ten intently he would be able to hear any suspicious noises distinctly, and decide upon their cause; then as he must know his own house better than a robber, he is the best off the two in the dark; and when, having armed himself, he has quietly opened his door he may wait and listen until the robbers are heard moving about, when he may take such steps as may seem necessary. If every person were to plan what was to be done in case of robbers entering his house, and then were to carry out this if the occasion required it, burglary would be too dangerous and unsuccessful a proceeding to be popular or profitable, and thus might be given up for a more honest means of obtaining a livelihood; so that really we may consider ourselves to have done the community at large a benefit when we capture one of these gentry; whilst those who allow their houses to be robbed with impunity jeopard their neighbors' property."

The Advertiser.

WHEN DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES CEASE TO LEAD, WE CEASE TO FOLLOW."

WM. M. BRESLIN, Editor and Proprietor.

LEBANON, PA.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 1865.

☞ PRESIDENT JOHNSON has declined the gift of a span of horses, harness and a coach, tendered by a number of prominent merchants of New York. He holds to the opinion that it is not proper for public officers to receive such presents.

☞ The grand jury at Washington have found a bill of indictment for treason against Jefferson Davis, who will shortly be conveyed to Washington for trial on that charge. It was reported in Richmond on Wednesday that General Lee would also be placed under arrest.

☞ NEGRO SUFFRAGE AND STATE RIGHTS.—President Johnson, in an address to a delegation, on Thursday, said that he was in favor of leaving the question of negro suffrage, to the decision of the loyal white residents of the South. That's just where the Constitution leaves the question of the right of suffrage altogether—with the States.

A BETTER STATE OF FEELING.—A change for the better in a social point of view, says the Lancaster *Intelligencer*, is rapidly taking place in the community since the termination of the [illegible] silly woman, is met with who denounces his or her Democratic neighbors as "copperheads" and "traitors," but these cases only form exceptions to the general rule, and are scarcely worth noticing. The great mass of the Republican or Abolition party appear to have grown ashamed of their own conduct in this particular during the last four years, and are now disposed to treat their Democratic neighbors as men.

☞ As it is very likely that Secretary Stanton will be obliged to leave the War Office before long, on account of his want of harmony with the President, and his general unpopularity, it is strongly recommended that Governor A. G. Curtin, of this State, be appointed to the position. There is no man in the opposition ranks who would give such general satisfaction to the Democracy.

☞ MR. VALLANDIGHAM'S LETTER.—We ask every man into whose hands this paper shall fall, to give the letter of Hon. C. L. Vallandigham a careful perusal. In the whole of it, there is not a sentiment to offend any one. It is able and full of instruction.

SOCIAL EQUALITY.—Last November, Philadelphia gave 12,000 Abolition majority, and yet refuses to allow negroes to ride in the street cars! The latter force themselves in, and the white folks kick them out. Such being the case, what may we look for, when the darkies claim their "rights" to the ballot-box and the jury-box?

☞ It is said that in the review last week, General Sherman was received the most enthusiastically by the soldiers and the people, of any General present.

☞ The radical Republicans have bought Bennett of the New York *Herald*, but Greeley of the *Tribune*, will not pull in the same traces with him. They will most likely lose the latter, which makes them mad. Between Greeley and Bennett, we should infinitely prefer the former to be on our side.

☞ The grand review took place at Washington last Tuesday and Wednesday. An immense concourse of people was present to witness the display. Between 50 and 60 regiments of Pennsylvania troops participated. The 93d was not among the number, it being still at Danville, North Carolina.

HARD TO PLEASE.—The Republicans are hard to please—in fact they are unreasonable. During the administration of President Lincoln they adopted the notion that the Democracy should not only support the government, but that they also should support the administration in all its acts, even to the voting for its nominees from constable up to President. The refusal to do so produced mobs, destruction of property, personal violence, in fact coercion of every kind to accomplish that end.

Now, since Andrew Johnson is President, whom the Democrats do not wish to condemn untried and unheard, many of the Republicans are ready to use the same means to *prevent* the Democracy from supporting his administration as they applied under his predecessor to *compel* that support. Some of their papers are afraid that we intend to take possession of the new President and "*Tylerize*" his administration, and devote whole columns of valuable space to warning Mr. Johnson of his danger from these terrible copperheads, and are even illiberal enough to charge upon the Democracy the evil things they themselves said against Mr. Johnson heretofore. Others again of the same party, and who helped to elect him, stand by idly, and are either silent, or "damning him with faint praise." Hence, the Democracy would have a hard time of it if they attempted to please all these conflicting elements of the opposition, in fact such an attempt would most likely result in the failure to please any. Therefore, the Democracy will support the administration of President Johnson in all his constitutional efforts to restore the country to peace and prosperity; and if he should find that support more valuable than the conflicting, disjointed, unreasonable and sinister support of those who elected him, CAN WE HELP THAT?

☞ Nearly 150,000 veteran soldiers were in the grand review at Washington last week. No colored troops were engaged in it.

