

The President's Message.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:— Since your last annual assembling another year of health and beautiful harvests has passed, and while it has not pleased the Almighty to bless us with a return of peace, we can but press on, guided by the best light He gives us, trusting in His own good time and wise way, and all will be well.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The correspondence touching foreign affairs, which has taken place during the last year, is 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. If the condition of our relations with other nations is less gratifying than it has usually been at former periods, it is certainly more satisfactorily than a nation so unhappily distracted as we are, might reasonably have apprehended. 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 a belligerent, would soon recede from that position, which has proved only less injurious to themselves than to our own country. But the temporary 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 a moment the occupations and habits of the American people, has necessarily disturbed the social conditions 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 ambitions and apprehensions, which have produced a profound agitation throughout the civilized world. In this unusual agitation, we have forborne from taking part in any controversy between foreign States, and between parties or factions in such States. We have attempted no propagandism and acknowledged no revolution. But we have left to every nation the exclusive conduct and management of its own affairs. Our struggle has been, of course, contemplated by foreign nations with reference less to its own merits than to its supposed and often exaggerated effects, and the consequences resulting to those nations themselves. Nevertheless, complaint on the part of this government, even if it were just, would certainly be unwise.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

The treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave trade, has been put in operation with a good prospect of complete 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 moral and loyal citizens.

STADT DUES.

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.

THE BLOCKADE.

A blockade of three thousand miles of sea coast could not be established and vigorously enforced in a season of great commercial activity like the present, 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 carry on trade under treaty stipulations, is necessarily fruitful of complaints of the violation of neutral rights. All such collisions tend to excite misapprehensions, and possibly to produce mutual reclamations between nations which have a common interest in preserving peace and friendship. In clear cases of this kind, I have, so far as possible, heard and redressed complaints which have been presented by friendly powers. There is, 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 citizens 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 Prussia. In each case it has been kindly received, but has not yet been formally adopted. I deem it my duty to recommend an appropriation in behalf of the owners of the Norwegian bark, Admiral P. Tordenskiold which vessel was, in May, 1862, prevented by the commander of the blockading force, off Charleston, from leaving that port with her cargo, notwithstanding a similar privilege had shortly before been granted to an English vessel.— I have directed the Secretary of State to cause the papers in the case to be communicated to the proper committee.

THE COLONIZATION SCHEME.

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, come from interested motives, others upon patriotic considerations, and still others influenced by philanthropic sentiments, have suggested similar measures, while on

the other hand several of the Spanish American Republics have protested against the sending of such colonies to their respective territories.

Under these circumstances I have declined to move any such colony to any State without first obtaining the consent of its government, 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 in the tropics, or having colonies there, to negotiate with them, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, to favor the voluntary emigration of persons of that class to their respective territories, upon conditions which shall be equal, just and humane. Liberia and Hayti are as yet the only countries to which colonists of African descent could go from here with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens, and I regret to say that such persons contemplating colonization do not seem so willing to emigrate to those countries as to some others, nor as willing, as I think their interest demands, I believe, however, the opinion among them in this respect is improving, and that ere long there will be an augmented and considerable emigration to both of these countries from the United States.

COMMERCIAL TREATIES.

The new commercial treaty between the United States and the Sultan of Turkey has been carried into execution. A commercial and 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 expected to result from these measures. Our relations with Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden and Austria, Netherlands, Italy, Rome, and the other European States remain undisturbed. Very favorable relations also continue to be maintained with Turkey, Morocco, China and Japan. During the last year there has not only been no change of our previous relations with the independent States of our own continent, but friendlier sentiments than have heretofore existed are believed to be entertained by these neighbors, whose safety and progress are so intimately connected with our own. This statement especially applies to Mexico, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Peru and Chili. The commission, under the Convention with the Republics 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 Convention, that it may be able to do more complete justice. The joint commission between the United States and the Republic of Costa Rica has completed its labors, and submitted its report. I have favored the project of connecting the United States with Europe by an Atlantic Telegraph, and a similar project to extend the telegraph from San Francisco to connect by a Pacific Telegraph with the line which is being extended across the Russian Empire.

TERRITORIAL AFFAIRS.

The Territories of the United States, with unimportant exceptions, have remained undisturbed by the civil war, and they are exhibiting such evidence of prosperity as justifies an expectation that some of them will soon be in a condition to be organized as States, and be constitutionally admitted into the Federal Union. The immense mineral resources of those territories ought to be developed as speedily as possible. Every step in that direction would have a tendency to improve the revenues of the government and diminish the burdens of the people. It is worthy of your serious consideration whether some extraordinary measures to promote the end cannot be adopted. The means which suggested itself most likely to be effective is a scientific exploration of the mineral regions in these territories with a view to the publication of its results at home and in foreign countries, results which cannot fail to be auspicious. The condition of the finances will claim your most diligent consideration.

