BY S. J. ROW.

CLEARFIELD, PA., WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1861.

VOL. 8 .-- NO. 15.

FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and Honse of Representatives :- In the midst of unprecedented political troubles we have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual good health and most abundant harvests. You will not be surprised to learn that in the peculiar exigencies of the times, our intercourse with foreign nations has been attended with profound solicitude, chiefly turning upon our own domestic affairs. A 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 doenestic division 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 ungenerous ambition, although measures adopted under such influences seldom fail to be unfortunate and injurious to those adopting

The disloyal citizens of the United States who have offered the ruin of our country in reenvoked 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, soand selfishly for the most speedy restoration of commerce, including especially the acquition than through the preservation of the

If we could dare to believe that foreign nations are actuated by no higher principle than this, I am quite sure a sound argument could be made to show them that they can reach their aim more readily and easily by aiding to crush this rebellion, than by giving encouragement to it. The principal lever relied on is the embarrassment of commerce. Those well our foreign as our the effort for disunion produces the existing difficulty, and that one strong nation promises more durable peace and a more extensive and reliable commerce than can the same nabreign 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

to hope it will appear that we have practiced prudence and liberality towards foreign powers, averting causes of irritation, and with firmness maintaining our own rights and honor. every other State, foreign dangers necessarily for maintaining the public defenses on every side. While under the general recommendaoccur to the mind, I also in the same connection, ask the attention of Congress to our great tifications and depots of arms and munitions, at well selected points upon these, would be dition of the entire army. of great importance to the national defence

I ask attention to the view of the Secretary of War, expressed in his report upon the same general subject. I deem it of importance that | ded to the serious attention of Congress. the loy al regions of East Tennessee, and Western North Carolina shall be connected with Kentucky, and other faithful parts of the Union by railroad. I therefore recommend, as possible. Kentucky, no doubt, will co-opern terminus must connect with some existing land Gap, or from Lebanon to the Tennessee 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

duce some of the commercial powers to adopt from the way of this humane reform, except

I invite your attention to the corresponter, accredited to this Government, and the Secretary of State, relative to the detention of larger than ever before assembled under our the British ship Perthshire, in June last, by flag, have been put affoat and performed deeds the United States steamer Massachusetts, far | which have increased our Naval renown. a supposed breach of the blockade. As this apprehension of the facts, and as justice republic law, I recommend that an appropria-

of the owners of the vessel, for her detention. I repeat the recommendation of my predeessor in his annual message to Congress in

the course of our extensive trade with that

By the act of the 5th of August last, Congress authorized the President to instruct the commanders of suitable vessels to defend themselves against and to capture pirates. This authority has been exercised in a single instance only. For the more effectual protection of our extensive and valuable commerce, in the Eastern seas especially, it seems to me that it would also be advisable to authorize the commanders of sailing vessels to recapture any prizes which pirates may make of United States vessels and their cargoes, and the Consular Courts now established by law in Eastern countries to adjudicate the cases in event that

If any good reason exists why we should persevere longer in withholding our recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Hayti and Liberia, I am unable to discern it-unwilling, however, to mangurate a novel policy in regard to them without the approbation of

I submit, for your consideration, the expediency of an appropriation for maintaining a Charge-de-affairs near each of those new States. It does not admit of doubt that important com turn for the aid and comfort which they have | mercial advantages might be secured by favorable treaties with them.

The operations of the Treasury during the period which has elapsed since your adjournment, have been conducted with signal success. The patriotism of the people has placed cial and treaty obligations would act solely at the disposal of the Government the large means demanded by the public exigencies. Much of the National Loan has been taken by sition of cotton, those nations appear as yet | citizens of the industrial classes, whose confinot to have seen their way to their object | dence in their country's faith and zeal for more distinctly or clearly through the destruc- their country's deliverance from present peril have induced them to contribute to the support of the Government the whole of their limited acquisitions. This fact imposes peculiar obligations to economy in disbursements and energy in action.

