Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives :

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

You will not be surprised 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 disloyal portion of the American people have, during the whole year, been engaged in an attempt to divide and destroy the Union.

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

THE REBELS NOT ENCOURAGED ABROAD.

The disloyal citizens of the United States return for the aid and comfort which they have invoked abroad, have received less patronage and encouragement than they probably expected. If it were just to suppose, as the insurgents have seemed to assume, that foreign nations in this case, discarding all moral, social and treaty obligations, would act solely and selfishly for the most speedy restoration of commerce, including especially, the acquisition of cotton, those nations appear as yet not to have seen their way to their object more directly or clearly through the destructhan through the preservation of the Union. If we could dare to believe that foreign nations are actuated by no higher principles than this, I am quite sure a second argument could be made to show them that they can reach their aim more readily and easily by aiding to crush this rebelfion, than by giving encouragement to it.

The principal lever relied on by the insurgents for the exciting foreign nations to hostility against us, as already intimated, is the embarrassment of commerce. The nations, however, not improbably saw from the first that it was the Union which made, as well our foreign as our domestic commerce. They can scarcely have failed to perceive that the effort for disunion produces the existing difficulty, and that one strong nation promises more dur able peace, and a more extensive, valuable and reliable commerce than can the same nation broken into hostile fragments.

It is not my purpose to review our discussions with foreign states, because whatever might be their wishes or dispositions the integrity of our country and the stability of our government mainly depends, not upon them, but on the loyalty, virtue, patriotism 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 powers, averting causes of irritation, and, with firmness, maintaining our own rights and honor.

Since, however, it is apparent that here, as in every other state, foreign dangers necessarily attend domestic difficulties, I recommend that adequate and ample measures be adopted for maintaining the public defiences on every side, while, under this general recommendation, provision for defending our coast line readily occurs to the mind. I also, in the same connection, ask the attention of Congress to our great lakes and rivers. It is believed that some fortifications and depots of arms and munitions, with harbor and navigation improvements at well selected points upon these, would be of great importance to the national defence and preservation.

I ask your attention to the views of the Secretary of War, expressed in his report upon the same general subjects.

A NEW MILLITARY

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 rail road. I therefore recommend as a military measure that Congress provide for the construction of such road as speedily as pos-

Kentucky will no doubt 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 Nichoslville to the Comberland Gap, or from Lebanon to the Tennessee line in the direction of Knoxville, or on some still different line, can easily be determined. Kentucky and the general government, co-operating, 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, worth its cost in all the future.

COMMERCIAL TREATIES.

Some treaties dasigned chiefly for the interests of commerce, and having no grave political importance, have been negotiated and will ation. Although we have failed to induce some of the commercial powers to adopt a desirable melioration of the rigor of maritime war we have removed all obstructions from the way of this humane reform, except such as are merely of temporary and accidental occur-

THE CHASE OF THE BRITISH SHIP PERTHSHIRE.

I invite your attention to the correspondence between Her Britanic 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 appropri ation be made to satisfy the reasonable demand of the owners of the vessels for her detention.

CLAIMS AGAINST CHINA. 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 commissioners under the act of the 3d March,

If, however, it should not be deemed advisible to carry that recommendation into effect, I would suggest that authority be given for

course of our extensive trade with that em-

gress authorized the President to instruct the commanders of suitable vessels to defend This authority has been exercised in a single

instance only. For the more effectual protection of our ern 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 the United States vessels and their cargoes, and the consular courts established by law in eastern countries to adjudicate the cases in the event that this should not be objected to by the local authorities.

RECOGNITION OF HAYTI AND LIBERIA. If any good reason exists why we should preserve longer in withholding our recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Hayti and Liberia, I am unable to discern it. Unwilling, however, to inaugurate a novel policy in regard to them without the approbation of Congress, I submit for your consideration the expediency of on appropriation for maintaining who have offered the ruin of our country in a Charge d' Affaires near each of these new States. It does not admit of doubt that important commercial advantages might be secured by favorable treaties with them.

THE TREASURY.

The operations of the Treasury during the period which has elapsed since your adjournment, have been conducted with signal suc-The patriotism of the people has placed cess. at the disposal of the government the large means demanded by the public exigencies .-Much of the national loan has been taken by citizens of the industrial classes, whose confidence in their councry's faith, and zeal for their country's deliverance from its present peril, have induced them to contribute to the support of the government the whole of their limit. ed acquisitions. This fact imposes peculiar obligations to economy in disbursement and energy in action.

