

## Semi-Weekly Globe.

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HUNTINGDON, PA.

Thursday afternoon, Dec. 5, 1861.



Our Flag Forever.

### THE NEWS.

—Resolutions have been introduced in Congress declaring slaves and rebels free, but the prevailing opinion in Washington appears to be in favor of letting slavery take care of itself.

—Maj. Bowen, at the head of a hundred cavalry, attacked the forces of the notorious Freeman at Salem, Mo., on Saturday last, and completely routed them and held possession of the town. From 10 to 30 were killed and wounded on both sides.

—George Opdyke, (Rep.) was elected Mayor of New York on Tuesday last, over two Democratic candidates. The vote was as follows:

George Opdyke, (Rep.) . . . 25,250  
C. G. Gunther, (Tam. Dem.) 24,588  
Fernando Wood, (Mozart) 24,186

—Ex-Senator Gwin and Callahan Denham of California, have been set at liberty, and are now in Washington.

—In the Senate on yesterday, Mr. Sausbury offered a resolution appointing Edward Everett, Ex-Senator Pugh, George M. Dallas, Chief Justice Taney, and others, a commission, to meet a similar commission from the seceded States and arrange for a cessation of hostilities and a restoration of the Union. It was received with laughter and laid aside.

—John C. Breckinridge was, on yesterday, expelled from the Senate by a unanimous vote.

—No news of importance from the army on the Potomac.

### THE STATE OF THE NATION.

#### FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Read in Congress Tuesday December 3d, 1861.

#### Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

In the midst of unprecedented political troubles, we have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual good health and most abundant harvests.

You will not be surprised to learn that in the peculiar exigencies of the times, our intercourse with foreign nations has been conducted with profound solicitude, chiefly turning upon our own domestic affairs. A disloyal portion of the American people have, during the whole year, been engaged in an attempt to divide and destroy the Union.

A nation which endures factional domestic division is exposed to disrespect abroad, and one party, if not both, is sure, sooner or later, to invoke foreign intervention. Nations thus tempted to interfere are not always able to resist the counsels of seeming expediency and ungenerous ambition, although measures adopted under such influences seldom fail to be unfortunate, and injurious to those adopting them.

The disloyal citizens of the United States who have offered the ruin of our country in return for the aid and comfort which they have invoked abroad, have received less patronage and encouragement than they probably expected. If it were just to suppose, as the insurgents have seemed to assume, that foreign nations, in this case, discarding all moral, social and treaty obligations, would aid solely and selfishly for the most speedy restoration of commerce, including especially the acquisition of cotton, these nations appear as yet not to have seen their way to their object more directly or clearly, through the destruction than through the preservation of the Union.

If we could dare to believe that foreign nations are actuated by no higher principle than this, I am quite sure a sound argument could be made to show them that they can reach their aim more readily and easily by aiding to crush this rebellion, than by giving encouragement to it. The principal relief relied on by the insurgents for exciting foreign nations to hostility against us, as already intimated, is the embarrassment of commerce. These nations, however, not improbably saw from the first that it was the Union which made as well our foreign as our domestic commerce. They can scarcely have failed to perceive that the effort for disunion produces the existing difficulty, and that one strong nation promises more durable peace and a more extensive and reliable commerce, than can the same nation broken into hostile fragments. It is not my purpose to review our discussions with foreign States, because whatever might be their wishes or dispositions, the integrity of our country and the stability of our Government, depend not upon them, but on the loyalty, virtue, patriotism and intelligence of the American people.

The correspondence itself, with the usual reservations, has been submitted. I venture to hope it will appear that we have practised prudence and liberality towards foreign powers, averring causes of irritation and with firmness maintaining our own rights and honor. Since, however, it is apparent that here, as in every other State, foreign nations are necessarily at least domestic difficulties.

I recommend that adequate and ample measures be adopted for maintaining the public defenses on every side. While under this and other recommendations, provision for defending our sea-coast line occurs to the mind.

I also, in the same connection, ask the attention of Congress to our great lakes and rivers. It is believed that some fortifications and depots of arms and munitions, with harbor and navigation improvements, all well selected points upon these, would be of great importance to the national defense and preservation.

