

The Telegraph

BY GEORGE BERGNER.

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The Telegraph

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Fellow citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Since your last annual 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 peace, we can but press on, guided by the best light He gives us, trusting that in his own good time, and wise way, we will be restored to us.

The correspondence touching foreign affairs which has taken place during the last year is herewith submitted, in virtual compliance with a request 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 satisfactory 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 now proved only less injurious to themselves than to our country. But the temporary reverses which afterwards befell 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 conviction, 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 fortune from taking part in any controversy between foreign states, and between parties or factions in such states. We have attempted to promulgate 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 success, and often exaggerated effects and consequences resulting to those nations, themselves. Nevertheless, complaint on the part of this government, even if it were just, would certainly be unwise.

The treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave trade has been put into operation with a good prospect of complete success. It is an occasion of especial 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.

The convention with Hanover for the abolition of the state 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 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 recriminations between nations which have a common interest in preserving peace and friendship between them.

In clear cases of these kinds I have, so 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 powers whose protection is demanded by the claimant. 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 those states are not at once prepared to redress. I have proposed to some of the foreign states, interested, mutual conventions to examine and adjust such complaints. The proposition has been made especially to Great Britain and France, and 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. Torndenklof*, which vessel was, in May, 1861, prevented by the commander of the blockading force off Charleston from leaving that port with cargo, notwithstanding a similar privilege had, 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 authorities.

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 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 my 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 within 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 colonies of African descent from here, could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens; and I regret to say such persons, contemplating colonization, do not seem so willing to migrate to those countries, as to some others, nor so willing as I think their interest demands. I believe, however, opinion among them, in this respect, is improving; and that, ere long, there will be an augmented, and considerable migration 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 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, Austria, the 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, more friendly sentiments than have heretofore existed, are believed to be entertained by our neighbors, whose safety and progress are so intimately connected with our own. This statement especially applies to Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, Peru and Chili.

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 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 for connecting the United States with Europe by an Atlantic telegraph, and a similar project to extend the telegraph to San Francisco, to connect with a Pacific telegraph, with the line which is being extended across the Russian empire.

The Territories of the United States, with important 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 some of these Territories ought to be developed as rapidly as possible. Every step in that direction would have a tendency to improve the revenue of the government, and diminish the burden of the people. It is worthy of your serious attention whether some extraordinary measures to promote that end cannot be adopted. The means which suggest itself as most likely to be effective, is a scientific exploration of the mineral regions in those 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. The vast expenditures 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 forces now in the field, demand your best reflections as to the best modes of providing the necessary revenue, without injury to business, and with the least possible burdens upon labor.

The suspension of specie payments by the bank, soon after the commencement of your last session, has largely increased the value of the notes unavailing. In no other way could the payment of the troops, and the satisfaction of the other just demands, be so economically, or so well provided for. The judicious legislation of Congress, securing the convertibility of these notes for loans and internal duties, and making them a legal tender of our 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 exchange.

A return to specie payments, however, at the earliest period compatible with due regard to all 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. Convertibility is generally acknowledged to be the best and surest safeguard against them; and it is extremely doubtful whether a circulation of the 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 public wants can be made, and the great advantages of a safe and uniform currency secured?

I know of no such promise so certain results, and is at the same time, so objectionable, 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 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 securities. 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 afforded to existing institutions to reorganize under the act, substituting only the secured uniform national circulation, for the local and various circulation, secured and unsecured, now issued by them.

The receipts into the Treasury from all sources, including loans, and balance from the preceding year, for the fiscal year ending on 30th June, 1862, were \$388,662,247 00, of which sum \$49,056,397 62 were derived from customs; \$1,796,381 78 from the direct tax; from public lands, \$162,209 77; from miscellaneous sources, \$391,787 64; from loans in all forms, \$20,822,490 50. The remainder, \$212,267,855 80, was the balance from last year.

The disbursements during the same period, were for congressional, executive, and judicial purposes, \$5,939,099 39; for foreign intercourse, \$1,339,710 35; for miscellaneous expenses, including the mint, loans, post office deficiencies, collection of revenues, and other like charges, \$14,125,771 60; for expenses under the War Department, \$2,102,965 62; under

the War Department, \$24,868,407 36; under the Navy Department, \$42,674,569 69; for the interest on public debt, \$13,190,324 45; and for payment of public debt, including reimbursements of temporary loans, and redemptions, \$98,096,922 09; making an aggregate of \$570,841,700 25, and leaving a balance in the treasury on the first day of July, 1862, of \$12,843,546 61.

It should be observed that the sum of \$96,096,922 09, expended for reimbursements, and redemption of public debt, being included also in the loans made, may be properly deducted, both from 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 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.

The reports of the Secretaries of War, and of 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 those 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.

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 \$8,349,290 40, which, exclusive of the revenue from all 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 postal service has been sufficient to produce a revenue during the same year of \$8,259,820 90, being only \$60,000 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 \$12,906,759 11. For the last fiscal year the amount has been reduced to \$11,125,394 13, showing a decrease of about \$2,481,000 in the expenditures as compared with the preceding year, and about \$3,760,000 as compared with the fiscal year 1859. The deficiency in the Department for the previous year was \$4,551,966 98. For the last fiscal year it was reduced to \$2,112,514 57.

