CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE. flowel in upon us within the last eight years, in I the tide still continues to flow. Indeed, such has been the extravagance of bank credit, that the banks now hold a considerably less amount of specie, either in proportion to their capital, or their circulation and deposits combined, than they did before the discovery of gold in California. Whilst in the year 1848 their specie, in proportion to their capital, was more than equal to one dollar for four and a half, in 1857 it does not amount to one dollar for every six dollars and thirty-three cents of their capital. In the year 1848 the specie was equal within a very small fraction to one dollar in five of their circulation and deposits; in 1857 it is not equal to one dollar in seven and a half of their circulation and deposits.

From this statement it is easy to account for our financial history for the last forty years. It has been a history of extravagant expansions in the business of the country, followed by ruinous contractions. At successive intervals the best and most enterprising men have been tempted to their ruin by excessive bank loans of mere paper credit, exciting them to extravagant.importations of foreign goods, wild speculations, and ruinous and demoralizing stock gambling. When the crisis arrives, as arrive it must, the banks can extend no relief to the people. In a vain struggle to redeem their liabilities in specie, they are compelled to con-tract their loans and their issues; and, at last in the hour of distress, when their assistance is most needed, they and their debtors together, sink into insolvency.

It is this paper system of extravagant expansion, raising the nominal price of every article far beyond its real value, when compared with the cost of similar articles in countries whose circulation is wisely regulated, which has prevented us from competing in our own markets with foreign manufacturers, has produced extrava-gant importations, and has counteracted the effect of the large incidental protection afforded to our, domestic manufactures by the present revenue tariff. But for this the branches of our manufactures composed of raw materials, the production of our own country-such as cotton, ron, and woolen fabrics-would not only have acquired almost exclusive possession of the home market, but would have created for themselves a foreign market throughout the world. Deplorable, however, as may be our present financial condition, we may yet indulge in bright hopes for the future. No other nation has ever existed, which could have endured such violent expansions and contractions of paper credits without lasting injury; yet the buoyancy of youth, the energies of our popula-tion, and the spirit which never quails before

our present financial embarrassment, and may even occasion us speedily to forget the lesson which they have taught. In the meantime it is the duty of the Government, by all proper means within its power, to aid in alleviating the sufferings of the people occasioned by the suspension of the banks, and to provide against a recurrence of the same calamity. Unfortunately, in either aspect of the case, it can do but little. Thanks to the independent treasury, the Government has not suspended payment, as it was compelled to do by the failure of the banks in 1837.— It will continue to discharge its liabili-ties to the people in gold and silver. Its disbursements in coin will pass into circulation,

difficulties, will enable us soon to recover from

and materially assist in restoring a sound currency. From its high credit, should we be compelled to make a temporary loan, it can be effected on advantageous terms. This, however, shall, if possible, be avoided; but, if not, then the amount shall be limited to the lowest practicable sum.

I have therefore, determined that whilst no

useful government works already in progres shall be suspended, new works not already commenced, will be postponed, if this can be done without injury to the country. Those necessary for its defence shall proceed as though there had been no crisis in our monetary

But the Federal Government cannot do much to provide against a recurrence of existing evils. did not exist against the creation of a National Bank, this would furnish no adequate preventive security. The history of the last Bank of the United States abundantly proves the truth of this assertion. Such a bank could not, if it would, regulate the issues and credits of fourteen hundred State banks in such a manner as to prevent the ruinous expansions and contrac-tions in our currency which inflicted the country throughout the existence of the late bank, or secure us against future suspensions. In 1825, an effort was made by the Bank of England to curtail the issues of the country banks under the most favorable circumstances. The paper currency had been expanded to a ruinous extent, and the Bank put forth all its power to contract it, in order to reduce prices and restore the equilibrium of the foreign exchanges. It accordingly commenced a system of curtailment of its loans and issues, in the vain hope that the joint stock and private banks of the kingdom would be compelled to follow its example. It found, however, that as it contracted they expanded; and at the end of the process, to employ the language of a very high official authority, "whatever reduction of the paper circulation was effected by the Bank of England (in 1825) was more than made up by the issues of the country banks.

But the Bank of the United States would not. if it could, restrain the issues of the State banks, because its duty as a regulator of the currency must often be in direct conflict with the immediate interest of its stockholders. If we expect our agents to restrain or control another, their interests must, at least intsome degree, be antagonistic. But the directors of a Bank of the United States would feel the same interest and the same inclination with the directors of the State banks to expand the currency, to accommodate their favorites and friends with loans. and to declare large dividends. Such has been our experience in regard to the last bank.

After all, we must mainly rely upon the patriotism and redress of the States for the prevention and redress of the evil. If they will ford us a real specie basis for our paper circulation, by increasing the denomination of bank notes, first to twenty, and afterwards to fifty dollars; if they will require that the banks shall at all times keep on hand at least one dollar of gold and silver for every three dollars of their circulation and deposits; and if they will provide by a self-executing enactment, which nothing can arrest, that the moment they suspend they shall go into liquidation; I believe that such provisions, with a weekly publication by each bank, of a statement of its condition, would go far to secure us against future sus pensions of specie payments.

Congress, in my opinion, possesses the power to pass a uniform bankrupt law applicable to all banking institutions throughout the United States, and I strongly recommend its excrcise. This would make it the irreversible organic law of each bank's existence, that a suspension of specie payments shall produce its civil death. The instinct of self-preservation would then compel it to perform its duties in such a manner as to escape the penalty and preserve its life.

