is a foreigner. Vessels of the United States have been seized without law, and a consular officer who protested against such seizure, has been fined and imprisoned for disrespect to the authorities. Military contributions have been levied in violation of every principle of right, and the American who resisted the lawless demand has had his property forcibly taken away, and has been himself punished. From a conflict of authority in different parts of the country, tariff duties, which have been paid in one place, have been exacted over again in another place.

Large numbers of our citizens have been arrested and imprisoned without any form of examination, or any opportunity for a hearing, and even when released, have only obtained their liberty after much suffering and injury, and without any hope of redress. The wholesale massacre of Crabbe and his associates, without trial in Sonora, as well as the seizure and murder of four sick Americans who had taken shelter in the house of an American, upon the soil of the United States, was communicated to Congress at its last session. Murders of a still more atrocious character have been committed in the very heart of Mexico, under the authority of Miramon's Government, during the present year. Some of these were only worthy of a barbarous age, and if they had not been clearly proven, would have seemed impossible in a country which claims to be civilized. Of this description was the brutal massacre, in April last, by order of Gen. Marquez, of three American physicians, who were seized in the hospital at Tacubaya while attending upon the sick and dying of both parties, and without trial, as without crime, were hurried away to speedy execution. Little less shocking was the fate of Ormond Chase, who was shot in Tepic on the 7th of August by order of the same Mexican General not only without a trial, but without any conjecture by his friends of the cause of his arrest. He is represented as a young man of good character and intelligence, who had made numerous friends in Tepic by the courage and humanity which he had displayed on several trying occasions, and his death was as unexpected as it was shocking to the whole community. Other outrages might be enumerated, but these are sufficient to illustrate the wretched state of the country and the unprotected condition of the persons and property of our citizens in Mexico.

In all these cases our ministers have been constant and faithful in their demands for redress, but both they and this Government, which they have successively represented, have been wholly powerless to make their demands effective. Their testimony in this respect, and in reference to the only remedy which, in their judgment, would meet the exigency, has been both uniform and emphatic. "Nothing but a manifestation of the power of the Government of the United States (wrote our late minister in 1856) and of its purpose to punish these wrongs will avail. I assure you that the universal belief here is that there is nothing to be apprehended from the Government of the United States, and that local Mexican officials cannot commit these outrages upon American citizens with absolute impunity." "I hope the President" (wrote our present minister in August last) "will feel authorized to ask from Congress the power to enter Mexico with the military force of the United States, at the call of the constitutional authorities, in order to protect the citizens and the treaty rights of the United States. Unless such power is conferred upon him, neither the one nor other will be respected in the existing state of anarchy and disorder, and the outrages already perpetrated will never be chastised; and, as I assured you in my No. 23, all these evils must increase until every vestige of order and government disappears from the country." I have been reluctantly led to the same opinion, and, in justice to my countrymen who have suffered wrongs from Mexico, and who may still suffer them, I feel bound to announce this conclusion to Congress.

The case presented, however, is not merely a case of individual claims, although our just claims against Mexico have reached a very large amount. Nor is it merely the case of protection to the lives and property of the few Americans who may still remain in Mexico, although the life and property of every American citizen ought to be sacredly protected in every quarter of the world. But it is a question which relates to the future as well as to the present and the past, and which involves indirectly at least, the whole subject of our duty to Mexico as a neighboring State. The exercise of the power of the United States in that country to redress the wrongs and protect the rights of our own citizens is none the less to be desired, because efficient and necessary, and may thus be rendered at the same time to restore peace and order to Mexico itself. In the accomplishment of that result the people of the United States must necessarily feel a deep and earnest interest. Mexico ought to be a rich and prosperous and powerful Republic. She possesses an extensive territory, a fertile soil, and an incalculable store of mineral wealth. She occupies an important position between the Gulf and the ocean for transit routes and for commerce. Is it possible that such a country as this can be given up to anarchy and ruin without an effort from any quarter for its rescue and its safety? Will the commercial nations of the world which, have so many interests connected with it, remain wholly indifferent to such a result? Can the United States especially, which ought to share most largely in its commercial intercourse, allow their immediate neighbor thus to destroy itself and injure them? Yet, without support from some quarter, it is impossible to perceive how Mexico can resume her position among nations and enter upon a career which promises any good results. The aid which she requires, and which the interests of all commercial countries require that she should have, it belongs to this Government to render, not only by virtue of our neighborhood to Mexico, along whose territory we have a continuous frontier of nearly a thousand miles, but by virtue also, of our established policy, which is inconsistent with the intervention of any European power in the domestic concerns of that Republic.