These favorable results are in part owing to the cessation of mail service in the insurrectionary States, and in part to careful review of all expenditures in that department in the interest of economy. The efficiency of the postal service, it is believed, has also been much improved. The Postmaster General has also opened a correspondence, through the Department of State, with foreign governments, proposing a convention, for the purpose of exchanging telegrams with the various foreign nations, 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.

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 last day of July, 1861, to the 30th of September, 1862, the entire cash receipts from the sale of lands were \$246,476 20—a sum much less than the expenses of our land system 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 Interior Department arises, as I understand, from the fact that the periods embraced in the two reports, 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 Interior, and not by the Treasury.

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 alliances with the insurgents. Those who remained loyal to the United States were driven from the country. The chief of the Cherokee has visited this 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 which their treaty stipulations required.

In the month of August last the Sioux Indians, in Minnesota, attacked the settlements in their vicinity with extreme ferocity, killing indiscriminately men, women and children. This attack was wholly unexpected, and there were 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 to be stated. Information was received by the Indian Bureau, from different sources, about the time hostilities were commenced, that a simultaneous attack was to be made upon the white settlements by all the tribes between 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 an 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 special consideration, whether our Indian system shall not be re-organized. Many wise and good men have impressed me with the belief that this can be probably done.

I submit a statement of the proceedings of commissioners, which shows the progress that has been made in the enterprise of constructing the Pacific railroad. And this suggests the earliest completion of this road, and that the favorable action of Congress upon the project now pending before them, for enlarging the

capacities of the great canal in New York and Illinois, as being of vital and rapidly increasing importance to the whole nation, and especially to the vast interior region hereinafter to be noticed as of greater length. I purpose having prepared and laid before you at an early day some interesting 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 Colonel Webster to the Secretary of War, and now transmitted to Congress. I respectfully ask attention to it.

To carry out the provisions of the act of Congress of the 16th of May last, I have caused the Department of Agriculture of the United States to be organized.

The Commissioner informs me that within the period of a few months this department has established an extensive system of correspondence and exchanges, both at home and abroad, and that the results of a correct knowledge of recent improvements in agriculture, in the introduction of new products, and in the collection of the agricultural statistics of the several States.

Also, that it will soon be prepared to distribute largely seeds, cereals, plants and cuttings, and has already established, and liberally diffused, much valuable information in anticipation of a more elaborated 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, all the fondest anticipations of its most sanguine friends, and become the fruitful source of advantage to all our people.

On the twenty-second day of September last a proclamation was issued by the Executive, a copy of which is herewith submitted.

In accordance with the purpose expressed in the second paragraph of that paper I now respectfully recall 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 daily 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 productions, are of advantage, in this age, for one people, whatever they might have been in former ages. Steam, telegraphs, and inter-oceanic cables have brought these, to be 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 of the people of the two sections. I did so in language which I cannot improve, and which therefore I beg to repeat:

"One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it to be 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 foreign 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, how 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 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 after every major loss on both sides, and no gain on either; you cease fighting, the identical evil question, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you."

There is no line straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary, upon which to divide. Trice through, from east to west, upon the line between the free and slave country, and we shall find a little more than one third of its length are rivers, easy to be crossed, and populated, or soon to be populated, 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 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.

But there is another difficulty. The great interior region, bounded east by the Alleghanes, 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, also of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Territories of Dakota, Nebraska, and part of Colorado, already has 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, being the deepest, as 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. Ascertain from the statistics the small proportion of the region which has, as yet, been brought into cultivation, and also the 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 seasons, 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 thereby 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, wherever 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 port or place north of it, and none north of it can trade to any port or place south 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, all 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 the people, and to their successors forever. True to themselves, they will not seek where a line of separation shall be, but will vote, rather, that there shall be no such line. Nor are the marginal regions less interested in these communications, 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 tolls at the crossing of any national boundary.

Our national state springs not from our permanent part; not from the land we inhabit; not from our national homeland. There is no possible severing of this, but would multiply, and not mitigate, evils among us. In all its adaptations and aptitude, it demands union, and forbids separation. In fact, it would, ere long, force re-union, however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost. Our stirrings pertain to ourselves, to the passing generations of men, and it can, without convulsions, be husbanded forever with the passing of one generation.

In this view, I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles, acceding 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:—"

"ARTICLE.—Every State, wherein slavery now exists, which shall abolish the same therein, in any time, or times, before the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand and nine hundred, shall receive compensation from the United States as follows, to wit:—"

"The President of the United States shall deliver to every State, bonds of the United States, bearing interest at the rate of six 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 abolition, 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 chances of the 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 is provided for States adopting abolition of slavery, but in such 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.

"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. It is to the friends of the Union there is great diversity of sentiment, and of policy in regard to slavery, and the African race among 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 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: first, the emancipation, secondly, the length of time for commencing 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 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 depreciate 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 destination 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 individual to proceed alike. It also provides for emancipation, 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 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 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 not more responsible for the original introduction of this property, than are the people of the North; and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all use cotton and sugar, and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be 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, than we can by the war alone, is it not also economical to do it? 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 a prudent and economical measure. 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 large sums, and requires them at once.

