"WEARE ALL EQUAL BEFORE GOD AND THE CONSTITUTION."-James Buchanan.

McCollum & Gerritson, Proprietors.

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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Fellow-Citizens of the -Senate

and of the House of Representatives. The Constitution requires that the President shall, from time to time, not only recommend to the consideration of Congress, such measures as he may judge necessary and expedient, but also that he shall give infor- ble in foreign, complicated with civil and sermation to them of the state of the Union. To vile war; and that the first step in the atdo this fully involves exposition of all mat- tempt is the forcible disruption of a country ters in the actual condition of the country, domestic or foreign, which essentially con- erty, and an amount of individual and public cern the general welfare. While performing his constitutional duty in this respect, the President does not speak merely to express personal convictions, but as the executive minister of the government, enabled by his position, and called upon by his official obligations, to scan with an impartial eye the interests of the whole, and of every part of the

Of the condition of the domestic interests of the Union, its agriculture, mines, manufactures, navigation, and commerce, it is only necessary to say that the internal prosperity of the country, 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 of intelligent patriotism, which, notwithstanding 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, for another Constitutional term, the President. and Vice President of the United States.

The determination of the persons, who are of right, or contingently, to preside over the administration of the government, is, under Chief Magistrate.

And thus it is that as th sent the respective States of the Union, and unconstitutional action. the members of the House of Representatives sovereign authority of the Union.

sanctioned and announced.

tional equality of each and all of the citizens | the government of the United States. of the United States, as citizens, whatever greatness of the Republic. ..

ing in these United States mere geographical laries; of marshalling in hostile array- tocountry, North or South, East or West.

Schemes of this nature, fraught with incalculable mischief, and which the considerate tense of the people has rejected, could have had countenance in no part of the country, hal they not been disguised by suggestions hausible in appearance, acting upon an excitstate of the public mind, induced by caus e hoped transient in their influence.

and the States of which they are citizens, the a portion of the territory ceded by France to and of reciprocal obligation. only path to its accomplishment is through the United States, representatives in Congress burning cities and ravaged fields and slaugh- objected to the admission of the latter, unless tered populations, and all there is most terriembracing in its broad bosom a degree of libprosperity, to which there is no parallel in history, and substituting in its place hostile governments, driven at once and inevitably

rope and Asia. the Constitution and the laws of moral authority, and to undermine the fabric of the Union by, appeals to passion and sectional prejudices, by indoctrinating its people with reciprocal liatred, and by educating them to stand face to face as enemies, 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 condemnation of the domestic institutions of the Southern States, as at lengthsto pass insensibly to almost equally passionate hostility towards their fellow-citizens of those States, and thus finally to fall into temporary fellowship with the avowed and active enemies of the Constitution. Ardently attached to libour system, committed to the States and the ty in the abstract, they do not stop to considpeople. We appeal to them, by their voice er practically how the objects they would at | quired by the United States from Mexico. pronounced in the forms of law; to call tain can be accomplshed, nor to reflect that, But this proposition was successfully resisted whomsoever they will to the high post of even if the evil were as great as they deem it, by the representatives from the northern

A question, which is one of the most diffithe several constituencies of each State, so cult of all the problems of social institution, tive compromise, and, on the part of the North these baseless assumptions were made, in the in other sections of the Union. the President represents the aggregate popus political economy and statesmanship, they persistently violating the compact, if compact northern States, the ground of unceasing aslation of the United States. Their election of treat with unreasoning intemperance of the't him is the explicit and solemn act of the sole and language. Extremes beget extremes. Violent attack from the North finds its inev-It is impossible to misapprehend the great | itable consequence in the growth of a spirit | spects the North or the South; and so in effect | constitutionality, could have no influence to | suspension, of regular government. Aggres- of elections is liable to be impaired by the in- | prepared under the direction of the Secretary principles, which, by their recent political ac- of angry defiance at the South. Thus in the ion, the people of the United States have progress of events we had reached that consummation, which the voice of the people has They have asserted the constitutional equal- now so pointedly rebuked of the attempt of and Washington. iv of each and all of the States of the Union a portion of the States, by a sectional organas States; they have affirmed the constitution and movement, to usure the control of the time arrived for the organization of the lic domain thus opened to legal settlement, surrection against the constituted authorities that they will not remedy, in due season, any government, and requiring all such books and

