slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the

"Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence, and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face ; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it stitution, viz: possible, then to make that intercourse more advantageous, or more satisfactory. after separation than before? Can aliens ists, which shall abolish the same therewar, you cannot fight always; and United States as follows, to wit: when, after much loss on both sides, and intercourse, are again upon you."

suitable for a national boundary, upon which to divide. Trace through, from east to west, upon the line between the free and slave country, and we shall find a little more than one-third of its length are rivers, easy to be crossed, and populated, or soon to be populated, thickly upon both sides; while nearly all its remaining length are merely surveyors' lines, over which people may walk back and forth without any consciousness of their presence. No 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 obtigations upon the section secoded from, tion would ever be made to take its

But there is another difficulty. The great interior region, bounded east by the Alleghanies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south by the line along which the culture of core and cotton meets, and which includes part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Territories of Dacota, Nebraska, and part of Colorado, already has above ten millions of people, and will have fifty millions within fifty years, if not prevented by any political tolly or mistake. It contains more than one-third of the country owned by the United Statescertainly more than one million of square miles. Once half as populous as Massachusetts already is, it would have more 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, in undeveloped resources. In the production of provisions, grains, grasses, and all which proceed from them, this great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Ascertain from the statistics the small proportion of the region which has, as yet, been brought rapidly increasing amount of its products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect. And yet this region has no sea-coast, touches no ocean anywhere. As part of one nation, its people now find, and may forever find, their way to Europe by New York, to South America and Africa by New Orleans; and to Asia by San Francisco. But separate our common country into two nations, as designed by the present rebellion, and every man of 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 regula-

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 none south of it can trade to any port or place north of it, and none north of it can trade to any port or place south of it, except upon terms dictated by a government foreign to them. These outlets, east, west, and south, are indispensable to the well being of the people inhabiting, and to inhabit, this vast interior region. Which of the three may be the best, is no proper question. right belong to that people, and to their cessors 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, too, and each of them, must have access to this Egypt of the West, without paying toll at the crossing of any national boun-

Our national strife springs not from our permanent part; not from the land we inhabit; not from our national homestead. There is no possible severing of this, but would multiply, and not mitigate, evils among us. In all its adaptations and aptitudes, it demands Union, and abhors separation. In fact, it would, ere long, force re-union, however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost.

Our strife pertains to ourselves-to may not be quite safe to say, that the nection-the great advantage of a policy

worse in both cases after the separation the passing generations of men; and it of the sections, than before. The foreign can, without convulsion, be hushed forev-

er with the passing of one generation.

In this view, I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and ar-ticles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States:

"Hesolved by the Senate and House of Rep-resentatives 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 close the war, than has been otherwise the said legislatures (or conventions) to done. If so, the measure would save be valid as part or parts of the said Con-

"ABTICLE-"Every State, wherein slavery now exmake treaties easier than friends can in, at any time, or times, before the first make laws? Can treaties be more faith- day of January, in the year of our fully enforced between aliens, than laws | Lord one thousand and nine hundred, can among friends? Suppose you go to shall receive compensation from the

when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cross a Capting, the shall deliver to every such State, bonds bonds even, any faster than the emancipation of the United States, bearing interest at tion progresses. This might not, and probably would not, close before the end There is no line, straight or crocked, an amount equal to the aggregate sum of

for each slave shown to have been therein, by the eighth census of the United States, said bonds to be delivered to such State by instalments, 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. Any State having received bonds as aforesaid, and afterwards reinpart of this line can be made any more troducing or tolerating slavery there in, 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 while I should expect no treaty stipula- rebellion, shall be forever free; but all owners of such, who shall not have been disloyal, shall be compensated for them, at the same rates as is provided for States adopting abolishment of slavery, but in such way, that no slave shall be twice accounted for.

"ARTICLE-"Congress may appropriate money, and otherwise provide, for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States."

I beg indulgence to discuss these proposed articles at some length. Without slavery the rebellion could never have existed; without slavery it could not continue.