The existence of banks and the circulation of bank paper. are so identified with the habits of our people, that they cannot at this day be suddenly abolished without much immediate injury to the country. If we could confine them to their appropriate sphere, and prevent them from administering to the spirit of wild and reckless speculation by extravagant loans and issues, they might be continued with ad-

vantage to the public But this I say, after long and much reflection: if experience shall prove it to be impossi-ble to enjoy the facilities which well regulated banks might afford, without at the same time suffering the calamities which the excesses of the banks have hitherto inflicted upon the country, it would then be far the lesser evil to deprive them altogether of the power to issue a paper currency and confine them to the functions of banks of deposit and discount.

Our relations with foreign governments, are upon the whole, in a satisfactory condition. The diplomatic difficulties which existed between The government of the United States and that of Great Britain, at the adjournment of the last Congress, have been happily terminated by the appointment of a British Minister to this

country, who has been cordially received. Whilst it is greatly to the interests, as I am convinced it is the sincere desire, of the governments and people of the two countries to be on

Clayton and Bulwer treaty, has been the most unfortunate of all; because the two governments place directly opposite and contradictory constructions upon its first and most important article. Whilst, in the United States, we believed that this treaty would place both governments upon an exact equality by the stipulation that neither will ever "occupy, or fortify, or colonize, or assume or exercise dominion" over any part of Central America, it is contended by the British government that the true construction of this language has left them in the rightful possession of all that portion of Central America which was in their occupancy at the date of the treaty; in fact, that the freaty is a virtual recognition on the part of the United States, of the right of Great Britain, either as owner or protector, to the whole extensive const of Central America, sweeping round from the Rio Hondo to the port and harbor of San Juan de Nicaragua; together with the adjacent Bay slands, except the comparatively small portion of this between the Sarstoon and Cape Hondu-

ra. According to their construction, the treaty does no more than simply prohibit them from extending their possessions in Central America beyond the present limits. It is not too much to assert, that if in the United States the treaty had been considered susceptible of such a construction, it never would have been negotiated under the authority of the President, nor would it have received the approbation of the Senate. The universal conviction in the United States was, that when our government consented to violate its traditional and time honored policy, and to stipulate with a foreign government never to occupy or acquire territory in the Central American portion of our continent, the consideration for this sacrifice was that Great Britain should, in this respect, at least be placed in the same position with ourselves. Whilst we have no right to doubt the sincerity of the British government in their construction of the treaty, it is at the same time my deliberate conviction that this construction is in opposition both to its letter and

its spirit.

Under the late administration, negotiations were instituted between the two governments, for the purpose, if possible, of removing these difficulties; and a treaty having this laudable object in view, was signed at London on the 17th October, 1856, and was submitted by the Presi-dent to the Senate on the following 10th of December. Whether this treaty, either in its original or amended form, would have accomplished the object intended, without giving birth to new and embarrassing complications between the two governments, may perhaps be well questioned. Certain it is, however, it was rendered much less objectionable by the different amendments made to it by the Senate. The treaty, as amended, was ratified by me on the 12th March, 1857, and was transmitted to London for ratification by the British government. That government expressed its willingness to concur in all the amendments made by the Senate, with the single exception of the clause relating to Rustan and the other islands in the Bay of Honduras. The article in the original treaty, as submitted to the Senate, after reciting that these islands and their inhabitants "having been by a convention bearing date the 27th day of August, 1856, between her Britannic Majesty and the Republic of Honduras, constituted and declared a free territory under the sovereignty of the said Republic of Honduras," stipulated that the "two contracting parties do hereby mutually engage to recognize and respect, in all fu-ture time, the independence and rights of the said free territory, as a part of the Republic of Honduras."

Upon an examination of this convention between Great Britain and Honduras of the 27th. August, 1856, it was found that whilst declaring the Bay Islands to be "a free territory under the sovereignty of the republic of Honduras," it deprived that republic of rights without which its sovereignty over them could scarcely be said to exist. It divided them from the remainder of Honduras, and gave to their inhabitants a seperate government of their own, with legislative, executive, and judicial officers, electd by themselves. It deprived the government of Honduras of the taxing power in every form; and exempted the people of the islands from the performance of military duty except for their own exclusive defence. It also prohibited that republic from erecting fortifications upon them for their protection thus leaving open to invasion from any quarter; and, finally it provided "that slavery shall not at any time

hereafter be permitted to exist therein." Had Honduras ratified this convention; she would have ratified the establishment of a State substantially independent within her own limits, and a State at all times subject to British influence and control. Moreover, had the United States ratified the treaty with Great Britain in its original form, we should have been bound "to recognize and respect in all future time" these stipulations, to the predjudice of Honduras. Being in direct opposition to the spirit and meaning of the Clayton and Bulwer treaty, as understood in the United States, the Senate rejected the entire clause, and substituted in its stead a simple recognition of the sover-eign right of Honduras to these islands in the following language: "The two contracting parties do hereby mutually engage to recognize and respect the islands of Rustan, Bonaco, Utila, Barbaretta, Helena and Morat, situate in the Bay of Honduras, and off the coast of the re-public of Honduras, as under the sovereignty, and as part of the said Republic of Honduras."

Great Britain rejected this amendment, assigning as the only reason, that the ratifications of the convention of the 27th of August, 1856, between her and Honduras, had not been texchanged, owing to the hesitation of that govern-ment." Had this been done, it is stated that "her Majesty's government would have had little difficulty in agreeing to the modification proposed by the Senate, which then would have had in effect the same signification as the original wording." Whether this would have been the effect; whether the mere circumstance of the exchange of the ratifications of the British convention with Honduras prior in point of time to the ratification of our treaty with Great Britain would, "in effect," have had "the same signification as the original wording," and thus have nullified the amendment of the Senate,

may well be doubted. It is, perhaps, fortunate that the question has never arisen. The British government, immediately after rejecting the treaty as amended, proposed to enter into a new treaty with the United States, similar in all respects to the treaty which they had refused to ratify, if the United States would consent to add to the Senate's clear and unqual-ified recognition of the sovereignty of Honduras over the Bay Islands, the following conditional stipulations:—"Whenever and so soon as the re-public of Honduras shall have concluded and ratified a treaty with Great Britain, by which

ratified a treaty with Great Britain, by which Great Britain shall have caded, and the republic of Honduras shall have accepted, the said islands, subject to the provisions and conditions contained in such treaty."

