## VOLUNTEER--EXTRA. President's Message.

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Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives :

In the midst of unprecedented political trou bles, 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 attended with profound solicitude, chiefly turning upon our own domestic affairs. A disloval 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 factious domestic division is exposed to disrespect abroad, and one party, if not both, is sure, sconer 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 un-fortunate, and injurious to those adopting

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 expec ted. 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 act solely and selfishly for the most speedy restoration of commerce, including especially the acquisi-tion of cotton, these nations appear as yet not to have seen their way to their object more directly or clearly through the destruction, rethrough the preservation of the Onion.

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 orush this rebellion than by giving encourage-ment to it. The principal lever relied on by the insurgents for inciting foreign nations to hostility against us, as already intimated, is rrassment of commerce. These nathe emb tions, 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 diffi-culty and that one strong nation promises more durable peace and a more extensive and reliable commerce than can the same nation broken into hostille 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 mainly depend not upon them, but on the loyalty, virtue, patriot-ism and intelligence of the American people.

The correspondence itself with the usual reservations is herewith submitted. I venture to hope it will appear that we have practised prudence and liberality towards foreign pow-ers, averting causes of irritation and with firm-every other State, foreign dangers necessarily attend domestic difficulties, I recommend that adequate and ample measures be adopted for maintaining the public defences on every side.

While under this general recommendation provision for defending our seacoast line occurs to the mind. I also, in the same connection, ask the at-

tention of Congress to our great lakes and riv-ers. It is believed that some fortifications and depots of arms and munitions, with harbor and navigation improvements, all at well selected points upon these, would be of great impor-tance is the national defence 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 speedily as struction of such road as possible. Kentucky, no doubt, will co-operate, and, through her Legislature, make the most judicious selection of a line. The Northern terminus must connect with some existing railroad, and whether the route shall be from Lexington or Nicholasville to the Cumberland Gap, or from Lebanon to the Tennessee line in direction of Knoxville, or on some still different line, can readily be determined .--Kentucky and the General Government cooperating, the work can be completed in a very short time, and, when done, it will be not only of vast present usefulness, but also a valuable permanent improvement, with its cost in all the future. Some treaties designed chiefly for the interists of commerce, and having no grave polit-ical importance, have been negotiated, and will be submitted to the Senate for their considera-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 hetween Her Britannic Majesty's Minister, accredited to this Government, and the Secretary of State, relative to the detention of the British ship Perthshire in June last, 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 satisfy 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 China, pursuant to the awards of the mmissioners under the act of the 8d of March, 1859. If, however, it should not be deemed advisa-ble to carry that recommendation into effect, I would suggest that authority bo given invest-ing the principal over the proceeds of the sur-plus referred to in good securities, with a view to the satisfaction of such other just claims of our citizens against China as are not unlikely to arise hereafter in the course of our extensive trade with that empire. By the act of the 5th of August last, Copgress authorized the President to instruct the Commanders of suitable vessels to defend themselves against and 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 seas especially, it seems to me that it would also be advisable to authorize the commanders of sailing vessels to recapture any prizes which pirates may make of United States vessels and their cargoes, and the Consular Courts now established by law in Eastern countries to adjudicate 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 re-cognition of the independence and sovereignty of Hayli, I am unable to discover it. Unwilling, however, to inaugurate a novel policy in regard to them without the approba-tion of Congress, I submit for your considera-tion the expediency of an appropriation for maintaining a Charge d'Affaires near each of those new States; it does not admit of a doubt

The operations of the Treasury during the hich has elapsed since your adjournperiod ment, have been conducted with signal success The patriotism of the people has placed at the disposal of the Government, the large means de manded 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 Gov-ernment the whole of their limited acquisitions. This fact imposes peculiar obligations upon us to economy in disbursement and energy in action. The revenues from all sources, including loans

e secured by favorable treaties with them.