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS.

The vast expenditure incident to the military and naval operations required for the suppression of the rebellion, have hitherto been met with a promptitude and certainty unusual in similar circumstances, and the public credit has been fully maintained. The continuance of the war, however, and the increased disbursements made necessary by the augmented force now in the field demand your best reflections as to the best mode of providing necessary revenue without injury to business, and with the least possible burden on labor.— The suspension of specie payments by the banks soon after the commencement of your last session made large issues of United States Notes unavoidable. In no other way could the payment of troops and the satisfaction of other just demands be so economically or as well provided for. The judicious legislation of Congress securing the receivability of these notes for loans and internal duties, and making them a legal tender for other debts, has made them universal currency, and has satisfied, partially at least, and for the time, the long felt want of a uniform circulating medium, saving 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 interests concerned, should ever be kept in view.

Convertibility, prompt and certain convertibility into coin, is generally acknowledged to be the best and surest safeguard against them, and it is extremely 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 provisions for the public wants can be made, and the great advantages of a safe and uniform currency secured? I know of none which promises so certain results, and at the same time so unobjectionable, 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 U. S. Bonds deposited in the Treasury. 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 security.

The public credit, moreover, would be greatly improved, and the negotiation 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 measure of considerable weight, in my judgment, 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 uniform national circulation for the local and various circulations, secured and unsecured, now issued by them.

TREASURY RECEIPTS.

The receipts into the Treasury from all sources, including loans and balance from the preceding year, for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1862, were \$583,885,217 06, of which sum \$49,056,379 62, were derived from customs; \$1,795,331 73 from the direct tax; from public lands, \$152,203 77; from miscellaneous sources, \$931,787 64; from loans in all forms, \$529,692,460 50. The remainder, \$2,287,065 80, was the balance from last year.

EXPENDITURES.

The disbursements during the same period were: For Congressional, Executive and Judicial purposes, \$5,939,009 29; for foreign intercourse, \$1,339,710 35; for miscellaneous expenses, including the mint, loans, post office deficiencies, collection of revenue, and other like charges, \$14,129,771 50; for expenses under the Interior Department, \$3,102,985 52; under the War Department, \$394,368,407 36; under the Navy Department, \$42,674,569 69; for interest on the public debt, \$13,190,324 45; and for the payment of the public debt, including reimbursement of temporary loan and redemptions, \$96,996,922 69; making an aggregate of \$570,841,700 25, and leaving a balance in the Treasury on the 1st day of July, 1862, of \$13,043,546 81. It should be observed that the sum of \$96,996,922 00, expended for reimbursement and redemption of the public debt, being included also in the loans made, may be properly deducted from both the receipts and expenditures, leaving the actual receipts for the year \$487,788,324 97, and the expenditures \$474,744,778 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 I invite your most candid and considerate attention.

NAVY AND WAR RECEIPTS.

The reports of the Secretaries of the Navy and War are herewith transmitted. These reports though lengthy, are certainly nothing 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 its being much shorter than the reports themselves. I therefore content myself with laying the reports before you, and asking your attention to them.

POSTAL AFFAIRS.

It gives me pleasure to report a decided 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 the revenue from all the States of the Union for three quarters of that year, notwithstanding the cessation of revenue from the so-called seceded States during the last fiscal year. The increase of the correspondence of the loyal States has been sufficient to produce a revenue during the same year of \$8,299,820 90, being only \$50,000 less than was derived from all the States of the Union during the previous year. The expenditures show a still more favorable result.— The amount expended in 1861 was \$13,606,759 11. For the last year the amount has been reduced to \$11,125,964 13, showing a decrease of about \$2,481,000 in the expenditures as compared with the preceding years; about \$3,750,000 as compared with the fiscal year 1861. The deficiency in the Department for the previous year was \$4,551,966 98.— For the fiscal year it was reduced to \$2,112,814 57. These favorable results are in part owing to the cessation of mail service in the insurrectionary States, and in part to a careful review of the expenditures in that Department, in the interest of economy. The efficiency of the pas-

sal service, it is believed, has also been much improved. The Postmaster General also opened a correspondence through the Department of State with foreign governments, proposing a convention of postal representatives, for the purpose 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 favorably entertained and agreed to by all the governments from whom replies have been received. I ask the attention of Congress to the suggestions of the Postmaster General, in his report, respecting the further legislation required, in his opinion, for the benefit of the postal service.

PUBLIC LANDS.