This proposition was, of course, rejected. After the Senate had refused to recognize the British convention with Honduras, of the 27th August, 1856, with full knowledge of its contents, it was impossible for me, necessarily ignorant of the provisions and conditions" which might be contained in a future convention between the contained in a future convention between the ame parties, to sanction them in advance.

The fact is, that when two nations like Great Britain and the United States, mutually desirous as they are, and I trust ever may be, of maintaining the most friendly relations with each other, have unfortunately concluded a treaty which they understand in senses directly oppo site, the wisest course is to abrogate such a treaty by mutual consent, and to commence anew. Had this been done promptly, all difficulties in Central America would most probably ere this have been adjusted to the satisfaction

of both parties. The time spent in discussing the meaning of the Clayton and Bulwer treaty, would have been devoted to this praiseworthy purpose, and the task would have been the more easily accom-plished because the interest of the two counries in Central America is identical, being confined to secureing safe transits over all the routes across the Isthmus.

Whilst entertaining these sentiments, I shall nevertheless not refuse to contribute to any reasonable adjustment of the Central American question, which is not practically inconsistent with the American interpretation of the treaty. Overtures for this purpose have been recently made by the British government in a friendly spirit, which I cordially reciprocate; but whether this renewed effort will result in success, I

am not yet prepared to express an opinion. A brief period will determine. With France our ancient relations of friendship still continue to exist. The French government have, in several recentinstances, which need not ments and people of the two countries to be on terms of intimate friendship with each other, it is been our misfortune almost always to have had some irritating, if not dangerous out-standing of the origin or origin origin or origin or origin or origin or origin origi

Our commercial treaty with France is in this Washington, acts of Congress have been in force respect an exception from our treaties with all to punish severely the crime of setting on foot other commercial nations. It jenlously levies a military expedition within the limits of the discriminating duties both on tonnage and on articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the one country, when arriving in vessels belonging to the other.

More than forty years ago, on the 3d of

March, 1815, Congress passed an act offering to all hations to admit their vessels laden, with their national productions into the ports of the United States upon the same terms with our own vessels, provided they would reciprocate to ussimilar advantages. The act confined the reciprocity to the productions of the respective foreign nations who might enter into the proposed arrangement with the United States. The act of May 24, 1828, removed this restriction, and ordered a similar reciprocity to all such vessels without reference to the origin of their cargoes. Upon these principles, our com-mercial treaties and arrangements have been founded, except with France; and let us hope that this exception may not long exist.

Our relations with Russia remain, as they have ever been, on the most friendly footing.— The present Emperor, as well as his predecessors have never failed, when the occasion offered, to manifest their good will to our country;

and their friendship has always been highly ap-preciated by the government and people of the United States.

With all other European governments, except

that of Spain, our relations are as peaceful as we could desire. I regret to say that no progress whatever has been made, since the adjournment. of Congress, toward the settlement of any of the numerous claims of our citizens against the Spanish government. Besides the outrage com-Spanish government. Besides the outrage com-mitted on our flag by the Spanish war frigater. Ferrolana, on the high seas, off the coast of Cuba, in March, 1855, by firing into the Ameri-can Mail steamer El Dorado, and detaining and searching her, remains usucknowledged and un-redressed. The general tone and temper of the Spanish government toward that of the United States are much to be regretted. Our present Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Madrid has asked to be recalled; and it is my purpose to send out a new Minister to Spain, with special instructions on all questions pending between the two governments, and with determination to have them speedily and amig cably adjusted, if this be possible. In the meantine, whenever our Minister urges the justicities of our citizens on the motion of the Spanish government, he is met with the objection that Congress has never made the appropriation record mended by President Polk in his annual message. of December, 1847, "to be paid to the govern-ment for the purpose of distribution among the claimants in the Amistad case." A similar commendation was made by my immediate predecessor, in his message of December, 1853; and entirely concurring with the thin the opinion we that this indemnity is justly due and entirely with Spain of the 27th October, 1795, I. earnestly recommend such an appropriation to the favorable consideration of Congress

A treaty of friendship, and commerce was concluded at Constantinople on the 13th De-cember, 1856, between the United States and Persia, the ratifications of which were exchanged t Constantinople on the 13th June, 1857, and the treaty was proclaimed by the President on the 18th August, 1857. This treaty, it is believed, will prove beneficial to American commerce. The Shah has manifested an earnest disposition to cultivate friendly relations with our country, and has expressed a strong wish-that we should be represented at Teheran by a minister clenipotentiary; and I recommend that

an appropriation be made for this purpose

Recent occurrences in China, have been unfavorable to a revision of the treaty with that empire of the 8d July, 1844, with a view to the security and extension of our commerce. The 24th article of this treaty stipulated for airevision of it, in case experience should prove this to be requisite; "in which case the two govern-ments will, at the expiration of twelve years from the date of said convention, treat amicably concerning the same, by means of suitable persons appointed to conduct such negotiations. These twelve years expired on the 8d of July; 1856; but long before that period it was ascerained that important changes in the treat were necessary; and several fruitless attempts were necessary; and several runtless attempts were made by the commissioner of the United States to effect these changes. Another effort was about to be made for the same purpose by our commissioner, in conjunction with the ministers of England and France, but this was suspended by the occurrence of hostilities in the Canton river etween Great Britain and the Chinese Empire. The hostilities have necessarily interrupted he trade of all vations with Canton; which is low in a state of blockade, and have occasioned a serious loss of life and property. Meanwhile the insurrection within the empire against the