Estimates for this remaining three-quarters of the year, and for the financial year of 1862 together with his views of the ways and means or meeting the demands contemplated by them will be submitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury. It is gratifying to know that the expenses 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 bor of those whose duty it is to assist in the again bless the land.

THE ARMY.

I respectfully refer to the report of the Secretary of War for information respecting the numerical strength of the army, and for recommendations in view of an increase of its efficiency and the well-being of the various branches of the service entrusted to his care It is gratifying to know that the patriotism of the people has proved equal to the cccasion, 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 makes allusion to the creditable degree of discipline already attained by our troops, and in 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 connect as soon as the ordinary courts can be re estabtion with the defection that has so considerably diminished the number of its officers, gives peculiar importance to his recommendation for increasing the corps of cadets to the greatest copacity of the Military Academy By mere omission, I presume, Congress has failed to provide chaplains for the hospitals occupied by the volunteers.

This subject was brought to my notice, and I was induced to draw up the form of a letter, properly addressed has been delivered to each great attional questions. increasing the corps of cadets to the greatest

properly addressed, has been delivered to each of the persous, and at the dates respectively of the persous, and at the dates respectively named and stated in a schedule containing also the form of a letter marked A, and herewith the form of a letter marked A, and herewith the form of a letter marked be an effective and valuable means of investigation, it in a great degree fails to effect the object of its creations. transmitted. These gentlemen, I understand, entered upon the duties designated, at the times respectively stated in the schedule, and have labored faithfully therein ever since. I therefore recommend that they be compensated at the same rate as chapl dus in the army.

I further suggest that general provisions be made for chaplains to serve at the hospitals

well as with regiments. THE NAVY.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy presents in detail the operations of that branch of the service, the activity and energy which have characterized its administration and the results of 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 nder our flag have been put afloat, and perbe submitted to the Senate for their consider. formed deeds which have increased our naval

I would invite special attention to the recommendation of the Secretary for a more perfect organization of the navy by introducing additional grades in the service. The present organization is defective and unsatisfactory, 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. THE SUPREME COURT VACANCIES.

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 forbore making nominations to fill the vacancies for reasons which I will now state :-Two of the outgoing Judges resided within the states now overrun by revolt, so that if successors were appointed in the same localities, they could not now serve upon their circuits, 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 to throw all the appointments northward, thus disabling myself from doing justice to the South on the return against China, pursuant to the awards of the of peace, although I may remark that to transfor to the North one which has heretofore been in the South would not, with reference to territory and population, be unjust.

During the long and brilliant judicial career of Judge McLean, his circuit grew into an evestigating the principal over the proceeds empire altogether too large for any one Judge

with a view to the satisfaction of such other al attendance, rising in population from one just claims of our citizens against China as million four hundred and seventy thousand are not unlikely to arise hereafter in the and eighteen, in 1830, to six millions one hundred and fifty-one thousand four hundred and five in 1860. Besides this, the country, gen-By the act of the 5th of August last, Con- erally, has outgrown our present judicial sys-

If uniformity was at all intended the systhemselves against and to capture pirates. tem requires that all the States shall be accomplished authority has been exercised in a single modated with Circuit Courts, attended with Supreme Judges, while, in fact, Wisconsin. Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Florida, Texas, Caextensive and valuable commerce in the east- lifornia and Oregon have never had any such courts.

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 alto-gether too numerious for a judicial body of any sort, and the evil of it be one that will increase as new states come

to the Union. Circuit courts are useful or they are not useful. If mesful, no state should be denied them. If not useful no state should have them. Let them be provided for all or abolished as to all.

an or abolished as to all.

Three modifications occur to me, either of which, I think, would be an improvement upon our present system. Let the Supreme Court be of convenient number in every event.

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 judes be provided for all

the rest.

Or, secondly, let the Supreme Judges be releaved from
Circuit duties, and Circuit Judges provided for all the Or, thirdly, dispense with Circuit Courts altogether. leaving the judicial functions wholly to the District Courts and an independent Supreme Court.

REVISION OF STATURE. I respectfully recommend to the consideration of Congress the present condition of the statue laws, with the hope that Congress will be able to find a easy remedy for many of the inconveniences and costs which constantly embarrass those engaged in the prac tical administration of them.

