CARLISLE, PA.,

Thursday Morning, Feb. 15, 1866. J. BABRATTON & W. KENNEDY EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

EXPLANATION.

Our subscribers will find the date to which their subscriptions are paid, immediately after their names on the address of their papers. This represents the state of their accounts with the present firm, and has no reference to the accounts of Mr. Cornman, or of the Volunteer, prior to December 1st, 1865.

We desire to call attention to our terms of subscription to be found at the head of the first column of the first page We intend to adhere to these terms strictly in the future, but will make this modification: All those in arrears whose subscriptions date from the first of December last, who settle their accounts during the present month of February, will be charged at the rate of \$2,00 per annum. After the 1st of March no variation will be made from our pubtished terms, in any instance. All will have jair notice, and we intend to treat all alike, Subscribers in Arrears will THEREFORE SAVE FIFTY CENTS BY PAYING FOR THEIR PAPERS BEFORE THE 1ST OF MARCH. We do not intend this as a dun, but merely as a notice for the benefit of subscribers who are in ar-

## NO TIME TO LOOK AFTER THIEVES.

We have read most of the reports of the heads of Departments at Washington-civil and military; we have scann ed the proceedings of the Rump Congress; we have carefully read the leading Abolition disunion journals for some time; and yet we have not seen one syllable or one word in condemnation of the hundreds and thousands of gigantic frauds and thefts that have been perpetrated in our country. When we consider the magnitude of these frauds

the hundreds of millions of dollars that have been lost to the treasury, and which losses the people have to make up by taxation—is it not wonderful that not one official has made even a reference to them? True, Gen. Grant, in his Report, did intimate that the managers of the mammoth negro boarding house-called by its friends the "Freedmen's Bureau"—were swindling the Government, but no notice was taken of his hint, either by Congress or the Departments. On the contrary the boarding house is to have additional powers given it, and more facilities afforded to the whelps who prowl about its kitchens and pick up the good things that are bought with the money of the people.

"Thou shalt not steal," is a divine infunction, but the leaders of the negrodisunion party appear to pay no attention to the laws of God or man, for steal they will as often as opportunity affords. So monstrous have been their defalcations, that even Horace Greely, editor of the Tribune, was shockscoundrels, gave it as his opinion that had it not been for their defalcations, our national debt would not amount to half the sum it does-one half or more of the whole debt being stolen money. And yet, notwithstanding all this the Rump Congress puts in its time, day after day, on the subject of the negro, and no motion is made to investigate the monstrous frauds that have rifled the Treasury of hundreds of millions of dollars. Truly the administration of Lincoin afforded a fine harvest to "loyal thieves." No wonder so many corrupt villains, who formerly professed to be Democrats, found it convenient and "loyal" to forsake the principles of their fathers. They were well paid for their apostacy, and nearly every mother's son of them has become immensely wealthy. So we go-stealing, perjury, fraud and deviltry go hand in hand, and yet we hear decent men and honest men declaim in favor of the party that gives countenance to these "loyal" transactions.

Who are found in the seats formerly oc eupled by Southern statesmen? Alas! nobody. They are empty—empty because such creatures as Sumner, Wade, Wilson and other disunionists, prefer anarchy and desolation to peace and union

That the seats of traitors are empty and will remain so for some time isn't a great source of grief to any except those who need their assistance to ruin what is left ия of our country.-Herald,

Then President Johnson is working for the ruin of our country, is he? It is well known that he is making every effort to secure to all the States immediate representation in Congress and their full rights under the Constitution as States of the Union, He is a Republican in politics, was elected by the Recharging him with an attempt to "rulfi" our country." This is "opposition to lower House of Congress; and every the Government," according to the teaching of the Herald not long since, and for which many scores of good men were incarcerated in dungeons by the "divine" Stanton.

way Wuy don't the Republican journals give their candid views upon the bloody manifesto of Senator Sumner?-In his brutal speech he threatened "resistance"-" revenge"-" blood"-and "all the horrors of Saint Domingo"unless the negro was placed upon an equality with the white man. Some Republican journals have been bold **#nough to approve it—others have pre**served an intense silence upon the subject-but none have denounced it, and held it up to scorn and reprobation .-They must toe the mark, and meet the issue frankly!

The Harrisburg Telegraph says that at the beginning of the war the Republican party made many pledges .--We have no doubt of it—the principal pledge being to steal as much as they lish Gen Grant's report on the same possibly could, and call it "loyalty."\_ They have kept the pledge most faith. and say so. ully.