for the financial year, ending on the 30th of June, 1861, was \$86,835,900 27, and the expenditures for the same period, including pay-ments on account of the public debt, were \$84,578,834 47, leaving a balance in the Treas-ury, on the first of July, of \$2,257,055 80.-For the first quarter of the financial year, end-ing on the 20th of September, 1861, the re-

ing on the 20th of September, 1801, the re-ceipts from all sources, including the balance of the 1st of July, were \$102,582,509 27, and the expenses \$98,239,738 09; leaving a balance on the 1st of October, 1861, of \$4,292,776 18. Estimates for the remaining three-quarters of the year, and for the financial year of 1863, together with dis 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 same 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 Secratary of War for information respecting the numerical strength of the army and for recommendations, having in view an increase of its ficicacy azdvthe yell-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 oreditable 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 'future 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 that has so con-siderably diminished the number of its officers, gives peculiar importance to his recommenda-tion for 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 hespitals occu-pied by volunteer. bied 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 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 there ever since. I therefore recommend hat they be compensated at the same rate as Chaplains in the Army, further suggesting that general provision be made for Chaplains to erve at hospitals as well as with regiments. The report of the Secretary of the Navy pre-ents in detail the operations of that branch of

the service, the activity and energy which have obaracterized its administration, and the re-sults 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 commenced. Besides blockading our extensive coast, squadrons larger than ever before assembled under our flag, have been put afloat, and performed deeds which have increased our naval renown. I would invite special attention to the recommendations of the Secretary for a more perfect organization of the Navy, by introduperiod of gammation of the havy, by introdu-oing additional grades in the service. The present organization is defective and unsatis-than the revenue for 1860. The expenditives factory, and the suggestions submitted by the were \$13,606,759,11. Showing a decrease of factory, and the suggestions submitted by the Department, will, it is believed, if adopted. obviate the difficulties alluded 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 Campbell. I have so far forborne making nominations to fill these vacancies for reasons which I will now state : two of the out-going Judges resided within the States now overrun by revolt, so that if their successors were appointed in the same localities, they could not now serve upon their circuit, and many of the most competent men there probably would not take the personal hazard of accepting to serve, even here, upon the Supreme Bench. I have been unwilling the Supreme Bench. I have been unwilling to throw all the appointments Northward, thus disabling myself from doing justice to the South on the return of peace, although I may remark that to transfer to the North one which has heretofore been in the South, would not, with reference to territory and population, e unjust. During the long and brilliant judicial caree of Judge McLean, his circuit grew into an em-pire altogether too large for any one Judge to give the Courts therein more than a nominal attendance, rising in population from 1,470,018 in 1880, to 6,161,405 in 1860. Besides this, he country generally has outgrown our presen judicial system. If uniformity was at all in-tended, the system requires that all the States shall be accommodated with Circuit Courts attended by Supreme Judges, while, in fact Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Florida Texas, California and Oregon have never had any such Courts. Nor can this well be remedied, without change of the system, because the adding of Judges to the Supreme 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 ort. 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 all, or abolished to all.

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 person to ascertain prioisely 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 Legislature and the perspicuity of its language. This, well done, would, I think, greatly facili-tate the labors of those whose duty it is to assist in the administration of the laws, and would be a lasting benefit to the people by placing before them, in a more acceptable and intelligible form, the laws which so deeply concern their interests and their duties. I am informed by some, whose opinions I respect, that all the acts of Congress now in force, and of a permanent and general nature, might be revised and re-written, so as to be embraced in one volume, or, at most, in two volumes, of ordinary and commercial size, and I respectfully recommend to Congress to consider on the subject, and if my suggestion be approved, to devise such plan as to their wisdo ehall seem most 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 form of existing law. This is the case in whole or in part in all the insurgent Statesand as our armies advance and take possession of parts of those States the practical evil becomes more apparent. There are no courts nor officers to whom the ditions of other States may apply for the enforcement of their lawful claims against citizens of the insurgent States, and there is a vast amount of debt congtituting such claims; some have estimated it as high as \$200,000,000, due in large part from insurgents in open rebellion to loyal citizens who are even now making great sacrafices in the discharge of ther patriotic duty to support the Govern ment. Under these circumstances. Thave been urgently solicited to establish, by military power, courts to administer summary justice power, courts to administer summary justice, in such cases. I have thus far declined to do it, not because I had any doubt that the end proposed—the collection of the debts—was just and right in itself, but because I have been unwilling to go beyond the pressure of neces-sity in the unusual exercise of power. But the powers of Congress, I suppose, are equal to the anomalous occasion, and, therefore, I refer the whole matter to Congress, with the hope that a plan may be devised for the administration of justice in all such parts of the insurgent States and Territories as may be under the control of this Government, whether by a voluntary return to allegiance and order, or by the power of our arms. This, however, is not to be a permanent in