The wrongs which we have suffered from Mexico are before the world, and must deeply impress every American citizen. A Government which is either unable or unwilling to redress such wrongs is derelict to its highest duties. The difficulty consists in selecting and enforcing the remedy. We may in vain apply to the Constitutional Government at Vera Cruz, although it is well disposed to do us justice, for adequate redress. Whilst its authority is acknowledged in all the important ports throughout the seacoasts of the republic, its power does not extend to the City of Mexico, and the States in its vicinity where nearly all the recent outrages have been committed on American citizens. We must penetrate into the interior before we can reach the offenders, and this can only be done by passing through the territory in the occupation of the Constitutional Government. The most acceptable and least difficult mode of accomplishing the object will be to act in concert with that Government. Their consent and their aid might, I believe, be obtained; but if not, our obligation to protect our own citizens in their just rights, secured by treaty, would not be the less imperative. For these reasons, I recommend to Congress to pass a law authorizing the President, under such conditions as they may deem expedient, to employ a sufficient military force to enter Mexico for the purpose of obtaining indemnity for the past and security for the future. I purposely refrain from suggesting as to whether this force shall consist of regular troops or volunteers, or both. This question may be most appropriately left to the decision of Congress. I would merely observe that should volunteers be selected, such a force could be easily raised in this country, among those who sympathise with the sufferings of our unfortunate fellow-citizens in Mexico. Such an accession to the forces of the Constitutional Government would enable it soon to reach the City of Mexico and extend its power over the whole republic. In that event, there is no reason to doubt that the just claims of our citizens would be satisfied and adequate redress obtained for the injuries inflicted upon them. The Constitutional Government have ever evinced a strong desire to do us justice, and this might be secured in advance by a preliminary treaty.

It may be said that these measures will, at least indirectly, be incoussistent with our wise and settled policy not to interfere in the domestic concerns of foreign nations. But does not the present case fairly constitute an exception? An adjoining republic is in a state of anarchy and confusion from which she has proved wholly unable to extricate herself. She is entirely destitute of the power to maintain peace upon her borders, or to prevent the incursions of banditti into our territory. In her fate and her fortune—in her power to establish and maintain a settled government—we have a far deeper interest, socially, commercially and politically, than any other nation. She is now a wreck upon the ocean, drifting about as she is impelled by different factions. As a good neighbor, shall we not extend to her a helping hand to save her? If we do not, it would not be surprising should some other nation undertake the task, and thus force us to interfere at last under circumstances of increased difficulty, for the maintenance of our established policy.

I repeat the recommendation contained in my last annual message that authority may be given to the President to establish one or more temporary posts across the Mexican line in Sonora and Chihuahua, where these may be necessary to protect the lives and property of American and Mexican citizens against the incursions and depredations of the Indians, as well as of the lawless rovers in that remote region. The establishment of one such post at a point called Arispe, in Sonora, in a country now almost depopulated by the hostile inroads of the Indians from our side of the line, would, it is believed, have prevented much injury and many cruelties during the past season. A state of lawlessness and violence prevails on that distant frontier. Life and property are there wholly insecure. The population of Arizona, now numbering more than ten thousand souls, are practically destitute of government, of laws, or of any regular administration of justice. Murder rapine and other crimes are committed with impunity. I, therefore, again call the attention of Congress to the necessity for establishing a territorial government over Arizona.

NICARAGUA, COSTA RICA, &c.

The treaty with Nicaragua of the 16th February, 1857, to which I referred in my last annual message, failed to receive the ratification of the Government of that Republic, for reasons which I need not enumerate, A similar treaty has been since concluded between the parties bearing date on the 16th March 1859, which has already been ratified by the Nicaragua Congress. This will be immediately submitted to the Senate for their ratification. Its provisions cannot, I think, fail to be acceptable to the people of both Countries.

Our claims against the Governments of Costa Rica and Nicaragua remain unredressed, though they are pressed in an earnest manner, and not without hope of success.

I deem it to be my duty once more earnestly to recommend Congress the passage of a law authorizing the President to employ the naval force at his command for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens passing in transit across the Panama, Nicaragua and Tehauntepec routes, against sudden and lawless outbreaks and depredations. I shall not repeat the arguments employed in former messages in support of this measure. Suffice it to say that the lives of many of our people, and the security of vast amounts of treasure passing and repassing over one or more of these routes between the Atlantic and Pacific, may be deeply involved in the action of Congress on this subject.

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN VESSELS.

I would, also again recommend to Congress that authority be given to the President to employ the naval force to protect American merchant vessels, their crews and cargoes, against violent and unlawful seizure and connscation in the ports of Mexico and the Spanish American States when these countries may be in a disturbed and revolutionary condition. The mere knowledge that such an authority had been conferred, as I have already stated, would, of itself in a great degree, prevent the evil. Neither would this require any additional appropriation for the naval service.

