

The President's Message.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives: Since your last assembling, another year of health and bountiful harvest has passed, and while it has not pleased the Almighty to bless us with a return of peace, we cannot but press on, guided by the best light He gives us, trusting that in His own time and way all will be well.

OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The correspondence touching foreign affairs which has taken place during the last year, is herewith submitted, in compliance with a request that effect made by the House of Representatives near the close of the past session of Congress. If the condition of our relations with other nations is less gratifying than it has usually been at other 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 so unnecessarily, we think, recognized the insurgents as a belligerent power, 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 befell the National arms, and which were greatly exaggerated by our 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 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 the political ambitions and apprehensions which have produced a profound agitation throughout the civilized world. In this unusual agitation we have forborne taking part in any controversies between parties and factions in any such States. We have attempted no propaganda and acknowledged no revolutions. We have left to every nation the executive conduct and arrangement of its own affairs. Our struggle has been, of course, complicated by foreign nations with reference less to their own merit than to its support, 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 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 real pleasure to acknowledge that the execution of it on the part of Her Majesty's Government has been marked with a zealous respect for the authorities of the United States and the rights of their moral and loyal citizens.

The convention with Hanover for the abolition of the *Stutt 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 recriminations between nations which have a common interest in preserving peace and friendship. In clear cases of these kinds, I have, as far as possible, heard and redressed the complaints which have been preferred by foreign 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 naval or military authorities of foreign nations, which the governments of those States are not prepared to redress. I have proposed to some of the foreign ministers thus introduced, 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. Torrens Riola*, which vessel was, in May, 1861, prevented by the commander of the blockading force off Charleston from leaving that port with a cargo, notwithstanding a similar privilege had 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.

COLONIZATION.

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 motives of prejudice, others upon patriotic principles, 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 give 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 parties in all their rights as freemen, and I have at the same time deferred 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 removal of portions of that class to their respective territories, upon conditions which shall be equally just and humane.—Liberia and Hayti are yet the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go, with a 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 these countries as to some others—not so willing as I think their interests demand. I believe, however, that their opinion is improving, and that ere long there will be an augmented and considerable emigration to both these countries from the United States. *

THE NATIONAL FINANCES.

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 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 reflection as to the best means of providing the necessary revenue without injury to business and with the least possible burdens upon labor.

The suspension of specie payment 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 the troops and other just demands be so economically or so well provided for. The judgments of Congress securing the receiptability of those notes for loans and internal duties, and making them a legal tender for other debts, has made them a universal currency, and has satisfied, partially at least, and for the time, the long felt want of an uniform circulating medium, leaving thereby to the people immense sums in discount and exchange. A return to specie payments, however, at the earliest period compatible with a due regard to all interests, 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.—Prompt and certain convertibility into coin is generally acknowledged to be the best and surest protection against them, and it is extremely doubtful whether the 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 any other mode in which the necessary provision for the public wants can be made and the advantage of a safe and uniform currency secured? I know of one which promises so certain results, and at the same time so unobjectionable as the organization of banking institutions, 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, and being uniform in appearance and security, and convertible always with certainty, 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 of the bonds would compensate the United States for the preparation and distribution of the notes and a general extension of the system 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 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 substitute a uniform national circulation for the local and various circulations, secured and unsecured, now issued by them.

