

THE STAR OF THE NORTH.

Mrs. R. W. Weaver, Proprietress.

Truth and Right—God and our Country.

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THE STAR OF THE NORTH

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THE DREAM OF EUGENE ARAM.

BY THOMAS HOOD.

[Thomas Hood, born in London, in 1798, was the son of a respectable publisher, of the firm of Vernor, Hood and Sharpe. He was brought up an engraver—he became a writer of "Whims and Oddities," and he grew into a poet of great and original power. The slight partition which divides humor and pathos was remarkably exemplified in Hood. Misfortune and feeble health made him doubly sensitive to the ills of his fellow creatures. The sorrows which he has delineated are not unreal things. He died in 1845, his great merits have been previously recognized by Sir Robert Peel, who bestowed on him a pension, to be continued to his wife. That wife soon followed him to the grave. The pension has been continued to their children.]

T'was in the prime of summer time,
An evening calm and cool,
And four-and-twenty happy boys
Come bounding out of school:
There were some that ran, and some that leapt,
Like trobriets in a stream.

Away they sped with gamesome minds,
And souls untouched by sin;
To a level mead they came, and there
They drove the wickets in:
Pleasently shone the setting sun
Over the town of Lynn.

Like sportive deer they coursed about,
And shouted as they ran—
Turning to nith all things of earth,
As only boys can do;
But the wicket sat remote from all,
A melancholy man!

His hat was off, his vest apart,
To catch Heaven's blessed breeze;
For a burning thought was in his brow,
And his bosom ill at ease.
So he leaned his head on his hands and read
The book between his knees:

Leaf after leaf he turned it o'er,
Nor ever glanced aside;
For the peace of his soul he read that book
In the golden eventide:
Much study had made him very lean,
And pale, and leaden-eyed.

At last he shut the ponderous tome;
With a fast and fervent gasp
He strained the dusky covers close,
And fixed the brazen clasp;
"O God, could I so close my mind,
And clasp it with a clasp!"

Then leaning on his feet upright,
Some moody turns he took;
Now up the mead, now down the mead,
And just as shades were thick,
And lo! he saw a little boy,
That pored upon a book.

"My gentle lad, what is't thou read—
Romance or fairy tale?
Or is it some historic page,
Of kings and crowns and scepters?
The young boy gave an upward glance—
"It is the death of Abel!"

The usher took six hasty strides,
As with sudden pain;
Six hasty strides beyond the place,
Then slowly back again:
And down he sat beside the lad,
And talked with him of Cain.

And long since then, of bloody men,
Whose deeds tradition saves;
Of lonely folk out of unpopulated
And hid in sodden graves;
Of horrid slays, in groves forlorn,
And murders done in caves;

And how the sprites of injured men
Strutted apart from the spots;
Ay, how the ghostly hand will point
To show the buried clod;
And unknown faces of guilty souls
Are seen in dreams from God!

He told how murderers walked the earth
Beneath the curse of Cain,
With crimson clouds before their eyes,
And flames about their brain—
For blood had left upon their souls
Its everlasting stain!

"And well," quoth he, "I know for truth,
Their pangs must be extreme—
Wo, wo, miserable woe!
Who spill life's sacred stream?
For why? Methought last night I wrought
A murder in a dream!"

"One that had never done me wrong—
A gentle man, and old;
The moon shone clear and cold:
Now here, said I, this man shall die,
And I will have his gold!"

"Two sudden blows with a ragged stick,
And one with a heavy stone,
One-hundred-gash with a heavy knife—
And then the deed was done:
There was nothing lying at my feet,
But lifeless flesh and bone!

"Nothing but lifeless flesh and bone,
That could not do me ill;
And yet I learn'd him all the more
For lying there so still.
There was a manhood in his look,
That murder could not kill!

