cause of its weakness arising out of the radical feuds and divisions among the people of the Northern States—that the city of New York was with the South and would set aside in the event of a war to maintain the Union; that such a war would be regarded as a war of the abolitionists of New England upon the rights of the south, and that the Northwest would be on our side; that her trade was with us, and of course, as was implied in the assertion, she would desert her government to follow her trade; that the amount of her traffic with us was the measure of her patriotism. But a bare recital of these representations is a sufficient contradiction of their truth. The city of New York alone has furnished more troops to sustain the government than the whole State of South Carolina has furnished to destroy it. And the heaviest blows upon the base attempts to ruin the country have been struck by the patriotic men and strong arms of the great Northwest. There have been no divisions in the loyal States weakening the power of the government. Never have their people been so nearly unanimous in anything as they have been and are now in the vigorous prosecution of this war for the suppression of the rebellion, and the army of more than a half a million of men could be doubled in less than ninety days, were it necessary to insure their success.

3. It was represented to you and repeated from day to day, that the Northern people were cowards—that they would not fight—that one Southern man could whip five of them—that the better class among them were opposed to the war and would not enlist in it—that "none but mercenary soldiers, who enlisted to war on their rations, not on man—fellows who do not know the breech of a musket from its muzzle, and had rather filch a handkerchief than fight an enemy in manly, open combat," would be found in the Union army—that in the event of a war, the North was not prepared—that the South was—that her secession ordinances were our notes of preparation—that we had an army of one hundred thousand men, well armed and equipped, and ready to seize upon the national capital, and up on our entire northern boundary, at the bidding of Jefferson Davis.

As a complete refutation of all this vain and foolish boasting, we may aim by refer to Norfolk, Yorktown, Newbern, Port Royal, Fort Pickens, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Roanoke Island, Pea Ridge, Mill Spring, Island No. 10, New Orleans and Corinth, with the other strongholds that have been taken by the federal forces, and most of the Atlantic and Gulf coast and the Mississippi river. And the authorities of the government now "hold, occupy and possess the forts and arsenals and and other public property of the United States," with only a few unimportant exceptions.

4. It was said that the government had neither money nor credit, and could not there re suppress rebellion, and this declaration was published and republished daily in our own newspapers and in the European journals in the interest of this Southern raid upon the best hopes of the country. The idea of raising and equipping one hundred thousand men for the national defence, at an annual cost of seventy-five or one hundred millions of dollars, was scoffed at as ridiculous and absurd; and even if such an army should be raised and equipped, it was boastingly asserted that the "chances were fifty to one that this grand army would be destroyed and its property captured by the forces of the Confederate States." That another like army, involving a like expense and destined for the same fate, would have to be raised, and this the government could not do, "its credit being deeply below par and growing worse every day."

It is a fact, and perhaps with truth, that on the 4th of March 1861, the credit of the government was below par—that it had to pay twelve per cent for money, and that its six per cent stock had fallen from 12½ to 83. It will be remembered that it had been in the hands of plunderers for the preceding four years—of men who, although sworn to support the constitution of the United States, had directed and devoted their whole energies to its destruction; and it is not a matter of surprise that its credit had become suspected when its property had been placed beyond its reach and in the hands of its enemies, and its own sworn supporters, in its own household, were its bitterest enemies.

But notwithstanding all the disadvantages that surrounded the government a year ago, look what it has done in twelve months towards the restoration of its credit and the development of its resources and power. It has raised, equipped and sent forth into the field an army of over six hundred thousand men. It has improvised a navy that may readily be made equal to any emergency that may arise out of its domestic troubles, or by the wicked interference of any of the Powers of Europe, and its credit is better and stands upon a firmer and more enduring basis than at any other period in its history. It can borrow all the money it may wish at a rate not greater than five per cent. It is believed to be easier for it to borrow one hundred millions now, at five per cent, than it was to borrow fifty millions a year ago at ten per cent. Its credit increased with the increased magnitude of the war. No nation has ever before encountered so formidable a civil war, in the midst of which it has grown more powerful in all the means for a successful termination of the contest. History presents no parallel. And it has accomplished all this within its own limits and by the energy and patriotism of its own citizens.

And what citizen of the United States can contemplate this picture and not feel proud of his glorious country? It has presented this picture to the world, and yet it has not called forth half of its energy or its mighty power. It has given the nations a warning of what is in the future, and they are not blind to the signs of the times.

This rebellion seems to have waked up this nation to a just sense of its high mission. We had heard this wild cry of secession for years, and stood spellbound at its growing assumptions and increasing strength. It seemed to paralyze the arm of the nation. It had an immunity entirely incomprehensible. It dared to become a part and parcel of the very government whose chief end and aim it was to destroy. The government was powerless to punish its insolence. The cry was, "force must never be used to preserve a government formed by the consent of the governed." Blood can never be shed to put down a rebellion in a republican government, lest you destroy that government.