The receipts into the treasury from all sources, including loans and balances from the preceding year, for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1862, were \$583,885,247 66, of which sum \$49,938,202 62 were derived from customs; \$1,735,381 73 from the direct tax; from miscellaneous sources, \$152,263 77; from miscellaneous sources, \$931,789 64; from loans in all forms, \$259,692,800 50; the remainder, \$267,065 50, was the balance from last year.—The disbursements during the same period were, for Congressional, Executive and Judicial purposes, \$50,000,000 29; for foreign intercourse, \$1,203,710 35; loans, Post Office, deficiencies, collections of revenue and other dues and charges, \$14,129,791 61; for expense under the Interior Department, \$3,192,855 52; under the War Department, \$284,368,407 38; under the Navy Department, \$12,474,589 69; for interest on the Public Debt, \$13,193,324 45, and for the payment of the Public Debt, including reimbursement of temporary loan and redemption, \$35,996,923 69; making an aggregate of \$676,841,369 25; and leaving a balance in the Treasury on the first day of July, 1862, of \$13,043,446 81. It should be observed that the sum of \$6,096,923 69 expended for reimbursements and redemption of the Public Debt, being included also in the loans made, may be properly deducted both from the receipts and expenditures, leaving the actual receipts from the year \$187,788,324 97, and the expenditures \$174,744,788 16. Other information on the subject of the finances will be given in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, to whose statements and views I invite your most considerate attention. *

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

On the 22d of September last, a proclamation was issued by the Executive, a copy of which is herewith submitted. In accordance with the purpose expressed in 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 fact, that the portion of the earth's surface owned and inhabited by the people of the United States is well adapted to the home of one national family, and it is not well adapted for two or more. Its vast extent and variety of climate and its advantages of advantage in this age to the existence of one people, whatever they might have been in former ages. Steam and telegraph, and intelligence, have brought these to be advantageous to the constitution of a united people. In the Inaugural Address, I briefly pointed out the total inadequacy of division as a remedy for differences between 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 that slavery is right and ought to be extended, while

the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the 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 country where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the legal obligations in both cases, and a few break over each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both instances after separation of the States than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately renewed without restriction, while fugitives, 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 free 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 when after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions 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. Trace through from east to west upon the line, both of 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 so as to be thickly populated, on both sides, while in nearly all its remaining length are merely surveys' 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 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 clause along with all other Constitutional obligations upon the section seceded, from which no treaty stipulation would ever be made to take it that clause. But there is another difficulty. The great interior section, bounded east by the Alleghenies, north by the British domain, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south the line where the cultivation of corn and cotton meet, and which includes part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and Territories of Dakota, Nebraska, and Colorado, has about 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 revolted States, and certainly more than one million miles of surface. 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 lying west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, being the deposit of great mineral wealth, and also the richest and most productive region in the production of provisions, grains, crosses, and all such proceeds from them, that this great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world, is certain, from statistics of the small proportion of the region which has as yet been brought into cultivation, and also from the large and rapidly increasing amount of the products. We shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented, and yet this region has no sea coast, touching no ocean anywhere. As part of one nation, its people may find, and may forever find their way to Europe by New York, to South America by New Orleans, to Asia by San Francisco. But separate our common country into nations designed by the present rebellion, and every man in this great interior region is thereby cut off from one or more of these outlets—cut, perhaps, by a physical barrier, but by embarrassments onerous to trade regulations, and this is true whether a dividing or boundary line may be fixed. Place it between the new free and the slave country, or place it south of Kentucky or north of Ohio, and still the truth remains, that none south of it can trade with any port or place north of it, and none north of it can trade with 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 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 their successors forever. True to themselves, they will ask where a line of separation shall be, but will vow rather that there shall be no such line of separation with the marginal regions, less interested in these communications, and through them to the great outside world. They do, and each one of them must have access the right of the West, without paying toll at the crossing of any national boundary. Our national strife springs not from our permanent part, but from the lands we inhabit—not from our national homestead. There is no possible severing, but will multiply and mitigate evil 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 it cost. Our strife pertains ourselves, to the passing generations of men, and it cannot without conviction, be pushed forever, but with the passing of one generation. With this view I recommend the following resolution and articles amendatory of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following articles be proposed to Legislatures or Convention 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 said Legislatures or Conventions, to be valid as parts or parts of said Constitution, namely:

Article, Every State wherein slavery now exists, which shall abolish the same therein any time before the 1st of January, A. D. 1863, shall receive compensation in bonds from the United States, bearing interest at the rate of — for each slave shown to have been therein— Said bonds to be delivered to such States by instalments or on parcel, at the completion of the abolishment, according as the same shall have been gradual or at one time, and interest shall begin to run upon any such bonds from the proper time of its delivery to said State. Afterwards, any State having received bonds as aforesaid, and afterwards introducing or making slavery therein, shall refund to the United States the bonds so received, or the value thereof, and all interest paid.