The chief objection urged against the grant of this authority is, that Congress, by conferring it, would violate the Constitution—that it would be a transfer of the war-making, or, strictly speaking, the war-declaring power of the Executive. If this were well founded, it would, of course, be conclusive. A very brief examination, however, will place this objection at rest.

Congress possess the sole and exclusive power, under the Constitution, "to declare war." They alone can "raise and support armies," and provide and maintain a navy." But after Congress shall have declared war, and provided the force necessary to carry it on, the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, can alone employ this force in making war against the enemy. This is the plain language, and history proves that it was the well-known intention of the framers of the Constitution.

It will not be denied that the general "power to declare war" is without limitation, and embraces within itself not only what writers on the law of nations term a public or perfect war, but also an imperfect war—and in short, every species of hostility, however confined or limited. Without the authority of Congress the President cannot fire a hostile gun in any case, except to repel the attacks of an enemy. It will not be doubted that under this power Congress could, if they thought proper, authorize the President to employ the force at his command to seize a vessel belonging to an American citizen which had been illegally and unjustly captured in a foreign port, and restore it to its owner. But can Congress only act after the fact—after the mischief has been done? Have they no power to confer upon the President the authority in advance to furnish instant redress, should such a case afterward occur? Must they wait until the mischief has been done, and can they apply the remedy only when it is too late? To confer this authority to meet future cases under circumstances strictly specified, is as clearly within the war-declaring power as such an authority conferred upon the President by act of Congress after the deed had been done. In the progress of a great nation many accidents must arise imperatively requiring that Congress should authorize the President to act promptly on certain conditions which may or may not afterwards arise. Our history has already presented a number of such cases. I shall refer only to the latest.

Under the resolution of June 2d, 1858, "for the adjustment of difficulties with the Republic of Paraguay," the President is "authorized to adopt such measures and use such force as in his judgment may be necessary and advisable in the event of a refusal of just satisfaction by the Government of Paraguay." "Just satisfaction" for what?—For "the attack on the U. S. steamer Water Witch, and other matters referred to in the annual message of the President."—Here the power is expressly granted upon the condition that the Government of Paraguay shall refuse to render this "just satisfaction." In this and other similar cases Congress has conferred upon the President power in advance to employ the army and navy upon the happening of contingent future events; and this most certainly is embraced within the power to declare war.

Now, if this conditional and contingent power could be constitutionally conferred upon the President in the case of Paraguay, why may it not be conferred for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens in the event that they may be violently and unlawfully attacked in passing over the transit routes to and from California, or assailed by the seizure of their vessels in a foreign port? To deny this power is to render the navy in a great degree useless for the protection of the lives and property of American citizens in countries where neither protection nor redress can be otherwise obtained.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

The Thirty-Fifth Congress terminated on the 3d of March, 1859, without having passed the "act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department, during the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1860." This act also contained appropriation "to supply deficiences in the revenue of the Post Office Department for the year ending the 30th of June 1859." I believe this is the first instance since the origin of the Federal Government, now more than seventy years ago, when any Congress went out of existence without having passed all the general appropriation bills necessary to carry on the Government until the regular period for the meeting of a new Congress—This event imposed on the Executive a grave responsibility. It presented a choice of evils.

Had this omission of duty occurred at the first session of the last Congress the remedy would have been plain. I might then have instantly recalled them to complete their work and this without expense to the Government. But on the 4th of March last there were fifteen of the thirty-three States which had not elected any representatives to the present Congress. Had Congress been called together immediately, these States would have been disfranchised. If an intermediate period had been selected, several of the States would have been compelled to hold extra sessions of their Legislatures, at great expense and inconvenience, to provide for elections at an earlier day than that previously fixed by law. In the regular course, ten of these States would not elect until after the beginning of August, and five of these ten not until October and November.

On the other hand, when I came to examine carefully the condition of the Post-office department, I did not meet as many or as great difficulties as I had apprehended. Had the bill which failed been confined to appropriations for the fiscal year ending on the 30th June next, there would have been no reasons of pressing importance for the call of an extra session.

Nothing would become due on contracts, (those with railroad companies only excepted,) for carrying the mail for the first quarter of the present fiscal year, commencing on the 1st of July, until the 1st of December—less than one week before the meeting of the present Congress. The reason is that the mail contractors for this current year did not complete their first quarter's service until the 30th of September last; and by the terms of their contracts sixty more days are allowed for the settlement of their accounts before the Department could be called upon for payment.