The aggregate sum necessary for compensated emancipation, of course, would be large. But it would require no ready cash; nor the bounds 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 millions of people to share the burden, instead of thirty-one millions, 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 territory will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. At the same rate of increase which we have maintained, on an average, from our first national census, in 1790, until that of 1860, we should, in 1900, have a population of 103,208,415.

And why may we not continue that ratio beyond that period? Our abundant room—our broad national homeland—is our ample resource. Were our territory as limited as are the British Isles, very certainly our population could not expand as stated. Instead of receiving the foreign born, as now, we should be compelled to send part of our population away. But such is not our condition. We have two millions nine hundred and sixty-three thousand square miles. Europe has three millions and eight hundred thousand, with a population averaging seventy-three and one-third persons to the square mile. Why may not our country, at some times, 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 advantages? If, then, we are, at some time, to be as populous as Europe, how soon? As to when this may be, we can judge of the past and the present; as to when it will be, it depends upon us, whether we maintain the Union. Several of our States are already above the average of Europe—seventy-three and a third to the square mile; Massachusetts has 167; Rhode Island, 133; Connecticut, 99; New York and New Jersey, each, 80. Also, two other great States, Pennsylvania and Ohio, are not far below—the former having 66 and the latter 69.—The States already above the European average, except New York, have increased in as rapid a ratio, since passing that point, as ever before; while no one of them is equal to some other parts of our country, in natural capacity for sustaining a dense population.

Taking the nation in the aggregate, and we find its population and ratio of increase, for the several decennial periods, to be as follows:

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|------|--|
| 1790 | 3,920,837 |
| 1800 | 5,305,937 55.02 per cent. ratio of increase. |
| 1810 | 7,239,814 36.43 " |
| 1820 | 9,688,133 33.14 " |
| 1830 | 12,866,020 33.43 " |
| 1840 | 17,069,445 32.67 " |
| 1850 | 23,191,876 35.87 " |
| 1860 | 31,443,790 35.58 " |

This shows an average decennial increase of 34.00 per cent. in population through the seventy years from our first to our last census yet taken. It is seen that the ratio of increase at no one of these seven periods, is either two per cent. below or two per cent. above the average; thus showing how inflexible, and consequently how reliable, the law of increase in our case is. Assuming that it will continue, gives the following results:

| | |
|------|-------------|
| 1870 | 42,323,341 |
| 1880 | 56,967,216 |
| 1890 | 76,779,872 |
| 1900 | 102,208,415 |
| 1910 | 138,918,526 |
| 1920 | 185,981,335 |
| 1930 | 251,680,914 |

These figures show that our country may be as populous as Europe now is, at some point between 1820 and 1830—say about 1825—our territory, at seventy-three and a third persons to the square mile, being of capacity to contain 217,158,000.

And we will reach this, too, if we do not ourselves relinquish the chance, by the folly and evils of disunion, or by long and exhausting war 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 population, civilization and prosperity, no one can doubt that the extent of it would be very great and injurious.

The proposed emancipation would shorten the war, perpetuate peace, and increase the wealth of population, and proportionately the wealth of the country. With these, we should pay all the emancipation cost, together with our other debt, without it. If we had allowed our other national debt to run at six per cent. per annum, simple interest, from the end of our revolutionary struggle until today, without paying anything on either principal or interest, each man of us would own upon it then; and this because our increase of men, through the war period, has been greater than six per cent; has run faster than the interest upon the debt. Thus, time alone, relieves a debtor faster, so long as its population increases faster than unpaid interest accumulates on its debt.

This fact, would be no excuse for delaying this, it would seem, must further mitigate the

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great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Ascertain from the statistics the small proportion of the region which has, as yet, been brought into cultivation, and also the 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 seasons, 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 thereby 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, wherever 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 port or place north of it, and none north of it can trade to any port or place south 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, all 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 the people, and to their successors forever.

True to themselves, they will not seek where a line of separation shall be, but will vote, rather, that there shall be no such line. Nor are the marginal regions less interested in these communications, 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 tolls at the crossing of any national boundary.

Our national state springs not from our permanent part; not from the land we inhabit; not from our national homeland. There is no possible severing of this, but would multiply, and not mitigate, evils among us. In all its adaptations and aptitude, it demands union, and forbids separation. In fact, it would, ere long, force re-union, however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost. Our stirrings pertain to ourselves, to the passing generations of men, and it can, without convulsions, be husbanded forever with the passing of one generation.

In this view, I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles, acceding 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:—"

"ARTICLE.—Every State, wherein slavery now exists, which shall abolish the same therein, in any time, or times, before the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand and nine hundred, shall receive compensation from the United States as follows, to wit:—"

"The President of the United States shall deliver to every State, bonds of the United States, bearing interest at the rate of six 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 abolition, 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 chances of the 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 is provided for States adopting abolition of slavery, but in such 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.

"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. It is to the friends of the Union there is great diversity of sentiment, and of policy in regard to slavery, and the African race among us. Some would perpetuate slavery