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American

All five?

bad character?

'All in this building.'

A man had died of fever in the attie

room opposite only that morning—and his widow and her children and lodg-ers were still living there, as filthy and

crowded together as ever.

'We have to carry corpses from these places sometimes, said the roundsman, 'and they are crawling—!'

'Are all these women—ail of them—of

Every one,' said the roundsman. We

'Over there,' observed the roundsman

as he pointed to a place near by, 'over there is where a nigger killed the white man some time since. They call it S—Alley. Would you like to go over?'

We picked our way over the half frozen

slush, and came to a stable door, as I

thought, for there was a heap of stable

refuse near it. The roundsman rapped. By and by an old negroman appeared, with but one article of clothing on his body—a

short, thick old man, who made his living by begging. A low, filthy room, miserably furnished, but with more in it

On the floor, lay a young man and a woman on a filthy mattress. They were man and wife—or, at least, the old man

said so. They were colored.

Near by, up one flight of rickety stairs, we saw a sadder sight still. A stove—not

a large open pot only—stood in the mid-dle of the main room. Three little rooms

led out of it, and one of them had been a china closet once. Four squalid and

overcoat over them-two persons were

Who keeps this place?"

'Who's that man?' asked the rounds-

' Me!' said a debauched creature, in un-

omanly rags clad, looking up at the

'How came you here? said the officer

'Coming home'—
'And this crow picked you up?'
'Yes.'

There are men who are as low in character as these women; but they come out of these alleys and dens and redeem themselves. But, once there, a woman

can escape in one way only in a coffin.

At the corner of Water street, where

once a missionary lived, we went through another house; this the abode of the bet-

ter, or, more properly, the less wretched

'You may make comparisons,' said the

roundsman. 'This is the way down. They try to keep up a more decent appearance; but they all go down to the cellars on Cow Bay at last.'

'And then?'
'They soon drink themselves to death,'

MIND THE DOOR.

Did you ever observe how strong a street

door is? how thick the wood is? how heavy the chain is? what large bolts it has, and what a lock? If there was noth-

ing of value in the house, or no thieves outside, this would not be needed; but

as there are precious things within, and bad men without, there is need that the

door be strong, and we must mind the

is in that house. Bad things are forever trying to come in and go out of our mind

and heart. I will describe some of these

bad things to you.

Who isat that door: Ah, I know him;

it is Anger. What a frown there is on his face! how his lips quiver! how fierce he looks! I will hold the door, and not

let him in, or he will do me harm, and

ty he seems! he looks down on everthing

as if it were too mean for his notice. Ah

wicked Pride! I will hold the door fast,

and try to keep him out.

Here is some one else. I am sure from

his sour look, his name is Ill-temper. It

will never do to let him in, for if he can only sit down in the house, he makes ev-

ery one unhappy, and it will be hard to get him out again. No sir; we shall nev-

r let you in, so you may go away. Who is this? It must be Vanity, with

his flaunting spirit, and gay clothes. He is never so well pleased as when he has a fine dress to wear, and is admired. You

will not come in. mv fine fellow: we have

to much to do to attend to such folks as

Here comes a stranger. By his sleepy look and slow pace I think I know him. It is Sloth. He would like nothing bet-

ter than to live in my house, sleep or yawn the hours away, and bring me to rags and

ruin. No, no, you idle drone; work is pleasure, and I have much to do. Go

away, you shall not come in! But who is this? What a sweet smile! what a kind face! She looks like an an-

It is Love. How happy she will make us if we ask her in! Come in; we must

open the door for you.
Others are coming. Good and bad are crowding up. Oh! if men kept the door of their hearts bad thoughts and bad words

would not come in and go out as they do. Welcome to all things good, war with all

things bad. We must mark well who

And-would-you-know-how-to-keep-it?

Let Jesus in, and he will give you daily and hourly of his spirit. "Behold," he says, I stand at the door and knock; if

163° A newly arrived John Chinaman

in California purchased some ice, and finding it very wet, laid it out to dry in

the sun. On going to look for it again he

found it had disappeared, and forthwith accused the whole Chinese neighborhood

with larcony. A general riot was the con-

reason than the owner wants to go out of

reas "I am passionately fond of paint-

ings," as the young man said when he kissed the rouged cheek of his sweet-

Hope Review,

sequence.

Who is that? It is Pride. How haugh-

erhans some one else.

you. Mind the door!

We have a house. Our heart and mind

stretched out.

Donno.

to the man.

than the rooms up Jacob's ladder.

