

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

(Concluded from first page.)

al family, and it is not well adapted for two or more. Its vast extent, and its variety of climate and productions, are of advantage in this age to the existence of one people, whatever they might have been in former ages. Steam, telegraphs and intelligence have brought these to be an advantage, and combination of a united people. In the Inaugural Address, I briefly pointed out the total inadequacy of disunion as a remedy for the differences between the people of the two sections. I did so in language which I can not improve, and which, therefore, I beg to repeat:

"One section of our country believes slavery right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the African slave trade are each as well enforced perhaps as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the 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 sections than before, and the foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction to one section, 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 face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and when after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old 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 between the free and slave country, and we shall find a little more than one-third of its length are rivers easy to be crossed, and populated—or soon to be populated—thickly upon both sides; while in nearly all its remaining length are merely surveyors' lines, over which people may walk back and forth, without any consciousness of their presence. No part of this line can be made any more difficult to pass by writing it down on paper or parchment as a national boundary. The net of separation, if it does come, gives up on the part of the seceding section the fugitive slave clause, together with all other constitutional obligations upon the section seceded from; while I should expect no treaty stipulation would ever be made to take its place. But there is another difficulty: the great interior section bounded east by the Alleghanies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south by the line along which 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 the territories of Dacotah, Nebraska, and a part of Colorado, have above ten millions of people, and will have fifty millions within fifty years. If not prevented by any political folly or mistake, it contains more than one-third of the country owned by the revolted States, certainly more than one million of miles surface. When one-half as populous as Massachusetts already is, it would have more than seventy-five millions of people. A glance at the map shows that, territorially speaking, it is the great body of the Republic; the other parts are but marginal borders to it; the magnificent region sloping west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific being the deposit of great mineral wealth, and also the richest undeveloped region in the production of provisions, grains, grasses, and all which proceeds from them.

This great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Consider the statistics, the small population of the region which has as yet been brought into cultivation, and also the large and rapidly increasing amount of its products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented, and yet this region has no sea coast, touching no ocean anywhere. As part of one nation, its people now may find and may forever find their way to Europe by New York, to South America and Africa by New Orleans, and to Asia by San Francisco. But separate our common country into 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 embarrassments and onerous trade regulations. And this is true wherever a dividing or boundary line may be fixed. Place it between the now slave and free country, or place it south of Kentucky or north of Ohio, and still the truth remains that none north of it can trade to any part or place south of it, except upon terms dictated by a government foreign to theirs.

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 any one of them, and all of right be-

long to that people, and to their successors forever. True to themselves, they will not ask where a line of separation shall be, but will vow rather that there shall be no such line of separation. Nor are 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 their Egypt of the West, without paying toll at any national boundary.

Our national strife springs not from our permanent part, not from the lands we inhabit, but 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 hushed forever with the passing of one generation.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION RECOMMENDED—SLAVERY MAY BE ABOLISHED BY THE FIRST OF JANUARY, 1900, WITH COMPENSATION TO LOYAL OWNERS.

With this view, I recommend the following resolution and articles, amendatory to the Constitution of the United States: "Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures or Conventions of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which Articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures or Conventions, to be valid as part or parts of the said Constitution, 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, by the eighth census of the United States. Said amount in 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 or bonds only from the proper time of its delivery as aforesaid and afterwards. Any State having received a bond or bonds as aforesaid, and afterwards introducing slavery or making slavery therein, shall refund to the United States the bonds so received, or the value thereof, and all interest paid thereon.

"Article. All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom, by the chances of war, at any time before the end of the rebellion, shall be forever free; but all owners of such slaves who shall not have been disloyal, shall be compensated for them at the rates as is provided for States adopting the 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 place or places within the United States."

