

lea and Africa 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 some one or more of these outlets, not perhaps by a physical barrier but by embarrassment and onerous trade regulations. And this is true wherever a dividing or a boundry line may be fixed. Place it between the 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 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 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 not ask where a line of separation shall be, but will rather that there shall be no such line of separation with the marginal regions, less interested in these communications to and through them, to the great outside world. They do, and each one of them must have access to the Egypt of the West without paying toll at the crossing of any national boundary. Our national strife springs not from our permanent part—not from the lands we inhabit—not from our national homestead. There is no possible severing of this but will multiply and not mitigate evils among us. In all its adaptations and aptitudes it demands union and abhors separation. In fact it would ere long force reunion however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost. Our strife pertains to ourselves—to the passing generations of men, and it cannot, without convulsion, 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 of the United States of America, in Congress assembled 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, namely:

Article. Every State wherein slavery now exists, which shall abolish the same therein any time before the first day of January, in the year of our Lord 1900, shall receive compensation in bonds from the United States, bearing interest at the rate of [blank] for each slave shown to have been therein, said bonds to be delivered to such States by instalments or in one parcel, at the completion of the abolishment, according 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; and 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 them.

Article. All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of the war at any time before the end of the rebellion 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 abolishment of slavery, but in such a way that no slave shall be twice accounted for.

Article. Congress may appropriate money or otherwise provide for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any 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 among us. Some would abolish it gradually and with compensation. Some would remove the free colored from us and some would retain them with us; and there are yet other minor diversities. 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. 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 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 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, and it gives the 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, 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 it. 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 are to 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 it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all use cotton and sugar and share the profits of dealers in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North

for its continuance. If the slaveholder object that his property is to be sacrificed, it is not just that it be done at a common charge; and it with less money, or money more easily paid, we can preserve the benefits of the Union by this means better than we can by the war alone, is it not economical to do it? Then let us ascertain 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 sum necessary for compensated emancipation of our race would be large, but it would require no ready cash nor the issue of bonds any faster than emancipation progressed; and this might not and probably would not close before the end of 37 years. At that time we shall probably have one 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 ratio of increase which we have maintained on an average from our first national census in 1790 until 1860, we should in 1900 have a population of 103,208,415; and why may we not continue that ratio for beyond that period, with our abundant room, our broad national homestead and ample resources? Were our territory as limited as the British Isles 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 native born away.

But such is not our condition. We have 2,663,000 of square miles. Europe has 389,000, with a population averaging 734 persons to the square mile. Why may not our country at some time average as many? Is it less fertile? Has it more waste surface by mountains, rivers, lakes, deserts 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. How soon? As to when this may be we may judge by the past and present. As to when it may be, depends much on whether we maintain the Union. Several of our States are above the average of European population of a twenty-three and one half to the square mile. Massachusetts has 157, Rhode Island 138, New York and New Jersey each 89; two other great 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 a rapid ratio since the passing of that point as ever before, while no one of them is equal to some other parts of the country in natural capability. In the aggregate we find its population and ratios of increase for several decennial periods as follows: 1790—3,929,827; 1800—5,304,037; ratios of increase, 35.64 100; 1810—7,239,814; ratio 46.45 100; 1820—9,688,131; ratio 33.13 100; 1830—10,866,029; ratio 39.39 100; 1840—17,089,453; ratio 32.67 100; 1850—23,193,700; ratio 35.87 200; 1860—31,433,700; ratio 35.58 100. This shows an annual decennial increase of 34.60 100 per cent. in population, for 70 years. From our first to our last census it will be 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. Assuming that it will continue, it gives the following results: 1870—42,823,375; 1880—56,966,216; 1890—76,677,872; 1900—103,208,415; 1910—138,918,526; 1920—185,984,335; 1930—251,689,914. These figures show that our country may be as populous as Europe at some point between 1920 and 1930—say about 1925—our territory at 734 to the square mile, being of the capacity to contain 217,186,000. And we will reach this, too, if we do not relinquish the chances 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 great example of secession bringing lesser ones indefinitely, would retard our 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, insure this increase in population, and proportionately the increase of the wealth of the country. With this we should pay all emancipation would cost, without our other debts, better than we ourselves should pay our other debts without it. If we had allowed our old National Debt to run at 6 per cent. per annum at simple interest, from the end of our Revolutionary struggle till to-day, without paying anything for either principal or interest, each man of us would owe less on that debt now than each man owed on it then, and this because our increase of men through the whole period, has been more than six per cent., and runs faster than interest on the debt. Thus, 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 differ-at policy we would have to pay now, when our number is thirty-one millions. In a word, it shows that 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 precious 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 colonizing such as may consent. This ought not to be regarded as objectionable on one hand or the other, inasmuch as it comes to naught unless by mutual consent of the people to be deported, and the American voters through their representatives in Congress, cannot make it better known than it already is.