stitution, but a temporary institute, and to cease as soon as the ordinary Courts can be reestablished in peace. It is important that some more convenient means shall be provided, if possible, for the adjustment of claims against the Government, especially in view of their increased number, by reason of the war. It is as much the duty of Government to rende prompt justice against itself in favor of citizens, as it is to administer the same between private individuals. The investigation and adjudication of claims in their nature belong to the judicial department.

Besides, it is apparent that the attention of Congress will be more than usually engaged for some time to come with great national ques-tions. It was intended by the organization of the Court of Claims mainly to remove this branch of business from the halls of Congress; but while the Court has proved to be an effective and valuable means of investigation, it, in twe and valuable means of investigation, it, in a great degree, fails to effect the object of its oreation for want of the power to make its judgments final. Fully aware of the deliqacy, not to say the danger of the subject. I commend to your careful consideration whether wits power of making judgments final may not prop-erly be given to the Court; reserving the right of appeal on questions of law to the Supreme Court, with such other provisions as experience may have shown to be necessary. may have shown to be necessary.

I ask attention to the report of the Postnas-ter General, the following being a summary statement of the condition of the Department : The revenue from all sources during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1861, including the an-nual permanent appropriation of \$700,000 for the transportation of free mail matter was of the previous year, and leaving an exces of first mentioned, if the other shall not be brought expenditures over the revenue for the last fical year of \$4,557,462.79. The gross revenue for the year ending June 30, 1862, is estimated at an increase of 4 per cent. on that of 1861 making \$8,683,000, to which should be addd the earnings of the Department in carrying free matter, viz : \$700,000, making \$9,883,00 The total expenditures for 1862 are estimated at \$12,528,000, leaving an estimated deficiency of \$3,145,000 to be supplied from the Tresury, in the permanent appropriation. The present insurrection shows, I think that the extension of this District across the lotomac river at the time of cetablishing the cap-itol here, was eminently wise, and, consequent-ly, that the relinquishment of that portin of it which lies within the State of Virginiawas unwise and dangerous: I submit for you you sideration the expediency of acquiring that part of the District and the restoration of the original boundaries thereof, through newtiation with the State of Virginia. The report of the Secretary of the Intrior, with the accompanying documents, exhibit the condition of the several branches of the ablic business pertaining to that Department. The depressing influences of the insurrection is ve, been especially felt in the operations of the Patent and General Land Offices. The cash receipts from the sale of public ands during the past year have exceeded the expenses of our land system only about \$00,-000. The sales have been entirely suspided in the Southern States, while the interrution to the interrution to the business of the country, and the ver-sion of large numbers of men to militar Bervice have obstructed settlements in the new States and Territories of the Northwest. Thereceipts of the Patent Office have defined in nine months about \$100,000, rendedig a large reduction of the force employed necesary to make it self-averiantic. to make it self-sustaining. The demands upon the Pension office vil be

that important commercial advantages might and without sufficient caution, so that their ject, letters have been written to the Commisioner 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 repossession of the sector of the formation of the sector of the sector of the formation of the sector of the

the country by the Federal forces the Indians will readily cease all hostile demonstrations, and resume their former relations to the Government.

ernment. Agriculture, confessedly the largest interest of the nation, has not a department nor a bu-reau, 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 more 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 manufacture, would present a fund of information of great practical value to the country. While I make no suggestion 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 confided to the Department of the Interior. It is a sub-ject of gratulation that the efforts which have been made for the suppression of this inhuman trafic 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 person engaged in equipping a slaver have been committed, and subjected to the penalty of fine and imprisonment; and one captain, taken with a cargo of Africans on board his vessel, has been convicted of the eighest grade of offence under our laws, the punishment of which is death.