ARGUMENT FOR PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

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 of policy in regard to slavery and the African race amongst us. Some would abolish it suddenly and without compensation; some would abolish it gradually and with compensation; some would remove the free people from us, and some would retain them with us; and there are yet other minor diversities. Because of these diversities, we waste much strength in struggles amongst ourselves. By mutual concession, we 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 concessions. 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; second, the length of time for consummating 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 deprecate the length of time; they will feel that it gives too little to the now living slaves, but it really gives them much. It saves them from the vagrant destitution which must largely attend immediate emancipation in localities where the temptations 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, 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 just and economical, is certain. The liberation of the slaves is the destruction of property acquired by descent and purchase, the same as any other. 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 class of 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, therefore, the common object is this, and property is to be sacrificed, is it not just that it be done at a common charge? and if with less money, or money now 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 by some of the slave States, the same sum would not have done more to close the war than has been otherwise effected. 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 course, would be large, but it would require no ready cash, nor the issue of bonds any faster than emancipation progressed. This might not and probably would not close before the end of the thirty-seven years, and at that time we shall probably have about 100,000,000 of people to share the burden, instead of 31,000,000, as now. And not only so, but the increase of our population may be expected to continue for a long time after that period as rapidly as before, because our territories will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. At the same ratio 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 in that ratio far 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 2,963,000 of square miles; Europe has but 389,000 square miles, with a population averaging 73 1/2 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, and how soon this may happen we may judge of 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 the European population of 73 1/2 to the square mile. Massachusetts has 157; Rhode Island, 133; New York and New Jersey, each, 80. Also, two other great States—Pennsylvania and Ohio—are not far below, the former being 63 and the latter 69. The States already above the European average, except New York, have increased in as rapid a ratio since passing that point as ever before, while no one of them is equal to some other parts of our country in national capacity for sustaining a dense population. Taking the nation in the aggregate, we find its population and ratio of increase for several decennial periods as follows:

the great advantage of a policy by which we shall not have to pay until we number 100,000,000, what, by a different policy, we would have to pay now, when our number is 31,000,000. 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 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, in a property sense, belong to loyal owners, and hence provision is made in this article for compensation. The third article relates to the future of freed people; it does not obligate, merely authorizes Congress to aid in colonizing such as may consent. This ought not to be regarded as objectionable on one hand or another, inasmuch as it comes to nought, unless by mutual consent of the people to be deported 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 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 surely 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, that colored people can displace any more white labor by being free than by remaining slaves? If they stay in their own places, they jostle 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 labor, and very surely 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, and bring their labor into greater demand, and consequently enhance the wages of it. With deportation, even to a limited extent, enhancing wages to white labor is mathematically certain. 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 will increase the demand for wages for white labor. But it is dreaded that the freed people will swarm North and cover the whole land. Will liberation make them any more numerous? Equally distributed among the whites of the whole country, and there would be but one colored 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 States of Maryland and Delaware, are all in this condition. This District has more than one free colored to six white persons, 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 in the South 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. Their own masters will give them wages, at least till new laborers can be procured, 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 herself whether to receive them again? 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 the 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.

These figures show our country may be as populous as Europe at some point between 1920 and 1930—say about 1925—our territory, at 73 1/2 to a square mile, being of capacity to contain 217,186,000. We will reach this, too, if we do not ourselves relinquish the chances, by the folly and evils of disunion, or by a long, exhausting war, springing from the only great element of discord among us. While it cannot be foreseen exactly how much one huge example of secession, bringing lesser ones indefinitely, would retard the population, civilization and prosperity, no one can doubt that the extent of it would be very great and injurious. The proposed emancipation would shorten this war and perpetuate peace, insure increase in population, and proportionally the increase in 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 six per cent. per annum, 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 greater than six per cent., and has run faster than interest upon the debt. Thus, time alone relieves a debtor nation, so long as its population increases faster than unpaid interest accumulates on its debt. This fact would be no excuse for delaying payment of what is justly due, but shows the great importance of time in this connection, and

the plan consisting of these articles is 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 recommendation of this plan.

