

UNION FLAG.



VOLUME I.

JONESBOROUGH, TENN., FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1865.

NUMBER 31.

J. H. FESSENDEN & CO.

Old King Corner, Opposite Lamar House.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.
OFFER AT WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DRY GOODS, embracing all the latest and most fashionable styles; also a full line of Gentlemen's wear. HATS, SHOES AND BOOTS, of all kinds and prices. HARDWARE, TINWARE, QUEENSWARE, DYES PAINTS, &c.

In the Grocery line we have several hundred sacks of COFFEE, and 20 or 30 kds. of SUGAR.

In short our Stock is large and bought with particular reference to the wants of the people of East Tennessee, as we are satisfied with.

SMALL PROFITS.
We invite an examination of Goods and Prices from all who visit Knoxville.

EATING HOUSE AND STORE.

PETER H. GRISHAM & Co.

Knoxville, Tennessee.

DR. C. WHEELER,

Physician and Surgeon, AND EXAMINING SURGEON FOR PENSIONERS.

Appointed October 24th, 1865. OFFICE in John E. McLean's Law Office, MAIN STREET, JONESBORO, TENN. oct1865

J. TATE EARNEST, M. D.

Having located in Jonesboro, offers his Professional Services, to the Citizens and those of the Surrounding Country OFFICE, On Main Street, under Keen's Photograph Gallery, between the Stores of S. Guggenheim and Lynn & Fain oct1865

WM. A. GRISHAM,

Attorney at Law, Jonesboro, Tenn.

WILL ATTEND TO THE COLLECTION OF CLAIMS for Citizens and Soldiers, and all matters connected therewith. OFFICE in Court House. [sept29]

A. J. BROWN,

Attorney at Law, Jonesboro, Tenn.

Collecting Agent, JONESBOROUGH, TENNESSEE. WILL PRACTICE IN THE COURTS of the Counties of Greene, Washington, and Cocke, and in the Federal and Supreme Courts at Knoxville. [june2-17]

FELIX A. REEVE,

Attorney and Solicitor, GREENEVILLE, TENN. WILL PRACTICE IN THE STATE COURTS in the Counties of Greene, Washington, and Cocke, and in the Federal and Supreme Courts at Knoxville. [june2-17]

DR. M. S. MAHONEY,

Physician and Surgeon, CHERRY GROVE, TENNESSEE. [may 18-17]

JACOB M. ELLIS, M. D.

OFFERS HIS PROFESSIONAL SERVICES TO THE CHIEF OF BUFFALO RIDGE and surrounding Country. OFFICE at the Residence of Samuel H. HARRIS. [sept29]

DR. WILLIAM HALE,

OFFICE at Residence of H. D. Hale, Esq. Buffalo Ridge, Washington Co. TENNESSEE. [sept29]

Wm. Boond,

GROCER, PROVISION DEALER, and Commission Merchant, Gay St., Knoxville, Tenn. [may 20-65]

HOWARD & BUTLER,

Attorneys and Counsellors AT LAW, WILL PRACTICE IN THE Circuit and Chancery Courts of Greene, Washington, Sullivan, Hawkins, Jefferson, Sevier, and Cock Counties and Supreme Court at Knoxville. Office near McDonald, Maughbey & Co's, Old Stand, Main Street, GREENEVILLE, TENN. oct. 27-1865

JOHN O'NEILL,

Late Captain 17th U. S. C. I. O'NEILL AND HALL, OFFICE IN COURT HOUSE UP STAIRS, PROSECUTE CLAIMS AGAINST THE Government for property taken by and for the use of the Army.

Bounty for Two Years' Service;

Bounty for Wounds, and Soldiers Discharged under General Orders; Back-Pay and Bounty procured for Soldiers, and for the Friends and Relatives of deceased Soldiers; also Pensions for Fathers, Mothers, Widows, and Minor Children; Commutation for such as have been Prisoners of War; Prize Money.

HORSES LOST

while in the service, etc. Special Attention paid to making out OFFICERS' MONTHLY and QUARTERLY PAPERS, AND TO THE COLLECTION OF VOUCHERS. Sept. 15th.

WM. HARRIS & Co.,

Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Dry Goods, Clothing, Shoes, Boots, HATS, CAPS, HOSIERY, NOTIONS, ETC. Gay St., 2 doors North of Cumberland, Knoxville, Tennessee. PLEASE GIVE US A CALL. [june2-17]

THE UNION FLAG.