The great difculty and the great hardship consisted in the failure to provide for the deficiency in the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1859. The Department had entered into contracts, in obedience to existing laws, for the service of that fiscal year, and the contractors were fairly entitled to their compensation as it became due. The deficiency as stated in the bill amounted to $3,838,728, but after a careful settlement of all these accounts, it has been ascertained that it amounts to $4,296,000. With the scanty means at his command the Postmaster General has managed to pay that portion of this deficiency which occurred in the first two quarters of the past fiscal year, ending 31st December last. In the meantime the contractors themselves, under these trying circumstances, have behaved in a manner worthy of all commendation. They had one recourse in the midst of their embarrassments. After the amount due to each of them had been ascertained and finally settled according to law, this became a specific debt of record against the United States, which enabled them to borrow money on this unquestionable security.—Still they were obliged to pay interest in consequence of Congress, and on every principle of justice ought to receive interest from the Government. This interest should commence from the date when a warrant would have been issued for the payment of the principal had an appropriation been made for the purpose. Calculated up to 1st December it will not exceed $96,000—a sum not to be taken into account when contrasted with the great difficulties and embarrassments of a public and private character, both to the people and the States, which would have resulted from convening and holding a special session of Congress.

For these reasons I recommend the passage of a bill, at as early a day as may be practicable, to provide for the payment of the amount, with interest, due to these last mentioned contractors, as well as to make the necessary appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the current fiscal year.

REFLECTIONS.

The failure to pass the post office bill necessarily gives birth to serious reflections. Congress by refusing to pass the general appropriation bills necessary to carry on the government, may not only arrest its action, but might even destroy its existence. The army, the navy, the judiciary, in short, every department of the general government, can no longer perform their functions, if Congress refuse the money necessary for their support. If this failure should teach the country the necessity of electing a full Congress in sufficient time to enable the President to convene them in any emergency, even immediately after the old Congress has expired, it will have been productive of great good. In a time of sudden and alarming danger, foreign and domestic, which all nations must expect to encounter in their progress, the very salvation of our institutions may be staked upon the assembling of Congress without delay. If, under the circumstances, the President should find himself in the condition in which he was placed at the close of the last Congress, with nearly half the States of the Union destitute of representatives, the consequences might be disastrous. I therefore recommend to Congress to carry into effect the provisions of the constitution on this subject, and to pass a law, appointing some day previous to the 4th of March in each year of odd number, for the election of Representatives throughout all the States. They have already appointed a day for the election of electors for President and Vice President, and this measure has been approved by the country.

PACIFIC RAIL ROAD.

I would again express a most decided opinion in favor of a Pacific railroad, for the reasons stated in my two last annual messages. When I reflect upon what would be the defenseless condition of our States and Territories west of the Rocky Mountains in case of a war with a naval power sufficiently stong to interrupt all intercourse with them by routes across the Isthmus, I am still more convinced than ever of the vast importance of this railroad. I have never doubted the constitutional competency of Congress to provide for its constuction, but it is exclusively under the war making power. Beside, the Constitution expressly requires, as an imperative duty, that "the United States shall protect each of them (the States) against invasion." I am at a loss to conceive how this protection can be afforded to California and Oregon against such a naval power by any other means. I repeat the opinion contained in my last annual message, that it would do inexpedient for the Government to undertake this great work by agents of its own appointment and under its direct and exclusive control. This would increase the patronage of the Executive to a dangerous extent, and would foster a system of jobbing and corruption which no vigilance on the part of Federal officials would prevent.—The construction of this road ought, therefore, to be intrusted to incorporated companies, or other agencies, who would exercise that active and vigilant supervision over it which can be inspired alone by a sense of corporate and individual interest. I venture to assert that the additional cost of transporting troops, munitions of war, and necessary supplies to the army across the vast intervening plains to our possessions on the Pacific Coast, would be greater in such a war than the whole amount required to construct the road.—And yet this resort would, after all, be inadequate for their defense and protection.

PUBLIC ECONOMY

We have yet scarcely recovered from the habits of extravagant expenditure, produced by an overflowing Treasury, during several years prior to the commencement of my administration. The financial reverses which we have since experienced ought to teach us all to scutinize our expenditures with the greatest vigilance, and to reduce them to the lowest possible point. The Executive Departments of the Government have devoted themselves to the accomplishment of this object with considerable success, as will appear from their different reports and estimates. To these I invite the scrutiny of Congress for the purpose of reducing them still lower, if this be practicable, consistent with the great public interests of the country. In aid of the policy of retrenchment, I pledge myself to examine closely the bills appropriating lands or money, so that if any of these should inadvertently pass both Houses, as must sometimes be the case, I may afford them an opportunity for reconsideration. At the same time we ought never to forget that true public economy consists, not in withholding the means necessary to accomplish important national objects confided to us by the Constitution, but in taking care that the money appropriated for these purposes shall be faithfully and frugally expended.