existing imperial dynasty still continues, and it is difficult to anticipate what will be the result. Under these circumstances, I have deemed itdvisable to appoint a distinguished citizen of ennsylvania envoy to China, and to avail hir self of any opportunities which may offer to effect changes in the existing treaty favorable to American commerce. He left the United States, for the place of his destination in July last, in the war steamer, Minneaota. Special ministers to China have also been appointed by the Government of Chona British and Englishment. Whilst our minister has been instructed to ocupy neutral position in reference to the existg hostilities at Canton, he will cordially co operate with the British and French ministers a all peaceful measures to secure by treaty

stipulations, those just concessions to commerce which the nations of the world have a right to expect, and which China cannot long be per-nifted to withhold. From assurances received, entertain no doubt that the three Ministers vill act in harmonious concert to obtain similar commercial treaties for each of the powers they present... which will be a deep sinterest to all

hat concerns the welfare of the independnt republics on our own continent, as well as of the Empire of Brazil.
Our difficulties with New Granada, which a hort time since bore so threatening an aspect, are, it is to be hoped in a fair train of settle-ment, in a manner just and honorable to both

The Isthmus of Central America, including that of Panama, is the great highway between the Atlantic and Pacific, over which a large portion of the commerce of the world is destined to pass. The United States are more deeply in. crested than any other nation in preserving the freedom and security of all the communications across this isthmus. It is our duty, therefore, to take care that they shall not be interrupted either by invasions from our own country or by wais between the independent States of Central America. Under our treaty with New Grenada of the 12th December, 1846, we are bound to guaranty the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama, through which the Panama railroad passes, "as well as the rights of overeignty and property which New Grenada has and possesses over the said Territory." This obligation is founded upon equivalents granted by the treaty to the government and

people of the United States.
Under these circumstances, I recommend to Congress the passage of an act authorizing the President, in case of necessity, to employ the land and naval forces of the United States to carry into effect this guarantee of neutrality and protection. I also recommend similar legslation for the security of any other route across the isthmus in which we may acquire

an interest by treaty.
With the independent republics on this contipent, it is both our duty and our interest to oultivate the most friendly relations. We can never feel indifferent to their fate, and must lalways: rejoice in their prosperity. Unfortunately, both for them and for us, our example and advice have lost much of their influence in consequence of the lawless expeditions which have been fitted out against some of them within the limits of our country. Nothing is better calculated to retard our steady material progress, or impairs our character as a nation, than the toleration of such enterprises, in violation of the law of pa-

It is one of the first and highest duties of any independent State, in its relations with the mem-bers of the great family of nations, to restrain its people from acts of hostile aggression against their citizens and subjects. The most eminent-writers on public law do not hesitate to denounce such hostile acts as robbery and murder. Weak and feeble States like those of Central America, may not feel themselves able to accort and vindicate their rights. The case would be far different if expeditions were set on foot with-in our own territories to make private war

United States, to proceed from thence against a nation or State with whom we are at peace. The present neutrality det of April 26th, 1818; is but little more than a collection of pre existing laws." Under this set the President is empowered to employ the land and naval force and militia "for "the purpose of preventing the carrying on of any such expedition or enterprize from the territories and jurisdiction of the United States," and the collectors of customs are authorized and required to detain any vessel in port, when there

is reason to believe she is about to take part in

such lawless enterprises.

When it was first-rendered probable that an attempt would be made to get up another un-lawful expedition against Nicaragus; the Secre-tary of State issued instructions to the marshala and district attorneys; which were directed by propriate army and navy officers, requiring them to be vigilant, and to use their best exer-tious in carrying into effect the provisions of the act of 1818. Notwithstanding these pre-dictions, the expedition has escaped from our shores. Such enterprises can do no possible good to the country, but have already inflicted much injury both on its interests and its char-acter. They have prevented peaceful emigra-tion from the United States to the States of Central America, which could not fail to prove highly beneficial to all the parties concerned. In a pecuniary point of view alone, our olizens, have egustained heavy losses from the seizure and closing of the transit, route by San

Juan between the two oceans.

The leader of the recent expedition was artreeted at New Orleans, but, was discharged on giving bail forthis appearance in the insufficient, sum of two thousand dollars.

good commend the whole subject to the serious attention of fongress, believing that our duly, and interest, as well'as our national characters, require that we should adopt such measures as will be effectual in restraining our ditizens from, committing such outrages.

Live I regret to inform you that the President of Paraguy has refused to ratify the treaty between the United States and that State, as amended by the Senate, the signature of which was mentioned in the message of my predecessor to Congress at the opening of its session in Deceme-ber, 1853, Thereasons assigned for this refusal

will sappear in the correspondence therewith authoritied. Fil being desirable to ascertain the finess of The being desirable to ascertain the fitness of the river La Plata, and its tributaries, for mavigation by steam, the 'Intied' States steamer "Water Witch," was sent thither for that purpose, in 1853. This enterprise was successfully carried on until February, 1855, when whilst in the peaceful prosecution of her voyage up the Parada river, the steamer was fired upon by Parada yan fort. The fire was returned but as the "Waler Witch" was of small force, and not designed for offensive operations, she retired from the conflict. The pretext upon which the of Paraguay, of October, 1854, prohibiting for-eign vessels of war from navigating the rivers of that State. As Paraguay, however, was the

owner of but one bank of the river of that habe, the other belonging to Corrients, a Sidte of the Argentine Confederation, the right of its government to expect that such a decree would be obeyed, cannot be acknowledged. But the Water Witch was not, properly speaking, a vessel-of-war. She was a small steamer, engaged in a scientific enterprise in tended for the advantage of commercial States generally: Under these circumstances, I am constrained to consider the attack upon her as unjustifiable, and as calling for satisfaction rom the Paraguayan government.
Citizens of the United States, also, who were es-

fablished in business in Paraguay, have had their property seized and taken from them; and have otherwise been treated by the authorities in an nsulting and arbitrary manner, which requires

