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TERMS.

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### PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE. Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of

Representatives: Since your lastannual assembling another year of health and bountiful harvests has passed; and while it has not pleased the Almighty to bless us with a return of pence, we can but press on guided by the best light He gres us, trusting that in His own good time

and wise way all will yet be well.

The correspondence touching foreign affairs, which has taken place during the last year, s herewith submitted, in virtual compliance with a request to that effect made by the House of Representatives near the close of the last session of Congress.

# Foreign Relations.

If the condition of our relations with other nations is less gratifying than it has usually been at former periods, it is certainly more sitisfactory than a nation so unhappily distracted as ve are, might reasonably have ap-

In the month of June last, there were some grounds to expect that the maritime powers, which at the beginning of our domestic difficulties, so unwisely and unnecessarily, as we think, recognized the insurgents as belligerent, would soon recede from that position, which has proved only less injurious to themselves than to our own country. But thetemporary reverses, which afterwards befel the national arms and which were exaggerated by our own disloyal citizens abroad, have hitherto delayed that act of simple justice,-The civil war, which has so radically changed for the moment the occupations and habits of the American people, has necessarily disturbed the social condition, and affected very deeply the prosperity of the nations with which we have carried on a commerce that has been steadily increasing throughout a period of half a century.

It has, at the same time, excited political

weel a profound agitation throughout the we ha e forborne from taking part in any ontroversy between toreign states and be tween parties or factions in such States.
We have attempted no propagandism and

acknowledged no revolution. But we have elt to every nation the exclusive conduct and Our struggle has been of course contem

plated by foreign nations with reference less to its own merits than to its supposed and often exaggerated effects and consequences resulting to those nations, themselves. ertheless, complaint on the part of this gov ernment, even if it were just, would certainly

The treaty with Great Britain for the sunpression of the slave trade has been put into operation with a good prospect of c success. It is an occasion of special pleasure to acknowledge that the execution of it on the part of Her Majesty's Government has been marked with a jealous respect for the authority of the United States, and the rights

of their loyal and moral citizens. The convention with Hanover for the abolition of the Stadt Dues, has been carried into full effect under the act of Congress for that

purpose.

A blockade of three thousand miles of sea coast could not be established and vigorously enforce I in a season of great commercial activity l.ke the p esent, without committing occasional mistakes and inflicting unintentional injuries upon foreign nations and their subjects. A civil war, occurring in a country where foreigners reside and carrying on ade under treaty stipulations, is necessarily fruitful of complaints of the violation of neutral rights. All such collissions tend to peace and friendship. In clear cases, of these kinds, I have, as far as possible, heard and redressed complaints which have been presented by friendly powers.

There is still, however, a large and augmenting number of doubtful cases upon which the Government is unable to agree with the governments whose protection is demanded by the claimants. There are, moreover many cases in which the United States or their cit izens suffer wrongs from the naval or military authorities of foreign nations, which the governments of these States are not at once prepared to redress. I have proposed to some of the foreign States, thus interested, mutual conventions to examine and adjust such complaints. This proposition has been made especially to Great Britain, to France, to Spain, and to Russia. In each case it has been kindly received, but has not yet been formully adopted. I deem it my duty to recommend an appropriation in behalf of the owners of the Norwegian bark Admiral P. Tordinskield, which vessel was, in May 1861, prevented by the commander of the blockading force off Charleston from leaving that port with a cargo, notwithstanding a similar privilege had shortly before been granted to an

I have directed the Secretary of State to cause the papers in the case to be communicated to the proper Committees.

Applications have been made to me by many free Americans of African descent to favor their emigration, with a view to such colonization as was contemplated in recent acts of Congress. Other parties, at home and abroad some from interested motives, others patriotic considerations, and still others influenced by philanthropic sentiments, have arggested similar measures; while, on the other hand, several of the Spanish American Republic have protested against the sending of such colonies to their respective

Under these circumstances I have declined to move any such colony to any State without first obtaining the consent of its government. lent, with an agreement on its part to receive and protect such emigrants in all the rights of freemen. And I have at the same time offered to the several States situated within the several states situated Within the tropies or having colonies there, to negotiate with them, subject to the advice and consent of the Schate, to favor the volwhich shall be equal, just and humane.