Among the friends of the Union there is great diversity of sentiment, and of policy, in regard to slavery, and the African race amongst us. Some would perpetuate slavery; some would abolthan seventy-five millions of people. A | ish it suddenly and withou compensaglance at the map shows that, territori- tion some would abolish it gradually speaking, it is the great body of the ally, and with compensation; some would remove the freed 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 among ourselves By mutual concession we should harmonize, and act together. This would be compromise; but it would be compromise among the friends, and not with the enemies of the Union. These articles are intended to embody a plan of such mutual concessions. If the plan into cultivation, and also the large and shall be adopted, it is assumed that emancipation will follow, at least, in several of the States.

As to the first article, the main points are: first, the emancipation; secondly, the length of time for consummating it -thirty-seven years; and thirdly, the

compensation. The emancipation will be unsatisfactory to the advocates of perpetual slavebut the length of time should greatly mitigate their dissatisfaction. The time spares both races from the evils of sudden derangement-in fact, from the necessity of any 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 their numbers are very great; and it gives the inspiring assurance that their posterity shall be free forever. The plan leaves to each State, choosing to act under it, to abolish slavery now, or at the end of the century, or at any intermediate time, or All are better than either; and all, of by degrees, extending over the whole or any part of the period; and it obliges no two States to pro-ceed alike. It also provides for compensation, and generally, the mode of making it. This, it would seem, must further mitigate the 'dissatisfaction of those who favor perpetual slavery, and especially of those who are to receive the compensation. Doubtless some of those who are to pay, and not to receive, will object. Yet the measure is both just and economical. In a certain sense, the liberation of slaves is the destruction of property-property acquired by descent, or 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 not more responsible for the original introduction of this property, than are the people of the north; and when it is remembered how unbesitatingly we all use cotton and sugar, and share the profits of dealing in them, it

South has been more responsible than the North, for its continuance. If, then, for a common object, this property is to be sacrificed, is it not just that it be done And if, with less money, or money more

easily paid, we can preserve the benefits of

the Union by this means, than we can by the war alone, is it not also 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 that measure had been promptly accepted, by even some of the slave States, the same sum would not have done more to 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 Norming; but it is easier to pay a LANGE sum, than it is to pay a LARGER one. And it is easier to pay any sum when we are able, than it is to pay it BEFORE we are able. The war requires large sums, and requires them at once. The aggregate all receive compensation from the sum necessary for compensated emancipanited States as follows, to wit:
"The President of the United States would require no really cash; nor the of the thirty seven years. At that time we shall probably have a hundred millions of people to share the burden, instead of thirty-one millions, as now. And not only so, but the increase of our population may be expected to continue for a long time after that period, as rapidly as before; because our territory will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. At the same ratio of increase which we have maintained, on an average, from our first national census, in 1790, until that of 1860, we should, in 1900, have a populaof 103,208,415 And why may we not continue that ratio far beyond that period? Our abundant room-our broad national homestead-is our ample resource. were our territory as limited as are the British Isles, very certainly our population could not expand as stated. Instead of receiving the foreign born, as now, we should be compelled to send part of the native born away. But such is not our condition. We have two millions nine hundred and sixty three thousand square miles. Europe has three millions and eight hundred thousand, with a population averag-ing seventy-three and one third persons to the square mile. Why may not our country, at some time, average as many b Is it less fertile? Has it more waste surface, by mountains, rivers, lakes, deserts, or othes causes? Is it inferior to Europe in any natural advantage? If, then, we are, at some time, to be as populous as Europe, how soon? As to when this MAY be, we can judge by the past and the present; as to when it will be, if ever, depends much on whether we maintain the Union Several of our States are already above the average of Europe- seventy-three and a third to the square mile. Massachusetts has 157; Rhode Island, 183; Connecticut, 99; 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 inreased 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 natural capacity for sustaining

dense population. Taking the nation in the aggregate, and we find its population and ratio of increase, for the several decennial periods to be as

follows:		 P. Carrie		30,000,000
1790 8,923,827 1890 6,896,957 1810 7,239,814 1820 9,638,151 1830 12,806,620	35.62 36.45 33.13 33.49	 11 11 11	ratio	of Iner
1840 17,069,453	32.67	22		A.E
1850 23,191,870		- 64		61
1860,,31,443,790	20 08	.45		FE:

This shows an average decennial increase of 34 60 per cent. in population through the seventy years from our first, to our last census yet taken. It is seen that the ratio of increase, at no one of these seven periods, is either two per cent. below, or two per cent. above the average; thus showing how inflexible, and consequently, how reliable, the law of increase, in our case, is. Assuming that it will con-

tinue give the following results: 56,967,216 76,677,872 103,208,415 138,918,526 186,984,38 251,680,914 These figures show that our country

MAY be as populous as Europe now is, at some point between 1920 and 1930-say about 1925 - our territory, at seventymile, being of a capacity to contain 217,-

And we will reach this, too, if we do not ourselves relinquish the chance, by the folly and evils of disunion, or by long and exhausting war springing from the only great element of national discord among us. While it cannot be foreseen exactly how much one huge example of secession, breeding lessor ones indefin tely, would retard population, civilization, and prosenty, no one can doubt that the extent of it would be very

great and injurious. The proposed emancipation would shorten the war, perpetuate peace, insure this in-crease of population, and proportionately the wealth of the country. With these, we should pay all the emancipation would cost, together with our other debt, easier than we should pay our other debt, without it. If we had allowed our old national debt to run at six per cent. per annum, simple interest, from the end of our revolutionary struggle until to-day, without paying any thing on either principal or interest, each man of us would owe less upon that deb now, than each man owed upon it then and this because our increase of men. through the whole period has been greater than six per cent.; 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 in-

erest accummulates on its debt-This fact would be no excuse for delaying payment of what is justly due; but it shows he great importance of time in this con-

by which we shall not have to pay until we number a hundred millions, what, by a different policy, we would have to pay now, when we number but thirty-one millions. In a word, it shows that a dollar would be much harder to pay for the war, than will be 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. ome of them, doubtless, in the property sense, belong to loyal owners; and hence provision is made in this article for com-

ensating such. The third article relates to the future of the freed people. It does not oblige, but merely authorizes Congress to aid in colonizing such as may consent. This ought not to be regarded as objectionable, on the one hand, or on the other, in so much as it domes to nothing, unless by the mutual consent of the people to be deported, and the American voters through their repre

sentatives in Congress. I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor coloniza-And yet I wish to say there is an objection urged against free colored persons remaining in the country, which is largely

imaginary, if not sometimes malicious. It is insisted that their presence would njure, and displace white labor and white laborers. If there ever could be a proper time for mere catch arguments, that time surely is not now. In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity. Is it true, then, that colored people can displace any more white labor, by being free, than by re-maining slaves? If they stay in their old places, they jostle no white laborers; if they leave their old places, they leave them open to white laborers. Logically, there is neither more nor less of it. Emancipation, even without deportation, would probably enhance the wages of white labor, and, very surely, would not reduce them. Thus, the customary amount of labor would still have to be performed; the freed people would surely not do more than their old proportion of it, and very probably, for a time, would do less, leaving an increased part to white laborers, bringing their labor into greater demand, and, consequently, enhancing the wages of it. With deportation, even to a limited extent, enhanced wages to white labor is mathematically certain. Labor is like any other commodity in the market-increase the demand for it, and you increase the price of it. Reduce the supply of black labor, by colonizing the black laborer out of the country, and, by precisely so much, you increase the demand for, and wages of, white labor.