The Territories of Colorado, Dakotah, and Netada, oreated by the last Congress have been organized, and oivil administration has been inaugurated therein under auspices especially inaugurated therein under auspices especially gratifying, when it is considered that the leaven of treason was found existing in some of these new countries when the Federal officers arrived there. The abundant maratime resources of these territories, with the scourity and protection afforded by an organized government, will doubtless invite to them a large immigration when peace shall restore the business of the country to its accustomed channels. I submit the resolutions of the Legislature of Colorado, which evidence the patriotic spirit of the people of the territory. So far the authority of the United States has

been upheld in all the Territories, as it is hoped it will be 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 insurrection has been the cause of much suffering and sacrifice to its inhabitants, and as they have no Representative in Con-gress, that they 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 innustrial interests of the United States at the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, to be holden at London, in the year 1862.

I regret to say I have been unable to give personal attention to this subject-a subject at once so interesting in itself, and so extensively prosperity of the world. Through the Secre-taries of State and of the Interior, a plan or system has been devised and partly matured, and which will be laid before you.

Under and by virtue of the act of Congress, entitled "an act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6tb, 1861, the legal claims of certain persons to the labor and service of certain other persons have become forfeited, and humbers of the latter thus liberated are already dependent on the United States, and must be provided for in some way. Besides this, it is not impossible that some of the States will pass similar enactments for their own benefit respectively, and by operation of which persons of the same class will be thrown upon them for disposal

In such cases I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons from such States, according to some mode of valuation in lieu pro tanto of direct taxes, or upon some other plan to be agreed upon, with such States respectively that such persons or such acceptances by the General Government be at once deemed free, and that, in any event, steps be

strong support from north of Mason and Dixon's line, and the friends of the Union were not free from apprehension on that point .-This, however, was soon settled definitely and on the right side.

South of the line, noble little Delaware led off right from the first. Maryland was made to seem against the Union. Our soldiers were assaulted, bridges were burned and railroads torn up within herilimits, 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 sustained the Union by a larger majority and a larger aggregate vote than they ever before gave to any candidate on any ques-

Kentucky, too, for some time in doubt, now decidedly and I think 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 más-

people of western Virginia, leaving them mas-ters of their own country. An insurgent force of about fifteen hundred for months dominating the narrow peninsular region of the counties of Accomac and North-ampton, and known as the Eastern Shore of Ampton, and known as the castern chore 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 insurrectionists 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 Hatteras, Port Royal, Tybee Island, near Savannah, and Ship Island; and we likewise have some general accounts of popular move-ments in behalf of the Union in North Carolina and Tennessee. These things demonstrate

that the cause of the Union is advancing steadily southward. Since your last adjournment Lieutenant General Scott has retired from the head of the army. During his long life the nation has not been how faithfully, ably and brilliantly he has served his country for a time far back in our history, when few of the now living had been born, and thenceforward continually. I can-not 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 retirgment of General Scott can the executive duty of appointing in his stead a General-in-Chief of the army. It was a for-tunate 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 ex-pressed his judgment in favor of General Mo-Clellan for the position, and in this the nation seemed to me a unanimous concurrence. The designation of General 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 bad general is better

than two good ones, 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 operations, wherein those engaged can have none but a common end in view, and can differ only as to the choice of means.

In a storm at sea, no one can wish the ship to sink, and yet not unfrequently all go down together, because too many will direct, and no single mind can be allowed to control.

It continues to develope 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 acknowledg-

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

. . . .

This is the just and generous and prosperous This is the just and generous and prospects system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequently energy and progress and improvement of the condition of all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted

than those who toil up from poverty-none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly carned. Let them beward of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the doors of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost.

From the first taking of our National Consus to the last are seventy years, and we find our population at the end of the period eight times as great as it was at the beginning. crease of those other things which men deem desirable has been greater. We thus have at one view what the popular

principle applied to government through the machinery of the States and the Union has produced in a given time, and also what, if firmly maintained, it promises for the future. There are already among us those who; if the Union be preserved, will live to see it con-tain two hundred and fifty millions. The strug-gle of to-day is not altogether for to-day, it is for a vast future also. With a reliance on Providence all the more firm and earnest, let us roceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Washington, Dec. 3, 1861.

