anguster Intelligencer WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, 1865.

To the Democracy of the City and County of Lancaster.

In pursuance of authority given the undersigned, by a resolution of the Democratic County Committee, adopted at a meeting held on Thursday, the 18th inst., you are requested to assemble in the several wards of the city, boroughs and townships of the county, to elect not less than three nor more five delegates, to represent such district in a general County Convention, to be held on Wednesday, the 14th day of June, at 11 o'clock A. M., in the hall of the Young Men's Democratic Association, in the city of Lancaster, for the purpose of electing six delegates to represent the Democracy of the county of Lancaster in the coming State Convention, to be held at Harrisburg on Wednesday, the 21st day of June next.

By the established usages of the party, the several districts will each nominate one person to serve as a member of the County Committee for the ensuing political year, and also nominate ward, borough and township committees, being particular to designate their names on the backs of their respective credentials to the ensuing County Convention.

R. R. TSHUDY, Chairman. A. J. STEINMAN, Secretary LANCASTER, May 22, 1864.

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.

Chief Justice Chase Begging Negro Votes.

It is said to be well understood in Washington circles that Chief Justice Chase is already out as a candidate: for the presidency, in 1868. He is talking time by the fore-lock, and is resolved to make a sure thing of the nomination of the radicals this time. He has issued another circular, similar in form to the one gotten up by his friends last spring; and it is now being circulated extensively, though secretly, in Ohio, and throughout the Western States. His trip to the South is looked upon as an electioneering tour, and he has been making speeches for buncombe to such audiences as he could gather. The New York Herald of yesterday has the following notice of a speech made by him at Charleston, a few days since:

The Chief Justice of the United State now on a stumping tour along the Southern coast, entertaining the negroes with his ideas of reconstruction gave yesterday his first speech, deliverd in Charleston to a promiscuous audience, composed mostly of negroes. The burden of this speech is advice to the negroes in regard to their duties and relative to their course of action is their new relations with the rest of mankind. After urging upon the colored people to be industrious and economihe delivered an essay on the importance of the right of negroes to vote In his remarks upon that subject he throws considerable doubt upon the present Administration favoring the policy of clothing the colored race with the privileges of the elective fran-chise, adding, "I am no longer in its councils." He, however, took special pains to show that he had long favored of clothing the colored race councils." policy, and endeavored to prove that a originated with b referring to a speech delivered twenty years ago in Cincinnati. He appeared desirous of impressing upon his audience, that he was the father of the idea of elevating the negro, but at the same time informing them that there were obstacles in their way, but by perseverance they would finally accomplish it—that is, when he became President. Can any American imagine a more disgraceful proceeding than that. Here is the Chief Justice of the United States, begging votes of a promiscuous crowd of ignorant negroes, in one of the principal cities of the South, before they have any right to exercise the right of suffrage; and when it is clear that no such right can be conferred upon them except through a clear and palpable violation of the Constitution of the United States; of which Mr. Chase, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, is the sworn guardian and defender. This single disgusting exhibition is enough to damn the doctrine of negro suffrage to eternal infamy. Let any man imagine what would be the condition of this country, or of any State in it where there is a large negro population, were the right to vote given to them. What white man, with a decent sense of selfrespect, would appear on the hustings where he had to solicit the votes of every ignorant and degraded negro in the district? What decent white man is there who would not feel himself to be degraded when every filthy and ignorant negro could jostle him as he approached the polls to deposit his ballot? How long would the right of suffrage be regarded

basely prostituted. We should speedily see State Legis latures and the halls of Congress filled with such low wretches as would not scruple to associate on intimate terms with the negro. He who would put himself nearest on a level with them would be most certain to receive their support, and in almost any district in the South they would be the controlling political element. Only a negro, or some white wretch utterly lost to all sense of decency, could be elected to office. It is hard to preserve proper composure when speaking of such things. Every instinct of the nobler race revolts at the outrageous doctrine boldly and shamelessly advocated by such well known leaders of the Repub lican party as Salmon P. Chase.

as of any worth after it had been so

Important Proclamation by President Johnson. President Johnson has issued a very important proclamation. It declares all ports of the United States, with the exception of Galveston, La Salle, Brazos de Santiago, Point Isabel and Brownsville, open to foreign trade and commerce after July 1, next ensuing. All restictions upon trade east of the Mississippi, with the exception of articles contraband of war, are removed after that date. The President having, in a former proclamation, declared that all enemies of the United States found in arms east of the Mississippi will be treated as guerillas, possessing none of the rights of war, now declares that all so-called Confederate privateers will be treated after said date of July 1st as pi-

Governor Curtin.