☞ President Johnson has revoked all former regulations in regard to the taking of oaths, and prescribed the following:—

"I, ———, do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect and defend the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES and all laws made in pursuance thereto."

This is just what might have been expected from Johnson. Any true American can take this oath, and any one refusing it may truly be set down [as] the ponderous political thing which required the taker to support "all the PROCLAMATIONS which had been or might hereafter be issued," it would have been much better for men and men's souls.

☞ The New York *Tribune* says that there is not a cow in the State which our Government has less reason to regard with apprehension and alarm, than it has some of the old men banished from the country by the Stantonian system of "military necessity."

☞ The War Department announces that General Canby, at New Orleans, on Friday last, concluded an arrangement with the commissioners of Kirby Smith for a surrender of all the remaining forces of the Confederacy in the trans-Mississippi Department. They were received on the same terms as were accorded to Lee and Johnston. Smith's forces are said to be quite formidable, probably 80,000, and are well supplied with provisions and munitions of war.—Thus the last armed foe disappeares, and soon peace will smile all over our country.

☞ A Washington dispatch states that Charles O'Connor, Esq., a prominent States Rights Democrat of New York City has been offered the Attorney Generalship of the United States. This might be true as up to 1861, no stronger States Rights Democrat than Andrew Johnson lived in the United States.

The Cabinet Difficulty.

[Correspondence of the New York News.]

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1865.

It is now definitely known that the difficulty at the Cabinet meeting on Friday between Secretary Stanton and President Johnson had its origin in the attempt to engraft negro suffrage on the Southern States. President Johnson, new to the Presidential office, expressed a dissent to the doctrine in a manner that led Mr. Stanton to believe he could coerce or frighten him into it. In this he was mistaken. His loud voice and threatening attitude brought out the sleeping lion of Johnson's nature, and the scene which ensued, until the Secretary found that he had mistaken his man, was terrible. At that meeting, and in that scene, President Johnson gave evidence that abolitionism had but little of his sympathy; and that, as President of the United States, he had a duty to perform in serving the Union, not in erecting one to suit the utopian views of men who would set aside all the principles of the fathers of the republic in order to mould one to suit their own selfish and sinister views.

☞ The New York *Herald* has proposed a scheme to pay off the National debt, which is estimated at three thousand millions of dollars.—The plan is to divide the debt into one hundred and fifty thousand shares of twenty thousand dollars each, these shares to be taken up by our wealthy men. C. Vanderbilt has already subscribed 25 shares, conditionally that the whole amount be subscribed, and several other gentlemen have taken 7 shares more. The plan is to pay the whole debt in this way by the 1st of January, next.—Then Congress is to abolish all taxation, and place the country in the financial condition it occupied five years ago. There are enough rich men in the country to do this. It would be to the saving of hundred of millions to the tax-payers, as it would relieve them of the present cumbersome system of collecting revenue, which not only fees tens of thousands of Assessors and Collectors, but pries into the private affairs of every individual. We approve of this plan, and are willing, that if the rich men cannot raise the money, to give the poor also a chance, being ready and willing, for our part, to give one-tenth of every cent we own in the world toward so patriotic an object as freeing the nation of its debt. The debt has got to be paid, and, the sooner we get rid of it the better for us and our children.

☞ General C. P. Stone, the commander at Ball's Bluff, imprisoned by Stanton on a suspicion of treason, now lies a maniac in an asylum.—Mr. Lincoln was opposed to the arrest, but Stanton was hard and positive, and carried the day.

☞ An order of the War Department directs the release of all persons imprisoned by sentence of military tribunals during the war.

THE SON OF HORACE GREELEY.—It is doubtless not known to a majority of readers, that Mr. Greeley has a son aged twenty-two in the Federal army. He is stopping in New Orleans a few days on his way to his regiment, the 14th New York cavalry, in which he is First Lieutenant, which is stationed at present in Morganzia, in Louisiana. From a remark that the young gentleman was at pains to make when his lineage was alluded to, that he belonged to the 14th New York cavalry himself, not to any d—d nigger regiment, it would appear, to say the least of it, that the teaching of his distinguished father had been expended on him to no purpose.

SAD CALAMITY—SEVEN CHILDREN BURNED TO DEATH.—CARLISLE, May 26.—A fire occurred last night about [illegible] and the youngest 6 months were burned to death. The parents, were also severely burned. The fire was accidental.

☞ A gentleman traveling a few days since on the Eastern Shore of Maryland stopped at a hotel in a small town, where he found thirty-six farmers from Northern States, who were there to buy farms. As high as eighty dollars an acre are paid for lands in Maryland.

☞ It is reported that General Wright's 6th corps will march north from Danville, Virginia, as soon as order is restored in that neighborhood. General Wright has appointed a number of local magistrates and is endeavoring to restore the civil authority.

☞ A few days since, a Canadian gentleman who is an ardent annexationist, exclaimed on receiving the news of the surrender of Lee's army, "Now, then, Canada will be annexed to the United States and share in the new glories of the 'regenerated and disenthralled republic.' A refugee rebel officer standing by replied—"Go slow, my friend, it's very easy to get into the Union, but it's hell to get out."