SENTENCE OF A SLAVE TRADEB .- Nathanile Gorden, convicted in the United States Court at New York, of piracy in carrying slaves from the coast of Africa, was sentenced on Saturday morning by Judge Shipman to be hung: In

sentencing him, the Judge said : In the verdict of the jury it is my duty to say that the Court fully concurred. The evi-dence of your guilt was so full and complete as to exclude from the minds of your triers, all doubt.

You are soon to be confronted with the terrible consequence of your crime, and it is proper that I should call to your mind the duty of preparing for that event which will soon ternate your mortal existence, and usher you into the presence of the Supreme Judge ! Let me implore you to seek the spiritual guidance of the minister of religion, and let your repentance be as thorough and humble as your orime was great.

Was great. Do not attempt to hide its enormity from yourself. Think of the cruelty and wiokedness of seizing nearly a thousand fellow beings who never did you harm, and thrusting them be-tween the decks of a small ship beneath a bur-ning tronical sum to die of discase or sufficient ning tropical sun-to die of disease or suffocation or be transported to distant lands, and consigned, they and their posterity, to a fate far more cruel than death !

Think of the suffering of the unhappy beings whom you crowded on to the Erie, of the help-less agony and terror as you took them from their native land, and especially think of those who perished under the weight of their miseries on the passage from the place of your capture to Monrovia !

Remember that you showed mercy to none. carrying off, as you did, not only those of your sex, but women and helpless children. Do not flatter yourself that because they belonged to a different race from yourself your guilt is therefore lessened. Rather fear that it is increased.

In the just and generous heart the humble and weak inspire compassion, ande all for pity and forbearance, and as you are soon to pass into the presence of that God of the black man as well as the white man, who is no respector of persons, do not indulge to the high the thought that he hears with indifference the cry of the humblest of his children.

Do not imagine because others shared in the guilt of enterprise yours is therefore diminished, but remember the awful admonition of your Bible "though hand join on hand the wicked shall not go unpunished." Turn your thoughts towards Him who alone can pardon and who is not deaf to the supplications of those who seek His mercy. It remains only to pronounce the sentence

which the law affixes to your orime, which is that you be taken back to the city prison from whence you were brought, and remain there until Friday, the 7th day of Febuary next, and hen and thence to the place of execution, between the hours of twelve o'clock at noon and three o'clock in the afternoon you be hung by the neck until you are dead, and may the Lord have mercy on your soul. The prisoner was not in the least affected, although the Judge and the spectators exhibited considerable emotion. He was remanded, and left the Court with

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 number, and independent Circuit Judges be provided for all the rest; or, sec-ondly, let the Supreme Judges be relieved from Dirouit duties, and Circuit Judges provided for all the Circuits; or, thirdly, dispense with the Circuit Courts all together, leaving the Judicial functions wholly to the District Court and an ndependent Supreme Court.

I respectfully recommend to the considera-I respectfully recommend to the considera-tion of Congress the present condition of the Statute Laws, with the hope that Congress will be able to find an easy remedy for many of the inconveniences and evils which constantly embarrass those engaged in the practical administration of them. Since the organi-zation of Government, Congress has enacted some five thousand acts and joint resolutions, which-fill-more than six thousand closely printed pages, and are scattered through many volumes

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largely increased by the insurrection. Numerous applications for pensions, upon the casualties of the existing war have already been made. There is reason to blieve that many who are now upon the pensio roll, and in the receipt of the bounty of the Government, are in the insurgent army, or iving them aid and comfort. The Secretary if the Interior has directed a suspension of th pay-ment of the pensions of such persons, upon proof of their disloyalty. I recommend, that Congress authoriz that

The relations of the Gevernment with the

Indian tribes have been greatly disturbed by the insurrection, especially in the Sothern Superintendency and in that of New Mxico. The Indian country south of Kansas is h the possession of the insurgents from Texa and Arkansas.