Governor Curtin, accompanied by Quartermaster General James L. Rey nolds, reached Washington on Sunday morning, and has taken rooms at Willard's Hotel. Thousands of Pennsyl vanians have already reached the city, eager to meet and greet their friends and Governor Curtin is the object of many inquiries as to the whereabouts of our brave soldiers. Instead of taking his position on the stand near the President's house, it is the intention of Governor Curtin to throw the Penusylvania flag and the stars and stripes from his rooms at Willard's, where he will Pennsylvania soldiers.

A Disclaimer from Thad. Stevens. We deem it but an act of justice t Hon. Thaddeus Stevens to say that we have a letter from him disclaiming any onnection with the committee that was ppointed at Harrisburg recently to go Washington and tell President John son what every body knew and assure him of what nobody disputed—viz: that the people mean to give his adminis-tration a cordial support. Mr. Stevens

and was present at the ceremony as a spectator merely. We have not as yet received a letter from General Cameron disclaiming all responsibility for the Quixotic movement; but from his known sagacity we doubt not that some im-periled effice-holders or importunate office-hunters procured his appointment as chairman, with the apparent sanctity of a ward meeting, when he was absent f a ward meeting, when he was absen nd sick, and he fulfilled the foolist mission on the principle that an emetic is sometimes preferable to a spell of sickness. We confidently expect to hear shortly that he is innocent of the conception of the affair, and thatother boys played marbles on their own account, nade him stakeholder and he had tod liver to somebody. As we don't confess Gen. Cameron a fool, we don't hold him responsible for his merely formal connection with the committee. He show ed his appreciation of the awkwardness of his position when addressing the President, by disavowing in advance any intention to accept office for any of the committee or their relations—an

eminently proper saving clause under the circumstances. We insist that prominent public men shall not thus e dragged into follies by the ambition real or cupidity of designing nobodies

-Franklin Repository. Whenever the Repository gets "a letter from Gen. Cameron disclaiming all responsibility" for the movement which resulted in the appointment of a Presidential palavering committee at Harrisburg after the accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency, we trust it will lose no time in laying it before the public. Down this way Gen. Cameron s believed to have been, next to the great and good Bergner, the most zealous and the most anxious participant in

the movement. The public look at it in this way: They say President Johnson was, during his whole career in both branches of Congress, a most determined enemy of public plunderers. They rgue from his past course, that as President he may be expected to set all the watch-dogs of the Treasury on the trail of the corrupt rascals who have been defrauding the Government for the last four years. They believed it would be found, on investigation, that Cameron and two or three of his friends about Harrisburg have made more money since the war began than was made by all the "signers of the Declaration" and all the members of the Continental Congress during the seven years' war of the Revolution. They suspect that Cameron feared the President would order an investigation, and that this apprehension impelled him to participate in the movement referred to, and to take the chairmanship of the palavering committee. It remains to be seen whether the old Winnebago's talk with the "great father" at Washington will save him from being forced to disgorge. As for Mr. Stevens, we are not surorised at his disclaimer. Whatever may may be his faults, he is not a cringing parasite. It must be gratifying to his

the National Treasury. Grand Jury Instructed to Indict the Members of Military Tribunals. Judge Bond of Baltimore, at the open ing of the usual Criminal Court of the city, which is now in session there, thus charged the Grand Jury in relation to he usurpations of power by the military ribunals which hold their session in