The revenue from all sources, including loans for the financial year, ending on the 30th of June, 1861, was \$86,835,900 27, and the expenditures for the same period including payby the insurgents for exciting foreign nations | ments on account of the public debt, were to hostility against us, as already intimated, \$84,578,834 47, leaving a balance in the Treas- statute laws, with the hope that Congress will ury on the 1st of July, of \$2,257,065 80. For nations, however, not improbably saw from the first quarter of the financial year ending inconveniences and evils which constantly em- of our land system only about \$200,000. respectively, that such persons on such accepthe first that it was the Union which made as on the 30th of September, 1861, the receipts barrass those engaged in the practical administ The sales have been entirely suspended in the tances by the General Government be at once They can scarcely have failed to perceive that 1 st of July, were \$102,532,509 27, and the expenses \$98,239,733 09-leaving a balance on the 1st of October, 1861, of \$4,29,776 18.

Estimates for the remaining three-quarters of the year and for the financial year of 1863, tion broken into hostile fragments. It is together with his view of ways and means for not my purpose to review our dissentions with | meeting the demands contemplated by them, will be submitted to Congress by the Secratary

of the Treasury. It is gratifying to know that the expenditures made necessary by the rebellion are not beyond the resources of the loyal people, and the American people.

The correspondence itself, with the usual thus far sustained the Government will continue rescrvations, is herewith submitted. I venture | to sustain it till peace and union shall again

bless the land. I respectfully refer to the report of the Secretary of War for information respecting the numerical strength of the army, and for Since, however, it is apparent that here, as in recommendations having in view an increase of its efficiency and the well being of the attend domestic difficulties. I recommend various branches of the service entrusted to that adequate and ample measures be adopted his care. It is gratifying to know that the patriotism of the people have proved equal to the occasion, and that the number of troops tion provision for defending our seacoast line | tendered greatly exceeds the force which

Congress authorized me to call into the field. I refer with pleasure to those portions of bakes and rivers. It is believed that some for- his report which make allusion to the creditable degree of discipline already attained by with harbor and navigation improvements, all our troops, and to the excellent sanitary con-

> 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 commen-The large addition to the regular army, in

connection with the defection that has so considerably diminished the number of its officers gives peculiar importance to his recomas a military measure, that Congress provide | mendation for increasing the corps of Cadets for the construction of such a road as speedily | to the greatest capacity of the Military Academy By mere omission, I presume, Congress has erate and through her legislature, make the failed to provide Chaplains, for Hospitals occumost judicious selection of a line. The north- | pied by Volunteers. This subject was brought to my notice and I was induced to draw up railroad, and whether the route shall be from the form of a letter, one copy of which proper-Lexington or Nicholasville to the Cumber- ly addressed, has been delivered to each of

the persons, and at the dates, respectively line, in the direction of Knoxville, or on some | named and stated in a schedule containing still different line, can easily be determined. also the form of the letter, marked A. and herewith transmitted. These gentlemen I understand entered upon the duties designated at the times respectively stated on the schedule and have labored permanent improvement, worth its cost in all faithfully therein ever since. I therefore re-

commend that they be compensated at the Some treaties, designed chiefly for the in- same rate as chaplains in the army. I would terests of commerce, and having no grave po- also here further suggest that general provision litical importance, have been negotiated and | be made for chaplains to serve at the hospitals will be submitted to the Senate for their con- as well as with regiments. The report of the sideration. Although we have failed to in- Secretary of the Navy, presents in detail the operations of that branch of the service. The desirable meliorations of the rigor of mari- activity and energy which have characterized time war, we have removed all obstructions its administration, and the results of measures to increase its efficiency and power. such as are merely of temporary and acciden- Such have been the additions by construction and purchase, that it may almost be said a Navy has been created and brought into service dence between Her Britanic Majesty's Minis- since our difficulties commenced. Besides blockading our extensive coast. Squadrons