The Secretary of the Interior reports as follows in regard to the public lands: The public lands have ceased to be a source of revenue.— From the first of July, 1861, to the 30th of September, 1862, the entire cash receipts from the sale of lands were \$137,476 56, a sum much less than during the same period. The homestead Law, which will take effect on the 1st of January next, offers such inducements to settlers that sales for cash 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 sales of the public lands, and the sum derived from the same source as reported from the Treasury Department, arises, as I understand, from the fact that the periods of time, though apparently, were not really co-extensive at the beginning points. The Treasury report includes a considerable sum now, which had previously been reported from the Interior, sufficient in large amount 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.

INDIAN TREATIES.

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 of 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 country. The chief of the Cherokees has visited the city for the purpose of restoring the former relations of the tribe with the United States. He alleges that they were constrained by superior force to enter into treaties with the insurgents, and that the United States neglected to furnish the protection

of the agricultural statistics of the different States; also that it will soon be prepared to distribute largely seeds, cereals, plants and cuttings, and has already published and liberally diffused much valuable information, in anticipation of a more elaborate report which will in due time be furnished, embracing some valuable tests in chemical science, now in progress in the laboratory. The creation of this department was for the more immediate benefit of a large class of our most valuable citizens, and I trust that the liberal basis upon which it has been organized will not only meet your approbation, but that it will realize, at no distant day, but the fondest anticipations of its most sanguine friends, and become the fruitful source of advantage to all our people.

On the 22nd day of September last, a proclamation was issued by the Executive, a copy of which is herewith submitted.

COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION.

In accordance with the purpose expressed in the second paragraph of that paper, I now respectfully call your attention to what may be called "Compensated Emancipation." A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability. One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth forever. It is of the first importance to duly consider and estimate this ever enduring part. 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 vast extent and its variety of climate and production are of advantage in this age for one people, whatever they might have been in former ages! Steam, telegraphs, and intelligence, have brought these to be an advantageous combination for one united people.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

In the Inaugural Address I briefly pointed out the total inadequacy of disunion as a remedy for the differences between 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 'Slave property is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute.— The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the African slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law 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 than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other. Physically speaking, we cannot separate; we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them.— A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse either amicable or hostile must continue between them. Is it impossible, 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 of intercourse is now again upon you."

NO NATURAL LINE OF DIVISION.

There is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a natural boundary upon which to divide. Trace through from east to west upon the line between the free and slave country, and we shall find a little more than one-third its length are rivers easily to be crossed and populated, or soon to be populated thickly upon both sides, while nearly all its remaining length are merely surveyors' lines, over which people may work back and forth, without any conscious result to their presence. No part of the line can be made any more difficult to pass by writing it down on paper or parchment, as a national boundary. The fact of separation, if it comes, gives up on the part of the seceding section the fugitive slave clause along with all other constitutional obligations upon the section seceded from. While I should expect no treaty stipulation would ever be made to take its place.

TERRITORIAL MAGNITUDE.

But there is another difficulty.— The great interior region bounded east by the Alleghenies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, south by the line which the culture of cotton and corn meets, and which includes part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the territories of Dakota, Nebraska, and part of Colorado, has already above ten millions of people, and will have fifty millions within fifty years, if not prevented by any political folly or mistake.— It contains more than one-third 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 more than seventy-five millions of people. A glance at the map shows that, territorially speaking, it is the great body of the Republic. The other parts are but marginal borders to it the magnificent region sloping west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific beach the deepest and also the richest in undeveloped resources, in the production of provisions, grains, grasses, and all which proceed from them, this great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world.

FOREIGN OUTLETS.

Ascertain from the statistics the small proportion of the region which has yet been brought into cultivation, and also a large and rapidly increasing amount of its products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented, and yet this region has no sea coast, 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 Orleans, and to Asia by San Francisco. But separate our common country into two nations as designed by the present rebellion, and every man of this great interior region is hereby cut off from some one or more of these outlets, not perhaps by a physical barrier, but by embarrassing and onerous trade regulations, and this is true whenever a dividing or boundary line may be fixed. Place it between the now 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 part or place north of it, except upon terms dictated by a government foreign to them.

These outlets east, west and south are indispensable 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 their successors forever. True to themselves they will not ask where a line of separation shall be, but will waver rather than there shall be no such line. Nor are the marginal regions less interested in these communications to and through them to the great outside world. They too, and each of them, must have access to this Egypt of the West, without paying toll at the crossing of any national boundary.— Our national strife sprung not from our permanent part, not from the land we inhabit, not from our national homestead. There is no possible severing of this, but would multiply, and not mitigate, evils among us. In all its adaptations and aptitudes it demands union and abhors separation. In fact it would ere long force reunion, however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost. Our strife pertains to ourselves, to passing generations of men, and it cannot without convulsion be hushed forever with the passing of one generation.

PROPOSITION TO ABOLISH SLAVERY.

In this view 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 Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures or Conventions of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution 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 or parts of the said Constitution, viz:

COMPENSATION.

