Pittsburgh Gazette.

PITTSBURGH:

THURSDAY MORNING, DEC. 29, 1859.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Our deep and heartfelt gratitude is due to that Almighty power which has bestowed upon us such varied and numerous blessings throughout the past year. The general health of the country has been excellent, our harvests have been unusually plentiful, and prosperity smiles throughout the land. Indeed, notwithstanding our demerits, we have much reason to believe, from the past events in our history, that we have enjoyed the special protection of Divine Providence. Ever since our origin as a nation, we have been exposed to many threatening and alarming difficulties in our progress, but on each successive occasion the impending cloud has been dissipated at the moment it appeared ready to burst upon our heads, and the danger to our institutions has passed away. May we ever be under the Divine guidance and protection.

Whilst it is the duty of the President from time to time to give Congress information of the state of the Union, I will not refer in detail to the recent and and bloody occurence at Harper's Ferry. Still it is proper to observe that these events, however bad and cruel in themselves, derive their chief importance from the apprehension that they are but symptoms of an incurable disease in the public mind, which may break out in still more dangerous outrages, and terminate at last in an open war by the North to abolish slavery in the South.

Whilst for myself, I entertain no such apprehensions, they ought to afford a solemn warning to us all to beware of the approaching danger. Our union is a stake of such inestimable value as to demand our constant and watchful vigilance for its preservation.

In this view let me implore my countrymen, north and south, to cultivate the ancient feelings of natural forbearance and good will towards each other, and strive to allay the demon spirit of sectional hatred and strife now alive in the land. This advice proceeds from the heart of an old public functionary, whose service commenced in the last generation, among the wise and conservative statesmen of that day, now nearly all passed away, and whose first and dearest earthly wish is to leave his country tranquil, prosperous, united and powerful.

We ought to reflect that in this age, and especially in this country, there is an incessant flux and reflux of public opinion. Questions which in their day assumed a most threatening aspect have now nearly gone from the memory of men. They are volcanoes burnt out, and on the lava and ashes and squalid ecorice of old eruptions grow the peaceful olive, the cheering vine and the sustaining corn. Such, in my opinion, will prove to be the fate of the present sectional excitement, should those who wisely seek to apply the remedy continue always to confine their efforts within the pale of the constitution. If this course be pursued, the existing agitation on the subject of domestic slavery, like everything human, will have its day, and give place to other and less threatening controversies. Public opinion in this country is all-powerful, and when it reaches a dangerous excess upon any question, the good sense of the people will furnish the corrective, and bring it back within safe limits.

Still to hasten this auspicious result at the present crisis, we ought to remember that every rational creature must be presumed to intend the natural consequences of his own teachings. Those who announce abstract doctrines, subversive of the Constitution and the Union, must not be surprised should their heated partisans advance one step further and attempt by violence to carry these doctrines into practical effect. In this view of the subject it ought never to be forgotten that however great may have been the political advantages resulting from the union to every portion of our common country, these would all prove to be as nothing, should the time ever arrive when they cannot be enjoyed without serious danger to the personal safety of the people of fifteen members of the Confederacy.

If the peace of the domestic fireside throughout these States should ever be invaded, if the brothers of families, within this extensive region should not be able to retire to rest at night without sad and dreadful apprehensions of what may be their own fate and that of their children before the morning, it would be vain to recount to such a people the political benefits which result to them from the Union. Self preservation is the first instinct of nature, and therefore any state of society in which the sword is all the time suspended over the heads of the people, must at last become intolerable. But I indulge in no such gloomy forebodings; on the contrary, I firmly believe that the events at Harper's Ferry, by causing the people to pause and reflect upon the possible peril to their cherished institutions, will be the means, under Providence, of allaying the existing excitement and preventing future outbreaks of a similar character. They will resolve that their institution, the Union, shall not be endangered by rash counsels, knowing that should the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl broken at the fountain, human power could never reunite the scattered and hostile fragments.

