

EXTRA.

One o'clock P. M.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

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 paralytic treason.

His removal cast upon me a heavier weight of cares 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.

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, and 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.

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 questions and overcome the appalling difficulties that met me at the very commencement of my administration.

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 vanquishers and the vanquished; and would have envenomed hatred, rather than have restored affection.

The chief persons who would have followed in the train of the army would have been dependents on the general government, or men who expected profit from the miseries of their erring fellow-citizens.

It is not strange that the framers of the constitution, who had no model in the past, should not have fully comprehended the excellence of their own work.

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.

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 Union.

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."

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 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 the 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.

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 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 connexion is indissoluble. The whole cannot exist without the parts, nor the parts without the whole.

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 occupation of every state which had attempted to secede.

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power of the general government—the power of pardon.

As no State 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 acknowledgment 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. The patriot must wish for a general amnesty at the earliest epoch consistent with public safety.

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.

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.

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 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 lay the subject "openly" to consider and act on the whole subject.

To your deliberations the restoration of 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 former functions.

The relations of the general government towards the four millions of inhabitants whom the war has called into freedom, have engaged my most serious consideration. On the propriety of attempting to make the freedmen electors by the proclamation of the executive, I look for your counsel.

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 who were to be chosen.

But if any state neglects to perform its offices, there is the more need that the general government should maintain all its authority, and that as soon as practicable resume the exercise of all its functions.

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.

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.

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.

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 rest on them.

Now that slavery is at an end, and near its end, the greatness of its evil, in the point of view of public economy, becomes more and more apparent.

Slavery was essentially a monopoly of labor, and as such, it locked the state where 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.

Our government springs from and was made for the people—not the people for the government. To them, therefore, we owe allegiance; from them it must derive its courage, strength and wisdom.

Whenever monopoly attains a foothold, it is sure to be a source of danger, discord and trouble. We shall but treat our duties as legislators by according the exact justice to all men; special privileges to none.

It is best, while the country is still young, and while the tendency to dangerous monopolies of this kind is still feeble, to use the power of congress so as to prevent any selfish impediment to the free circulation of men and merchandise.

It is our first duty to prepare in earnest for our recovery from the ever-increasing evils of an irredeemable currency, without a sudden revulsion, and yet without an untimely procrastination.

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the 30th day of June last, the total number of pensioners was 85,986, requiring for their annual pay, exclusive of expenses, the sum of \$8,028,445. The number of applications that have been allowed since that date will require a large increase of this amount for the next fiscal year.

The means for the payment of the stipends due, under existing laws, to our disabled soldiers and sailors, and to the families of such as have perished in the service of the country, will not be cheerfully and promptly granted.

The report of the postmaster general presents an encouraging exhibit of the operations of the postoffice department during the year. The revenues of the past year from the loyal states alone exceeded the maximum annual receipts from all the states previous to the rebellion in the sum of \$6,038,091; and the annual average increase of revenue during the last four years, compared with the revenues of the four years immediately preceding the rebellion, was \$3,533,845.

Progress has been made in restoring the postal service in the southern states. The views presented by the postmaster general against the policy of granting subsidies to ocean mail steamship lines upon established routes, and in favor of continuing the present system, which limits the competition to present service to the postal earnings, are recommended to the careful consideration of congress.

It appears, from the report of the secretary of the navy, that while, at the commencement of the present year, there were in commission 530 vessels of all classes and descriptions, armed with 490 guns, and manned by 51,000 men, the number of vessels at present in commission is 117, with 830 guns and 12,128 men.

In the report of the secretary of war, a general summary is given of the military campaigns of 1864 and 1865, ending in the suppression of armed resistance to the national authority in the insurgent states. The operations of the general administrative bureaus of the war department during the past year are detailed, and an estimate made of the appropriations that will be required for military purposes in the fiscal year commencing the 30th day of June, 1866.

It is proposed to reduce the military establishment to a peace footing, comprehending fifty thousand troops of all arms, organized so as to admit of an enlargement to the ranks to eighty-two thousand six hundred, if the circumstances of the country should require an augmentation of the army.