I would invite special attention to the redetention was occasioned by an obvious mis- commendation of the Secretary for a more perfect organization of the Navy by introdu-Elires that we should commit no belligerant | cing additional grades in the service. The act not founded in strict right, as sanctioned by | present organization is defective and unsatisfactory and the suggestions submitted by the tion be made to satisfy the reasonable demands | department will, it is believed, if adopted obviate the difficulties alluded to, promote har-

mony, and increase the efficiency of the Navy. There are three vacancies on the bench of ecember last, in regard to the disposition of the Supreme Court, two by the decease of the surplus which will probably remain after Justices Daniel and McLean, and one by the distying the claims of American citizens resignation of Justice Campbell. I have so gainst China, pursuant to the awards of the far forborne making nominations to fill these time to come, with great national questions.

pointments Northward, thus disabling myself from doing justice to the South, on the return of peace; although, I may remark that to transfer to the North one which has heretofore been in the South, would not, with reference to territory and population, be unjust.

During the long and brilliant judicial career of Judge McLean, his circuit grew into an empire altogether too large for any one Judge to give the Courts therein more than a nominal attendance rising in population from 1,-470,018 in 1830, to 6,151,405 in 1860. Besides this, the country generally has outgrown our present judicial system. If uniformity was at all intended, the system requires that this should not be objected to by the local au- all the States shall be accommodated with Circuit Courts attended by Supreme Judges, while, in fact, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Florida, Texas, California and Oregon have never had any such Courts. Nor can this well be remedied without a change of the system, because the adding of Judges to the Supreme Court enough for the accommodation of all parts of the country with Circuit Courts, would create a Court altogether too numerous for a judicial body of any sort. And the evil, if it be one, will increase as new States come into the Union. Circuit Courts are useful or they are not useful. If they are useful, no State should be denied them. If not useful, no State should have them. Let them be provided for all or abolished to all. Three modifications occur to me, either of which, I think, would be an improvement upon our present system.

Let the Supreme Court be of convenient number in every event. Then first, 1st the whole country be divided into circuits of convenient size the Supreme Judges to serve in a number of them corresponding to their own number, and independent Circuit Judges be provided for all the rest. Or, secondly, let the Supreme Judges be relieved from Circuit duties, and Circuit Judges provided for all the Circuits; or thirdly, dispense with the Circuit Courts altogether, leaving the judicial functions wholly to the District Court and an independent Supreme Court.

I respectfully recommend to the consideration of Congress the present condition of the tration of them. Since the organization of fill more than six thousand closely printed pages, and are scattered through many volnms. Many of these acts have beed 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 person 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 intelligible as possible, and be reduced to as small a compass as may consist with the fullness and precision of the will of the Legislature and the perspicuity of its language. This, well done, would, I think, greatly facilitate the labors of those whose duty it is to assist in the administration of the laws, and would be a lasting benefit to the people by placing before them in a more accessible an intelligible form the laws which so deeply concern their interests and their duties. I am informed by some, whose opinions I respect, that permanent and general nature might be revised and re-written so as to be embraced in dinary and commercial size, and I respectthe subject, and if my suggestion be approv-

in many places, of all the ordinary means of administering civil justice by the officers in the form of existing law. This is the case in whole or in parts in all the insurgent States, constituting such claims, some have estimated | them. It as high as \$200,000,000 due in large part from insurgents in open rebellion to loyal citizens who are even now making great sacrifisupport the Government. Under these circumstances I was urgently solicited to establish, by military power, courts to administer doubt that the end proposed the collection of the debts, was just and right in itself, but because I have been unwilling to go beyond the

But the powers of Congress, I suppose, are equal to the anomalous occasion, and therefore I refer the whole matter to Congress, with the hope that a plan may be devised for the adinsurgent States and Territories as may be under the control of this Government wheth- opinion that an agricultural and statistical buer by a voluntary return to allegiance and or-

der, or by the power of our arms. This, however, not to be a permanent inre-established in peace. It is important that have been made for the suppression of this in- cured since may not be unprofitable. some more convenients means should be provided, if possible, for the adjustment of claims against the Government, especially in view of their increased number, by reason of the War. It is as much the duty of Government to rencitizens as it to administer the same between private individuals. The investigation of fine and imprisonment; and one captain, and adjudication of claims in their nature be- taken with a cargo of Africans on board his on the right side. longing to the judicial department. Besides, vessel, has been convicted of the highest grade will be more than usually engaged, for some | which is death.

experience may have shown to be necessary.