"And lo! the universal air
Seemed in a ghastly flame—
Ten thousand thousand dreadful eyes
Were looking down in blame:
I took the man by the hand,
And called upon his name,

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Should the Constitution without slavery be adopted by the votes of the majority, the rights of property in slaves now in the territory are reserved. The number of these are very small; but if it were greater the provision would be equally just and reasonable—These slaves were brought into the Territory under the constitution of the United States, and are now the property of their masters. This point has at length been finally decided by the highest judicial tribunal of the country—and this upon the plain principle that when a confederacy of sovereign States acquire a new territory at their joint expense, both equality and justice demand that the citizens of one and all of them shall have the right to take into it whatsoever is recognized as property by the common constitution—To have summarily confiscated the property in slaves already in the Territory, would have been an act of gross injustice, and contrary to the practice of the older States of the Union which have abolished slavery.

A territorial government was established for Utah by act of Congress approved the 9th September, 1850, and the Constitution and laws of the United States were thereby extended over it "so far as the same or any provision thereof, may be applicable." This act provided for the appointment by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, of a governor, who was to be the chief superintendent of Indian affairs, a Secretary, three Judges of the Supreme Court, a Marshal, and a District Attorney. Subsequent acts provided for the appointment of the officers necessary to extend our laws and our Indian system over the Territory. Brigham Young was appointed the first governor on the 20th September, 1850, and has held the office ever since. Whilst Governor Young has been both Governor and Superintendent of Indian affairs throughout this period, he had called at the same time the head of the church called the Latter Day Saints, and professes to govern its members and dispose of their property by direct inspiration and authority from the Almighty. His power has been, therefore, absolute over both Church and State.

The people of Utah, almost exclusively, belong to this church, and believing through a fanatical spirit that he is Governor of the Territory by Divine appointment, they obey his commands as if these were direct revelations from Heaven. If, therefore, he chooses that his government shall come into collision with the government of the United States, the members of the Mormon church will yield implicit obedience to his will. Unfortunately, existing laws leave but little doubt that such is his determination. Without entering upon a minute history of occurrences, it is sufficient to say that all the officers of the United States, judicial and executive, with the single exception of two Indian agents, have found it necessary for their own personal safety to withdraw from the Territory, and there no longer remains any government in Utah but the despotism of Brigham Young. This being the condition of affairs in the Territory, I could not mistake the path of duty. As Chief Executive Magistrate, I was bound to restore the supremacy of the Constitution and laws within its limits. In order to effect this purpose, I appointed a new governor and other federal officers for Utah, and sent with them a military force for their protection, and to aid as a posse comitatus, in case of need, in the execution of the laws.

With the religious opinions of the Mormons, as long as they remained mere opinions, however deplorable in themselves and revolting to the moral and religious sentiments of all Christians, I had no right to interfere. Actions alone, in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, became the legitimate subjects for the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. My instructions to Governor Cumming have therefore been framed in strict accordance with these principles. At their date a hope was indulged that no necessity might exist for employing the military in restoring and maintaining the authority of the law; but this hope has now vanished; Gov. Young has, by proclamation, declared his determination to maintain his power by force, and has already committed acts of hostility against the United States. Unless he should retract his steps the Territory of Utah will be in a state of open rebellion. He has committed these acts of hostility notwithstanding Major Van Vleet, an officer of the army, sent to Utah by the commanding general to purchase provisions for the troops, had given him the strongest assurance of the peaceful intentions of the government, and that the troops would only be employed as a posse comitatus when called on by the civil authority to aid in the execution of the laws.

There is reason to believe that Governor Young has long contemplated this result. He knows that the continuance of his despotism depends upon the exclusion of all settlers from the Territory except those who will acknowledge his divine mission and implicitly obey his will; and that an enlightened public opinion there would soon prostrate institutions at war with the laws of both God and man. He has therefore, for several years, in order to maintain his independence, been industriously employed in collecting and fabricating arms and munitions of war, and in disciplining the Mormons for military service. As superintendent of Indian affairs he has had an opportunity of tampering with the Indian tribes, and exciting their hostile feelings against the U. States. This, according to our information, he has accomplished in regard to some of

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these tribes, while others have remained true to their allegiance, and have commended his intrigues to our Indian agents. He has laid in a store of provisions for three years, which, in case of necessity, as he informed Major Van Vleet, he will conceal, and then take to the mountains, and bid defiance to all the powers of government."