But the assault on Fort Sumter aroused the nation to its consciousness, dissolved the spell by which it had been bound and infused into the government a life and vigor never before displayed.

5. You were also told that the object of the government in the prosecution of the war was to subjugate our people, plunder our country and set free our slaves. And officers highest in command in the armies of the South, published in general orders or proclamations, that some of the forces of the United States had inscribed upon their banners "beauty and booty," as indicative of their purposes in engaging in the war.

That these statements are utterly untrue, you have seen yourselves. From fifty to seventy-five thousand federal troops have passed through our State, and you have seen no motto of "beauty and booty" upon any banner borne by them; nor have you heard any such word as subjugation of the South or freedom to the slaves. It is utterly untrue that any such demonstrations have been made by any division of the United States army, by authority of the government. And the people of Tennessee are under lasting obligations to the soldiers that are in our midst and that have passed through our country, for their moderation and generous forbearance towards a hostile population, and for the respect paid to the rights of all classes of our citizens.

We have seen nothing in the conduct of this war that conflicts with the purposes of the government as declared by Congress in August last, by almost a unanimous vote—"That this war is not waged in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of any state; but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease." And the Southern Commissioners themselves—Messrs. Yancey, Mann and Ruffin—the forerunners to Lord Russell, of the 14th of August, 1861, say that "it was from no fear that the slaves would be liberated at secession took place. The very party in power has proposed to guarantee slavery forever in the States, if the South will but remain in the Union." And this declaration of these Commissioners is sustained by the fact, as you will remember, that in the winter of 1861 Congress passed, by a two-thirds vote in each house, proposed amendments to the constitution of the United States, to be adopted by three fourths of the States, by which it was provided that the constitution should never thereafter be so amended as to authorize Congress to interfere with slavery in the States. But, in their madness, the people of the South treated these propositions with contempt, when, if they had adopted them, there would have remained but the one immaterial issue of slavery in the territories.

6. You were also assured that if you would join the confederacy, arms of the best quality would be furnished you—that the leaders themselves would head the army and lead you to victory and independence, or "die in the last ditch." Under these assurances your sons joined the army to defend the State—but having been already sold in advance for the arms that had been promised and which were never paid—they were turned over, like so many sheep in the market, to the Confederate States, and at Mill Spring and Fort Donelson were compelled to fight with quarrel guns and flint lock muskets against men with the best arms and equipments that modern science and skill could supply, and the leaders themselves, many of them, either remained at home and submitted to a draft with the hope of hiring substitutes—or they entered the army as commissaries, quartermasters, paymasters, assistants or clerks, taking all proper care to keep out of harm's reach under the plea of supplying food and clothing for the soldiers. Thus were your sons tricked and duped into this miserable and disgraceful war, and they are to be sacrificed at all events; but, if any escape, they are to be those who hold the purse strings of the army, with facilities for escaping beyond the reach of danger, or who remained at home not having brought themselves within the provisions or penalties of treason.

7. It was also represented to you that the South would certainly get her rights and gain her independence, because France and England would acknowledge her independence, break up the blockade of the Southern ports and render such a reliance as would insure success. And this declaration was rung in our ears from day to day, for more than a year, when it was well known by the Confederate government and the secret advisers from the beginning that it was untrue, and as far back as the middle of last August Lord Russell had distinctly announced to these same Commissioner, Yancey and others, that the independence of the Southern confederacy could not be acknowledged by Great Britain.

8. To justify this secession conspiracy, its leaders and advocates insisted that they formed "State rights"—declaring themselves in favor of the right of the people of a State to nullify, modify, or change their form of government at pleasure, and to decide what their relations should be with each of the other States and with the federal Union—and declaiming against and opposing, with the loudest declarations and denunciations, the idea that the people of any State should be forced to remain in the Union against their will, by coercion of the general government. And yet we have seen these same leaders ruthlessly invade our sister State Kentucky for the purpose of forcing her people out of the government to which they legitimately and of a choice belonged—and with the wicked intention of coercing them into a mock government which they knew they abhorred; well knowing, too, that these same people of Kentucky had, but a few months before, on two occasions, decided in fair elections, by majorities of least fifty thousand votes, to stand by their old flag and maintain the government of their fathers. And the sad effects of this uncalled for assault upon the rights and liberties of a free people may be seen in desolated fields and dilapidated villages, prostrate forests and pillaged farm houses, and in ruined families and bereaved households; and the healing influences of a hundred years will not repair these unprovoked injuries.