Jonesborough, December 15, 1865.

G. E. GRISHAM,

EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

Terms. The UNION FLAG will be published every Friday Morning, on the following terms:

One copy, per year, \$3 00
Six months, 2 00
Single copy, 10 cents.

No attention will be paid to orders for the paper, unless accompanied by the Cash.

Advertisements will be charged \$1 50 per square, (ten lines or less), for the first insertion, and 75 cents for each continuance. A liberal deduction will be made to yearly advertisers.

ADVISING CANDIDATES—For County offices, \$5 00; State, \$10 00.

Job-Printing, of all descriptions, neatly executed.

All communications tending to personal aggrandizement or emolument will be charged the same as advertisements.

MESSAGE

Of the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the First Session of the Thirty-Ninth Congress.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: To express gratitude to God, in the name of the People, for the preservation of the United States, is my first duty in addressing you. Our thoughts next revert to the death of the late President by an act of parheliac treason. The grief of the nation is still fresh; it finds some solace in the consideration that he lived to enjoy the highest proof of its confidence by entering on the renewed term of the Chief Magistracy, to which he had been elected; that he brought the civil war substantially to a close; that his loss was deplored in all parts of the Union; and that foreign nations have rendered justice to his memory. His removal cast upon me a heavier weight of care than ever devolved upon any one of his predecessors. To fulfill my trust I need the support and confidence of all who are associated with me in the various departments of Government, and the support and confidence of the people. There is but one way in which I can hope to gain their necessary aid; it is, to state with frankness the principles which guide my conduct, and their application to the present state of affairs, well aware that the efficiency of my labors will, in a great measure, depend on your and their unqualified approbation.

The Union of the United States of America was intended by its authors to last as long as the States themselves shall last. "THE UNION SHALL BE PERPETUAL" are the words of the Confederation. "TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION," by an ordinance of the people of the United States, is the declared purpose of the Constitution.—The hand of Divine Providence was never more plainly visible in the affairs of men than in the framing and the adoption of that instrument. It is, beyond comparison, the greatest event in American history; and indeed it is not, of all events in modern times, the most pregnant with consequences for every people of the Earth? The members of the Convention which prepared it, brought to their work the experience of the Confederation of their several States, and of other Republican Governments, old and new; but they needed and they obtained a wisdom superior to experience. And when for its validity it required the approval of a people that occupied a large part of a continent and acted separately in many distinct conventions, what is more wonderful than that, after earnest contention and long discussion, all feelings and all opinions were ultimately drawn in one way to its support?

The Constitution to which life was thus imparted contains within itself ample resources for its own preservation. It has power to enforce the laws, punish treason, and ensure domestic tranquility. In case of the usurpation of the Government of a State by one man, or an oligarchy, it becomes a duty of the United States to make good the guarantee to that State of a republican form of government, and so to maintain the homogeneity of all. Does the lapse of time reveal defects? A simple mode of amendment is provided in the Constitution itself, so that its conditions can always be made to conform to the requirements of advancing civilization. No room is allowed even for a thought of a possibility of its coming to an end. And these powers of self-preservation have always been asserted in their complete integrity by every patriotic Chief Magistrate—by Jefferson and Jackson, not less than by Washington and Madison. The parting advice of the Father of his Country, while yet President, to the people of the United States, was, that "the free Constitution, which was the work of their hands, might be sacredly maintained," and the inaugural words of President Jefferson held up "the preservation of the General Government, in its constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at

home and safety abroad." The Constitution is the work of "the People of the United States," and it should be as indestructible as the people.

It is not strange that the framers of the Constitution, which had no model in the past, should not have fully comprehended the excellence of their own work. Fresh from a struggle against arbitrary power, many patriots suffered from harassing fears of an absorption of the State Governments by the General Government, and many from a dread that the States would break away from their orbits. But the very greatness of our country should allay the apprehension of encroachments by the General Government. The subjects that come unquestionably within its jurisdiction are so numerous, that it must ever naturally refuse to be embarrassed by questions that lie beyond it. Were it otherwise, the Executive would sink beneath the burden; the channels of justice would be choked; legislation would be obstructed by excess; so that there is a greater temptation to exercise some of the functions of the General Government through the States than to trespass on their rightful sphere.—"The absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority" was, at the beginning of the century, enforced by Jefferson "as the vital principle of republics," and the events of the last four years have established, we will hope forever, that there lies no appeal to force.