Wolfer,

BY BRATTON & KENNEDY,

CARLISLE, PA., THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1866.

is that man lying beside a woman under Miscellaneons. a heap of rags near by them?
'They are all prostitutes here,' said the

A GLANCE AT NEW YORK.

A writer in the New York Times o Thursday, gives an account of a visit he made through the lodging dens of the Sixth ward. He was accompanied by M'Donnell, who has lived in this precinct all his days, and had been connected with the police several years. Yet he is as healthy a man as one can meet in a day's journey on Broadway.

'Now, what would you like to see first?

I expressed a preference for underground

lging houses. All right,' said the roundsman, 'I car show you enough to sicken you.'
We went around to the corner of Laurens and Baxter streets, and descended about a dozen of stairs to the door of a cellar. It had a window, broken and dirty. The roundsman rapped at the door with his club.
'Who's there?' cried a woman's voice.

'A policeman.'
'What does the policeman want?' the voice rejoined.
'Oh, let me in and you'll see,' said the

A drunken male voice told the woman to open. There was the sound of striking

Never mind a light,' said the round man, 'open; I've got one.'
The door opened. A boy nine or ten, entirely naked, stood before us. An unshaven, hard-featured, elderly laborer sat

bolt upright in bed-naked, too. A wo

man lay by his side.

This cellar, like all the rest, was less than eight feet high, and its floor was in bad order and extremely filthy. It had once been a noted underground hotel, kept by a negro, who has since gone up to the island or to Sing Sing. It had an inner room, which once communicated with rooms still further along, which again were connected with a dark and foul alley. I thought then that the atmosphere was deadly poisonous, but I remember it now as the best ventilated of these cellars that we visited. For it was

debauched women were squatted down near the stove. A mattress lay on the floor close by the fire, and on it, clasped in each other's arms—not a blanket nor rug nor coverlid, but only an a private residence, not a lodging house, 'John Lane's rum shop'-the policemen call the place gin-mills—was next startled by our visit. It was jammed. White boys and prostitutes of both races —Celtic and negro—black men and white men, were in the closest fraternity. There was a rush out at the back door as soon as M'Donnell's blue eyes rested on the wo

'Oh,' he cried, 'you needn't run; ain't going to touch you.' They all knew him and seemed to have full faith in his word. In fact, every-

body we met knew Charley. I mentioned the circumstance.
'Yes,' said Charley, 'most of them have

good reason to know me. I've sent lots of them up to the island!' of them up to the island! This gin-mill is one of the cheapest and most liberally patronized gates to ruin in the city. It is also one of the best fitted. Go into it in the day time, and you would report it to be clean and respectable, if you would use the last word in relation to such a place in any

circumstances. Most of the forty or fifty persons here are colored.

Fitzgarland's gin mill is on the corner of Baxter and White streets. Five or six brutal-looking, bloated, blackened-eye prostitutes sat around the stove; and one, dead drunk, lay at full length on a form per the door. Four or five young wonear the door. Four or five young wo-men stood near the bar and near the stove.

They all knew Charley—the women. All Charles F. Himes, A. M., Professor of Natural discension of the Museum.

They, James A. McCauley, A. M. Professor of Philes. Bernard H. Fadall, D. D., Professor of Philes. Bernard H. Fadall, D. D., Professor of Philes. Bernard H. Fadall, D. D., Professor of Philes. Henry C. Cheston, A. M., Principal of the man School.

There were between than once.

On the opposite corner is Tom Lane's. It is much larger than either of the other two. Tom is Jim's brother. This is the place of which Capt. Jordan says in his report that it is the resort of thieves, beggars and prostitutes of the lowest class. men and women in the room when we entered it. The prostitutes are of the lowest grade. Their faces are bloated and haggard, and oh! so dreary! Their laugh is hard and forced. Still they excite little pity. They seem to be irrevocably gone. Gone! And these are of the sex of our mothers and our wives! There seems to be no hope for them in this life; and hopelessness is written on every line

of their faces. And yet there are hardly any traces of *vital* wretchedness. It is negative mainly; it is the utter absence of happiness rather than the presence of misery that impresses one. These women, so lost, so fallen, are These women, so lost, so fallen, are called lofters in the police vocabulary.
'There!' said the roundsman, pointing to a young woman who stood near the end of the bar, 'there's the greatest shop-

lifter in the United States. And she' come to this. This girl had an intelligent face, keen. black eyes, and her black hair hung down in one mass. She seemed to be delighted with the compliment.