9. Knowing you to be opposed to secession, as evinced by your vote of February 9, 1861, your Tennessee leaders glided the unsuspecting dupes by calling it a "Separation," and the revolutionary Legislature which met at Nashville on the 25th day of April, 1861—those architects of ruin—did not presume to discuss the "abstract doctrine of secession;" but in their ordinance of secession, which they named separation, they say, and they made you say by your votes, "That we, the people of the State of Tennessee * * * * do ordain and declare that all laws and ordinances by which the State of Tennessee became a member of the federal Union of the United States of America are hereby abrogated and annulled, and that all obligations on our part be withdrawn therefrom * * * * and do henceforth become a free, sovereign and independent State." This they called separation. This they made you believe was "withdrawing therefrom," and not secession, when the only meaning of secession, as defined by the highest authorities, is the "act of withdrawing from." It is only another of the manifold frauds imposed upon you, in order to involve you with them, in a war upon your best interests, keeping concealed from you their real purposes. They used in their ordinance of separation almost the stereotyped edition of the secession ordinance of South Carolina, and they made you believe, through their newspapers and speakers, that it was not secession.

We repeat, that you have been deceived and cheated in every representation that was made to you as an inducement for you to take up arms against your government; and although these things are now apparent, many are still persisting in their adhesion to the fatal delusion.

Why persist in this folly? Why pursue this phantom of a Southern confederacy? In its every aspect—in all its aims and purposes—so silly, politically and commercially—it is a through, disgraceful and disastrous failure. Its constitution, as a form of permanent government, is a miserable abortion. And its very success would be the ruin of its people.

We are aware of the fact, that two thirds of the people of Tennessee do not themselves unfeigedly to pend to secession, in principle and in feeling. They doubtless think so, but the mistaken, they are in favor of the success of the Southern confederacy. They curse secession, and yet abuse the government, or attempting to put it down, and are aiding in the effort to establish a government whose fundamental idea is the right of secession. This war originated in this destructive principle. It is the foundation of the new government, and the chief beauty and ornament, as well as the chief excellence of the building to be erected upon this foundation in the estimation of its architects, is the right of secession. The assumed right to establish this new government is based upon the assertion that any State has a right to destroy the old government by seceding from the remainder at pleasure, and against their consent, and with or without cause. This is the first principle announced in the Confederate constitution. Its first words—its preamble, announces this principle of anarchy and disintegration, which would render all permanent free governments impossible. It establishes as a fundamental feature of the government, and sets it forth as the first article in its organic—law, a false theory, which assumes the right of dissolution, on the part of the minority, as its best security for the rights and happiness of its people. "We the people of the Confederate States, *each state acting in its sovereign and independent character* * * * * do ordain and establish this constitution."

The people of Tennessee said in their ordinance of separation that they thereby became a "free, sovereign and independent State." That is—a free, sovereign and independent Power, nation or government, and of course, with power to treat with any other government—and as such sovereign and independent nation, Tennessee did negotiate and enter into a treaty or league with ten other sovereign powers, which league they called the constitution. By the constitution of the United States, the people formed a government—and by the constitution of the Confederate States, the people formed a league, confederation or treaty. Here, then, is your boasted government for which you have sacrificed so much, bound together by a rope of sand. It is an illusion, a myth, a fraud upon the common people of the South, and will fall to piece upon the first trial of its strength.

This is the government to which you are invited, and it is an invitation, in the name of Southern rights, to your hopeless ruin. It calls upon you to adopt, as the best form of government, that which places its existence, with all the rights and interests of the majority, in the hands of the minority. But even had the Southern confederacy succeeded, the people of Tennessee would not have been able to bear its burdens. A moment's reflection will satisfy any one of this fact.

The Southern people could not have gotten through successfully with this struggle at a cost of less than a thousand million of dollars. This is a low estimate, as we believe. There are eleven States claimed to be in the confederate States. We had as well claim New York as to claim Missouri and Kentucky. Tennessee is over the average in the eleven States, and would have to bear at least one-tenth of the expenses of the government. This thousand millions of dollars must be discharged by repudiation and disgrace, or it must be funded and the interest paid annually. The interest, at six per cent per annum, which is less than will be the true rate, would be $60,000,000, which would make the proportion of Tennessee $6,000,000. Then the confederacy is without an army and from her position in reference to the Northern States, and on account of the bitterness growing out of the unnecessary separation and war in which they have been involved, this army cannot be less than fifty thousand strong, costing an additional sum per annum of $50,000,000, and of this sum $5,000,000, or one tenth, would be the share of Tennessee, making $11,000,000 per annum from these two sources. Then the Confederacy must have a navy to guard her three thousand miles of ocean and gulf coast, and her large flotilla of gunboats to protect the navigation of the Mississippi river, costing not less per annum than $20,000,000, to say nothing of the immense cost of its construction; for in this age of naval improvements and increase in the maritime strength of nations, to occupy a position of respectability will require a powerful navy; and this will add $2,000,000 annually to the $11,000,000, making $13,000,000, and to this may be added $1,000,000 per annum for Tennessee's share of the yearly expenses of the civil, foreign intercourse and miscellaneous services, making all her annual burthens on account of her position as a member of the Southern Confederacy, $14,000,000; and to this may be added $600,000 as expenses for carrying on the State government. These large sums must be paid by taxation in some form, and even upon the supposition that these estimates are too large by one half—which, however, cannot be true—our State could never pay them. What a profitless bargain she made when she tied herself on to this shameful attempt to break up the government. In any view of the matter, there can be nothing but ruin to Tennessee in a permanent dissolution of the Union.