the constitutional rights of the dif and the Union. They would, upon delibera- stitutional power to impose restrictions of tation as the Constitution and acts of Contrent sections of the Union; and they have tion, shrink with unaffected horror from any this character upon any present or future gress might prescribe, new States, hereafter proclaimed their devoted and unalterable at-conscious act of disunion or civil war. But State of the Union. In a long series of de- to be admitted into the Union. It was a free sachment to the Union and to the Constitu- they have entered into a path, which leads cisions, on the fullest argument, and after field, open alike to all, whether the statute tion, as objects of interest superior to all sub- nowhere, unless it be to civil war and disun- the most deliberate consideration, the Su- line of assumed restiction was repealed or jects of local or sectional controversy, as the lion, and which has no other possible outlet. preme Court of the United States had finally not. That repeal did not open to free comsaleguards of the rights of all, as the spirit They have proceeded thus in that direction determined this point, in every form under petition of the diverse opinions and domestic and the essence of the liberty, peace, and in consequence of the successive stages of their which the question could arise, whether as institutions a field, which, without such re-In doing this, they have at the same time, ondary issues, each of which professed to tions of the public domain, of religion, of it found that field of competition already emphatically condemned the idea of organiz- be confined within constitutional and navigation, and of servitude. peaceful limits, but which attempted indirectwanis each other the different parts of the that is, to act aggressively against the con- legislative power. Congress cannot change effect, and injurious in terms to a large porstitutional rights of nearly one-balf of the a law of domestic relation in the State of tion of the States.

thirty-one States. cipation in the southern States.

stemporary in their character, and it is to sisted of acts of the people of the northern peal it will be only to remove imperfection southern States possess relatively so much of general peace of the Union. The attempt of peaceful condition of Kansas affords oppor-Perfect liberty of association for political ernment, aimed to facilitate the escape of in the sense of permission or of prohibition, open to all the world, they will penetrate to erect a revolutionary government, though tion, either the legislative assembly of the the exclusion of the widest scope of discussion, persons held to service in the southern States, the action of the States, or of their citizens. | the exclusion of these of the northern States? | sedulously encouraged and supplied with Territory, or Congress, will see that no act are the received and ordinary conditions of and to prevent their extradition when re- Still, when the nominal restriction of this Is it the fact, that the former enjoy, comparcomment in our country. Our institutions, claimed according to law and in virtue of nature, already a dead letter in law, was in ed with the latter, such irresistibly superior framed in the spirit of confidence in the intelli- express provisions of the Constitution. To terms repealed by the last Congress, in a vitality, independent of climate, soil, and all gence and integrity of the people, do not for promote this object, legislative enactments clause of the act organizing the Territories other accidental circumstances, as to be able did citizens either individually or associated and other means were adopted to take away of Kansas and Nebraska, that repeal was to produce the supposed result, in spite of the pelled to leave it. Predatory bands, engaged other necessary steps to assure to its inhabiegether, to attack by writing, speech, or any or defeat rights, which the Constitution sol- made the occasion of wide-spread and dan- assumed moral and natural obstacles to its in acts of rapine, under cover of the existing tants the enjoyment, without obstruction or other methods short of physical force, the emply guarantied. In order to mulify the gerous agitation. constitution and the very existence of the then existing acts of Congress conderning the Under the shelter of this great liber- extradition of fugitives from service, laws ment being a compact of perpetual moral If and protected by the laws and usages of were enacted in many States, forbidding their obligation, its repeal constituted an odious enactment of new laws of restriction, and con- in peace to the pursuits of prosperous indus- laws of the Territory. the government they assail, associations have officers, under the severest penalties, to parbeen formed, in some of the States, of ticipate in any act of Congress whatever. belividuals, who, pretending to seek only to In this way that system of harmonious cobest the spread of the institution of slav- operation between the authorities of the Uni- ally valid in the judgment of those public power of their own, and will go nowhere AT into the present or future inchoate States ted States and of the States, for the maintethe Union, are really inflamed with the de- nance of their common institutions which to change the domestic institutions of ex- existed in the early years of the Republic, was destroyed; connicts of jurisdiption came in question was invested themselves what institutions will best suit the employment of a part of the military themselves to the odious task of depreciating compelled, for the support of the Constitution, with perpetuity and entitled to the respect them; if it be not strained up to perpetual force of the United States. The withdrawal the government organization which stands in and the vindication of its power to author. of a solemn compact! Between whom was legislative exertion on this point; if Congress of that force from its proper duty of defend-