A great part of all this may be idle boasting; but yet no wise government will lightly estimate the efforts which may be inspired by such threatened fanaticism as exists among the Mormons in Utah. This is the first rebellion which has existed in our Territories, and humanity itself requires that we should put it down in such a manner that it shall be the last. To trifle with it would be to encourage it and to render it formidable. We ought to go there with such an imposing force as to convince these deluded people that resistance would be vain, and thus spare the effusion of blood. We can in this manner best convince them that we are their friends, not their enemies. In order to accomplish this object it will be necessary, according to the estimate of the War Department, to raise four additional regiments; and this I earnestly recommend to Congress. At the present moment of depression in the revenues of the country, I am sorry to be obliged to recommend such a measure; but I feel confident of the support of Congress, and what it may, in suppressing the insurrection and in restoring and maintaining the sovereignty of the constitution and laws over the Territory of Utah.

I recommend to Congress the establishment of a territorial government over Arizona, incorporating with it such portions of New Mexico as you may deem expedient. I need scarcely adduce arguments in support of this recommendation. We are bound to protect the lives and the property of our citizens inhabiting Arizona, and these are now without any efficient protection. Their present number is already considerable, and is rapidly increasing, notwithstanding the disadvantage under which they labor. Besides, the proposed Territory is believed to be rich in mineral and agricultural resources, especially in silver and copper. The mails of the United States to California are now carried over it throughout its whole extent, and this route is known to be the nearest, and believed to be the best to the Pacific.

Long experience has deeply convinced me that a strict construction of the powers granted to Congress is the only true, as well as the only safe, theory of the constitution—Whilst this principle shall guide my public conduct, I consider it clear that under the war-making power Congress may appropriate money for the construction of a military road through the Territories of the United States, when this is absolutely necessary for the defence of any of the States against foreign invasion. The constitution has conferred upon Congress power "to declare war," "to raise and support arms," "to provide and maintain a navy," and to call forth the militia to "repress" insurrections. These high sovereign powers necessarily involve important and responsible public duties, and among them there is none so sacred and so imperative as that of preserving our soil from the invasion of a foreign enemy. The constitution has, therefore, left nothing on this point to construction, but expressly requires that "the States shall protect each of them" (the States) against invasion." Now, if a military road over our own Territories be indispensably necessary to enable us to meet and repel the invader, it follows as a necessary consequence not only that we possess the power, but it is our imperative duty to construct such a road. It would be an absurdity to invest a government with the unlimited power to make and conduct war, and at the same time deny to it the only means of reaching and defeating the enemy at the frontier. Without such a road it is quite evident we cannot "protect" California and our Pacific possessions "against invasion." We cannot by any other means transport men and munitions of war from the Atlantic States in sufficient time successfully to defend these remote and distant portions of the republic.

Experience has proved that the routes across the Isthmus of Central America are at best but a very uncertain and unreliable mode of communication. But even if this were not the case, they would at once be closed against us in the event of war with a naval power, so much stronger than our own as to enable it to blockade the ports at either end of these routes. After all, therefore, we can only rely upon a military road through our own Territories; and ever since the origin of the government Congress has been in the practice of appropriating money from the public treasury for the construction of such roads.

The difficulties and expense of constructing a military railroad to connect our Atlantic and Pacific States, have been greatly exaggerated. The distance on the Arizona route near the 33d parallel of north latitude, between the western boundary of Texas on the Rio Grande and the eastern boundary of California on the Colorado, from the best exploration now within our knowledge, does not exceed four hundred and seventy miles, and the face of the country is, in the main, favorable. For obvious reasons the Government ought not to undertake the work itself by means of its own agents. This ought to be committed to other agencies, which Congress might assist either by grants of land or money; or by both, upon such terms and conditions as they may deem most beneficial for the country. Provision might be made not only for the safe, rapid, and economical transportation of troops and munitions of war, but also of the public mails.