As we were going out, one of the young rowdies made a mocking sound at the roundsman. 'Charley' whistled. A low whistle answered. A policeman emerged from the gloom of a neighboring house and came forward. 'Clear them fellows out,' said the

roundsman. The tall man in blue went into the bar room like a wolf on the fold, and there was a sudden scampering of the young rowdies. They made a simultaneous rush for the door. In their eagerness to escape they blocked each other's way. Mean-while the policeman laid on his club with a vigor which must have left marks or

lower region of their bodies. The women laughed. 'Now let us go over to "Cow Bay," said the roundsman, 'and you will see how they live way up Jacob's Ladder. That's the name it goes by. Cow Bay used to be where the house of industry is

onow, but there's one building still standing—where they keep lodgers.'

Jacob's ladder is an outside stairway, high and steep, which ends at a landing so ricketty, and in every way dilapidated that it excites one's wonder that it should be suffered to remain standing. You be suffered to remain standing. You land as high up, as the third story would have been. There were two doors. The

roundsman rapped at both of them.
'Whose there?' asked a female voice 'Open the door, Suse,' said the rounds-

man.
'Ah! that's Charley,' returned a voice A little room; three women in it; a pan filled with coal cinders in the centre of the floor. One woman on her haunches warming her hands over it. On a filthy mattress, with one filthy coverlet over a woman asleep. No bedstead. low. No other mattress. The room—how fithy, how cheerless, how ricketty, no pen can describe. The gas from the fire was enough to sufficete me. Next room; a devilish looking little German woman, half-dressed, opened the door. Two ment in one bed—her husband in the other—perhaps her husband. Filthy, everything. Had I written about it then and there I would have said extremely filthy. But there was worse to

A well-known lawyer had a horse that always stopped and refused to cross the mill-dam bridge leading out of the city. No whipping, no urging, would carry him over without stopping. So he advertised him, "To be sold for no other reason then the owner wants to go out of We go up the narrow, worn-out wind We enter—no I didn't, for I should have vomited had I done so—the roundsman entered, and I looked into three of the upper chambers. In one, under the eaves almost, small and low and slanting, a negro woman had three or four boarders—she paid a dollar a week for rent. Next door there were five or six women huddled near a stoye. Who

NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN THE SENATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[COMPILED FROM THE OFFICIAL RECORD.] Mr. LANDON, Republican Senator from

Bradford county, offered the following joint resolutions, which were read:
WHEREAS, A bill enfranchising the And men come here?'
Oh, yes—they have no sense of decencolored citizens of the District of Colum-bia lately passed in the lower House of One of these women was so frightfully diseased that the foul odors of her body were distinguishable above the other fetid odors of the room and its inmates Congress, receiving the earnest support of our Republican members; therefore and the fumes of the coal gas. For in all these caverns there are no fire-places.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That we approve and commend the action of our members in their support of this measure, and our Senators are requested, and hereby in-structed to vote for the same. **Resolved, That the Governor be request-

ed to forward to each of our members and Senators in Congress a copy of this preamble and resolution.
On motion of Mr. Nichols, the Senate proceeded to a second reading and consideration of the resolution.

On the question, will the Senate agree

to the first resolution?

The yeas and mays were required by Mr. Glatz and Mr. Latta, and were as fol-

Mr. Glatz and Mr. Latta, and were as follows, viz:
YEAS,—Messrs, Bigham, of Allegheny: Browne of Lawrence: Champheys, of Lancaster: Connell, of Philadelphia: Dunlap, of Lancaster: Graham, of Allegheny: Haines, of Perry: Hoge, of Venango: Landon, of Bradford: Lowry, of Erie: Al Conaughy, of Adams: Nichols, of Philadelphia: Boyer, of Montgomery: Shoemaker, of Lazerne: 11—all Republicans,
NAYS.—Messrs, Reardslee, of Wayne: Glatz, of York: James, of Bucks; Latta, of Westmoreland:
Montgomery, of Northumberland: Randall, of Schuylkill: Wallace of Clearfield: 7—all Democrats.