admirers to find him so prompt to dis-

claim association with the Harrisburg

deputation, which was as poor in intel-

lect as it was rich in corruption-s

mere squad of mercenary politicians,

without brains enough to comprehend

hat city. I call your attention also, gentlemer o Article 21, of the Declaration of Rights of Maryland, in these words: That in all criminal prosecutions every nan hath a right to be informed of th accusation against him; to have a copy of the indictment or charge in due time (if required) to prepare for his defence; to be allowed counsel; to be confronted ith the witnesses for and against him on oath; and to speedy trial by an impartial jury, without whose unanimous consent he ought not to be found guilty;" and to state that it has come to knowledge that here, where the United States Court, presided over by Chief Justice Chase, has always been unimpeded, and where the Marshal of the United tates, appointed by the President, seects the jurors, irresponsible and un lawful military commissions attempt to exercise criminal jurisdiction over citizens of this State, not in the military or aval service of the United State n the militia, who are charged with offences not known to the law, or with rimes for which the mode of trial and punishment are provided by statue in the courts of the land.

That this is not done by the para mount authority of the United States, your attention is directed to article V. of the Constitution of the United State which says: "No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise inamous crime unless on a presentimen or indictment of a Grand Jury, except cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger. Such persons exercising such unlaw-ful jurisdiction are liable to indictment by you, as well as responsible in civil ctions to the parties injured.

Judge Bond has put the case most admirably, and there is no men of candor and sense who will not admit the correctness of his positions. The manner in which he proposes to apply the remedy is the proper one. Let some or these officials be regularly indicted and put upon trial for a violation of the law, and we shall see whether the Supreme Court of the United States has any decency or dignity left. If it has, it cannot help but sustain the State Courts in their efforts to save the fundamental law of the land from further open and shameless violation.

THE FOLLOWING SHAVINGS are from the razor of the Louisville Journal: -Somebody has sent a rope to Presi dent Johnson as a hint that he should go ahead in the hanging business. At the death of that fellow, a rope, we guess, will be the most figure. The scamp himself will be seen aerely as a hanger-on.

-General Fremont has bought estate at Tarrytown, New York. He ought to have one upon his great battlefield in Virginia. Then he could easily take a run every little while over l es, having had some valuable

-The Cincinnati Gazette says that Henry A. Wise may be hung out of his own mouth. We suppose the Gazette would have him hung by the tongue. -A conservative speaker was insulted outrageously at a late radical meeting in Boston. He who goes among owls must expect to be hooted.

- Jeff. Davis is a prudent man.

in all his movements. -R. J. Breckinridge, Jr., son of the Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, has been transferred from the Ohio Penitentiary, where he has been confined as a rebel prisoner, to Johnson's Island.

Pocket-Patriots.

We have one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand men on the army pay-roll when the war closed About one-half the number were in field together. The other half were in -the national treasury-chest. What a saving of taxation it will be to get rid of this vest assembly of drones and sin be able to see and to be seen by the ecures, who draw nothing for their country's defence but their salaries.

A Letter from Ex-President Buchanan, Since this war begun, no man in the whole country has been so much vili fied, lied upon, and abused as ex-Pres ident James Buchanan. The mass baseless tharges have been constantly y untruths reported, until no doub ome honest people believed them. It eemed to be useless for Democratic was in Washington on other business newspapers to refute any charge which might be made against any member of the party while the excitement attendant upon the war was raging. The administration press refused, in very many instances, to do the common jus tice of correcting any wrong statement they had made, no matter how clearly its falsity was proven. We hope the ime is speedily coming, when the most nendacious members of the Abolition press may be shamed into at least a

show of decency and self-respect. Below will be found a letter over the signature of Mr. Buchanan, completely exposing the entire falsity of a malicious attack made upon him more than a year ago, and refuted at the time by the Pittsburg Post and other democratic newspapers, but revived again only a few days since by the New York Post. The letter first appeared in the New York Tribune of yesterday. There s not one of the calumnies against Mr. Buchanan, with which Abolition newspapers have delighted to fill their columns, which cannot be as fully and completely refuted as the above baseless charge. This will yet be done to the entire satisfaction of candid men of all parties. Impartial history will vindicate his fame, and set his public career in such a light that it shall at once be known and recognized throughout the future as pure, wise, and eminently pa-