The war estimates are reduced from \$316,240,130 to \$29,814,401, which amount is in the opinion of the department, is adequate for a peace establishment. The measures of retrenchment in each bureau and branch of the service exhibit a diligent economy worthy of commendation.

The revenue system of the country is a subject of vital interest to its honor and prosperity, and should command the earnest consideration of congress. The secretary of the treasury will lay before you a full and detailed report of the receipts and disbursements of the last fiscal year, of the first quarter of the present fiscal year, of the probable receipts and expenditures for the other three quarters, and the estimates for the year following the 30th of June, 1866.

But the paramount importance of the subject so presses itself on my mind that I cannot but lay before you my views of the measures which are required for the good character, and, I might almost say, for the existence of this people. The life of a republic lies certainly in the energy, virtue and intelligence of its citizens; but it is equally true that a good revenue system is the life of an organized government.

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The gradual reduction of the currency is the only measure that can save the business of the country from disastrous calamities; and this can be almost imperceptibly accomplished by gradually funding the national circulation in securities that may be made redeemable at the pleasure of the government.

Our debt is doubly secure—first in the actual wealth and still greater undeveloped resources of the country, and next in the character of our institutions. The most intelligent observers among political economists have not failed to remark that the public debt of the country is safe in proportion as its people are free; that the debt of a republic is the safest of all. Our history confirms and establishes the theory, and I firmly believe, destined to give it a still more signal illustration.

Here all men contribute to the public welfare, and bear their fair share of the public burdens. During the war, under the impulses of patriotism the men of the great body of the people, without regard to their own comparative want of wealth, thronged to our armies, and filled our fleets of war, and held themselves ready to offer their lives for the public good.

Every reduction will diminish the total amount of interest to be paid, and so enlarge the means of still further reductions, until the whole shall be liquidated; and this will be seen by the estimates of the secretary of the treasury, may be accomplished by annual payments even within a period not exceeding thirty years.

The department of agriculture, under its present direction, is accomplishing much in developing and utilizing the vast agricultural capacities of the country, and for information respecting the details of its management reference is made to the annual report of the commissioner.

I have dwelt thus fully on our domestic affairs because of their transcendent importance. Under any circumstances, our great extent of territory and variety of climate, producing almost everything that is necessary to the wants and even the comforts of man, make us singularly independent of the varying policy of foreign powers, and protect us against every temptation to meddling interference.

For myself, it has been and it will be my constant aim to promote peace and amity with all foreign nations and powers; and I have every reason to believe that they all, without exception, are animated by the same disposition. Our relations with the Empire of China, so recent in their origin, are most friendly. Our commerce with his dominions is receiving new developments; and it is very pleasing to find the government of that great empire manifest satisfaction with our policy, and reposes just confidence in the fairness which marks our intercourse.

The unbroken harmony between the United States and the Empire of Brazil, is a pleasant moment the re-establishment of harmony, and the strength that comes from harmony, will be our best security against "nations who feel power and forget right."

Our commerce with South America is about to receive encouragement by a direct line of mail steamships, connecting our ports with Brazil. The distinguished party of men of science who have recently left our country to make a scientific exploration of the natural history of rivers and mountain ranges of that region, have received from the emperor that generous welcome which was to have been expected from his constant friendship to the United States, and his well known zeal in promoting the advancement of knowledge.

Our domestic contest, now happily ended, has left some traces in our relations with at least one of the great maritime powers. The formal acquiescence of belligerent rights to the insurgent states was unprecedented, and has not been justified by the issue. But in the systems of neutrality pursued by the powers which made that concession, there was a marked difference. The materials of war for the insurgent states were furnished in a great measure, from the workshops of Great Britain; and British ships, manned by British subjects, and prepared for receiving British armaments, sailed from the ports of Great Britain to make war on American commerce, under the shelter of a commission from the insurgent states.

These ships, having once escaped from British ports, ever afterwards entered them in every part of the world, to refit, and so to renew their depredations. The consequences of this conduct were most disastrous to the states then in rebellion, increasing their desolation and misery by the prolongation of our civil contest. It had, moreover, the effect, to a great extent, to drive the American flag from the sea, and to transfer much of our shipping and our commerce to the very power whose subjects had committed the necessity for such a change.