The agents of the United States Government appointed since the 4th of March, for this suerintendency, have been enable to reachtheir costs, while the most of those who wite in office before that time, have espoused the insurrectionary cause and assume to exercise the powers of agents by virtue of commissionsfrom

the insurrectionists. It has been stated in the public press that a portion of these Indians have been organized as a military force and are attached to the rmy of the insurgents. Although the Govern. Many of these acts have been drawn in haste ment has no official information upon this sub-

taken for colonizing both clases. (or the one into existence,) at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well o 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 practiced the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years, the question of the constitutions 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 effect

of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object, for the emigration of colored men leaves addi tional room for white men remaining or coming here. Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisiana more on po-litical and commercial grounds than on provi-

ding room for population. On this whole proposition, including the appropriation of money with the acquisition of territory, does not the expediency amount to absolute necessity, that 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 anx-ious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I

vitv! military importance to the wise deliberation 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 laws 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

consider The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed. We should 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 dooument. 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. What was painfully uncertain then is much better defined and more distinct now, and the progress of events is plainly in the right direc-tion. The insurgents confidently claimed a

ent of the existing right of suffrage, and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers, except the 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 trouble.

Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people In my present position I could scarcely be jus tified 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 liberal institutions. But there is one point with its connections not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of the Government.

Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired labor-ers 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 condition of a bird laborar of a hired laborer. It is assumed that labor is available only in

connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. This assumed, 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.

Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital s 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 and probably always will be 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

A lew men own capital, and that lew avoid labor themselves, and with their capital hire or buy another few 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 the whole people, of all colors, are neither slaves nor masters, while in the Northern a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men with their families, wives, sons and daughters work for themselves on their farms,

in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand, nor 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 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 stated 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-that-condition of life. Many independent men, everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers.

his counsel.

EXCITEMENT IN NEW YORK-The War Risk on Vessels Advanced .- The burning of the ship Harvey Birch by the Confederate steamer Nashville, as announced in the foreign news, caused the most intense excitement among the shipping merchants in New York on Saturday, and formed the chief topic of conversation in business circles. The Express says:

Its effects on change were quite apparent, and there was a general disposition among shippers to operate very cautiously in bread-stuffs, until further advices were obtained from the athen side. the other side. The effects upon freights were depressing, so far as American bottoms are concerned, although there has scarcely been enough done to tell what the effect really would be. There was in fact a very unsettled and rather gloomy feeling among business men generally.

The Harvey Birch was a splendid clipper ship of 1,482 tons, built at Mystic, Conn., in 1854, and owned by Messrs. J. H. Brower & Co., of this city. She was valued at \$60,000, and has only the simple marine clause in her policy of insurance; and therefore is a total loss to her owners. The board of Underwriters held a long ses-

sion on Saturday morning upon this matter, and finally concluded to advance the war risk to five per cent. They will insure to a moder-ate extent at this rate, although many vessels now due in the British channel will be unable to get insured, unless at a still higher rate.-There is considerable anxiety felt here in regard to the steamer Arago, which was due at Southampton two days after the Nashville arrived there.

MR. HAY, private secretary to the President, has a touching sketch of Col. Baker in Harper's for Docember, from which we extract the following:

THE DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT'S FRIENDS .-Alas for the dead hours of honest friendship ! the goodly fellowship of noble spirits ! Where are the good fellows who were friends at Springare the good fellows who were friends at Spring-field in the happier days? Hardin's spirit went up through the murkey canopy whose baleful shadow hung over the battling legions at Buena Vista; Bissell passed from lingering pain to Paradise, honored in the highest by the State that he had honored; Douglas lies under the prairie sod in the dear old State whose half-estranged heart burned with more than the old love for him before he died ; Baker rests glorious in death, a precious offering to rests glorious in death, a precious outering to the spirit of Freedom, to which through life his worship was paid; and Lincoln stands, lonely in his power, a sadder, silenter, better man than of old, time beginning to sift its early. snows upon the blackness of his hair, his heart heavy with the sorrows of a nation, his mind and sohl pledged to self-abnegating effort to keep from detriment in his hands the costly The President, a penniless beginner in the treasure of constitutional government.