their way, and of calumniating, with indisting the appointment of new officers, charged the compact? No distinct contending pow-proceeds thus to act in the very spirit of lib-ling the country against foreign foes or the committate invective, not only the citizens of with the execution of its acts, as if they and era of the government, no separate sections erty, it is at once charged with aiming to savages of the frontier, to employ it for the sixty-four million dollars, and from all sources, particular States, with whose laws they find the officers of the States were the ministers, of the Union, treating as such, entered into extend slave labor into all the new Territo-suppression of domestic insurrection, is, when fall, but all others of their fellow-citizens respectively, of foreign governments in a treaty stipulations on the subject. It was a ries of the United States. divingment the country, who do not particis state of mutual hostility, rather than fellow mere clause of an act of Congress, and like Of course, these imputations on the inten-Constitute them, in their assaults upon the magistrates of a common country peacefully any other controverted matter of legislation, tions of Congress in this respect, conceived as perative necessity it has been done with the lat of July, 1846, made the total resources of little and the capacity of th Constitution framed and adopted by our fath- subsisting under the protection of one well- received its final shape and was passed by they were in prejudice, and disseminated in best results, and my satisfaction in the attain- the year to amount to ninety-two million its ships. In all these various qualities the and claiming for the privileges it has se- constituted Union. Thus here, also, agres- compromise of the conflicting opinions or passion, are utterly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly eight hundred and fifty thousand one hundred that the last the first such means in greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly eight hundred and fifty thousand one hundred that the last such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destitute of any justifica- ment of such results by such means is greatly destituted under the such results by such means is greatly destituted under the such results by such means is greatly destituted under the such results by such means is greatly destituted under the such results by such means is greatly destitute the blessings it has conferred, the sion was followed by reflection; and the at- sentiments of the members of Congress. But if tion in the nature of things, and contrary to enhanced by the consideration, that through and seventeen dollars. The expenditures, in-

with conditions suited to particular views of public policy. The imposition of such a consame period, the question was presented of territory ceded by France. That question

of a geographical line of limitation.

In this connection it should not be forgotinto mutual devastation & fratricidal carnage. ten that France, of her own accord, resolved, transforming the now peaceful and felicitous for considerations of the most far-sighted saprotherhood into a vast permanent camp of gacity, to cede Louisiana to the United States, armed men, like the rival monarchies of Euthe latter expressly engaged that, "the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be in-Well knowing that such and such only, are corporated in the Union of the United States, the means and the consequences of their plans and admitted as soon as possible, according and purposes, they endeavor to prepare the to the principles of the Federal Constitution people of the United States for civil war by to the enjoyment of the rights, advantages, doing every thing in their power to deprive and immunities of citizens of the United In the present instance, a political enactment geographical line, had been repealed, the States; and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess"—that is to sav, whilst they remain in a territorial condition, its inhabitants are maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, with a right then to pass into the condition

the original States.