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The commercial interests of the whole country, both East and West, would be greatly promoted by such a road; and, above all, it would be a powerful additional bond of union. And although advantages of this kind, whether postal, commercial, or political, cannot confer constitutional power, yet they may furnish auxiliary arguments in favor of expediting a work which, in my judgment, is clearly embraced within the war-making power.

For these reasons I commend to the friendly consideration of Congress the subject of the Pacific railroad, without finally committing myself to any particular route.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury will furnish a detailed statement of the condition of the public finances and of the respective branches of the public service developed upon that department of the government. By this report it appears that the amount of revenue received from all sources into the treasury during the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1857, was sixty-eight million six hundred and thirty-one thousand five hundred and thirteen dollars and sixty-seven cents, (\$68,632,513 67) which amount with the balance of nineteen million nine hundred and one thousand three hundred and twenty-five dollars and forty-five cents, (\$19,901,325 45), remaining in the treasury at the commencement of the year, made an aggregate for the service of the year of eighty-eight million five hundred and thirty-two thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine dollars and twelve cents, (\$88,533,839 12).

The public expenditures for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1857, amounted to seventy-million eight hundred and twenty-two thousand seven hundred and twenty-four dollars and eighty-five cents, (\$70,822,724 85) of which five million nine hundred and forty-three thousand eight hundred and ninety-six dollars and ninety-one cents (\$5,943,896 91) were applied to the redemption of the public debt, including interest and premium, leaving in the treasury at the commencement of the present fiscal year on the 1st July, 1857, seventeen million seven hundred and ten thousand one hundred and forty-seven dollars and twenty-seven cents, (\$17,710,114 27).

The receipts into the treasury for the first quarter of the present fiscal year, commencing 1st July, 1857, twenty million nine hundred and twenty-nine thousand eight hundred and nineteen dollars and eighty-one cents, (\$20,929,819 81), and the estimated receipts of the remaining three quarters to the 30th June, 1858, are thirty-six million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$36,750,000) making with the balance before stated an aggregate of seventy-five million three hundred and eighty-nine thousand nine hundred and thirty-four dollars and eight cents, (\$75,389,934 08) for the service of the present fiscal year.

The actual expenditures during the first quarter of the present fiscal year were twenty-three million seven hundred and fourteen thousand five hundred and twenty-eight dollars and thirty-seven cents, (\$23,714,528 37) of which three million eight hundred and ninety-five dollars and thirty-nine cents, (\$3,895,232 30) were applied to the redemption of the public debt, including interest and premium.

The probable expenditures of the remaining three quarters, to 30th June, 1858, are fifty million two hundred and thirty-eight thousand five hundred and thirty-eight dollars and forty cents, (\$51,248,530 04) including interest on the public debt, making an aggregate of seventy-four million nine hundred and sixty-three thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight dollars and forty-one cents, (\$74,963,068 40) leaving an estimated balance in the treasury at the close of the present fiscal year of four hundred and twenty-six thousand eight hundred and seventy-five dollars and sixty-seven cents, (\$426,875 67).

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The amount redeemed since the 1st of July was three million, eight hundred and twenty-five thousand, two hundred and thirty-two dollars, and thirty-nine cents, (\$3,895,232 30) — leaving a balance unredeemed at this time of twenty-five million, one hundred and sixty-five thousand, one hundred and fifty-four dollars and fifty-one cents, (\$25,165,154 51).

The amount of estimated expenditures for the remaining three quarters of the present fiscal year will in all probability, be increased from the causes set forth in the report of the Secretary. His suggestion, therefore, that authority should be given to supply any temporary deficiency by the issue of a limited amount of Treasury notes, is approved, and I accordingly recommend the passage of such a law.