THADDEUS STEVENS. THE

No public man has heretofore appear ed upon the stage of our national politics whose character and disposition combined more intense bitterness and vindictiveness of feeling, more fiendish, cold-blooded malignity, than do the character and disposition of Thad Stevens. His heart is as cold and hard as a block of marble and never knew a genial, generous impulse. No man ever won from him words of sympathy or kindness. Sarcasm and insult are his fort, and he never misses an opportunity to use them upon friend or foe, with an unsparing tongue. As is natural for such a character, he has no respect for religion, law or the memories of the past—and as is also natural, he is a miserable coward. He would strike the fallen foe, whom henever dared to meet in open manly debate in days gone by. He insults the memory of the dead with slander and vituperation as none but a coward would do. He casts reproache upon those whose spotless purity of life shines all the more brightly in contrast with his hideous moral defromity. We will not call him a brute, for he has rare talents; we will not call him a demagogue, for he rules his party with a rod of iron; we know of no other term which so aptly indicates his true character as that of flend incarnate. He will go down into history as one of the worst men of this day and generation—beside whom Jefferson Davis and his rebel band will look like angels of light.

Week before last Stevens made one of his characteristic speeches in the House of Representatives, declaring open war against the President, and threatening him with the fate of Charles the First He avowed that the Fathers of the Republic, in forming the Constitution, had compromised their principles;" they had been false to the teachings of liberty, and he (Stevens,) was an instrument in the hands of Providence to rectify their mistakes. The idea that Providence would use such an old reprobate as Thad Stevens as a means for accomplishing any good is so sublimely impudent as to be absurd. He launched a tirade of unsparing invective against

President Johnson, declaring: "This is the proclamation, the command of the President of the United States, made and put forth by authority in advance, and at a time when this Congress was legislating on this very question, made, in my judgment, in violation of the privileges of this House; made in such a way that centuries ago, had it been made to Parliament by a British king, it would have cost him his head. But sir, we par that by; we are tolerant of usurpation in this lolerant government of ours."

Had such language been used by any Democratic Representative in regard to Abraham Lincoln, the intensely "loyal" would have been for stringing him up to the first lamp post. Then such language was "treason," now it is the highest type of "loyalty." And not only does Thad Stevens speak in this way of the President, but this very invective was immediately and almost unanimously endorsed by the Republican party in the House of Representatives. He asked the House to decide between him and the President. He ed and confounded, and in speaking of offensively flouted his amendment to of this great victory, says: the doings of these political pets and the Constitution in the face of the President, who had expressed the desire that there should be no more tinkering at the Constitution. He said to vote for this amendment is to defy "the man at the other end of the avenue," and to teach him not to interfere with Congress; and the Republican party, with but

a few dissenting voices, gave that vote and that defiance. He also distinctly avowed that the object of this amendment apportioning Representatives according to the num\_ ber of voters in each State, was to force the Southern States to give their negroes the right of suffrage. His language was: "I say no more strong inducement could ever be held out to them, no more severe punishment could ever be inflicted upon them as States. If they exclude the colored population they will lose at least thirty-five Representatives in this hall.—
If they adopt it they will have eightythree votes. Take it away from them and three votes. Take I away from them and they will have only from forty-five to forty-eight votes, all told, in this hall; and then, sir, let them have all the cop-perhead assistance they can get, and liberty will be triumphant.'

And with this avowal before them, the Republican party, almost to a man, voted for this amendment.

He also declares in favor of negro repesentatives in Congress, which is but a natural sequence of his first position, saying "when they have said to all their freedmen, to their former slaves. you are men and you shall be represen ted, then let them come here. I shall not be here to see them, as I did their tols and daggers upon me when I was people will be here represented, and will take care of themselves."

By some ill-starred fortune, this man Thad Stevens seems to hold the destipublicans, but yet we now see the Herald | nies of the nation in his hands. He exercises almost unlimited power in the revolutionary measure he introduces he forces through, without consideration or debate, under the crack of the radical lash. No man dare say him nay. He wields the scepter of a tyrant as mercilessly as the Czar of Russia. Verily, it would be well for the liberties of this country if the fate of Charles I, were meeted out to him, for there is no man whose death the country would less sincerely mourn than that of Thaddeus Stevens.

> WHY don't the abolition papers publish Senator Cowan's speech in support of the President's Restoration

Policy? They are opposed to the President and his policy.

Why don't the abolition papers pub lish the President's Special Message to tha Senate in regard to the condition of the South?

They think it a "white-washing" Message, and say so-Why don't the abolition papers pub-

subject? They think it a white washing report,

POOR WHITE MEN TO BE DISFRAN-CHISED.

The enfranchisement of negroes and the disfranchisement of poor whitemen are about the only objects that claim the attention of our disunion law-makers, in both Congress and the State Legislature. They appear as anxious for the one as for the other, and seem determined to carry out both. In the House of Representatives at Harrisburg, a few days since, a bill was passed by a party vote, ordering the polls at all elections in the city of Philadelphia, to be closed at 6 o'clock, P. M., instead of 7, as heretofore. Nearly the entire working population of Philadelphia have been in the habit of voting between the hours of 6 and 7, (after they had finished their laily labor,) but now, under the operation of this new negro-equality arrangement, the poor laborer of Philadelphia must either consent to lese a day's wages or be deprived of his vote.