Liberia and Hayti are as yet the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizons, and I regret to say that such persons as contemplate colonization do not seem so willing to migrate to these countries as to some others, nor so willing as I think their interest demands. believe, however, the opinion among them in this respect is improving, and that ere long there will be an augmented and considerable aigra ion to both these countries from the United States.

The new commercial treaty between the United States and the Sultan of Turkey has been carried into execution. A commercial nd consular treaty has been negotiated subject to the Senate's consent with Liberia, and a similar negotiation is now pending with the Republic of Hayti. A considerable improvement of the national commerce is exnected to result from these measures Our relations with Great Britain, France,

Spain, Portugal, Russia, Prussia, Denmark Sweden, Austria, the Netherlands, Italy Rome, and the other European States, remain undisturbed. Very favorable relations also continue to be maintained with Turkey, Moocco. China and Japan.

During the last year there has not only seen no change of our previous relations with the independent States of our own continent, but more friendly sentiments than have here tofore existed are believed to be entertained by those neighbors, whose safety and progress are so intimately connected with our own This statement especially applies to Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, Peru and

The Commission under the Convention with the Republic of New Grenada closed its session without having audited and passed upon all the claims which were submitted to it. A proposition is pending to revive the Conventhat it may be able to do more complete

The joint commission between the United States and the Republic of Costa Rica, has completed its labors and submitted its re-

I have favored the project for connecting the United States with Europe by an Atlan tic telegraph, and a similar project to extend the telegraph from San Francisco to connect by a Prefic telegraph with the line which is being extended across the Russian Empire.

# The Territories of the U. S.

The territories of the United States, with miniportant exceptions, have remained unsturbed by the civil war, and they are exbiting such evidence of prosperity as justifies an expectation that some of them will oon be in a condition to be organized as It has, at the same time, excited political general union. The immense mineral the Federal Union. The immense mineral resources of some of these territories ought to be developed as rapidly as possible. Every Notwithstanding the cessation of revenue en in that direction would have a tendency a improve the revenues of the Government a id diminish the burdens of the people. It. is worthy of your serious consideration whether some extraordinary measures to promote. that end a new be-

The means which suggests itself as most ikely to be effective is a scientific exploration I the mineral regions in those territories. ith a view to the publication of its restlt at home and in foreign som trees—a result which cannot tail to be auspicious.

# The Currency Question.

The condition of the finances will claim your most diligent consideration. The vast expenditures incident to the military and aval operations required for the suppression of the rebellion, have hitherto been met with a promptitude and certainty unusual in simar circumstances, and the public credit has been fully maintained.

The continuance of the war, however, and the increased disbursements made necessary by the augmented forces now in the field, de mand your best reflections as to the best modes of providing the necessary revenue, without injury to business, and with the least ssible burden upon labor.

The suspension of specie payment by the canks, soon after the commencement of your ast session made large issues of United States note unavoidable. In no other way could the payment of the troops, and the satsfaction of other just demands be so econom-

ically, or so well provided for.

The judicious legislation of Congress securing the receivability of these notes for excite misupprehensions, and possibly to produce mutual reclamations between nations and internal duties, and making them a legal tender for other debts, has made them which have a common interest in preserving tially, at least, and for the time, the long felt want of a uniform circulating medium, saying thereby to the people immense sums in discounts and exchanges.

A return to specie payments, however, at the earliest period compatible with due regard to all the interests concerned, should ever be kept in view. Fluctuations in the value of currency are always injurious, and to reduce these fluctuations to the lowest possible point will always be a leading purpose in wise legislation. Convertibilityprompt and certain convertibility into coin is generally acknowledged to be the best and surest safeguard against them, and it is exremely doubtful whether a circulation of United States notes, payable in coin, and sufficiently large for the wants of the people, can be permanently, usefully, and safely maintained. Is there then any other mode in which the necessary provision for the pub-lic wants can be made, and the great advantages of a safe and uniform currency secured?