I ask attention to the report of the Post- the territory. master General, the following being a summary statement of the condition of the Department. The revenue from all sources during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1861, including the annual permanent appropriation of \$700,000 for the transportation of free mail matter, was \$9,049,296 40 being almost two per cent less than the revenue for 1860. The expenditures were thirteen millions six hundred and six thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine dollars and eleven cents; showing a tive in Congress, that body should not overlook decrease of more than eight per cent as compared with those of the previous year, and leaving an excess of expenditures over the revenue for the last fiscal year of \$4,557,462 71. The gross revenue for year ending June 30, 1863, is estimated at an increase of four per cent on that of 1861, making \$8,683,000, to which should be added the earnings of the Department in carrying free matter, viz: \$7 00,000-making \$9,383,000.

The total expenditures for 1863 are estimated at \$12,528,000, leaving an estimated deficiency of \$3,145,000 to be supplied from the Treasury, in addition to the permanent appro-

The present insurrection shows, I think, that the extension of this District across the Potomac river, at the time of establishing the Capital here, was eminently wise; and consequently, that the relinquishment of that portion of it which hes within the State of Virginia was unwise and dangerous. I submit for your consideration the expediency of regaining that part of the District, and the restoration of the original boundaries thereof,

through negotiation with the State of Virginia. The report of the Secretary of the Interior, with the accompanying documents, exhibits the condition 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 public lands dube able to find an easy remedy for many of the | ring the past year have exceeded the expense; | other plan to be agreed upon with such States Southern States, while the interruptions to the government Congress has enacted some the business of the country, and the diversion taken for colonizing both classes (or the one five thousand acts and joint resolutions, which of large numbers of men from labor to mili- first mentioned if the other shall not be tary service, have obstrected settlements in the new States and Territories of the Northwest. The receipts of the Patent Office have de-

clined in nine months about \$100,000 rendernecessary to make it self-sustaining. The demands upon the Pension Office will

be largely increased by the insurrection. Numerous applications for pensions, based upon the causualties of the existing war, have already been made. There is reason to believe that many who are now upon the pension rolls, and in receipt of the bounty of the tional power to do so is no longer an open Government, are in the ranks of the insurgent army, or giving them aid and comfort. The Secretary of the Interior has directed a sus- purchase of Louisiana, yielded his scruples on pension of the payment of the pensions of such persons upon proof of their disloyalty.

stricken from the pension roll. all the acts of Congress, now in force, and of a by the insurrection, especially in the South- portance of procuring Louisiana more on poern Superintendency, and in that of New Mexico. The Indian country south of Kansas | viding room for population. one volume, or at most in two volumes of or- is in possession of insurgents from Texas | On this whole proposition, including the and Arkansas. The agents of the United appropriation of moneys with the acquisition fully recommend to Congress to consider States Government appointed since the 4th of of territory, does not the expediency amount ed, to devise such a plan as their wisdom shall unable to reach their posts, while the most of ernment itself cannot be perpetuated if the seem most proper for the attainment of the | those who were in the office before that time, | war continues. have espoused the insurrectionary cause One of the unavoidable consequences of the and assume to exercise the powers of agents present insurrection is the entire suppression | by virtue of commissions from the insurrec-

as a military force and are attached to the courts, nor officers to whom the citizens of the missioner of Indian Affairs by several promi-States may apply for the enforcement of their | nent chiefs, giving assurance of their loyalty lawful claims against citizens of the insurgent | to the United States, and expressing a wish | States, and there is a vast amount of debt for the presence of Federal troops to protect

It is believed that upon the repossession of ces in the discharge of their patriotic duty to and resume their former relations to the Government.

of the nation, has not a department nor a summary justice in such cases. I have thus bureau, but a clerkship only, assigned to it far declined to do it, not because I had any in the Government. While it is fortunate that this great interest is so independent in its nature as not to have demanded and extorted pressure of necessity in the unusual exercise | Congress to consider whether something more | reach the loyal as well as disloyal, are indiscannot be given voluntarily with general ad-

no suggestion as to details, I venture the reau might profitably be organized.