Article, All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom, by the chance 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 loyal, shall be compensated for them at the same rates as is provided for States adopting the abolishment of slavery, but in such a way that slaves shall not be twice accounted for.

Article, Congress may appropriate money, or otherwise provide for colorizing free colored persons with their own consent, at any place or places within the United States. I beg indulgence to discuss these proposed articles at some length. Without slavery the rebellion would never have existed, without slavery it could not continue. Among the friends of the Union there is a great diversity of sentiment and policy in regard to slavery, and the African race amongst us. Some would abolish it gradually and with compensation. Some would remove the free colored people from the United States, and some would retain them with us, and there are yet other minor diversities because of the diversity. We waste much strength in struggles amongst ourselves. By mutual concession we should harmonize and act together. This 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 concession, and if the plan shall be adopted, it is assumed that emancipation will follow, at least in several of the States. In the first article, the main points are first, the emancipation power, the length of time for consummating it in years, and third, 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 saves both races from the evils of sudden derangement, while most of those where habitual course of thought will be disturbed by the measure, will have passed before its consummation. They will never see it—another class will had the prospect of emancipation, but will depreciate length of time. They will feel that it gives to little too those now living as slaves, but it really gives them much. It saves them from the vagrancy and destitution which must largely attend immediate emancipation in localities where the adverse circumstances are very great. It gives assurance that their posterity shall be free forever. The plan leaves to each State choosing to abolish slavery now or at the end of the century, at any intermediate time, or by degrees extending over the whole or any part of that period, and it obliges no two States to proceed alike. It also provides for compensation and generally the mode of taking. This would seem to further mitigate the dissatisfaction of those who favor perpetual slavery, and especially those who are to receive compensation. Doubtless some of those who pay and not to receive will object, yet that the measure is both just and economical, is certain—the liberation of the slaves is the destruction of property acquired by descent and 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 introduction of this property than are the people of the north, and when we remember how unobtainably we see cotton and sugar, and share the profits of dealers in them, it may not be quite safe to say the south has been more responsible, than the north for its continuance.

If the slaveholder objects that his property is to be sacrificed, but not just that it be done at a common charge, and if not 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 economical to do so? Then let us mention the sum we have expended in the war since compensated emancipation was proposed last March, and consider whether if the measure had been promptly accepted in 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 to pay a larger one, and it is easier to pay it while we are able.

The aggregate necessary for compensated emancipation, of course would be large, but it would require no ready cash, nor the issue of bonds any faster than emancipation progressed, and these might not close before the end of the thirty-seven years. At that time we should probably have one hundred millions of people to share the burden, instead of thirty one million 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 considerably; the same ratio of increase which we have maintained on an average from 1790 to 1860, we should, in 1950, have a population of 103,208,415, and why may we not continue that ratio beyond that period, with our abundant room? Were our territory as limited as the British Isles, certainly our population could not expand as stated. We have 2,963,000 of square miles; Europe has 3,826,000 with a population averaging 732 persons to the square mile. And 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, and other causes? Is it inferior to Europe in any natural advantage? If not, then we are at some time to be as populous as Europe. When this may be, we may judge by the past and present; but much depends on whether we maintain the Union. Several of our States are above

the average of European population of 732 to the square mile.