During the foregoing proceedings, Messrs. Hopkins, Walls, Donovan and Schall, Democratic Senators were absent

at home on leave. On Wednesday, January 31, 1866, the discussion of these resolutions commenced. Messrs. Landon, White, Lowry, Bighan, Browne and Hall all spoke in favor of Negro Suffrage, and Messis. Donovan, Clymer, Wallace, Latta, Beardslee and Hopkins spoke against it; and after a lengthy discussion the resolutions were recommitted to the Committee on Federal Relations by the majority, because they lacked the courage to place upon the record their votes upon the final passage of a measure they advo-eated for two days, and which is, in truth, a cardinal doctrine with these gentlemen. EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES' MADE FOR

AND AGAINST THE MEASURE DURING THE DISCUSSION. Senator LANDON, of Bradford, said: Mr. Speaker, not many days since the following bill was before the lower House of Congress: "Be it enacted, &c., That from all laws and parts of laws prescribing the qualifications of electors for any office in the District of Columbia, the word 'white' be and the same is hereby stricken out, and that from and after the passage of this act, no person shall be disqualified from voting at any election held in said

District on account of color."

In looking over the records of the House, In looking over the records of the House, I find that the bill passed by one hundred and sixteen yeas to fifty nays, and it gave me personally great satisfaction to find that every Republican member from Pennsylvania voted aye, with a single exception, and he was absent—he was non est in body, but est in spirit, and would have worted are hed, be been present. This was voted aye had he been present. This action, in my judgment, is honorable to the men themselves, and reflects credit upon the great Commonwealth which they represent. To meet heroically the duties of the hour, and bear manfully the responsibilities of the occasion, is the highest attainment of mortals, and ever deserves praise. Believing this, it occurred to me that the very least we could consistently do, was to say to our Representatives, in words of cheer, "Well done, good and faithful servants;" you acted right, and we endorse you in that act.

A WAR OF BACES.

Senator LANDON also said: How will you have peace in the South? Here are four millions of colored people, just disenthralled and emancipated, and twice as many millions of whites. The colored people have snuffed the breath of -some have fought in your battles, some have begun to read, some have read the speeches of Patrick Henry, they have the right to take the Tribune, and they do. As they have read their minds have expanded, their impulses toward liberty and the privileges of liberty are becoming

stronger every hour. Here are these two antagonisms of life running on side by side, the colored man learning more and more, as his mind expends, of the rights that belong to him as a man; the white man, on the other hand, abridging his privileges by unfriendly legislation: and we know that by and by these two antagonists must come into collison. It will come, infallibly as fatc. The colored man will begin to feel that he that would be free must himself strikee th blow, and he may strike it, and then will come the war of races in the Southern States; then will it be the black against the white and the white against the black. Each clutching at the throat of the other, there will come a renewal of the fierce scenes of St, Domingo, fires apon the hills and blood in the vales.— This will be called a negro insurrection and the Government will be summoned to the pleasant task of suppressing it.
You will be called upon to butcher off

those to whom you appealed in your hour of danger, and who helped you fight your battles of deliverance.

Senator White, of Indiana, said: 1 know there are those who always grow nervous and timid on this question. If they are Republicans, I hope they will strengthen their faith and be timid no more. We hear them say, "there is never to be an end of this negro agitation; we have heard of it from earliest boy-hood." So you have and may hear of it till your latest manhood. It is cowardice to deny the negro has a place in the polities of the country, and will have until he enjoys complete emancipation—until his late task-master agrees in spirit and comes in; we must hark well who comes in; we must be watchful and in earnest. Keep the guard! Mind the door! mind the door! "Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of fact, the negro has rights he is bound to respect—until he agrees all men shall be equal before the law. These emancipated negroes are the wards of the nation, and we cannot desert them now. But, I trust in Heaven, this nation will not soon forget the long, weary years of oppression t gave to this unfortunate race and will any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me."—Band of make proper atonement in the future.-The flag we all love so much has ever been an emblem of liberty to the white

man: let it be henceforth an emblem of

freedom for all men.

Senator Lowry, of Erie, said; That Senator is in favor of continuing the control of the District of Columbia exclusively in the hands of the white rebels, who reside there. I am opposed to this, and in favor of restoring to the black loyal men the rights, which wrong and oppression so unjustly deprived him of. We must have the loyal votes of all men on this continent, white or black, or with him we perish. Our country—her currency, religion, law, order, justice, humanity—will go down in blood if we refuse to enfranchise the black. Spare us, O, God! from "Bull Run" defeats at the polls! Without the enfranchisement of those who helped in war we cannot prosper in Oppression cannot live in a soil

warmed only by the sun of freedom. The "irrepressible conflict" is fairly upon us.

This Government cannot exist half

one who, when he gave them utterance, litone who, when he gave them utterance, lit-tle realized that he was the first public mar-tyr, whose blood is the seed of the freed-men's church.

