

time hostilities were commenced, that a simultaneous attack was to be made upon the white settlements by all the tribes between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains.

The State of Minnesota has suffered great injury from the Indian war. A large portion of her territory has been depopulated and severe losses sustained by the destruction of property. The people of that State manifest a great anxiety for the removal of the tribes beyond the limits of the State, as a guarantee against more hostilities. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs will furnish full details.

I submit for your special consideration, whether our Indian system shall not be remodelled. Many wise and good men have been impressed with the belief that this can be profitably done.

I submit a statement of the proceedings of the Commissioners, which shows the progress that has been made in the intercourse of constructing the Pacific Railroad; and this suggests the earliest completion of the road and also the favorable action of Congress on the projects now pending before them for enlarging the capacities of the great canals in New York and Illinois, as being of vital and rapidly increasing importance to the whole nation, especially to the vast internal region hereinafter to be mentioned at some greater length. I propose having prepared and laid before you at an early day some interesting and valuable statistical information upon this subject. The military and commercial importance of enlarging the Illinois and Michigan Canal and improving the Illinois River is presented in the report of Col. Webster to the Secretary of War and now transmitted to Congress.

I respectfully claim your attention to carry out the provisions of the act of Congress of the 15th of May last.

I have caused the Department of Agriculture of the United States to be organized. The commission informs me that within the period of a few months this Department has established an extensive system of correspondence and exchanges, both at home and abroad, which promises to effect highly beneficial results in the development of a correct knowledge of recent improvements in agriculture, in the introduction of new products and in the collection of agricultural statistics of the different States; also that it will soon be prepared to distribute largely seeds, cereals, plants and cuttings, and has already published and liberally diffused much valuable information, in anticipation of a more elaborate report which will in due time be furnished, embracing some valuable tests in chemical science now in progress in the laboratory.

The creation of this Department was for the more immediate benefit of a large class of our most valuable citizens and I trust that the liberal basis upon which it has been organized will not only meet your approbation, but that it will realize at no distant day all the fondest interests of its most sanguine friends and become the fruitful source of advantage to all our people.

On the 22d day of Sept. last a proclamation was issued by the Executive, a copy of which is herewith submitted. In accordance with the purpose expressed in the second paragraph of that paper I now respectfully recall your attention to what may be called compensated emancipation.

A nation may be said to consist of its Territory, its people and its laws. The Territory is the only part which is of certain durability. One generation passeth away and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth for ever. It is of the first importance to duly consider and estimate this ever enduring part. That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States is well adapted to the home of one national family and it is not well adapted for two or more. Its vast extent and its variety of climate and productions are of advantage in the age of our people, whatever they might have been in former ages. Steam and 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 existing 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 slavery is 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 respects after separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in 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 in respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them.

Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and 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 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 crossed and populated, or soon to be populated thickly upon both sides, while in nearly all its remaining length are merely surveyor's lines over which people may walk back and forth without any consciousness of their presence. No part of this line can be made any more difficult to pass by writing it down on paper or parchment as a national boundary.

The fact of separation, if it comes, gives up, on the part of the seceding section, the fugitive slave clause along with all other Constitutional obligations upon the section seceded from, while I should expect no treaty stipulation would ever be made to take its place.

But there is another difficulty. The great interior section, bounded east by the Alleghenies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains and south by the line along which the cultivation of corn and cotton meets and which includes part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota and the Territories of Dakota, 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 surface miles—one half as populous as Massachusetts is already, it would have more than seventy-five millions of people. A glance at the map shows that, territorially speaking, it is the great body of the Republic. The other parts are but marginal borders to it. The magnificent region sloping west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific being the deepest, and also the richest undeveloped resources 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. Let us ascertain from the statistics the small proportion of the region which has as yet been brought into cultivation, and also the large and rapidly increasing amount of its products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented; and yet this region has no 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, 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 embarrassing and onerous trade regulations; and this is true wherever a dividing or boundary line may be fixed. Place it between the now free and slave country, or place it south of Kentucky, or north of Ohio, and still the truth remains that no 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 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.