The enactment, which established the restrictive geographical line, was acquiesced in rather than approved by the States of the Union. It stood on the statute book, however, 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 acquiesce in its further application to the territory ac-

there was.

I confidently believe that the great body progress of constitutional inquiry and reflect Union alike, each with his convictions of persons in each of the great sections of the them to have ceased to be capable of self-gov turned over by the out-going officer to his their religion, wherever their birth, or their of those who inconsiderately took this fatal tion, it had now at length come to be seen public policy and private interests, there to residence: they have maintained the inviolation step, are sincerely attached to the Constitution clearly that Congress does not possess con- found in their discretion, subject to such limit have been extravagantly exaggerated for pur has not power to interpose in elections, to see cers to deposit all public money in the vaults progress having consisted of a series of sec- affecting public or private rights, in ques- peal, would have been closed against them:

It was slieged that the original enact- population of the northern States? breach of faith.

they would promote, is beyond their lawful mission of new States into the Union. When And if, as it thus appears, the supposed com- condition of people in the southern States, authority; that to them it is a foreign ob- it was proposed to admit the State of Maine, pact had no obligatory force as to the North, but on the contrary have disavowed all ject; that it cannot be effected by any peace- by separation of territory from that of Mas- of course it could not have had any as to the such intentions, and have shrunk from conful instrumentality of theirs; that for them, sachusetts, and the State of Missouri, formed of South, for all such compacts must be mutual spicuous affiliation with those few who pur-

law-givers, with undue estimation of the value | change of the government, and with acceptof the law they give, or in view of imparting ance of the necessary consequences-a civil dition was successfully resisted. But, at the terms; but they cannot thus bind the conscience, the judgment, and the will of those imposing restrictions upon the residue of the who may succeed them, invested with equal authority. More careful investigation may was for the time, disposed of by the adoption detail and impracticable in execution. And then both reason and right combine not merely to justify, but to require its repeal.

the departments of the government, legislative, executive, and judicial, is open to amendment by its very terms; and Congress or the States may, in their discretion, propose amond of States on a forting of perfect equality with | tion and quality as compromise acts—nay by the voice of a patriotic people. more, who unequivocally disregarded and condemned the most positive and obligatory sought, by every means within their reach, to vileges guarantied alike totall by the funda-

mental compact of our Union. on applying a restriction to the new | tending the limits of slave-labor beyond those sault upon constitutional right.

binding virtue in any sense, whether as re- was already obsolete, and also null for un-

ization of the Territories of New Mexico. Utah. tion. When the act organizing the Territo- and the south, and entered it by way of Iowa, lence or by fraud. But the people of the of that department, more especially the enact-Such was the state of this question, when inherent effect upon that portion of the pub- and there has existed within it a state of in- guardians of their own rights, and to suppose official books or papers, from the files of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. In the was to admit settlers from all the States of the not without countenance from inconsiderate such incidents of civil freedom, is to suppose papers and all other public property to be opened in fact and in law. All the repeal The several States of the Union are, by did was to relieve the statute book of an ly what few men were willin to do directly, force of the Constitution, co equal in domestic objectionable enactment, unconstitutional in

monument of error, and a beacon of warning preference to free labor! Is it the fact, that as the circumstances required, and nothing means for the redress of wrong. The second step in this path off evil con- to the legislator and the statesmen. To re- the peculiar domestic institutions of the of this character now remains to affect the I confidently trust that now, when the States, and in several instances of their gov- from the statutes, without affecting, either vigor, that, wheresoever an avenue is freely a part of the inhabitants of the Territory to tunity for calm reflection and wise legisla-

demn the repeal of old ones, in effect avers try, for the prosecution of which he undertook An act of Congress, while it remains un- that their particular views of government to participate in the settlement of the Ter- events in this Territory will be found in the repealed, more especially if it be constitution- have no self-extending or self-sustaining ritory. functionaries whose duty it is to pronounce unless forced by act of Congress. And if to announce the peaceful condition of on that point, is undoubtedly binding on the Congress do but pause for a moment in the things in Kansas, especially considering the conscience of each good citizen of the Re- policy of stern coercion; if it venture to try means to which it was necessary to have rewas destroyed; conflicts of jurisdiction came public. But in what sense can it be asserted the experiment of leaving men to judge for course for the attainment of the end, namely,