The execution of the laws for the suppression of the African slave trade has been confided stitution but a temporary substitute, and to to the department of the Interior. It is a cease as soon as the ordinary courts can be subject of congratulation that the efforts which human traffic have been recently attended with unusual success.

trade have been seized and condemned. Two

far forborne making nominations to fill these commissioners under the act of the 3d of the out-going Judges resided within the States now overum by revolt, so that if the States now overum by revolt count of the States now overum by revolt, so that if the States now overum by revolt count of the States now overum by revolt

power of making judgments final may not to them a large immigration when peace shall properly be given to the court, reserving the restore the business of the country to its right of appeal on questions of law to the accustomed channels. I submit the reselu-Supreme Court, with such other provisions as tions of the Legislature of Colorado, which evidence the patriotic spirit of the people of

So far the authority of the United States has been upheld in all the Territories, as it is hoped it will be in the future. I commend their interests and defence to the enlightened and generous care of Congress. I recommend to the favorable consideration

of Congress the interests of the District of Columbia. The insurrection has been the and they of doubtful whereabouts and doubtcause of much suffering and sacrifice to its ful existence, are in arms against it. After a inhabitants, and as they have no Representatheir just claims upon the Government.

At your late session, a joint resolution was adopted, authorizing the President to take measures for facilitating a proper representation of the industrial interests of the United States at the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, to be holden at London in the year

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 intimately 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, and which will be laid before you. Under and by virtue of the Act of Congress,

entitled "An Act to Confiscate Property used for Insurrectionary Purposes," approved August 6th, 1861, the legal claims of certain persons to the labor and service of certain other 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 benefit respectively, and by operation of which persons of the same class will be thrown upon them for disposal.

In such case I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons from such States according to some mode of valuation in lieu pro banto of direct taxes, or upon some semed free, and that in any event steps be brought into existence,) at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider too, whether the free colored people already in the United ing a large deduction of the force employed States, could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization.

To carry out the plan of colonization may involve the acquiring of territory and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition. Having practised the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years, the question of the Constituone with us. The power was questioned at first by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the the plea of great expediency.

If it be said that the only legitimate object I recommend that Congress authorize that of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for officer to cause the names of such persons to be white men, this measure effects that object, for emigration of colored men leaves addition-The relations of the Government with the al room for white men, remaining or coming Indian tribes have been greatly disturbed by here. Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the imlitical and commercial grounds, than on pro-

March for this superintendency, have been absolute necessity that without which the Gov-

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 It has been stated in the public press that a violent and remorseless revolutionary strugportion of these Indians have been organized | gle. I have therefore, in every case thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union and as our armies advance upon and take pos- army of the insurgents. Although the Gov- prominent as the primary object of the consession of parts of those States, the practical ernment has no official information upon this test on our part, leaving all questions which evil becomes more apparent. There are not subject, letters have been written to the Com- 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 insurgeants, instead of putting in force by proclamation the law of Congress enacted at the late session for closing these ports. So the country by the Federal forces, the Indians | also, obeying the dictates of prudence as well as will readily cease all hostile demonstrations, the obligations of law, instead of transcending I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its prosperity will be duly considered.

The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed. We shall not be in haste to determine that more from the Government, I respectfully ask radical and extreme measures, which may

The Inaugural address at the beginning of Annual reports, exhibiting the condition of the Administration and the message to Conour agriculture, commerce and manufactures, gress at the late special session, were both would present a fund of information of great | mainly devoted to the domestic controversy ministration of justice in all such parts of the practical value to the country. While I make out of which the insurrection and consequent war have sprung.