Since the organization of the government Congress has enacted some five thouand acts and joint resolutions, which fill more than six thousand closely printed pages, and are scattered through many volumes Many of these acts have been drawn in haste and without sufficient caution, so that their provisions are often obscure in themselves, or in conflict with each other, or at least so doubtful as to render it very difficult for even the best informed persons to ascertain precisely what the statute law really is.

It seems to me very important that the statute laws should be made as plain and intelligent as possible, and be reduced to as small a ompass as may consist with the fullness and precision of the will of the legislature, and the perspicuity of its language. These well done, would, I think, greatly facilitate the laadministration of the laws, and would be a discharge of their patriotic duty it is to assist in the administration of the laws, and would be a discharge of their patriotic duty to support the government under these circumstanes. I have been urgently solicited to establish, by military power, coruts 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 beyoud the presure of necessity in the unusual exercises 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 divised for the administration of justice in all such parts of the insugent states and territories as may be under control of this government, whether by a voluntary return to allegiance and order, or by the power of arms; this, however, not to be a spermanent institution, but a temporary substitute, and to cease lished in peace.

It is important that some more convenient means hould be provided. if possible, for the adjustment of

It in a great degree rails to effect the object of its creation for want of power to make its judgments final.

Fully aware of the delicacy, not to say the danger of the subject. I commend to your careful consideration whether this power of making judgments final may not properly be given to the Courts 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.

necessary. I ask attention to the report of the Postmaster-Gau-al, the following being a summary statement of the audition of the department:

The revenue from all sources during the fiscal year, mding June 30, 1861, including the annual permanent appropriation of seven hundred thousand dollars for the ransportation of free mail matter, was nine million forty inte thousand two hundred and ninety-six dollars and orty cents, being about two per cent, less than the revenue.

THE EXPENDITURES.

For 1860 the expenditures were \$13,606,759 11, shows For 1860 the expenditures were \$13,606,759 11, shows decrease of more than eight per cent, as compared ith those of the previous year, and leaving an excess f expenditures over \$557,462 71. The gross revenue or the year ending June 20,1861, making \$8,633,000, which should be added the earnings of the department nearrying free matter, viz: \$700,000, making \$9,583. The total expenditures for 1863 are estimated at \$12,28,000, leaving an estimated deficiency of \$3,146,000, to e supplied from the Treasury in addition to the permaent appropriation. nt appropriation.

ent insurrection shows, I think, that the exion of this district across the Potomac river, at the me of establishing the capital here, was eminently wise, and, conseque tly, that the relinquishment of that portion of it which lies within the state of Virginia, was

wise and dangerous.

I submit to your consideration the expediency of reining that part of the district and the restoration of the iginal boundaries thereof, throught negotions wish the

THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

The report of the Secretary of the Interior with the accompanying documents exhibition of the several branches of the public business pertaining to that department. The depressing influences of the insurrection have been especially felt in the operations of the patent and general land offices.

The cash receipts from the sales of public lands during the past year have exceeded the expenses of our land system only about \$200,000. The sales have been entirely suspended in the southern States, while the interruptions to the business of the country and the diverting of large numbers of men from labor to military service, have obstructed settlements in the new states and Territories of the northwest.

The fatent office.

The receipts of the Patent Office have declined in nine

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

PENSIONS.

The demands upon the Pension Office will be large-The demants upon the Pension Office will be large-ly increased by the insurrection. Numerous applications for pensions, based upon the casualties of the existing war, have already been made. There is reason to believe that many who are now up-on the pension roll and in receipt of the bounty of the government, are in the ranks of the insurgent army or

THE INDIANS.

The relations of the government with the Indian tribes have been greatly disturbed by the insurrection, especially in the southern superintendency and in New Mexico. Mexico.

The Indian country south of Kansas is in possession of the insurgents from Texas to Arkansas.

Theagents of the United States appointed since the

4th of March for this superintendency have been unable to reach their posts, while the most of those who were in office before that time have espoused the insurrectionary cause, and assume to exercise the powers of agents, by virtue of the commission from 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 army of the insurgents.

Although the government has no official information upon the subject, letters have been written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by several prominent chiefs, giving assurance of their loyalty to the United States, and expressing a wish for the presence of the federal troops to protect them.

and expressing a wish not the presence of the recurrence in the recurrence of the recurrence in the re

While I make no suggestion as to details I venture the profitably be organized.