To the Editor of the New York Post: SIR: In the New York Tribune resterday I read, with no little surprise, in extract from the Evening Post, which I do not see) stating in substance that the Cincinnati Democratic Convention of June, 1856, (not "May,") had come to a "dead lock," on the evening before Mr. Buchanan's nomination, and had adjourned until the next morning, "with a fair prospect it would meet only to adjourn sine die;" but that in the meantime arrangements were made to secure his nomination as soon as the Convention should reassemble, in conequence of pledges given by his friends. The nature of these pledges, according to the article in *The Post*, was openly avowed by Judge Black on the floor of the Convention, immediately after the nomination. According to it: "A silence ensued for a few moments, as it he Convention was anticipating something prepared, when Judge Black, of Pennsylvania, (afterward Attorney-General under Buchanan,) rose in his place and made a set speech, in which e proceeded to denounce Abolition m' and 'Black Republicanism' very freely, and to argue that the States pos-sessed, under the Constitution, the right of secession. He went further, and told the Convention that if the nominee was elected, and a Black Republican should be elected as his successor, he (Mr. Bu-chanan) would do nothing to interfere with the exercise of it. This pledge was mple, and was accepted by the South ern leaders."

You will doubtless be astonished to learn that Judge Black, afterward Mr Buchanan's Attorney General, by Buchanan's Attorney General, by whom this pledge is alleged to have been made, and through whom the evident purpose now is to fasten it upon Mr. Buchanan, was not a delegate to the ncinnati Convention, nor was he within 500 miles of Cincinnati, during its session. Instead of this, he was at the very time performing his high official the indelicacy of their proceedings, but duties as a Judge of the Supreme Court with stomachs capacious enough to hold

of Pennsylvania.

It may be added that from the date of General Jackson's message of January, 1833, against South Carolina nullification and secession, until that of his own message of December, 1860, and indeed ever since, no public man has more steadfastly and uniformly opposed these angerous and suicidal heresies than Mr. Buchanan. Had any person, in or out of the Convention, dared to make a pledge in his behalf, on this or any other ubject, such an act would have been ondemned a few days thereafter by the terms of his letter accepting the nomination. In this, after expressing his hanks for the honor conferred, he says Deeply sensible of the vast and varied responsibility attached to the station, especially at the present crisis our affairs, I have carefully refrained rom seeking the nomination either by vord or deed;" and this statement is imphatically true.

A few words in regard to the alleged 'dead lock' in the Cincinnati Conven-ion at the time of its adjourment, on the evening of the 5th of June, after fourteen ballots had been taken for a candidate. It appears from its proceedings, as officially published, that on each It appears from its proceedf these ballotings, Mr. Buchanan reeived a plurality, and on the sixth attained a majority of all the vote of th Convention, but not the required twothirds On the fourteenth and last ballot of that evening, the vote stood 1521 for Buchanan; for Pierce; 63 for Doug-as, and 51 for Cass. This being the las, and 51 for Cass. This being the state of the case, when the Convention assembled the next morning the New Hampshire delegation withdrew the name of General Pierce and the Illinois elegation withdrew that of Judge Douglas, in obedience to instructions from home by telegraph on the day be-fore the ballotings had commenced. After this the nomination of Mr. Buchanan seemed to be a matter of course He had never heard of a "dead lock" in the Convention or anything like it, until he read the article in *The Post*.

It may be proper to state that Col.
Samuel W. Black of Pittsburg was a delegate to the Cincinnati Convention from Pennsylvania, and being well known as a ready and eloquent speaker 'shouts were raised" for a speech from him, immediately after the nomination was announced. To these he briefly responded in an able and enthusiastic manner. From the identity of their surnames, had this response. with the proceedings, contained the infamous pledge attributed to Judge Black, or anything like it, we might in

name for the other. But there is nothing in what ('ol. Black said which afords the least color for any such mistake.

Col. Black afterward sealed his hos tility to Secession with his blood. At an early stage of the war, he fell morally wounded on the field of battle while gallantly leading on his regiment I doubt not you will cheerfully do m justice by publishing this letter; and I would thank you for a copy of the paper containing it. Yours, very resptyy JAMES BUCHANAN

charity have inferred that the author o

the article had merely mistaken the one

Wheatland, near Lancaster, May 11, 1865 An Important Difference.