☞ A delegation of Methodist preachers called upon President Johnson on the 19th, headed by Bishop Simpson, who fired some more speeches at him. It is a slow but sure means of assassinating a man.

Jeff Davis and family, Alexander H. Stephens, C. C. Clay, Col. Reagan, Gen. Wheeler, and sixteen others, are confined in casemates at Fortress Monroe.

Gen. Schofield has issued an order in regard to the negroes of North Carolina. He tells them that in order to secure their freedom they must work to support themselves.

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has decided that legal tender notes are constitutional, and that a ground rent can be paid off with them.

The rebel ram Stonewall has been unconditionally surrendered to the Spanish Government.

☞ The Army of Tennessee will be kept up to its full number. It will be sent to the trans-Mississippi Department.

☞ General Sherman's official report will soon be published. It was written after the issue of Stanton's manifesto and consequently quite racy. He explains fully his arrangement with Johnston.

☞ "The Massachusetts Senate has passed a law imposing $50 fine for making discrimination on account of color in any inn, place of amusement, public conveyance, or public meeting."

If a gentleman lodging at an inn declines receiving a "colored person" in his bed, will he be fined on account of "discrimination in color?"—*Doylestown Democrat.*

☞ Johny Akens, residing near Eldorado, Blair county, and who is only 4 feet 4 inches high, weighs but 126 pounds, and has been married only nine years, is the father of eleven children—eight of the eleven being twins.

☞ President Johnson has removed his business office from the Treasury Department to the Executive Mansion, which, for the first time since President Lincoln's death, was on Thursday thrown open to visitors.

☞ The Pennsylvania Railroad Company give notice that on and after June 1st they will not receive for freight or passage any other than United States or National Bank notes.

☞ Judge Davis, of the United States Supreme Court in Illinois, has been appointed administrator of the estate of the late Abraham Lincoln.

☞ It is expected that the manufacture of the Atlantic telegraph cable will be completed, and on board the Great Eastern, by the end of May.

☞ Governor Curtin will fill up tee vacancies by promotion in Pennsylvania troops before they are mustered out.

Gen. Banks compels all the passenger cars in New Orleans to carry negroes.

LETTER FROM MR. VALLANDIGHAM,

To the "Young Men's Democratic Association," of Lancaster, Pa.

GENTLEMEN:—From your President and Secretaries, as also from individual members, I have, within the past three months, received repeated cordial invitations to address your Association. While a compliance in person would be most agreeable to me, I do not believe that either time or circumstance is auspicious just now for active political agitation. But I avail myself of your kind request, to present, very respectfully, in writing, a few thoughts upon the present position and duty of the Democratic party. At best they can be but conjecture in part, and in part suggestion; for he would be a bold man, and ought to be omniscient of as well the future as the present, who should attempt to lay down, in these times, when the scenes change with the diversity, suddenness and marvelous contrariety, of theatric representation, a fixed rule of policy upon any public question. Yet with this qualification, and speaking for myself only, I shall address you with becoming freedom and candor. I do not, indeed, conceal from myself, the apprehension that we are rather at the beginning than at the end of a great revolution, and that free institutions in America are to-day far more upon trial than at any period during the past four years. If, indeed, the agencies of force were at once to give place to the arts of peace, and placid liberty regulated by law, *sub pio rege*, to succeed the sword, the melancholy forebodings of the more thoughtful among us might yet prove to be the vain fears of men whom much learning in history and an enlarged study of human nature have made timid. I surrender myself willingly, however, for the present to the cheering illusion of those who believe that miraculous power will again interpose, and a great calm, at the word of command, follow the tempestuous raging of the sea.

The Democratic organization will, of course, be maintained. Surviving every change of party and policy from near the beginning of the government to this day; often triumphant, sometimes defeated, never conquered; always adhering, as a national organization, to the essential principles of its founders, but adapting its policies, so far as these principles admitted, to the changing circumstances of the country; enduring even through the great dangers and the mistakes of the past four years, and at the end, numbering one million eight hundred thousand voters in the States which adhered to the Union—a number larger within the same States, than at any previous election—it needs now only re-organization and discipline to make it powerful at once and ultimately triumphant. [illegible] solved, so long as it shall have vitality enough to hold together. The masses of the party will never agree to the surrender, whatever "the leaders," so called, might attempt.

The fundamental principles of the Democratic party, of course also, must remain unchanged so long as our Federal system, or even any form of democratic-republican government, shall survive; and especially its true State-Right Doctrine—not Nullification, not Secession, but the theory of our system laid down in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, as interpreted by their authors; the one by Madison in his Report in 1799, and the other by Jefferson in his solemn official Inaugural of 1801. Thus interpreted they were, and, I doubt not, still are the constitutional doctrines of the new President.—So long as these constitute the accepted theory and the practice under our system, there can be no consolidated government, either Republican or Monarchy, in the States which now make up the American Union. The other general principles of the Democratic party are but variations or amplifications of the maxims, "the greatest good to the greatest number," "the interest of the masses," "the rights of the many against the exactions of the few"—axioms which, though the demagogue may misuse or abuse them, lie, nevertheless, at the foundation of all democratical government.