The infamy of this attempt to deprive the poor men of Philadelphia of the right of suffrage is apparent to the most casual observer. Nineteen out of every twenty of the working men of Philadelphia vote the Democratic ticket, and on the subject of negro-equality and negro voting, they are unanimous in opposition. Hence it is that the effort is to be made to disfranchise these hard-fisted voters. Very few if any of them can afford to lose a day's wages, and they must either do this or lose their vote.

What a piece of scoundrelism is this! With the infamous apportionment bill now in operation—by which one-fourth the Demodrats of this State are disfranchised, in the election of Congressmen and members of Assembly—it was supposed our unprincipled and reckless opponents would be satisfied, and not dare to suggest any additional outrage upon the people. But now we have other propositions—one to give negroes the right of suffrage, because they will vote the Republican ticket, and one to deprive white laborers of the same right because most of them vote the Demo eratic ticket.

Step by step are the men in power undermining the institutions of our country, and if not checked in their mad career, the right of suffrage, which our fathers gave us as a sacred boon, will be wrested from us, and fanatics and negroes will rule in this State and in the nation. Let the people—we mean white people—think of these things before it s too late.

THE LANCASTER ELECTION—DEMO-CRATIC TRIUMPH.—The Lancaster municipal election took place on Tuesday of last week, and resulted in a glorious Democratic triumph. Capt. SANDERson was re-elected Mayor by some 200 majority, notwithstanding the desperate efforts that were resorted to by the tools of THAD STEVENS to defeat him. The corruption fund at Washington furnished \$4,000, to be used in buying up the venal and unprincipled, but all would not do-the Democrats and conservatives rallied manfully, and defeated the disunionists, horse, foot and dragoons. The Lancaster Intelligencer, in speaking

"It is in all respects, the gre ever achieved by the Democracy of Lancaster, and will have a most salutary and beneficial effect upon the rest of the State. The arch demagogue, disunidnist, and traitor, Thaddeus Stevens, has been signally and terribly rebuked at his home, and white men everywhere have good reason to rejoice over the result.'

A DEAD HUSBAND TURNS UP .- Another case of the dead coming to life has just been brought to light in the Register's Office of this county. A citizen of Reading, who enlisted in the early part of the war, and from whom no information was had for some time, was given up for dead. His supposed widow, in order to draw a certain legacy which in the meantime became payable to the husband, took out Letters of Administration on his estate, drew the legacy and was again married immediately thereupon. A few weeks afterwards the husband-not dead, but livingcalled at the Register's Office, where he was informed that Letters of Administration on his estate, had been granted to his supposed widow; whereupon he instituted legal proceedings against the Administratrix and her sureties in order to recover back, not the wife, as he alleged, but the legacy. This is the second case of a similar nature that has occurred in the Register's Office of this county within the last three months.-Reading Gazette.

ABOLITION STRATEGY.—Last winter the loyalists, through Senator Bigham, masters, who a few years since drew pis- of Pittsburg, reported a bill to abolish the office of Surveyor General, alledging making such a speech as this, yet a free | that it was only an expense to the State, now the same Senator has introduced a bill doubling the salary of that officer .-The reason for this loyal trick is, that the incumbent heretofore has been a Democrat, but the gentleman elected for the next three years is an abolitionist. This accounts for the milk in the Cocoanut. What love those loyal hypocrites profess for the taxpayers when the Treasury doors are closed-against them.—Sunbury Democrat.

> The Hon. George Bancroft on Monday pronounced the funeral oration commemorative of President Lincoln. in the presence of the President, Cabinet, Congress, and a large concourse of spectators, at Washington. Business was entirely suspended, and nothing was done in Congress.

> 19 SIMON CAMERON presided at the recent Fish Convention at Harrisburg. As Simon has always been considered a very slippery and "fishy" politician he was certainly the right man for this po-

ILL.-We regret to learn that the Hon. S. E. Ancona, M. C., from Berks county, has been soriously ill at Washington for ome days past. We look with anxiety for his early recovery.

The Congressional Bounty Committeeare in favor of giving lands instead of bounties, and probably so report.

TRAITORS MUST "GET OUT.