The Camden Democrat points out: striking and important difference be tween the oaths of allegiance prescribed by President Johnson and his predeces or. It says:

"Look at the difference of the Oath of Allegiance prescribed by President Johnson, and that issued by his predecessor. The one presented in the Am nesty Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln compelled a penitent rebel to swear t support 'all the *Proclamations* which had been or might hereafter be issued—while President Johnson, 'revoking all former regulations,' says:

"Proof of loyalty must be the taking and subscribing to the following oath, or evidence to be filed that it or one similar

purportand meaning has been taken "I, —, do solemnly swear, in pres-ence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and all laws made in pursuance

hereto.' Thus disloyal persons in renewing their allegiance to the Government are now required to swear to "support, protect and defend " the Constitution only. That is to be made the test of loyalty, and not the support of proclamations already issued, or to be hereafter promulgated. The difference is an important one, and possesses much signifi-

cance. in our die o - Gov. Vance has been arrested at the ouse of his father-in-law, in Buncombe county, N. C. It is said he is to tried for they Come from - Expenditures; Where they go to-Incidental State ments.

orrespondence of the N. Y. Tribune.] Correspondence of the N. 1. Ithough the Correspondence of the Corr soo the current expenses In 1839 and 1830 the current expenses were a little over \$77,000,00, an amount that that given use to many remarks and seemed extravagant in the eyes of the political economist and soberly-minded; but when that sum is swelled to over one billion, the above scarcely serves as loose change in Uncle Sam's pocket. To those not posted in the machinery of the Government if is a finite of speculation whence comes the resources to balance this expenditure. In the reports of finance from the Secretary of the Treasury we have receipts from customs, lands, direct taxes, internal revenue and miscelsury we have receipts from customs, lands, direct taxes, internal revenue and miscellaneous, which latter is very indefinite, and might be interesting to enterinto minutely. We have said the expenditures for the year ending June 30, 1864, were over one billion. The gross amount for which warrants were issued from the Treasury was \$1,313,157,572,94, distributed as follows:

Civil and miscellaneous
Foreign intercourse
Public debt
Interior Departnent (fulfilling
treaties with Indians, pensions, \$26,454,295.85 1,346,113 48 489,746,113 42 7,901,809 60 filitary estab. 695,404,867 63 92,304,672 96 \$1,313,157,872 9 Naval establish-There was repaid into the Treas-ury, Civil and Miscellaneous 270,699 34 oreign inter-24,110 53 3,238,667 70 Public debt..... Interior Depart-

288,026 42 ment..... Military estab-... 4,613,024 66 1- 6,578,678 29 leaves the ne 15,013,216 9 1,298,144,656 0 The receipts for the year wererom Customs.....ales of Public Lands . Sales of Public Lands
Internal Revenue.
Direct Tax, act August 5, 1851...
Consul Fees (for passports &c)...
Consular Receipts, (effects of deceaged seamen, and other
American citizens).
Steamboat Fees.
Fines, Penaties and Forfeitures.
Surplus emolum'ts, Officers of
Customs...

Customs. Surplus emolum'ts, Marshals, &c Internal and Coastwise inter-warrants.
Preemption declarations.
Locating land scrip.
On account of interest on stocks due certain Indian tribes.
On account of interest on stocks due certain Chicksaws.
Interest due Smithsonian Instiof Philadelphia

as due the Government from an over payment of some time standing sale of iron safe, &c., at Detroit... Sale of fron sale, &c., at Detroit.— From persons unknown...
On account of Patent Fees.
From bullion deposits, available
for the incidental expenses of
the branch mint, San Francisco
From bullion deposits, available
for the incidental expenses of
the Assay Office, New York.
For gold and silver coinage.
For cent coinage...
For cent coinage... For cent coinage...
For premium on gold and silver
For premium on gold coin ship-ped from San Francisco to Lon-don.....

rom sale of rigging of ship "Uncle Toby."

