

restoration, and that project also died almost with its birth. Then followed the cry of alarm from the North against imputed Southern encroachments; which cry sprang in reality from the spirit of revolutionary attack on the domestic institutions of the South, and, after a troubled existence of a few months, has been rebuked by the voice of a patriotic people.

Of this last agitation one lamentable feature was that it was carried on at the immediate expense of the peace and happiness of the people of the Territory of Kansas. That was made the battle-field, not so much of opposing factions or interests within itself as of the conflicting passions of the whole people of the United States. Revolutionary disorder in Kansas had its origin in projects of intervention, deliberately arranged by certain members of that Congress which enacted the law for the organization of the Territory.

And when propagandist colonization of Kansas had thus been undertaken in one section of the Union for the systematic promotion of its peculiar views of policy, there ensued, as a matter of course, a counter-action, with opposite views, in other sections of the Union.

In consequence of these and other incidents, many acts of disorder, it is undeniable, have been perpetrated in Kansas, to the occasional interruption rather than the permanent suspension of regular government. Aggressive and most reprehensible incursions into the Territory were undertaken, both in the North and the South, and entered it on its northern border by the way of Iowa, as well as on the eastern by way of Missouri; and there has existed within it a state of insurrection against the constituted authorities, not without countenance from inconsiderate persons in each of the great sections of the Union. But the difficulties in that Territory have been extravagantly exaggerated for purposes of political agitation elsewhere. The number and gravity of the acts of violence have been magnified partly by statements entirely untrue, and partly by reiterated accounts of the same rumors or facts. Thus the Territory has been seemingly filled with extreme violence, when the whole amount of such acts has not been greater than what occasionally passes before us in single cities, to the regret of all good citizens, but without being regarded as of general or permanent political consequence.

Imputed irregularities in the elections had in Kansas, like occasional irregularities of the same description in the States, were beyond the sphere of action of the Executive. But incidents of actual violence or of organized obstruction of law, pertinaciously renewed from time to time, have been met, as they occurred, by such means as were available and as the circumstances required; and nothing of this character now remains to affect the general peace of the Union. The attempt of a part of the inhabitants of the Territory to erect a revolutionary government, though sedulously encouraged and supplied with pecuniary aid from active agents of disorder in some of the States, has completely failed. Bodies of armed men, foreign to the Territory, have been prevented from entering or compelled to leave it; predatory bands, engaged in acts of rapine, under cover of the existing political disturbances, have been arrested or dispersed; and every well-disposed person is now enabled once more to devote himself in peace to the pursuits of prosperous industry, for the prosecution of which he undertook to participate in the settlement of the Territory.

It affords me unmingled satisfaction thus to announce the peaceful condition of things in Kansas, especially considering the means to which it was necessary to have recourse for the attainment of the end, namely, the employment of a part of the military force of the United States. The withdrawal of that force from its proper duty of defending the country against foreign foes or the savages of the frontier, to employ it for the suppression of domestic insurrection, is, when the exigency occurs, a matter of the most earnest solicitude. On this occasion of imperative necessity it has been done with the best results, and my satisfaction in the attainment of such results by such means is greatly enhanced by the consideration that through the wisdom and energy of the present Executive of Kansas, and the prudence, firmness, and vigilance of the military officers on duty there, tranquility has been restored without one drop of blood having been shed in its accomplishment by the forces of the United States.

The restoration of comparative tranquility in that Territory furnishes the means of observing calmly and appreciating at their just value the events which have occurred there, and the discussions of which the government of the Territory has been the subject.

We perceive that controversy concerning its future domestic institutions was inevitable; that no human prudence, no form of legislation, no wisdom on the part of Congress could have prevented it.

It is idle to suppose that the particular provisions of their organic law were the cause of agitation. Those provisions were but the occasion or the pretext of an agitation which was inherent in the nature of things. Congress legislated upon the subject in such terms as were most consonant with the principle of popular sovereignty which underlies our Government. It could not have legislated otherwise without doing violence to another great principle of our institutions, the inalienable right of equality of the several States.