But true as all this is, it would be the extreme of folly not to comprehend and recognize that as to men and policies, the events of the past four years, and especially of the last five weeks, have wrought a radical change. Old things have passed away; all things become new. New books, as Mr. Webster said upon an occasion of far less significance, are now to be opened. A new epoch in the American era has been reached; and he who cannot now realize, or is not willing to accept this great fact, would do well to retire to his closet and confine himself to funebrial meditations over the history of the dead past or airy speculations upon the impossible future. He may become an instructor, but is not fit to be an actor in the stirring scenes which are before us. The time will, indeed, come, and may not be far distant, when it will be justifiable and may be necessary to inquire into the causes of the civil war just now apparently at an end, and to institute a scrutiny into the measure of guilt of those who are responsible for it, as well North as South; and it is fortunate that we have a President who, upon neither side, is among its authors—unless, indeed, his support of General Breckenridge for the Presidency in 1860 be reckoned up against him. In all else, at least, whatever may have been his position during the war, or shall be his course now he is guiltless. Upon the other hand, by our political foes, the line of conduct of those who opposed war, demanded conciliation and insisted that the path of peace was the shortest, easiest, cheapest road to the Union, and of those who, marching in the same direction, but along the rugged and bloody highway of war, denounced only the policies of the late administration, will be called in question. For myself I am ready to answer, and by the record to be adjudged. If I erred, it was in the glorious company of the patriot founders of our peculiar system of government. And now, accepting the new order of things, I yet enter upon no defence for adhering to the last moment to the policies of those great men, adopted and sanctioned as these policies were, by the second generation of American statesmen. So far from it, I would conform yet, as far as possible, to their teachings and practice. We may not, indeed, be ready to follow the enthusiast who had rather err with Plato than be right with other men; yet neither are we far enough corrupted, I trust, to be obliged to apologize for accepting Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Webster, Clay, and Jackson, as examplars worthy of study and imitation. But they were wise in their day and generation. Let us be wise in ours. Whether theirs was not the true wisdom for us also in the long run, remains to be seen; for the end is not yet. And be that as it may, for any man to have erred as to the advent, progress, duration or final issue of a civil war which has mocked, so far, the prescience of the wisest statesmen of as well the Old World as the New, is no disparagement of any judgment or intellect less than divine. In any event, I beg that it be announced that upon all questions of vaticination up to this point, I am "paired off" with the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward. But as to the present and future, and the new and stupendous questions which every day will now be developed, a public man's position must be determined, not by his mistakes where all have erred, but by his capacity, his integrity and his patriotism. The day has passed when the party epithets upon either side, which were without justification, almost without excuse, even amid the rancor of a civil war and the heat of partisan discussion, ought any longer to be tolerated. No man in the Democratic party in the North or West, of responsible or recognized position, was for disunion or separation for its own sake. But if any such there was, false to the government of the Union, he was false also to the Southern Confederacy; else his place would have been in the ranks of her armies. Some, indeed, not many, of the ablest and most sincere and honest among us—men who, to-day, changing their opinions, are the worthiest of trust, and I speak strongly as one not of their conviction—believed that only through temporary recognition of Southern independence, could the Federal Union be restored. Such, too, had been the declarations before and in the beginning of the war, of many distinguished men in the Republican party, some of them still high in position, expressed in language the most emphatic, going even to the extent of permanent separation. The record of these declarations remains; but to quote them, or to name the authors, is needless. The argument stands sufficient of itself.

It is not that the Democratic party opposed either the civil war or the peculiar policies upon which it was conducted, that is to exclude them from the confidence of the people. Scarce a prominent man in the Republican ranks, unless of Democratic antecedents, from the late President down, but opposed—many of them with unmeasured bitterness and violence—the prosecution of the foreign Mexican war. Devoted wholly to the Union, the old Union, in any event, the men of the Democratic party judged of the war and of its policies solely by that standard, and upheld or opposed them accordingly. The party—and I refer to the question because it has been made the subject of recent newspaper comment—will, indeed, certainly not follow the "Chicago Platform" of 1864 as a political text book now, any more than the Republican party, or its heirs or assigns, will adopt the "Chicago Platform" of 1860, for the same purpose in the future; not that the former was not the very best practicable at the period and for the occasion which brought it forth; but because, dealing in a time of war, almost wholly with questions of policy, not principle, it would, in time of peace, be quite as inappropriate as the code of Justinian or the journals of the Continental Congress. All that need now be asked of our political foes is, that it be quoted correctly; the more especially since, through the work of a committee made up of some of the ablest and truest men in the Convention, and adopted by that body unanimously amid the rapturous applause of two hundred thousand freemen present or at hand, it survived but eight days—dying of circumcision. But there is one crown of glory, at least, during the terrible trials of the last four years, richest among the treasures of the Democratic party, which cannot be taken away. If it shall so happen that to the Republican party is due the honor of maintaining the Union, to the Democracy the country is indebted for the preservation of whatever remains of that other and even dearer birthright of Americans—Constitutional Liberty and private right.