I know of none which promises such cer tain results, and is, at the same time, so unobjectional, as the organization of banking associations, under a general act of Congress, well guarded in its provisions. To such associations the Government might furnish circulating notes on the security of United States bonds, these notes prepared under the supervision of proper officers, being uniform in appearance and security, and convertible always into coin, would at once protect labor against the evils of a vicious currency, and facilitate commerce by cheap and safe exchanges. A moderate reservation from the interest on the bonds would compensate the United States for the preparation and distribution of the notes and a general supervision of the system, and would lighten the burden of that part of the public debt employed as securities. The public credit, moreover, would be greatly improved, and the negociation of new loans greatly facilitated by the steady market demand for Government bonds, which the adoption of the proposed system

would create.

It is an additional recommendation of the ment, that it would reconcile, as far as possible, all existing interests, by the opportunity offered to existing institutions, to reorganize under the act, substituting only the secured of the secured of the secured of the secure of the se

heir respective territories, upon conditions various circulation secured and unsecured, now issued by them.

The Finances The receipts into the Treasury, from all sources, including loans and the balance from the preceding year, for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1862, were \$583,885,-247 06-of which sum \$39,056,379 62 were derived from customs, \$1,795,331 73 from the direct tax. From public lands, \$152,203 77 from miscellancous sources, \$931,787 64 from loans in all forms, \$520,692,465 50.

The remainder, \$2,287,005 80, was the bal ance from last year. The disbursements during the same period

For Congressional, Executive and Judicial purposes, For foreign intercourse, For miscellaneous expenses,

post-office deficiencies, enllection of revenue and other like charges, For expenses under the Inte-14,129,771 50 3 102 985 5 rior Department, Under the War Department, 394,368,497,36 Under the Navy Department, 42,674,569 69

including the mints, loans,

For payment of the public debt, including the reimbursement of the tempora-

For intist on the public debt, 13,199,324 45

96,096,992 09 ry loan and redemption, Making an aggregate of \$570.841,700.25 And leaving a balance in the Treasury or the 1st day of July 1862, of \$13,043,546.81 It should be observed that the sum of \$95. 096,922 09 expended for the reimbursements and redemption of the public debt being in cluded also in the loans made, may be prop enditures, leaving the actual receipts for the year, \$487.788 324 97, and the expenditures \$474,744,788.16.

Other information on the subject of the finances will be found in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, to whose statements and views 1 invite your most candid and considerate attention.

the Navy are herewith transmitted. These reports, though lengthy, are scarcely more than brief abstracts of the very numerous and extensive transactions, and operations, conducted through these Departments. Nor could I give a summary of them here upon any principle which would admit of it being much shorter than the reports themselves, . I therefore content myself with laying the reports before you and asking your attention to

It gives me pleasure to report a decider improvement in the financial condition of the Post-office Department. As compared with several preceding years, the receipts for the fiscal year 1861, amounted to \$8,349,296,40, which embraced revenue from all the States from the so called seceling States during the last fiscal year, the increase of the corres-rendence of the loyal States has been sufficiont to produce a revenue during same year ot \$8,239.820,90, being only \$50,000 less that was derived from all the States of the Unio during the previous year. The expenditures show a still more favorable result. The amount expended in 1851, was \$13,505,705,-41. For the last year the amount has been reduced to \$11.125,364 13, showing a decrease of about \$3,481,500 in the expenditures ascompared with the preceding year, and about \$3,750,000 as compared with the fiscal

year 1860. The deficiency in the Department for the previous year was \$4.557,966,98. For the ast fiscal year it was reduced to \$2,112,814, 57. These favorable results are in part ow ing to the cessation of mail service in the in surrectionary States, and in part to a careful review of all the expenditures in that Department on the interist of economy. The efficiency of the postal service, it is believed, has

also been much improved. The P. M. General has also opened a cor respondence through the Department of State with foreign governments proposing a convention of postal representatives, for the jurpose of simplifying the rates of foreign postage, and to expedite the foreign mails. This proposition, equally important to our adopted citizens and to the commercial interests of this country, has been favorabley entertained and agreed to by all the governments from whom replies have been received

I ask the attention of Congressmen to the suggestion of the Postmuster General, in his report, respecting the further legislation repaired, in-lies opinion, for the benefit of the

#### nostal service. The Public Lands.

The Secretary of the Interior reports as follows in regard to the public lands;

The public lands have ceased to be source of revenue. From the 1st of July, 1861; to the 30th of September, 1862, the catire cash receipts from the sale of lands were \$137,476,26-a sum much less than the expenses of our land system during the same neriod.