Massachusetts has 157, Rhode Island 133, New York and New Jersey, each 80. Two other States, Pennsylvania and Ohio, are not far below, the former having 63 and the latter 59. The States already above the European average except New York, have increased in as rapid a ratio, since the passing of that point, as ever before, while not one of them is equal to some other parts of our country in natural capacity. In the aggregate we find its population and ratios of increase for several decennial periods, as follows:

Year	Population	Ratio of Inc.
In 1790	3,929,827	
In 1800	5,305,937	33 62 100
In 1810	7,239,814	46 45 100
In 1820	9,688,131	53 13 100
In 1830	10,866,020	59 30 100
In 1840	17,089,334	82 67 100
In 1850	23,193,876	55 87 100
In 1860	31,433,700	35 58 100

This shows an average decennial increase of 34 60 100 per cent, in population through seventy years. From the first to our last census, it is seen that the ratio of increase at no one of these several 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, it gives the following result:

Year	Population
In 1870	42,923,372
In 1880	56,966,216
In 1890	76,677,872
In 1900	103,208,415
In 1910	138,918,326
In 1920	186,984,335
In 1930	251,680,914

These figures show that our country may be as populous as Europe at some point between 1910 and 1930, say about 1925. Our territory at seventy three and one-half to the square mile, being of a capacity to contain 217,186,000—and we will reach this too, if we do not ourselves relinquish the chance by the folly and evils of disunion, or by long exhausting war springing from the only great element of discord among us. While it cannot be foreseen exactly how much one large example of accession, bringing lesser ones, indefinitely, would retard our population, civilization and prosperity. No one can doubt but that the extent of it would be very great and injurious. The proposed emancipation would shorten this war, precipitate peace, insure this increase in population, and proportionately increase in wealth of the country. With this we should pay all emancipation would cost, without our other debts, better than we ourselves could pay our other debts without it. If we had allowed our old National debt to run at six per cent, per annum, at simple interest, from the end of our Revolutionary struggle till to-day, without paying anything for its principal or interest, each man of us would owe less on that debt now than such man owed on it then, and this because our increase of men through the whole period has been greater than six per cent and runs faster than interest upon the debt. This time alone relieves a debtor nation, so long as its population increases faster than unpaid interest accumulates on its debt. This, however, would be no excuse for delaying payment of what is justly due, but shows the great importance of time in this connection, and the great advantage of a policy by which we should not have to pay until we number one hundred millions, what, by a different policy, we would have to pay now, when our number is thirty one million; in a word, it shows a dollar will be much harder to pay for the war than a dollar for emancipation on the proposed plan, and then the latter will cost no blood, no previous life—it will be a saving of both. As to the second article, I think it would be impracticable to return to bondage the class of persons therein contemplated. Some of them, doubtless, belong to loyal owners, and hence provision is made in this article for compensating such. The third article relates to the future of the freed people. It does not oblige, but merely authorizes Congress to aid in colorizing. It comes to no end unless by mutual consent of the voters to be departed, and the American voters through their Representatives in Congress, I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor colonization, and yet I wish to say that there is an objection against colored persons remaining in the country which is largely imaginary, if not sometimes malicious.

It is insisted that their presence would injure and displace white labor and white laborers. If there ever could be a proper time for mere argument that time is not now. In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible, through time and eternity. Is it true, then, the colored people can displace any more white labor by being free than by remaining slaves? If they stay in their own places they displace no white laborers; if they leave their old places they leave them open to white laborers; logically, there is neither more nor less of it. Emancipation, even without deportation, would probably enhance the wages of white laborers; very surely it would not reduce them. Still the customary amount of labor would still have to be performed—the freed people would surely not do more than their old proportion of it, and very probably for a time would do less, leaving an increased part to white laborers to bring their labor in greater demand, and consequently enhance the wages of it. Labor is like any other commodity in the market, increase the demand for it and you increase the price of it. Reduce the supply of black labor, by colorizing the black laborers out of the country, and by precisely so much you would increase the demand for white labor. But it is dreamed that the freed people will swarm forth and cover the whole land; will liberate make them any more numerous? If they were equally distributed among the whites of the country, there would be but one colored person to seven white. Could the one in any way greatly disturb the seven? There are many communities now having more than one free colored person to seven whites, and this without any apparent consciousness of evil from it. The District of Columbia and the States of Maryland and Delaware are all in this condition. But why should emancipation South, send the freed people North? People of any other color seldom run unless there is something to run from, and heretofore colored people have fled North to some extent, from bondage, and now perhaps from both bondage and destitution.