ADDITIONAL REVENUE NEEDED.

It will appear from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, that it is extremely doubtful, to say the least, whether we shall be able to pass through the present and next fiscal year, without providing additional revenue. This can only be accomplished by strictly confining the the appropriations within the estimates of the different Departments, without making an allowance for any additional expenditures which Congress may think proper in their discretion, to authorize, and without providing for the redemption of any portion of the $20,000,000 of Treasury notes which have been already issued.—In the event of a deficiency, which I consider probable, this ought never to be supplied by a resort to additional loans. It would be a ruinous practice in the day of peace and prosperity to go on increasing the national debt to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government.

This policy would cripple our resources and impair our credit in case the existence of war should render it necessary to borrow money. Should such a deficiency occur as I apprehend, I would recommend that the necessary revenue be raised by an increase of our present duties on imports. I need not repeat the opinion expressed in my last annual message as to the best mode and manner of accomplishing this object, and shall now merely observe that these have since undergone no change.

THE TREASURY.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury will explain in detail the operations of the Government.

The receipts into the Treasury from all sources during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1859, including the loan authorized by existing laws, were $81,672,471,01, which sum, with the balance of $6,398,316,10, remaining in the Treasury at the commencement of that fiscal year, made an aggregate for the service of the year of $88,070,787,-11.

The public expenditures, during the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1859, amounted to $83,751,511,57. Of this sum $17,405,285,44, were applied to the payment of interest on the public debt and the redemption of the issues of treasury notes. The expenditures for all other branches of the public service during that fiscal year were therefore $66,346,226,16. The balance remaining in the treasury 1st July, 1859, being the commencement of the present fiscal year was $4,339,275,54. The receipts into the treasury during the first quarter of the present fiscal year, commencing July 1st, 1859, were $20,618,865,85, of this amount $2,821,300, was received on account of the loan and issue of treasury notes; the amount of $16,797,565,85, having been received during the quarter from the ordinary sources of public revenue. The estimated receipts for the remaining three quarters of the present fiscal year, to the 30th June, 1860, $50,426,-400.

Of this amount, it is estimated that $5,756,400 will be received for Treasury notes, which may be re-issued under the fifth section of the act of the 31 of March last, and $1,170,000 on account of the loan authorized by the act of June 14th, 1858, making $6,926 400 from these extraordinary sources, and $43,500,000 from the ordinary sources of the public revenue making an aggregate, with the balance in the Treasury, on the 1st, July 1859, of $75 384,541,89 for the estimated means of the present fiscal year ending the 30th of June, 1860. The expenditures during the first quarter of the present fiscal year were $20,097,174,76; $4 664,366 76 of this sum were applied to the payment of interest on the public debt and the redemption of the issues of Treasury notes and the remainder being $15,342,-808, were applied to the ordinary expenditures during the quarter. The estimated expenditures during the remaining three quarters, to June 30, 1860, are $49,295,558,-23; of which sum $2,586 621,34 are estimated for the interest on the public debt.—The ascertained and estimated expenditure for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1860, on account of public debt, are accordingly $7,550,988,10, and for the ordinary expenditure of the government, $58,151,744 80, making an aggregate of $61,002,732 90, leaving an estimated balance in the Treasury on the 30th of June, 1860, of $14,381,-808,40.

The estimated receipts during the next fiscal year, ending 30th June, 1861, are sixty-six million two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, which with the balance estimated as before stated, as remaining in the Treasury on 30th June 1860, will make an aggregate for the service of the next fiscal year of eighty million six hundred and six thousand eight hundred eight dollars and forty cents.

The estimated expenditures during the next fiscal year, ending 30th June, 1861, are $66,-724 928,79. Of this amount $3 396 621,34, will be required to pay the interest on the public debt, leaving the sum of $63 328,-307,45 for the estimated ordinary expenses in the fiscal year ending 30th June 1851.—Upon these estimates, a balance will be left in the Treasury on 30th June, 1861, of $13,881,870 69.

But this balance, as well as that estimated to remain in the Treasury, on the 1st of July, 1860, will be reduced, by such appropriations as shall be made by law to carry into effect certain Indian treaties during the present fiscal year asked for by the Secretary of the Interior, to the amount of $530 350, and upon the estimates of the Post Master General for the service of his department the last fiscal year, ending 30th June, 1860, amounting to $4,296 069, together with the further estimate of that officer for the service of the present fiscal year, ending 30th June, 1866, being $5 526 224, making an aggregate of $10,361 683.—Should these appropriations be made, as requested by the proper departments, the balance in the Treasury on the 30th June, 1861, will not it is estimated, exceed $3,530 196 61.