A delegation of members of the Legislature of Virginia-all of them distinguished men-waited upon President Johnson on Monday last, and delivered an address. The President replied at length, in a most significant and powerful speech—a speech that will attract universal attention. We will publish both addresses in our next. In the meantime we give the following extract from this language: I do not intend to say anything personal; but you know as well as I do, that at

the begining of the recent gigantic strug-gle between the different sections of the country, there were extreme men South and there were extreme men North. I might make use of a homely figure, which in ght make useful to help light, which is sometimes as good as any other, even in the ilustration of great and important questions, and say that it has been a hammer at one end of the line and an anvil at the other. And this great government, the best the world ever saw, was kept upon the anvil, and it has been hammered since the rebellion, and there seems to be a disposition to continue the hammering until the government shall be destroyed. I have opposed that system always, and I oppose it now. The government, in the oppose it now. The government, in the assertion of its powers and the maintenance of the principles of the Constitution, has taken hold of one extreme, and, with the strong arm of physical power, has put down the rebellion. Now as, we swing around the circle of the Union, with a fixed and unalterable deforming. with a fixed and unalterable determination to stand by it, if we find the counter-part or the duplicate of the same spirit that played to this feeling and these perin the South, this other extreme, which stands in the way, must get out of it, and the government must stand unshaken and unmoved on its basis.

It is very evident that unless Stevens. Sumner, and the rest of the brood of obstructionists stop the "hammering," which is so distasteful to "that man at the other end of the avenue," they will soon find themselves in an awkward po-

THE 'COMING MAN' STOPPED A BIT. The Colored Members of the Rump Have an Interview with the President.

They Ask Him to Use his Power to Secure Negro-Suffrage.

HE REFERS THEM TO THE PEOPLE-IN WHOM ALL POWER RESIDES,

If the Negroes Don't Like to be Governed by White Men They Can Go Elsewhere.

They Go--to Get the People Right

The Negro branch of the Rump Congress, which is supposed to control the 'National Republican' caucuses and sugest the prominent features of Rump le sistation, had an interview with President Johnson on the 7th inst. The following are the members composing the Ebony branch:

Frederick Douglass, of New York George T. Downing, representing the New England States; L. H. Douglass, and W. E. Matthews, of Maryland; J. Jones, of Illinois; John L. Cook, of the District of Columbia; A. J. Raynier, of South Carolina; Joseph Oats, of Florida; A. W. Ross, of Mississippi; Wm. Ripper, Penn-sylvania; John M. Brown and Alexan-der Dunlap, of Virginia; and Calvin Pep-per (white) of Virginia.

DOWNING'S SPEECH.

We present ourselves to your Excellen cy to make known with pleasure the respect which we are glad to cherish for you; a respect which is your due as our Chief Magistrate. It is our desire for you to know that we come feeling that we are friends, meeting as friends. We should, however, have manifested our friendship by not coming to further tax your already much burdened and valuable time. But we have another object in calling. are in a passage to equality before the law. God hath made it by opening a red sea. We would have your assistance through the same. We come to you in the name of the United States, and are delayated to come by your which had a red delayated to come by your which had a red delayated to come by your which had a red delayated to come by your which had a red delayated to come by your which had a red delayated to come by your which had a red delayated to come by your which had a red to the same had a red t delegated to come by some who have unjustly worn iron manacles on their bodies by some whose minds have been tram-

meled by class legislation in States called The colored people of the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, New Fingland States, and District of Columbia, have specially delegated us to come. Our coming is a marked cir-cumstance noting determined hope; that we are not satisfied with an amendment prohibiting slavery, but that we wish it enforced with appropriate legislation. This is our desire. We ask for it intelligently, with the knowledge and conviction that the fathers of the revolution intended freedom for every American, that they should be protected in their rights

they should be protected in their rights as citizens and equal before the law.

We are Americans, native-born Americans. We are citizens, we are glad to have it known to the world, as bearing no doubtful record on this point. On this fact, and with confidence in the triumph of justice, we base our hopes. We see no recognition of color or races in the organic law of the land. It knows no privileged law of the land. It knows no privileged class, and therefore we cherish the hope class, and therefore we cherish the hope that we may be fully enfranchised, not only here in this district, but throughout the land. We respectfully submit that rendering anything less than this will be rendering to us less than our just dues, that granting anything less than our full rights will be a disregard of our just rights of disrespect for our feelings.

of disrespect for our feelings.

If the power that be do so it will be used as a license, as it were, or an apology for any community, or for individuals, thus disposed to outrage our rights and feelings. It has been shown in the present were that the community of the contract ent war that the Government may justly reach the strong arm into States and demand from them, from those who owe it allegiance, their assistance and support. May it not reach out a like arm to secure and protect its subjects upon whom it has a like claim?

FRED DOUGLASS' SPEECH.

Mr. President, we are not here to enlighten you, sir, as to your duties as the Chief Magistrate of the Republic, but to show our respect, and to present in brief the claims of our race to your favorable consideration. By the order of Divine Providence you are placed in a position where you have the power to save or destroy us—to bless or to blast us; I mean our whole race. Your noble and humane predecessor placed in our hands the power to assist in saving the nation, and we do hope that you, his able successor, will favorably regard the placing in our hands of the ballot, with which to save ourselves.

We shall submit no argument on that point. The fact that we are the subjects of government and subject to taxation, subject to volunteer, in the service of the country, subject to being drafted, subject to bear the burdens of the State, makes it not improper that we should ask to share in the privileges of this condition. I have speech to make on this occasion. simply submit these observations as a lim ited expression of the views and feelings of the delegation with which I have

REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT.