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 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 serving of this but would multiply and not mitigate the evils among us. In all its adaptation and attributes it demands union and abhors separation. In fact it would ere long force re-union, however much of blood and treasure the separation might 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. With this view I recommend the following resolutions 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 at any time before the first day of January, in the year of our Lord 1900, shall receive compensation from the United States, bringing interest at the rate of — for each slave shown to have been therein by the eighth census of the United States; said bonds to be delivered to such States by installments or in one parcel at the completion of the abolishment, accordingly as the same shall have been gradual or at one time within such State; and interest shall begin to run upon any such bond only from the proper time of its delivery, as aforesaid, 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 thereon.

ARTICLE—All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of the war at any time before the end of the rebellion shall be for ever 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 the 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. 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 great diversity of sentiment and 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 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. 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 circumstances are very great, it gives the inspiring assurance that their posterity shall be free for ever.

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 of 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 both just and economical is certain.

The liberation of the slaves is utter 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 dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance. If, then, for the accomplishment of any object, his property is to be sacrificed, is it not just that it should be done at a common charge? And if with less money, or money now easily paid, we can better preserve the benefits of the Union by this additional means than we can by the war alone, is it not economical to do it?

Let us consider it, then. Let us ascertain the sum we have expended in the war since compensated emancipation was proposed last March; and consider whether, if 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 done. If so, the measure would save money and, in that view, would be a prudent and economical measure. Certainly it is not so easy to pay something as it is to pay nothing; but it is easier to pay a large sum than it is to pay a larger one; and it is easier to pay it while we are able. The aggregate sum necessary for compensated emancipation, of course, would be large, but it would require no ready cash or bondsman, any farther than emancipation progresses. This might not, and

probably would not close before the end of the thirty-seven years. At that time we shall probably have one hundred millions of paper 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 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 1780 until 1860, we should in 1900 have a population of 103,206,415; and why may we not continue that ratio far beyond that period? Our abundant room, our broad national homestead, is ample resource. Were our territory as limited as are the British Isles certainly our population could not expand as stated. Instead of receiving 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 359,000, with a population averaging 73 1-4 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 national advantage? If, then, we are at some time to be as populous as Europe, how soon? As to when this may be, we may judge of past and present. As to when it will be, depends much on whether we maintain the Union.

Several of our States are now above the average of the European population of 73 1-4 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 having 63 and the latter 59. 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 aggregate, we find its population and ratio of increase for several decadal periods as follows: 1790, 3,929,827; 1800, 5,305,937; ratio of increase 35 (2-100 per cent. 1810, 7,239,814; ratio 38 45-100. 1820, 9,638,131; ratio 33 13-100. 1830, 10,866,020; ratio 33 49-100. 1840, 17,089,453; ratio 32 67-100. 1850, 23,183,876; ratio 35 87-100. 1860, 31,833,700; ratio 35 58-100. This shows an average decadal increase of 34 70-100 per cent. in population through the seventy years. From our first to our last census taken, it is seen that the ratio of increase at no one of the 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 result: 1870, 42,323,372; 1880, 56,966,216. 1890, 76,677,872; 1900, 103,206,415; 1910, 138,918,526; 1920, 186,984,335; 1930, 251,680,914.

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 73 1-4 to the square mile, being of capacity to contain 217,186,000; and we will reach this, too, if we do not ourselves 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 huge example of secession—bringing lesser ones indefinitely—would retard the population, civilization and property, no one can doubt that the extent of it would be very great and injurious.

The proposed emancipation would shorten this war, perpetuate peace, insure this increase in population and proportionably increase the wealth of the country. With this we should pay all the emancipation would cost. If we had allowed our old national debt to run at 6 per cent. per annum simple interest from the end of our revolutionary struggle till to-day without paying anything on 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 6 per cent. and has run faster than the 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 the payment of what is greatly due; but shows the great importance of time in this connection—the great advantage of a policy by which we shall not have to pay until we number one hundred million, 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 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 compensating such.

The third article relates to the future of freed people; it does not oblige, merely authorizes Congress to aid in colonizing such as many consent. This might not be regarded as objectionable on the one hand or on the other, inasmuch as it comes to nought unless by the mutual consent of the people to be deported and the American voters through their representatives in Congress.