The Homestead law, which will take effect on the first of January next, offers such inducements to settlers that sales for eash cannot be expected to an extent sufficient to meet the expenses of the General Land Office, and the cost of surveying and bringing the land into market. The discrepancy between the sum here stated as arising from the cales of the public lands and the sums derived from the same source as reported from the Treasury Department, arises, as I understand, from the fact that the periods of time, hough apparently were not really coincident at the beginning point—the Treasury report including a considerable sum now which had previously been reported from the Interior, sufficiently large to greatly overreach the sum derived from the three months now reported upon by the Secretary of the Interior, and not by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The Indian Tribes. The Indian tribes upon our frontiers have, during the past year, manifested a spirit of insubordination, and at several points have engaged in open hostilities against the white settlements in their vicinity. The tribes occupying the Indian country south of Kansas renounced their allegiance to the United States, and entered into treaties with the insurgents. Those who remained loyal to the United States were driven from the coun-

this city for the purpose of restoring the for-mer relations of the tribe with the United States. He alleges that they were constrained by a superior force to enter into treaties with the insurgents, and that the United

try. The Chief of the Cherokees has visited

This attack was wholly unexpected, and therefore no means of defence had been provided. It is estimated that not less than eight hundred persons were killed by the Indians, and a large amount of property was destroyed. How this outbreak was induced is not definitely known, and suspicions which may be unjust need not be stated.

Information was received by the Inlian time hostilities were commenced, that a simultween the Mississippi river and the Rocky Mountains. The State of Minnesota has suffered great injury from this Indian war. A large portion of her territory has been depopulated and a severe loss has been sustained by the destruction of property. The people of that State manifest much anxiety for the removal of the tribes beyond the limits of the State as a guarantee against future hostilities. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs will furnish full details.

I submit for your especial consideration whether our Indian system shall not be remodelled. Many wise and good men have impressed me with the belief that this can be profitably done.

#### Pacific Railroads, de.

I submit a statement of the proceedings of that has been made in the enterprise of con-structing the Pacific railroad; and this suggests the earliest completion of this road, and also the favorable action of Congress upon the projects now pending before them for enlarging the capacities of the great canals in New York and Illinois, as being of vital and rapidly increasing importance to the whole cluded also in the loans made, may be properly deducted both from the receipts and expression hereafter to be noticed at some greater length. I purpose having prepared and laid before you, at an early day, some inter-esting and valuable statistical information upon this subject.

The military and commercial importance of enlarging the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and improving the Illinois river, is presented in the report of Col. Webster to the Secretary The reports of the Secretary of War and of of War, and now transmitted to Congress. respectfully ask attention to it.

# Agricultura?.

To carry out the provision of the act of Congress of the 15th of May last, I liave caused the Department of Agriculture of the United States to be organized. The Commissiquer informs me that, within a period of ; few months, that department has established an extensive system of correspondence and exchanges, both at home and abroad, which promises to effect highly beneficial results in the development of correct knowledge of recent improvements in agricultural, in the in troduction of new products, and in the col-

different States.
Also, that it will soon be recenared to distribute largely, seeds, cereals, plants and out-tings, and has already published and liberal-ly diffused much valuable information, in anicipation of a more elaborate report, which will in due time be furnished, embracing some valuable tests in chemical science now

The creation of this Department was for the nost valuable citizens, and I trust that the iberal basis upon which it has been organizthat it will realize at no distant day all the ondest anticipations of its most sanguine friends and become the source of advantage to all our people.