I strongly favor colonization, and yet 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 freed than by remaining slaves? If they stay in the same places they justly do 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. Thus, 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 into greater demand, and consequently enhance the value of it.

With deportation, even to a limited extent, enhancing wages to white labor is a mathematical certainty. 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 colonizing the black laborer out of the country, and by precisely so much you would increase the demand for white labor. But it is dreaded that the freed people will swarm forth and cover the whole land. Will liberation 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 whites. 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. The District has more than one free colored person to six whites, and yet in its frequent petitions to Congress, I believe, it has never presented the presence of free colored persons as one of its grievances.

But why should emancipation send the freed people north? People of any color seldom run, unless there is something to run from. 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 from, for their own masters will give them wages, at least till new laborers can be procured, and freed men in this case will 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 decline of itself whether to receive them again? As practice proves more than theory, in any case has there been any irration 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 contrabanders to those made free by the act of Congress abolishing slavery here. The plan consisting of these articles is recommended, not by a restoration of national authority would be accepted without its adoption, nor will the war or proceedings under the proclamation of Sept. 22, 1862 be stayed because of the recommendation of this plan. Its timely adoption, I doubt not would bring restoration and thereby say both. Notwithstanding this plan, the recommendation that Congress provide by this law for compensating any State that may adopt emancipation, before this plan shall have been acted upon, is hereby earnestly renewed. Such would only be an advance part of the plan, and the same arguments apply to both. This plan is recommended as a measure not in conclusion but in addition to all others, for restoring and preserving the national authority throughout the Union. The subject is presented exclusively in its economical aspect. The plan will, I am confident, secure peace more speedily than can be done by force alone, while it would cost less, considering the amount and manner of payment, and the times of payment. The amount would be easier paid than will be the additional cost of the war, if we rely solely on force. It is most likely it would 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. The requisite three-fourths of the States, if obtained now upon constitutional terms, with this assurance, would end the struggle now and save the Union forever. I do not forget the gravity of a paper addressed to the Congress of the nation by the Chief Magistrate of the nation; 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 me, you will perceive no want of respect to yourselves in any undue earnestness I may seem to display. Is it doubted, then, that the 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 Committee secure its adoption, the good people will respond to a united and earnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any other means so certainly or so speedily assure these vital objects? We can succeed only by concert. It is not, can any of us imagine better, but can any of us do better. Object what and howsoever possible, still the question recurs—can we do better? The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall serve our country. Fellow citizens we cannot escape history. We of this Congress will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trail through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. We say 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 we do know how to save. We hold the power and bear 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 surely save or surely lose the last best hope of the earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful and generous. Just such a way, if followed, the world will applaud and God must forever bless.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.  
WASHINGTON, December 1st, 1862.

## THE STATE REPUBLICAN.

The Struggle of to-day is not altogether for to-day, it is for the vast future also.

EUGENE CITY, DECEMBER 20, 1862.

**THE "RELIABLE GENTLEMAN."**—The Statesman is now running opposition to the army correspondents, and credits its gossip, slander and lies to "our informant," "reliable gentleman," "intelligent contraband," etc. Last week it had been informed by one of these reliable that he had "been told" of a man who forged a note in Illinois, and afterwards ran off to this country, and he—the "reliable gentleman" or "intelligent contraband"—expected it was the publisher of this paper. Old grumpy gossip published it, and added that she felt quite certain that it was true. We pronounced it false last week, and dared the "informant" to make any such statement; and yet the old thing repeats the insinuation, and further states that she "has been informed that it is said that there is reason to believe that he forged a letter." That's right, granny; you've struck your legitimate business now. Hunt up all the little neighborhood gossip, and circulate it. You can succeed in that better than in producing arguments. As to forging letters we have no experience in that line, but we do know that your "informants" did forge a letter, and do not wonder that they should suppose that somebody else had been following their example.

**OX THE 9TH INST.**—A man named "Spanish Joe" was killed at the Dalles, by a Spanish woman. He was drunk, and on attempting to force his way into the house she shot him with a revolver.