Allow the African to vote in the Dis-

trict of Columbia, and it is a bow of promise set in Heaven, a covenant made with God, that the truths of the fathers shall be revered. Voting in that district will be hailed as the star of Bethlehem, as a Saviour's birthplace to a redeemed

The negro born upon this soil has as just a title of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, as an Irishman, or any countryman whatever, who emigrated from foreign lands. If he has a right to life here, he has the right to make life tolerable. Does not the colored man pay taxes, and was not the "On to Richmond" of the Revolution "Textica without without the state of the Revolution "Textica without the state of the state o of the Revolution "Taxation without re-presentation?" We went to war with or the recontain "Instation without representation?" We went to war with the most powerful nation upon earth to obtain a boon which we deny to others.—Shall we shut out from the ballot box, the jury box, or witness box, a race nearly twice as large as New England?

Mr. BROWNE, Senator of Lawrence,

Ine proposition before the Senate is to sustain the action of our Representatives in Congress, extending suffrage to the colored population of the District of Coumbia, That action I heartily endorse.

Among the terrible consequences charlumbia, ged upon the proposed measure of enfranchising the black men of the District of Columbia, with the right of suffrage, if thell receive and or ment the suffrage if it shall receive endorsement here and be finally enacted and receive the endorsement of the President of the United States, we are told will be the election of colored we are told will be the election of colored men to office, and that before long, we may expect to see them represent us in the councils of the nation. And what of that? If the principle is right in itself, and constitutional, and the people of any portion of the country choose to select a colored gentleman to represent them, I should like to know how it contravenes any Penyllicen, or any Depresent to principle. any Republican or any Democratic principle that the people should exercise their

own choice in the matter.

Sir, suffrage is a natural right. I choose to assert that the right of government is in the governed. It is simply the right of the people to govern themselves—in the healthful conditions of society—an inalienable right, belonging to every individual by the same just principles as those by which it belongs to any. On no other ground can the theory of a popular gov-ernment, as against governments by prescription or force be maintained.

According to that principle, suffrage resides in every individual of the people, who has not forfeited it by crimes, including the crime of seeking the overthrow of the Government by treason or rebel-lion. It cannot but be so. If otherwise, let it be shown where this power resides.

Senator Hall, of Blair, said: Whilst I am not the special advocate of the negro, I deem it due to truth to say that a race which numbers among its representatives such men as Frederick Douglass and Howard Day, cannot be ut-terly incapable of elevation or of civilization. These men, in spite of the prejudice that opposed their progress, in spite of the degredation to which their race had long been doomed by slavery, have, by the force of their native talents, won their way through adverse circumstances to distinction. Why have the negroes, as a race, never been elevated, never attained to a higher order of civilization and intelligence? It is because they have and intemperce? It is because they have never had an opportunity—because the state of slavery was incompatible with their elevation, and the policy of slavery required them to be kept in a state of ig-

norance and degredation.

I do not say that I would be in favor of denying the right of suffrage to any man simply on account of his color. simply on account of his color.

But I hold that the right of suffrage is not a natural right; that it has never not a natural right; that it has never-been considered a natural right in Penn-sylvania nor anywhere else, nor do I un-derstand it to be so held by any Senator here, excepting the Senator from Law-rence [Mr. Browne.] It is a convention-al right, regulated by law—by arbitrary law. The lower House of Congress have declared that they are in favor of unqual-ified negro suffrage in the District. The Senator from Bradford, [Mr. LANDON,] in his argument in favor of endorsing the action of Congress, takes the position that if he had the power he would extend the right of sufrage to all negroes who can read and write, to all who fought in the late war, and to all who pay taxes. I hope for the time when all the negroes will be qualified for all the rights and privi-leges of citizenship. If I were in Congress and the question were submitted to me as to giving them the right of suffrage in the District, with the qualifications mentioned by the Senator from Bradford, I think I would vote for it.

The foregoing extracts are all taken from the speeches of the Republican Senators, who voted for the negro-suffrage resolution offered by Senator Landon.
In order that the reader may be enabled to judge of the arguments upon both sides of this suffrage question, the following extracts from speeches made by Democratic Senators are published in this cannection.