I ask attention to the views of the Secretary of War, expressed in his report upon the same general subject. I deem it of importance that the loyal regions of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina should be connected with Kentucky and other faithful parts of the Union by railroad. I therefore recommend, as a military measure, that Congress provide for the construction of such road as speedily as possible. Kentucky, no doubt, will co-operate and, through her Legislature, the General Government may be enabled to construct such road as speedily as possible. Kentucky, no doubt, will co-operate and, through her Legislature, the General Government may be enabled to construct such road as speedily as possible. Kentucky, no doubt, will co-operate and, through her Legislature, the General Government may be enabled to construct such road as speedily as possible.

Some treaties designed chiefly for the interests of commerce, and having no grave political importance, have been negotiated, and will be submitted to the Senate for their consideration.

Although we have failed to induce some of the commercial powers to adopt a desirable melioration of the rigor of a maritime war, we have removed all obstructions from the way of this humane reform, except such as are merely of temporary and accidental occurrence.

I invite your attention to the correspondence between Her Britannic Majesty's Minister, accredited to this Government, and the Secretary of State, relative to the detention of the British steamer *Albatross*, by the United States steamer *Massachusetts*, for a supposed breach of the blockade. As this detention was occasioned by an obvious misapprehension of the facts and as justice requires that we should commit no belligerent act not founded in strict right as sanctioned by public law, I recommend that an appropriation be made to defray the reasonable demand of the owners of the vessel for her detention.

I repeat the recommendation of my predecessor, in his annual message to Congress in December last, in regard to the disposition of the surplus which will probably remain after satisfying the claims of American citizens against China, pursuant to the awards of the Commissioners under the act of the 3d of March, 1859.

If, however, it should not be deemed advisable to carry this recommendation into effect, I would suggest that authority be given investing the principal over the proceeds of the surplus referred to in general terms, so that, in view to the satisfaction of such other just claims of our citizens against China as are not unlikely to arise hereafter, and most abundant harvests.

By the act of the 5th of August last, Congress authorized the President, to instruct the Commanders of suitable vessels to engage the vessels against capture pirates. This authority has been exercised in a single instance only. For the more effectual protection of our extensive and valuable commerce in the Eastern Sea, especially, it seems to me that it would also be advisable to authorize the commanders of sailing vessels to recapture any vessels which may be captured by the United States vessels and their cargoes, and the Consular Courts now established by law in Eastern countries to instruct the cases in the event that this should not be objected to by the local authorities. If any good reason exists why we should persevere longer in withholding our recognition of the independence of the Republic of Hayti, I am unable to discover it.

Unwilling, however, to inaugurate a novel policy in regard to them without the approval of Congress, I submit for your consideration the expediency of an appropriation for maintaining a charge d'affaires near each of those States; it does not admit of doubt that important commercial advantages might be secured by favorable treaties with them.

The operations of the Treasury Department during the past year, under your adjournment, have been conducted with signal success. The patriotism of the people has placed at the disposal of the Government, the large means demanded by the public exigencies. Much of the National Loan has been taken by citizens of the industrial classes, whose confidence in their country's faith and zeal, for their country's deliverance from the present peril have induced them to contribute to the support of the Government the whole of their limited acquisitions. This imposes peculiar obligations upon us to economy in disbursement and energy in action.

The revenues from all sources, including loans for the fiscal year, ending on the 30th of June, 1861, was \$86,835,900 27, and the expenditures for the same period, including payments on account of the public debt, were \$84,578,824 47, leaving a balance in the Treasury, on the 1st of July, of \$2,257,065 80. For the first quarter of the financial year, ending on the 30th of September, 1861, the revenues from all sources, including the balance of the 1st of July, were \$102,532,500 27, and the expenses \$98,220,733 09, leaving a balance on the 30th of October, 1861, of \$4,311,766 18.

Estimates for the remaining three quarters of the year, and for the financial year of 1863, together with the view of ways and means for meeting the demands contemplated by them, will be submitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury.