But laying all these questions aside for the present, I trust that all men who, in the old Roman phrase, feel alike concerning the Republic now, may be soon brought to act together. He who cannot at this moment, for a season at least, forget his private griefs, or lay aside his prejudices against men and parties, for the sake of his country in an hour of trial which demands all the wisdom of the wise and the utmost firmness of the stoutest-hearted among us, is too much of a partizan to be anything of a patriot. Fortunately among politicians the labor is usually not difficult. If the melancholy reflection of Cicero, in his later years, were well considered and just, that true friendships are most rarely found among those who concern themselves in public affairs, it is quite certain also that perdurable enmities are equally rare with them.—And it is the motive, not the new association, which marks the change of party habitudes, as patriotic or corrupt. It was not the mere fact that Fox and Burke united in coalition with Lord North, that made them all odious to the British people, but because the purpose and circumstances of the coalition were unpopular and not just. Here and now the war having accomplished all that the sober and rational among its advocates ever claimed for it,—the breaking down of the chief military power of the Confederate Government—we have reached the point where all that class among its supporters, of whatever party, must now unite with the friends of peace and conciliation, in exhausting all the arts of statesmanship, to the end that a speedy and perfect pacification, and with it, a real and cordial re-union, may be secured. The questions which belong to a state of war are, in their very nature and from necessity, totally distinct from those which arise upon a cessation of hostilities. Men who have hitherto agreed on other issues, will differ widely now, and new party associations must follow. The hereditary [illegible] of the President just inaugurated, Democratic party will be found in opposition upon these questions. On the record up to the day when the Executive office, by reason of a horrible crime, was forced upon him he himself differed from that party only, or chiefly, as to the fact and the manner of prosecuting the war. Not responsible for anything done or omitted by the late Administration, whereof the Democracy complained, now that the war is ended, he begins his chief magistracy without past difference in principle or present separation as to policy.—In any event, he is intitled at the hands of the Democratic party to a fair, candid and charitable consideration of the several measures which he shall propose; though most assuredly at the same time, it will be the duty of that party to render a strict, firm and fearless judgment upon them, and to act accordingly as they shall be found to merit support or to demand opposition. It is indeed, already to be lamented that although General Sherman may not have had the authority—and he claimed none for himself, referring all to the Executive—his plan of Pacification and Re-Union was not promptly confirmed by the President. It was concise, comprehensive, complete; proving him not less wise and great in the science of statesmanship, than grand and triumphant in the arts of war. And it would have made peace, immediate and sincere "*peace from the Potomac to the Rio Grande.*"—This was his proud congratulatory boast to his army at the end of the great struggle, and not of any victory in the field. Defeating the armed military hosts of the Confederacy, his aim, at the close, was to conquer the hearts of its people also, and to be exalted thus as the Hero of Peace—the only true heroism in civil war.

Upon the great question of RECONSTRUCTION, as the Democratic party is without power, so it is without responsibility. It can but accept or reject whatever measures may be proposed. If the policy which the President may recommend shall appear, upon a calm and deliberate scrutiny best adapted in general to secure a speedy, complete, cordial and lasting pacification upon the basis of the Federal Union of the States, it will, in my judgment, be fit and just that the Democracy, waiving all minor points of detail, lend to him a liberal, earnest and patriotic support in carrying it into execution. If, upon the other hand, it be such as can but make that solitude which conquerors call peace; or, worse if possible, that peace which hangs like a black and heavy pall, over Hungary, Ireland, Poland, then it will be the duty of the Democratic party, with determined firmness and fearlessness, to interpose such constitutional and legal opposition, through the press and in public assembly, as may be just and efficient, till either the President shall be impelled to change both his Cabinet and the measures to which they may have advised him, or the people, peaceably through the ballot, shall be enabled to secure pacification and Union by a change of Administration and of policies. I say a change, in part or in whole, of the Cabinet, in advance of the election; because, remembering the peculiar circumstances under which the office fell to the President, his advisers, "the Ministry," are rather to be held responsible than himself.

As to the hitherto vexed question of Slavery, allow me to say for myself, that from the very first to the last, with consistency and persistence, I opposed all agitation of the subject; not for the sake of the institution—I repeat it, not for the sake of the institution, but because I had been taught by the Fathers to believe, and did truly believe, that it could end only in civil war and disunion, temporary or eternal—whether right or wrong, let the history of the last four years decide. The price has now been weighed out and in part paid. A heavy score yet remains. But I will not essay to reckon up and adjust the appalling accounts of debt and taxation, of suffering, crime and blood in the past or yet to come. Again I accept the facts, rejoiced, indeed, if under the new order of things, we and our children may enjoy the same measure of private happiness and public prosperity which was permitted to us and to our fathers under the Old Union, "part slave and part free."—And now, if without slavery, re-union and a pacification real, sincere, and lasting, together with welfare and security to the people of all the States, can be made sure, let slavery utterly perish. But in no event, let the question stand any longer in the way. I still would prefer the Union, the Federal Union, the Old Union—yes, "the Union as it was, under the Constitution as it is"—to either slavery or the abolition of slavery. Fanatics at home, and envious, supplanting statesmen abroad, may not be able or willing to comprehend this conviction; every true and liberal-minded American patriot will.