sue their fanatical objects avowedly through and the discussions of which the government and seventy-six thousand three hundred and It has not unfrequently happened that the contemplated means of revolutionary of the Territory has been the subject. to it peculiar strength, make it perpetual in and servile war-yet many citizens have suffered themselves to be drawn into one evanescent political issue of agitation after acother, appertaining to the same set of opinions, and which subsided as rapidly as visions of their organic law were the cause of the debt of Texas-making a total of seventyprove the law to be unsound in principle. they arose when it came to be seen, as it agitation. Those provisions were but the oc- one million eight hundred and seventy-nine Experience may show it to be imperfect in did, that they were incompatible with the casion, or the pretext of an agitation, which thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven dolcompacts of the Constitution and the existence of the Union. Thus, when the acts of some of the States to nulify the existing ex-The Constitution, supreme as it is over all tradition law imposed upon Congress the duty of passing a new one, the country was invited by agitators to enter into party organization

for its repeal; but the agitation speedily ceased by reason of the impracticability of ble right of equality of the several States. ments to it, solemn compact though it in truth its object. So, when the statute restriction is between the sovereign States of the Union. upon the institutions of new States, by a and party passions, have been the great imwhich had ceased to have legal power or country was urged to demand its restoration, authority of any kind, was repealed. The and that project also died almost with its moral right to enact such repeal, was strange | the north, against imputed southern encroachenough, and singularly so in view of the fact ments; which cry sprang in reality from the openly refused obedience to existing laws of institutions of the south, and, after a troubled the land, having the same popular designa- existence of a few months, has been rebuked

Of this last agitation, one lamentable feature was, that it was carried on at the immeinjunction of the Constitution itself, and diate expense of the peace of the people of Kansas. That was made the battleanother of congenial character, and equally that Congress, which enacted the law for the laws place in the hands of the Executive. with the former destitute of foundation in organization of that Territory. And when reason and truth. It was imputed that the propagandist colonization of Kansas had thus reason of the inflamed state of the public mind, they have no remedy to apply, and that it States, who, regardless of the statute line, measure originated in the conception of ex- been undertaken in one section of the Union, false rumors and misrepresentations have the manner of effecting it, are questions of great for the systematic promotion of its peculiar territory generally, whether lying north or previously assigned to it, and that such was views of policy, there ensued, as a matter of was the duty of the Executive not only to dustrial enterprise and the public prosperity, south of it, thereby repealing it as a legisla- its natural as well as its intended effect; and course, a counter-action with opposite views, suppress insurrectionary movements in Kan- as well as the dictate of obvious justices that

> of all good citizens, but without being re- the United States. garded as of general or permanent political

Bodies of armed men, foreign to the Terntory, sive of the great objects for which that was have been prevented from entering or com ordained and established, and will take all accomplishment, and of the more numerous political disturbances, have been arrested or abridgement, of all the constitutional rights, dispersed. And every well disposed person privileges and immunities of citizens of the The argument of those, who advocate the is now enabled once more to devote himself | United States, as contemplated by the organic

It affords me unmingled satisfaction thus

in that Territory furnishes the means of ob- thousand seven hundred and nine-two dolserving calmly, and appreciating at their just lars, the payment on this account having value, the events which have occurred there amounted to twelve million seven handred

We perceive that controversy concerning ts future domestic institutions was inevitable that no human prudence, no form of legislation, no wisdom on the part of Congress, hundred and thirty-teven dollars. There could have prevented this.

