it as a province, and govern it by despot-

nest of a State, how are we to govern it afterward?—
all we hold it as a province, and govern it by despotpower? In the nature of things we could not, by
sysical force, control the will of the people, and comit them to elect Senators and Representatives to Coness, and to perform all the other duties depending uptheir volition, and required from the free citizens of
free State, as a constituent member of the Confedera-

But, if we possessed this power, would it be wise to ereise it under existing cirsumstances? The object uld doubtless be to preserve the Union. War would tonly present the most effectual means of destroying would banish all hope of its peaceagle reconstruc-Besides, in the fraternal conflict, a vast amount of

Fut I may be permitted solemaly to invoke my counymen to purse and deliberate, before they determine destroy this, the grandest temple which has ever been dicated to human freedom since the world began? It is been conservated by the blood of our fathers, by the ories of the past, and by the kopes of the future. The

ment.
It is not every wrong—nay, not every grievous wrong

Officers, under the Lecompton Constitution. The life. Congress can contribute much to avert it by proposing and recommending to the Legislatures of the several States the remedy for existing evils, which the Constitution has itself provided for its preservation. This has been tried at different critical periods of our history, and always with eminent success. It is to be found in the 5th article providing for its own amendments.—

Under this article amendments have been proposed by two-thirds of both houses of Congress, and have been "ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States," and have consequently become parts of the Constitution. To this process the country is indebted for the clause probibiting Congress from passing any law respecting an establishment of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of petition. To this we are, also, indebted for the bill of Rights, which secures the people amint any abuse of power by the Federal Government. Such were the apprehensions justly entertained by the friends of State rights at that period as to have rendered it extremely doubtful whether the Constitution could have long survived without these amendments.

Again the Constitution was amended by the same

and determine the Question of fraad, and what have long survived without these amendments.

Again, the Constitution was amended by the same process after the election of President Jefferson by the House of Representatives, in February, 1803. This amendment was rendered necessary to prevent a recurrence of the dangers which had seriously threatened the existence of the Government during the pendency of that election. The Article for its amendment was intended to secure the amicable adjustment of conflicting constitutional question like the present, which might arise between the Governments of the States and that of the Uniton William of the Constitution and the Edward of the Constitution of the States. This appears from cotemporaraneous history. In this connection, I shall merely call attention to a few sentences in Mr. Madison's justly celebrated report in 1798, to the Legislature of Virginia. In this day and conclusively defended the resolutions of the last vestige of serious recently a under a notroious outlaw, in the southern porticular provides the election of fraud, and what be its consequences.

It would not comport with my present purport in 1798, to the Legislature of Virginia. In this connection, I shall merely call attention to a few sentences in Mr. Madison's justly celebrated report in 1798, to the Legislature of Virginia. In this part of the constitution and the resolution of the laws and the constitution of the law ably and conclusively defended the resolutions of the preceding Legislatures against the strictures or several or the Prizriory, to resist the execution of the laws and other State Legislatures. These were mainly founded upon the protest of the Virginia Legislature against the "Alien and Sedition Acts," as "paipable and alarming infractions of the Constitution." In pointing out the peaceful and constitutional remedies, and he referred to none other, to which the States were authorized to resort on such occasions, he concludes by saying, "that the Legislatures of the States might have made a direct representation to Congress with a view to obtain a reseinding of the two offensive acts, or they might have represented to their respective Senators in Congress their wish that two thirds thereof would propose an explanatory amendment to the Constitution, or two-thirds of them selves, if such had been their option, might, by an application to Congress, have obtained a convention for the same object.

This is the very course which I carnestly recommend in order to explain an "exemplary amendment" of the Constitution on the subject of Slavery. This might originate with Congress or the State Legislatures, as my be deemed most advisable to attain the object.

The explanatory amendment might be confined to the first condition of immediate submission to the Gonstitution of the

Territories throughout their territorial existence, and until they shall be admitted as States into the Union, with or without Slavery, as their constitutions may pre-

scribe.

3. A like recognition of the right of the master to have his slave, who has escaped from one State to another, restored and "delivered up" to him, and of the validity of the Fugitive Slave law enacted for this purpose, together with a declaration that all State laws impairing or defeating this right are violations of the Constitution, and are consequently null and void.

It may be objected that the construction of the Constitution has already been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, and what more cought to be required.

of the United States, and what more ought to be requir. of the United States, and what more ought to be required? The answer is, that a very large proportion of the
United States still contest the correctness of the decision, and never will cease from agitation and admit its
binding force until clearly established by the people of
the several States in their sovereign character. Such an
explanatory amendment would, it is believed, forever
terminate the existing dissensions and restore peace and
harmony among the States
It aught not to be domitted that such an appeal to the

It ought not to be doubted that such an appeal to the arbitrament established by the Constitution itself would penses rose to \$2,093,369 79, and for the

When I entered upon the duties of the Presidence with whom we were at peace. In addition with whom we were at peace. In addition to these other difficulties, we experienced a revulsion in mone affairs, soon after my advent to power, of unexam severity and of ruinous consequences to all the great terests of the country. When we take a retrospec what was then our condition, and contrast this will material prosperity at the time of the late Preside election, we have abundant reason to return our grae thanks to that merciful Providence which has never saken us as a nation in all our past tricks.

GREAT BRITAIN.

GREAT BRITATA.

Our relations with Great Britain are of the most friend
y character. Since the commencement of my adminigration, the two dangerous questions arising from the
Clayton and Bulwer Treaty, and from the right of searclaimed by the British Government, have been amicals
and honorably adjusted.

The discordant constructions of the Clayton and Beconstruction of the Clayton a

ferent periods of the discussion, bore a threaten pect, have resulted in final settlements entirely ory to this Government. In my last as since been fulfilled. Her Brittanic Majest, treaty with Honduras on the 25th Novembe with Nicaragua on the 25th August, 1860, the Mosquito Protectorate. Besides, by the Bay Islands are recognized as a part of the Honduras. It may be observed that the sthese treaties conform in every important the amendments adopted by the Senate of States to the tr. a y concleded at London on tober, 1856, between the two Governments. portant amendment of the Senate to the to Ruatan and the other islands in the Bay

The only question of any importance which a

be a most auspicious event. In its consequent haif to increase the kindred and kindly. I trust may ever actitate the government both countries in their political and social social countries. both countries in with each other.

At the period of my inauguration I was

righboring States.
The hostile parties in Kansas had been inflamed the other by emissaries both from the North

aflot-box is the surest arbiter of disputes a

may be deemed most advisable to attain the object.

The explana tory amendment might be configed to the final settlement of the true construction of the Constitution on three special points:

1. An express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where it now exists or may hereafter exist.

2. The duty of protecting this right in all the common Territories throughout their territorial existence, and Territories throughout their territorial existence, and the mill been withdrawn, except that portion of keep the Indianus in check, and to protecting the admitted as States into the Union, the common territories throughout their territorial existence, and the mill been withdrawn, except that portion of keep the Indianus in check, and to protecting the common territories throughout their territorial existence.

FINANCES.

In my first annual message I promised to best exertions, in cooperation with Congre-the expenditures of the Government within ble and energetic efforts of the head Executive Departments. The result of good cause did not appear in the sum ditures for the first two years, mainly ditures for the first two years, in the extraordinary expenditures the Utah expedition, and the ve contingent expenses of Congress These greatly exceeded the pay a bers. For the year ending 30th J