A demand for these purposes will be made in a firm but concilatory spirit. This will the more probably be granted if the Executive shall have authority to use other means in the event al. This is ac It is unnecessary to state in detail the alarm-ing condition of the Territory of Kansas at the time of my inauguration. The opposing par-ties then stood in hostile array against each other, and any accident might have relighted the flames of civil war Besides, at this critical moment, Kansas was left without a governor, by the resignation of Governor Geary.

by the resignation of Governor Geary.
On the 19th of February previous, the territorial legislature had passed a law providing for the election of delegates on the third Monday of Sune, to a convention to meet on the lst Monday of September, for the purpose of framing a Constitution preparatory to admission into the Union. This law was in the main fair and just; and it is to be regretted that all the qualified electors had not registered themselves and world under its provisions.

extensive organization existed in the Territory, whose avowed object it was, it need be, to put down the lawful government by force, and to establish a government of their own, under the ttached to this revolutionary organization, abstained from taking any part in the election. The act of the territorial legislature had omitted to provide for submitting to the people, the Constitution which might be framed by the Convention, and in the excited state of public feeling throughout Kansas, an apprehension extensively prevailed othat a design existed. o force upon them a constitution in relation of slavery against their will. In this emergency, t became my duty, as it was my unquestionally right, having in view the union of all good cit? eds in support of the territorial laws, to express an sets in support of the territorial laws, to express an opinion on the true construction of the provisions, concorning slavery contained in the organic act of Copfress of the 30th of May, 1864. Congress debelar delictorie the true interest and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery like any Territory or State, non to exclude it therefrom, but, to have the people thereof perfectly free to form, and regulate their dependence of the contained with the contained to the contain

Their domestic institutions in their own way, "a Un-der it, Kansas, "when admitted as a State," was to the received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission."

as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission."

Did Congress mean by this language that the delegates elected to theme a constitution should have another their ty finally, to decide the question of slavery or did they intend by leaving it to the people that the poople of Kansas: themselves abould decide this question by a direct yot? On this subject I confess I had never energiated a serious doubt, and; therefore, in, my instructions to Governor. Walker, of the 28 hof March last, I merely said that when, a constitution shall be submitted to the people of the Bereau Tritory, they must be projected in the experience that he are the first of voting for or against that instrument and the fair expression of the popular, will smutuate the interripted by fraud or votence were a light of the people of Kansas, either for or against slavery. From this I have always carefully abstanced. But usted with the dairy of the king "care that the laws be faithfully executed and of the laws be faithfully executed.

or stoud not could not consist the only possible mode in which their will could be anthentically ascertained.

The election of delegates to a convention must necessarily take place in separate districts. From this cause it may readily happen, as has often been the case, that the majority of the people of a State for Territory are one side of a question, whils a majority of the representatives from the several districts into which it is divided may be upon the other viots delegates may be elected, by small majorities, whilst in others those of different sentiments, may receive majorities which is former, but to leave a large majority of the whole receive majorities of the delegates. Besides, our history a proves—that indusness may be proved that in constituents of the delegates. Besides, our history or proves—that indusness may be brought to bear on the representative sufficiently powerful to induce him to disregard the will of his constituents. The truth is, that no other authentic and satisfactory the people of any state or Territory on an important the people of any state or Territory on an important the constituents. the people of any Enteror Territory on an important and exciting hiestion like that of elavory in Kansas, except by leaving it to a direct vote. How wise, then, was it for Congress to pass over all subjections and intermediate agencies, and proceed directly to the source of all negttimate power under our institutions?

ing slavery, ugaingt the sentiment of the people; this could have no other effect than to continue and

大学学的 化加速 1995年1月19日,从中国的基本国际的国际中的国际国际中央的国际的国际(1997年),并国际共和国的国际和国际共和国的国际国际

their honor, that they would cheerfully submit the question of clavery to the decision of the bona fide people of Kaussa, without any restriction or qualification whatever. All were cordially united upon the great doctrine of popular sovereignty, which is the vital principle of our free institutions. Had it the vital principle of our free institutions. Had it then feen insinuated from any squarter that it would be a sufficient compliance with the requisitions of the organic law for the members of a convention. Thereafter to be elected, to withfold the question of slavery from the people, and to substitute their own will for that of a legally ascertained mejority of all their constituents, this would have been instantly rejected. Everywhere they remained true to the resolutions adopted on a celebrated occasion recognising "the right of the people of all Territories—including Rapsas and Nebraska—acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the manber of of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States."

ther States." (1998) (1 The Convention to frame a Constitution for Kan-gia met on the first Monday of September last.
They were called together by virtue of an act of the Territorial Legislature, whose lawful existence had been recognised by Congress in different forms and by different enactments. A large proportion of the citizens of Kansas did not think proper to register their names and the virtue the election for delagrature. their names and to vote at the election for delegates but an opportunity to do this having been fairly afforded, their refusal to grail themselves of their fight could in no imagner affect the legality of the Convection.