Fellow-citizens of Tennessee—We come before you claiming no privileges over the humblest citizen. We come as equals only, having a common interest and a common destiny with you and with our beloved country. You have been deceived by bad men into a war for the destruction and dissolution of the best government ever vouchsafed to man—a government known and felt by its citizens only through its benefits and blessings—a government that never imposed a feather's weight of oppression upon you or your fathers before you—a government giving you honor and respectability among all the people of the whole earth. Why will you destroy such a government? Is it from passion? Remember—passion is insanity. Stay your hand then, and call back reason to her throne. Give heed to the advice of the best men who have lived in this country. Hear what an honored President from our own State, James K. Polk, has said about the value of the Union and the crime of assailing it. Said he, in his inaugural address:—"Who shall assign limits to the achievements of free minds and free hands under the protection of this glorious Union? No treason to mankind since the organization of society would be equal in atrocity to that of him who would lift his hand to destroy it. He would overthrow the noblest structure of human wisdom, which protects himself and his fellow man. He would stop the progress of free government and involve his country either in anarchy or despotism."

Witness also the declaration of Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice President of the Confederate States, in his speech of the 14th of November, 1860. Said he—"Now will I undertake to say that this government * * * is perfect. There is nothing perfect of a human origin. * * * But that this government of our fathers, with all of its defects, comes nearer the objects of all good governments than any other on the face of the earth, is my settled conviction. * * * I look upon this country, with our institutions, as the Eden of the world—the paradise of the universe."

Having been deceived into your present position there is no sacrifice of honor, of interest or of principle in abandoning the insane idea of separate independence and Southern rights. They are safe only under the constitution of the United States and within the federal Union, and he alone is the true friend of Southern rights who is true to the government. We lost neither our rights nor our independence while faithful to our allegiance. We are losing all by our unfaithfulness to our country. We are overwhelmed with present evils and terror stricken by dreadful anticipations of the future.

And what is our remedy? There may be none for the past; but what shall we do for the future? We can suggest but one course, and that is to return to the protection of that government under which we were so happy and prosperous. That is our only safety. There is no virtue in perseverance in error. We cannot benefit or relieve our kindred and friends who are in the Southern army by giving further encouragement to this rebellion. By a contrary course we may do them much service. The impending battles will not end this war, and we may do much to relieve the Tennesseans who are in the Confederate army. They are in a false position. Their State is deserted, and for ever fixed as a member of the federal Union. Many of their parents and friends encouraged their enlistment in this war, and it is their imperative duty to repair that injury to the extent of their power. Call your sons home, then, and exert yourselves to get them back as their only security. It is their only escape from the infamous tyranny of conscription. Get them out of its clutches. This monster confederacy has enlisted them in its army, and has passed a law by which it can compel them to remain until they are thirty-five years of age, should the government last that long. This Union movement is not a war upon your sons, but a measure for their relief, and for the safety of our State; and this is the mission to which we invite you—this is the enterprise in which we would have you enlist.

But if persevering you must in this fratricidal strife, we look upon the South as ruined beyond relief. If the war is to continue, we can but look upon this noble land of ours, which a year ago had every tree and plant and flower in its proper place, with not a twig broken or a leaf missing, desolate—its youth, its energy, its talent, its promise sacrificed in a fruitless effort to overthrow the government of our fathers, and to supply its place by a military despotism or a party oligarchy, meriting and receiving the contempt of all nations.

Whatever may be the hopes of the ardent and enthusiastic in regard to their ultimate success, they are doomed to disappointment. Guerilla warfare, the curse of all countries where it has prevailed, will await neither parties nor their friends, and in the South they must live upon their friends. There is no other alternative. Under the name of guerillas our country will be overrun by unlicensed plunderers, and before this kind of warfare shall have existed six months you will pray the government of the United States to relieve you from their robberies.

There is no hope for you but the one of loyalty to the Union. There can be but one government within the boundaries of the United States. The geography of the country fixes this fact. The hand of the Almighty has established it. The owners of the sources and tributaries of the Mississippi river, and the owners of its mouths, must be joint owners of the whole, and the valley of the great "Father of Waters" must be occupied only by one people.

The leaders in the South see and realize this fact. It is shown in their Congressional proceedings and in their military proclamations. Such a proclamation as the one lately issued by the Commander-in-Chief of the Southern army at Corinth, based as it is upon a Congressional recommendation, shows the desperation of the cause. Hear it:—

TO PLANTERS SOUTH.—The casualties of war have opened the Mississippi to our enemies. The time has therefore come to test the earnestness of all classes, and I call on all patriotic planters owning cotton in the possible reach of our enemies to apply the torch to it without delay or hesitation.

This is but the desperation of the privateer whose piratical vessel is run down, and to prevent its capture the torch is applied, and the ship, cargo and all on board are consumed in the flames.