I am a friend of humanity, and to that portion of it which constitutes the colored opulation. I can give no evidence hereafter. Everything that I have had, both as regards life and property, has been periled in this cause, and I feel and think that I understand, (not to be egotistic.) what should be the true direction of this question, and what course of policy would result in the amelioration and ultimate elevation not only of the colored, but the great mass of the people of the United

I say that if I have not given evidence the President's remarks. Speaking of that I am a friend of humanity, and esthe "radicals" in both sections, he uses pecially the friend of the colored man, in my past conduct, there is nothing that I can now do that would. I repeat, all that possessed, life, liberty, and property have been put up in connection with that question, when I had every inducement held out to take the other course, by adopting which I would have accomplished, perhaps, all that the most ambitious might have desired.

If I know myself and the feelings of my own heart, they have been for the colored man. I have owned slaves, and bought slaves, but I never sold one. I might say, however, that practically, so far as my connection with slaves has gone, I have been their slave instead of their being mine, Some have even followed here, while others are occupying and enjoying my property with my con-sent. For the colored race my means, my time, my all has been periled, and now, at this late day, after giving evidence that is tangible, that is practical, I am free to tell you that I do not like to be arraigned by some who can get up hand-somely-rounded periods, deal in rhetoric and talk about abstract ideas of liberty, who never periled life, liberty or property.
This kind of theoretical, hollow, un-

policy that I belive will end in a contest between the races, which, if persisted in, will result in the extermination of one or gaged in such a work now. It is always best to talk practically and in a common sense way. Yes, I have said, and I repeat it here, that if the colored man in the United States could find no other Moses or any Moses that would be more able and efficient than myself, I would be his Moses to lead him from voltage of reedom; that I would pass him from a land where he had lived in slavery to A land (if it were in our reach) of freedom. Yes, I would be willing to pass with him through the Red Sea to the land of promise, to the land of liberty; but I am not willing, under either circumstances, to dopt a policy which I believe will only esult in the sacrifice of his life, and the shedding of his blood. I think I know what I say; I feel what I say, and I feel assured that if the policy urged by some be persisted in, it will result in great injury to the white as well as to the colored an. There is a great deal of talk about the sword in one hand accomplishing one end, and the ballot accomplishing another at the ballot-box. These things all do

very well, and sometimes have a forcible application.

We talk about justice, we talk about with the white talk about the control of the cont right. We say that the white man has been in the wrong in keeping the black man in slavery as long as he has. That is all true. Again, we talk about the Declaration of Independence, and equality before the law. You understand all that, and know how to appreciate it. But now let us look each other in the face. Let us go to the great magger. the face. Let us go to the great mass of colored men throughout the slave States. Let us take the condition in which they are at the present time (and it is bad enough we all know,) and suppose by some magic you could say to every one "You shall vote to-morrow. How much would that ameliorate their condition at this time? Now, let'us get closer up to this subject and talk about it.

What relation has the colored man and what relation has the colored man and white man heretofore occupied in the South? I opposed slavery upon two grounds. First, it was a great monopoly, enabling those who controlled and owned it to constitute an aristocracy enabling th few to derive great profits and rule the many with an iron rod, as it were: and that is one great objection to it in argument, it being a monopoly. I was opposed to it, secondly, upon the abstract principle of slavery. Hence in getting clear of a monopoly we were getting clear of slavery at the same time. So, you see, here were two right ends accomplished in the accomplishment of the one.

Mr. Donglass-Mr. President, do you The President-I am not quite through yet. Slavery has been abolished. A great national guarantee has been given, ne that cannot be revoked. I was get ting at the relation that subsisted between the white man and the colored man. A very small proportion of white perso compared with the whole number of such, owned the colored people of the South. I might instance the State of Tennessee in illustration. There were twenty-seven non-slaveholders to one slaveholder, and

yet that slave power controlled the State. Let us talk about the matter as it is. Although the colored man was in sla very there, and owned as property in the sense and in the language of that locality and of that community, yet in comparing his condition and his position there with the non-slaveholder, he usually estimated his importance just in proportion to the number of slaves that his master owned with the non-slaveholder.

Have you never lived upon a plantation?
Mr. Douglass—I have, your Excellency.
The President—When you could look over and see a man, who had a large famiy, struggling hard upon a poor piece of and, you thought a great deal less of him han you did of your own master.

Mr. Douglass—Not I.

The President. Well, I know such was the case with a large majority of you n those sections; where such is the cas we know there is an enmity; we know there is a hate. The poor white man, on the other hand, was opposed to the slave and his master, for the colored man and his master combined kept him in slavery by depriving him of a fair participation in the labor and productions of the rich that a colored man in going to hunt a master (as they call it) for the next year, preferred hiring to a man who owned slaves rather than one who did not. I know the fact, at all events.