It is gratifying to know that the expenditures made necessary by the rebellion are not beyond the resources of the loyal people, and to believe that the earnest patriotism which has thus far sustained the Government will

continue to sustain it till peace and union shall again bless the land. I respectfully refer to the report of the Secretary of War for information respecting the numerical strength of the army and for recommendations, having in view an increase of its efficiency and the well-being of the various branches of the service entrusted to his care. It is gratifying to know that the patriotism of the people has proved equal to the occasion, and that the number of troops tendered greatly exceeds the force which Congress authorized me to call into the field.

I refer with pleasure to those portions of his report which make allusion to the creditable degree of discipline already attained by our troops and to the excellent sanitary condition of the entire army.

The recommendation of the Secretary for an organization of the militia upon a uniform basis, is a subject of vital importance to the safety of the country, and is commended to the serious attention of Congress. The large addition to the regular army in connection with the defection of the militia, has increased the number of its officers, gives peculiar importance to his recommendation of increasing the corps of Cadets to the greatest capacity of the Military Academy.

By mere omission, I presume, Congress has failed to provide Chaplains for hospitals occupied by volunteers. This subject was brought to my notice, and I was induced to draw up the form of a letter, one copy of which, properly addressed, has been delivered to each of the persons, and at the dates, respectively named, and stated in a schedule containing also the form of the letter (letter marked A), and herewith transmitted.

The gentlemen I understood entered upon the duties designated at the times respectively stated, in the schedule, and have labored faithfully therein ever since. I therefore recommend that they be compensated at the same rate as Chaplains in the Army, further suggesting that general orders be issued for Chaplains to serve at Hospitals as well as with regiments. The report of the Secretary of the Navy presents in detail the operations of that branch of the service, the activity and energy which have characterized its administration and the results of the measures to increase its efficiency and power. Such have been the additions by construction and purchase, that it may almost be said a Navy has been created and brought into service since our difficulties began. Besides the adding our extensive coast, squadrons larger than ever before assembled under our flag, have been put afloat and appropriation made which have increased our Naval resources.

I would invite special attention to the recommendations of the Secretary for a more perfect organization of the Navy, by introducing control of the service. The present organization is defective and unsatisfactory, and the suggestions submitted by the Department, which I believe, if adopted, obviate the difficulties alluded to, to promote harmony and increase the efficiency of the Navy.

There are three vacancies on the bench of the Supreme Court; two by the decease of Justices Daniel and McLean, and one by the resignation of Justice Roger Taney. It is believed, so far as the making of nominations to fill these vacancies for reasons which I will now state: Two of the outgoing Judges resided within the States now overrun by rebels, so that if the successors were appointed in the same localities, they could not now serve upon their circuit, and many of the most important cases would be thereby not take the personal hazard of accepting to serve, even here, upon the Supreme Bench. I have been unwilling to thwart the wishes of the people, and to transfer to the North one which has heretofore been in the South, would not, with reference to territory and population, be unjust.

During the long and brilliant judicial career of Judge McLean, his circuit grew large, and his duties too large for any one Judge to give the Courts therein more than a nominal attendance, rising in population from 1,470,000 in 1860. Besides this, the country generally has outgrown our present judicial system. If uniformity was at all to be maintained, it is probable that the States shall be accommodated with Circuit Courts attended by Supreme Judges, while, in fact, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, California and Oregon have never had any such Courts.

Nor can this well be remedied, without a change of the system, because the duties which are now performed by the Court, enough for the accommodation of all parts of the country with Circuit Courts, would create a Court altogether too numerous for a judicial body of any sort. And the evil, if it be one, will increase as new States come into the Union. Circuit Courts are useful, or they are not useful. If useful, no State should be denied them. If not useful, no State should have them. Let them be provided for, or abolished at all.

Three modifications occur to me, either of which I think would be an improvement upon our present system. Let the Supreme Court be of convenient number in every event. Then first, let the whole country be divided into circuits of convenient size, the Supreme Judges to serve in a number of them corresponding to their own numbers, and independent Circuit Judges be provided for all the rest; or, secondly, let the Supreme Judges be relieved from Circuit duties, and Circuit Judges provided for all the rest; or, thirdly, let the Supreme Judges and Circuit Courts all together, leaving the Judicial functions wholly to the District Court and an independent Supreme Court.