I cordially congratulate you upon the final settlement, by the Supreme Court of the United States, of the question of slavery in the Territories, which had presented an aspect so truly formidable at the commencement of my administration. The right has been established of every citizen to take his property of any kind, including slaves, into the common Territories, belonging equally to all the States of the Confederacy, and to have it protected there under the Federal Constitution. Neither Congress, nor a Territorial Legislature, nor any human power, has any authority to annul or impair this vested right. The supreme judicial tribunal of the country, which is a co-ordinate branch of the government, has sanctioned and affirmed these principles of constitutional law, so manifestly just in themselves, and so well calculated to promote peace and harmony among the States. It is a striking proof of the sense of justice which is inherent in our people, that the property in slaves has never been disturbed to my knowledge in any of the Territories. Even throughout the late troubles in Kansas, there has not been any attempt, as I am credibly informed, to interfere, in a single instance, with the right of the master. Had any such attempt been made, the judiciary would doubtless have afforded an adequate remedy. Should they fail to do this hereafter, it will then be time enough to strengthen their hands by farther legislation. Had it been decided that either Congress or the Territorial Legislature possesses the power to annul or impair the right of property in slaves, the evil would have been intolerable. In the latter event there would be a struggle for a majority of the members of the legislature at each successive election, and the sacred rights of property held under the federal constitution would depend, for the time being, on the result. The agitation would thus be rendered incessant, whilst the territorial condition remained, and its baneful influence would keep alive a dangerous excitement among the people of the several States.

Thus has the status of a Territory during the intermediate period, from its first settlement until it shall become a State, been irrevocably fixed by the final decision of the Supreme Court. Fortunate has this been for the prosperity of the Territories, as well as the tranquility of the States.

Now, emigrants from the North and the South, the East and the West, will meet in the Territories on a common platform, having brought with them that species of property best adapted, in their own opinion, to promote their welfare. From natural causes the slavery question will in each case soon virtually settle itself, and before the Territory is prepared for admission as a State into this Union, this decision, one way or the other, will have been a foregone conclusion. Meanwhile, the settlement of the new Territory will proceed without serious interruption, and its progress and prosperity will not be endangered or retarded by violent political struggles.

When, in the progress of events, the inhabitants of any territory shall have reached the number requisite to form a State, they will then proceed in a regular manner, and in the exercise of the rights of popular sovereignty, to form a constitution preparatory to admission into the Union. After this has been done, to employ the language of the Kansas Nebraska Act, "they shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission." This sound principle has happily been recognized in some form or other by an almost unanimous vote of both houses of the last Congress.

All lawful means at my command have been employed and shall continue to be employed to execute the laws against the African Slave-trade. After a careful and rigorous examination of our coasts, and a thorough investigation of the subject, we have not been able to discover that any slaves have been imported into the United States, except the cargo by the Wanderer, numbering between three and four hundred. Those engaged in this unlawful enterprise have been rigorously prosecuted, but not with as much success as their crimes have deserved. A number of them are still under prosecution.

Our history proves that the fathers of the republic, in advance of all other nations, condemned the African slave trade. It was, notwithstanding, deemed expedient by the framers of the Constitution, to deprive Congress of the power to prohibit the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, prior to the year 1808.

It will be seen that this restriction on the power of Congress was confined to such States only as might think proper to admit the importation of slaves. It did not extend to other States, or to the trade carried on abroad. Accordingly, we find that so early as the 22d March, 1794, Congress passed an act imposing severe penalties and punishment upon citizens and residents of the United States who should engage in this trade with foreign nations. The provisions of this act were extended and enforced by the act of 10th May, 1800.

Again, the States themselves had a clear right to waive the Constitutional privilege intended for their benefit, and to prohibit, by their own laws, this trade at any time they thought proper, previous to 1808. Several of them exercised the right before that period, and among them some containing the greatest number of slaves. This gave to Congress the immediate power to act in regard to all such States, because they themselves had removed the constitutional barrier. Congress accordingly passed an act, on 20th February, 1803, to prevent the importation of certain persons into certain States, where, by the laws thereof, their admission is prohibited. In this manner the importation of African slaves into the United States was, to a great extent, prohibited some years in advance of 1808.

As the year 1808 approached, Congress determined not to suffer this trade to exist even for a single day after they had the power to abolish it. On the 2d of March, 1807, they passed an act to take effect from and after the first day of January, 1808, prohibiting the importation of African slaves into the United States. This was followed by subsequent acts of a similar character, to which I need not specially refer. Such were the principles and such the practice of our ancestors, more than fifty years ago, in regard to the African slave trade.

It did not occur to the several patriots who had been delegates to the convention, and afterward came members of Congress, that in passing these laws they had violated the Constitution, which they had formed with so much care and deliberation; they supposed that to prohibit Congress, in express terms, from exercising a specified power before an appointed day, involved the right to exercise this power after that day had arrived.