was inherent in the nature of things. Con- lare. Of this the sum of forty-five million gress legislated upon the subject in such terms live hundred and twenty-five thousand three as were more consonant with the principle of hundred and nineteen dollars, including prepopular sovereignty which underlies our government. It could not have legislated otherwise without doing violence to another great principle of our institutions, the imprescripti-

We perceive, also, that sectional interests

pediment to the salutary operation of the organic principles adopted, and the chief cause of the successive disturbances in Kansas.position assumed, that Congress had no birth. Then followed the cry of alarm from The assumption that, because in the organization of the Territories of Nebraska and Kan sas, Congress abstained from imposing re- debt and ten millions paid by treaty to Mexthat the argument came from those who spirit of revolutionary attack on the domestic straints upon them to which certain other Ter ico, has been but about forty-eight million ritories had been subject, therefore disorders dollars. It is believed that under an economoccurred in the latter Territory, is emphaticical administration of the government, the cally contradicted by the fact that none have average expenditure for the ensuing five years occurred in the former. Those disorders will not exceed that sum, unless extraordinawere not the consequence, in Kansas, of the ry occasion for its increase should occur. freedom of self government conceded to that The acts grapting bounty lands will soon have Territory by Congress, but of unjust interferdeprive a portion of their fellow citizens of field, not so much of opposing factions or ence on the part of persons not inhabitants of ties settlements will cause a continued dethe equal enjoyment of those rights and pri- interests within itself, as of the conflicting the Territory. Such interference, wherever mand for lands and augmented receipts probpassions of the whole people of the United it has exhibited itself, by acts of insurrection- ably, from that source. These considerations States. Revolutionary disorder in Kansas ary character, or of obstruction to processes will justify a reduction of the revenue from This argument against the repeal of the had its origin in projects of intervention, de- of law, have been repelled or suppressed, by customs, so as not to exceed forty-eight or statute line in question, was accompanied by liberately arranged by certain members of all the means which the Constitution and the fifty million dollars, I think the exigency In those parts of the United States where, by

dents, many acts of disorder it is undeniable, that the President has no such power. All sections and interests of the country. Thereupon this enactment ceased to have The repeal in terms of a statute, which have been perpetrated in Kansas, to the occa- government in the United States rests substan passes before us in single cities to the regret | violation of the dearest rights of the people of

elections, are, in periods of great excitement. Imputed irregularities in the elections had the occasional incidents of even the freest and in Kansas, like occasional irregularities of the | best political institutions. But all experience same description in the States, were beyond demonstrates that in a country like ours. Maine; no more can it in the State of Mis- Is it the fact, that, in all the unsettled re- the sphere of action of the Executive. But | where right of self-constitution exists in the In the long series of acts of indirect aggres- souri. Any statute which proposes to do gions of the United States, if emigration be incidents of actual violence or of organized completest form, the attempt to remedy unsion, the first was the strenuous agreation, by this is a mere nulity; it takes away no right, left free to act in this respect for itself, with obstruction of law, pertinaciously renewed wise legislation by resort to revolution, is tocitizens of the northern States, in Congress it confers none. If it remains on the staute- out legal prohibitions on either side, slave- from time to time, have been met as they oc tally out of piace; inasmuch as existing legal and out of it, of the question of negro eman- book unrepealed, it remains there only as a labor will spontaneously go everywhere, in cured, by such means as were available and institutions afford more prompt and efficacious the same time threatened the devastation of

necuniary aid from active agents of disorder shall remain on its statute book violative of in some of the States, has completely failed the provisions of the Constitution, or subver-

Fuli information in relation to recent documents communicated herewith from the Department of State and War.

I refer to the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for particular information concerning the financial condition of the gov ernment, and the various branches of the public service connected with the Treasury De-

partment. During the last fiscal year the receipts from customs were, for the first time, more than seventy-three million nine hundred and eigh the exigency occurs, a matter of the most teen thousand one hundred and forty-one dolearnest solicitude. On this occasion of im- lars; which, with the balance on hand up to the seafy support and grateful reverence of their tacks upon the Constitution at this point did know to be a revolutionary one.