Article.— Every State, wherein slavery now exists, which shall abolish the same therein at any time or times before the first of January in the year of our Lord, one thousand 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 United States, bearing interest at the rate of per cent per annum to an amount equal to the aggregate sum of \$— for each slave shown to have been therein by the eighth census of the United States; said bonds to be delivered to such State by installments, or in one parcel, at the completion of the abolishment, accordingly as the same shall have been gradual or at one time within such State; and interest shall begin to run upon any such bond only from the proper time of its delivery as aforesaid.— Any State having received bonds as aforesaid, and afterwards reintroducing 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 changing of war, at any time before the end of the rebellion, shall be forever free; but all owners of such who shall not have been disloyal shall be compensated for them at the same rates as provided for States adopting abolishment of slavery, but in such a way that no slave shall be twice accounted for.

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.

WANT OF HARMONY.

I beg indulgence to discuss these proposed articles at some length. Without slavery the rebellion could never have existed, without slavery it could not continue.— Among the friends of the Union there is great diversity of sentiment and of policy in regard to slavery and the African amongst us. Some would perpetuate slavery, some would abolish it suddenly, and without compensation, some would abolish it gradually and with compensation, some would remove the freed people from us, and some would retain

them with us, and there are yet other minor diversities. Because of these diversities we waste much strength in struggles among ourselves, by mutual concession we should harmonize and act together.— This would be compromise, but it would be a compromise among the friends and 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 will follow, at least in several of the States. As to the first article, the main points are:

EMANCIPATION TO BE GRADUAL.

First, the emancipation; secondly, the length of time for consummating, (thirty-seven years); and thirdly, the compensation. The emancipation will be unsatisfactory to the advocates of perpetual slavery, but the length of time should greatly mitigate their dissatisfaction. The time spares both races from the evils of sudden derangement, in fact from the necessity, of any derangement, while most of those whose habitual course of thought will be disturbed by the measure, will have passed away before its consummation. They will never see it. Another class will hail the prospect of emancipation, but will deprecate the length of time. They will feel that it gives too little to the now living slaves. But it really gives them much.— It saves them from the vagrant immigration which must largely attend immediate emancipation, in localities where their numbers are very great, and it gives the inspiring assurance that their posterity shall be free forever.

The plan leaves to each State choosing to act under it to abolish slavery now, or at the end of the century, or at any intermediate time, or by degrees extending over the whole or any part of the period, and it obliges no two States to proceed alike. It also provides for compensation, and generally the mode of making it. This it would seem must further mitigate the dissatisfaction of those who favor perpetual slavery, and especially of those who are to receive 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 the slaves is the destruction of property—property acquired, by descent or by purchase, the same as any other property. It is no less true, for having been often said, that the people of the South are no more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the people of the North, and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we use— all of us use—cotton and sugar, and share the profits of 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 common object this property is to be sacrificed, is it 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?

THE PLAN PRACTICABLE.

Let us consider it then. Let us ascertain the sum we have expended in the war since compensated emancipation was proposed last March, and consider whether, if that measure had been promptly accepted by even some of the Slave States, the same sum would not have done more to close the war than has been otherwise done. If so, the measure would save money, and in that view would be prudent and economical. Certainly, it is not so easy to pay something, as it is to pay nothing. But it is easier to pay a large sum than it is to pay a larger one, and it is easier to pay any sum, when we are able, than it is to pay it before we are able. The war requires them at once—the aggregate sum necessary for compensating emancipation of course would be large, but it would require no ready cash, no bondsmen, nor their bonds even, any faster than the emancipation progresses.

INCREASING POPULATION.

This might not and probably would not close before the end of the thirty-seven years. At that time we shall probably have 100,000,000 of people to share the burden, instead of 31,000,000 as now, and 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 Territories will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. At the same ratio the increase which we have maintained on the average from our National Census in 1790 until that of 1850, we should in 1900 have a population of 102,208,115 and why may we not continue that ratio far beyond that period? Our abundant room, our broad national homestead, is an ample resource. Were our territory limited as are the British Isles, very certainly our population could not expand as stated, and 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.

FASTNESS OF TERRITORY.

We have two millions nine hundred and sixty-three thousand square miles. Europe has three millions eight hundred thousand with a population averaging seventy-three and one-third persons to the square mile. Why may not our country at some time average as many? Is it less fertile? Has it more waste surface by mountains, rivers, lakes, 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 when this may be we can judge by the past and the present, as onto when this will be if ever, depends much whether we maintain the Union. Several of our States are above the average European population of seventy-three and a third to the square mile.— Massachusetts has 157, Rhode Island 133, New York and New Jersey each 80, also two other great States, Pennsylvania and Ohio, are not far below, the former having 68 and the latter 59. The States already