Senatar Donovan said : Now, sir, you ask me, in the simple resolution which you have here proposed, to vote for what? To vote for what appears to me to be the greatest political wrong, the severest act of political tyrranny, the grossest act of injustice that ever was perpetrated on God's green earth up-on the rights of any people. If the Senator who offered the resolution would so change its phraseology, or allow a substitute, so as to return our thanks to the loyal men of Congress who have shown respect for the white men of the District of Columbia, I would vote for it. But this resolution contemplates an endorsement of that which I, at least, conceive to be inconsistent with, and in open hos tility to, every wise policy or humane consideration. Why, sir, is there a Senator upon this floor, who, if a proposition were submitted to him to which he knew that the people of his district were unanimously to the contract of the contr mously opposed, would cast his vote in the Senate of-Pennsylvania-in favor of it? I say that if any such man is here, he is false to his people and false to his trust; and I honor the men in Congress, I honor the Representatives of the Democratic party who have stood up, like men, willing to pay respect to the wishes of the white people of that District.

The Senator made an Ingenious speech

to-day. Nine-tenths of his speech was devoted to the negro, and one-tenth to the white man; and the white man's onetenth was entirely made up of allusions to traitors, whose names the Senator lugged in, in order to bring out applause. It was, indeed, a very ingenious speech.— But, sir, I say to that Senator, he has not fairly met the question. An attempt has been made here for weeks and weeks to beg the question; and the Senator from Indiana, to-day, tried to evade it. It is, whether the people of this country are to be placed uponan equality with the black man. The Senator labored hard and earnestly to prove to this Senate, that this rebellion was chrushed by the black man. rebellion was chrushed by the black man. That is an assertion that I dony. It was crushed by my people; the flag of the country was upheld by my race—the white race of the United States. Sir, he has no sympathy, perhaps, with the principles of the Constitution and the clostyling which the flag is even dectined. slave and half free," were the words of doctrines which the flag is ever destined the policy and necessity of inserting the

to defend. The race that he is to-day trying to elevate and place in power, had no part in the formation of that Constitution and the preservation of that flag. This is a white man's government. It belongs to the white man; and I trust in God it will continue in his possession until the last syllable of recorded time.

VOL. 52.--NO. 38.

Senator CLYMER said: Sir, for myself and for the people of this State, I thank the Senator from Bradford that he, first of all, has had the hardihood, the boldness, aye, sir, I may call it the daring courage, here and now to distinctly avow, and glory in the avowal, that all the blood and treasure spent, that all the ills untold which have befallen our land, that all the debt, and the calamity and misery, the carnage and harvest of death through which we have just passed, was, sir, not to preserve a Constitution and re-store a broken Union, but was to keep the party to which the Senator adheres, in power, through the co-operation and by the votes of an inferior and debased race whom they already proudly call their

Oh, sir, I confess to you, it does require nerve and courage to do it. But I thank God the Senator has made the deliberate avowal, right here, where it may be met by the indignant scorn of the people of this State, and that the member of congress from the Lancaster district [Mr. Stevens,] has made a similar avowal upon the floor of Congress. He alone, of all his party, dared make it there. The Republican party of this State may not here after deny its position on this question.—
It has long denied the issue. Would, sir, that it could have been fairly made years ago. How much of sorrow and of blood would it have spared this land? But, sir, purpose is at last disclosed; the hour of trial has come. The people shall sit in judgment, and woe be to those who have so long deceived them, thereby drenching the land with blood and mortgaging the present and future generations with end

How does the fact as to the views, wishes and interests of the people of that district stand? This could best be determined by a vote of that people. It was taken, and the Senator [Mr. Landon] well knows the result. Nearly seven thousand against and but sixty odd in favor of the proposition. Seven thousand white men have deliberately said, "We wish no admixture of races; we wish to meet no man here, on either social or pounder our time-honored usages, we have been accustomed to meet; it is against ou views, our wishes, and we conceive against our best interests." And yet, sir, in defiance of this clear and explicit declaration, the Republican majority of the present Congress, elected from States, a large majority of whom have persistently and ever denied this "right," this "privilege," as the Senator [Mr. Landon] calls it, to the colored citizens within their borders, have forced this measure upon them. It has been done, as is boldly proclaimed here and there, for the purpose of testing public sentiment, to know how far they may go, without danger of being hurled from power. It has been done as an "entering wedge" for the enfranchisement of negroes, there and elsewhere throughout the land. They have done that to the District of Columbia, which, as yet they would not dare attempt in their States. Yet, sir, negro suffrage is to be forced upon the District of Colum-bia by the votes of Congressmen representing States which, saving Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New York, do not permit negroes to vote. New York admits them on a freehold qualification of two hundred and fifty dollars, so there the property votes, not the negro. I say, sir, that every Congressman who voted for this iniquity, save those from the States which I have named voted for that to which I have named, voted for that to which their own people will not submit. They did it, too, in flat opposition to the almost unanimous wish of the people of the District. Is this just? Is it right? Is it fair? Will it be submitted to? Will not the hour come when the judgment entered against the views, the wishes and the interest of the people of the District. the interests of the people of the District of Columbia, by an irresponsible body, by a Congress organized and existing on such revolutionary principles, that doubts may well arise as to the legality of any of its acts? Will not the hour come when that judgment, if it be concurred in by the Senate, will be reversed? These, sir