swarm forth, and cover the whole land? Are they not already in the land? Will liberation make them any more numerous? Equally distributed among the whites of the whole country, and there would be but one colored, to seven whites. Could the one, in any way, greatly disturb the seven? There are many communities now, having more than one free colored persons, to seven whites; and this, without any apparent consciousness of evil from it The District of Columbia, and the States of Maryland The District has more than one free colored to six whites; and yet, in its frequent petitions to Congress, I believe it has never presented the presence of free colored persons as one of its grievances. But why should emanospation south, send the freed people north? People, of any color, seldom run, unless there be something to run from. HERETOFORE colored people, to some extent, have fled north from bondage; and destitution. But if gradual emancipation and deportation be adopted, they will have neither to flee from. Their old masters will give them wages at least until new laborers can be procured; and the f.eed men, in turn, will gladly give their labor for the wages, till new homes can be found for them, in congenial climes, and with people of their own blood and race. This proposition can be trusted on the mutual interests involved' and, in any event, cannot the north decide for itself, whether to

But it is dreaded that the freed people will

receive them ? Again, as practice proves more than theory in any cause, has there been any irruption of-colored people northward, because of the abolishment of slavery in this District last spring ?

What I have said of the proportion of free colored persons to the whites, in the District, is from the census of 1860, having no reference to persons called contrabands, por to those made free by the act of Congress abolishing slavery here.

The plan consisting of these articles is recommended, not but that a restoration of the national authority would be accepted without its adoption.

Nor will the war, nor proceedings under the proclamation of September 22, 1862, be stayed because of the RECOMMEN-DATION of this plan. Its timely aboption, I doubt not, would bring restoration, and thereby stay both.

And, notwithstanding this plan, the reommendation that Congress provide by law for compensating any State which may adopt emancipation, before this plan shall have been acted upon, is hereby earnestly renewed. Such would be only an advance part of the plan, ond the same arguments apyly to both.

This plan is recommended as a means, not in exclusion of, but additional to, all others for restoring and preserving the national aethority throughout the Union. The subject is presented exclusively in its economical aspect. The plan world, I am confident, secure peace more speedily, and maintain it more permanently, than can be done by force alone; while all it would cost, considering amouts, and manner of pament, and times of payment, would be easier paid than will be the aditional cost of the war, if we rely solely upon force It is much-very much-that it would cost no blood at all.

The plan is proposed as permanent constitutional law. It cannot become such without the concurrence of, first, twothirds of Congress, and afterwards, threefourths of the States. The requisits threefourths of the States "will necessarily include seven of the slave States. Their concurrence, if obtained, will give assur-

ance of their severally adopting emancipation, at no very distant day, upon the new constitutional terms. This assurance would end the struggle now, and save the Union forever.

I do not forget the gravity which should characterize a paper adressed to the Con-gress of the nation, by the Chief Magistrate of the nation Nor do I forget that some of you are my seniors; nor that many of you have more experience than I, in the conduct of public affairs. Yet I trust that in view of the great responsibility resting upon me, you will perceive no want of respect to yourselves in any undus earnestness I may seem to display.

Is it doubted, then, that the plan I propose, if it is adopted, would shorten the war, and thus lessen its expenditure of money and of blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national authority and national posterity, and perpetually both indefinitely? Is it doubted that we here—Congress and Executive—can secure its mioption? Will not the good people respond to a united, and carnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any other means, so certainly, or so specify, assure these vital objects? We can succeed only by concert. It is not "can any of us imagine better?" but "can we all do better?" Object whatscover is possible, still the question recurs "can whatscover is possible, at it is not recurs."

ceed only by concert. It is not "can asy of us sangine better?" but "can we all do better?" Object
whatsoever is possible, still the question recurs "can
we do better?" The dogmas of the quiet past, are
madequate to the stormy present. The occasion is
pled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the
occasion. As our case is new, so we must think
ance and set ance. We must disentiral ourselves,
and then we shall save our country.

Fellow citizons, see cannot escape history. We, of
this Compress and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another
of us. The fiery trial through which we pass, will
light us down, in honor or dishoner, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world
will not forget that we may this. We know how to
save the Union. The world knows we do know how
to save it. We—even see here—hod the power, and
bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the
slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike
in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall
nobig save, or meanly less, the last bett, hope of
earth. Other means may snowed; this, could not
fail. The way is plain, poaceful, generous, just—a
way which, if followed, the world will forever anway which, if followed, the world will forever anway which, if followed, the world will forever anfail. The way is pinfn, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.

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June 6-47

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