SLAVE TRADE REPORT

The execution of the laws for the suppression of the African slave trade has been confined to the Department of the Interior. is a subject of congratulation that the effort which have been made for the suppression of this inhuman traffic have been recently attended with unusual success. Five vessels being fitted out for the slave trade have been seized and condemned. Two mates engaged in the and one person equipping a vessel as a slaver, have been convicted and subjected to the fine and imprisonment, and one captain, taken with a cargo of Africans on board his vessel, has been convicted of the highest grade of offence under our laws, the punishmeet of which

THE NEW TERRITORIES IN THE WEST

Nevada, created by the last Congress, have already gives seven regiments to the cause of been organized, and civil administration has been inaugurated therin under auspices especially gratifying, when it is considered that by a large majority and a larger aggregate the leaven of treason was found existing in vote than they ever before gave to any candisome of these new countries when the federal officers arrived there . The abundent natural resorces of these Territories, with the se curity and protection afforded by organized government, will doubtless invite to them a large immigration when peace shall restore the business of the country to its accustomed tionists. These three States of Maryland, channels. I submit the resolutions of the Legislature of Colorado, which evidence the patriotic spirit of the people of the Territories. So far the authority of the United States has the field for the Union; while of their citibeen upheld in all the Territories, as it is hoped it will be in the future. I commend their interest and defence to the enlightened and generous care of Congress.

INTERESTS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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 Congress that body should not over look their just claims upon the government.

THE EXHIBITION OF INDUSTRY OF 1862.

At your late session a joint resolution was adopted authorizing the President to take measures for facilitating a proper representative of the industrial 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, and intricately connected with the material prosperity of the world-Through the Secretaries of State and of the Interior a plan or system has been devised and partly matured which will be laid before you, COLONIZATION OF EMANCIPATED SLAVES

Under and by virtue of the act of Congress. entitled "An Act to Confiscate Property used for Insurrectionary Purposes,' approved Aug 6, 1861, the legal claims of certain persons to the labor and service of certain persons have become forfeited, and numbers 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 benefits respectively, cannot but think that we are still his debtor reat national questions.

It was intended by the organization of the Court of and by the operation of which persons of the I submit, therefore, for your consideration what same class will be thrown upon them for dis- further mark of recognition is due to him and posal. In such case I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons from such States, according to some mode of valuation, in lieu protanto of direct taxes, or upon some other plan to be agreed on with such States respectively that such persons, on such acceptance by the general government, be at deemed free; and that in any event steps be taken for colonizing both classes, or the one first mentioned, if the other shall not be brought into existence, at some place or places congenial to hem. It might be well to consider too, whether the free colored people 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 acqusition. Having practiced the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years the question of constitutional power to do so is no longer an open one with us. The power was at first questioned by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the purchase of Louisana, yielded his scruples on the plea of great expediency. If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men this measure effects that object, for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here. Mr. Jeffer son, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisana more on political and com mercial grounds than on providing room for THE INTEGRITY OF THE UNION THE PRIMARY OB-JECT OF THE WAR.

On this whole proposition, including the appropriation of money with the acquisition of territory, does not the expediency amount to absolute necessity, without which the government cannot be perpetuated! The war continnes. In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have, therefore, in every case, thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union as a primary object of the centest on our part, leaving all questions which are not our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the legislature. In the exercise of my best discretion I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insurgents, instead of putting in force, by proclamation, the law of Congress enacted at the last 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 control that the condition for lite. Now there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed, nor is our part, leaving all questions which are not giving them aid and comfort.

The Secretary of the Interior has directed a suspension of the payment of the pensions of such persons upon proof of their disloyalty. I recommend that Congress authorize that officer to cause the names of such persons to be stricken from the pension roll.

our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the legislature. In the exercise of my best discretion I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insur-

of the surplus referred to in good securities, to give the courts therein more than a nomin- 4th of March for this superintendency have been unable fiscate property, and for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed its propriety will be duly considered.

The Union must be preserved, and hence all dispensable means must be employed should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispen sable. 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 now occurs to add to or subtract from, the principles or general purposes stated and expressed in those documents. The last ray of hope for preserving the Union peaceably expired at the assault upon Fort Sumter, and a general review of what and accurred 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 direction.

THE SLAVE STATES OF MARYLAND, KENTUCKY AND MISSOURI UNCHANGEABLY RANGED ON THE SIDE OF LAE UNION.