If this were not the case, the framers of the Constitution had expended much labor in vain; had they imagined that Congress would possess power to prohibit the trade, either before or after 1808, they would not have taken so much care to protect the States against the office of this power before that period; they would not have attached such importance to this provision as to have excluded it from the possibility of future appeal or amendment, to which other portions of the Constitution were exposed. It would then have been wholly unnecessary to engraft on the fifth article of the Constitution, prescribing the mode of its own future amendment, the proviso that "no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall, in any manner affect the provision in the Constitution securing to the States the right to admit the importation of African slaves previous to that period."

According to the adverse construction, the clause, on which so much care and discussion had been employed by the members of the Convention, was an absolute nullity from the beginning, and all that has since been done under it a mere usurpation. It was well and wise to confer this power on Congress; because, with it, each of the States, its efficient exercise would have been impossible. In that event, any State could have effectually continued the trade, not only for itself, but for all the other slave States, though never so much against their will, and why? Because African slaves, when once brought within the limits of any one State, in accordance with its laws, cannot practically be excluded from any other State where slavery exists. And even if all the States had separately passed laws prohibiting the importation of slaves, these laws would have failed of effect for want of a naval force to capture the slavers and to guard the coasts. Such a force no State can employ in time of peace without the consent of Congress.

These acts of Congress, it is believed, have, with very rare and insignificant exceptions, accomplished their purpose; for a period of more than half a century there has been no previous addition to the number of our domestic slaves; during this period their advancement in civil associations far surpassed that of any other portion of the African race; the light and the blessings of Christianity have been extended to them, and both their moral and physical condition has been greatly improved. Re-open the trade, and it would be difficult to determine whether the effect would be more deleterious to the interests of the master or to those of the unfortunate slaves—of the events to the master the one most to be dreaded would be the introduction of wild heathen and ignorant barbarians among the sober, orderly and quiet slaves, whose ancestors have been on the soil for several generations; this might tend to barbarize, demoralize and exasperate the whole mass, and produce most deplorable consequences.

The effect upon the existing slaves would, if possible, be still more deplorable. At present he is treated with kindness and humanity; he is well fed, well clothed and not overworked. His condition is incomparably better than that of the bodies which modern nations of high civilization have employed as a substitute for African slaves; both the philanthropy and the self interest of the master have combined to produce this humane result. But let this trade be re-opened, and what will the effect be—the same, to a considerable extent, as on a neighboring island, the only spot now on earth where the African slave trade is openly tolerated, and this in defiance of solemn treaties, with a power abundantly able at any moment to enforce their execution. There the master, intent upon present gain, exacts from the slave as much labor as his physical powers are capable of enduring, knowing that when Death comes to his relief his place can be supplied at a price reduced to the lowest point of competition by rival African slave traders. Should this ever be the case in our country, which I do not deem possible, the present unfavorable character of the domestic institution wherein those on old and too young to work are provided for with care and humanity; and those capable of labor are not overworked, would undergo an unfortunate change. The feeling of mutual dependence and attachment, which now exists between master and slave, would be converted into mutual distrust and hostility.

But we are obliged as a Christian and moral nation to consider what would be the effect upon unhappy Africa itself, if we should re-open the slave trade. This would give the trade an impulse and extension which it has never had, even in its palmiest days. The numerous victims required to supply it would convert the whole slave coast into a perfect pandemonium, for which this country would be held responsible in the eyes both of God and man. The wars which would then be constantly engaged in predatory wars against each other, for the purpose of seizing slaves to supply the American market. All hopes of African civilization would then be ended. On the other hand, when a market for slaves shall no longer be furnished in Cuba, and thus all the world closed against this trade, we may then indulge a reasonable hope for the gradual improvement of Africa. The chief motive which among the tribes will cease whenever there is no longer any demand for slaves. The resources of that fertile but miserable country might then be developed by the hand of industry, and afford subjects for legitimate foreign and domestic commerce. In this manner Christianity and civilization may gradually penetrate the existing gloom.