# Slavery and Emancipation,

On the 22d day of September last, a prolamition was issued by the Executive, a copy of which is herewith submitted. In acsecond paragraph of that paper, I now respectfully recall your attention to what may be called "componsation emancination." A nation may be said to consist of its ter-

itory, its people and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of cortain durabili-"One generation passeth and anothers of the first importance to duly consider and estimate this ever enduring fact. That portion of the earth's surface, which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States, is well adapted to be the home of one national family and it is not well adapted for two or more. Its vest extent and its variety of climate and productions are of advantage in this age for one people. Whatever they might have been in former ages, steam, telegraphs and inventions have brought these to of several States as amendments to the conhe an advantageous combination for one united people. In the inaugural address, I briefly pointed out the total inadequacy of disunion as a remedy for the differences be tween the people of the two sections. I did so in language which I cannot improve, and which, therefore, I beg leave to repeat:

"One section of our country believes slavry is right and ought to be extended, while e other believes it is wrong and ought not be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced perhaps, as any laws can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections han before. The foreign slave trade, now mperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately rovived without restriction in one section, while ugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build impassable walls between them. A husband and wife may be ent parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must be twice accounted for. continue between them. It is possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war—you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old question as to terms of intercourse are

again upon you."

There is no line, straight or crooked, suita-

untary emigration of persons of that class to uniform nation circulation, for the local and indiscriminately men, women and children. ed, thickly upon both sides, while nearly all its remaining length are merely surveyor's lines, over which people may walk back and forth, without any consciousness of their presence. No part of this line can be made any more difficult to pass by writing it down on paper or parchment as a national bound a-

> The fact of separation, if it comes, gives up on the part of the seceding section, the fugi Bureau, from different sources, about the tive slave clause, along with all other consti tutional obligations upon the sections seced taneous attack was to be made upon the ed from, while I should expect no treaty white settlements by all the Iadian tribes bestipulation would ever be made to take its tween the Mississippi river and the Rocky place. But there is another difficulty. The great interior region bounded east by the Alleghenies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south by the line along which the culture of corn and cotton meets, and which includes part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, ell of Kentucky, Onio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Territories of Dacotah, Nebraska and part of Colorado, already has about ten millions of cople, and will have fifty millions within ifty years, if not prevented by any political or mistake. It contains more than onethird of the country owned by the United

States, certainly more than one million of square miles. One half as populous as Massachusetts already is, it would have the Commissioners, which shows the progress glance at the may shows that, territorially speaking, it is the great body of the republic. this magnificient region sloping west from extending over the whole or any part of the the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, being period, and it obliges no two States to prothe deepest and also the richest in undeveloped resources.
In the productions of provisions, grain,

rasses, and all which proceed from them, this great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Ascertain from the statistics the small proportion of this region which has just been brought into cultivation, and also the large and rapidly ncreasing amount of its products, and shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented. And this region has no sea const-touches no ocean anywhere. As part of one nation its people now find. and may forever find, their way to Europe by New York, to South America and Africa by New York, to South America and Africa people of the North, and when it is rememby New Orleans, and to Asia by San Francisco; but separate our common country into two nations, as designed by the present rebellion, and very many of this great interior region is thereby cut off from some one or more of the outlets, net only by a physical barrier but by embarrassing and onerous trade regulations. And this is true whenever advantage or boundary, kine may be fixed. Place it between the new free and slave country, or place it south of Kentucky or north of Ohio, and still the truth remains, that none south of it can trade to any port or place north of it, expect upon terms dictated sable to the well being of the people inhabiting and to inhabit this vast interior region. Which of the three may be the best is no proper question; all are better than either, and all of right belong to that people and to forever. shall be, but will vie rather that there shall be no such line. Nor are the marginal reregions less interested in the communication I will not only meet your approbation, but to and through them to the great outside we are able. The war requires large sums. world. They, too, and each of them must have access to this Egypt of the West, with. out paying toll for the crossing of any nation-

Amendments to the Constitution Proposed

and Consulered at Length. Our national strife springs not from our y of which is herewith submitted. In acpermanent past, not from the land we inhabmillions of people to share the burden inordance with the purpose expressed in the it, not from our national homestead. There stend of thirty one millions as now. And is no possible severing of this but would multiply and not mitigate evils among us. In all its adaptation and aptitudes, it demands union and abhors separation-in fact, it would ere long force reunion, however much of blood and treasure the separatio | might At the same ratio of increase which we have lfave cost. Our strife per ains to ourselves, meth, but the earth apideth forever." It to the passing generation of men, and it can without convulsion be crushed forever with the passing of one generation. In this view | 415, and why may we not continuo that ra-I recommend the adoption of the following. resolution and articles amendatory to the