Rent of old Treasury Building,
New York From a patriotic individual for the extinguishment of the pub-lic debt Sales of ore evacuated at Laza-retto light-house. retto light-noise.
rom surplus distraints of taxes,
act. June 1, 1862.
Commutation money from draft-

of the Sac and Fox agency For two years 5 per cent, treasur For one year 5 per cent, treasury For 6 per cent. compound interest

166,798,044701 For fractional currency
for the deduction of 4 per cent,
on the redemption of Texan
indemnity bonds. \$1,393,461,017 And we have the grand total. There is included in the above balance mounts loaned to, or deposited with the

Iaine.... New Hampshire Connecticut....
Connecticut....
Connecticut....
Connecticut....
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Connecticut...
C

\$28,101,644 9 xpenditures there is taken into account a xpenditures only such sums as have act expenditures only such sums as have actu-ully been paid by the Treasurer, which does not include all the warrants issued for money during the year. Those that are ssued remain unpaid at the end of the year fire reported as Outstanding Warrants, and or the year ending June 30, 1864, are livided as follows: Civil and Miscellaneous...

... 1,663 13 ... 2,255,154 16 ... 63,220 61 ... 1,691,595 56 Total..... .\$4,272,836 17 [As the amount of these warrents is in creased, or lessened, each year over the preceding one, the actual payments are in creased or lessened. Many of these war rants are dated back to 1838, and for sum rants are dated back to 1838, and for sums of only six cents, many of them to close the accounts of persons employed by the Government. There are probably thousands in others which the Government will never be called on to pay. The Oregon and Washington war has given rise to many for claims and services, the parties to which will probably never see. Caking the outstanding warrants for June 30, 1864, which, as

nd deducting those of June 30, 1863, (which were less)..... 1.669.286 03 \$2,603,550 1 ake this difference from the gross expenditures. 1.313.157.872 9

nd we have the amount actuall paid from the Treasury during the year ending June 30, 1864..... 1,310,554,322 8 Deducting it from the net expen-e years before it is known what the Rebel on has cost this people. Claims and cer ficates of indebtedness issued by disburs tificates of indebtedness issued by disbursing officers and agents of the Government will be presented, the owners of which will have to prove their fealty to the Union during the war, and the end of this is far distant. It is not a little singular that with the increase of expenditures there has followed an almost corresponding increase in the regular resources of the Government, those on which it depended in ordinary times, and it is the more singular when we times, and it is the more singular when y take into account that war so gigantic would tend more to impoverish than increase them, for they are such as come directly from the pockets of the people, without an equivalent return. But of this, as well as some other items of interst, I shall have occasion again

STATISTICUS - The Kentucky Legislature assembled on the 16th, but no quorum was present. Chief Justice Bullitt is to be tried on the charge of compiracy against the GovernTo the "Young Men's Democratic Asso-ciation," of Lancaster, Pa.

GENTLEMEN: From your President an ecretaries, as also from individual men ans, I have, within the past three months ved repeated cordial invitations to ad iress your Association. While a compliince in person would be most agreeable to me, I do not believe that either time or cir nstance is auspicious just now for acive political agitation. But I avail myself of your kind request, to present, very respectfully, in writing, a few thoughts upor e present position and duty of the Demoeratic party/ At best they can be but con ecture in part, and in part sug 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. fixed rule of policy upon any public ques tion. Yet with this qualification, and speak ing 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 the end of a great revolution, and that free institutions in America are to-day far more upon trial than at any period dur ing the past four years. If, indeed, the agencies of force were at once to give place o the arts of peace, and placid liberty regulated by law, sub pio rege, to succeed the sword, inelancholy 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, 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 na tional 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 4.782 16 and the mistakes of the past four years, and 4,088,111 42 at the end, numbering one million eight hundred thousand voters in the States which adhered to the Union—a number larger 2,903 58 within the same States, than at any previous election—it needs now only re-organization and discipline to make it powerful at once 105.187 98 and ultimately triumphant. For myself under no circumstances, will I consent that 34,330 63 the Democratic organization be dissolved, 24,998.75 so long as it shall have vitality enough to 6.840 45 hold together. The masses of the party will never agree to the surrender, whatever "the eaders," so called, might attempt. The fundamental principles of the Demo-

cratic party, of course also, must remain anchanged so long as our Federal system or even any form of democratic-republican government, shall survive; and especially 95,115 85 ts true STATE-RIGHTS DOCTRINE-not Nulification, not Secession, but the theory of our system laid down in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, as interpreed by their authors: the one by Madison in nis 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 con stitute the accepted theory and the practice 2.109 98 under our system, there can be no consolidated government, either Republic 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. interests of the masses," "the rights of the many against the exactions of th few"-axioms which, though the dema-