I respectfully recommend to the consideration of Congress the present condition of the Statute Laws with the hope that Congress will be able to find a way to meet the demands of convenience and evils which constantly embarrass them in the practical administration of them. Since the operations of the Patent and General Land Offices.

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Many of these acts have been drawn in haste and without sufficient caution, so that their provisions are often obscure in themselves, or in conflict with each other, or at least so doubtful as to render it very difficult for even the best informed to ascertain precisely what the statute law really is. It seems to me very important that the statute laws should be made as plain and intelligible as possible, and be reduced to as small a compass as may consist with the fullness and precision of the language. This, well done, would, I think, greatly facilitate the labors of the courts, and the administration of the laws, and would be a lasting benefit to the people by placing before them, in a more accessible and intelligible form, the laws which so deeply concern their interests and their duties. I am informed by some, whose opinion I respect, that all the acts of Congress now in force, but having no relation to the present situation, might be revised and re-written, so as to be embraced in one volume, or, at most, in two volumes, of ordinary size. This is the case, and I respectfully recommend to Congress to consider on the subject, and if my suggestion be approved, to devise such a plan as may be best adapted to the proper for the attainment of the end proposed.

One of the unavoidable consequences of the present insurrection is the entire suppression in many places of all the ordinary means of administering civil justice by the officers, in the face of existing laws. This is the case, in whole or in part, in all the insurgent States, and as our armies advance upon and take possession of parts of the States, the practical evil becomes more apparent. There are no courts nor officers to whom the citizens of other States may apply for the enforcement of their laws. In such cases, the law is a dead letter, and there is a vast amount of debt constituting such claims. Some have estimated it as high as \$100,000,000. This is the case, in whole or in part, in all the insurgent States, and as our armies advance upon and take possession of parts of the States, the practical evil becomes more apparent. There are no courts nor officers to whom the citizens of other States may apply for the enforcement of their laws. In such cases, the law is a dead letter, and there is a vast amount of debt constituting such claims. Some have estimated it as high as \$100,000,000. This is the case, in whole or in part, in all the insurgent States, and as our armies advance upon and take possession of parts of the States, the practical evil becomes more apparent.

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have been entirely suspended in the Southern States, while the interruptions to the business of the country, and the diversion of large numbers of men into military service, have restricted settlements in the new States and territories of the Northwest.

The receipts of the Patent Office have declined in nine months about \$100,000, rendering a large deduction of the force employed necessary, to make it self-sustaining.

The demands upon the Pension Office will be largely increased by the insurrection. Numerous applications for pensions, based upon the casualties of the existing war, have already been made. There is reason to believe that many who are now upon the pension rolls, and in receipt of the bounty of the Government, are in the ranks of the insurgent army, or giving them aid and comfort. The Secretary of the Interior has directed a suspension of the payment of the pension of such persons upon proof of their disloyalty.

I recommend that Congress authorize that officer to cause the names of persons who have been placed upon the pension rolls, to be stricken from the pension rolls.

The relations of the Government with the Indian tribes have been greatly disturbed by the insurrection, especially in the Southern Superintendency and in that of New Mexico. The Indian country south of Kansas has been in the possession of insurgents from Texas and Arkansas.

The agents of the United States Government, appointed since the 4th of March for this superintendency, have been unable to reach their posts, while the most of those who were in the office before that time, have been expelled from the country, and have been unable to reach their posts, while the most of those who were in the office before that time, have been expelled from the country, and have been unable to reach their posts.

It has been stated in the public press that a portion of the Indian band has been organized as a military force, and are attached to the army of the insurgents. Although the Government has no official information upon this subject, I have been written to the Commissioners of Indian Affairs by several prominent chiefs, giving assurance of their loyalty to the United States, and expressing a wish for the presence of Federal troops to protect them. It is believed that upon the re-possession of the country, by the Federal forces, the Indians will readily cease all hostile demonstrations and resume their former relations to the Government.