I transmit herewith the reports made to me by the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, of the interior and of the Postmaster General. They all contain valuable and important information and suggestions which I commend to the favorable consideration of Congress.

As stated in the report of the Secretary, the tariff of March 3, 1857, has been in operation for so short a period of time, and under circumstances so unfavorable to a just development of its results as a revenue measure, that I should regard it as inexpedient, at least for the present, to undertake its revision.

I have already recommended the raising of four additional regiments, and the report of the Secretary of War presents strong reasons proving this increase of the army, under existing circumstances, to be indispensable. I would call the special attention of Congress to the recommendation of the Secretary of the Navy in favor of the construction of ten small war steamers of light draught.

For some years the Government has been obliged on many occasions to hire such steamers from individuals to supply its pressing wants. At the present moment we have no armed vessels in the Navy which can penetrate the rivers of the China. We have but few which can enter any of the harbors south of Norfolk, although many millions of foreign and domestic commerce annually pass in and out of these harbors.

Some of our most valuable interests and most vulnerable points are thus left exposed. This class of vessels of light draught, great speed, and heavy guns would be formidable in the coast defence. The cost of their construction will not be great and they will require but a comparatively small expenditure to keep them in commission. In time of peace they will prove as effective as much larger vessels, and often more useful.

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One of them should be at every station where we maintain a squadron, and three or four should be constantly employed on our Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Economy, utility and efficiency combine to recommend them as almost indispensable. Ten of these small vessels would be of incalculable advantage to the naval service, and the whole cost of their construction would not exceed two million three hundred thousand dollars, or 230,000 each.

The report of the Secretary of the Interior is worthy of grave consideration. It treats of the numerous important and diversified branches of domestic administration intrusted to him by law. Among these the most prominent are the public lands and our relations with the Indians.

Our system for the disposal of the public lands, originating with the fathers of the republic, has been improved as experience pointed the way, and gradually adapted to the growth and settlement of our western States and Territories. It has worked well in practice. Already thirteen States and seven Territories have been carved out of these lands, and still more than a thousand millions of acres remain unsold. What a boundless prospect this presents to our country of future prosperity and power!

We have heretofore disposed of 363,362,464 acres of the public lands.

Whilst the public lands as a source of revenue are of great importance, their importance is far greater as furnishing homes for a hardy and independent race of honest and industrious citizens, who desire to subdue and cultivate the soil. They ought to be administered mainly with a view of promoting this wise and benevolent policy. In appropriating them for any other purpose, we ought to use even greater economy than if they had been converted into money and the proceeds were already in the public treasury.

To squander away this richest and noblest inheritance which any people have ever enjoyed upon objects of doubtful constitutionality and expediency, would be to violate one of the most important trusts ever committed to any people. Whilst I do not deny to Congress the power, when acting bona fide as proprietor, to give away portions of them for the purpose of increasing the value of the remainder, yet, considering the great temptation to abuse this power, we cannot be too cautious in its exercise.

Actual settlers under existing laws are protected against other purchasers at the public sales, in their right of pre-emption, to the extent of a quarter-section, or a 160 acres of land. The remainder may then be disposed of at public or entered at private sale in unlimited quantities.

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Speculation has of late years prevailed to a great extent in the public lands. The consequence has been that large portions of them have become the property of individuals and companies, and thus the desire to purchase for actual settlement. In order to limit the area of speculation as much as possible, the extinction of the Indian title and the extension of the public surveys ought only to keep pace with the sale of emigration.

If Congress should hereafter grant alternate sections to States or Companies, as they have done heretofore, I recommend that the intermediate sections retained by the Government should be subject to pre-emption by actual settlers.

It ought ever to be our cardinal policy to reserve the public lands as much as may be for actual settlers, and this at moderate prices. We shall thus not only best promote the prosperity of the new State and Territories, and the power of the Union, but shall secure homes for our posterity for many generations.