The insurgents confidently claimed a strong support from north of Mason and Dixon's line, and the friends of the Union were not free from apprehension on the 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 her limits, and we were many days at one time without the ability to bring a single regiment over her soil to the capital. Now her bridges and railroads The Territories of Colorado, Decotah, and are repaired and open to the government. She Union and none to the enemy, and our people, at a regular election, have sustained the Union date or any question.

Kentucky, too, for some time in doubt, is now decidedly and, I think, unchangeably

ranged on the side of the Union. Missourri is comparatively quiet, and I be lieve cannot again be overrun by the insurrec-Kentucky, and Missouri, neither as which would promise a single soldier at first, have now an aggregate of not less than 40,000 in zens, certainly not more than a third number and they of doubtful whereabouts and doubtexistence, are in arms against it- After a somewhat bloody struggle of months, winter closes on the Union people of Western Virginia, leaves them masters of their own coun-

EASTERN VIRGINIA RETURN TO HER ALLEGIANCE. An insurgent force of about 1500, for months dominating the narrow peninsular region constituting the counties of Accomac and Northampton, and known as the Eastern Shore of Virginia, together with some contiguous parts of Marvland, have laid down their arms, and there have renewed the alliegance to and accepted the protection of the old flag This eaves no armed insurrection north of the Potomac or east of the Chesapeake.

OCCUPATION OF HATTERAS, PORT ROYAL AND TY BEE ISLAND

Also we have obtained a footing at each of the isolated points on the Southern coast of Hatteras, Port Royal, Tybee Island, near Sa vannah, and Shid Island, and we likewise have some general accounts of popular movements in behalf of the Union in North Carolina and At Binghamton, N. Y., on Tuesday, 12th November, Mr. NANCY O'HARA, (mother of Mrs. E. O. Goodens, Tenness e. The things demonstrate that the course of the Union is advancing steadily

RESIGNMENT OF GENERAL SCOTT.

Since your last adjournment Lieutenant General Scott has retired from the head of the army. During his long life the nation has not been unmindful of his merit, yet on calling to mind how faithfully, ably and brilliantly he has served the country from a time far back in our history, when few of the now living had been born and thenceforward continually, I ourselves as a grateful people. APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL M'CLELLAN AS COM-

MANDER IN CHIEF. With the retirement of General Scott came the executive duty of appointing in his stead a general in chief of the army. It is a fortunate circumstance that neither in council por 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 Mc-Clellan for the position, and in this the cation seemed to give 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 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 an army is better directed by a single mind, though inferior, than by two superior ones at variance and cross purposes. And the same is true in all joint operations wherein those engaed 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 on board 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 THE INSURRECTION IS AGAINST THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOFLE
It continues to develope that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of
popular government—the rights of the people. The conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave und
maturely considered public documents, as well as in the
general tone of the insurgents. In these documents we
find the abridgement of the existing right of suffrage,
and the devial to the people of all right to participate in
the selection of public officers except the legislative
body, advocated with labored arguments to prove that
large control of the gov-rnment in the people is the
source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes
hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the peopeople. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warming voice against this
approach of returning despotism.

CONEIDERATION OF CAPITAL AND LYBOR—POPULAR RIGHTS THE INSURRECTION IS AGAINST THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE

CONSIDERATION OF CAPITAL AND LYBOR-POPULAR RIGHTS AND POPULAR INSTITUTIONS. It is not needed nor fitting here that a general ment should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections' not so hack-neyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention—

there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life ig the condition of a hired laborer.

Both of these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the fruit of labor, and Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the assworthy of protection as any other right. Which are denied that there is, and probably always will be are denied that there is, and probably always will be a refits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of a capital producing mutualized community exists within that relation. A few men of their capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and whele capital hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class; neither words the Southern States a majority of the whole people of colors are neither slaves nor masters, while in the Northern a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Me with their families, wives, sons and daughters work for themselves on their larms, son their howests.

colors are neither slaves nor masters, while in the Northern alarge majority are neither hirers nor bired. Me with their families, wives, sons and daughters work for themselves on their tarms, an their houses and in the shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and also shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and also borers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that considerable number of persons mingle their own how with capital—that is, they labor with their own hand also buy or hire others to labor for them; but the son in a mixed and not a distinct class. No pinciple stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class. Again, as has already been said, there is not, of mensity, any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed in that condition for life. Many independent me, encywhere in these States, a few years back in their lim, were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless begins which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors enhis own account another while, and at length hires a other new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the wayle all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy and program and improvement of the condition of all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toll a from poverty; none less inclined to touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Lef them beware of surrendering a political power which they already passes, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to fix new disabilities and burthens upon them till all diberty shall be lost.