Douglass-Because they treated um better, The President—They did not consider it quite as respectable to hire to a man who did not own negroes as to hire to one

Mr. Douglass-Because he wouldn't be treated as well. The President-Then that is another argument in favor of what I am going to It shows that the colored man appreciated the slave owner more highly than he did the man who didn't own slaves. Hence the enmity between the colored man and the non-slaveholders.— The white man was permitted to vote beore government was derived from him. He is a part and parcel of the political nachinery, not by rebellion or rev And when you come back to the objects of this war you find that the abolition of

slavery was not one of the objects. Congress, and the President himself, declared that it was waged on our part in order to suppress the rebellion. The abolition of slavery has come as an incident to the suppression of a great rebellion—as an incident, and as an incident we should give it the proper direction. The colored man went into this rebellion a slave. By the operation of the rebellion he came out a freedman, equal to freedmen in other por-tions of the country.

Then there is a great deal done for him on this point. The non-slaveholder who forced into the rebellion, and was as loyel as these who lived havened the limit. The following is substantially the response of the President: In reply to some of your inquiries, not to make a speech about this matter, for it is always best to talk plainly and distinctly about such questions, I will say that if I have not speech about this matter in the speech about this matter, and in a number of instances the lives of such were sacrificed, and he speech about this matter is always of the State, was carried into it, and his property, and in a number of instances the lives of such were sacrificed, and he speech about this matter is always of the State, was carried into it, and his property, and in a number of instances the colored people can live and advance in civilization to better advantage else-

given evidence in my former course that who has survived has come out of it with nothing gained, but a great deal lost. Now, upon a principle of justice, should hey be placed in a condition different from what they were before? On the one hand one has gained a great deal.— On the other hand one has lost a great deal, and, in political point of view, scarcely stands where he did before. Now we are talking about where we are going to begin. We have got at the hate that existed between the two races.

The query comes up whether these two races, situated as they were before, without preparation, without time for passion and excitement to be appeased, and without time for the slightest improvement, whether the one should be turned loose upon the other and be thrown together at the Ballot-box with this enmity and hate existing between them? comes up, will we not then commence a war of races? I think I understand this thing; and especially is this the case when you force it upon a people without their

You have spoken about government.— Where is power derived from? We say it is derived from the people. Let us take it so, and refer to the District of Columbia by way of illustration. Suppose, for instance, here, in this political community, which to a certain extent must have government, must have law; and putting it now upon the broadest basis you can put it, take into consideration the relation which the white has hitherto borne to the colored race, is it proper to force upon this community, without their consent, the elective franchise without regard to color, making it universal?

Now, where do you begin? Government must have a controlling power; must have a lodgment. For instance, suppose Congress should pass a law authorizing an election to be held, at which all over twenty-one years of age, without regard to color, should be allowed to vote, practical friendship amounts to but very regard to color, should be allowed to vote, little. While I say that I am a friend of the colored man, I do not want to adopt a tion that the elective franchise should not be universal, what would you do about Who would settle it? that first great principle of the right of the people to govern themselves? Will you resort to an arbitrary power, and say a majority of this people shall receive a state of things they are opposed to? Mr. Douglas—That was said befor said before the

> The President—I am now talking about a principle, and not what somebody else

Mr. Downing—Apply what you have said, Mr. President, to South Carolina, The President—Suppose you go to South Carolina, suppose you go to Ohio, that does not change the principle at all. The query to which I have referred still comes up when the Government is undergoing a fundamental change. The Government commenced upon this principle; it has existed upon it, and you propose now to incorporate into it an element that did not exist before.

I say the query comes up, in undertaking this thing, whether we have a right to make a change in regard to the elective franchise in Ohio, for instance; whethere er we shall not let the people in that Stat decide the matter for themselves.

Each community is better prepared t determine the depository of its political power than anybody else, and it is for the Legislature, for the people of Ohio, to say who shall vote, and not for the Congress of the United States.

I might go down here to the ballot-box co-morrow and vote directly for universa suffrage, but if a great majority of this people said no, I should consider it would be tyrannical and arbitrary in me to at-tempt to force it upon them without their will. It is a fundamental text in my creed that the will of the people must be obeyed when fairly expressed. Is there anything wrong or unfair in that?

Mr. Douglas, smiling—A great deal of wrong, Mr. President, with all respect.

