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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Fellow citizens of the Senate and of the House of Recresentatives :

The Constitution requires that the Presi-The Constitution requires that the Presi-dent shall, from time to time, not only recom-mend to the consideration of Corgress such measures as he may judge necessary and ex-pediest, but also that he shall give informa-tion to them of the state of the Union. To do this fally involves exposition of all mat-ters in the actual condition of the country, domestic or foreign, which essentially con-cern the seneral welfare. While nearforming in this roomet to once the seneral welfare. While nearforming the seneral welfare. While nearform a to nearest welfare. While nearforming the seneral welfare. While nearform a to he heat the seneral welfare. While nearform a to heat the seneral welfare. While nearform a to heat the nearest near a seneral welfare. While heat the seneral welfare. While the to heat the seneral welfare. While the heat the to heat the to heat the to heat the to heat the the to heat the the seneral welfare. While the to heat theat the to heat the toheat the to heat the to heat the to heat th cern the general welfare. While performing ational duty in this respect, the President does not speak merely to express ersonal convictions, but as the executive ninister of the government, enabled by his position, and called upon by his official do-ligations, to scan with an impartial sys the intercess of the whole, and of every part of the United States. Of the condition of the domestic interests people of the United States for eivil war by

of the Union, its egriculture, mines, manufac-tures, navigation and commerce, it is neces-sary only to say that the internal prosperity of the country, its continuous and steady ad concement in wealth and population, and in rivate as well as public well-being, attest wisdom of our institutions, and the predominant spirit of intelligence and patrio sm, which, notwithstanding occasional irregularities of opinion or action, resulting from popular freedom, has distinguished and

haracterized the people of America. In the brief interval between the termi ation of the last and the commaneement of he present session of Congress, the publicmind has been occupied with the care of seecting, for another constitutional term, the President and Vice President of the United

The determination of the persons, who are of right, or contingently, to preside over the administration of the government, is, under our system, committed to the States and the people. We appeal to them, by their voice pronounced in the forms of law, to call whomseever they will to the high post of Chief Magistrate.

And thus it is that, as the Senators represent the tespective States of the Union, and the members of the House of Representa-tives the constituencies of each State, so the

place hostile governments, driven at once and inevitably into mutual devastation and fratricidal carnage, transforming the now peaceful and selicitous brotherhood into a wast permanent camp of armed men like the

means and the consequences of their plans and purposes, they endeavor to prepare the people of the United States for civil war by doing everything in their power to deprive the Constitution and the laws of moral acthority, and to undermine the fabric of the Union by appeals to passions and sections prejudice, by indoctrinating its people with reciprocal hatred, and by educating them to stand face to face an enemies, rather than shoulder to shoulder as friends. ity with the original States. The enactment, which established the re-

It is by the spency 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 length to pass inintions of sensibly to almost equally passionate hostil-ity towards their fellow citizens of those States and thus finally to fall into temporary fellowship with the avowed and setive enemiss of the Constitution. Ardently attached to liberty in the abstract, they do not stop to consider precically how the objects they would attain can be accomplished; not to reflect that, even if the evil were as great as they deem it, they have no remedy to apply, and that it can be only aggravated by their

and inactic centres to be only aggregated by their violence and unconstitutional action. A question, which is one of the most difficult of all other problems of social institution, po-litical economy and statemanship, they itsat with unreasoning intemperance of thought if compact there was. Thereupon this enactment ceased to have

spects the Norta or the South ; and so it effect it was treated on the occasion of the ad-mission of the State of California, and the flicting views of political or social institution. When the act organizing the Territories of New Mex-ico, Utah, and Washington. and huguage. Extremes beget extremes. Violent attack from the North finds its inevi-

the members of the House of Represents
with unreasoning intemperance of thought fect is was treated on the occasion of the data the propagation of son-structure of the United States, to the President represents the aggregate population of the United States. Their election of the elot election of the United States. Their election of the elot election, the people of the United States have as more population, which the roice of the people of the United States have as more population and the State, by a sectional or, the people of the United States have as encered at the great the grea