Constitution of the United States: Resolved, By the Senate and house of Renesentatives of the United States of America louses concurring, that the following articles. be proposed to the legislatures or conventions stitution of the United States, all or any of which articles when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures or conventions, to be valid as part of or parts of said Constitution,

Article.-Every State, wherein slavery now exists, which shall abolish the same therein, at any time or times before the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one the sand nine hundred, shall receive compensation from the United States as follows to wit. The President of the United States shall deliver to every such State, bonds of the Uni- of our States are above the average of Euted States, bearing interest at the rate offor each slave shown to have been therein by the eighth consus of the United States, said | 99, New York and New Jersey each 80 .bonds to be delivered to such States by instalments, or in one parcel at the completion of the abolishment, accordingly as the same having 63, and the latter 59. The States shall have been gradual, or at one time within such Stata, and interest shall begin to New York, have increased in as rapida ratio run upon any such bonds only from the prop- since passing that point as ever before, while er time of its delivery as aforesaid, State having received bonds as aforesaid, and afterwards re-introducing or tolerating slavery therein, shall refund to the United States the bonds so received, or the value

thereof, and all interest paid thereon. Article-All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of the war at any time before the end of the rebellion, shall be forever free, but all owners of such who divorced and got out of the presence and be- shall not have been disloyal shall be compenyoud the reach of each other, but the differ- sated for them at the same rates as is provided for States adopting the abolishment of slavery, but in such a way that no slave shall

Article-Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places, without the United States. I beg indulgence to discuss these proposed articles at some length. Without slavery, rebellion would never have existed; without

Among the friends of the Union there is great diversity of sentiment and of policy in regard to slavery and the African race mongst us. Some would perpetrate slavery some would abolish it suddenly, and without There is no line, straight or crooken, suitable for a national boundary upon which to ble for a national boundary upon which to people from us, and some would retain them divide. Trace through from east to west, with us; and there are yet other minor with us; and there are yet other minor the free and the slave

slavery it could not continue

ize and act together. This would be compromise, but it would be compromise among the friends, not with the enemies of the Union .-These articles are intended to embody a plan of such mutual concessions. If the plan shall be adopted, it is assumed that emancipation would follow, at least in several of the

of time for consummating it, thirty-seven

years; and thirdly, the compensation. The emancipation will be unsatisfactory to the advocates of perpetual slavery, but the length of time should greately mitigate their dissatisfaction. The time spares both races pay all the emancipation would cost, togeth-from the evils of sudden derangement, in er with our other debt, easier than we should fact from the necessity of any derangement, while most of those whose liberal course of thought will be disturbed by the measure will have passed away before its consumma

tion. They will never see it. Another class will hail the prospect emaneination, but will deprecate the length tle to the now living slaves. But it really gives them much. It saves them from the vagrant destitution which must largely attend immediate emancipation in localities where their numbers are very great, and i gives inspiring assurance that their posterity more than seventy-five millions of people. A shall be free forever. The plan leaves it to each State, choosing to act under it, to abol ish slavery now, or at the end of the century The other parts are but marginal borders to or at any intermediate time, or by degrees, period, and it obliges no two States to pro ceed alike.