The President—It is the people of the

States that must for themselves determin I do not want to be engathis question. I do not want to be enga-ged in a work that will commence a wan paration. If a man demeans himself well, and shows evidence that this new state of affairs will operate, he will be protected in all his rights and given are not support his Administration thorough Stove and enthusiastically, "of goes his head off." Moore will have no half-way measured by the state of t of races. I want to begin the work of re-paration. If a man demeans himself well, in all his rights and given every possible advantage by the State or community in which he lives, when they become reconciled socially and politically to certain chings. Then will this new order of afciled socially fairs work harmoniously; but forced up-on the people before they are prepared for it it will be resisted and work inharmo-I feel, too, a conviction that forcing this matter upon the people, up-on the community, will result in the in-jury of both races, and the ruin of one or the other. God knows I have no desire but the good of the whole human race. I would it were so that all you advocate could be done in the twinkling of an eye, but it is not in the nature of things and I do not assume or pretend to be wiser than Providence, or stronger than the laws of nature. Let us now seek to discover the law governing this question. There is a great law controlling it; let us endeavor to find out what the law is, and conform our action to it: all the details will the properly adjust themselves and work out well in the end. God knows that anything I can do, I will do in the mighty process by which the great end is to be reached. Anything I can do to elevate the races, to soften or ameliorate their condition, I will do, and to be able to do so is the sincere desire of my heart. I am glad to have met you, and thank you for

the compliment you have paid me. Mr. Douglas—I have to return you our thanks, Mr. President, for so kindly granting this interview. We did not come here expecting to argue this question with your Excellency, but simply to state what were our views and wishes in the premises. If we were disposed to argue the question, and you would grant us per-mission, of course we would endeavor to controvert some of the positions you have

Mr. Downing-Mr. Douglas, I take it that the President, by his kind expressions and his very full treatment of the subject, must have contemplated some re-ply to the views which he has advanced, nd in which we certainly do not oncur,

and I say this with due respect. The President-I thought you expected me to indicate, to some extent what my views were on the subjects touched upon

where on the subjects touched upon in your statement.

Mr. Downing—We are very happy, indeed, to have heard them.

Mr. Douglas—If the President will allow me, I would like to say one or two words in reply.

The President—All I have done is sim-Ply to indicate what my views are, as I suppose you expected me to do from your address.

Mr. Douglas—My own impression is that the very thing that your Excellency would avoid in the Southern States can only be avoided by the very measure that we propose, and I would state to my brother delegates that because I perceive the President has taken strong ground in face. President has taken strong ground in favor of a given policy, and, distrusting my own ability to remove any of those impressions which he has expressed, I hought we had better end the interview with the expression of thanks. [Addressing the President] but, if your Excellency will be pleased to hear, I would like to say a word or two in regard to that one matter of the enfranchisement of the blacks, as a means of preventing the very thing which your Excellency seems to apprehend—that is, a conflict of races.

The President—I repeat, I merely wanted to indicate my views in reply to your address and yet to entire into your address, and not to enter into any al controversy, as I could not well do so

was due to you to meet it in the san Mr. Downing—Thank you, sir.
The President—I think you will find,

under the circumstances. Your statemen

was a very frank one, and I thought it

where than crowded together in the South would be better for them. Mr. Douglas—But the masters have the making of the laws, and we cannot get away from the plantations.

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The President-What prevents you Mr. Douglas-We have not th right of locomotion through the South ern States now.

The President—If the master who con-

trols him or his action, would he not con-Mr. Douglas—Let the negro once understand that he has an organic right to vote, and he will raise up a party in the Southern States among the poor who will rally with him. There is this conflict that you speak of between the wealthy slaveholder and the poor man.

The President—You touch, right upon the point there. There is this conflict hence I suggest emigration. If he cannot get enjoyment in the South, he has it in his power to go where he can get it. trol him in his vote?

In parting, the President stated that the they were both desirous of accomplishing Horses, and but proposed to do so by busehold.

they were both desirous of accomplishing the same end, but proposed to do so by following different routes.

Mr. Douglass, on turning to leave, remarked to his fellow-delegates: The President sends us to the people, and will have to go and get the people right. The President—Yes, sir; I have great faith in the people. I believe they will do what is just, and have no doubt they will settle this question right, and hope that it will be submitted to them for full action,

The delegates then bowed and with drew.

OUR WASHINGTON LETTER

pen War Between the Executive and cogress...Andy Johnson Don't Like to be I swited...His Speech to the Darkt Edit of the County of Guerral Guillotine Getting Ready...Off Guerral Guer