gogue may misuse or abuse them, lie, nevertheless, at the foundation of all democratical 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 poch in the American era has been reached; and he who cannot now realize, or is not rilling to accept this great fact, would do well to retire to his closet and confine himself to funebrial meditations over the his ory of the dead past or airy speculations upon the impossible future. He may beome 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 ts authors-unless, indeed, his support of General Breckinridge 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 the late Administration, will be called in question. For myself I am ready to answer, and by the record to be adjudged. If erred, it was in the glorious company of the patriot founders of our peculiar system of government. And now, accepting the

ew 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 e 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, Sherman, Hamilton Webster, Clay, and Jackson, as exemplars 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 al 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 stupendo us ques tions which every day will now be develop ed, a public man's position must be deter mined, not by his mistakes where all hav 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 civi war and the heat of partizan discussion

ought any longer to be tolerated. No man in the Democratic party in the North o West, of responsible or recognized posiion, was for disunion or separation for its own sake. But if any such there was, falso the government of the Union, he was alse also to the Southern Confederacy; else nis place would have been in the ranks of her armies. Some, indeed, not many, of the ablest and most sincere and ho among us men who, to-day, changing their opinions, are the worthiest of trust and I speak strongly as one not of thei conviction—believed that only through temporary recognition of Southern indi pendence, could the Federal Union be retored. Such, too, had been the declarations efore and in the beginning of the war, o many distinguished men in the Republican party, some of them still high in posi on, expressed in language the most em phatic, going even to the extent of perma-

nent separation. The record of these dec

Receipts of the Covernment; Where LETTER FROM MR. VALLANDIGHAM a larations remains; but to quote them, or to Old Union yes, "the Union as it was, un- When they shall have introduced universal

nent stands sufficient of itself. It is not that the Democratic party op posed either the civil war or the peculiar plicies upon which it was conducted that to exclude them from the confide the people. Scarce a prominent man in the Republican ranks, unless of Demogratio cedents, from the late President down out opposed many of them with unmea terness and violence—the prosecu tion of the foreign Mexican war. Devoted wholly to the Union, the old Union, in any event, the men of the Democratic party udged of the war and of its policies solely y that standard, and upheld or opposed them accordingly. The party—and I refer. to the question because it has been made the ubject of recent newspaper comment—will, ndeed, 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 cago Platform" of 1860, for the same purose in the future; not that the former was act the very best practicable at the period and for the occasion which brought it forth; out because, dealing in a time of war, almost wholly with questions of policy, not prin ciple, it would, in time of peace, be quite as inappropriate as the code of Justinian or ne 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 ommittee 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 housand freemen present or at hand, it survived but eight days—dying of circumsision. But there is one crown of glory, at east, during the terrible trials of the lasfour 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 learer birthright of Americans—Constitu tional Liberty and private right. But laying all these questions aside for ne 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 man 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, s too much of a partizan to be any thing of 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 quiet certain also that perdurable enmities are equally rare with them. And it is the motive, not the new ssociation, which marks the change of party habitudes, as patriotic or corrupt. It was not the mere fact that Fox and Burke nited in coalition with Lord North, that made them all odious to the British people, but because the purpose and circumst 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, nust 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 Supporters of the President just inco ust not assume that, as a matter of course the 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 nanner 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 entitled 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, i 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 dthough 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 Confed eracy, 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 Upon the great question of RECONSTRUCT

true heroism in civil war. TION, as the Democratic party is without power, so it is without responsibility. It can but accept or reject whatever measure may be proposed. If the policy President may recommend shall appear, ipon a calm and deliberate scrutiny best adapted in general to secure a speedy, complete, cordial and lasting pacification upon he basis of the Federal Union of the States, t will, in my judgment, be fit and just that e Democracy, waiving all minor points of detail, lend to him a liberal, earnest and patriotic support in carrying it into execuion. 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 fearlessnes to interpose such constitutional and legal opposition, through the press and in public ssembly, 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 pecu-

liar circumstances under which the office fell to the President, his advisers, 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 agita-tion 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 uffering, crime and blood in the past or yet to come. Again I accept the facts, reoiced, indeed, if under the new order of things, we and our children may enjoy the ame measure of private happine 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