Agriculture, confessedly the largest interest of the nation, has not a department nor a bureau, but a clerkship only assigned to it in the Government. While it is fortunate that this great interest is so independent in its nature as to not have demanded and extorted money from the Government, I respectfully ask Congress to consider whether something more cannot be given voluntarily with general advantage.

Annual reports exhibiting the condition of our agriculture, commerce and manufactures, would present a full and complete view of the value to the country. While I make no suggestion as to details, I venture the opinion that an Agricultural and Statistical Bureau might profitably be organized.

The execution of the laws for the suppression of the African Slave Trade, has been confined to the Department of the Interior. It is a subject of gratulation that the efforts which have been made for the suppression of this inhuman traffic, have been recently attended with unusual success. Five vessels being fitted out for the slave trade have been seized and condemned. Two mates of vessels engaged in the trade, and one of the crew, engaged in equipping a slave, have been convicted and subjected to the penalty of fine and imprisonment; and one captain taken from the branch of African trade, a vessel, has been convicted of the highest grade of offence under our laws, the punishment of which is death.

The Territory of Colorado, Dakota and Nevada, created by the last Congress, have been organized, and civil administration has been inaugurated therein under auspices especially gratifying to me. It is considered that the leaves of treason was found existing in some of these new countries when the Federal officers arrived there. The absence of the Territory of Colorado, which were the patriotic spirit of the people of the Territory.

So far the authority of the United States has been upheld in all the Territories, and it is hoped it will be so in the future. I commend their interests and defence to the enlightened and generous care of Congress.

I recommend to the favorable consideration of Congress the interests of the District of Columbia. The insurance has been the cause of much suffering and sacrifices to its inhabitants, and as they have no representative in Congress, should not overlook their just claims upon the Government.

At your late Session a joint resolution was adopted authorizing the President to take measures for facilitating a proper representation of the industrial interests of the United States, at the Exhibition of the Industry of Nations, to be held at London in the year 1862.

In such case, I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons from such States according to some mode of valuation in lieu of direct taxes, or upon some other plan to be agreed upon with such States respectively, that such persons on such acceptances by the General Government be at once deemed free, and that in any event, steps be taken for colonizing both classes (or the one first mentioned if the other shall not be brought into existence) at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider too, whether the free colored people already in the United States, could not so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization.

To carry out the plan of colonization may involve the acquiring of territory and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition. Having promised the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years, the question of the Constitutional power to do so is no longer an open one with us. The power was questioned at first by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the purchase of Louisiana, yielded his scruples on the plea of great expediency.

If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this monstrous effect that object, for emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here. Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisiana more on political and commercial grounds, than on providing room for population.

On this whole proposition, including the appropriation of money, with the acquisition of territory, does not the expense amount to absolute necessity, without which the Government itself cannot be perpetuated if the war continues.

In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection, I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have, therefore, in every case, thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance, to the more deliberate action of the legislature.

In the exercise of my best discretion, I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insurgents, instead of putting in force by proclamation the law of Congress enacted at the late session for closing these ports. So also, obeying the dictates of prudence as well as the obligations of law, instead of transcending I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its propriety will be duly considered.

The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed. We shall not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable.

The inaugural address at the beginning of the Administration, and the message to Congress at the late special session, were both mainly devoted to the domestic controversy out of which the insurrection and consequent war have sprung.

Nothing more occurs to add or subtract to or from the principles or general purposes stated and expressed in that document. The last ray of hope for preserving the Union, peaceably, expired at the assault upon Fort Sumter, and a general review of what has occurred since, may not be unprofitable. The insurgents confidently claimed a strong support from north of Mason and Dixon's line, and the friends of the Union were not free from apprehensions on that point. This, however, was soon settled definitely, and on the right side. South of the line, noble little Delaware lost of right from the first. Maryland was made to seem against the Union. Our soldiers were assaulted, bridges were burned, and railroads torn up within her limits, and we were many days, at one time, without the ability to bring a single regiment over her soil to the Capital. Now her bridges and railroads are repaired and open to the Government. She already gives seven regiments to the cause of the Union, and none to the enemy, and her people at a regular election, have voted in favor of a large majority for her, and a larger aggregate vote than they ever before gave to any candidate on any question.