**COLA.**—From the Mountaineer we learn that on the 9th inst. the steamer Idaho had to cut her way through the ice from the Dalles down to Crate's Point. The citizens of Lewiston have been putting up ice lately.

**TO DISTRICT CLERKS.**

I have prepared blanks to be used in making out your district reports, as required by the new School Law, which will be furnished gratis to those calling on me for the same. The reports must be filed in my office by the first Monday in March.

The new School Law appears in full in the Statesman of the 8th inst, and I would suggest to you the necessity of procuring a copy of the Law where practicable, for the use of the District, as I have not pamphlet copies of the law, to furnish more than half the District's copy.

J. B. UNDERWOOD,  
Supt. Com. Schools.

**MASONIC.**—The following are the officers elected for the ensuing Masonic year, by Eugene City Lodge, No. 11, A. F. & A. M.: A. A. Smith, W. M.; J. G. Gray, S. W.; C. C. Cromer, J. W.; E. F. Skinner, Treas.; J. B. Underwood, Sec'y; P. G. Lemley, Tyler.

## LATEST EASTERN NEWS.

Washington, Dec. 5.—In the House, Morrill, of Vermont, offered the following resolution: Resolved, That at no time since the existence of the rebellion, have the forces at and material in the hands of the Government been more ample and abundant, for the speedy termination of the war, than at the present moment, and that it is the duty of loyal Americans, regardless of minor differences of opinion, and especially it is the duty of every officer and soldier, and of those in every branch of the Government, including the legislature, cordially to strike the assassins at once who have conspired to destroy our experiment of prosperity and freedom, of which we are justly proud at home and abroad, and which we stand pledged to perpetuate forever.

The resolution was agreed to; ayes, 145; William J. Allen, of Illinois, alone voting in the negative.

Washington, 6.—Strenuous efforts are being made by parties in Western Virginia for the passage of Senate Bill, by the House, admitting Western Virginia into the Union.

Holly Springs, 4.—Our army is pushing forward to Oxford. The rebels destroyed the track and bridges as much as possible, and our progress southward is comparatively slow.

New York, 6.—The rebel account of capturing our gunboat Ellis, in New River, is incorrect. She grounded, and was blown up to prevent her falling into rebel hands.

Chicago, 6.—The Texas Republican, of the 1st, says that forty-two men were executed for belonging to a society whose object was the surrender of the northern part of Texas to the Federalists.

Washington, 6.—High authority states that the President has no knowledge of the Southern peace proposals, brought by Barney, nor has he received any communication from Fernando Wood. Dispatch from Army of Potomac says that recent reconnoissances discovered that no attempt will be made by the enemy to hold the section at mouth of Rappahannock, they having entirely evacuated that country with exception of small scouting parties. Burnside has issued an order authorizing the dismissal of officers guilty of neglect of duty, who allowed their commands to be surprised by enemy.

Cairo, 6.—Memphis papers just received, says that Gen. Hovey's expedition landed at Friersville, marched directly on Grenada, Miss., and took possession of that place. Last Monday a large number of citizens fled in consternation. The proprietors of the Appeal moved their establishment to Marietta, Ga. Before leaving, one hundred ones and from fifteen to twenty locomotives were burned.

New York, 6.—The Ocean Queen, from Aspinwall, Nov. 25th, arrived. There had been a tremendous gale at Aspinwall, lasting three

days, during which the British brig Bolivar and the steamer Avon were wrecked. No lives were lost. The U. S. brig Bainbridge was abandoned by the officers and crew, after throwing overboard guns and stores. All communication between Panama and Aspinwall was interrupted—the railroad being under water, but it was expected that it would be in running order by the 26th, as the water was subsiding.

San Francisco, Dec. 8.—The steamer Golden Age arrived on Saturday night.

St. Louis, Dec. 9.—A dispatch from the battle field near Fayetteville, (Ark.) dated the 8th says: Gen. Herron's force en route to reinforce Gen. Blunt, met the enemy, yesterday, at Prairie Grove, and gained a decisive victory over them. The enemy were 24,000 strong, divided into four divisions—under Marmitake, Frost, Parsons, and Rains—all under Hindman, and supported by 18 pieces of artillery. The enemy had flanked Blunt's position at Cave Hill, and made a sudden dash on Herron to prevent him from uniting with Blunt. Herron's force consisted of six regiments of infantry, and two battalions of cavalry, in all about 7,000 men, with 24 pieces of artillery. The battle raged from 10 a. m. till dark, and was desperately fought. Our artillery drove the enemy from two strong positions, and kept their overwhelming numbers at bay. The 20th Wisconsin captured one rebel battery of four heavy guns, but were forced to abandon it under a murderous fire. The 19th Iowa afterwards took the same battery, and fought desperately to retain it, but were also obliged to yield it. At 4 p. m. Gen. Blunt arrived with 5,000 men and a strong force of artillery. He attacked the enemy in the rear; they made a tremendous effort to capture his batteries but were repulsed with terrible slaughter. We held the whole field at dark, and before 9 o'clock the rebels were in full retreat over the Boston Mountains. Our loss in killed and wounded is about 600; that of the rebels 1,500, by their own admission.