They are perfectly aware that the change in the relative condition of the white and back races in the slaveholding States, which

The restoration of comparative tranquility two million nine hundred and forty-eight ninety dollars.

On the 4th of March, 1853, the amount of the public debt was sixty-nine million one hundred and twenty-nine thousand nine was a subsequent increase of two million It is idle to suppose that the particular pro seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars for mium, has been discharged, reducing the lebt to thirty million seven hundred and thirty seven thousand one hundred and twenty-nine dollars; all of which might be paid within a year without embarrassing the public service, but being not yet due, and only redeemable at the option of the holder, cannot be pressed to payment by the govern-

On examining the expenditures of the last five years, it will be seen that the average, deducting payments on account of the public been executed, while the extension of our fronfor such reduction is imperative, and again urge it upon the consideration of Congress.

The amount of reduction, as well as the sas, but also to see to the regularity of local the burden of taxation be made to rest as In consequence of these and other inci- elections. It needs little argument to show equally as possible upon all classes, and all

I have heretofore recommended to your sional interruption, rather than the permanent tially upon popular election. The freedom consideration the revision of the revenue laws. it was treated on the occasion of the admis- obstruct or to promote the propagation of sive and most reprehensible incursions into the trusion of unlawful votes, or the exclusion of of the Treasury, and also legislation upon sion of the State of California, and the organ- conflicting views of political or social institu- Territory were undertaken, both in the north lawful ones, by improper influences, by views some special questions affecting the business ries of Kansas and Nebraska was passed, the as well as on the eastern by way of Missouri; United States are themselves the all-sufficient ment of a law to furnish the abstraction of Union. But the difficulties in that Territory ernment. The President of the United States | successor; of a law requiring disbursing offiposes of political agitation elsewhere. The to their freedom, to canvass their votes, or to of the treasury or in other legal depositories, number and gravity of the acts of violence have | pass upon their legality in the Territories any | where the same are conveniently accessible; been magnified partly by the statements entire- more than in the States. If he had such and a law to extend existing penal provisions ly untrue, and partly by reiterated accounts of power the government might be republican to all persons who may become possessed of the same rumors or facts. Thus the territory in form, but it would be a monarchy in fact, public money by deposite or otherwise, and has seemingly been filled with extreme vio- and if he had undertaken to exercise it in the who shall refuse or neglect, on due demand. ence, when the whole amount of such acts case of Kansas, he would have been justly to pay the same into the treasury. I invite has not been greater than what occasionally subject to the charge of usurpation, and of your attention anew to each of these objects.

The army during the past year has been so constantly employed against hostile Indiana Unwise laws, equally with irregularities at | in various quarters, that it can scarcely be said, with propriety of language, to have been a peace establishment. Its duties have been satisfactorily performed, and we have respon to expect, as a result of the year's operations greater security to the frontier inhabitants than has been hitherto enjoyed. Extensive combinations among the hostile Indians of the Territories of Washington and Oregon at the newly-formed settlements of that remote portion of the country. From recent information, we are permitted to hope that the energetic and successful operations conducted there will prevent such combinations in future, and secure to those Territories an opportunity to make steady progress in the development of their agricultural and mineral

Legislation has been recommended by me on previous occasions to cure defects in the existing organization, and to increase the efficiency of the army, and further observation has served to confirm me in the views then expressed, and to enforce on my mind the conviction that such measures are not only proper but necessary.

I have, in addition, to invite the attention of Congress to a change of policy in the distribution of troops, and to the necessity of providing a more rapid increase of military armament. For details of these and other subjects relating to the army, I refer to the

report of the Secretary of War." The condition of the navy is not merely satisfactory, but exhibits the most gratifying evidences of increased vigor. As it is comparatively small, it is more important that it should be as complete as possible in all the elements of strength; that it should be officient in the character, of its officers, in the zeal and discipline of its men, in the relin-