The wisdom of the course pursued by this government towards China has been vindicated by the event. While we sustained a neutral position in the war waged by Great Britain and France, against the Chinese Empire, our late Minister in obedience to his instructions, judiciously co-operated with the ministers of these powers in all peaceful measures to secure by treaty the just concessions demanded by the interests of foreign commerce. The result is that satisfactory treaties have been concluded with China by the respective ministers of the United States, Great Britain, France and Russia. Our treaty or general convention of peace, amity and commerce with that empire, was concluded at Tientsin on the 18th of June, 1858, and was ratified by the President, by, and with the advice of the Senate, on the 16th December, 1858. John E. Ward, a distinguished citizen of Georgia, was duly commissioned as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to China. He left the United States for the place of his destination on the 5th of February, 1859, bearing with him the ratified copy of this treaty, and arrived at Shanghai on the 28th of May; from thence he proceeded to Pekin on the 16th of June, but did not arrive in that city until the 27th of July. According to the terms of the treaty, the ratifications were so be exchanged on or before the 18th of January, 1859. This was rendered impossible, by reasons and events beyond his control, not necessary to detail, but still it is due to the Chinese authorities at Shanghai to state that they always assured him no advantage should be taken of the delay, and this pledge has been faithfully redeemed. On the arrival of Mr. Ward at Pekin, he requested an audience of the Emperor, to present his letters of credence. This he did not obtain, in consequence of his very proper refusal to submit to the humiliating ceremonies required by the etiquette of this strange people, in approaching their sovereign. Nevertheless, the interviews on this question were conducted in the most friendly spirit, and with all due regard to his personal feelings and the honor of his country. When a representation to his Majesty was found to be impossible, the letter of credence from the President was received with peculiar honors, by Kiveiliang, the Emperor's Prime Minister, and the second man in the Empire to the Emperor himself. The ratifications of the treaty were afterwards, on the 16th of August, exchanged in proper form at Pei Tsang. As the exchange did not take place until after the day prescribed by the treaty, it is deemed proper, before its publication, again to submit it to the Senate.

It is but simple justice to the Chinese authorities to observe that throughout the whole transaction they appear to have acted in good faith, and in a friendly spirit towards the United States. It is true this has been done after their own peculiar fashion, but we ought to regard with a lenient eye the ancient customs of an empire dating back thousands of years, so far as this may be consistent with our own national honor. The conduct of our minister on the occasion has received my entire approbation. In order to carry out the spirit of this treaty, and to give it full effect, it became necessary to conclude two supplemental conventions, the one for the adjustment and satisfaction of the claims of our citizens, and the other to fix the tariff on imports and exports, and to regulate transit dues and the trade of our merchants with China. The duty was satisfactorily performed by our late minister.

These conventions bear date at Shanghai, on the 8th of November, 1858. Having been considered, in the light of binding agreements, subsidiary to the principal treaty and to be carried into execution without delay, they do not provide for any formal ratification or exchange of ratifications by the contracting parties. This was not deemed necessary by the Chinese, who are already proceeding in good faith to satisfy the claims of our citizens, and it is hoped to carry out the other provisions of the conventions. Still, I thought it was proper to submit them to the Senate by which they were ratified, on the 3d of March, 1858. The ratified copies, however, did not reach Shanghai until after the departure of our minister to Pekin, and these conventions could not, therefore, be exchanged at the same time with the principal treaty. No doubt is entertained that they will be ratified and exchanged by the Chinese government, should this be thought advisable; but under the circumstances presented, I shall consider them binding engagements from their date, on both parties, and cause them to be published as such for the information and guidance of our merchants trading with the Chinese empire.

It affords me much satisfaction to inform you that all our difficulties with the republic of Paraguay have been satisfactorily adjusted. It happily did not become necessary to employ the force for this purpose which Congress had placed at my command, under their joint resolution of 2d June, 1858. On the contrary, the President of that Republic in a friendly spirit acceded promptly to the just and reasonable demands of the Government of the United States. Our commissioner arrived at Assumption, the capital of the republic, on the 25th of January, 1859, and left it on the 17th of February, having in three weeks ably and successfully accomplished all the objects of his mission. The treaties which he concluded will be immediately submitted to the Senate. In the view that the employment of other than peaceful means might become necessary to obtain just satisfaction from Paraguay, a strong naval force was concentrated in the waters of the La Plata, to await contingencies, whilst our commissioner ascended the rivers to Assumption. The navy department is entitled to great credit for the promptness, efficiency and economy with which this expedition was fitted out and conducted. It consisted of nineteen armed vessels, great and small, carrying 200 guns and 2600 men, all under the command of the veteran and gallant Shubrick. The entire expenses of the expedition have been defrayed out of the ordinary appropriations for the naval service, except the sum of $289,000, applied to the purchase of seven of the steamers constituting a part of it, under the authority of the naval appropriation act of the 3d of March last. It is believed that these steamers are worth more than their cost, and they are all now usefully and actively employed in the naval service.