Nothing more occurs to add to or substract from the principles or general purposes is no such relation between capital and labor. stated and expressed in those document. The last ray of hope for preserving the Union, peaceably, expired at the assault upon Fort of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions Sumter, and a general review of what has oc-

What was painfully uncertain then, is much better defined and more distinct now, and the Five vessels being fitted out for the slave progress of events is plainly in the right direction. The insurgents confidently claimed mates of vessels engaged in the trade and one a strong support from North of Mason and der prompt justice against itself, in favor of person engaged in equipping a slaver have Dixon's line, and the freinds of the Union been comvicted, and subjected to the penalty | were not free from apprehension on that point. This, however, was soon settled definitely and

South of the line, noble little Delaware led it is apparent that the attention of Congress of offence under our laws, the punishment of off right from the first. Maryland was made to seem against the Union. Our soldiers The Territories of Colorado, Dakotah, and were assaulted, bridges were burned, and

I have been unwilling to throw all the ap | to your careful consideration whether this | organized Government, will doubtless invite | Union by a larger majority, and a larger aggregate vote than they ever before gave to any candidate on any question.

Kentucky, too, for some time in doubt, is now decidedly, and, I think, unchangeably, ranged on the side of the Union. Missouri is comparitively quiet, and I believe cannot again be overrun by the insurrectionists. These three States of Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, neither of which would promise a single soldier at first, have now an aggregate of not less than forty thousand in the field for the Union; while of their citizens, certainly not more than a third of that number, somewhat bloody struggle of months, winter

country. An insurgent force of about fifteen hundred, for months dominating the narrow peninsular region of the counties of Accomac and Northampton, and known as the Eastern Shore of Virginia, together with some contiguous parts of Maryland, have laid down their arms, and the people there have renewed their allegiance to and accepted the protection of the old flag. This leaves no armed in-surrection north of the Potomac nor east of the Chesapeake.

closes on the Union people of Western Vir-

ginia, leaving them masters of their own

Also, we have obtained a tooting at each of the isolated points on the southern coast of Hatteras, Port Royal, Tybee Island, near Savannah, and Ship Island; and we likewise have some general accounts of popular movements in behalf of the Union in North Carolina and Tennessee. These things demonstrate that the cause of the Union is advancing steadily southward.

Since your last adjournment, Lieutenant-General Scott has retired from the head of the army. During his long life the nation has not been unmindful of his merit, yet, on calling to mind how faithfully, ably and brilliantly he has served his country for a time far back in our history, when few of the now living had been born, and thenceforward continually, I cannot but think we are still debtors. I submit, therefore, for your consideration, what further mark of recognition is due to him and to ourselves as a grateful people.

With the retirement of General Scott came the Executive duty of appointing in his stead a General-in-Chief of the Army. It was a or country was there, so far as I know, any difference of opinion as to the proper person to be selected. The retiring Chief repeatedly expressed his judgment in favor of General McClellan for the position, and in this the nation seemed to give a unanimous concurrence. The designation of Gen. McClellan is, therefore, in a considerable degree, the selection of the country as well as of the Executive, and hence there is better reason to hope that there will be given him the confidence and cordial support thus, by fair implication, promised, and without which he cannot, with so full efficiency, serve the country. It has been said that one bad general is better than two good ones, and the saying is true, if taken to mean no more than that an army is better directed by a single mind, though inferior, than by two superior ones at variance and cross purposes with each other. And the same is true in all joint operations, wherein those engaged can have none but a common end in view, and can differ only as to the choice of means.

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

It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principles of popular government-the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents.

In these documents we find the abrigdment of the existing right of suffrage, and the denial of the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers, except the Legislature, boldly advocated, with labored arguments, to prove that large control of the people in Government is the source of all po-Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a

possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despetism. It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of

liberal institutions. But there is one point with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of the Government.

It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it best that the capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them and drive them to it without their consent.

Having proceeded so, far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what we call slaves. And further, it is assumed, that whoever is once a hired laborer, is fixed in that condition for life. Now there as assumed, nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition 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 could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its own rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be relation between labor and capital, producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of the community exists within that relation.

A few men own capital, and that few avoid