The maintenance of the Union brings with it "the support of the State Governments in all their rights," but it is not one of the rights of any State Government to renounce its own place in the Union, or to nullify the laws of the Union. The largest liberty is to be maintained in the dispensation of the acts of Federal Government; but there is no appeal from its laws except to the various branches of that Government itself, or to the people, who grant to the members of the Legislative and of the Executive Departments no tenure but a limited one, and in that manner always retain the powers of redress.

"The sovereignty of the State" is the language of the Confederacy, and not the language of the Constitution. The latter contains the emphatic words: "The Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Certainly the Government of the United States is a limited government; and so is every State government a limited government. With us, this idea of limitation spreads through every form of administration, general, State, and municipal, and rests on the great distinguishing principle of the recognition of the rights of man.—The ancient republics ascribed the individual in the State, prescribed his religion, and controlled his activity. The American system rests on the assertion of the equal right of every man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; to freedom of conscience, to the culture and exercise of all his faculties. As a consequence, the State Government is limited, as to the General Government in the interest of Union, as to the individual citizen in the interest of freedom.

States, with proper limitations of power, are essential to the existence of the Constitution of the United States. At the very commencement, when we assumed a place among the Powers of the earth, the Declaration of Independence was adopted by States; so also were the Articles of Confederation; and when "the People of the United States" ordained and established the Constitution, it was the assent of the States, one by one, which gave it vitality. In the event, too, of any amendment to the Constitution the proposition of Congress needs the confirmation of the States. Without States, one great branch of the legislative government would be wanting. And, if we look beyond the letter of the Constitution to the character of our country, its capacity for comprehending within its jurisdiction a vast continental empire is due to the system of States. The best security for the perpetual existence of the States is the "supreme authority of the Constitution of the United States. The perpetuity of the Constitution brings with it the perpetuity of the States; their mutual relation makes us what we are, and in our political system their connection is indissoluble. The whole cannot exist without the parts, nor the parts without the whole. So long as the Constitution of the United States endures, the States will endure; the destruction of one is the destruction of the other; the preservation of the one is the preservation of the other.

I have thus explained my views of the mutual relations of the Constitution and the States, because they unfold the principles on which I have sought to solve the momentous ques-

tions and overcome the appalling difficulties that met me at the very commencement of my administration.—It has been my steadfast object to escape from the sway of momentary passions, and to derive a healing policy from the fundamental and unchanging principles of the Constitution.

I found the States, suffering from the effects of a civil war. Resistance to the General Government appeared to have exhausted itself. The United States had recovered possession of their forts and arsenals; and their armies were in the occupancy of every State, which had attempted to secede. Whether the territory within the limits of those States should be held as conquered territory, under military authority emanating from the President as the head of the army, was the first question that presented itself for decision.

Now, military governments, established for an indefinite period, would have offered no security for the early suppression of discontent; would have divided the people into the vanquished and the vanquisher; and would have restored affection. Once established, no precise limit to their continuance was conceivable. They would have occasioned an incalculable and exhausting expense. Peaceful emigration to and from that portion of the country is one of the best means that can be thought of for the restoration of harmony; and that emigration would have been prevented; for what emigrant from abroad, what industrious citizen at home, would place himself willingly under military rule? The chief persons who would have followed in the train of the army would have been dependents on the General Government, or men who expect profit from the miseries of their erring fellow-citizens. The powers of patronage and rule which would have been exercised under the President, over a vast and populous, and naturally wealthy region, are greater than, unless under extreme necessity, I should be willing to entrust to any one man; they are such as, for myself, I could never, unless on occasions of great emergency, consent to exercise. The wilful use of such powers, if continued through a period of years, would have endangered the purity of the general administration and the liberties of the States which remained loyal.

Besides, the policy of military rule over a conquered territory would have implied that the States whose inhabitants may have taken part in the rebellion, ceased to exist. But the true theory is, that all pretended acts of secession were, from the beginning, null and void. The States cannot commit treason, nor screen the individual citizens who may have committed treason, any more than they can make valid treaties or engage in lawful commerce with any foreign Power. The States attempting to secede placed themselves in a condition where their vitality was impaired, but not extinguished—their functions suspended, but not destroyed.