The fatal mistake of the South—her "blunder," which a false morality pronounces worse than a crime, was in ignoring the great American idea of ONE COUNTRY—not an impulse, not a precept, not a mere aspiration of national vanity, but a commandment written by the finger of God upon the rivers and mountains and the whole face of the land, and graven thence upon the hearts of the people. It was this, not anti-slavery, which held the border slave States in the Union, and stirred, for good or evil, the whole North and West to such exertions of military, naval and financial force, as never before were put forth by any nation. And it was this grand and pervading national sentiment, hedged by the sanction of destiny, which, according to the measure of my ability, I undertook to expound and justify in the House of Representatives, in 1863, and by this line of argumentation to establish that the Union through peace was inevitable. Nothing but the violence of an intense counter-passion, and the terrible pressure of civil war, could have suppressed, even for a time, the power of this sentiment among the people of the South also. Had their leaders forborne to demand separation and a distinct government, adhering to the old flag, and, within the Union under the Constitution, firmly but justly, required new guarantees for old rights believed to be in peril, they might not, indeed, have had barren and deluding sympathy from subjects, and false hopes of assistance from kings and emperors in Europe, eager for the decline and fall of the American Republic; but they would have been cheered by the cordial greetings and the active support of finally an overwhelming majority of the States and people of the West and North. But when they established a permanent distinct government and took up arms for independence, they marked out between them and us, a high wall and deep ditch which no man, North or West, could pass without the guilt and the penalties of treason. They went beyond the teachings of their own greatest Statesmen of the past age; for Mr. Calhoun himself had declared in 1831, that "the abuse of power, on part of the agent of (the Federal Government), to the injury of one or more of the members (the States), would not justify secession on their part; there would be neither the right nor the pretext to secede." No matter who was responsible originally for that condition of things which led finally to war, nor what the motives and character of the war after its inception—and upon both these questions I entertain and have expressed opinions as fixed as the solid rock—so far as the South fought for a separate government, she stood wholly without sympathy or support in the States which adhered to the Union. Whatever else may happen, her vision of independence has now melted into air. In the appeal to arms maintained upon both sides for four years with a courage and endurance grandly heroic—she has failed; and though it had happened otherwise, still, in my deliberate conviction, her experiment of distinct government would have failed also. But the sole question really decided by the war, as by peace years before it had been settled, was that two several governments could not exist among the States of the American Union. And here the whole controversy ought to end; with or without slavery, I care not, so it end here. If upon this point, the "Crittenden Resolution" of July, 1861—proposed too, at the same time, in the senate, by Andrew Johnson—should be modified, let it in all else, both in spirit and letter, be exactly carried out. But whatever policy may now be decreed—and I trust it will be a wise, a liberal, a healing policy, it is the part of wisdom for the people of the South to acquiesce; returning wholly and cordially to the Union, thus making it once again a Union of consent, a union of hearts and hands as our fathers and their fathers made it at first.—Then will the passions of the recent terrible strife speedily be hushed. Already millions in the North and West regard them as brethren still, and in a little while these millions will become a vast majority of the people, and will see to it that the solemn pledge be redeemed and the Union restored "with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired." With slavery, the people of the South will prosper within that Union, as before. Without slavery, if in a wise and judicious way, it shall be abolished, they must, in less than a single generation—except possibly as to two or three States—become more populous, prosperous and powerful than any other section. And though every Southern State Government should be re-organized—an act both impolitic and unnecessary—yet in ten years, if our Federal system survive, the whole people of every State will be restored to all their rights within the State, and the South hold, along with all her citizens, the same position of equality and influence which she held fifty years ago. This is the lesson of history, the law of human nature; and no narrow, suppressing spirit of revenge or of bigotry and sectionalism, in the form of test oaths and teasing, restraining, denying regulations without number, can stay the inevitable result—no, not even though it should succeed now in controlling the civil and military power of the Federal Government, and [illegible]

Play such fantastic tricks before high Heaven,
As make the angels weep."

But to return; as to the time and manner, as well as the results of abolishing slavery, and gravest of all, *what shall be done with the negro*, the power and responsibility are alike with the Administration; and again it will be for the Democratic party, guided by the light of its ancient principles and looking only to the public good, simply to accept or reject.