We perceive, also, that sectional interests and party passions have been the great impediment to the salutary operation of the organic principles adopted, and the chief cause of the successive disturbances in Kansas. The assumption that, because in the organization of the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas Congress abstained from imposing restraints upon them to which certain other Territories had been subject, therefore disorders occurred in the latter Territory, is emphatically contradicted by the fact that none have occurred in the former. Those disorders were not the consequence, in Kansas, of the freedom of

self-government conceded to that Territory by Congress, but of unjust interference on the part of persons not inhabitants of the Territory. Such interference, wherever it has exhibited itself, by acts of insurrectionary character or of obstruction to process of law, has been repelled or suppressed by all the means which the Constitution and the laws place in the hands of the Executive.

In those parts of the United States where, by reason of the inflamed state of the public mind, false rumors and misrepresentations have the greatest currency, it has been assumed that it was the duty of the Executive not only to suppress insurrectionary movements in Kansas, but also to see to the regularity of local elections. It needs little argument to show that the President has no such power. All government in the United States rests substantially upon popular election. The freedom of elections is liable to be impaired by the intrusion of unlawful votes or the exclusion of lawful ones by improper influences, by violence, or by fraud. But the people of the United States are themselves the all-sufficient guardians of their own rights, and to suppose that they will not remedy, in due season, any such incidents of civil freedom is to suppose them to have ceased to be capable of self-government. The President of the United States has not power to interpose in elections, to see to their freedom, to canvass their votes, or to pass upon their legality in the Territories any more than in the States. If he had such power the Government might be republican in form, but it would be a monarchy in fact; and if he had undertaken to exercise it in the case of Kansas he would have been justly subject to the charge of usurpation and of violation of the dearest rights of the people of the United States.

Unwise laws, equally with irregularities at elections, are, in periods of great excitement, the occasional incidents of even the freest and best political institutions. But all experience demonstrates that in a country like ours, where the right of self-constitution exists in the completest form, the attempt to remedy unwise legislation by resort to revolution is totally out of place; inasmuch as existing legal institutions afford more prompt and efficacious means for the redress of wrong.

I confidently trust that now, when the peaceful condition of Kansas affords opportunity for calm reflection and wise legislation, either the Legislative Assembly of the Territory or Congress will see that no act shall remain on its statute book violative of the provisions of the Constitution, or subversive of the great objects for which that was ordained and established, and will take all other necessary steps to assure to its inhabitants the enjoyment, without obstruction or abridgment, of all the constitutional rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens of the United States, as contemplated by the organic law of the Territory.

Full information in relation to recent events in this Territory will be found in the documents communicated herewith from the Departments of State and War.

I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for particular information concerning the financial condition of the Government and the various branches of the public service connected with the Treasury Department.

During the last fiscal year the receipts from customs were, for the first time, more than sixty-four million dollars, and from all sources seventy-three million nine hundred and eighteen thousand one hundred and forty-one dollars; which, with the balance on hand up to the 1st of July, 1855, made the total resources of the year amount to ninety-two million eight hundred and fifty thousand one hundred and seventeen dollars. The expenditures, including three million dollars in execution of the treaty with Mexico, and excluding sums paid on account of the public debt, amounted to sixty million one hundred and seventy-two thousand four hundred and one dollar; and, including the latter, to seventy-two million nine hundred and forty-eight thousand seven hundred and ninety-two dollars, the payment on this account having amounted to twelve million seven hundred and seventy-six thousand three hundred and ninety dollars.

On the 4th of March, 1853, the amount of the public debt was sixty-nine million one hundred and twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven dollars. There was a subsequent increase of two million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the debt of Texas; making a total of seventy-one million eight hundred and seventy-nine thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven dollars. Of this, the sum of forty-five million five hundred and twenty-five thousand three hundred and nineteen dollars, including premium, has been discharged, reducing the debt to thirty million nine hundred and sixty-three thousand nine hundred and nine dollars; all which might be paid within a year without embarrassing the public service, but being not yet due, and only redeemable at the option of the holder, cannot be pressed to payment by the Government.