Washington, Dec. 11.—At 6 o'clock this morning 143 Federal guns opened on Fredericksburg. Up to the latest information the fire continued uninterrupted. The destruction of the city is certain. The enemy opened fire at 7 o'clock, which, up to this time, has been of no serious damage. Franklin's division is crossing three miles below the city having constructed bridges with but slight opposition. Our gunboats are shelling the enemy fifteen miles down the river.

Dispatches from headquarters of Potomac say there has been considerable change in the position of several of the army corps within the past few days. It is said that the enemy had 180 guns in position on the south side of the Rappahannock.

The steamer Eagle, with Havana dates to the 6th, has arrived. The position of the French at Vera Cruz and Orizaba, is reported as very critical. They having no fodder for their cattle, and no fresh food for the troops, who suffer from dysentery. The force at Jalapa is cut off from supplies from Vera Cruz. The Mexicans are actively fortifying Puebla and the city of Mexico, and the roads between them, and they also intend flooding the valley, rendering the city wholly inaccessible.

In the House yesterday the Senate bill for the admission of Western Virginia into the Union, passed by 95 to 35. It provides for submitting a constitution to the people for ratification.

Nashville, Dec. 9.—Gov. Johnson has issued a proclamation providing for the election of Representatives for the 9th and 10th Congressional districts.

Headquarters of Army of Potomac, Dec. 11, 9 a. m.—Everything last night was confusion. To-day was the time fixed for crossing the Rappahannock. During the night pontoons were conveyed to the river, and artillery placed in front of Fredericksburg. At three this morning the construction of three bridges commenced in front of the city, and when they were about half completed, the enemy opened a murderous infantry fire from houses on the river bank, driving the engineers from the bridges; several were killed and wounded. At six o'clock Gen. Burnside ordered all guns to open on the city. The bombardment which has continued to the present time is terrible. The city is on fire and its destruction is certain. At 7 o'clock the enemy opened with their heavy guns from their works, but no serious damage has been done yet. Gen. Franklin's division crossed the river three miles below. The concentrated fire of our guns on the city, has the effect of driving the enemy back from their batteries, and the work on the bridge commenced again.

The troops are all under arms near the river, prepared to rush over as soon as the bridges are completed. On an attempt being made to finish bridges the rebel infantry again opened fire, and also their artillery, which fired the bridges in several places. Burnside ordered the concentrated fire of every gun upon the city, under cover of which it is believed bridges can be finished. Our killed and wounded do not exceed fifty.

Philadelphia, Dec. 11.—Nashville dispatches say, rebels under Johnson, Bragg, Chatham, Forrest and Morgan, advanced and appeared in great force. A battle is expected near Harpeth 20 miles south of Nashville. Reinforcements are being hurried forward. Every point will be strengthened. The recent rebel victory at Hartsville seems to have emboldened them.

St. Louis, Dec. 11.—Gen. Blunt telegraphs that the rebels have crossed the Arkansas river. The enemy's loss 2,000, among whom are five Colonels; our loss 700.

New York, Dec. 11.—The pirate Alabama was at Martinique Nov. 17th. The Federal gunboat San Jacinto arrived same forenoon, and went outside to wait for her; but she escaped the next night.

New York, 12.—A Washington dispatch says that private advisers, received last night from Fredericksburg, say that the greater portion of Franklin's division crossed the Rappahannock in safety, throwing out packets to those of Hooker's at Fredericksburg. Although the city is on fire in several places it is thought most of the buildings will be saved. The enemy skirmished all day with Franklin's advance, but fell back gradually, their movements being insignificant. Gen. Pack telegraphed, last night, that we are in full possession of Fredericksburg. Our troops are crossing rapidly. The army will be over and ready to engage the enemy to-morrow.

The Senate Post Office Committee have authorized their Chairman to report in favor of a proposition for taking soundings for a telegraph from San Francisco to the Amour river.