The question of the political and social status of the negro, is essentially and totally distinct from the issue of African servitude; and any man may have been or be yet radically anti-slavery, without being a friend to negro suffrage and equality. Party spirit or pressure, indeed, has driven many into support of the doctrine, contrary to both impulse and conviction; but now the issue is changed. Outside of slavery, the negro, where admitted to reside in a State, ought to be the equal of every other man in all legal rights and remedies, just as is the female or the minor. But political rights and social usage are questions which each State and community or individual must be permitted alone to decide. And four millions of Africans are not to become the wards and pupils of the whole American people, nor the Federal Government a vast eleemosynary institution made up of guardians and trustees and professors and schoolmasters for the negro population. Whatever party now, with the pressure of anti-slavery and war removed, undertakes the task, will fall before the popular reaction. Not the people only, but a large majority of the army and of its bravest and ablest officers, and foremost among them the gentleman whom I have already named with honor, are determined in their hostility to the whole doctrine of negro suffrage and equality, and to its natural and necessary but unclean corollary, *miscegenation*. And it is not a question of religion or philanthropy, as slavery was assumed to be; but of pure politics. Women, minors and aliens are alike excluded from political rights upon grounds of public policy; and yet all are of the human family—nay of our own race, and more yet, are, many of them, our own mothers and sisters and wives and brothers. A far higher and more impelling public policy, enforced by the example of Mexico and other republics and countries of mixed races not of one common stock, and fifty fold more essential now if four millions of African slaves are to be set free at once among us, forbids political equality to the negro, where we deny it to our own flesh and blood and to those of our own households. Said Mr. Jefferson forty-four years ago, and after the Missouri Question:

"Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people (negro slaves) are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, *equally free*, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them."

And he advised gradual emancipation and deportation. Herein lies both the difficulty and the danger of dealing now with slavery in the South.

Upon the question of the political rights of the negro, we are beyond the taunt and reproach of the monarchists of Europe. When they shall have introduced universal white suffrage, removed the disabilities imposed upon millions of their own subjects, and abolished all titles of nobility and other distinctions of rank, it will be time enough for them to again interpose in the domestic affairs of the American Republic. On this question, too, the Democratic party has a record which it cannot reject. It has proclaimed that though all men, of whatever race, may be equal before the municipal law, yet that the governments here were made by white men to be controlled by the white race. But be this as it may, the entire question, whether slavery remain or be abolished, belongs solely to the people of each State to decide for themselves—else the whole theory of our system of governments has been surrendered, and the system itself is perished.

Another subject remains upon which the Democratic party can yield not one jot or tittle. By every principle of its being, by its very name, by its whole record, it is inexorably committed to hostility to all violation of freedom of speech and of the press; to arbitrary arrests and military commissions for the trial upon any charge, of citizens in States and places where the judicial tribunals WITH TRIAL BY JURY, are unobstructed; to armed or corrupt interference with elections; and to the whole host of other wrongs done to public liberty and private right. There can never be peace, quiet, or—dearest, most needful to the human heart, beyond even physical health to the system—the sense of security, till all these shall have been removed from us.—But upon this chiefest question of constitutional liberty, the Democratic party no longer stands alone. A large majority of the masses of the Republican party, some among their most influential presses, and many of the ablest and bravest public men of that party, as the votes and the powerful and manly speeches in the Senate and House at the late session attest, are wholly with us. If the President would, by one word, secure the largest public confidence, let him forthwith restore the habeas corpus and proclaim an end to all these instruments of tyranny and oppression.

As to the "Monroe doctrine," I do not doubt that its speedy enforcement would tend more than any other cementing agency, to unite the people of all sections. Without the vindication of that doctrine, the mission of Manifest Destiny will have been but half achieved, and the blood and treasure spent in our civil war largely expended in vain. Upon the Monroe doctrine, England is estopped to make any issue with us, and must remain at peace.

I have said nothing upon questions of Finance—debt, taxation, tariffs, a disordered currency and impending bankruptcy. These are the inevitable penalties of war. But they are mischiefs which have scarce yet been felt. Sufficient, abundantly sufficient unto the day will be the evil thereof.

Concerning the Democratic party as an organization, with new policies arising out of the issues of the hour, many of them to endure for a life-time, it is essential, in my judgment that a new vitality also be infused into it. In numbers it is more powerful than at any former period. That it was unsuccessful has been, at times, but the fate of all parties. In the character, ability, eloquence, integrity and love of country of its public men, and the general intelligence, honesty and patriotism of its masses, it may challenge comparison with any party. But for seven years, and more, it has lacked unity of purpose, and therefore energy of action. During the war especially, with the control of but two States out of the twenty three which adhered to the Union; without power, patronage or influence in the Federal Administration, and therefore without any special organization or agency authorized or permitted to prescribe a common line of policy and prompt united action upon the new questions daily arising; and with the most vigorous and vehement central authority against it ever known, wielding alike the clamor of patriotism and the cry of religion, acting in politics upon military principles and through military instrumentalities, and to the whole power of the purse and that purse the entire wealth of the sword and that sword the entire fighting population of the country, adding a supervision and constraint over press, speech, person, railroad, lightning, highway, steamer and telegraph, all the modes of action and of locomotion and every vehicle of thought, such alone as the fabled Briarius might be supposed able to exert; with every appliance of both Church and State, and of social and business organization combined against it, it is rather amazing that the Democratic party did not perish, than wonderful that it should exhibit signs of partial paralysis. To-day, indeed, it lies a powerful but inert mass, yet needing only a new life-blood, a fresh vitality, the "promethean fire," to be infused into it. There are those yet among the living who were actors, especially in Jackson's day, and many, younger than I am, who remember when the party was a POWER in the country, exerting all the energy without any part of the terrorism of the late Administration. "Oh, for an hour of Old Dundee!" Without more of courage, more vigor, more audacity, if you please, in grappling with great questions as in former years, the Democratic party, cannot, ought not to survive, and must give way to some other younger and more vital organization. If it is to remain in its present comatose state, at now the beginning of a new epoch in public affairs, it were far better that it should be burried out of sight at once. Certainly I do not advise that it shall move without occasion, and waste its superfluous vigor upon the air. "Rightly to be great is, not to stir without great argument;" and it may be months before policies and issues are sufficiently defined to require it to act at all. But the repose of conscious power and the lethargy of threatened dissolution are very different things.