On examining the expenditures of the last five years it will be seen that the average, deducting payments on account of the public debt and ten million dollars paid by treaty to Mexico, has been but about forty-eight million dollars. It is believed that, under an economical administration of the Government, the average expenditure for the ensuing five years will not exceed that sum, unless extraordinary occasion for its increase should occur. The acts granting bounty lands will soon have been executed, while the extension of our frontier settlements will cause a continued demand for lands and augmented receipts probably from that source. These considerations will justify a reduction of the revenue from customs, so as not to exceed forty-eight or fifty million dollars. I think the exigency for such reduction is imperative, and again urge it upon the consideration of Congress.

The amount of reduction, as well as the manner of effecting it, are questions of great and general interest, it being essential to industrial enterprise and the public prosperity, as well as the dictate of obvious justice, that the burden of

taxation be made to rest as equally as possible upon all classes and all sections and interests of the country.

I have heretofore recommended to your consideration the revision of the revenue laws, prepared under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, and also legislation upon some special questions affecting the business of that Department, more especially the enactment of a law to punish the abstraction of official books or papers from the files of the Government, and requiring all such books and papers and all other public property to be turned over by the out-going officer to his successor; of a law requiring disbursing officers to deposit all public money in the vaults of the treasury or in other legal depositories, where the same are conveniently accessible; and a law to extend existing penal provisions to all persons who may become possessed of public money by deposit or otherwise, and who shall refuse or neglect, on due demand, to pay the same into the Treasury. I invite your attention anew to each of these objects.

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

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

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

The condition of the navy is not merely satisfactory, but exhibits the most gratifying evidences of increased vigor. As it is comparatively small, it is more important that it should be as complete as possible in all the elements of strength; that it should be efficient in the character of its officers, in the zeal and discipline of its men; in the reliability of its ordnance, and in the capacity of its ships. In all these various qualities the navy has made great progress within the last few years. The execution of the law of Congress of February 28, 1855, "to promote the efficiency of the navy," has been attended by the most advantageous results. The law for promoting discipline among the men is found convenient and salutary. The system of granting an honorable discharge to faithful seamen on the expiration of the period of their enlistment, and permitting them to reenlist after a leave of absence of a few months, without cessation of pay, is highly beneficial in its influence.

The apprentice system recently adopted is evidently destined to incorporate into the service a large number of our countrymen hitherto so difficult to procure. Several hundred American boys are now on a three years' cruise in our national vessels, and will return well-trained seamen. In the ordnance department there is a decided and gratifying indication of progress creditable to it and to the country. The suggestions of the Secretary of the Navy in regard to further improvement in that branch of the service I commend to your favorable action.

The new frigates ordered by Congress are now afloat, and two of them in active service. They are superior models of naval architecture, and with their formidable battery add largely to public strength and security.

I concur in the views expressed by the Secretary of the Department in favor of a still further increase of our naval force.

The report of the Secretary of the Interior presents facts and views in relation to internal affairs over which the supervision of his Department extends of much interest and importance.

The aggregate sales of the public lands during the last fiscal year amount to nine million two hundred and twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight acres; for which has been received the sum of eight million eight hundred and twenty-one thousand four hundred and fourteen dollars.

During the same period there have been located, with military scrip and land warrants and for other purposes, thirty million one hundred thousand two hundred and thirty acres; thus making a total aggregate of thirty-nine million three hundred and twenty-eight thousand one hundred and eighty-two acres. On the 30th of September last surveys had been made of sixteen million eight hundred and seventy-three thousand six hundred and ninety-nine acres, a large proportion of which is ready for market.

The suggestions in this report in regard to the complication and progressive expansion of the business of the different bureaus of the Department, to the pension system, to the colonization of Indian tribes, and the recommendations in relation to various improvements in the district of Columbia, are especially commended to your consideration.

The report of the Postmaster General presents fully the condition of that Department of the Government. Its expenditures for the last fiscal year were ten million four hundred and seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight dollars,

and its gross receipts seven million six hundred and twenty thousand eight hundred and one dollar; making an excess of expenditure over receipts of two million seven hundred and eighty-seven thousand and forty-six dollars. The deficiency of this Department is thus seven hundred and forty-four thousand dollars greater than for the year ending June 30, 1853. Of this deficiency three hundred and thirty thousand dollars is to be attributed to the additional compensation allowed postmasters by the act of Congress of June 22, 1854. The mail facilities in every part of the country have been very much increased in that period, and the large addition of railroad service, amounting to seven thousand nine hundred and eight miles, has added largely to the cost of transportation.