are my views in regard to the question, so far as it relates to the District of Columbia. And he tells you that unless you give them political rights there will be slaughthem pointed rights there will be saughter; that there will be a war of races.—
And, sir, I ask the Senator now, when that hour comes, which side will he be on? Will he be with his own brethren? or will he be with those whom he, and and those who are with him, have taught to de that year, thing? Will you be found. and those who are with him, have taught to do that very thing? Will you be found fighting against blood of your own blood—against your little ones? or will you rightfully stand, where you and others who teach your doctrines ought to stand—behind those whom you and your damnable doctrines have driven on to their own destruction? There is where you bught to stand and where you belong.— But I tell you that against you will be the great heart, white though it may be, of this nation. And when that war of races comes, we be to those who brought it about. I shall regret it; but before God, and before the country, you and all others who preach those doctrines will be held responsible for it. History will point you out, and history will be but repeating itself, when those deeds are done.

self, when those decas are done.

Mr. Speaker, I have always considered, and, I believe, every writer on the subject has hitherto adjudged, that the natural has intheric adjudged, that the natural rights of men are protection to life, to liberty, to reputation, to property. If the right to vote is one of the natural rights, it should be exercised by all mankind, without limitation as to age or sex, race or color, at all times, everywhere and under all circumstances; because all governments profess, at least, to furnish protection to life, liberty, reputation and and property. But, sir, has any government anywhere, at any time, rranted unlimited, unconditional suff rage? To state the proposition is to show its_absurdity,-because-if-it-be-a-natural right it should be exercised by all men, of every age, by both sexes, and at all times every age, by both sexes, and at all times. Has this ever been done? I ask the Senator if it has ever been permitted anywhere? Is it not, on the contrary, a right which belongs to and is vested in the whole body politic, whose exclusive right it is to determine when, where and by whom it shall be exercised, and under what restrictions? It is therefore not a what restrictions? It is, therefore, not a natural right, but purely a conventional or political right, to be exercised by those only who are adjudged worthy of it by the whole body of the people.

I have said, Mr. Speaker, that no government, in any age, or at any time, has granted this conventional or political right to all men of all ages, regardless of sex and color. The history of our own State is illustrative of the position I as

sume. And further to illustrate my argument, and for the information of those who have failed to understand the reasons which led to the adoption of the clause of our constitution which I have just read, I propose, at this time, to eite the opin-ion of one of the ablest of our lawyers and statesmen, whose virtues, learning and eloquence will obtain for him the admiration of after times, in reference to ADVERTISING TERMS.

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word "white" in the first section of the third article. I refer to the Attorney General, Mr. Meredith. He was a member of the convention which framed the existing constitution of the Commonwealth.

Another distinguished member of that convention, one renowned for his ability as a judge, and one who added all the graces of a high literary culture to his character as a man, was the late Judge Joseph Hopkinson, of Philadelphia; he who wrote one of our national hymns—
"Hail Columbia;" he, too, has left on record the reasons why he voted with Mr.
Meredith in favor of inserting the word
"white" in our constitution. If possible, he stated his views in stronger and more emphatic utterances than did Mr. Mere-

Now, Mr. Speaker, I propose to inquire a little further as to the object of this proposed amendment to the Constitution of posed amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We are told, to-day, in language glowingly eloquent, of the natural rights of men and of elevating them to a condition which is to be happiness and prosperity to all of them. Is there nothing selfish, nothing of a personal or partisan character in all this? Sir, if this right to vote is a natural right, if every man should have it, and if that doctrine was ever truly and honestly. doctrine was ever truly and honestly held by those who are asking us to-day to vote for it, is it not a most astounding reflection that but twelve short years ago a great political party was organized in this state, and elsewhere throughout the Union, who denied this great natural right, not to negroes, not to men of a lower caste, but to men who happened to serve God in a manner different from themselves; to men who happened to be born under another sun and in other climes? Did you not rear a party—Know Nothing by name—that went into power in this Commonwealth on that issue, which would, could it have retained its power, have excluded every race except the native born, and would have exclud-ed those from the elective franchise from vhose loins you yourselves had sprung? What was your object then? Answer me, you Senators? Was it not that you feared if they voted they would put you out of power? Now, with like hypocrisy, do you not wish to get the negroes' vote to keep you in after you have got there? Is not that the reason? Is it any high or generous motive to do good for the country's good by which you are actuated? Is it any other than to save your Republican party from going to destruction, where it should have gone long ago?