People of Tennessee, we are without a civil government in the South. The hand of the military, with war's rude exactions, is upon us—backed by one of the most powerful armies on earth—an army composed of the indomitable tenacity and perseverance of New England and the North, and the manly courage and irresistible energy of the West and Northwest. Here it is and here it will remain until returning reason takes the place of passion, and treason to the government is displaced by the loyalty of the people.

RUSSELL HOUSTON,
E. H. EAST,
ALLEN A. HALL,
H. H. HARRISON,
W. B. CAMPBELL,
[illegible] LEWIS,
[illegible] STORES,
EDMUND COOPER,
} Committee.

Message of Governor Gamble, of Missouri, to the State Convention.

The following message was read in the State Convention now in session at Jefferson City, Mo., on Monday last, June 2, the first day of the session. We have here tofore given a synopsis of it by telegraph:—

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION.—You have been again called together because there is no other body in existence that can adopt the measures which the present condition of the State demands.

In order to a proper understanding of our condition, and to a judicious exercise of the powers with which the Convention is clothed, it may be profitable to glance rapidly at the events which have occurred within the past year.

After our adjournment on the 22d day of March, 1861, and after you had solemnly expressed the judgment of the people of the State, that there was no sufficient cause for disturbing the relations existing between the State and the United States, *there was manifest on the part of those exercising the executive and ladislative powers of the State a persistent purpose to dissolve our connection with the general government and attach us to the so-called Southern confederacy. This purpose was exhibited in acts tending to a military collision between the State and general government, and finally produced the battle of Boonville on the first day of June last.*

From the time the Governor fled before the military authority of the United States, charged as a citizen of this United States with treason against the government, other high executive officers and many members of the Legislature, being implicated in the same charge of treason, in like manner fled and abandoned their offices. Thus it happened that when you again assembled in July last you found the State government in ruins, with no magistracy in a condition to exercise the powers which were conferred upon them by the constitution, in order to maintain the peace of the State and the security of the people. It was among the wise orderings of a kind Providence that, the Convention should, at such a crisis, be in existence, and capable of meeting the emergency. The alternative was presented to you of allowing the State government to remain in ruins, with anarchy universally prevailing, with no power to preserve order except as it might be exercised by a soldiery chiefly from other States, or of attempting to rear again the government of the State, that the reign of law might be re-established. You chose the latter, and organized the provisional government. Your power to do so cannot be successfully questioned. The necessity for your action will be admitted by every person who understands what was then the condition of the State, and the wisdom of your action would seem to be established by the improvement that has since taken place in our condition.

If we look back to the time of establishing the Provisional government, we will see such a state of affairs as might well have justified a feeling of despondency as to the restoration of peace and order. Civil war was fully inaugurated; disregard of law universally reigned; there was no military force to enforce law and preserve order; there were no arms belonging to the State to put into the hands of a military force if we had had one; there was no money in the treasury with which to purchase arms or subsist soldiers, there was no State credit upon which to raise money; and, moreover, a very large majority of the public offices of the State were in the hands of persons hostile to the government of the United States, sympathizing with those engaged in the rebellion, and opposed to your attempt to restore peace. Under such circumstances, it was not surprising that some should have despaired of the success of the experiment to restore a quiet and peaceful administration of the State government. Yet it was the only hope that was left to those who really desired to preserve the State government in actual operation.

In order to prepare a force to preserve the peace of the State, a call was made for forty-two thousand volunteers, on the 24th of August last, to serve six months. After this call was made, many hindrances were thrown in the way of its being answered. Officers and men belonging to regiments in the service of the United States, deprecated the State service by representing the utter uncertainty of the men receiving either their pay, clothing, or subsistence. These representations were made, not only by persons raising troops as Missouri volunteers, but by others who were in regiments belonging to other States, who desired to swell their own ranks. Unfortunately the real state of facts gave too much color of truth to these representations, and rendered them the more effectual hindrances to the raising the number of volunteers called for. Still, more than six thousand men volunteered, and were organized into battalions and regiments under the act of 1859, which had been re-enacted by the Convention.

As the recruiting advanced the difficulty of providing arms and subsistence became more apparent, and as applications to the Commanding General of the Department for arms were unavailing, it became necessary to have a personal conference with the authorities at Washington. By such conference arms were obtained, and the sum of $200,000 was advanced by the United States out of an appropriation made in July last for the purpose of aiding the loyal citizens in States where rebellion existed. With this comparatively small sum the attempt was to be made to provide the absolute necessaries required by the troops, particularly the articles which could be purchased only for cash. And it is proper here to bear testimony to the patient fortitude with which they bore the privations to which they were subjected. It was plainly impossible to supply them out of this sum with the full allowance to which soldiers in the service of the United States are entitled, and it became indispensably necessary to practice the greatest economy in order to provide the men with the most indispensable necessaries. One of the most painful duties was to be obliged to listen to the recital of these wants, with the full knowledge that they could not be properly met. As the period approached at which they ought to be paid, the difficulty of meeting their reasonable demands for pay was to be met. Your ordinance, passed at the October session, provided for meeting the expense of the whole force by authorizing the issue of defence warrants not to exceed a million of dollars. This measure relieved the executive from the apprehension of immediate embarrassment, but was inadequate to the full support of any considerable force for a long period. It was plainly necessary that some more permanent provision should be made in order to make the force large enough to be efficient, and at the same time free the State treasury from a burden it could not bear.