It also provides for compensation and gen erally, the mode of making it. This, it would seem, must further mitigate the dissetisfaction of those who favor perpetual slavery and especially of those who are to receive the compensation. Doubtless some of those who are to pay, and not to receive, will object: yet the measure is both just and economical In a certain sense, the liberation of sleves is the destruction of property. Property acquired by descentor by purchase is the same us any other property. It is no less true for having been often said, that the people of the South are not more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the bered how unhesitatingly we all use cotton and sugar, and share the profit in dealing in them it may not be quite safe to say, that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance. If then, for a ed, it is not just that it be done at a common charge? And if with less money, or money more easily paid, we can preserve the benefits of the Union by this means better than we can by the war alone, is it not also economical to do it? Let us consider it then.

by a Government foreign to them. These outlets, East, West, and South, are indispensible to the well being of the neorle in the sum we have expended in the war since the compensated emancipation was proposed last March, and consider whether; if that measure had been sable to the well being of the neorle in the sum we have expended in the war since the compensated emancipation was proposed last March, and consider whether; if that measure had been sable to the well being of the neorle in the sum we have expended in the war since the compensated emancipation. the war than has been otherwise done

If so, the measure would save money and in that view, would be a prudent and economical measure. Certainly it is not so easy to is easier to pay a large sum than it is to pay a larger one, and it is easier to pay any sumwhen we are able, than it is to pay it before and requires them at once.

The aggregate sum necessary for compen-

sation of course would be large, but it would require no ready eash, nor the bonds even any faster than the emancipation progresses. This might not and probably would not close before the end of the thirty-seven years. At that time we shall probably have a hundred not only so, but the increase of our population may be expected to continue for a long time after that period as rapidly as before, because our territory will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. maintained on an average from our first na-tional census in 1790 until that of 1860, we should in 1900 have a population of 103,203, tio far beyond that period? Our abundant room, our broad national homestead, is our ample resource. Were our territory as limited as are the British Isles, very certainly our population could not expand as stated .n Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Instead of receiving the foreign born as now. we should be compelled to send part of the native born away. But such is not our condition. We have 2,963,000 square miles.-Europe has 3,800,000, with a population averaging 731 persons to the square mile .-Why may not our country at some time av-

erage as many? Is it less fertile? Has i more waste surface, by mountains, rivers, takes, deserts or other causes? Is it inferior to Europe in any natural advantage? If then we are at some time to be as populous as Europe-how soon? As to wh be, we may judge by the past and present. As to when it will be, if ever, depends much on whether we maintain the Union. Several rope-731 to the square mile. Massachusetts has 157. Rhode Island 133, Connecticut Also, the two other great States of Pennsyl vania and Ohio are not far below, the former already above the European average, except no one of them is equal to some other parts of our country in natural capacity for sustaining a dense population. Taking the ratio in the aggregate and we find the populadecenial periods to be as follows:

1790- 372,829. 1800-5,335,937; 35.02 per cent of increase. 1810-7,239,814; 36.45 per cent. ratio of increase 820-9:930.131: 33.31 1520—9,930,731; 33.31 1830—12,866,020; 33.40 " 1840—17,969,453; 32.67 " 1850-23,131,876; 35.87

1860-31,433,790; 35.58 " This shows an average decental increase of 34.60 per cont. in population through the seventy years, from our first to our last consus vet taken.

It is seen that the ratio of increase at no one of the seven periods is either 2 per cent. below or 2 per cent. above the average, thus showing how inflexible, and consequently how reliable the law of increase in our case

Assuming that it will continue it gives the following results: 1870, 42,393,341; 1880, 56,967,216; 1890, 76,677,892; 1900, 103,208,415; 1910, 138,-918,526; 1920, 176,924,435; 1930, 251,630,-

914.
These figures show that our country may be as populous as Europe now is. At some point between 1920 and 1930, say about 1925, our territory at 731 persons to the square mile being of the capacity to contain 217,-186,000, we will reach this if we do not our-selves relinquish the chances by the folly and evils of disunion, or by long and exhausting wars springing from the only great element of national discord among us.

While it cannot be foreseen exactly how much one huge example of secession, breeding lesser ones, indefinitely would retard pop-As to the first article the main points are: ulation, civilization and prosperity, no one first,—the emancipation; secondly, the length can doubt that the extent of it would be very

great and injurious.