The reaction of the row machine is a parameter of the process of the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the roligion which the profess²—that is to say, while it remains in a territorial condition, is in the maximized and protected in the stabilished the restriction. The enactment, which established the restriction of the condition of the condition

the link, insisted upon appying restrictions tending the limits of size incorr beyond more o the new territory generally, whether lying previously assigned to it, and that such was north or south of it, thereby repealing it us a lies natural as well as hield effect; and legislative compromise, and, on the part of these baseless assumptions were made, in the North, persistently violating the compact,

assault upon constitutional right. The repeal in terms of a statute, which

binding vitue in any sense, whether as re-spects the North or the South ; and so in ef-constitutionality, could have no influence to

citizen of the Union States as citizenty, where maintained the Union and tiony to a part of the internation of the sec-tiony to exect a revolutionary government, though seducusly, encouraged and supplied with pecuniary sid from active agents of dis-order in some of the States, has completely failed. Bodies of armed men, foreign to the b) the exclusion of those of the northers, Sites? I is it the for the former enjoy, and the second the States, A construction of the second the States, A construction of the second the States and the second the States, A construction of the second the States and States and the second the States and Still, when the nominal restriction of this one of the set that the net the set that that the set that the se

visions of their organic law were the cause of this agitation. The provisions were but the occasion, or the previsit of all Barmton, which was inherent in the nature of things. Congress legislated apon the subject in such terms as were most consonant with the prin-ciple of popular sovereignly which angellee our government. It could not have legislated otherwise without doing violence to another great principle of our institutions, the im-gresoripuble right of equality of the several States. ed opon congress the duty of passing a flow one, the court try was invited by gotators to eater into party organization for its repeal; but that agitation speedily ceased by reason of the impracticability of its object. So, when We perceive, also, that sectional interests We perceive, also, that sectional interests and party passions have 5een the great im-pediment to the salutary operation of the or-ganic principles adopted, and the chief cause of the auccessive disturbances in Kansas.— The assumption that, because in the organi-zation of the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, Congress absteined from imposing restraints aroon them to which carries other

phatically contradicted by the fact that none have occurred in the former. These disor-ders were not the consequence, in Kanasa, of the treedom of self-government conceded to that Territory by Congress, but of unjust interference on the part of persons not inhab-itants of the Territory. Such interference, wherever it has exhibited itself, by acts of insurrestingners character, or of obstruction to ture was, that it was carried on at the imme-diate expense of the peace and happiness of the people of the Territory of Kanass. That was made the battle field, not so much of ity with the original States. The enactment, which established the re-strictive geographical line, was acquised in rather than approved by the States of the union. It stood on the statute book, how-or the respective States acquised in the re-of the respective States acquised in the re-state of Texas; and it was proposed to ac-quisece in its forther application to the ter-ritory acquired by the Unied States forn the Northern State, who, regardless of the stat-te line, insisted upon applying restrictions o the new territory generally, whether lying insurrectionary character, or of obstraction to processee of law, has been repelled or sup-pressed, by all the means which the Consti-ution and the laws place in the hands of the Executive. In those parts of the United States, where by reason of the inflamed state of the public mind, false rumore and misrepresentation have the greatest currency, it has been assumed that it was the duty of the Executiv tion, with opposite viewe, in other sections of the Union. In consequence of these and other in

not only to suppress insurectionary move-ments is Kausas, but also to see to the regu-larity of the local elections. It needs tittle argument to show that the President has no dente, many acts of disorder, it is undeniable action, many ecit of disorder; it is underlable, have been perpetuated in Kanses, to the oc-casional interruption, rather than the perma-nent suspension, of regular government..... Aggressive and most reprehensible incursions such power. All government in the United States rests substantially upon popular elec-tion. The freedom of elections is liable to be impaired by the intrusion of unlawful votes, or the exclusion of lawful ones, or by into the Territory were undertaken, both in the North and the South, and entered it on improper influences, by violence, or by fraud But the people of the United States are them its northern border by the way of lows, as well as on the eastern by way of Missouri; and there has existed within it a state of inselves the all sufficient guardians of their selves the all sufficient guardians of their own rights, and to suppose that they will not remedy, in due seeson, any and incidents of civil freedom, is to suppose them to have ceased to be capable of self government. The President of the United States has not power to interpose in elections, to see to their freedom, to cauvass their votes, or to pass upon their legality in the Territories any more than in the States. If he had such never and more man extended within it is state of in-surrection against the constituted authorities, not without constemence from inconsiderate persons in each of the great sections of the Union. But the difficulties of that Territory have been extravagantly exaggerated fo