But if any State neglects or refuses to perform its offices, there is the more need that the General Government should maintain all its authority, and, as soon as practicable, resume the exercise of all its functions. On this principle I have acted, and have gradually and quietly, and by almost imperceptible steps, sought to restore the rightful energy of the General Government and of the States. To that end, Provisional Governors have been appointed for the States, Conventions called, Governors elected, Legislatures assembled, the Senators and Representatives chosen to the Congress of the United States. At the same time, the Courts of the United States, as far as could be done, have been re-opened, so that the laws of the United States may be enforced through their agency. The blockade has been removed and custom-houses re-established in ports of entry, so that the revenue of the United States may be collected. The Post Office Department renews its ceaseless activity, and the General Government is thereby enabled to communicate promptly with its officers and agents. The courts bring security to persons and property; the opening of the ports invites the restoration of industry and commerce; the post office renews the facilities of social intercourse and of business. And is it not happy for us all, that the restoration of each one of these functions of the General Government brings with it a blessing to the States over which they are extended? Is it not a sure promise of harmony and renewed attachment of the Union that, after all that has happened, the return of the General Government is known only as a beneficence?

I know very well that this policy is attended with some risk, that for its success it requires at least the acquiescence of the States which it concerns; that it implies an invitation to those States, by renewing their allegiance to the United States, to resume their functions as States of the Union. But it is a risk that must be taken; in the

choice of difficulties, it is the smallest risk; and to diminish, and, if possible, to remove all danger, I have felt its incumbent on me to assert one other power of the General Government—the power of pardon. As no States can throw a defence over the crime of treason, the power of pardon is exclusively vested in the Executive Government of the United States. In exercising that power, I have taken every precaution to connect it with the clearest recognition of the binding force of the laws of the United States, and an unqualified acknowledgement of the great social change of condition in regard to slavery which has grown out of the war.

The next step which I have taken to restore the constitutional relations of the States, has been an invitation to them to participate in the high office of amending the Constitution.—Every patriot must wish for a general amnesty at the earliest epoch consistent with public safety. For this great end there is need of a concurrence of all opinions, and the spirit of mutual conciliation. All parties in the late terrible conflict must work together in harmony. It is not too much to ask, in the name of the whole people, that, on the one side, the plan of restoration shall proceed in conformity with a willingness to cast the disorders of the past into oblivion; and that, on the other, the evidence of sincerity in the future maintenance of the Union shall be put beyond any doubt by the ratification of the proposed amendment to the Constitution, which provides for the abolition of slavery forever within the limits of our country. So long as the adoption of this amendment is delayed, so long will doubt, and jealousy, and uncertainty prevail. This is the measure which will efface the sad memory of the past; this is the measure which will most certainly call population, and capital, and security to those parts of the Union that need them most. Indeed, it is not too much to ask of the States which are now resuming their places in the family of the Union to give this pledge of perpetual loyalty and peace. Until this is done, the past however much we may desire it, will not be forgotten. The adoption of the amendment reunites us beyond all power of disruption. It heals the wound that is still imperfectly closed; it removes slavery, the element which has so long perplexed and divided the country; it makes of us once more a united people, renewed and strengthened, bound more than ever to mutual affection and support.

The amendment to the Constitution being adopted, it would remain for the States, whose powers have been so long in abeyance, to resume their places in the National Legislature, and thereby complete the work of restoration. Hence it is for you fellow-citizens of the Senate, and for you fellow-citizens of the House of Representatives, to judge, each of you for yourselves, of the elections, returns, and qualifications of your own members.

The full assertion of the powers of the General Government requires the holding of circuit Courts of the United States within the districts where their authority has been interrupted. In the present posture of our public affairs, strong objections have been urged to holding those courts in any of the States where the rebellion has existed; and it was ascertained, by inquiry, that the Circuit Court of the United States would not be held within the District of Virginia during the autumn or early winter, nor until Congress should have an "opportunity to consider and act on the whole subject." To your deliberations this branch of the civil authority of the United States is therefore necessarily referred, with the hope that early provision will be made for the resumption of all its functions. It is manifest that treason, most flagrant in character, has been committed. Persons who are charged with its commission should have fair and impartial trials in the highest civil tribunals of the country, in order that the Constitution and the laws may be fully vindicated; the truth clearly established and affirmed that treason is a crime, that traitors should be punished and the offense made infamous; and, at the same time, that the question may be judicially settled, finally and forever, that no State of its own will has the right to renounce its place in the Union.