The appearance of so large a force, fitted out in such a prompt manner, in the fine waters of the La Plata, and the admirable conduct of the officers and men employed in it, have had a happy effect in favor of our country throughout that remote portion of the world.

Our relations with the great empires of France and Russia, as well as with all other governments on the continent of Europe, unless we may except that of Spain, happily continue to be of the most friendly character. In my last annual message, I presented a statement of the unsatisfactory condition of our relations with Spain, and I regret to say that this has not materially improved. Without specifying reference to other claims, even the Cuban claims, for the payment of which has been ably urged by our ministers, and in which more than a hundred of our citizens are directly interested, remain unsatisfied, notwithstanding $12,863,554 had been recognized and ascertained by the Spanish government itself. I again recommend that an appropriation be made to be paid to the Spanish government for the purpose of distribution among the claimant in the Amistad case. In common with two of my predecessors, I entertain no doubt that this is required by our treaty with Spain of the 27th of October, 1795. The failure to discharge this obligation has been employed by the Cabinet of Madrid as a reason against the settlement of our claims.

I need not repeat the arguments which I urged in my last annual message, in favor of the acquisition of Cuba by fair purchase. My opinions on that measure remain unchanged. I therefore again invite the serious attention of Congress to this important subject. Without a recognition of this policy on their part, it will be almost impossible to institute negotiations with any reasonable prospect of success. Until a recent period there was good reason to believe that I should be able to announce to you, on the present occasion, that our difficulties with Great Britain, arising out of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty had been finally adjusted, in a manner alike honorable and satisfactory to both parties. From causes, however, which the British government had not anticipated, they have not yet completed treaty arrangements with the republics of Honduras and Nicaragua, in pursuance of the understanding between the two governments.

Nevertheless confidently expected that this good work will ere long be accomplished.

Whilst indulging the hope that no other subject remained likely to disturb the good understanding between the two countries, the question arising out of the adverse claims of the British to the island of San Juan, under the Oregon treaty of the 15th of June, 1846, suddenly assumed a threatening position. In order to prevent the unfortunate collision on that remote frontier, the late Secretary of State, on the 17th July, 1855, addressed a note to Mr. Crampton, the British Minister at Washington, communicating a copy of the instructions which he, Mr. Marcy, had given, on the 14th of July, to Gov. Stevenson, of Washington Territory, having a special reference to an apprehended conflict between our citizens and the British subjects on the island of San Juan. To prevent this, the Governor was instructed that the officers of the Territory should abstain from all acts on the disputed grounds, which are calculated to provoke any conflict, so far as it can be done without implying the consequence to the authorities of Great Britain of an exclusive right over them. The title should be settled before either party should attempt to exclude the other by force or exercise of compulsion or exclusive sovereign right within the disputed limits.

In acknowledging the receipt, on the next day, of Mr. Marcy's note, the British Minister expressed his entire concurrence in the propriety of the course recommended to the Governor of Washington Territory by your (Mr. Marcy's) instructions to that officer, and stating that he had lost no time in transmitting a copy of this document to the Governor General of British Possessions in America, and had earnestly recommended to his Excellency to take such measures as to him may appear best calculated to secure, on the part of the British local authorities and the inhabitants of the neighborhood of the line in question, the exercise of the same spirit of forbearance which is inculcated by you (Mr. Marcy) on the authorities and citizens of the United States. Thus matters remained upon the faith of this arrangement until the 10th of July last, when Brigadier-General Harney paid a visit to the island. He found upon it twenty-five American residents, with their families, and also an establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, for the purpose of raising sheep. A short time before his arrival, one of these residents had shot an animal belonging to the company whilst trespassing upon his premises, for which, however, he offered to pay twice its value, but that was refused. Soon after, the chief factor of the company, Mr. Dalles, son-in-law of Gov. Douglass, came to the island in the British sloop-of-war Satellite, and threatened to seize this American, Mr. Cutler, by force to Victoria, to answer for the trespass he had committed. The American seized his rifle and told Mr. Dalles if any such attempt was made he would kill him on the spot. The affair then ended.

Under these circumstances, the American settlement presented a petition to the General; according