The proposed emancipation would shorten the war, perpetuate peace, insure this increase of population, and proportionately the wealth of the country. With these we should pay our other debt without it. If we had allowed our old national debt to run at six per-cent, per annum simple interest from the end. of the revolutionary struggle until to-day, without paying anything on principal or in-terest, each man of us would owe less upon

that debt now than each man owed upon it ·This is because our increase of men through the whole period has been greater than six per cent., and has run faster than the interest upon the debt. Thus time alone relieves the debtor nation so long as its population increases faster than unpaid interests accumu

late upon its debts. This fact would be no excuse for delaying the payment of what is justly due, but it shows the great importance of time in this connection—the great advantage of the poli-ey by which we shall not have to pay until ve number one hundred millions, by what a different policy we would have to pay now when we number but thirty-one millions. In a word, it shows that a dollar will be much harder to pay for the war than will be dollar for emancipation on the proposed plan. And then the latter will cost no blood no precious lives. It will be a saving of

As to the second article. I think it would be impracticable to return to bondage tho class of persons therein contemplated. Some of them, doubtless, in the proper sense, bemade in this article for compensating such. The third article relates to the future of the freed people. It does not oblige but merely authorizes Congress to aid in coloni-

zing such as may consent. This ought not to be regarded as objection able on the one hand or on the other, in as much as it comes to nothing unless by the mutual consent of the people to be deported. and the American voters through their rep-

resentatives in Congres.
I cannot make it better known than it already is that I strongly favor colonization, and yet I wish to say there is an objection urged against free colored persons remaining in the country which is largely imaginary, if

not sometimes malicious. It is insisted that their presence would injure and displace white labor and white la-borers. If there ever could be a proper time for mere catch arguments, that time is sure-

ly not now. In times like the present men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and eternity pay something as it is to pay nothing, but it Is it true that the colored people can displace any more white labor by being free than by remaining slaves? If they stay in their old. places, they jostle no white laborers. If they leave their old places, they leave them open to white laborers. Logically there is neither more nor less of it. Emancipation even without deportation would, probably enhance the wages of white labor, and very surely would not reduce it. Thus the customary amount of labor would still have to be per-

formed, The freed people would surely not do more than their old proportion of it, and very probably for a time would do less, leaving an increased part to white laborers, bringing their abor into greater demand, and consequently enhancing the wages of it. With deportation even to a limited extent, enhanced wages to white labor is mathematically cortain. bor is like any other commodity in the market; increase the demand for it, and you increase the price of it. Reduce the supply of black labor by colonizing the black laborer out of the country, and by precisely so much you increase the demand for and wages of white labor.

But it is dreaded that the freed people will swarm forth and eaver the whole land. Are not they already in the land? Will liberation make them any more numerous?— Equally distributed among the whites of the whole country, and there would be but one colored man to seven whites. Could the one in any way greatly disturb the seven?

There are many communities now having more than one free colored person to seven whites, and this without any apparent consciousness of evil from it. The District of Jolumbia and the States of Maryland and Delaware are all in this condition. The District has more than one free colored to six whites, and yet in its frequent petitions to Congress, I believe it has never presented the presence of free e lored people as one of its grievances.
But why should emancipatation south send

freed people north? People of any color seldom run unless there be something to run. from. Heretofore, enslaved people, to some extent, have fled north from bondage, and now, perhaps, from both bondage and destitution; but if gradual emancipation and deportation be adopted, they will have neither to flee from.

Their m sters will give them wages at least. until new laborers can be procured, and the freed men in turn will gladly give their labor for the wages until new homes can be procured for them in congenial climates, and with people of their own blood and race. The proposition can be trusted on the mutual interests involved, and in any event cannot the North decide for itself whether to re-

Again, as practice proves more than theory. n any case has there been any irruption of colored people northward because of the abolshment of slavery in this District last spring! What I have said of the proportion of free colored persons to the whites, in the District. s from the census of 1860, having no referonce to the persons called contrabands, or hose made free by the act of Congress abol-

shing slavery here. The plan consisting of these articles is recommended, not but that a restoration of the National authority would be accepted without its adoption, nor will the war nor proceedings under the proclamation of September 22d. 1862, be stayed because of the recommendation of this plan. Its timely adoption, I doubt not, would bring restoration, and thereby stay both. And, notwithstanding this lan, the recommendation that Congress provide by law for compensating any which may adopt emancipation before this

plan shall have been acted upon, is hereby (Concluded on Fourth Page.)