The extension of our limits has brought within our jurisdiction many additional and populous tribes of Indians, a large portion of which are wild, unsocial, and difficult to control. Predatory and warlike in their disposition and habits, it is impossible altogether to restrain from committing aggressions on each other, as well as upon our frontier citizens and those emigrating to our distant States and Territories. Hence expensive military expeditions are frequently necessary to overawe and chastise the more lawless and hostile.

The present system of making them valuable presents to influence them to remain in peace has proved inefficient. It is believed to be the better policy to colonize them in suitable localities, where they can receive the rudiments of education and be gradually induced to adopt habits of industry. So far as the experiment has been tried it has worked well in practice, and it will doubtless prove to be less expensive than the present system.

The length of post roads in 1827 was 105 336 miles; and in the year 1837 there were 242, 691 miles of the post road, including 29, 530 miles of railroad, on which the mails are transported.

The whole number of Indians within our territorial limits is believed to be, from the best data in the Interior Department, about 325,000.

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The tribes of Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, settled in the territory set apart for them west of Arkansas, are rapidly advancing in education and in all the arts of civilization and self-government; and we may indulge the agreeable anticipation that at no very distant day they will be incorporated into the Union as one of the sovereign States.

It will be seen from the report of the Postmaster Genl that the Post Office Department still continues to depend on the Treasury, as it has been compelled to do for several years past, for an important portion of the means of sustaining and extending its operations. Their rapid growth and expansion are shown by a decennial statement of the number of post offices, and the length of post roads commencing with the year 1827. In that year there were 7,000 post offices; in 1837, 11,177; in 1847, 15,146; and in 1857 they number 26,586. In this year, 1,725 post offices have been established and 704 discontinued, leaving a net increase of 1,021. The postmasters of 563 offices are appointed by the President.

The expenditures of the department for the fiscal year ending on the 30th June, 1857, as adjusted by the Auditor, amounted to \$11,507,670. To defray these expenditures, there was to the credit of the department on the 1st July, 1853, the sum of \$879,696; the gross revenue of the year, including the annual allowances for the transportation of free mail matter, produced \$3,055,351; and the remainder was supplied by the appropriation from the treasury of \$8,250,000 granted by the act of Congress approved August 18, 1856, and by the appropriation of \$666, 883 made by the act of March 3, 1857, leaving \$252,763 to be carried to the department in the accounts of the current year. I commend to your consideration the report of the department in relation to the establishment of the overland mail route from the Mississippi river to San Francisco, California. The route was selected with my full concurrence as the one, in my judgment, best calculated to attain the important objects contemplated by Congress.

The late disastrous monetary revolutions may have one good effect should it cause both the government and the people to return to the practice of a wise and judicious economy both in public and private expenditures.

An overflowing treasury has led to habits of prodigality and extravagance in our legislation. It has induced Congress to make large appropriations to objects for which they never would have provided had it been necessary to raise the amount of revenue required to meet them by increased taxation or by loans. We are now compelled to pause in our career, and to scrutinize our expenditures with the utmost vigilance; and in performing this duty, I pledge my co-operation to the extent of my constitutional competency.

It ought to be observed, at the same time, that true public economy does not consist in withholding the means necessary to accomplish important national objects intrusted to us by the Constitution, and especially such as may be necessary for the common defence. In the present crisis of the country it is our duty to confine our appropriations to objects of the character, unless in cases where justice to individuals may demand a different course. In all cases, care ought to be taken that the money granted by Congress shall be faithfully and economically applied.

Under the federal Constitution, "every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law," be approved and signed by the President; and, if not approved, "the shall return it with his objections to that House in which it originated." In order to perform this high and responsible duty, sufficient time must be allowed the President to read and examine every bill presented to him for approval. Unless this be afforded, the Constitution becomes a dead letter in this particular; and even worse, it becomes a means of deception. Our constituents, seeing the President's approval and signature attached to each Act of Congress, are induced to believe that he has actually performed this duty, when, in truth, nothing is, in many cases, more unfounded.