I transmit the reports of the Secretaries of the Navy, of the Interior, of the Postmaster General. They each contain valuable information and important recommendations, well worthy of the serious consideration of Congress. It will appear from the report of the Secretary of War, that the Army expenditures have been materially reduced, by a system of rigid economy, which in his opinion offers every guarantee that the reduction will be permanent. The estimates of the department for the next year have been reduced nearly two millions of dollars below the estimates for the present fiscal year, and half a million of dollars below the amount granted for this year at the last session of Congress. The expenditures of the Post Office Department during the past fiscal year, ending on 30th of June, 1859, exclusive of payments for mail service specially provided for by Congress, out of the general treasury, amounts $14,944,493,33, and its receipts to $7,968,484 07, showing a deficiency to be supplied from the Treasury of $6 996 009 26, against $5,-235,677,15 for the year ending 30th June, 1850. The increased cost of transportation, growing out of the expansion of the service required by Congress, explains this rapid augmentation of the expediture. It is gratifying, however, to observe an increase of receipts for the year ending on the 30th of June, 1859, equal to $418 691,51, compared with these in the year ending June 30th, 1858

It is estimated that the deficiency for the current fiscal year will be $5,988,424 04, but that for the year ending 30th June 1891, it will not exceed $1,842,463,90, should Congress adopt the measures of reform proposed and urged by the Postmaster General. Since the month of March retrenchments have been made in the expenditures, amounting to $1,826,371 annually, which, however, did not take effect until after the present fiscal year.—The period seems to have arrived for determining the question whether this department shall become a permanent and ever-increasing charge upon the treasury, or shall be permitted to resume the self-sustaining policy which had so long controlled its administration. This course of legislation recommended by the Postmaster General, for the relief of the department from its present embarrassment, and for restoring it to its original independence is deserving of your early and earnest consideration.

In conclusion, I would again commend to the just liberality of Congress the local interests of the District of Columbia. Surely the City bearing the name of Washington, and destined, I trust, for ages to be the capital of our united free and prosperous confederacy, has strong claims on our favorable regard. JAMES BUCHANAN.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec., 19, 1859.

OFFICERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—The Republican members of the new Legislature held a caucus Saturday night and nominated the following officers.

House of Representative—Speaker, Richard C. Parsons, Of Cuyahoga; Clerk, B. R. Cowen, of Belmont; 1st Assistant, L. L. Lamporn, of Stark; 2nd Assistant, Fr. Reidling, of Erie; Sergeant at Arms, Joseph Warrick, of Warren; 1st Assistant T. J. Davis, Morrow; 2nd Assistant, S.W Edwards, of Huron.

Senate—Clerk, D. W. Rhodes, of Delaware; 1st Asst., M. L. Morrow, Tuscarawas; 2nd Asst., E. A. Higgins, of Wood; Sergeant at Arms, Mr. Green, of Montgomery; 1st Asst., J. W. Sands, of Vinton; 2nd Asst., Mr. Wallace, of Madison.

The Democrats nominated the old officers.

The Jeffersonian Democrat

JULIUS O. CONVERSE, Editor.

CHARDON, OHIO, FRIDAY, JANUARY 6, 1860.

☞ The President's Message excludes our usual variety. The Governor's Message, which came too late for insertion this week, shall appear in our next issue.

John Bain vs. John Brown.

Presiding Elder John Bain, in the course of his desultory but characteristic discourse, at the Methodist Quarterly Meeting in this village, last Sabbath, took occasion to administer what he evidently designed as a severe rebuke to the sympathizers with John Brown. It seems that the publication of the sermon of Rev. Mr. Taylor had given him some displeasure, and that he had been pained by the general tone of the Anti-Slavery press, in regard to the late troubles in Virginia. What course he, as a professed Anti-Slavery man, would have dictated to the press and pulpit, in the premises, he did not state.

We have, from first to last, disapproved of the raid of Brown, regarding it as a movement so wild, and in its direct tendency so barren of good results, and so prolific of evil, to the slaves as well as to their masters, as to be contemplated but with horror. We are not disposed to ridicule the Virginians for their timidity, however ridiculous some of its manifestations may appear, since in a slave country such timidity is too well grounded. Herein we, with ninety-nine one-hundredths of the Anti Slavery men of the country, agree with Elder Bain. In what respects do we differ?