The relations of the General Government towards the four millions of inhabitants whom the war has called into freedom, has engaged my most serious consideration. On the propriety of attempting to make the freedmen electors by the proclamation of the Executive, I took for my counsel the Constitution itself, the interpretation of that instrument by its authors and their cotemporaries, and recent legislation by Congress. When, at the first movement towards independence, the Congress of the United States instructed the several States to institute Governments of their own, they left each State to decide for itself the conditions for the enjoyment of the elective franchise. During the

period of the Confederacy, there continued to exist a very great diversity in the qualifications of electors in the several States; and even within a State a distinction of qualifications prevailed with regard to the officers to be chosen. The Constitution of the United States recognizes these diversities when it enjoins that, in the choice of members of the House of Representatives of the United States "the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." After the formation of the Constitution, it remained, as before, the uniform usage for each State to enlarge the body of its electors, according to its own judgment; and, under the system, one State after another has proceeded to increase the number of its electors, until now universal suffrage or something very near it, is the general rule. So fixed was this reservation of power in the habits of the people, and so unquestioned has been the interpretation of the constitution, that during the civil war the late President never harbored the purpose—certainly never avowed the purpose—of disregarding it; and in the acts of Congress, during that period, nothing can be found, which during the continuance of hostilities, much less after their close, would have sanctioned any departure by the Executive from a policy which has so uniformly obtained. Moreover, a concession of the elective franchise to the freedmen, by the act of the President of the United States, must have been extended to all colored men, wherever found, and so must have established a change of suffrage in the Northern, Middle, and Western States, not less than in the Southern and Southwestern. Such an act would have created a new class of voters, and would have been an assumption of power by the President which nothing in the constitution and laws of the United States would have warranted.

On the other hand, every danger of conflict is avoided when the settlement of the question is referred to the several States. They can, each for itself, decide on the measure, and whether it is to be adopted at once and absolutely, or introduced gradually and with conditions. In my judgment, the freedmen, if they show patience and manly virtues, will sooner obtain a participation in the elective franchise through the States than through the General Government, even if it had power to intervene. When the tumult of emotions that have been raised by the suddenness of the social change shall have subsided, it may prove that they will receive the kindest usage from some of those on whom they have heretofore most closely depended.

But while I have no doubt that now, after the close of the war, it is not competent for the General Government to extend the elective franchise in the several States, it is equally clear that good faith requires the security of the freedmen in their liberty and their property, their right to labor, and their right to claim the just return of their labor. I cannot too strongly urge a dispassionate treatment of this subject, which should be carefully kept aloof from all party strife.—We must equally avoid hasty assumptions of mutual responsibility for the two races to live side by side, in a state of mutual benefit and good will. The experiment involves us in no inconsistency; let us, then, go on and make that experiment in good faith, and not be too easily disheartened. The country is in need of labor, and the freedmen are in need of employment, culture, and protection. While their right of voluntary migration and expatriation is not to be questioned, I would not advise their forced removal and colonization. Let us rather encourage them to honorable and useful industry, where it may be beneficial to themselves and to the country; and, instead of uneasy conjectures of the certainty of failure, let there be nothing wanting to the fair trial of the experiment. The change in their condition is the substitution of labor by contract for the status of slavery. The freedman cannot fairly be accused of unwillingness to work, so long as a doubt remains about his freedom of choice in his pursuit, and the certainty of his recovering his stipulated wages. In this the interests of the employer and the employed coincide.—The employer desires in his workmen spirit and alacrity, and these can be permanently secured in no other way. And if the one ought to be able to enforce the contract, so ought the other. The public interest will be best promoted if the several States will provide adequate protection and remedies for the freedmen. Until this is in some way accomplished, there is no chance for the advantageous use of their labor; and the blame of ill-success will not rest on them.

I know that sincere philanthropy is earnest for the immediate realization of its remotest aims; but time is always an element in reform. It is one of the greatest acts on record to have brought four millions of people into freedom. The career of free industry must be fairly opened to them; and then their future prosperity and condition must, after all, rest mainly on themselves. If they fail, and so perish away, let us be careful that the failure shall not be attributable to any denial of justice. In all that relates to the destiny of the freedmen, we need not be too anxious to read the future; many incidents which, from a speculative point of view, might raise alarms, will quietly settle themselves.

Now that slavery is at an end or near its end, the greatness of its evil in the point of public utility, becomes more and more apparent. Slavery was essentially a monopoly of labor, and as such locked the States where it prevailed against the incoming of free industry. Where labor was the property of the capitalist, the white man was excluded from employment, or had but the second best chance of finding it; and the foreign emigrant turned away from the region where his condition would be so precarious. With the destruction of the monopoly, free labor will