purposes of political agitation elsewhere. The number and gravity of the acts of vi-The number and gravity of the acts of vi-, olence have been magnified parily by state-lence have been magnified parily by state-accounts of the same rumore of facts. Thus a the Territory has been seemingly filled with extreme violence, when the whole amount of such acts has not been greater than what t occasionally passes before us is single citizs to the regret of all good citizens, but without being regarded as of general or permanent political consequence.

restraints, concess admits the certain othe Territories had been subject, therefore disor ders occurred in the latter Tetritory, is om

chatically contradicted by the fact that non

the public debt was sixty-nine million one hundred and twenty-nine thousand nine hun-dred and thiry-seven dollars. There was a subsequent intrease of two million sevel hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the one million eight hundred and seventy-nine thousand nine hundred and thiry-seven dol-lace. Of this the sum of forty-five million five hundred and twenty-five thousand three-hundred and insetsen dollars, including pre-mium, has been discharged, reducing the debt to thirty million seven hundred and thirty-seven thousand one bundred and therty-seven thousand one bundred and thenty-une dollars; all which might be paid within a year without embarras-sing the public service, but being not yet dee, end only redeemable at the option of the holder, cannot be pressed to payment by the government.

the government. On examining the expenditores of the last five years, it will be seen that the average, deducting payments on account of the pub-lic debt and ten millions paid by treaty to Mexico, has been but about forty-eight mil-lion dollars. It is believed that, under an expension deductive of the general economical administration of the governsent, the average expenditure for the ensumeet, the average expenditure for the ensu-ing years will not exceed that sum, unless extraordinary occasion for its increase should occur. The set granting bounty lands will soon have been executed, while the exten-sion of our frontier settlements will cause a continued demand for lands and acgmented receipts, probably, from that source. These considerations will justify a reduction of the revenue from customs, so as not to exceed forly-eight or fifty million dollars. I think the exigency of such reduction is imperative, and again arge it upon the consideration of Concerner

Congress. The amount of reduction, as well as the The amount of reduction, as well as the manner of effecting it, are questions of great and general interest; it being essential to in-dustrial onterprize and the public prosperity, as well as the dictate of obvious justice, that the burden of taxetion be made to rest as equally as possible upon all classes, and all sections and interests of the country. I have heretofore recommended to your

consideration the revision of the revenues laws, prepared under the direction of the laws, prepared under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, and also legisla-tiou upon some special questions affecting-the business of that department, more espe-cially the enactment of a law to punish the abstraction of official books or papers from the files of the government, and requiring the files of the government, and requiring all such books and papers and all other pub-lie property to be turned over by the out-going officer to his successor; of a law re-quiring disbursing officers to deposit all pub-lie money in the realist of the tressury or to other legal depositories, where the area are conversionity accessible; and a law to expower to interpose in elections, to see to their freedom, to canvass their votes, or to pass upon their legality in the Territories any more than in the States. If he had such power the government might be republican in form, but it would be a monarchy in fact; and if the same into the Treasury. I invite your be hed modulated to the termination of these objects.

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agitation. It was alleged that the original enactment being a compact of perpendit moral obliga-tion, its repeal constituted an odious breach of faith.

tion, its repeal constituted an othous breach of faith. An act of Congress, while it remains un-repealed, more especially if it be constitu-tionally valid in the judgment of those public functionaries whose duty it is to pronounce on that point, is andoubtedly binding on the conscience of each good citizen of the Re-public. But in what sense can it be asserted that the enactment in question was invested with perpetuity and estilled to the respect of a solemn compast i Between whom was the compact I. No distinct contending pow-ers of the Government, no separate sections of the Union, treating as such, entered into treaty sipulations on the subject. It was a more clause of an act of Congress, and like any other controvented matter of legislation, received its final shape and was passed by compromise of the wonflicting opinions or sentiments of the members of Congress. But