The settlers then proceeded to frame a constitution or Karsas, and finally adjourned on the 7th day of November. But little difficulty, occurred in the convention except on the guliect of slavery. The truth is that the general provisions of our recent? State constitutions are so similar and; Emay add, to exconstitutions are so similar—and; Emay add, so excellent—that the difference between them is not estimated. Under the earlier practice of the Government, no constitution framed by the convention of a Territory preparatory to its admission into the Union:
as a State, had been submitted to the people. I trust however, the example, set by the last Congress, regularing that the Constitution of Minnesota "should be subject to the approval and ratifications of the proposed State," may be followed on people, of the proposed State," may be followed on future occasions. Took it for granted that the convention of Kansas would set in accordance with this example, founded as it is, on correct principles, and hence my instructions to Governor Walker, in favor of submitting the Constitution to the people, were expressed in general and among lifed terms. server of submitting the "Constitution" to the people, were expressed in general and angualified terms. In the Kansas and Nebraska, bill, however, this prequirement, as applicable to the whole Constitution had not been inserted; and the convention was note about by its terms to submit any portion of the institution, but to an election, except that which relates to the "domestic institution" of slavery. This will be a rendered clear by a simple reference to its language. It was not "legislate a avery into any new Territory. rendered clear by a simple reference to its language.

It was not "legislate a ayery into any new Territory, or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulated their douestic institutions in their own way." According to the sentence, of the words "domestic institutions" have a direct, as the words "domestic institutions" have a direct, as they have an appropriate, reference to slavery.

"Domestic institutions," are limited to the family.

The relation between master, and alexe and a few others are "domestic institutions," and are entirely distinct from institutions of a political character.

Besides, there was no question then before Congress, nor indeed has there since been any serious question before the people of Kansas or the "doubtry," except that which refers to the "domestic institution" of sellavery.

slavery.

The convention, after an angry and excited debate, finally determined; by a majority of only two, to submit the question of slavery, the people, though at the last forty-three of the fity delegates present affixed their signatures to the constitution. their signatures to the constitution.

"A large majority of the Convention were in favor of establishing slavery in Kansas. They accordingly inserted an article in the Constitution for this purpose similar in form to those which had been adoppose similar incroim to those which had been adopted by other territorial conventions. In the schedule, however, providing for the transition from a territerial to a State government the question has been fairly and explicitly referred to the people, whether they will have a constitution "with or without slavery." It declares that before the constitution adopted by the convention of shall be sent to Congress for admission into the Union as a State," an election shall be held to decide this question, at which all the while male inhabitants of the territory above the age of twenty one are entitled to vote.

Ty above the age of twenty-one are entitled to vote.
They are to vote by ballor; and the "ballots cast at asid election shall be endorsed & Constitution with Slavery,' and 'Constitution with no Slavery.'" If there be a majority in favor of the "Constitution with Slavery!! "then it is to a be transmitted to Congress by the President of the Convention in its original form." If, on the contrary, there shall be a majority in favor of the "Constitution with no Slave-ry," "then the artic e-providing for slavery; shall be stricken from the Constitution by the President of the Convention; seand, it is expressly declared that no slavery shall exist in Kansas, except that the right of property in slayes now in the territory shall in no manner be interfered with "and in that event it is made his duty to have the Constitution thus ratified transmitted to the Congress of the United States for the admission of the State into the Union.

States for the admission of the State into the Union. Atthistelection every citizen; will have an apportunity of expressing his opinion by his vote "whether Kaneas shall he received into the Union with or without slavery," and thus this exciting, question may be peacefully settled in the very mode required by the originic law. "The election will be held under legitimate authority, and if any portion of the inhabitants shall refuse to vote, a fair opportunity to do of having been prespited; this with be their own voluntary act, and they alone will be responsible for the consequences." own voluntary act, and they alone will be responsible for the consequences: 1 or 100 o

The discord, and possibly in civil war, before the case of the discord, and possibly in civil war, before the case again reach the point she has already attained case. Ransas has for some years occupied, too, much of the public attention. It is high time she should be directed to far more important objects. When once

admitted into the Union, whether with or without slavery, the excitement beyond the dwn limits will speedily pass away, and the will then for the first time be left, as she ought to have been long since, to mahage her own affairs in her own way. If her constitution on the subject of alvery, or any other subject to displaying to a majority of the provide received. jet, he displessing to a majority of the people, no human power can prevent them from changing it within a brief period. Under these circumstatices, it may well he questioned whether the peace and adjusted the within a brief period.

Jailetoftherwhole country are not of greater important of the tip mere temporary, triumph of either of the collical parties in Kansas.

Should the constitution without slavery be adopted by the wetestof the majority, the rights of property, in slaves now the majority, the rights of property in slaves now the provisions will 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 indicial. 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 her joint expense, both equality and justice demand that the citizen of tone and all of them shall have the right to take into it whatsoevers a recognised as property by the common Constitution. To these summarity confiscated

mon Constitution. Prochave summarity confiscated the property in slaves already in the Territory, swelld have been an act of gross injustice, and constitution the process of the older States of the Union which have abolished slavery.

A territorial government was established for Union by act of Congress approved the 9th September. 1850, and the Constitution and laws of the United States were thereby extended over it as far as the some or any provisionse the requiring her applied ble.