"Why, says the Elder, "some men say they disapprove of the act of Brown, and yet approve of his motive. Well, what of that? Here is a man afflicted with the gout; a friend, moved with pity, shoots him dead, and thereby puts an end to his sufferings; his motive, too, is good, is it not?" With due deference to Elder Bain, such reasoning is perfectly puerile—a mere begging of the question. Aside from the improbability that such a case would ever occur, it would prove nothing except that the homicide was insane. Elder Bain himself says that John Brown was more fit for a lunatic asylum than for the gallows. May not insane men be actuated by good motives? Are they not known to be actuated by all the various motives that govern rational men? What was John Brown's motive, as declared by himself and disputed by none? The redemption of a portion of his oppressed fellow-men from bondage! Now, we would ask Elder Bain to say frankly, and with no pettifogging or odious comparisons, if he disapproves of this motive. Would he have condemned John Brown for such a motive, had the means employed to carry it into effect, been unobjectionable? Does his religion teach him to judge of the virtue of men by the success of their undertakings? We do not so understand it.

"But," asks Elder Bain, "was Brown acting the part of a Christian, when he rented a farm in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry?" Perhaps not. But, if he is to be condemned for such acts as that, so are many whom we are taught to venerate, as among the wisest and best men whose names grace the page of history. Stratagem is a very essential part of war, and it may well be doubted whether George Washington himself despised it. Brown would have proved himself a bigger fool than he did, had he gone to Harper's Ferry in broad daylight, and made no attempt to disguise his intentions.

John Brown was a professed Christian, and thought he had a warrant for his conduct in the Bible. Had he anything to gain, in a selfish point of view, by his Virginia raid? Nothing to gain, but everything to lose. What fault can Christians find with the spirit of his letters? We mean no disparagement to Elder Bain, when we say that those letters evince quite as much of Christian meekness, faith and forbearance—of that "charity which suffereth long and is kind"—as all of his sermons it has been our good fortune to hear. Gov. Wise was doubtless sincere, in the high eulogium he pronounced upon the character of the doomed man.

One or two of the "logical points" made by Elder Bain, we cannot forbear to notice. "Some churches," said he, "resolve that they will have no fellowship with slaveholders.—This is all well enough, if they are so disposed; but, having once become free from them, what more have they to do?" We give the substance of his argument, though not his exact language. This reasoning he evidently regarded as unanswerable; but, like some other plausible reasoning, it proves too much. We claim but little familiarity with logic, yet enough to know that its conclusions, if good for anything, are infallible, wherever they may lead.—There is a wide difference between resolving to have no fellowship with sinners, (slaveholders are so regarded by such churches,) and refusing to recognize any duties towards them. One of the ostensible objects of the church is to reclaim sinners, and for this its members labor day and night. They all say, "We will have no fellowship with sinners;" and, thus being freed from them, what more have they to do? We are surprised that Elder Bain, who is really a very fine logician, should thus inadvertently mystify his position.

Again: The Elder repeated a brief colloquy which occurred between a Baltimore preacher and a Northern one, in which the latter (so goes the story) was extinguished by a simple question. The Baltimorean, who claimed to be neither an Abolitionist nor a Pro-Slavery man, and his Northern friend, wound up their colloquy substantially as follows:

Baltimorean.—"Are you an Abolitionist?"

Northerner.—"I am."

Baltimorean.—"If you had the power, would you not abolish Slavery at once?"

Northerner.—"I would."

Baltimorean.—"Has not God that power?"

Northerner.—"He has."

Baltimorean.—"Then why don't He do it?"

Any one can see at a glance, that this argument, like the former, is altogether too comprehensive. It is either good for nothing, or it does away with human responsibility, and makes God blameable for all the evil in the world. Dr. Channing, we believe, says that the most difficult theological problem is the reconciliation of God's foreknowledge and omnipotence with man's moral accountability. Perhaps no good can result from an attempt to solve it. It is enough to know that every rational man is conscious of duty and responsible for its performance. But such an argument as the above is essentially atheistic. It applies not only to Slavery, but to every form and species of iniquity in existence. God has the power to abolish them all, and why don't He do it?

We believe, with Elder Bain, that the world will be regenerated in God's good time; but we cannot ignore the fact that agencies are required in His moral as well as in His physical government. Those men who fold their arms in careless indifference, or stiffen their necks in stubborn conservatism, when some great good is sought to be accomplished, though many of its advocates may be impracticable or unwise, are not doing all they might and should do to hasten that good time. True, no man is to be condemned for not undertaking what he knows to be impossible, or attended with evil alone; yet we have none of us discharged more than half our duty in regard to the great national curse which threatens to destroy the Government, and involve the country in the horrors of civil war. It may sound very well to some, to hear ministers of the Gospel pander to popular prejudice by exhorting their auditors not to trust the politicians, but such exhortations seem to us to be dictated neither by good taste nor a Christian spirit. Some of the politicians of our day, by awakening the public mind in relation to prevalent evils, are exerting an influence more potent for good than all the labors of such conservative divines.