Its 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 upon, is hereby earnestly renewed. Such would only be an advanced part of the plan, and the same arguments apply to both. This plan is recommended as a means 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 economical aspect. The plan will, I am confident, insure peace more speedily than can be done by force alone, while it would cost less, considering the amounts, manner and times of payment, and the amounts would be easier paid than will be the additional cost of the war, if we rely solely on force. It is most likely, very likely, it would cost no blood at all. The plan is proposed as a permanent constitutional law, and it cannot become so without the concurrence, first, of two-thirds of Congress, and afterwards three-fourths of the States, if obtained on constitutional terms, would be an assurance which would end the struggle now, and save the Union forever.

In 1790, 3,929,827.

Year.	Population.	Ratio of Increase.
1800	5,305,937	35 62-100
1810	7,239,814	36 45-100
1820	9,688,131	33 13-100
1830	10,866,020	33 49-100
1840	17,089,453	32 67-100
1850	23,193,876	35 87-100
1860	31,433,700	35 58-100

This shows an average decennial increase of 34 60-100 per cent. in population through 70 years.

From our first to our last census taken, it is seen that the ratio of increase at no one of these seven periods is either two per cent. below or two per cent. above the average, thus showing how inflexible, and consequently how reliable, the law of increase in our case is. Assuming that it will continue, it gives the following results:

Year.	Population.
1870	42,323,372
1880	56,966,216
1890	86,677,872
1900	103,208,415
1910	139,918,526
1920	186,984,335
1930	251,680,914

THE PROCLAMATION TO BE CARRIED OUT.

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GRAVITY OF THE QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

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 are my seniors, or that many of you have more experience than I have 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 expenditure of money and blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national property, and perpetuate both indefinitely? Is it doubted that if Congress and the Executive can secure its adoption, the good people will not respond to a united and earnest appeal from us? Can we, then, 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 save our country.

Fellow-citizens: We cannot escape history. We of 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 us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generations. We say we are for the Union. The world knows 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, honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve, we shall nobly save or meanly 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 which, if followed, the world will applaud, and God must forever bless.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.  
WASHINGTON, December 1st, 1862.

**CHRISTMAS PRESENTS!**  
**FOR EVERYBODY**  
**Toys, Yankee**  
**Notions, Candies,**  
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**At the very Lowest Prices to be found**  
AT  
**M A BRENTANO'S**  
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Dec. 3, 1862. td

**County Treasurer's Office**  
- At office of -  
**E. F. RUSSELL, Deputy,**  
With B. F. Dowell, Esq.

State of Oregon—County of Jackson.  
**TAX-PAYERS** are hereby notified that the books are now ready. All persons having taxes assessed against them in said county are requested to pay such taxes to the Treasurer of said county (or his Deputy), at his office in Jacksonville, before the First Day of January next.  
**E. S. MORGAN, Treasurer.**  
**E. F. RUSSELL, Deputy.**  
Jacksonville, Dec. 3, 1862. 5t

**I. D. HAINES & BRO.**  
**Are now closing out**  
**their entire stock of Dry**  
**Goods, Groceries and**  
**Provisions, at the Very**  
**Lowest Rates,**  
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Give us a call, at the Post Office Building, corner of California and Oregon streets. April 19, 1862. 14q

**Harness and Saddlery.**  
THE undersigned would respectfully inform the citizens of Jackson and adjoining counties that he has on hand and will manufacture to order **All Kinds of Saddlery and Harness**, such as Heavy Draught Harness (long and short top), Concord Harness, Buggy Harness (double and single), Spanish Saddles, trees and rigging complete; Ladies' Saddles, Jockey Saddles, Saddle-bags, Bridles, Surcingle, Halters, Spurs, Currycombs, Whips, Whip-lashes, and all other articles usually found in a first-class stock of **SADDLERY.**

**ALL WORK WARRANTED.**  
Store in "Sentinel" Building, California street. **HENRY JUDGE.**  
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