From the first taking of our national census to the has are seventy years, and we find our population at the ear of the period eight times as great as it was at the legioning. We thus have, at one view, what the popular principic applied to government through the machinery of the States and the Union, has produced in a given for the future.

for the future.

There are already among us those who, if the Union is

preserved, will live to see it contasm 250,000,000. The struggle of to-day is not altogether for to-day. It is to a vast future also.

With a firm reliance on Providence, all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which even have devolved upon us.

ARRAHAM LINCOLV.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3, 1861.

Bradford Reporter.

E. O. GOODRICH, EDITOR.

TOWANDA:

Thursday Morning, December 5, 1861. CONGRESS-THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Congress convened at Washington on My day, the organization holding over from the extra session convened on the 4th of July

The President's Messege was read on Tues day, and will be found at length in our paper this morning. Owing to its length we are upable to give our usual variety of news, &c

The Message is unusally interesting, and we commend it to the careful perusal of our readers. We have neither time nor space for

MABBIND,

In Herrick Nov. 7, by Rev. Geo. Landon MORTIME K. TAYLOR, to Miss MARTHA H. MAYNARD, bot of Rome, Pa. DIED,

Aew Advertizements. A DMINISTRATOR'S NOTICE -No

A is hereby given, that all persons indebted to be estate of BUEL SMITH, deceased, late of floated township, are requested to make payment without delay and those having claims against the said estate will pless present them duly authenticated for settlement. ANDREW KIFF. Dec. 5, 1961. ORPHAN'S COURT SALE -By virtue

of an order of the Orphan's Court of Bradford county, will be exposed to public sale, on the premises in Rome twp., on Monday, December 30th, 1881, all that certain lot, piece or parcel of land lying and being in the township of Rome, in said county, late the estate of NATHAN B. HILL, dec'd., bounded as tollows: on the north by lands of E. M. High, on the east by lands contracted by the said Nathan Hill, west by lands of J Seely and N. B. Buman, containing 28 acres and 65 perches, all improved.

ALSO.—The decedents interest in a certain lot, pier ALSO.—The decedents interest in a certain lot, piece or parcel of land contracted of Wm. B. Cl. wea. bounded on the north by land of Thom is J. Mill. on the south by lands of E. M. Aigh, east by lands of Daniel Russell. on the west by lands of said Nathan B. Hill. dec'd. Cotaining about 40 acres, about 15 acres improved.

TERMS of SALK.—One-tourth of the purchase money be paid on confirmation of the sale, and the balance in sit months therefrom, with interest.

SMITHILLENT AGE.

Rome, Dec. 5. 1861. MUSICAL CONVENTION !

SMITH LENT, Ad'a.

The Fifth Annual Convention OF THE

CHORAL UNION ASSOCIATION

AT LERAYSVILLE, PA, During the Holidays, Commencing Monday, Dec. 24, 1861,

At 9 o'clock, A. M., to continue four days and close with a GRAND CONCERT, ON FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 27,

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF PROF. GEO. F. ROOT, OF BOSTON

Author of several popular Musical Works. ADMITTANCE TO THE FTLL COURSE: Gentlemen

The "Diapason" and Festival Flee book." will be sed. Those having them will please bring them.

Good board oan be obtained at the Hotels or in

private families at reasonable prices.

Prof. ROOf has given encouragement that he will be accompanied by some distinguished singer, to assist his during the Convention.

All Clergymen are requested to read this notice is their Congregations, and attend the Convention free charge.

charge.

The friends of Prof. RO 'T, and all lovers of music are respectfully invited to attend.

By order of the Committee.

LEWIS WELLS, Presi.

R. B. HOWELL, Sect.

Dec. 5. 1861.

Dec. 5. 1861.

TRATTON'S YEAST COMPOUND
has been tried by at least half the families in this
town for the past year, and has proved to be right. It
comes in convenient packages containing 10 cents sent
One cent will buy sufficient for a baking for the larget
family. For sale at family. For sale at

A MERICAN HOTEL, TOWANIA, Towanda, Nov. 20, 1861.

M. T. CARRIER, Proposition.