In order to accomplish this end another personal conference was sought with the President, and as the result an engagement was effected under which the government of the United States undertook to bear all the expense of a military force to be raised for the defence of the State during the war, to be organized in the manner provided for the organization of the volunteers in the service of the United States. It was thought that this arrangement would be at once received by the troops already in the service of the State as a guarantee of future and certain and regular subsistence and pay, and that they would promptly embrace the proposition to organize under it. But as they were already entitled to pay which they had not received, and as many of them could not leave their families to serve in distant parts of the State during the war, it was found that they hesitated to engage in the new service.

It was apparent that to have two classes of troops at the same time in the service of the State, one supported and paid by the United States and the other by the State, would produce endless confusion and difficulty. The expense of the force organized under the act of 1859 was greatly enhanced by the great proportion of officers allowed for the number of men enlisted as privates. It was therefore judged necessary for the interest of the State and the service to pay off the six months men and disband them, in order that those who could serve for the war might engage in the force about to be raised and supported at the expense of the United States.

The arrangement made with the President gave an impetus to the enlistment of volunteers, but a construction was given to the agreement which required an old company of eighty-three men to be raised before the men could be subsisted, clothed and paid by the United States. Although there had been received from the United States an additional sum of $250,000, it became apparent that this money would soon be consumed in furnishing subsistence and clothing to recruits until each company was ready to be mustered into service with eighty-three men. It became necessary, therefore, to have again a personal conference with the authorities in Washington, in order to have the agreement carried out in its true spirit. This was effected, and the men were ordered to be mustered into service singly as they were recruited, and to receive their subsistence and clothing at once from the proper officers of the United States.

When the military service of the State was placed upon this basis it was immediately apparent that all difficulty in raising an adequate force was removed. Authorities to raise regiments and companies, and to raise recruits generally, were given out, and all was progressing well, when Congress interposed and limited the number to be paid to 10,000 men. Orders had to be issued to stop recruiting, but as the returns came in it has been found that we have more than 12,000 men, and it remains to be known whether Congress will, with the liberality which has characterized the conduct of the Executive Department towards us, provide for the payment of this excess. When the order to stop recruiting was issued it found fragments of regiments which had not been consolidated, often requiring several to make a complete regiment. This necessity of course produced disorganization among persons who had expected to command regiments, but found themselves reduced to lower field officers in the consolidated regiments. The duty of making the consolidation, however, was unavoidable. There are now fifteen regiments and two battalions, with two batteries of artillery, in the field, all fully equipped and ready to serve in any portion of the State where an enemy may appear. The men are our own people. The officers are chiefly selected from our own citizens, and as all will be held responsible for wrongs committed upon the people of the State, there is every reason to anticipate that the rights of the people will be respected.

It was a part of the arrangement made with the President that in order to preserve unity of command, the Major General of the department should be commissioned Major General of the State Militia. Major General Halleck is therefore the Major General of the Missouri State Militia. The immediate command has been by him turned over to Brigadier General Schofield, of the volunteer service, commissioned Brigadier of the State troops. He is a regularly educated and talented officer of the army of the United States, distinguished in actual service, and has rendered to the State very valuable assistance in organizing our forces and selecting the officers.

The other brigadiers of the State militia are General Loan, General Totten and General Brown, all of whom have been selected on account of their qualifications to command forces within the State. General Totten is known to the country as an officer of the regular army, who distinguished himself as an officer of artillery at Wilson's creek.

Considering the extent of the country to be covered, the force is small; but they are capable of rapid movement and can be soon concentrated wherever they are required.

This is given as a brief but sufficient statement of what has been done to provide a military force for the preservation of the peace and order of the State, and it would be wrong to conclude it without expressing a high sense of the obligation we are under to the government of the United States for the promptitude and liberality with which our most pressing wants have been supplied.

In paying the troops that had been called into service for six months, and in defraying the expense incurred in the support of that force, there has been issued to the disbursing officers the sum of $750,000, in defence warrants, and there will have to be issued a further amount which may swell the aggregate to $775,000. The amount in circulation had already been reduced $100,900, by receipts into the treasury for the taxes of 1861 from only forty-one counties. It will, therefore, be seen that the whole amount issued will very soon be absorbed. Most unfortunately for the men who received this paper for their services, efforts were too successfully made to depreciate it, as well by those who were opposed to the government, as by those who sought only their own profit by speculating in it. Thus at one time it fell to seventy cents on the dollar, and afterwards rose to eighty and eighty five. Yet its ultimate redemption is, in fact, better secured than that of any bank paper in the State, because it is receivable in payment of taxes—when the taxes of a single year would absorb it all; and it has a specific collateral security of bank stock pledged to its redemption. And, moreover, the debt was incurred in doing what the United States government was bound to do—that is, in defending the State against those who were in insurrection against that government, and therefore that government is bound to bear the burden of this debt. No doubt, will be attended to by the Senators and representatives of the State in Congress. Under such circumstances it is to be regretted that the soldiers to whom the paper was issued have been obliged by their necessities to submit to the extortion of money changers.