The inconsiderable augmentation of the income of the Post Office Department under the reduced rates of postage and its increasing expenditures must, for the present, make it dependent to some extent upon the Treasury for support. The recommendations of the Postmaster General in relation to the abolition of the franking privilege, and his views on the establishment of mail-steamship lines, deserve the consideration of Congress. I also call the special attention of Congress to the statement of the Postmaster General respecting the sums now paid for the transportation of mails to the Panama Railroad Company, and commend to their early and favorable consideration the suggestions of that officer in relation to new contracts for mail transportation upon that route, and also upon the Tehuantepec and Nicaragua routes.

The United States continue in the enjoyment of amicable relations with all foreign Powers.

When my last annual message was transmitted to Congress two subjects of controversy—one relating to the enlistment of soldiers in this country for foreign service and the other to Central America—threatened to disturb good understanding between the United States and Great Britain. Of the progress and termination of the former question you were informed at the time; and the other is now in the way of satisfactory adjustment.

The object of the convention between the United States and Great Britain of the 19th of April, 1850, was to secure, for the benefit of nations, the neutrality and the common use of any transit way or interoceanic communication across the isthmus of Panama which might be opened within the limits of Central America.

The pretension subsequently asserted by Great Britain to dominion or control over territories in or near two of the routes—those of Nicaragua and Honduras—were deemed by the United States not merely incompatible with the main object of the treaty, but opposed even to its express stipulations. Occasion of controversy on this point has been removed by an additional treaty, which our Minister at London has concluded, and which will be immediately submitted to the Senate for its consideration. Should the proposed supplemental arrangement be concurred in by all the parties to be affected by it, the objects contemplated by the original convention will have been fully attained.

The treaty between the United States and Great Britain of the 5th of June, 1854, which went into effective operation in 1855, put an end to causes of irritation between the two countries by securing to the United States the right of fishery on the coast of the British North American provinces, with advantages equal to those enjoyed by British subjects. Besides the signal benefits of this treaty to a large class of our citizens engaged in a pursuit connected to no inconsiderable degree with our national prosperity and strength, it has had a favorable effect upon other interests in the provision it made for reciprocal freedom of trade between the United States and the British provinces in America.

The exports of domestic articles to those provinces during the last year amounted to more than twenty-two million dollars, exceeding those of the preceding year by nearly seven million dollars; and the imports therefrom during the same period amounted to more than twenty-one million—an increase of six million upon those of the previous year.

The improved condition of this branch of our commerce is mainly attributable to the above-mentioned treaty.

Provision was made, in the first article of that treaty, for a commission to designate the mouths of rivers to which the common right of fishery, on the coast of the United States and the British Provinces, was not to extend. This commission has been employed a part of two seasons, but without much progress in accomplishing the object for which it was instituted, in consequence of a serious difference of opinion between the commissioners, not only as to the precise point where the rivers terminate, but in many instances as to what constitutes a river. These difficulties, however, may be overcome by resort to the umpirage provided for the treaty.

The efforts perseveringly prosecuted, since the commencement of my Administration, to relieve our trade to the Baltic from the exacted of sound dues by Denmark, have not yet been attended with success. Other Governments have also sought to obtain a like relief to their commerce, and Denmark was thus induced to propose an arrangement to all the European Powers interested in the subject; and the manner in which her proposition was received warranting her to believe that a satisfactory arrangement with them could soon be concluded, she made a strong appeal to this Government for temporary suspension of definite action on its part, in consideration of the embarrassment which might result to her European negotiations by an immediate adjustment of the question with the United States.

This request has been acceded to, upon the condition that the sums collected after the 16th of June last, and until the 16th of June next, from vessels and cargoes belonging to our merchants, are to be considered as paid under protest and subject to future adjustment. There is reason to believe that an arrangement between Denmark and the maritime Powers of Europe on the subject