This act provided for the appointment by the President, by and with the appointment by the President, by and with the appointment by the President, by and with the approximation of the Senate, of a Governor, who was to be exufficio superintendent of Indian affairs, a Secretary, three have always carefully abstained. Entrusted with the dity of their greater that the laws be faithfully executed, "in y only desire was that the people of Kan's should furnish to Congress the evidence required by the organic act; whether, for one against, elayer; and in this manner, smooth their, passage, into, the Linder of the Supreme Court, a Marshal and a Displayer of the manner, smooth their, passage, into, the Linder of the Supreme Court, and marshal and a Displayer of the manner, smooth their, passage, into, the Linder of the Supreme Court, a Marshal and a Displayer of the manner, smooth their, passage, into, the Linder of the Supreme Court, a Marshal and a Displayer of the manner, smooth their, passage, into, the Linder of the Supreme Court, and marshal and a Displayer of the manner, smooth their, passage, into, the Linder of the Supreme Court, and marshal and a Displayer of the marshal and a Displayer of the Supreme Court, and say the Linder of the Supreme Court, and the Linder of the Supreme Court, and and and and a Displayer of the Supremer of the Marshal and a Displayer of the Supremer of the Marshal and a Displayer of the Supremer of the Supremer of the Territory.

Brigham Young was appointed the first Governor of the Court, and with the period of the Court, and with the period of the Court, and with the period of the Court, and and the printer of the supremer of the Marshal and a Displayer of the Supremer of the Suprem the need of the church carried the Latter Day Santas and disposes of their property by dispot, inspiration, and, authority from the Almighty. His power has been, therefore, a solute over both Church and State.

The people of Utab, almost exclusively, belong to The people of Utan, almost excusively, belong to this church, and, believing that a fanatical spirit, that he is Governor of the Territory by Divine ap-pointment, they obey his commands as if these were direct revelations from Heaven. His therefore, he shouses that his government shall come in collision with the Government of the United States, the mem-bers of the wormon Church will yield implicit obe-dience to his will. Unfartunately bers of the mormon Couron will yield implicit obe-dience to his will and Unfertunately, existing facts leave but it tie doubt that such is his determination. Without entering into a minute history of occurren-des, it is sufficient to say that all the officers of the United States indicise and executive, with the single exception of two Indian agents, have found it ne-

exception of two Indian agents, have found it necessary for thely 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, Lecula portmistake the path of duty. As Chief 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 force of the constitution and laws within its limits, and the constitution and laws within its limits. In order to effect this purpose, I appointed a new force of the constitution and laws within its limits. ent with them a military force for their protection, and to aid as a posse comitatus, in case of need, in and to aid as a posse comitatue, in case of need, in the execution of the laws. 11. With the religious opinions of the Mormons, agricultural of the moral stay remained mere opinions, however. deplorable in themselves and revolting to the moral and religious septiments of all Christendom; T had no tight to interfere, 1 Actions alone, when in ricidation of the constitution and laws of the United States.

pleying the military in restoring and maintaining the authority of the law; but this hope has now vanished. Gov. Young has, by proclaimation, declared his determination to maintain his power by force, and has already committed acts of hostility against the United States. Unless he should retrace his steps the Territory of Utah will be in a state of open rebellion. He has committed there acts of hostility notwithstanding Major Van Vieit, an officer of the army, sent to Utah by the commanding General to purchase provisions for the troops, had given him the strongest assurances 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 Gov. Young has long contemplated this result. He knows that the continuance of his despotic power depends upon the exclusion of all settlers from the Territory except ploying the military in restoring and maintaining. peace they w'll prove as effective as much larger verse enumuates of his despote power depends and 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 opini-n there would soon prostrate institutions at war with the laws of both God and manthe has, therefore, for several years, in order to main-tain his independence, been industriously employed in collecting and fabricating arms and munition 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 United States. This, according to our information, he has accomplished in regard to some of these tribe, while others have remained true to their alle-

which, in case of necessity, as he informed Major. Van Vleit, he vill concest, "and then take to the mountains, and bid defiance to all the powers of

no wise government will lightly estimate the efforts which may be inspired by such phrensies fanaticism s exists among the Mermons of 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 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 mainer 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.

territorial government over Arizona, incorporating with it such portions of New Mexico as they 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 Arizons, and these are now without any efficient protection. Their present number is already considerable, and is rapidly increasing, not ready considerable, and is replay increasing, nor-withstanding the disadvantage under which they la-bor. Besides, the proposed Territory is believed to be rich in mineral and agricultural resources, es-pecially in silver and copper. The mails of the United States to California are now carried over it

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 cooduct, 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 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 armies," "to provide and maintain a navy," and to call forth the militia to "repel invasions." 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 constitusacredand so imperative as that of preserving our soil from the invasion of a foreign enemy. The constitution, but expressly requires that "the U. States shall protecteach of them (the States) against invasion." Now, if a militory road over our own Territories be indispensably necessary to enable us to meet and repol'the invad r, it follows as a necessary consequence not only that we possess the power, but that 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! transport men and munitions of war from the Atlan tic 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 com-

military railroad to connect our Atlantic and Pa-cific States have been greatly exaggerated. The distance on the Arizonia route near the 32d 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 470 miles, and the face of the country is, in the main, favorable. For obvious reasons the Govern ment ought not to undertake the work itself by means of its own agents. This ought to be com-incars of its own agents. This ought to be com-inited to other agencies, which Congress might as-seits either by grants of land or money, or by both, upon such terms and conditions as they may deem

additional bond of unions; And although advantages of this kind, whethe postal, commercial, or political, cannot confer constitutional power, yet they may furni h auxiliary arguments in favor of expediatiog awork which, in my judgment, is clearly embraced

furni h auxiliary arguments in favor of expediating a work which, in my judgment, is clearly embraced within the war making power.

For these reasons I co is ment to the fiendly consideration of Congress the subject of the Perifice, iro.d. without thatly cor mit los mys. if to any particular roll.

The report of the Scretary of the freasury will furnish a deal ed statement of any particular roll.