Kentucky, too, for some time in doubt, is now decidedly and firmly, and unchangeably, ranged on the side of the Union. Missouri is comparatively quiet, and I believe cannot again be overrun by the insurrectionists. These three States of Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri neither of which would promise a single soldier, at first, have now an aggregate of not less than forty thousand in the field for the Union, while of their citizens certainly not more than a third of that number, and they of doubtful whereabouts and doubtful existence, are in arms against it, after a somewhat bloody struggle of months. Winter closes on the Union people of Western Virginia, leaving them masters of their own country.

An insurgent force of about fifteen hundred for months dominating the narrow peninsula region of the counties of Accomack and Northampton, and known as the Eastern Shore of Virginia, together with some contiguous parts of Maryland, have laid down their arms, and the people there have renewed their allegiance to and accepted the protection of the old flag. This leaves no armed insurrection north of the Potomac or east of the Chesapeake.

Also, we have obtained a footing at each of the isolated points on the southern coast of Florida, Fort Royal, Tybee Island, near Savannah, and Ship Island; and we likewise have some general accounts of popular movements in behalf of the Union, in North Carolina and Tennessee. These things demonstrate that the cause of the Union is advancing steadily southward.

life of the nation has not been unimpaired of his merit. Yet, on calling to mind how faithfully, ably and bravely he has served the country for a time far back in our history, when few of the now living had been born, and thenceforward continually, I cannot but think we are still his debtors. I submit, therefore, for your consideration, what further mark of recognition is due to him and to ourselves, as a grateful people.

With the retirement of Gen. Scott, came the executive duty of appointing in his stead a General-in-Chief of the army. It is a fortunate circumstance that neither in council or country was there, so far as I know, any difference of opinion as to the proper person to be selected. The retiring Chief repeatedly expressed his judgment in favor of General McClellan for the position, and in this the nation decreed to give a unanimous concurrence.

The designation of Gen. McClellan is therefore in a considerable degree, the selection of the country as well as of the Executive, and hence there is better reason to hope that there will be given him the confidence and cordial support thus, by fair implication, promised, and without which he cannot with so full efficiency serve the country. It has been said that one of the best general officers of the war, and the saying is true, if taken to mean no more than that our army is better directed by a single mind, though inferior, than by two superior ones, at variance and cross purposes with each other. And the same is true in all joint observations wherein common sense and view can differ only as to the choice of means.

In a storm at sea, no one on board can wish the ship to sink, and yet, not unfrequently all go down together, because too many will direct, and too single mind can be allowed to control. It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principles of popular Government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents as well as in the general tone of the insurgents.

In these documents we find the abridgement of the existing right of suffrage, and the denial to the people of all right to be recognized in the selection of public officers, except the Legislature, boldly advocated, with labored arguments, to prove that large control of the people in Government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions. But there is one point, with its connections, not so luckey as the efforts, to which I ask a brief attention.

It is the most to place capital on an equal footing with if not above labor, in the structure of the Government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital, that nobody labors unless somebody else owing capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. This resumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them and drive them to it without their consent.

Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what we call slaves. And further, it is assumed, that whoever is once a hired laborer, is fixed in that condition for life. Now there is no such relation between capital and labor, as assumed, nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the rendition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is a relation between labor and capital, producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of the community exists within that relation. A few men own capital and that few avoid labor, or buy another way to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class, neither work for others nor have others working for them. In most of the Southern States a majority of the whole people, of all colors, are neither slaves nor masters, while in the Northern, a large majority are neither hires nor hired. Men with their families, wives, sons and daughters, work for themselves, and in their farms, in their houses, and in their ships, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand or of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with their capital—that is, they labor with their own hands and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has already been said, there is not of necessity any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to a condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives were hired laborers.

The prudent, penniless beginner in the world, labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him.

This is the just, and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, and country, and progress and improvement of condition to all. No man living is more worthy to be trusted than those who will climb up from poverty.