the Constitution as it is "-to either slavery or the abolition of slavery. Fanatics a iome, and envious, suppla abroad, may not be able or willing to comrehend this conviction: every true and

minded American patriot The fatal mistake of the South-her blunder," which a false morality prounces worse than a crime, was in igr 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 then 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 ich 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 Repesentatives, in 1863, and by this line of ar sumentation to establish that the Union hrough peace was inevitable. Nothing but ence of an intense counter-passion, and the terrible pressure of civil war, could nave suppressed, even for a time, the power of this sentiment among the people of the South also. Had their leaders forborne to emand separation and a distinct governnent, 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 ssistance from kings and empere Europe, eager for the decline and fall of the American Republic; but they would have been cheered by the cordial greet-

ings and the active support of finally an overwhelming unijority 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 (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 "Crit tenden 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. Aleady millions in the North and West regard them as brethren still, and in a little while these millions will become a vast maority 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 unimpair-With slavery, the people of the South will prosper within that Union, as before. Without slavery, if in a wise and judiciou vay, 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 reorganized-an act both impolitic and unecessary-yet in ten years, if our Federa system survive, the whole people of every tate will be restored to all their right within the State, and the South hold, along with all her citizens, the same position of equality and influence which she held fifty ears 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 suc seed now in controlling the civil and military power of the Federal Government Dressed in a little brief author

Play such fantastic tricks before high Heaven, as make the angels weep." But to return: as to the time and maner, as well as the results of abolishing slavery, and gravest of all, what shall be lone 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 friend to negro suffrage and equality. Party spirit or pressure, indeed, has drive many into support of the doctrine, contrary to both impulse and conviction; but now he issue is changed. Outside of slavery the negro, where admitted to reside in State, eught to be the equal of every other nan 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 pe 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 nosynary institution made up of guardians and trustees and professors school masters 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. An 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 wn mothers and sisters and wives and iers. 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 fou 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, opphion 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 lavery in the South. Upon the question of the political rights of the negro, we are beyond the taunt and

white suffrage, removed the disabilities imposed upon millions of their own subects, 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 me trolled 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 them selves—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 man 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 powerfu 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 no 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 he mission of Manifest Destiny will have been but half achieved, and the blood and reasure spent in our civil war largely expended in vain. Upon the Monroe doctrine England is estopped to make any issue with is, and must remain at peace. I have said nothing upon questions of Fi-

iance-debt, taxation, tariffs, a disordered currency and impending bankruptcy.-These are the inevitable penalties of war. But they are mischless which have scarce yet been felt. Sufficient, abundantly suffitient unto the day will be the evil thereof. Concerning the Democratic party as an organization, with new policies arising out f the issues of the hour, many of them to endure for a life-time, it is essential, in my udgment, that a new vitality also be infused into it. In numbers it is more powerful than at any former period. That it vas 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 twentythree 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 instrumen talities, and to the whole power of the purse and that purse the entire wealth of the coun try, and the whole power of the swor I and that sword the entire fighting population of the country, adding a supervision and constraint over press, speech, person, raiload, lightning, highway, steamer and telegraph, all the modes of action and of locomotion and every vehicle of thought, such alone as the fabled Briareus 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 new life-blood, a fresh vitality, the methean fire," to be infused into it. There are those yet among the living who were etors, 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 buried 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 to be remembered 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 and seizing upon the oatience 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 Democrafic 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 eek 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.

- It is reported that Jeff. Davis is to be onfined at Fortress Monroe antil his trial t Washington.

_ Camp Morton, at Indianapolis, is being apidly depopulated, nearly all the prisonrs confined there having expressed a desire take the oath of allegiance and return to their former homes.

- The Washington National Intelligencer says that the ram Stonewall was supplied coal at Nassau, and that the act will lead to a remonstrance by our Government. - It is reported here that a detachment of cavalry is in pursuit of Governor Magrath, of South Curolina, who was last heard from

hen about leaving Spartansburg. It is understood that President Johnson has sent for the editor of The Raleigh Standard and other Union men of North reproach of the monarchists of Europe, Carolina for a personal conference, lo