The enlightened mind and conscience of mankind demand something better than mere sectarian dogmas. To preach Christ and Him crucified in the true spirit and to the fullest extent, would ultimately break every yoke, open every prison door, and enforce every Christian duty. But to preach the doctrine that Christ came to save sinners, without any true explanation of the nature of sin, and especially while palliating the leading sins of the age, tends only to multiply infidels, and bring the religion of the Church into disrepute. Slaveholders, who believe they have a divine right to traffic in their fellow men; slaves, who are taught but the one precept of obedience to their masters; and Abolitionists, who regard Slavery as a grievous wrong, can never cooperate upon the common platform of Christ and Him crucified, for the redemption of the world. The world wants a just, consistent and practical religion, or none at all.

☞ The National House of Representatives still remains unorganized.

☞ We invite attention to the advertisement of Wm. I. Marshall, of Conneaut, General Agent for Geauga County, for the sale of James Redpath's Life of John Brown. This work will cost but one dollar, and those who wish to obtain it will soon have an opportunity.

☞ Hon. Judge Mason, of Iowa, who made himself so popular with the Inventers of the country, while he held the office of Commissioner of Patents, has, we learn, associated himself with Munn & Co., at the *Scientific American* office, New York.

☞ We are authorized to state, that owing to circumstances over which he had no control, Mr. Frederick Brown, brother of John Brown, was unable to fill his appointment at this place, on Tuesday of this week; "but will probably do it at some not far distant period."

Columbus Correspondence.

COLUMBUS, Dec. 29, 1859.

EDITOR DEMOCRAT:—Arriving in this city early this morning, I find not many of the members here, but during the day, they have been occasionally dropping in, preceeded and accompanied by numerous friends, *disinterested* and *devoted patriots*, ready to serve the State in an emergency, (for a consideration.) Thus far the number of those seeking for the dozen or fifteen positions in the gift of the Senate and House, much exceeds the number of members. It is astonishing how many warm friends a man has, and with what great cordiality he is greeted upon short acquaintance. Probably Monday will make some difference with the circle of his warm friends. Nothing is settled in regard to the organization, except so far as the Speakership is concerned. For this undoubtedly, Parsons of Cleveland, has the inside track. An opposition is organizing under Parrot, of Dayton, but think it can amount to but little. Parsons has the advantage of him in experience, and it is also thought that opposition to Chase is at the bottom of opposition to Parsons. If so, it certainly ought not to succeed.

Dec. 30.

During the day, members have been constantly arriving, until a large proportion of the Republican members are now in the city. As each successive load arrives, the quiet, uninterested looker-on is pleased to notice with what warm manifestations of good feeling they are met by the citizens of Columbus. And the illy concealed exhibition of satisfaction on the part of hotel and boarding house proprietors, hack drivers and saloon keepers, shows the light in which the Capitolians regard the advent of this their annual harvest. Candidates for place grow no less numerous, and the importunity with which they urge their claims, grows no less urgent. The opposition to Parsons for Speaker seems to threaten more than at first supposed, yet it hardly seems that it will amount to much. Strange to say, his most violent opposition comes from his own locality.

Among Republicans generally with whom I have conversed, the opinion prevails that almost the first act of the incoming Legislature, should be the election of Gov. Chase U. S. Senator. At all events, that it should be postponed no longer than until after the inauguration of Gov. Dennison. The time for this, is fixed on Monday, a week, the 9th of January. Preparations are making to render this unusually interesting and imposing. Among other things, it is understood that Gov. Chase has ordered a large number of Military Companies in the State to be present at the time. This, although practiced on such occasions by some of the older Eastern States is there a new feature. An object, in addition to the effect at the time, is undoubtedly to give a new impetus to the military organization and spirit of the State. As to the necessity or propriety of this last, there may be serious doubts, unless Gov. Wise is about to invade our Southern border, and if there be danger of this, from the recent exhibition of Virginian prowess, it seems that no great previous preparation would be necessary to repel it.

Have dropped in a number of times upon our State Board of Equalization. This body seems to be making some progress and to devote itself commendably to its labors. For once, and I notice it only as a matter somewhat unusual, here is a body of thirty-five members having in its number but two lawyers. One of these, Mr. Williamson, of Cuyahoga County, with whose reputation you are acquainted, is President of the Board, and as all who know him would expect, performs the duties of that office admirably. Among the members, I notice Col. Spencer of your district. He seems to be giving very close attention to the duties of his position, and entirely devoted to the interest of his constituents and of the State.

They have in Committee of the Whole, just passed through with the different Counties, and are commencing upon towns and cities. When they will be through is uncertain, but probably not for some time yet.

In looking over their work thus far, it is noticed that Geauga County is passed with an addition of ten per cent. upon appraised value of property as returned to the Board, and about the same to adjoining counties. We understand this fully. It is necessary to look at the whole returns. Geauga is re-