Senator WALLACE said:

The Senator from Bradford affirms that God's law is the elevation of humanity. Granted. He asserts that the law of progress is the law of the world. Admitted. gress is the law of the world. Admitted, Do I understand his first proposition to be that he who is elevated is to remain stationary, whilst he who is below is to be elevated to the higher standard. I will not do him so great injustice. His first proposition is, and of right ought to be, consistent with the second, and if it be, we agreed in protionary well as in south. consistent with the second, and if it be, we agree in practice as well as in sentiment. The elevation of humanity as well as the law of progress requires that each should move onward and upward from the stand point he before occupied, so that he who before was civilized may now become enlightened, whilst he who before was lawly returned. before was barbarous may now become civilized. Let us now take the bearings of these propositions upon the practical

question before us.

Has not the elevation of humanity upon this continent, in the past seventy years, been such as was never before witnessed upon the earth? Has not your of the world? None will gainsay these propositions. The story of your nation is the romance of progress; the history of your Republic, the holiday of man's ele

Are these evidences of triumph, are these evidences of capacity for progress, are these recorded indications of what is vet to come, evidences of our triumphs or vidences of another race? Sirs, these are evidences of our triumphs. Shall we surrender these, the insignia of our race? Shall we surrender these, the trophics that we have won in a war with matter: shall we basely bow our neck and sub-missively yield these trophies to a weak-er race. Shall these be the badges of our weakness, the trophics of a mixed and mongrel race? Sir, shall we surrender the ballot, the emblem of sovereignty, that which makes us men? Shall this be yielded to the hand of another race? These are the questions that confront us.

"It is necessary to develop the laborer," the Senator says : I admit it is necessary to develop the laborer, but you must not develop him to the injury of the race that lives side by side with him. No, sir; raise them from their degraded con-dition, lift them up, but do not attempt to place them on the same platform with the whites. I accord to them all their natural rights; I am willing to raise them from their degradation; I am will-ing to fit them to learn the great truths of the Gospel, to do business, to become intelligent, so that they may make contracts and preserve the fruits of their labor. I am willing to do all this; but I am unwilling to bring them to an equality with a race that is far above them, and thus aid in lowering both. Your nicely rounded periods of sympathetic and eloquent diction about the improvement of races, and the triumphs of humanity, are but too palpably proven to be myths—id you go to examine the practical workings of your theory.

Let us then be warned by the experi-

ence of the past, taught by the lessons of history. If God's law be the elevation of humanity, let us continue to elevate ourselves and with Christian charity aid those below us to climb the ascending grade. If the law of the world be the law of progress, let us be satisfied with the proud position we enjoy, trying no new path, but energetically moving upward in our yet bright career. Let us not fetter ourselves, by halting midway to enable the African to reach us. Let us be wise and preserve the sovereignty of our race. Let us estimate it at its true value and re-fuse to share it with those of whom history-is-silent, whose land is voiceless, whom your own experience teaches are your inferiors, upon whom privileges are lost, and whom the mournful lessons of a century have but served to demonstrate their inertness and stolidity. ('hain us not to " the body of this death."

Now, remember that Massachusetts gave the negro the right to vote when he was able to read and write, and in New York he has the right to vote when he is in posession of a certain amount of property. The statistics of 1850 show that in the State of Massachusetts there was one negro convict to every two hundred and sixty-two. The proportion in New York is about the same. Pennsylvania has one black convict to every five hundred black men within her borders. This demonstrates that under our policy, which makes them not our equals, which does not vest them with the power of sovereignty, much ess crime is committed than in those ions in which they have greater privileges and are permitted to vote

I have more statistics. On page 166 of the census of 1850, under the head of Prisons and Penitentiaries for 1850, we find hat of every ten thousand colored people of the State of Maryland there were seven and about a quarter in prison. In every thousand colored people in the State of

(Continued on the fourth page.)