But if gradual emancipation and deportation be adopted, they will have neither to flee, for their own master will give them wages at least 11 new laborers will be given cured, and freed men in time will gladly give labor for wages till new homes can be found for them in congenial climes, and with people of their own blood and race. This proposition can be trusted on the mutual interest, involved, and in that event, cannot the North decide for itself whether to receive them? As practice proves more than theory in any case, has there been any irruption Northward, because of the abolishment of slavery in the District of Columbia, last spring? What I have said of the proportion of free colored persons to whites in the District of Columbia, is from the census of 1860, having no reference to persons called contrabands, nor to those made free by the Act of Congress abolishing slavery here. The plan consisting of these articles, as recommended, not but a restoration of national authority would be accepted without its adoption, nor will the war or proceedings under the proclamation of September 22d, 1862, be stayed, because of the recognition of this plan. In timely adoption, I doubt not, would bring restoration, and thereby stay both. Notwithstanding this plan, the recommendation that Congress provide by law for compensating any State which may adopt emancipation before this plan shall have been acted on, is hereby earnestly renewed. This plan is recommended as a measure, not in conclusion of, but additional to, all others for restoring and preserving the national authority throughout the Union. The subject is presented exclusively in its economic aspect. The plan will, I am confident, secure peace more speedily than can be done by force alone. It would cost less, considering the amount and manner of payment, and the times of payment, the amounts would be easier paid than will be the additional cost of the war if we rely solely on force. Is it most likely it will cost no blood at all. The plan is proposed as permanent, constitutional law. It cannot become such without the concurrence first of two-thirds of Congress, and afterwards of three-fourths of the States. If obtained now upon constitutional terms with this assurance would end the struggle and save the Union forever.

I do not forget the gravity of a paper addressed to the Congress of the nation, by its Chief Magistrate, nor do I forget that some few of you are my seniors, or that many of you have more experience than I in the conduct of public affairs, yet I trust in view of the great responsibility resting upon you, you will preserve no want of respect to yourselves, in any undue earnestness I may seem to display. It is doubted that this plan I propose, if adopted, will shorten the war, and thus lessen its expenditures of money and blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national prosperity, and perpetuate both indefinitely? Is it doubted that if Congress and the Executive can resist its adoption, the great people will respond to a mailed and earnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any other means, so certainly and so speedily secure their vital interests? We can succeed only by consent; it is not, can any of us imagine better. Object what you will, however possible, still the question remains, "can we do better?" The dangers of the quiet past are inadequate to the present. The ocean is as high with difficulty, and we must rise with the ocean. As our case is now, so we must think and act now. We must shoulder ourselves, and then we shall save our country. Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history; we, at this Congress, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light a path for our posterity; we are for the Union. The world will not forget, while we say this, that we know how to save the Union. The world knows as we do know how to save. We hold the power and hear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we insure freedom to the free and honorable alike. In what we give and what we preserve, we shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed. This could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful and glorious. Just such a way, which, if followed, the world will applaud, and God must forever bless.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
Washington December 1, 1862.

Why should not every man, woman, and child who has any disease of the system, caused by an impure state of the blood, have recourse to SCOVILLE'S BLOOD AND LIVER SYRUP, that best of all purifiers? Suffer no more, ye afflicted, but restore your liver by using SCOVILLE'S BLOOD AND LIVER SYRUP. It never fails to produce beneficial effects. DEWEES & CO., Agents, 416 and 418 Front st., San Francisco.

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Imimitable Hair Restorative.
IT IS NOT A DYE.

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Luxuriant Beauty.
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Multnomah Lodge No. 1.
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