Turning now to the financial condition of the State we find that the Provisional government commenced with a prospect as little flattering as could well be conceived.

There was so small a sum in the treasury, and it subject to previous appropriations, that it is right to call the treasury empty. Our credit was gone, because we had already failed to pay our July interest. The sheriffs of counties, rather than to collect the taxes of last year, were resigning their offices; and such was the state of the country that there appeared but little ground to hope that money sufficient would be collected to carry on the government. Even now, after quiet has been restored in a large part of the State, the Auditor reports that but in forty-one counties have the Sheriffs receipted for the tax books of 1861. These are chargeable with revenue to the amount of $694,220, and they have paid in $253,386. Besides this sum there has been received for licenses from St. Louis county $26,038, making an aggregate of receipts for the taxes of 1861 of $279,425. Of the amount paid into the treasury about $100,000 has been paid in defence warrants.

Although it is impossible to present to you an accurate statement of the amount of uncollected taxes for the year 1861, it will be seen that it must be very large, when from the forty-one counties in which the Sheriffs have received the tax books $380,834 remains to be paid into the treasury, and there are seventy-three counties in which the collection has not yet been attempted.

As it is unknown how far the Convention will feel required to deal with the financial questions that belong to ordinary legislation, no scheme of action will be submitted here with a view to expedite the collection of revenue due the State. The officers in the different counties are finding it more easy to make collections as the peace of the country becomes better established; and while there are still many counties in which officers have not been appointed, because in their disturbed condition no suitable persons have been recommended, yet the number is slowly diminishing, and with the restoration of quiet will begin the collection of revenue.

The Auditor will report to you the state of the finances, and will make such suggestions as, in his opinion, are important in relation to the revenue.

You will see from this brief statement that the Provisional government is not in a worse condition financially than when it was established. It is true that another instalment of the July interest upon our bonds has become due and is unpaid, but it may be assumed that the holders of our bonds have not expected us to pay the interest when the tide of war was rolling over our State, and that they will not find in our failure to pay under such circumstances any reason to doubt our purpose to pay ultimately.

Your ordinance passed at your October session, vacating the offices of those who refused to take the oath of allegiance therein prescribed, has occasioned numerous changes among the holders of offices. There still remain many offices to be filled, as the progress in obtaining information about persons suitable to be appointed has been, in some parts of the State, very slow.

So far as is known, the appointments have given general satisfaction; and there is reason to hope that the interests of the State have not suffered by the change.

There is an ambiguity in the ordinance, which would new require too much time to state, but which will need a short explanatory ordinance. The matter will be brought to the attention of some one of your committees.

In this glance at the principal operations of the provisional government it is hoped that you will find the results to be that much good and no evil has been done either to the people or to the principles of constitutional government.

In the largest part of the State courts of justice are open and the law regularly administered. The people are generally pursuing their ordinary vocations in peace and security, and confidence is being gradually, though slowly, restored.

It is true that in some parts of the State there are yet disturbances, and crimes the most brutal are perpetrated by outlaws, who would fain conceal the base character of their enormities by calling them guerilla warfare. They can propose to themselves no end but the gratification of a fiendish malignity. Certainly neither patriotism nor humanity can sanction their conduct. It is believed that a sufficient force is provided to compel them to peace.

Although our State has been visited by a class of troops who came with feelings of hostility to our people and our institutions, and who, under the guise of supporting the Union, perpetrated enormous outrages upon our citizens, yet successful measures have been adopted for the security of our people and for the removal of such troops, so as to relieve us from their presence in the future.

The thought has often presented itself, suggested by the conduct of such troops, that if the armies which have marched over every part of our State had come into and marched through it as through a country that was altogether hostile, we should have found ourselves now in a country utterly desolated.

But it may be ascribed to the Convention and to the kindness of a controlling Providence that, although the State has suffered greatly, it has not been entirely ruined.

And if the effort to restore the State government shall be entirely successful, and peace and prosperity once more shall be established in the State, the praise will be given by a happy people, first to God who rules all nations, and under Him to the patriotism and wisdom of the Convention which he has employed.

But the work is not yet completed, and still demands that all the wisdom and energy of all the true friends of the State should be employed in harmonious counsel and united action in building up and cementing the fabric we are laboring to rear. It would be most disastrous if the laborers engaged in this patriotic work should allow themselves to be diverted from their undertaking by anything that will distract their attention or diminish their energy.