I have finished now what I would have said in person, had I accepted your invitation to be present with you. I have confined my address, I repeat, wholly to conjecture and suggestion; and desire it especially that I have written not as one having authority, but solely for myself.—Within this limit I have written the more freely because, inasmuch as with the single exception of the honored Governor of New Jersey, no member of the Democratic party is in authority—few even are in office any where, though among these are some of the most eminent—each has an equal right to speak to and for the millions of freemen who make up the ranks of that party. I am persuaded, indeed, that by pursuing a line of policy wholly different from that which I have suggested; by rejecting all middle ground; by offering persistent and indiscriminate opposition to the Administration; by waiting with cunning and unpatriotic patience for and seizing upon the changing flood tide of popular passion and re-action on the many and perplexing and most hazardous questions which are to be met now and decided by the President and his advisers, the Democratic party would, after some years and in the natural course of events, secure, through the forms of the Constitution, control of the government, with the power and unquestionably the will, set on fire then by "patient search and vigil long," to take ample and violent revenge for wrongs real and imaginary. Such is the history of all revolutions and all great popular convulsions. But I still seek peace and would ensure it, and know well that meantime and after the event, as for years past, the country would be the victim at last. Patriotism and the public repose alike forbid it.

C. L. VALLANDIGHAM.

DAYTON, Ohio, May 5, 1865.

SCHOOL ACCOUNT

OF South Lebanon Township for the year 1864.

RECEIPTS.

Tax on Real Estate,	$1374 22
do Tenants,	133 09
do Single,	69 70
Total,	$1577 01
Balance left from last year,	249 63
State Appropriation,	157 32
Gain Tax,	37 86
Total Receipts,	$2021 82

EXPENDITURES.

Paid to County Commissioners,	$180 00
Orders,	1446 70
Dificiency in Tax,	27 10
Collecting Fees,	78 85
Secretary's Fees,	10 00
Balance in Treasury,	279 17
	$2021 82

☞ The above balance was thrown into the School Fund.

BOUNTY ACCOUNT.

OF South Lebanon Township. for first Draft.

RECEIPTS.

Tax on Real Estates,	$12119 43
do Tenants and Single Men,	894 79
Head Tax from M. H. Dissinger,	275 00
Gained Tax,	173 00
	$13462 22

EXPENDITURES.

Paid Printing and Scrivening,	$7 50
Henry Haak, expenses,	59 50
do refunded Tax,	12 25
Rudolph Shaak, note,	360 00
Jonas Stager, do,	400 00
Mr. Steiner, do,	300 00
Philip Fernsler, do,	500 00
Jacob Werner, note and interest,	1008 00
Jonas Snyder, note,	850 00
David Werner,	1200 00
Jos. F. Heilman, note,	400 00
Joseph Bomberger, do,	125 00
Henry Haak, do,	3000 00
Lebanon National Bank,	5000 00
Stamps,	5 50
Lost Taxes,	107 01
Counterfeit Note,	10 00
Jos. F. Heilman, expenses,	10 00
Balance left,	107 46
	$13462 22

BOUNTY ACCOUNT.

OF South Lebanon Township, for second Draft.

RECEIPTS.

Tax on Real Estate,	$6939 75
do Tenants and single men,	486 83
Gained Tax,	47 60
	$7474 18

EXPENDITURES.

Paid Jacob Smith, note,	$500 00
Seth Light, note,	200 00
Valley National Bank,	4006 00
Emanual Dundore, note,	725 00
Henry Shaak, note,	500 00
Jonas Stager, putting in two substitutes, and interest,	606 00
Jonas Snyder, note,	617 30
Lost Tax,	145 83
School Board for collecting and paying out tax,	65 00
Balance left,	109 05
	$7474 18

JOS. F. HEILMAN,
JACOB SHAAK,
MICHAEL H. DISSINGER,
HENRY DOHNER,
EMANUEL DUNDORE,
MOSES STROHM,
School Directors of South Lebanon Township.
May 10, 1865.

The Bridal Chamber.

A NOTE of warning and advice to those suffering with Seminal Weakness, General Debility, or Premature Decay, from whatever cause produced.—Read, ponder, and reflect! Be wise in time.

Sent FREE to any address, for the benefit of the afflicted. Sent by return mail. Address

JAMES S. BUTLER,
420 Broadway, New York.

April 19, 1865.—3m.