The report of the Scretary of the freasury will furnish a deal ed statement of the freasury will furnish a deal ed statement of the freasury will furnish a feet ed statement of the government. By this report is appears has the amount of revenue received from all scattes into the treatury during the fiscal system and if the Sob of June 18.7, was skity-light million six hundred and thirty-one thousand five hundred and thirty-one thousand five hundred and thirty-one thousand three hundred and one thousand three hundred and one thousand three hundred and one thousand three hundred and tentification 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-line dollars and thirty-two thousand eight hundred and theirty-fine dollars and thirty-two thousand eight hundred and tweet ty-two thousands seven hundred and tweet four dollars and thouse thoused charty fit cents, (50,2,2,24,25) of which give million, hine thoused and only interest to use eight hundred and lars and eight hundred and they six collars and ninety of cents (53,5,35,25,712.)

The eccepts into the reason for the first quarter of the present flows and are almost the commence of the present flows and the first quarter of the present flows and the first quarter of the present flows and the first quarter of the present flows and first quarter of t

pages they w'll prove as effective as much larger vessel, and of en more instruct.

Une of them, should be at every station, where we may take a squadron, and threeso four, house be continued to the most and a second more attained and the continued to the most attained and the continued to the most attained and the continued to the most attained attained at the tenth of the most attained attained at the tenth of the most attained attained attained at the most attained attaine

one country of fitting prosper by and power!

We have here tolore disposed of \$33,652,664 acres of the public and.

We have here tolore disposed of \$33,652,664 acres of the public and.

Whist the public lands as a source of revenue at of fittal inition or the public and as a source of revenue at of fittal inition or the public and as a source of revenue at of fittal inition or the public and the properties of the public and and the promoting citizen, who desire to subdute a declivate the soil. They out the object of mainty with a level promoting this wis and benevoent policy. In appropriation, the most any other purpose, we such to use even more another to the promoting this wis and benevoent policy. In appropriation, the public trees are commy than if they had been converted no more another proceeds were already in the public trees urry.

To quander away this richest and nobles inheritates which any people have ever enjoyed upon of or of a color of the nost important trusts, eyer or with the violate one of the nost important trusts, eyer or with the arrivation and people. Whist I do not done to Corpete with powers when citing bons it as any people. Whist I do not done to Corpete with powers of them for the Dipose of interesting the various of the most important trusts, eyer or with the mainter of the proceeds and the powers we called the revenue of the remainder, yet, (out-tering the vertex of the year of the remainder, yet, out-there has the great on the powers we called the proceeds and the proceeds are proceeded. As a first of the proceeds and the proceeds are provided to a great or a great to a great or and the proceeds and thus the powers of the proceeds giance, and have communicated his intrigues to our Indian agents.

He has laid in a store of provisions for three years and companies, and, thus the price has alread, enhancing those who destret to purchase for actual settlem int. It is der to limit the weap of specially as actual settlem int. It is der to limit the weap of specially settlement of the positive interests and in the price of the p government."

A great part of this may be idle boasting, but ye

I recommend to Congress the establishment of a throughout its whole extent, and this route is known to be the nearest, and believed to be the best to the

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 Con-gress 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 upon such terms and conditions as they may deemin most beneficial to the country. Provision might thus be made not only for the safe, rapid and connomical transportation of troops and minitions of war, but also of the public mails.

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, whethe nostal commercial, or political.

ble consideration the interests of the specific of the strength of the first strength of the s WASHINGTON, December 8, 1857. A'DVERTISEMENTS. RTHURS, RODGERS & CO., BANKERS, AND DEALERS IN GOLD, SILVER, BANK NOTES, EXCHANGE, TIME BILLS, AND CERTIFICATES OF DEPOSIT Collections, Made in all the Principal Cities. INTEREST PAID ON TIME DEPOSITS. Corner Fourth and Smithfield Streets. PITTSBURGH, PA. W. of Town EASTERN, EXCHANGE, 2a4 prem.

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truth, soming is, in many cases, note unionated.

From the practice of Congress, such an examination of each other the constitution requires, has been rendered impossible. The most important burders of each seed in is generally crowsed, into its last bours, and the alternate presented to the Presideat is their to violate the Constitutional duby, which he swes, to the prople, and approve bis which, for want of time, it is impossible the should have examined or by his refusal to do this, subject the country and individuals to geat to sand inconventure.

Besides, appractice has grown, up for late years to legislate in appropriation bills, at the last hours of the session, on new and important subjects. This practice constrains the President either, to suber, measures to become laws which he does not approve, or to incur the risk of stopping the whicels of the government by vetoing an appropriation bill. Formerly, such bills were confined to specific appropriations for carrying two effect existing laws and the well established policy of the gountry, and little time was then required by the President for their examination.

Ination.

For my own part, I have deliberatively determined that "Finall approve" no bill which I have not examined, and it will be a case of extreme and urgent necessity which shall ever induce me to depart from this rule. I therefore re-

ever induce me to depart from this 'rule.' I therefore respectfully, but easnestly, recommend that the two Houses would allow the President at least two days revious to the adjournment of 'each session within which no new hill shall be presented to him for approval. Under the existing joint rule one day is allowed; but this rule has been hitherto so constantly suspended in practice, that important bills continue to be presented to him up till the very last moments of the session.

very last moments of the session.

Inta large majority of cases, no, great public inconvenience can arise from the want or time to examine their provisions, because the Constitution has declared that it a bill be presented to the President within the last ten dry of the session he is not required to return it, either with

of the session he is not required to return it, either with an approval or with a yeto, "in which case it shall not be a law." It may then he over, and he taken up and passed at the next session. I Great inconvenience would only be experienced in regard to appropriation bills; but fortunately, under the late excellent law allowing a salary in

stead of a peridiem to members of Congress, the expense and inconvenience of a called session will be greatly reduced; and a called session will be greatly reduced.

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