In the call under which you are now assembled, one subject is mentioned as requiring your action—that is, dividing the State into Congressional districts.

We are entitled to nine representatives in the next Congress, and it is required that they should be elected by districts.

In these times of extreme ultraism, our representatives should appear in the House, elected in such manner as to be entitled to their seats without question. It is true that on a former occasion of increase in our Congressional representation, the General Assembly adopted a plan of electing the additional members without there having been new districts provided for them before the general election. But in present circumstances it is not prudent to leave any question of their right open to discussion.

It is altogether questionable whether our plan of electing members of Congress, some seventeen months before they ordinarily take their seats, is wise.

In times like the present, when new and startling questions are frequently arising, the representative who may be elected in August, 1862, may find all the questions with reference to which he was elected settled when he takes his seat in December, 1863, and that new and more momentous issues have arisen since his election upon which his constituents have not expressed their will.

Although it is true that upon an extraordinary occasion Congress may be called so as to require his attendance before the first Monday in December, yet such are exceptional cases, and do not affect the principle that the representative ought to be chosen because of the conformity of his opinions to those of his constituents upon the questions upon which he is to act.

There are other strong objections to our time of electing members of Congress; but as it is not intended to make any recommendations upon this subject, time will not be occupied in stating them.

In your ordinance, passed at your July session, establishing the provisional government, it was provided that an election of executive officers should be held in November, and that at that election a vote should be taken upon the question, whether your action in establishing such government should be ratified. The vote was subsequently postponed until the general election in next August.

It is submitted for your consideration whether that part of the ordinance ought not to be annulled.

More than thirty thousand of our people are volunteers in the service of the United States, most of the number being out of the State. Their voice should be heard on a question so vitally affecting their State, and yet it has been found that all votes in military camps, taken under laws that have directed such votes, have afforded opportunities for imposition, which it is almost impossible to guard against. It is clearly right that the voice of this class of citizens should be heard, but to take their votes in distant camps involves too much danger of imposition to be attempted.

There is another consideration of the greatest moment. The question to be voted upon is, under existing circumstances, not a question between the provisional government and some other administration of the State government, but between the provisional government and no government at all; for every person knows that the former executive officers would be immediately arrested for treason if they came within reach of the officials of the United States. After the provisional government has been in operation for a year no such question ought to be considered open to discussion.

Whether you should think it necessary or not to require any oath of loyalty as a general qualification for all voters at the approaching election, it is submitted to you as a matter demanding your action that an oath beyond that prescribed by the constitution should be required of all persons who may be elected to office. The oath prescribed by the constitution is so general, that, though its terms, when rightly understood, comprehend the great duties of a citizen to the government, yet it fails to impress the minds of those who take it with a clear idea of the obligation it imposes.

Again, the oath thus prescribed is altogether prospective in its requirements; but the State should be protected against persons who have in the past been unfaithful.

These are the subjects which at this time most require your attention.

H. R. GAMBLE.

Large Fire in Quebec, &c.

QUEBEC, June 7, 1862.

An extensive fire occured in the St. Louis suburbs this morning. One hundred and twenty houses, mostly wooden buildings, occupied by mechanics, were destroyed.

The Hibernian sailed at 10 A. M. for Liverpool, with 112 cabin and 24[illegible] steerage passengers.

Movements of Steamers.

ST. JOHNS, N. F., June 7, 1862.

The steamship Caledonia, from Quebec for Glasgow, was boarded off Cape Race at nine o'clock this morning. She reports having passed the steamer St. George, from Glasgow, bound to Quebec, off St. Pierre, yesterday.

LOST AND FOUND.

FOUND—ON SATURDAY, MAY 17, IN THE VICINITY of the City Prison, a sum of Money, which the owner can have by applying at No. 9 Carroll place.

FOUND—A NEWFOUNDLAND DOG. CAME IN TO the house. The owner can have him by describing property and paying expenses. Apply at 223 Seventh street.

FOUND—IN SEVENTH AVENUE, AN ITALIAN GREYhound. The owner can have the same by proving property and paying expenses. Call at 201 Seventh avenue.

LEFT IN THE EIGHTH AVENUE CARS, YESTERday morning, above 4th street, a small brown Paper Parcel, there being but two persons inside—a lady, with a diamond ring on each hand, and an exchanged prisoner of war, who wore spectacles. Whoever of the two was kind enough to preserve it will have it sent to 77 Nassau street, room 15, and confer a favor on the loser.

LOST—ON FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 6, A LACE Cuff, in going up Fifth avenue, through Twenty-third street to Madison avenue, thence up Thirty-second street. The finder will receive a suitable reward by leaving it at 22 East Seventeenth street, near Broadway.

LOST—A CASE, FROM THE PUBLIC STORE NO. 56 Broadway, marked F. L., No. 2/7. The person who took it in mistake will please deliver it to J. F. Leuhure & Co., 556 Broadway, and the expenses will be paid.

LOST ON FRIDAY, A BLAC