Washington, Feb. 12, 1866 n Middl MESSRS. EDITORS VOLUNTEER:-Let all good arlisle, cople, as they bend the knee in prayer, that **lingsto** the Lord that such a man lives as Andrew Joh. **Threshi** the Lord that such a man lives as Andrew John hreshing on a man who that patriotism enough in the kitch, the art, strength enough of nerve, and honest Triesd enough of purpose to throw himself in the win nile not of the advancing tide of radical revolution, and lead say to the mad waves "Thus far and no farther Let all the people say "Amen" to the burning logs; W words our President has spoken in behalf of peac y of out and Union and the white race. Summer map Devenue rave, and Wilson may howl, and Stephens map Thurs blaspheme, and Kelly may pharisaically that in Frank his God that he is not as other men are; but the if Plain word has been spoken—a word for constitution Househ government and legal liberty—a word for pan Fride and Union—a word for the white man—only all Levi Zii tle word it may be, but it is for the white man that and that is glory enough for one day. When Middle last week, a Democratic member of the Hosse Gap TR. proposed that one day in seven should be at Farmin apart for the legitimate business of the session, a niture be called "white men's day," it was indignants. Salur be called "white men's day," it was indignantly had on the table by the negro-worshipping me and De Jorty. Not even the poor pittance of one Shearer could be given to the interests of the white ma ceased. But thank fortune Andrew Johnson has give mile so two days to the white man, and he has done made Cows. In those two days than old Stevens and his to Win. I torous crew will be able to undo for a month. Satur come. He sent Fred. Douglass and his brote in Dick "nigs" away with very large fleas in their car. ander, This has raised a very bitter feeling against b. Cows. on the part of the radicals, and they swear in chines, geance in all sorts of ways. They will reject, furnition Mon Middle ohnson's appointments: they will refuse appo printions for carrying on the Government; the printings for earrying on the Government; they lend the Government; they even with Middle per of blood and violence. You can scarcely in guit agine what a rage they are in—and all beas President Johnson has seen fit to declare it sometimes. this is a white man's Government and that the cast of is such a thing in existence as the Constitution Youn which must be obeyed; and that his highests: Thresi bition is to have the old Union of the fathers. Farmi stored at once and completely. Of course is ture, will give your readers his speech to the Montas. Tue

Let me tell you here, and once for all, is and I there is no back-down in Andy Johnson. He Thu made of sterner stuff than that. He has take his position, and by that he will stand or all. House And let me tell you have been to be the work. And let me tell you, too, that he is gettlight declared that "he that is not for him is agains nim." Have a little patience, and you will se Pursu the first chapter in our new Bartholomew's day cratic the slaughter of the innocents," The "divis Stanton's head will be the first to drop into it gates. asket, and then will come such a wholesale of semit capitation as will sear old Thad's eye-balls word on 'A han that vision of "the sheeted dead" he savi Galb the house the other day, and (to complete his this hished quotation) " make each particular his temp of that old brown wig of his " to stand one Esq. like quills upon the fretted porcupine." We tary:

delegation, also that to the negroes and that Esq. the Virginia delegation, delivered on Saturday

in this interesting predicament, he will sit for and picture, to be hung in the rogue's gallery. their Speaking of old Thad, your readers may don't less be interested in a remarkable dream 82 Abr individual recently had in the west. He dress Jose Di Kiss Ex J. H Fr ne was in the infernal regions; and while the Thad came to the door, asking admittance. 'Satanic majesty" politely informed Thadia there was no room there for him: but in consider ation of his services, he would furnish him small supply of fire and brimstone, and here go off by himself and start a little hell of Whether Thaddeus went or not, b dreamer does not inform us

This visit of the negroes to President John This visit of the negroes to President Johns was gotten up by Sumner and Stevens to diff. Boy the President "to the wall." They be sure by would quait before the issue; and hadden the dreamed of the terrible rebuff in reserve failed they never would have risked the experiment As it was, their game failed utterly, and out of order friends came away with very dark was. ored friends came away with very dark one, nances. Oh, there is high old trouble in b, colored camp. It may be true, as some of s rural Republican cotemporaries say, that "the is no conflict between the Executive and it gress;" but if it be true, why is it that the he men's Bureau Bill which passed both he some days ago, has never yet reached the b ses the delay? of the President? What can the District Negro Suffrage Bill in the Sensit Why not pass that also and send it to the P dent? What has become with Stevens' colored amendment to the Constitution what one of the Senate's pigeon holes did "sleep its last sleep"? The President has and candidly expressed his views about "tinkerings", are the radicals afraid to eff man at the other end of the Avenue" lms 14 it up. Time will show who has the best me but your humble servant takes this occasion. bet his pile" on Andy Johnson. He has he known what defeat was in all his life, and himself says, he is now "too old to learn." as declared his confidence in the virtue elligence of the people; let them rally in might and their majesty to the "suppo nent," and the day of radical rev will soon be at an end. CAUCASIA

Ingenious.—The following is a sin method for solving the puzzle whether given month be a short or a long of 'Close the hand and touch the four if knuckles and the hollows between, in 5 ular rotation, from the fore to the finger, then back to the fore finger and repeat till the twelve months named; the knuckles will represent ular rotation, from the fore to the named; the knuckles will represent long months, and the hollows being the short ones."

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.—The publican County Convention me Rheem's Hall, on Monday last, and chi Wm. B. Mullin, Esq., to represent faithful" of this county in the Convent to be held in Harrisburg, on the 7th March next.

FREQUENT and sudden changes i state of the weather continue to take pl Sunday morning the sun shone most was obscured by heavy clouds, and all early hour in the evening rain begin